



THE HOLY VIRGIN

Detail of the Rucellai Madonna by Duccio (?), Sta. Maria Novella, Florence.

Photo Anderson.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ITALIAN
SCHOOLS OF PAINTING

THE DEVELOPMENT
OF THE
**Italian Schools
of Painting**

BY

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PREFACE.

It is only in the last generation that lovers of art have recognized the special qualities of the 14th century Sienese school of painting, and have found its graceful, conventional drawing and its pleasing decorative effects not inferior to the realism and fidelity to nature praised in other periods.

The general admiration accorded to the subtle, lyrical and aristocratic expression of abstract and spiritual conceptions which is the essence of Sienese painting, gives us some hope for the future development of taste in Europe and for its artistic tendencies.

F. Mason Perkins was the first to understand the aesthetic significance, not only of the principal artists of this school, but also of its minor members. His numerous articles on the "Little Masters" have been of great assistance to me in my attempt to write as complete a history as was possible of Sienese painting in the 14th century. I am only too glad to take this opportunity of paying homage to his profound knowledge and enthusiastic activity in this field of study.

Other names that deserve mention here are those of Mr. Langton Douglas, the annotator of Crowe and Cavalcaselle and author of many important studies including a "History of Siena"; and of Dr. G. De Nicola, Director of the National Museum, Florence, for among the many subjects with which he is conversant is the history of the Sienese school of painting, on which he has written articles of great value.

I shall be glad if it is in my power, by means of this volume, to help others to a greater comprehension and appreciation of the Sienese Trecento; and if I succeed in this, I shall feel that I have liquidated some small part of the debt of gratitude I owe these masters of the past for the intense aesthetic emotions I have experienced in contemplating their works.

I trust also that a just affection for their admirable art may become sufficiently general for the duty of providing these treasures with a dwelling-place more worthy than that offered in the Gallery of Siena, to be universally acknowledged.

N.B. The terms “right” and “left” are used from the standpoint of the spectator unless the contrary be stated.

CHAPTER I.

DUCCIO DI BUONINSEGNA ⁽¹⁾.

Neither Giotto's nor Duccio's art can be accounted for by a spontaneous outburst of talent, but whereas the precursors of the founder of the Florentine school must be looked for in Rome, those who paved the way to Duccio's art are to be found in the city of Siena itself.

⁽¹⁾ *A. Chiapelli*, Per la Madonna Rucellai, *L'Arte*, X, 1907, p. 55. *The Same*, Duccio e Cimabue dinanzi alla odierna critica inglese, *Nuova Antologia*, 16^{ta} Sept., 1906. *L. Coletti*, Precedensa della scuola senese sulla scuola fiorentina, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, I, 1905, p. 95. *P. D'Acchiardi*, Una Madonna sconosciuta di D. di B., *L'Arte*, 1906, p. 372 (coll. Tadino-Buoninsegna). *R. Davidsohn*, D. di B. da Siena, *Repert. f. Kunstwiss.*, 1900, p. 313. *G. De Nicola*, D. di B. and his School at the Mostra di D., *Siena*, *Burlington Magazine*, 1912, p. 138. *Dobbert*, D's Bild, die Geburt Christi in der K. Gallerie zu Berlin, *Jahrb. der K. Preus. Kunstsamml.*, 1885, p. 163. *Langton Douglas*, D., *Monthly Review*, August 1903. *The Same*, Exhibition of Pictures of the School of Siena, *Burlington Fine Arts Club*, London, 1904. *G. Frizzoni*, L'Exposizione d'Arte Senese al "Burlington Fine Arts Club", *L'Arte*, 1904, p. 256. *R. Fry*, D., *Monthly Review*, 1900, p. 147. *L. Gielly*, D. di B., *Revue de l'Art Anc. et Mod.*, Oct. 1912. *U. Gnoli*, Una tavola di D. di B., (Madonna, Gallery of Perugia), *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1920, p. 94. *W. de Grüneisen*, Tradizione orientale bizantina etc. nel ciclo cristologico della Maesta di D., *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1912, p. 15. *Kallab*, D., *Jahrb. der Kunstsamml. des Allerh. K. Hauses*, 1900, p. 39. *Linsini*, Notizie di D. pittore, *bullet. Sen. di Stor. Patr.*, 1898, p. 41. *Linsini*, Di D. di B., *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1912. *The Same*, Catalogo dei dipinti della mostra Ducciana, 1911. *Idem*. *The Same*, Per lo studio della vita e della opere di D. di B., *Idem*. *The Same*, D. di B. e il pavimento del Duomo di Siena, *Idem*, *R. van Marle*, Recherches sur l'iconographie de Giotto et de Duccio, *Strasbourg*, 1920. *A. Peraté*, D., *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1893, pp. 89 and 177. *F. Mason Perkins*, Appunti sulla mostra Ducciana a Siena, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1913, pp. 5 and 35. *P. Rossi*, D. di B., *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1912, p. 3. *R. Schiff*, Rinvenimento di due opere di D. di B. ricordate dal Vasari, *L'Arte*, XV, 1912, p. 366. *Suida*, Einige Maler aus der Uebergangszeit vom

In the previous volume I remarked on the great pictorial activity which took place in Siena from the early 13th century onwards; beginning with Guido da Siena in the first half of the 13th century. We have seen how a group of artists adhered to his school, although some beautiful specimens of Italo-Byzantine paintings were produced about the same time.

Duccio owes very much to these older masters of Siena, and especially to the authors of works of the latter category, from whom he seems to have borrowed his refined technique and his general taste for the qualities of good Greek painting; but, as will be seen, he brought to these qualities many individual elements, and a Gothicism of line which, although his productions are based on Byzantine principles, give to them a different and more Italian aspect than the pictures of a previous generation.

There is consequently no reason to bring forward the hypothesis that Duccio received his training in Constantinople; the connection which existed between his native city and Byzantium, or between Sicily and Apulia, where Greek art had taken a firm hold, and the influence this had on many Duecento painters in Siena, explain sufficiently the persistence of certain Oriental characteristics in Duccio's art.

Signor Linsini (1) gathered together what is known about the life of Duccio. Nothing can be said with certainty as to the year of his birth; the supposition that it was 1250 is unsupported by serious evidence. He is first mentioned in 1278, and from then onwards with some regularity until 1311. To me it seems unlikely that his name should be absent from the ledgers until the age of twenty-eight, when it is found there so frequently in the following years, moreover, in 1278 he was occupied in decorating chests for the municipal archives, a work which would seem more suited

Duecento in Trecento, Jahrb. der K. Preus. Kunstsamml., 1905, p. 28. *Vasari*, Vita di D. di B. con note etc. di A. Jahn Rusconi, Florence (1913). *A. Venturi*, Un Opera di D. di B. a Copenhagen. *L'Arte*, XXIV, 1921, p. 198. *C. H. Weigelt*, D. di B., Leipzig, 1911. *The Same*, D. di B. in *Thieme Becker*, Künstler Lexikon. X. p. 28. *Wood Brown*, Cimabue and D. at Sta. Maria Novella, Repert. f. Kunstwiss., 1901, p. 127. *O. Wulff*, Zur Stilbildung der Trecento Malerei, I. D. und die Sienesen, Repert. f. Kunstwiss., XXVII, 1904, p. 99.

(1) *Linsini*, Notizie di D. etc., p. 41, summarized and extended in *Weigelt's* useful publication. Several documents were given by *G. Milanese*, Documenti per la Storia dell'Arte Senese, I, Siena, 1854, p. 168.

to a very young artist than to a mature and skilful painter of almost thirty years of age. I am therefore inclined to believe that the date of his birth is nearer 1260 than 1250. This first mention of Duccio⁽¹⁾ tells of his receiving forty soldi⁽²⁾ for adorning twelve of these chests; the following year we find him getting ten soldi for painting the cover of an account-book such as one still sees in the archives, while in 1280 he is recorded as having to pay a fine of 100 livres, for an offence which is not specified; this is the first mention of any kind of delinquency on the part of the artist, though in subsequent years such records become fairly frequent.

In 1285 he signed a contract with the fraternity of Sta. Maria Novella, Florence, to execute a painting of the Virgin⁽³⁾, which is not impossibly the Rucellai Madonna. For this he received 150 florins, but had to provide his own materials. In 1285, '86, '91, '93 and '95 we find him painting book-covers and getting for them at first 8 and then 10 soldi apiece. As to his private life during this period, we know that in 1292 he had a house in the Via di Camporeggio, while in 1294 he lent 33 soldi 6 denari to someone and bought a "moggio" of wine, which facts are evidence of a certain prosperity. Other facts prove that his continual irregularity of life and his difficult character did not interfere with his popularity. In 1295 his opinion is invited, with that of other artists, respecting the site of a fountain, though late in the same year he is again fined 10 soldi for some unknown peccadillo. In 1298 he sat on the "Radota", a sort of committee assisting the town council, but in the following years we find him refusing to swear fidelity to the Capitano del Popolo or chief magistrate.

In 1302 the Capitano had his revenge and made him pay a fine of 18 livres 10 soldi, while at the end of the same year he was fined 5 livres for causing a public disturbance. Three times during the year 1302 — April, May and 22nd December — he was fined 5 soldi for the non-payment of various debts, although on the 4th December of that same year he received 48 livres

(1) The Museum of Nancy possesses a panel with Duccio's signature and the date 1278, but it has often been pointed out that this inscription is false and the painting of considerably later date (Taddeo di Bartolo).

(2) *Weigelt* gives the value of these payments in modern currency.

(3) *Milanesi*, Doc. Sen., I, p. 158, compar. *Vasari* published by *K. Fry*, I, Munich, 1911, p. 417 note.

for a "Maestà" with a predella for the altar of the chapel of the town hall. Two years later he is mentioned as the owner of a "mountain of vines" and on October 9th 1308 he signed a contract for the large Maestà, now in the Opera del Duomo (1). For that portion of the picture which displayed the Madonna with surrounding hosts of angels and saints he received 16 soldi a day, besides which he is paid 10 livres a month. All the work had to be done by his own hand, the material being furnished by the commissioners. Notwithstanding this magnificent salary we find Duccio accepting an advance of 50 golden guilders. In the course of the following year the remaining specifications of this panel were revised. It was probably at this moment that the decision was made to paint the back of the panel as well, but the special contract which exists concerning this, is not very clear (2). The scale of payment then became 2½ (gold) guilders for each panel, there being 26 divisions plus 8 of double size in the predella; in all he would be paid as if there were 38 separate scenes (3).

Having been requested on the 28th November 1310 to hasten the completion of the painting, we find it finished on the 9th June 1311. The success of this wonderful panel was enormous, but he must already have been a leading artist who was entrusted with such a work, and his position was likewise vouched for by the fact that at this time he had several pupils and followers. Duccio might well have been a wealthy man, but after his death in 1319, when he was probably insolvent, his widow Taviana and seven children refused their heritage. This is readily accounted for if we consider that besides mention of his various activities, we find little in the records of Siena but evidence of his dissipation, his lack of order in money affairs and his buying of wine. We are forced to conclude that in opposition to the honourable figure of Giotto, Duccio may be ranked from a moral standpoint as a forerunner of the Bohemian artists of Montmartre, though he is far from being the only great painter whose private life will not bear too close a scrutiny.

(1) *Milanesi*, Doc. Sen., I, p. 166.

(2) Drawn up probably in 1310, *Milanesi*, Doc. Sen., I, p. 178.

(3) *Weigelt* sums up by saying that the whole work brought him in about £ 250 instead of about £ 1250 as a chronicler pretends.

Vasari tells us hardly anything worth taking into consideration. He mentions Duccio's pictorial activities in Florence, Pisa, Lucca and Pistoia and his sculptural and architectural work in Florence, Arezzo, Faenza and Ancona. Vasari also informs us that Duccio had been employed in the execution of the decorative pavement of the Cathedral of Siena. Milanese rejected this as unlikely, though some regard it as possible and even probable; it is however beyond doubt that he has been active as mosaicist⁽¹⁾.

At the end of the right transept of Sta. Maria Novella, Florence, after ascending a few steps, we find ourselves in the Rucellai chapel, before one of the most important paintings that Italian art has ever produced, but which, unhappily, since it hangs between two windows, can never be seen to full advantage (fig. 1 and frontispiece). I am sure many will agree with me that this magnificent panel should be placed in such a position that the lover of early Italian painting could feast his eyes upon it.

Fineschi⁽²⁾, who in 1790 discovered the document of 1285 referring to a Madonna painted by Duccio for this church, even then connected this record with the Rucellai panel, and it is now almost universally believed that this is a work of Duccio's. Almost thirty years ago Prof. Thode⁽³⁾, in his desire to attribute as many works as possible to Cimabue, retained certain doubts as to its authorship, alluding to 14th century evidence that there was a painting of Cimabue's in Sta. Maria Novella, which Albertinelli, in 1510, identified as the Rucellai Madonna; this identification had also been effected by the author of a codex of the middle of the 16th century, and by Vasari⁽⁴⁾. Although Prof. Thode admits that there are many points of difference, he finds that the composition and artistic value of the picture closely resemble those of Cimabue's. He agrees however, to a compromise, in saying that

(1) *V. Lusini*, D. di B. e il pavimento etc., p. 74.

(2) *Fineschi*, Memorie Storiche, I, 1790, p. XLI, 99, 118.

(3) *Thode*, Sind uns Werke von Cimabue erhalten, Repertorium für Kunstwiss., 1890, p. 35 et seq.

(4) Vasari tells us of the triumphant procession which celebrated the bringing of the picture from Cimabue's studio to Sta. Maria Novella, which was done in the presence of Charles of Anjou, who was in Florence in 1267, while the church of Sta. Maria Novella was not completed until 1278. He confounds this legend with what is told of Duccio's Maestà in 1311 and of Simone Napolitano in Naples.



Fig. 1. Duccio, Rucellai Madonna. Sta. Maria Novella, Florence.

Photo Anderson.

if Duccio produced this painting he was influenced by Cimabue, while if Cimabue painted it, he would have produced an unusual work in which he had followed Duccio. Mr. Wood Brown ⁽¹⁾ has given a natural explanation of the Madonna which Vasari found at the end of the right transept, and which he attributed to Cimabue, thereby puzzling Prof. Thode. He thinks it quite natural that when the Bardi took over the chapel, in which the painting originally hung, from the Confraternity of Sta. Maria, the Madonna painted for the latter should have been removed and placed elsewhere, probably where Vasari saw it. Professors Wickhoff and Strzygowsky go a step further than Prof. Thode, proclaiming it as certainly Siennese; indeed they even incline toward regarding Duccio as its author. Herr Richter is more positive and boldly ascribes it to Duccio. So also did Mr. Langton Douglas, partly, I suppose, because he regards Cimabue nearly as a legendary figure ⁽²⁾. Mr. Aubert, who points out the striking resemblance between the throne in this picture and that depicted in other panels of Duccio's, especially that of the small Madonna in the Siena Gallery (no. 20), Messrs. Rothes and Venturi, who compare the various characteristics of Cimabue and Duccio, and Weigelt, all ascribe the Rucellai Madonna to the latter painter ⁽³⁾. The illustrations in the work of the last-mentioned authority allow us to make an excellent comparison between the angels of Duccio's *Maestà* and those of the Rucellai Madonna, which show such a strong likeness that it would be difficult to imagine that they could be by two different hands. Mr. Roger Fry, following Cavalcaselle, is the only modern critic who still believes Vasari's statement that the Rucellai Madonna is a possible work of Cimabue's.

Herr Suida ⁽⁴⁾, on the other hand, has quite a different theory which has but few adherents; he believes in the existence of a "Master of the Rucellai Madonna" who is neither Duccio nor Cimabue, and dates the execution of the work shortly after 1290. To the same painter Herr Suida ascribes the crucifixes in the

⁽¹⁾ *Wood Brown*, Cimabue and Duccio etc.

⁽²⁾ See: Cimabue and the Rucellai Madonna, appendix to Chap. VI *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, I, p. 187 and his Duccio, *Monthly Review*, Aug. 1903.

⁽³⁾ *Op. cit.* and C. *Weigelt*, Duccio di Buoninsegna, in *Thieme-Becker Künstler-Lexikon*, X, p. 25.

⁽⁴⁾ *Suida*, *Jahrbuch der K. Preus. Kunstsamml.*, p. 28 et seq.

sacristy of Sta. Maria del Carmine, Florence, and in S. Stefano, Paterno, with which I have dealt in the previous volume, also a Madonna in Sta. Cecilia of Crevole near Siena, which he places as early as 1280. Mr. Perkins in his book on Giotto, had already come to the conclusion that the Rucellai Madonna was by neither Duccio nor Cimabue, but another painter, to which theory Messrs. Berenson and De Nicola both adhere ⁽¹⁾. Quite lately Mr. Sirén has propounded another hypothesis; he believes the work to have been begun by Duccio and completed by Cimabue ⁽²⁾, but in my opinion the *ensemble* is too harmonious for this to be the correct solution of the problem. I believe that this elaborate panel is after all an early work of Duccio's, because, unlike the artists of previous generations, the great masters of the 14th century frequently underwent a very noticeable development, several consecutive manners being found in the productions of one individual painter. The only question to be solved is whether there exists sufficient connection between the different works attributed to Duccio, so that they may be linked together as the labours of one man. If so, and if the artistic value and general spirit remain the same, then the other divergencies may often be accounted for by the fact that the paintings belong to different periods in the development of the master's art. For this reason, I decided to attribute the major part of the St. Francis cycle in the Upper Church of Assisi to Giotto, and for the same reason I believe that Duccio is the author of the Rucellai Madonna, in which the conception, although less mature, is the same as in his beautiful Maestà; the artistic value of both is about equal, which cannot be said for those works which Herr Suida believes to be by his master of the Rucellai Madonna. Besides, what reason is there to attribute to the painter these primitive crucifixes and this panel? The difference here is much greater than between the Rucellai Madonna and the Maestà, and for this I think Herr Suida's theory incorrect and am of opinion that the Madonna of Sta. Maria Novella may be regarded as an early work of Duccio's. It should, however, be kept in mind in doing so, that we admit a not altogether insignificant difference separates

⁽¹⁾ *Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1913, p. 36 note 3.

⁽²⁾ *O. Sirén*, *Toskanische Maler im XIII Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1922, p. 309.

Duccio's other work from these, and we must allow for a Florentine manner in the artist's career, during which he was inspired by Cimabue's Madonna; this is by no means impossible, and although the Rucellai Madonna is certainly not by Cimabue we cannot be absolutely sure that Duccio is its author.

The high throne is placed on a small platform which is supported by decorated columns; the back is festooned with a curtain, the Madonna, clothed in blue, slightly inclines her head as she looks towards the spectator with a calm but melancholy expression. Like the Madonnas of Guido, she turns a little toward the left, with the Child seated on her left knee, facing to the right. The Virgin's left hand supports His little body, while the right hand is placed on His knee. A white transparent veil reveals the upper part of the Child's body; the lower part is wrapped in cloth of gold, excepting the feet which are naked; the left arm hangs downwards, while He stretches out His right hand in benediction looking to the right with a sad and dreamy expression. Three angels kneeling on either side of the throne, grasp it, probably with both hands but this is only clear in the case of the middle pair. They are depicted one above the other, quite separately, the upper four apparently kneeling on air. Thirty small medallions containing busts of Apostles, prophets and saints, amongst them St. Francis, embellish the frame.

Neither in style, workmanship nor type can this imposing picture be called Florentine. It is Sienese, and this again only helps to prove what I said in my first volume, that towards the end of the 13th century a distinct connection existed between the schools of these two cities.

The throne, however, is different; it is more graceful than the type usually found in the Florentine Madonnas, and less monumental than those depicted by Cimabue. The back is higher, forming, as it were, the background to the figure of the Virgin. The curious grouping of the angels, kneeling one above the other, is altogether foreign to Florentine art, in which, in an earlier generation, a similar escort, though much smaller, is generally represented in the upper part of the picture. Cimabue again, made his lateral figures much larger, and we find them guarding the throne. The expression of the Virgin and the angels of the Rucellai Madonna is soft, mystical and languorous, and thus characteristic of

the school of Siena; but it is entirely absent from the works of Cimabue and other Florentines, as is the loosely-flowing Gothic line, which almost forms an arabesque, of the edge of the Virgin's robe. This may really be said to establish the fact that the Rucellai Madonna, like the whole of Duccio's art, belongs to a different artistic current from that comprising the works of Cimabue and the other Florentine painters.

Messrs. Perkins and Suida who admit a special master for the Rucellai Madonna, have already pointed out the similarity of manner which exists between this picture and a Madonna in the church of S. Michele of Crevole, Murlo (fig. 2) ⁽¹⁾. If, however, the Rucellai Madonna be by Duccio, it is more than likely that this also is a product of the same artist, and of the same stage in his career. The resemblance between the two figures of the Madonna leaves but little room for doubt. In the Child, however, we observe a Florentine characteristic absent in all other works of Duccio's: the partial baldness of the head. This peculiarity is frequently present in Florentine pictures of the Virgin and Child of the end of the 13th century, although Cimabue himself did not adopt it. Very different from any work of Duccio's, however, are the hands of the Virgin, which are highly conventional and Byzantine in form; nor do they in any way suggest Cimabue's work. If then the Madonna of S. Michele, Crevole, is really from the brush of the great Sienese master ⁽²⁾, it would further confirm the hypothesis that he must at one time have lived in Florence, in which case we may conclude that he was peculiarly influenced by Cimabue's work when executing the Rucellai panel, but that a memory of other and more archaic Florentine masters must have been present in his mind when he painted the Madonna of Crevole.

Signor Lusini has propounded the theory that this Madonna might be that for the execution of which a certain Paganello di Guido in 1250 left 50 soldi in his will. What makes this idea particularly interesting is the fact that in this document there is mention of Paganello's brother, Buoninsegna, so that it is possible that the testator was an uncle of Duccio's. Another brother is

⁽¹⁾ Also *Weigelt*, op. cit., p. 168, who, however, attributes it to the School of Duccio.

⁽²⁾ To whom it is attributed by *L. Colletti*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese* 1905, p. 100, and by *V. Lusini*, idem, p. 146.



Fig. 2. Duccio, Madonna. S. Michele, Crevole.

Photo Brogi.

there referred to as "master Benvenuto." Was he also a painter? If so, it does not seem improbable that it was with this uncle that Duccio studied his art.

The Madonna of Crevole, however, seems to belong to Duccio's Florentine manner; in other words, it was probably executed after 1285, which leaves a lapse of thirty-five years between the drawing up of the testament and its execution. Although not impossible, this long interval makes the hypothesis somewhat unlikely.

Duccio's earliest work is in all probability the magnificent but somewhat damaged small panel of the Virgin enthroned, adored by three Franciscan monks, in the Gallery of Siena (fig. 3). It is in this painting that we most clearly realize the connection which existed between the great master and the artists of the previous generation, to whom we owe the St. Peter and St. John altar-pieces. The Virgin is here seated on a low throne, holding in her left arm the Child Jesus Who blesses the adorers⁽¹⁾, while behind them four small angels support the drapery of the background.

In the Byzantine quality of its technique this panel may be called a genuine product of that refined Italo-Byzantine manner which flourished in Siena at the end of the 13th century, taking, as it were, the place of the moribund tradition originating in Guido da Siena and continued by his immediate followers. This small picture, however, shows us many and important innovations. Let us first look at the attitude of the Virgin; she is seated, turning slightly to one side in a relaxed, almost comfortable pose, the head being slightly bowed. Comparing this with the majestically enthroned Madonnas of the older manner we find that quite a different feeling, a sense of graceful and tender humanity, has replaced the imposing dignity of the earlier works. This again may be noted in the fragmentary figures of the angels behind the Virgin, but it is much less marked in the three kneeling monks who are rather more archaic of aspect. The great and fundamental difference between Duccio's art and the older Italo-Byzantine manner lies, however, in the flowing Gothic outline, of which hitherto no trace has been found in Siennese painting. The actual condition of this panel does not allow us to form a very exact

⁽¹⁾ At first sight it may seem that here too the Child's head is practically bald; this effect, however, is entirely due to a damaged spot in the picture.



Fig. 3. Duccio, Madonna and three adoring Franciscan monks. Accademia, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

idea of the original appearance of the draperies ; nevertheless the gilt edge of the cloak shows us a line very similar to that observed in the Rucellai Madonna. This is a purely personal element in Duccio's work, for he did not borrow it from any of his predecessors, either in Siena or in Florence. Here, then, we find Duccio introducing a new factor into Siennese, indeed we might really say Italian, painting, a factor which will be of immense importance in its further development.

As I said before, I think this small painting is the earliest work of Duccio's which has come down to us ; it must, in fact, have been painted about the time when we find the first mention of his name (1278), that is, about the time the refined Italo-Byzantine style was flourishing in Siena, and almost simultaneously with the school of Guido da Siena, a late example of which is dated 1270.

Common to these products of Duccio's early career is the conventional Byzantine drawing which is noticeable in the hands, but is still more marked in the features, for example, in the orbital contours, the curve of the nose and the small flattened plane, where the nose and the forehead join.

A work in which these factors are less evident, although an early example of Duccio's activities, seems to belong to a transition stage between this manner and that which followed it. This is the half figure of the Madonna and Child in the collection of the late Count Stroganoff in Rome (¹) (fig. 4), and it betrays most resemblance to the panel in the Gallery of Siena, which we have just been considering. Here the Madonna, who is again depicted turning slightly to one side, looks at the Child Whom she holds in her left arm and Who is playing with His Mothers veil ; the Gothic outline is less obvious, and besides the lessened incidence of Byzantine convention (in execution as well as in the general aspect) this picture differs from the others by the characteristic tender melancholy of the Madonna's expression.

If we place the Madonna and the adoring monks of the Gallery of Siena between 1275 and 1280 and the half-figure of Crevole about the same period as the Rucellai Madonna (1285), I think we may conclude that the panel of the Stroganoff collection is a

(¹) Reprod. *Weigelt*, op. cit., pl. 44. *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1904, p. 145.



Fig. 4. Duccio, Madonna. Stroganoff Collection, Rome.

Photo Lombardi.

product of a later stage but was executed probably before 1295, for Duccio's second manner, which culminated with the famous *Maestà* of 1308—1311, must have originated about that time.

Duccio's early manner was apparently interrupted by some Florentine influence, for the *Madonna* in the Gallery of Siena



Fig. 5. Duccio, Triptych. National Gallery, London.

more closely approaches in style the two panels of his transitional phase, although divided from them by a longer interval of time than the Rucellai and Crevole Madonnas, the peculiar aspect of which is very probably due to this Florentine influence; and if we did not admit the existence of this foreign element in Duccio's art there would not be sufficient reason for including these two paintings amongst his works.

Only some slight points of difference divide the early products of what I should like to call Duccio's second manner from the last works of his first and more Byzantine period. A very fine triptych in the National Gallery, London (fig. 5), is that in which most of the characteristics of the artist's earlier creations have been preserved; indeed it might still be regarded almost as a transitional work. In its general aspect and feeling, the central part reminds us most of the Stroganoff Madonna, the attitudes are almost identical, only the Child, Who is slightly smaller than in the Roman picture, is somewhat more erect and plays with His Mother's veil in a rather more deliberate fashion. Two small angels fly on either side, while above, in the border, six prophets (?) holding scrolls approach the central crowned figure of David; the wings contain the sturdy figures of SS. Dominic and Agnes. The draping of the Virgin and St. Agnes is more markedly Gothic than that of the Stroganoff Madonna; the drawing is less schematic, and, with the exception of the index finger of the Virgin's left hand, the fingers are more normal in proportion. A certain archaism may be observed in the rigid and emphatic opposition of light and shade, more especially in the faces of the figures on either side of the Cross.

A half-figure of the Madonna in the Gallery of Perugia (fig. 6) has recently had the 15th century repainting which entirely covered the principal figures, removed but even by the six angels in the spandrels, which had retained their original aspect, this picture was known to be a work of Duccio's (¹). It was originally in the church of S. Domenico of the same city and is no doubt slightly later than that in the National Gallery. It is true that we can no longer judge the effects of relief which must have been present in the figures of the Virgin and Child, but which are now partly effaced. The Child looks up at His Mother, whose gaze is directed toward the spectator. As in the London triptych, the left index finger of the Madonna is extremely long, but the hands are otherwise of a very ordinary shape. Again we are struck by the marked contrast between light and shade in the figures of the angels.

(¹) *I. Vavasour Elder*, La pittura nella Galleria di Perugia, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1909, p. 65. *U. Gnoli*, Una tavola di D. di B., *Idem*, 1920, p. 94.



Fig. 6. Duccio, Madonna. Pinacoteca, Perugia.

Photo Verri.



Fig. 7. Duccio, Maestà. Opera del Duomo, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

This is the picture which leads the way to Duccio's masterpiece, his *Maestà* (fig. 7). This enormous altar-piece, now in the Opera del Duomo of Siena, may, as has been remarked, be



Fig. 8. Duccio, Detail of the *Maestà*.
Opera del Duomo, Siena.
Photo Lombardi.

regarded in Duccio's artistic career, of the same importance as the decoration of the Arena chapel in Giotto's. In both cases we have unquestionably authentic works representing a great many scenes from the Life of Christ, each perhaps the artist's most important creation, so that we have here a basis enabling us to compare and judge their respective value. We have already remarked that Duccio's large altar-piece was ordered in 1308 by a member of the Marescotti family, who, acting in the name of the Cathedral board, came to an understanding with the painter. The satisfaction of the people in respect of the finished work was very great; the *Chronicle of Agnola di Tora*, another and anonymous chronicle, and the city treasurer's account-book of the year 1311 all mention the great popular rejoicing — and because of it all trade and traffic even were stopped for the day — which burst forth when the wonderful altar-piece

was carried amidst the "ringing of bells, the sounding of trumpets and the beating of drums" from Duccio's house to the Cathedral.

We shall not find this work, which was one of the first, if not

the first of its kind, as it was when it left the artist's studio⁽¹⁾; the small scenes which originally formed the back of the panel of the Madonna and her surrounding escort of angels and saints have been removed from it; they are arranged in two divisions, an upper and a lower, each containing two rows of scenes, to follow whose order we must in both cases start with the left-hand upper corner, and take alternately one of the first and one of the second row. Each large panel had a predella; many of these parts are now dispersed amongst various museums and collections. The predella of the Madonna was composed, on one side, of the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Adoration, the Presentation in the Temple, the Massacre of the Innocents, the Flight into Egypt and the Child Christ teaching in the Temple; and on the other side, of the Baptism, the Temptation, the Calling of SS. Peter and Andrew, the Wedding at Cana, the Samaritan Woman at the Well, the Transfiguration and the Resurrection of Lazarus. The scenes of the predella were divided by small panels containing the upright figure of either a prophet or a saint (figs.



Fig. 9. Duccio, Detail of the Maestà.
Opera del Duomo, Siena.

Photo Lombardi.

⁽¹⁾ I believe *Weigelt* gave us approximately the right reconstruction, *op. cit.*, pls. 65–66, although I am rather doubtful about the long row of angels at the extremities. Another and I think less successful attempt to reconstruct this picture was made by *V. Lusini*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, p. 70 etc. and plate after p. 98



Fig. 10. Detail of fig. 7.

Photo Anderson.

8 and 9). Above each large panel we find small representations, on the one hand of various apparitions of the Lord after the Resurrection, including the apparitions to the disciples at the Sea of Genesareth, on the mountain and during a meal, and also the Descent of the Holy Spirit; on the other, of the Apostles at the house of the Virgin, the angel announcing her death, her farewell to the Apostles, her last moments, her Death, her Funeral, her Entomb-



Fig. 11. Detail of fig. 7.

Photo Anderson.

ment, and probably the now dispersed Assumption and Coronation. It is very likely that above each of these eight scenes there was once a panel containing the figure of an angel, as we find in another picture of Duccio's, the polyptych in the Accademia (no. 47) (1).

(1) Several similar small panels of angels of the school of Duccio are found in public and private collections.



Fig. 12. Detail of fig. 7.

Photo Anderson.

The principal panel of Duccio's *Maestà* shows us the Madonna seated on a monumental throne of inlaid marble; she is turned slightly to one side and looks, with bowed head, dreamily into the far distance; the Child, who is neither particularly graceful nor animated, is held in His Mother's left arm while in front she supports Him with her right hand (fig. 10). He is dressed in a white semi-transparent garment which He grasps with both hands, and



Fig. 13. Detail of fig. 7.

Photo Anderson.

a star-covered cloth is draped around His left arm. In front of the host of angels, and saints which surround the Madonna (figs. 11 and 12), kneel the four patron saints of Siena, SS. Savinus and Ansanus on the right, the holy bishop Crescentius and St. Victor on the left. Behind the former is a row of five standing figures, two angels, SS. John the Baptist, Peter and Agnes (plate 2), while as a pendant on the left other side we have SS. John the Evan-



Fig. 14. Detail of fig. 7.

Photo Anderson.

gelist, Paul and Catherine (fig. 13). Behind each of these rows is another of six angels (figs. 14 and 15), the innermost standing slightly higher than the rest, thus forming a connection with the four angelic figures who stand behind, leaning their heads on their hands, which are laid upon the back of the throne as they look lovingly toward the central figures. Five small half-figures



St. AGNES

Detail of Duccio's Maesta, Opera del Duomo, Siena.

Photo Anderson.



Fig. 15. Detail of fig. 7.

Photo Lombardi.

of Apostles are depicted above the principle picture, on either side of it separated from the angels by a narrow border. On the base of the throne is the following inscription: *Mater Sancta Deisis senis requieisis Duccio vita te quia depinxit ita.*

This picture gives us a profound impression of the artist's sense of symmetry, each angel and each saint on the one side having his pendant on the other, although taken separately each figure shows a certain freedom of attitude and no trace whatever of rigidity.

The half-figures of the Apostles above do not improve the composition, but rather add to the overloaded impression which this picture tends to convey. The rows of heads, one behind the other, differing only in attitude, might well be a continuation of the old Byzantine principle, many examples of which are to be found in miniatures. The Florentine painters depicted their groups in another manner, representing, as we saw, only the halves or the upper part of the heads of the figures behind, but many other differences are to be noted in their compositions. The newer Western elements are manifest in the general aspect of the Virgin, whose face, although unfortunately somewhat damaged, must have shown a considerable likeness to that of the Madonna of Perugia; the Gothic style of the draping is not more marked than in some of Duccios earlier works.

In describing the scenes from the Life of Christ I prefer to take them in the order of their occurrence rather than as we find them arranged on the altar-piece.

The Annunciation, now in the National Gallery (no. 1139) (fig. 16), is depicted against a background of fine architecture, from a projecting part of which, on the left, the celestial herald, full of grace and beauty advances towards the Virgin whom he blesses with his outstretched right hand; she is seen standing under a large arch, raising one hand to her breast in a movement of reserve, while in her other she holds a book. In the background between the two figures stands a vase of lilies.

The Nativity (¹), flanked on either side by a figure of a prophet, the motif used to separate the various scenes of the predella, is

(¹) *Dobbert*, Duccio's Bild die Geburt Christi in der K. Gem. Gallerie zu Berlin, Jahrbuch der K. Preus. Kunstsamml., 1885, p. 153.

now found in the Berlin Museum (fig. 17). We see, within a grotto under a canopy, the Madonna half reclining on a mattress gazing dreamily before her, the manger behind her contains the swaddled Babe, while the heads of the animals appear over the top of it. To the left in the foreground the first bath of the Child is about to be given; one of the two women is seen pouring water into



Fig. 16. Duccio, Annunciation. National Gallery, London.

the bath, the other holding the Child in readiness. To the left of the Virgin, a very old St. Joseph sits meditating. To the right six sheep and a little seated dog are represented, followed by two shepherds, one young, the other old, looking at the angel, who carries the message and forms one of the group of seven which is depicted on either side of the roof of the shelter. These groups are arranged in two rows; the three figures of the lower all



Fig. 17. Duccio, the Nativity of Christ with two prophets. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin. Photo Hanfsaengl.

direct their eyes downward to the Divine Child, while those above look up toward the segment of a circle which indicates the heavens; from which the star of the East has descended, shedding its beams on the newborn Infant. This painting has very great artistic qualities; the mystical Madonna, the graceful and greatly rejoicing angels, and the realistic but harmonious group of the first bath, are all excellently rendered; the manger with the Child and the animals behind, however, are less successful, forming a stiff little group in the centre of this beautiful panel.

The following scenes are all in the Opera del Duomo of Siena. The Adoration is depicted as taking place outside the grotto; the Madonna, now enthroned, holds the Child, before whom one of the Kings kneels to kiss His feet; the other two, both crowned, stand behind Him; farther to the left are four men holding camels and horses.

The Presentation in the Temple shows us again an arcade for a background; Joseph, with covered hands, approaches from the left, Christ, held up by the aged Simeon, stretches His little hands toward His Mother, who shows her eagerness to receive Him; the prophetess Anna stands behind with uplifted arms; a prophet on either side of the scene holds a long written scroll.

In the representation of the Massacre of the Innocents we see Herod, attended by two other male figures seated on a dais, and watching the soldiers below execute the cruel order. Two are represented in the act of piercing the small bodies with their swords, one as he is pulling the child away from his mother; and numbers of slaughtered infants are seen lying on the ground. The drawing of the children is particularly good, as are the action, and the fierce expressions of the soldiers, but the grief of the mothers is much less natural.

The story of the Flight into Egypt is illustrated by two small scenes on one panel, which bears on either side the figure of a prophet. On the left an angel appears to Joseph, who sits asleep, warning him of the danger; to the right we find depicted the Madonna and Child on a donkey led by a young man and followed by the gesticulating Joseph.

The Lord as a boy of twelve, teaching in the Temple (fig. 18) appears against a beautiful architectural background consisting of arcades on pillars which are adorned with little naked angels

of an almost classical type. Christ is seen seated under one of the arches with two rows of priests before Him; He is looking toward the left and seems to be speaking to His parents, who approach, gesticulating.

Satan tempting Christ is represented in two scenes; one of them, in which only parts of the architecture are preserved, was



Fig. 18. Duccio, Jusus teaching in the Temple. Opera del Duomo, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

found not long ago in the Cathedral of Siena; in all probability it depicted the Saviour and His tempter on the balcony of a Gothic building⁽¹⁾. The other picture which forms part of the Benson collection is a peculiar composition and one in which Duccio's capacity for the fantastic is most conspicuously present, whereas

(1) *Weigelt* offers us a reconstruction of this picture, *op. cit.*, pl. 17.

in all his other scenes we find little or no trace of it. On a rock, small in comparison with the figures, which in turn are enormous in proportion to the building and cities shown, the Lord stands in a graceful attitude, holding His cloak about Him and pointing reprovingly at Satan, a horrible dark figure with wings and claws, who offers Him the kingdoms of the world, represented by several cities. From the opposite side of the picture two stately angels approach with respectfully covered hands, which are, with one exception, raised in protest. The deep melancholy of the Lord's features is very impressive.

The Calling of SS. Peter and Andrew, which belongs to the same collection, is of less artistic value. The Lord, standing on the shore with a rock as background, extends one hand, in a somewhat uncertain manner, toward the two future Apostles, who are seen in a small boat, busily pulling in their net. St. Peter turns toward Christ and raises one hand, rather stiffly; St. Andrew looks neither at his net nor at the Lord. The figure and attitude of the latter are full of compassion, but the disciples, and in general the whole scene, are very expressionless, and the artist has not succeeded in depicting the distance between the shore and the boat at sea.

On the panel of the Wedding at Cana, which still exists in the Opera del Duomo, eight persons, including the Lord, are represented as seated around a table, on which are placed various articles in general use. It is illogical that, besides the Virgin, no other woman is present. Three young men are occupied in pouring water into amphora, while two others are filling up the glasses. The figures are well drawn but not very natural, the two standing in front of the table being unduly tall.

The Samaritan Woman at the Well, again in the Benson collection, resembles, in quality, the previous scene. The Saviour is seated on the curb of the well, resting one hand on it. With a gesture not unlike that which He makes in calling the two disciples, He motions to the woman, who holds forth her right hand in a similar fashion as she approaches the well, carrying one water-jar on her head, and another, with a rope for drawing water, in her left hand. Through an archway in the elaborately fortified wall of a city on the right, four of the Apostles emerge; on the extreme left, just behind the seated Christ, a fragment of

a rock is depicted. The Apostles, with their grave and interested faces, are the best figures in this picture.

The Transfiguration in the National Gallery (no. 1530) shows us the Lord in a mantle of cloth of gold, raising one hand and holding a book in the other as he stands on a rock between Eliah and Moses, one of whom carries a scroll. Lower down the three disciples, Peter, James and John, kneel on the ground, gesticulating, and looking up toward the apparition. This composition is extremely simple, somewhat rigid and not altogether pleasing. The painter has taken some liberties with the text, according to which the Lord is clothed in a radiantly white garment while the Apostles lie with their faces on the ground until the moment when Christ tells them to look up, when Eliah and Moses have disappeared.

In the panel of the Healing of the Blind Man (fig. 19), also in the National Gallery (no. 1140), we have one of the very few instances of Duccio combining two moments of a story in one scene.

It is true that in the Flight into Egypt we had two events depicted in the same painting but there they were separate productions. Here, however, it is not so, for on one side we see the Lord in the act of healing the blind man, who is represented a second time walking away rejoicing. It has occurred to me that Duccio might have followed the Gospel of St. Matthew (XX. 29 et seq.) who, differing from Mark (X. 46) and Luke (XVIII. 35), relates the miraculous cure of two blind men⁽¹⁾; on the other hand, the two figures are so very much alike that we are forced to conclude that Duccio wanted to represent the same man twice. The background of the scene consists of architectural inventions, amongst which we find several very handsome buildings and the beginning of a street. The Lord is followed closely, in fact too closely, by His Twelve Apostles, who move as though surrounded by a crowd. The Saviour touches the eyes of the blind man, who stands leaning on his staff; farther to the right the same man, making a gesture with one hand, looks heavenward in obvious gratitude for the miraculous recovery of his sight, as he lets his staff, now useless, fall to the ground.

⁽¹⁾ *R. van Marle*, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de Giotto et de Duccio*. Strasbourg, 1920, p 20.

The Resurrection of Lazarus (fig. 20), again in the Benson collection, takes place against a background of rocks on which two isolated trees are growing; a great multitude of people approaches from the left, and the Lord, Who forms the central figure, with St. Peter behind and Martha in front, orders, with a gesture of His outstretched hand, the dead man to come to life, while Mary kneels at His feet; Lazarus, in his cerements, propped in

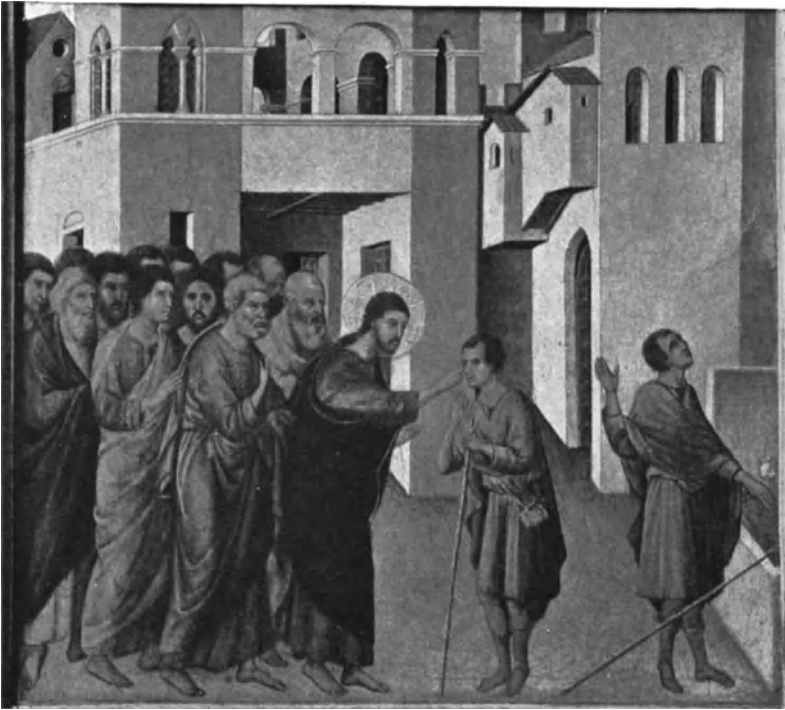


Fig. 19. Duccio, Christ curing the Blind. National Gallery, London.

the doorway of his sepulchre, the slab of which has just been removed; the person nearest Lazarus holds his nose. The composition of the group around the Lord is very good; the figures are without rigidity and show a variety of graceful and natural attitudes. This is the last and I believe the best of those scenes which do not actually form part of the altar-piece itself, and which, on the whole, seem to have been executed with less care.

The first scene on the *Maestà* panel is one of double the usual

size and represents the Entry into Jerusalem (fig. 21). Evidently following the Gospel of St. Matthew, Duccio has depicted a young ass running by the side of its mother, who carries the Lord towards the Holy City; He is followed by a group of Apostles; a large crowd stands outside the gate of Jerusalem, many of those nearest the approaching Christ carry branches in their

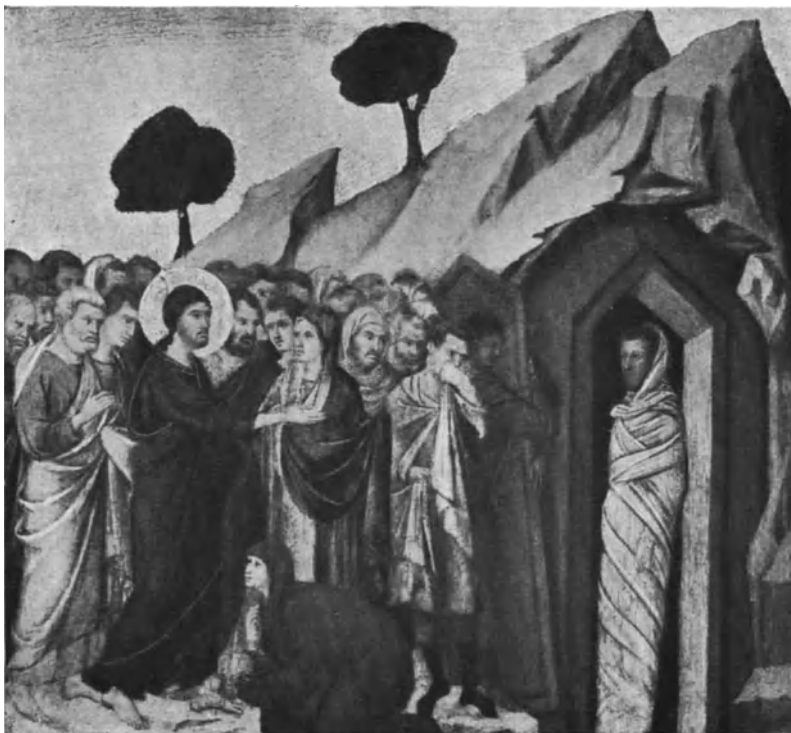


Fig. 20. Duccio, the Resurrection of Lazarus. Benson Collection, London.

hands while one lays his cloak on the ground for the Lord to ride over. From within the walls a little group watches the procession; some of them hold their hands up to receive branches from a man in a tree; a youth near by is energetically climbing another tree. Of the city one or two buildings are alone represented; from a window close to the archway a woman looks down on the crowd below.

In the Last Supper we see Christ and His Apostles seated on



Fig. 21. Duccio, the Entry into Jerusalem. Opera del Duomo, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

either side of a long table ; those nearest the spectator have turned a little to one side, so that we see them in profile. Amongst them Judas is recognizable ; the Lord in the midst of the Apostles at the other side of the table holds a piece of bread in one hand. St. Peter is placed on his immediate left and St. John, on the right, rests his head on his Master's breast. Of the others some are busy eating



Fig. 22. Duccio, Christ washing His disciples' feet. Opera del Duomo, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

the bread or drinking the wine which has been placed before them. Some are engaged in a lively conversation. The moment the painter has chosen to represent is not that depicted by Giotto, when the Saviour reveals to His disciples the one who is to betray Him ; but rather the institution of the Last Supper itself as indicated by the actions of the various participants. The decorated ceiling is supported by joints, below which a rod, supporting a piece of cloth which has been described as a curtain, but does not resem-

ble such, runs the whole length of the room. Both doors of the room are open.

Only eleven disciples are present at the Washing of the Feet (fig. 22), Judas being absent, conspiring no doubt with the high priests, as represented in the next picture. This scene takes place in the same room as the Last Supper, but the table has been taken away. On the left Christ, kneeling with one knee on the floor, holds St. Peter's foot in His left hand, apparently blessing him with His right. He has a towel before Him, which seems to be attached to His girdle; St. Peter, making the traditional gesture of raising his hand to his head, sits before Him with one foot in the basin of water, beside which his sandals lie on the floor. Of the other Apostles two are seated on a bench unfastening their sandals while the rest stand in the background, two of them grasping their chins in awe, as they watch their Master washing the feet of His disciple.

The Lord's sermon of farewell is depicted in the same room; the Saviour sits alone on the left; His figure is once again draped in the handsome cloak which He had taken off in the last scene, and from whose border one hand emerges. Before Him, sad but full of attention, the Apostles are seated together.

Judas receiving the price of his betrayal (fig. 23), which might have been depicted before the Last Supper, is the subject of the following scene. Against an open loggia, which, with a small portion of the external wall of a church, forms the background, we see five priests and four laymen; the central figure, that of an old priest, is in the act of emptying the contents of a purse into the hands of Judas, who steps eagerly forward to receive his payment.

In speaking of Christ praying in the Olive Garden both SS. Matthew and Mark mention the fact that three of the disciples were chosen to accompany their Master. St. Luke speaks of the angel who appears to the Lord during His prayer, while the pseudo-Bonaventura combines the two events, and it is evidently this latter text which Duccio has illustrated in several scenes in the one division. In the scene farthest to the left, against a background of rocks and trees, eight disciples lie huddled together asleep on the ground, some in remarkably realistic attitudes; farther to the right sit the disciples Peter, James and John above whom the Lord bends, and says: "My soul is exceeding sorrowful

unto death, tarry ye here and watch." They are, however, unable to remain awake, and the youngest of the three has already shut his eyes. On the extreme right of the scene the Lord is depicted in prayer, with an expression of profound melancholy, in harmony with the words which, according to the text, He speaks a second



Fig 23. Duccio, Judas receiving the price of his betrayal. Opera del Duomo, Siena. Photo Anderson.

time; in the sky above, a little angel appears to Him. It should be noted that Christ does not lie with His face on the ground as recorded by SS. Matthew and Mark, but in accordance with St Luke and the pseudo-Bonaventura, kneeling in prayer.

The Betrayal of Judas (fig. 24) takes place on the same spot as the previous event. We see the soldiers, bearing torches, coming to arrest the Saviour, while St. Peter cuts off the ear of Malchus. Although the grouping is excellent, there are too many events depicted simultaneously to make the scene thoroughly realistic,



Fig. 24. Duccio, the Betrayal of Judas. Opera del Duomo, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

for at the same time as Judas gives his treacherous sign, we see the mob laying hands on Christ, St. Peter cutting off the servant's ear, and seven of the Apostles hurriedly leaving the scene of the tragedy. A very incongruous figure is one to the right of Christ; his head-dress and bearded face are like a priest's, while his short dress and naked legs resemble those of the soldiers amongst whom he stands.

St. Peter's first denial takes place in a courtyard from which a stairway leads up to a small projecting balcony of handsome design; seven persons are seated around a fire in various and well-observed attitudes. Amongst them the majestic figure of St. Peter raises his hand in protest against the statement of the maid, who, holding the balustrade, looks attentively at the Apostle as she accuses him of having been in the company of the Lord.

The scene in which Christ is brought before Annas takes place indoors; the high priest is seated to the left on a handsome chair, with one hand raised in argument. Behind him a priest stands in the doorway, while before him is led the piteous figure of the Lord, with His wrists crossed and bound; He is surrounded by a numerous group of soldiers, one of whom strikes Him on the face as He asks "Answerest thou the high priest so?" (St. John, XVIII, v. 22).

Duccio's rendering of the Lord before Caiaphas (fig. 25) is combined with the scene of St. Peter denying Christ for the second time, to the two men at the door; inside, the Lord, bound as before and again surrounded by soldiers, stands in front of Caiaphas, who is seated on a square throne and is depicted, according to the Gospels, rending his clothes.

The following scene occurs in the same room; outside the room, speaking to the maid, standing in the doorway, St. Peter for the third time disowns the Lord, while overhead the cock crows; inside the room, the Lord, Who is blindfolded, is beaten with rods by the soldiers, while Caiaphas, seated on the same chair, confers with his companions.

The Lord is then brought before Pilate; the latter sits beneath a portico, while the soldiers have just led in the bound Prisoner, Who is followed by a group of people headed by the accusing priests.



Fig. 25. Duccio, Christ before Caiaphas. Opera del Duomo, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

In the next scene Pilate has stepped in front of the Lord, and is shown in the act of informing the mob that he finds no fault in Christ, upon which the excited, gesticulating crowd retorts that He incited the people to disorder. The change in attitude of the accusers, as well as of the soldiers, who follow Pilate with their eyes, is particularly well observed.

Pilate then sends Christ to Herod, before whom we find Him in this scene, which is enacted in surroundings almost identical

with those in the representation of Christ appearing before Caiaphas. The Lord, in the same attitude, and escorted by a number of soldiers, stands close beside the spacious and ornate throne, on which Herod is seated, with one hand raised; near him stand three men, one of whom, holding the white robe which he has been commanded to compel the Lord to wear, whispers something about it to his neighbour.

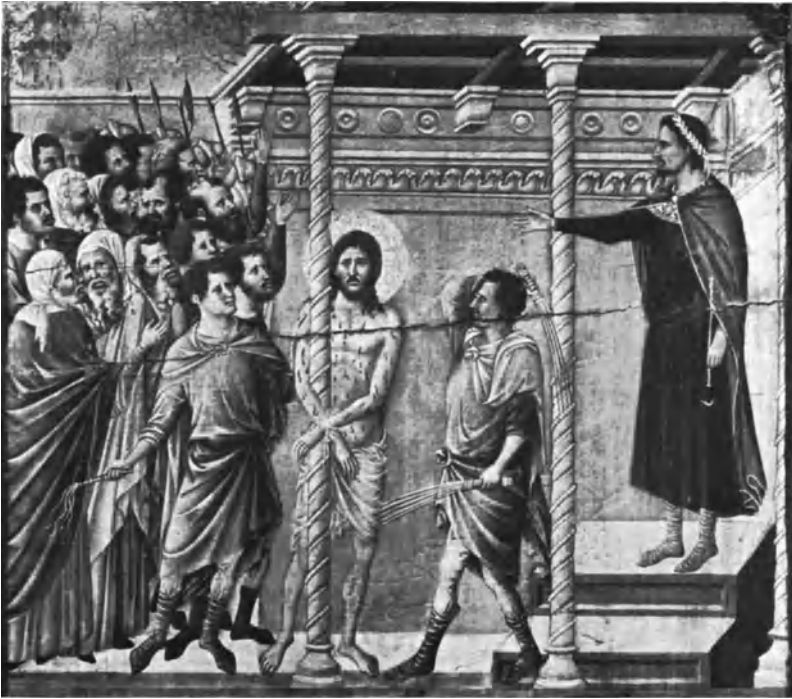


Fig. 26. Duccio, the Flagellation. Opera del Duomo, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

The scene in which Christ is brought a second time before Pilate differs but little from the first; the incident occurs under the same portico, as do the following three scenes. Christ is now clothed in white; the attitudes of the soldiers and the crowd are slightly different, though they occupy the same positions.

In the next scene the Lord, arrayed in purple and holding a rod in His hand, is set upon a throne whose ornamentation resembles that of Duccio's Madonnas; Pilate, seated next to him, watches

with attention the soldiers kneeling before the Saviour in mocking veneration, others beat Him with rods or press the crown of thorns upon His head. Amidst the dense crowd which pressed about near the tragic scene, some look away, one has a most compassionate expression. This scene should have been placed after that of Pilate washing his hands, for according to the



Fig. 27. Duccio, Pilate washing his hands. Opera del Duomo, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

Gospels it occurs after Christ had been given over to the mob, but the Flagellation, which is the subject of the next painting, happens under the direction of Pilate, who is here seen standing on a small platform on the right, evidently giving orders (fig. 26). Christ, now undressed, has been attached to one of the pillars of the portico; at either side stands a torturer, one with a birch, the other manipulating a many-thonged scourge; the eager mob has

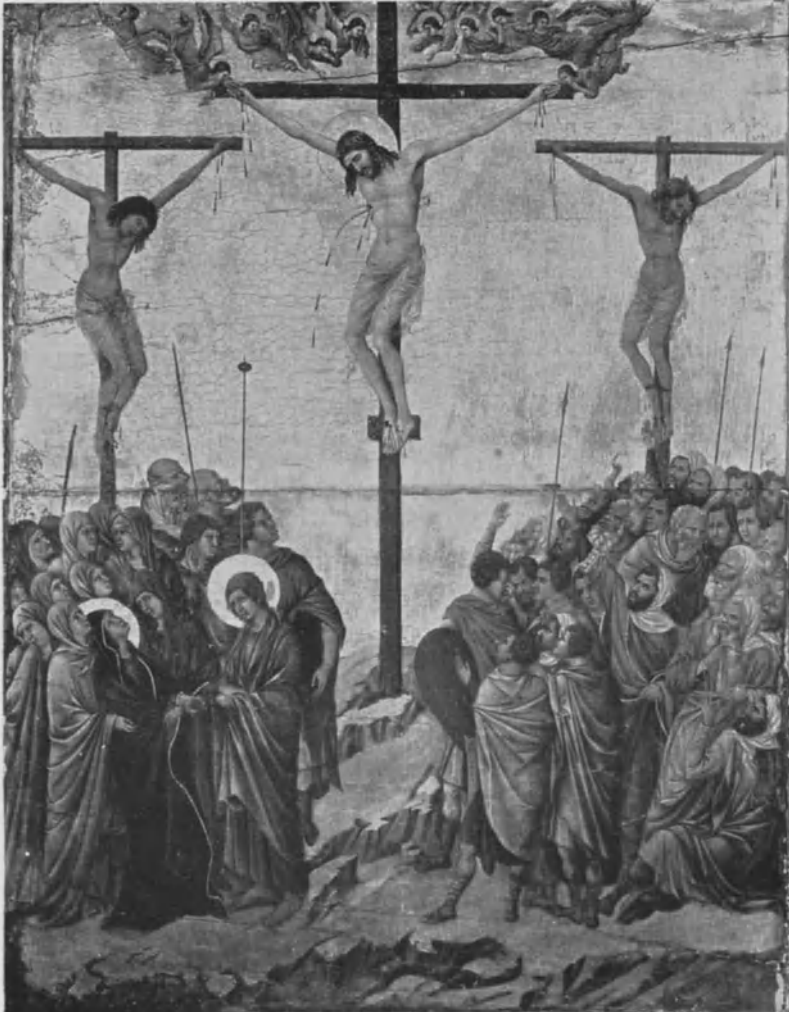


Fig. 28. Duccio, the Crucifixion. Opera del Duomo. Siena.

Photo Lombardi.

had to retire slightly, to leave sufficient room for the executioners.

Pilate, who refuses any responsibility, is still depicted standing on the same platform; a servant with a towel on his shoulder pours water over his master's hands (fig. 27); Christ, again clothed, is already being led away by the soldiers, one of whom



Fig. 29. Detail of fig. 28.

Photo Anderson.

looks back in a significant way at Pilate, who did not dare condemn the prisoner.

The painting showing Christ on the road to Calvary has afforded an excellent opportunity for the artist to prove his skill in painting groups. In the foreground the aged Simon carries the Cross; he is followed by the Saviour, Who is being pushed for-

ward by one of the mob as He turns to look at the figure of the Virgin, which is beautifully draped. This procession is accompanied by a large crowd, of which a great number are soldiers.

The Crucifixion (figs. 28 and 29), like the Entry into Jerusalem, is twice the size of the other scenes. The dead body of Christ falls into a two-fold curve as it hangs heavily by the somewhat long arms from the cross-bar of the very tall Cross. The malefactors on either side are on a slightly lower level and are much less imposing. From the wounds of all three fall heavy drops of blood, while on the legs of the two lateral figures traces of the blows by which their bones were broken are visible. Thirteen small angels fly gracefully above the central Cross, expressing in a variety of gestures their profound grief; two of them approach to kiss the hand of the Lord. Under the Cross are two groups of people, that on the left smaller than that on the right; in front of the former we see the Madonna, whose hands are held by St. John, fainting, in the arms of two of her companions; some of the other women who help to form this group gesticulate as they look up at the crucified Saviour. The group on the right betrays evidence of excitement; the gestures are more violent and the expressions more agitated; many convey to us the idea that a doubt has entered into their minds whether or not this death was justified. The scene is a very impressive one and forms a well-balanced composition. Duccio, who, as we have seen, generally liked to depict events in minute detail, has, on this occasion, done well not to destroy the general effect by trivial details; the soldiers, for example, who are invariably depicted gambling for the clothes of Christ, have been omitted. This Crucifixion is in my opinion Duccio's masterpiece.

In the Descent from the Cross (fig. 30), Joseph of Arimathea on a ladder, and St. John on the ground, support the body of Christ, which has been removed from the Cross, which in this scene is not so tall; the feet are still fixed by a nail which Nicodemus, kneeling on one knee, is extracting with pincers. The Virgin presses to her own the face of her Divine Son; His arm, which hangs inert across her shoulder, is supported by a female follower, who, standing behind the Madonna, imprints a kiss upon it. On either side two women look sadly on, those on the right with covered hands, of which each raises one to her face.

The sorrowful expressions of the faces are not very well depicted, but the general atmosphere of the painting is one of sadness and reverence. The posture of the helpless Saviour, and of the two men who are supporting Him, is realistic and natural.

The Entombment (fig. 31) is represented against a rocky background. But for the absence of one female figure the actors are



Fig. 30. Duccio, the Deposition, Opera del Duomo, Siena.

Photo Lombardi.

the same as in the previous scene; the body of Christ, placed in a white sheet, is gently lowered into the stone sarcophagus by St. John, Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus; as pseudo-Bonaventura puts it, the Virgin presses her face against that of her Divine Son; a woman bending over the Virgin raises her arms in a gesture of profound despair; two others standing behind her gaze with bowed heads upon the Dead. On the left stands another female disciple, her sad eyes fixed on the Lord.

The Limbo into which the Lord descends (plate 3) is represented by Duccio as a hill-side cave, but the artist has strangely enough shown us two entrances. The Lord must have entered through a narrow door-like opening, after having broken down the stone slab. He treads upon the dragon-winged devil, which looks fiercely up at him, as, holding his staff, surmounted by a crucifix and



Fig. 31. Duccio, the Entombment. Opera del Duomo, Siena.

Photo Lombardi.

a banner, He leans slightly forward to grasp Adam's arm; the latter, an old man with a long white beard, kneels in the wider entrance to the cave. Farther from the spectator is an elderly female figure kneeling whom we recognize as Eve; of the others, who stand in two rows farther back in the cave, several are venerable, long-bearded figures of the same type as Adam, one wearing a crown; the foremost figures in the cave, four in number,



DESCENT INTO LIMBO
By Duccio, Opera del Duomo, Siena.

Photo Anderson.



Fig. 32. Duccio, Detail of the Holy Woman at the Empty Sepulchre. Opera del Duomo, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

sign with their hands to the approaching Christ. In this scene the Lord wears a rich gold-embroidered garment.

Although seen from a slightly different angle, the background of the picture of the three Maries at the Empty Sepulchre (fig. 32) is the same as that in the scene of the Entombment. Of the three Maries, two carry small jars of spices, and two make identical



Fig. 33. Duccio, *Noli me tangere*. Opera del Duomo, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

gestures of surprise at the sight of the stately angel in white sitting at the head of the sepulchre, pointing to it to call attention to the fact that it is now empty, and, as if in proof of this, the white sheet in which the Lord was swathed is laid over the edge of the sarcophagus.

The two remaining spaces are occupied by the Lord's apparition to Mary Magdalene and also to certain disciples on the road to Emmaus. The former (fig. 33) takes place against a rocky background relieved by a couple of trees; the Lord is in a gold



Fig. 34. Duccio, Christ appearing to the Pilgrims on the Road to Emmaus.
Opera del Duomo, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

embroidered robe, and is carrying the staff depicted also in the Descent into Hell. He turns, and with an expression full of sadness looks back at Mary Magdalene, who kneels on the ground, her hands held out imploringly towards Him. In the simple, but charming representation of the scene on the road to Emmaus (fig. 34), the Lord is depicted as a pilgrim wearing a sheepskin, with a large hat slung over His back, and carrying a plain staff; He makes a sign to the two disciples, who look back at Him, and one of whom

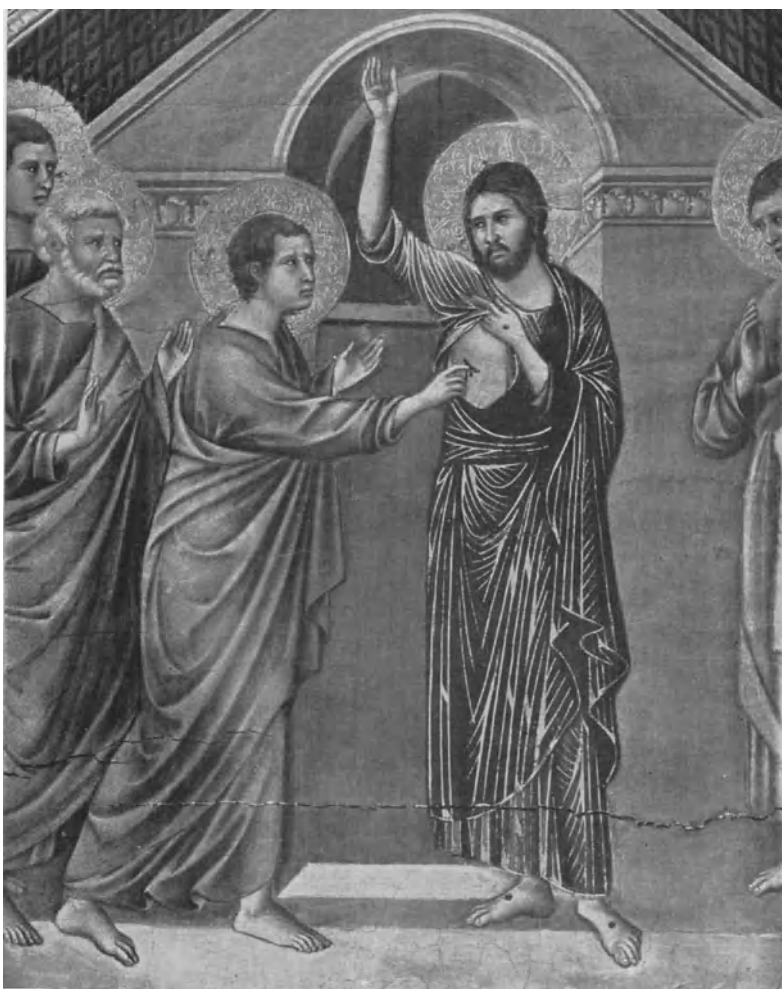


Fig. 35. Duccio, the doubting Thomas. Opera del Duomo, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

points towards the doorway a little farther on, arguing no doubt that Christ should go in with them. Only a very great master could give to three small figures and a fragment of architecture all the charm and sentiment which this little scene conveys.

The predella consists of five other further apparitions, which Herr Weigelt considers to be the work of a pupil. To me this does not seem to be the case, and I believe that this part of the *Maestà*,

although executed with less care, must be ascribed to the master himself.

The first two scenes have been inspired by the Gospel of St. John (XX. v. 19 et seq. and v. 26 et seq.); they are enacted within a courtyard, one of the houses of which has a triangular front. The Lord, who is again shown in the gold-embroidered robe, stands before a closed door, with His right hand uplifted in benediction; at either side is a group of five Apostles, all making gestures of surprise and reverence; amongst them St. Peter is easily recognised. The next episode, that of Thomas the Doubter (fig. 35), is situated in the same surroundings, but the spectator is now a little more distant from the scene. The Lord raises His right arm, as with His left hand He draws back His cloak to reveal the wound in His side to Thomas, who approaching, places one finger in it. Thomas is young and handsome, and is accompanied by nine of his brother Apostles, four on the left, and five on the right.

In the apparition on the Sea of Tiberias (John XXI. v. I) (fig. 36) the attitude and situation of the Lord closely resemble those depicted in the appointing of the Apostles to their mission. Of the seven disciples mentioned in the text, St. Peter is depicted wading through the water, stretching out his hands towards the Saviour, while four of the six in the larger vessel look at Christ, the other two pulling with all their strength at the net laden with fish.

The Lord appearing to His disciples on the mountain in Galilee (Mark XXVIII v. 16—20), is also depicted (fig. 37), although the rendering of this scene is not very clear, for some have supposed its subject to be the Lord instructing the Apostles in respect of their mission to mankind. On the left the Lord stands with raised hands, while before Him the eleven followers are grouped closely together, gazing with awe-struck expression upon their Master.

The next scene shows us Christ appearing to His disciples at a meal. The eleven figures are depicted seated round a table, five facing the spectator, one on the right, and five with their backs towards the spectator; their heads are turned so that their profiles are visible; all appear to be gesticulating in an excited manner as they look towards the Lord, Who approaches from the left.

The series of scenes from the life of the Virgin begins as it were, with the Descent of the Holy Ghost; the Madonna seated



Fig. 36. Duccio, the Navicella. Opera del Duomo, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

in the midst of the Apostles, raises her outstretched hands; the figures around show great variety in movement and expression.

Concerning the representations of the last days and death of the Virgin, Herr Weigelt believes that only the first — the Annunciation of the death of the Madonna — is by the hand of Duccio himself. This painting is sometimes called simply the Annunci-



Fig. 37. Duccio, Christ appearing to the Disciples on the Mountain.

Opera del Duomo, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

ation, but obviously should not be so called, for the angel who has just entered the room in which the Virgin is seated kneels and offers her a branch of the palm of Paradise, which fact is specially mentioned at the forewarning of her death. The Virgin, whose book lies open on a lectern, has evidently just left off reading; she raises her hands in surprise at the sight of the angel.

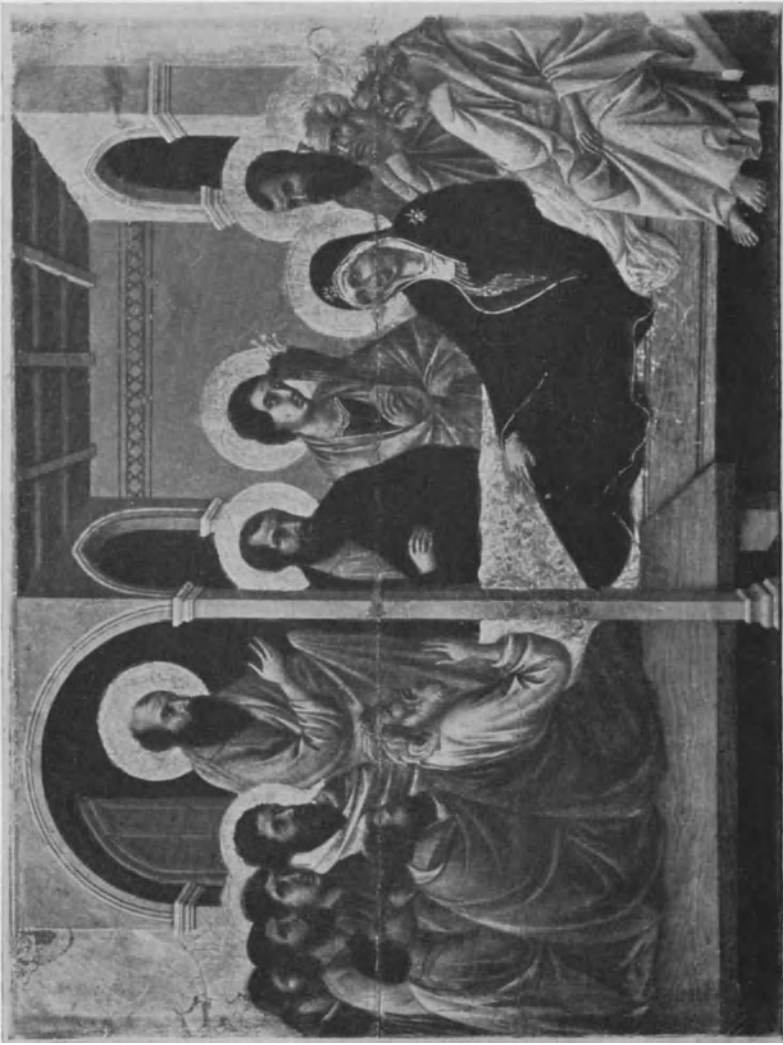


Fig. 38. Duccio, the Apostles' farewell to the Virgin, Opera del Duomo, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

We then see the Apostles miraculously coming to the house of the Virgin, who had expressed a wish to see them before her death; she clasps in her hands the right hand of St. John, who kneels before her; the palm branch is seen behind her. On the left, outside

the door, twelve disciples are depicted in varying attitudes. SS. Peter and Paul are standing hand in hand.

Again, in the same room, we have there presentation of the last moments of the Madonna, who, reclining on a couch, is surrounded by the Apostles (fig. 38); a group of seven seated and one standing face her; three sit behind her, and two stand on her left; one, St. John, holding the precious branch.

The text tells us that about the third hour; the Lord descended surrounded by a host of angels and that the soul of the Virgin left her body taking refuge in the bosom of Christ. Thus it is that the painter has portrayed the event in the following manner: the Lord stands beside of the death-bed of His Mother, holding in His arms a miniature figure in personification of the soul of the Madonna; at either side stands a cherub; beyond, on the left, are three angels, and two on the right; behind these figures is another row of eight angels and two cherubins. Nine Apostles stand at the foot of the couch and two others kneel before this group, while behind the head of the Virgin another Apostle is visible.

On the next panel we see the funeral of the Madonna (fig. 39) taking place outside the walls of a city. The Virgin, with folded hands, lies peacefully on her bier, which is born by the eleven Apostles, St. John, leading the way, carries the palm branch in his hand. A small figure who seizes the bier from behind must of course be the Jew Recebes, who wanted to throw the body of the Holy Virgin on the ground but whose hands withered or were cutt off in the act, according to different versions. Three figures just outside the gate are no doubt the Jews mentioned in the text who were attracted by the sound of sweet music.

The last we possess of this series represents the Apostles placing the body of the Virgin in the sepulchre; only four take an active part in the proceedings and hold, as in the Entombment of Christ, the cloth on which the Virgin lies, the others bend over the dead figure making gestures of distress. The sepulchre, no less than the background, reminds us of the other Entombment, but here several trees appear in the rocky background.

The Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin which concluded this group of scenes, are missing, but as Herr Weigelt remarks the latter might very well have resembled the one on the triptych of Buckingham Palace which will be dealt with later on.

These last panels are somewhat inferior to those of the Passion, but, as I said before, although this enterprise is enormous, I do not see the necessity of admitting the help of pupils or collaborators.



Fig. 39. Duccio, the Funeral of the Madonna. Opera del Duomo, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

A polyptych belonging to the hospital of Sta. Maria della Scala but deposited in the Accademia of Siena (no. 47) must be more or less contemporary with the Maestà; unhappily time and human hands have dealt rather roughly with this important picture. The most damaged part is the central representation of

the half-figure of the Virgin, who tenderly presses the Child to her breast; to the left are depicted St. John the Evangelist and St. Agnes (fig. 40), to the right are the Baptist and the Magdalene. Above each of these panels we see two small half-figures of prophets carrying unrolled scrolls, while over the central panel is a representation of King David. The superimposed terminals contain laterally, half-figures of angels and centrally, that of the Lord.

Comparing this panel with the group of the *Maestà*, we find many obvious points of correspondence: the two female saints as well as the Evangelist are practically indetical and the face of the Child Christ is also very similar. Many of the figures however have retained little of their original appearance; of the Madonna's face, for example, only the green priming is left.

Markedly resembling the *Maestà*, although not of such a high standard of painting, is the upper part of the Madonna and Child — evidently a fragment of a much larger picture — in the church of Sta. Maria dei Servi at Montepulciano. It is above all the Child who reminds us of Duccio's great altar-piece; He faces the spectator and with one hand grasps the veil of the Virgin who in type is somewhat more Byzantine than in the *Maestà*. This fragment formed part of the altar-polyptych of the church of Sta. Maria dei Servi which was built in 1305 — 1306; the painting therefore must have been executed almost contemporary with the *Maestà*⁽¹⁾.

If the triptych in Buckingham Palace be really from the hand of Duccio, it must be of later date than the *Maestà*, and must be placed in the very last years of the master's career. This then would account for the incontestable differences which exist between this panel and Duccio's other productions; on the other hand, there are too many obvious characteristics of the master present in this painting for us to admit the possibility of its being the work of another artist.

In the centre we find a representation of the Lord on the Cross between the Virgin and St. John, two angels flying above the cross-bar, and two others decorating the spandrels. The figure of the Saviour is very long; drops of blood fall from the wounds in His hands; the two lateral figures are also taller than we

(1) *V. Lusini, Rassegna d'Arte Senese, 1912, p. 116.*



Fig. 40. Duccio, two panels from a polyptych. Accademia, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

usually find, and both wear gilt woven cloaks. The left wing contains the Annunciation above, and below, the Virgin enthroned with the Child, surrounded by four angels; in type the Infant Christ resembles that depicted by the *Maestà*. On the right we find St. Francis receiving the stigmata, below which the Lord and Virgin are seated in majesty while six small angels look over the curtain which forms the back of the throne.

Although other works have been attributed to Duccio, I do not think that amongst the numerous works of art in Duccio's manner which have come down to us we shall find any others which can pass as creations of the master's own hand.

It seems to me that there can be no doubt, although this also has been contested, that Duccio's art is chiefly Byzantine in origin; I think he may be looked upon as the last, but greatest, of the Italo-Byzantine artists. Most of the following generation of Sienese painters borrowed from his art only such elements as were not Oriental, so that the real Ducciesque manner survived but a short time the death of the master. The date 1345 is found on a work of Niccolo di Segna's, the last really Ducciesque painter, and this date which is about twenty-six years after Duccio's death, is the last which we can in any way connect with this school. It is, however, very evident that amongst the factors which comprise Duccio's art, there are also many which are non-Byzantine, generally speaking we may say that the manner of the great Sienese master consists in an Italian rendering of Byzantine art. Most Italian of all is the graceful melancholy which emanates from all the figures of Duccio's works and by which he replaced the serious austerity of Byzantine figure painting. In almost all his creations the Gothic spirit of his outline emphasizes the Western elements, and although the development of the master's manner runs parallel with the development of the Gothic spirit, it should not be forgotten that we find it in his earliest creations (1). The

(1) It seems to me therefore wrong to call Duccio's later manner his Gothic period as Mr. Langton Douglas does. The master's two different manners are rather to be determined by the decrease in importance of the Byzantine factors. Mr. Langton Douglas places a "Roman period" between what he calls the Byzantine and the Gothic periods, but I find no substantial argument in favour of this theory.

architecture in the background of his pictures is also Gothic, at least Western, and never Oriental. The most definite reminiscence of Byzantine art to be noted in his work is the Oriental character of his figures. This is very clear in Duccio's earliest works; the Madonna of Crevole, the angels at the sides of the throne in the Rucellai altar-piece, and the small figures in the border of this marvellous picture, are in aspect and feeling more Oriental than Italian, but in his later creations Duccio also seems to frequently select his models from the East, for the angels of the Maestà with their almond-shaped eyes, aquiline noses and small mouths are not fundamentally different from those depicted by the artists of Byzantium. The features of the Lord in the representations of the Passion and especially in the apparition scenes betray a striking resemblance to those of the Saviour in certain Byzantine miniatures, most of all with the 11th century examples of the Gregory of Nazianze in the Paris National Library or those of the Cosmas Indicopleustes in the Vaticana.

It was Byzantium which imbued Duccio with a taste for magnificent decorative effects, garments of cloth of gold and hierarchic compositions. A Byzantine influence will also be observed in some of the different costumes and their accessories (¹).

Again Duccio's iconography is Byzantine, principally on account of his choice of subjects, but also on account of his desire for completeness — never omitting a scene in spite of the danger of monotony — and the absence of any dramatic feeling, for it must be confessed that in his representations of numerous episodes of the story of the Saviour and His Mother, the painter but rarely deviates from the gentle melancholy of expression and the graceful but stereotyped attitudes characteristic of Sienese art, and in this respect his art is an exact antithesis of that of his great Florentine contemporary.

With Duccio's fidelity to the Byzantine iconography, I have dealt elsewhere in sufficient detail to make it unnecessary to return here to the same question (²). On the whole it may be said that the Byzantine iconography was so generally adopted in Italian art of the 13th century that it would have been surprising

(¹) *de Grüneisen*, op. cit.

(²) *R. van Marle*, *Recherches sur l'iconographie* etc.

if Duccio had followed any other system. But besides this fidelity to the existing tradition, which is to be expected in any Italian painter of this period, two rather contrary statements may be made with regard to Duccio's art. On the one hand we find that he not only accepted the current compositions, but probably had Byzantine examples, no doubt miniatures, before his eyes, for apparently unimportant points, such as attitudes and gestures or architectural details, which appear in Byzantine works, and which were not generally adopted by the Italians, are rediscovered in Duccio's productions (1). On the other hand there are about as many instances in which the painter has followed the Byzantine type in general outline, but artistically speaking has improved upon them by making certain changes in the details (2).

In his compositions, in so far as the formation of groups, or the surrounding of the figures by the space in which they are depicted, and the connection between the one and the other are concerned, Duccio proves not only his superiority over contemporary and even later Byzantine artists, but also over Giotto himself.

It is to Duccio then that we owe that sense of realism in detail which in the 14th century is a leading factor in the Sienese school of painting, but in the delineation of the human form Duccio remained much more conventional and Oriental than Giotto, and considerably his inferior in dramatic narrative power, thus betraying, as I said before, his Byzantine susceptibility.

Thus we find that Duccio was un-Byzantine especially in the grouping of his figures, and in giving to them their natural and architectural environment. Never do we find in Duccio's compositions the place in which the event occurs represented by a few fragments of architecture as so frequently happens in Giotto's frescoes, and when the scene takes place in the interior of a building, as for instance in the numerous representations of the Lord before His judges, and he leaves part of the outside wall visible, he does it in such a manner that we might really imagine the incident to have occurred in an open loggia. It is clear however that in depicting the inside of a room, Duccio's perspective is much weaker than Giotto's. We observe rather frequently a

(1) *R. van Marle*, op. cit., p. 58.

(2) *R. van Marle*, p. 57.

lack of proportion between the different parts as compared with the composition as a whole, (for example in the *Wedding at Cana* and the *Last Supper*) or again even actual mistakes in drawing (the *Lord at the age of twelve teaching in the Temple*, in which the floor slopes upward). The superiority of Giotto's attempts to produce perspective is, on many occasions, due to the fact that he depicts ceiling, floor and lateral walls of an interior view, while in Duccio's works we seldom see more than the background and ceiling.

Giotto's desire for graphic illustration was the cause of his simplified compositions, in which little more was represented than the actors of the drama, and even then such importance was given to the action, that the accessory figures were somewhat neglected, packed together in a corner or disappearing behind the others, with only the upper part of their heads to indicate their presence. This perhaps is only natural in the works of an artist whose aim was almost exclusively to make his representation of events comprehensible.

Duccio's principle was an entirely different one; his great desire, before all else, was to produce beautiful pictures, and the composition is made to correspond with the general conception of the work of art. In his paintings we do not find the principal figures of the drama very prominent and the others inconspicuous; for this reason his general composition and grouping are much more uniform. In representations such as the *Last Supper*, *Judas conspiring with the high priests*, *St. Peter's first denial*, *Pilate washing his hands*, and the *Calvary*, there is no differentiation between the more and the less important personages, but the arrangement of the figures is none the less well-balanced.

In the same manner as the Byzantine miniaturists executed their fine illuminations, Duccio painted his beautiful pictures, calm and passionless, but of an extraordinarily high aesthetic standard.

In his different composition and in the introduction of factors characteristic of Siennese art — foremost amongst them the Gothic style of drawing and design — Duccio improved upon the Byzantine image to such an extent, that he not only paved the way for fresh artistic aspirations in his own city, but the Orient acquired from Italy, most of all from Siena, some of those

elements of beauty which the great Sieneſe ariſt had added to the Eaſtern ſtyle.

There is no doubt that the more animated compoſition and taſte for dramatic representation of the later Byzantine ariſtſ came from Italy ⁽¹⁾. The gentle facial expreſſion and the graceful deſign of the Ruſſian painter Roublev, who was active about 1408, cannot be explained without admitting an Italian influence, and although we do not find any trace of the Gothic ſpirit in his lovely picture of the three angels at the table of Abraham, in S. Sergius, near Moſcow, it is nevertheless a work which owes moſt of its qualities to Duccio ⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *E. Millet*, *Recherches ſur l'icônoſraphie*, p. 625.

⁽²⁾ The laſt hiſtorian of Ruſſian art, however, in his otherwiſe excellent work, denies the exiſtence of an Italian influence on Byzantine painting. *L'Réau*, *L'Art Ruſſe*, Paris, 1921, p. 188.

CHAPTER II.

SCHOOL OF DUCCIO.

DUCCIO'S ANONYMOUS FOLLOWERS.

The number of Duccio's followers was very considerable, and, as I have already remarked, although his school — or we might say his tradition — was only of short duration, it monopolized, at least for a time, the greater part of Siena's pictorial output.

None of the painters whose works we are about to consider is known to us by name, but it may be taken for granted that the *Johes Ducii De Senis* who executed a picture for the church of S. Dominico of Carpentras ⁽¹⁾, and the *Giorgio de Duccio dipintore* whose name appears in a ledger of the hospital of Siena ⁽²⁾, are amongst their number.

The Ducciesque paintings may be divided into four principal groups: I, the products of Duccio's studio; II, Segna di Bonaventura, with his son and other followers; III, Ugolino da Siena and his adherents; and IV, painters belonging in a more general sense to the Ducciesque school.

Of Duccio's assistants there is one whose manner so strongly resembles the master's own that several of his works have been attributed to Duccio himself, and hitherto no one has ever grouped them together as the output of one artist.

The most important of his pictures is a polyptych composed of five half-length figures in the Gallery of Siena (no. 28). In the centre we see the Virgin, carrying on her left arm the Child Jesus, Who grasps a fold of her dress; on the left are SS. Augustine and Paul, and on the right SS. Peter and Dominic; while the

⁽¹⁾ *G De Nicola*, L'Affresco di Simone Martini ad Avignone, L'Arte, IX, 1906, p. 340.

⁽²⁾ *L. Douglas*, The Exhibition of Early Art in Siena, Nineteenth Century and after, November 1904; and note 1 in *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, op. cit., III, p. 16.



Fig. 41. Duccio's workshop, Polyptych. Accademia, Siena.

Photo Anderson.



Fig. 42. Detail of fig. 41.

Photo Lombardi.

terminal panels contain, in the centre, the Saviour, and on either side figures of angels (fig. 41 and 42)⁽¹⁾. The types and the general

⁽¹⁾ It is catalogued as a work of Duccio's and attributed to this master by *W. Rothes*, *Die Blütezeit der Sienesischen Malerei*, Strasbourg, 1904, p. 43. *Weigelt*, *op. cit.*, p. 172, looks upon it as a work from Duccio's studio. *V. Lusini*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1912, p. 118, believes the picture was painted for the monastery of S Paolo "nella costa di S. Marco", founded in 1342; but this date seems to me much too late.

aspect of the work convince us that it can only have been painted in Duccio's immediate environment, but if compared with the master's own work it will be found of slightly inferior quality. Beautiful as it is, it is not entirely free from a certain hardness in the drawing of the features and the draperies, nor do we find here that spiritual tenderness of expression which is never lacking in Duccio's own work. The nobility of form and magnificence of colour, however, are by no means inferior to those of the master.

An equally beautiful half-length figure of the Madonna, of which the provenance is unknown, but which was acquired some years ago by the Gallery of Siena (no. 538), is undoubtedly the work of the same artist (fig. 43) (1). This painting betrays an even greater resemblance to Duccio's own manner than that previously described; and here too the expression reminds us more of the master's works. The type of the Child, Who is sitting erect on His Mother's left arm, grasping her right hand and looking behind Him, resembles that of the above polyptych, both differing slightly from Duccio's type of the Infant Christ. Again, a certain hardness of expression may be noted which is foreign to the master's own productions.

It seems to me beyond doubt that it was the same artist who repainted Guido da Siena's famous Madonna in the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena. I have already pointed out in the previous volume that only a small part of the original work has been preserved. The head of the Virgin and the whole figure of the small Christ at least betray a flavour of Duccio's work. We might, it is true, say the same of the inscription with the name of Guido and the date 1221, where the form and shape of the letters are identical with those to be seen on Duccio's *Maestà*. The features of the Virgin show a marked resemblance to those of the central figure of the polyptych in the Gallery of Siena (no. 28), while the Child is very similar in type to the Infant Jesus of the last-mentioned panel.

Again, there are three other half-length figures of the Madonna

(1) Before 1906 it belonged to the Bishop of Colle. It was bought by the Gallery as a work of Duccio's; see *H. Franchi*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1906, p. 115; and is catalogued as such. *R. Schiff*, *L'Arte*, 1912, p. 366, is of this opinion, but *V. Lusini*, *op. cit.*, and *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1913, p. 7, have attributed it to the school of Duccio.



Fig. 43. Duccio's workshop, Madonna. Accademia, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

which reveal such marked similarity that we may regard them as the work of a single artist, who must also have been an apprentice in Duccio's studio. These Madonnas are those of the Collegiata of Asciano, the Compagnia di Sta. Maria della Grotta, Siena, and the Tadini-Buoninsegni collection, originally in Pisa but later transferred to Florence.

Of these three, the first is the work which most closely resem-

bles the central part of the polyptych in the Accademia of Siena (no. 28), which I attributed to the first of Duccio's followers (1). Comparing this painting with the previous group, we find a less rigid outline, a greater tenderness of expression, taller figures, more movement, and a greater plasticity, but a falling-off of technical excellence. Moreover, despite his imitation of minor details, such as the abnormally long index finger of the left hand, this artist is a degree farther removed from Duccio than the painter of the polyptych.

The Madonna of the Compagnia di Sta. Maria della Grotta (fig. 44), is now in the Opera del Duomo (2). The church in which this picture was originally preserved was built in 1302 (3); this may serve as an indication of the date of this painting, which is now in very poor condition. The chief difference between this and the previous panel is the type of the Child, especially as regards the features and the hair, which is here smooth and straight whereas in the other panel it was curly.

In the Madonna of the Tadini-Buoninsegni collection the appearance of the Child may be said to be midway between the two others, but here again we do not find the characteristic gilt thread woven in the cloak of the Madonna, and her eyes are much more expressive of tender melancholy (4). This picture has been attributed to Duccio, but it is certainly not a work of the master's hand,

(1) This work is attributed to the "bottega" of Duccio by *V. Lusini*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1912, p. 117, and to an immediate disciple by *Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1913, p. 6 and 36.

(2) The picture was placed here after it had been stolen from the church in which it originally hung. v. *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1920, p. 58—59. It has been attributed by *G. De Nicola* first to the school of Duccio (*Bollet. Senese di Stor. Patr.*, 1911, p. 437) and in his *Catalogo della Mostra di Opera di Duccio di Buoninsegna e della sua scuola*, Siena, 1912, no. 31, and then to his studio (*Vita d'Arte*, 1912). v. *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1912, p. 156. *V. Lusini* ascribes it to Duccio's studio (*Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1912, p. 119) and *F. M. Perkins* to an immediate disciple (*Rassegna d'Arte*, 1913, p. 7).

(3) *Lusini*, op. cit.

(4) *P. D'Achiardi*, *Una Madonna Sconosciuta di Duccio di Buoninsegna*, *L'Arte*, IX, 1906, p. 372. The attribution was accepted by *Venturi* and *Langton Douglas*. *V. Lusini*, op. cit., p. 119, ascribes it, and I think rightly, to Duccio's workshop; *Perkins*, op. cit., p. 7, to an immediate follower. *Weigelt*, op. cit., p. 174, note, to Duccio's school.



Fig. 44. Duccio's workshop, Madonna. Opera del Duomo, Siena.

Photo Lombardi.

although it may be one of the most pleasing products of his disciples and more closely approaching Duccio's own style than the two other panels which we have ascribed to the same artist.

A small triptych in the Gallery of the Hospital or Confraternita della Madonna sotto le Volte della Scala, is, by Cavalcaselle⁽¹⁾, Berenson⁽²⁾, and Perkins⁽³⁾, attributed in part to Duccio himself. The central part is an exception; it represents the Crucifixion and seems to be by quite a different hand. The original aspect of the lateral panels, which are adorned with scenes of the Flagellation and Entombment, has been considerably altered by restoration and re-gilding⁽⁴⁾.

In the same collection there exists a panel of the Crucifixion which has also been very badly restored. The composition shows a great similarity to the Crucifixion of the Maestà, and some of the heads, which retain their primitive aspect, are executed in a manner such as we might imagine Duccio's to have been as reproduced by a close disciple⁽⁵⁾.

The Gallery of Siena still possesses two pictures which were certainly produced under the direct influence of Duccio⁽⁶⁾. The more important of these contains half-length figures of the Baptist and St Peter, with angels on the terminals (no. 22), being obviously part of a polyptych. So little remains of the original painting that not much can be said about it, save that at one time it probably showed a great likeness to Duccio's manner.

The other picture (no. 24) is but a small fragment of a larger work and represents the half-length figure of a holy martyr⁽⁷⁾.

Besides those panels which I have attributed to Duccio's

(1) *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, op. cit., p. 17.

(2) *Berenson*, Central Italian Painters.

(3) *Perkins*, Rassegna d'Arte, 1913, p. 6. *De Nicola*, Catalogo, No. 33, hesitates between Duccio and his workshop.

(4) *Venturi*, op. cit., p. 581, note, and *Weigelt*, p. 177, note, do not ascribe these panels to Duccio himself. *Lusini*, Rassegna d'Arte Senese, 1912, p. 121, is doubtful.

(5) This painting also is attributed by Mr. Berenson to Duccio, but by Weigelt to a follower.

(6) They are catalogued as works of Duccio's.

(7) *De Nicola*, Catalogo, No. 70, considers this picture to be in the manner of Segna.



Fig. 45 School of Duccio, Maestà, Badià a Isola.

Photo Brogi.

studio, there are still a number of other paintings which, although they are often of excellent quality, betray certain points of difference from the master's own work. Here we are dealing with the products of a group of artists who not only received their inspiration from the same great master, but had also one another's works constantly before their eyes, so that it is but natural that all should have a somewhat similar aspect.

The earliest of these is, no doubt, the master to whom we owe a large but somewhat restored Madonna, of the Maestà type, in the church of S. Salvatore at Badia a Isola at Coll. e di Val d'Elsa (fig. 45) ⁽¹⁾. The Virgin wears a mantle of cloth of gold, and carries on her left arm the almost erect Babe, in the attitude of blessing; and on either side of the marble and mosaic throne stands an angel.

As Mr. Perkins has remarked ⁽²⁾, the painter of this panel does not betray the influence of Duccio so much as his descent from a common origin, which would be the late Byzantine Duecento art of Siena. On the other hand, it is obvious, and perhaps only naturally so, that his work betrays some knowledge of Duccio's manner; but this painter has been dominated more by the archaic and hierarchical spirit of his day than by the sweetness and grace of the leading Sienese master.

This, however, changed as the painter's art evolved; for there exists another Madonna by his hand in a private collection, in which the Ducciesque elements are more evident (fig. 46). The composition of this equally large picture is identical with that of the Madonna already described, with the exception that here two angels stand at the sides of the throne. It is they that show most clearly connection with the earlier work and confirm the attribution to the same master. His hand is also plainly to be discerned in the other figures, although there is an obvious increase of tenderness of expression and grace of attitude and proportion; a proof that we have here a later work of this anonymous artist, whose subjection to Duccio's influence must have been a gradual

⁽¹⁾ Attributed to Duccio by Langton Douglas, *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, III, p. 19; to his school by *I. Vavasour Elder*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1908, p. 26; *Lusini*, *Idem*, 1912, p. 120; *Weigelt*, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

⁽²⁾ *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1913, p. 8.



Fig. 45. Master of the Badia a Isola Maestà, Maestà. Private Collection.

process. There exists good reason to attribute this panel, on account of its provenance, to a date prior to 1304.

In the Archiepiscopal Museum of Utrecht there is yet another fragment by the same master, which depicts the head and shoulders of the Madonna with the Child in the attitude of bene-



Fig. 47. Master of the Badia a Isola Maestà, Fragment of a Maestà.
Archiepiscopal Museum, Utrecht.

diction (fig. 47); doubtless this once formed part of a similar Maestà. It is the type of the Babe, with His round head, chubby nose and thick lips which more especially confirms this attribution.

As a matter of chronology the Utrecht picture should probably stand between the two other paintings of this master.

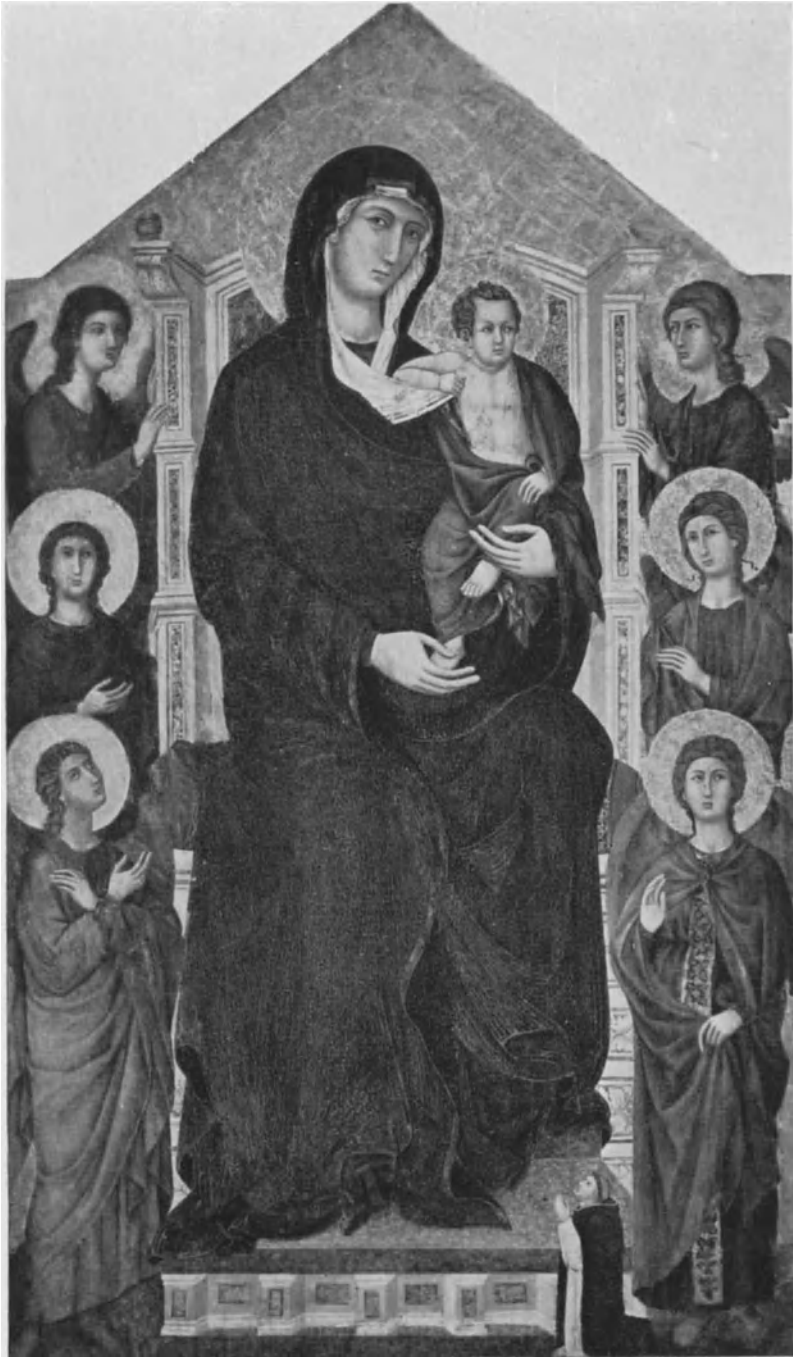


Fig 48. School of Duccio, Maestà. Gallery, Citta di Castello.

Photo Alinari.

Dr. De Nicola, Messrs. Berenson, Perkins⁽¹⁾, Lusini⁽²⁾, Weigelt⁽³⁾ and the present writer are agreed in ascribing to one and the same artist the large Madonna in the Pinacoteca of Citta di Castello, a half-length figure of the Virgin and Child from the church of S. Michele at Crevole, now in the Opera del Duomo of Siena, and a polyptych in the Gallery of the same city.

The first of these (fig. 48), formerly in the church of S. Domenico at Citta di Castello, belongs to the same type of Maestà as the pictures already described, but it has undergone extensive restoration so that its original appearance has been considerably modified, although originally it must have been a magnificent work. The Madonna, seated on a high throne inlaid with marble, supports the Babe on her left arm, upholding one of His feet with her hand. At either side of the throne stand three angels, of whom the farthest removed is touching the throne, while the other two raise their hands in gestures of veneration. The least restored figure in the picture is that of the lively-looking Christ-Child Who grasps part of His Mother's head-dress. Notwithstanding the changes which this picture has suffered, it is one of the finer works of the Ducciesque tradition.

Several characteristics, such as the type, the shape of head, the strong yet refined drawing, the shape of the hands and fingers, and the deep, serious feeling expressed in the picture, enable us to ascribe to the same master the half-length figure of the Madonna with the Child from Crevole (fig. 49), now in the Opera del Duomo of Siena. Here the chief difference will be found in the direction of the Madonna's gaze, which is fixed on the Babe, Who looks up at her, while at Citta di Castello His eyes were turned away from His Mother. With its quaint and strenuous attitudes and its facial expression, it bears the least resemblance to Duccio and may be regarded as one of his latest productions.

⁽¹⁾ *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1908, p. 51.

⁽²⁾ *Idem*, 1912, p. 134; 1913, p. 19. This author, I think without sufficient reason, attributes to the same painter an enthroned Madonna in the library of the Mont' Oliveto monastery and the already mentioned Madonna in the Collegiata of Asciano.

⁽³⁾ *Weigelt*, op. cit., p. 195.

⁽⁴⁾ Attributed by Suida to Meo da Siena, *Jahrbuch der Preus. Kunstsamml.*, 1905, p. 28, by Venturi to the painter of the Madonna (no. 565) in the National Gallery, and by others to Segna.



Fig. 49. The Master of Citta di Castello, Madonna.
Opera del Duomo, Siena.

Photo Alinar



Fig. 50. The Master of Citta di Castello, part of a polyptych.
Accademia, Siena.

Photo Lombardi.

Another work by the "Master of Citta di Castello" is a polyptych in the Accademia of Siena (no. 33) (fig. 50), originally in the S. Lorenzo monastery, representing, in the centre, the Madonna,



Fig. 51. The Master of Citta di Castello, panel of a polyptich.
Accademia, Siena.

Photo Lombardi.

holding the Babe with her two hands, between St. John the Evangelist and St. Francis on the left and St. Lawrence and St. Clare (fig. 51) on the right. In the terminals we find, above the Madonna, the Lord, and over the other figures respectively SS. Peter and Augustine, John the Baptist and Mary Magdalene.

The master's earliest and most Ducciesque painting is a half-length figure of the Madonna in the Glyptotheca of Copenhagen (fig. 52) ⁽¹⁾. The connection with Duccio, to whom it has lately been erroneously attributed, is in this picture more obvious; since at the time of its production the artist had not yet quite found his own particular manner. We already notice the tendency to less attenuated proportions, harder outlines and a certain coldness of expression never found in Duccio's own works.

The "Master of Citta di Castello" stands out among Duccio's disciples as a remarkable figure. In its general aspect his work, and above all the presumably early Madonna of Citta di Castello, most certainly belongs to this tradition; but his figures are broader, more monumental, more plastic, much more tragic and less sentimental than Duccio's, or those of any of his other disciples; this is true not only of his Madonnas, but also of the magnificent figures of saints in the polyptych in the Accademia.

The St. Clare is a most impressive figure. In his minute and more elaborate linear effects the artist sometimes reminds us of Ugolino, but lacks his violence, while he has a keener sense of beauty, and obtains very remarkable and individual results by his handling of light and shade, especially with regard to the separation of planes. The Byzantine elements in the Crevole picture are confined to a few technical details, but it seems likely that these variations on Duccio's manner increased with time, and are especially characteristic of his later products.

One does not easily forget the facial expression of this painter's Madonnas; it reveals a deeper feeling than is to be found in the works of another master — whom we shall call "Pseudo maestro Gilio" — and whose paintings bear a strong resemblance to those which we have been considering.

We have at least three Madonnas by this artist, while it seems

⁽¹⁾ *A. Venturi*, Un opera di Duccio di B. a Copenhagen etc., *L'Arte*, XXIV, 1921, p. 198. The catalogue of the Glyptotheca mentions the correct attribution to the Master of Citta di Castello made by Mario Krohn.



Fig. 52. The Master of Citta di Castello, Madonna. Glyptotheca, Copenhagen.



Fig. 53. Pseudo Maestro Gilio, part of a Maestà. National Gallery, London.

possible that yet a fourth may be attributed to him. One of these, again, belongs to the same type as the Maestà, but only a fragment of this work has survived. It will be found in the National Gallery, where, for a long time, it passed as a painting of Cimabue's; but J. P. Richter has rightly attributed it to the school of Duccio (¹). The panel has been cut though just beneath the knees of the Virgin, but the marble inlaid throne, around which are grouped six angels, still remains visible (fig. 53). Very characteristic of

(¹) *J. P. Richter, Lectures on the National Gallery, London etc., 1908, p. 8.*



Fig. 54. Pseudo Maestro Gilio, Madonna. Accademia, Siena.

Photo Alinari.

this painter is the type of the Child, with sharp nose, small mouth, and thick, curling, protruding lips, features which we find not only in the Madonna but in some of the angels as well. The gilt hem of the Virgin's robe displays a smoothly flowing line of Gothic character. The panel is considerably restored.

The second work of this master's is also an enthroned Madonna, in the Gallery of Siena (no. 18) (fig. 54), and this too is mutilated, but to a less extent. No angels stand around the throne,

and another difference to be observed is that the Virgin is here depicted full-face, while she is shown three-quarter face in the picture in the National Gallery. The Babe, Who, in the other painting is seated calm and erect, has here a more anxious expression. The picture is in the Gallery of Siena attributed without any reason to a "Maestro Gilio", a painter mentioned in the year 1250; Prof. Venturi ascribes it to Pietro Lorenzetti (1).

The painter's third work is a fresco in the Collegiata of Casole, attributed by Dr. De Nicolo to Pietro Lorenzetti, in his first and most Byzantine manner (2). Again the subject is a Maestà, very like the London panel. The fragment which remains, shows the upper part of an enthroned Madonna, with three angels on one side, and the head of a bishop on the other.

The fourth picture, which, as I mentioned, might be by the same hand, is a half-length figure, in profile, of the Virgin, gazing at the naked Child, Whom she holds in a position reminiscent of that seen in the panel belonging to the National Gallery. Before its purchase by the Siena Gallery, this painting formed part of a private collection (3). Although in poor condition, it seems to me that the characteristic peculiarities of the features are here so plainly reproduced, and the type of the Child is so similar, that its attribution to the author of the three previous pictures is justified. It might, however, be that the last-mentioned panel is an earlier product, and that in the Gallery of Siena a creation of his maturer manner. Like the painter of the Madonna of Citta di Castello, so also this unknown artist seems of a more tragic and less tender temper, being technically less Byzantine and stronger in his rendering of plastic effects than Duccio himself. The types, however, remain less grandiose and altogether different from those of the Master of Citta di Castello. His art forms a link between Duccio and Pietro Lorenzetti, whose master he may very well have been.

One of the finest products of Duccio's studio is a triptych (no.

(1) *A. Venturi*, op. cit., p. 586.

(2) *Rassegna d'Arte*, XIX, 1919, p. 96. The considerably damaged fresco adorns a niche — no doubt an altar — in a lumber room, to the left of the church.

(3) *H. Franchi*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1907, p. 6. *Lusini*, *Idem*, 1912, p. 134.

35) in the Accademia of Siena which has even been attributed at times to the master's own hand⁽¹⁾. This very beautiful but rather dilapidated painting shows us, in the upper part of the centre panel, the Coronation of the Virgin, between the two SS. John, with four angels looking over the back of the throne, on which the Madonna and Lord are seated, and below, the Virgin enthroned between SS. Peter and Paul; here two small angels are seen, while a donor kneels at the feet of Our Lady. Seven half-figures of saints form a sort of predella, while the two figures of the Annunciation are shown in the spandrels. In the wings are represented, on the one side the Nativity, the Flagellation, and the Calvary, and on the other the Crucifixion, the Descent from the Cross, and the Entombment. It is certainly no lack of quality that makes us conclude that this work is by another than Duccio; but the draperies are rather different and the figures are slenderer.

We find this last characteristic, but in a greater degree, in two other Ducciesque panels which might well be from the same hand. The one is a triptych, now part of the Blumenthal collection in New York (fig. 55); the other is a Crucifixion in the possession of Prince Gagarin in Petrograd. The former⁽²⁾ shows us in the centre the Lord on the Cross, around which fly four small angels; below, on the left, stand the Virgin and St. Clare, and on the right St. John and St. Francis. In the wings three small scenes are depicted, one above the other, on either side; those on the left are the Annunciation, the Nativity, and the Adoration of the Magi; and those on the right the Coronation of the Virgin, three male, and three female saints. Although quite faithful to the Ducciesque manner, it may be that this panel is the work of the generation following that of the master.

The Crucifixion in Prince Gagarin's collection⁽³⁾ resembles

⁽¹⁾ Catalogued as such; also attributed to D. by *Berenson*, *The Central Italian Painters*, p. 163. *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1912, p. 121; ascribed to his school by *Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1913, p. 7.

⁽²⁾ *Weigelt*, p. 193, remarks upon a close connection with Niccolo di Segna's art, which I am unable to see.

⁽³⁾ *Reprod. Weigelt*, pl. 61. Attributed to Duccio by *P. P. Weiner*, *L'Esposizione di quadri antiche promossa a Pietroburgo della Rivista Starije Godij*, *L'Arte*, XII, 1909, p. 220; and by *F. Sapori*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1910, p. 83.



Fig. 55. School of Duccio, Triptych. Blumenthal Collection, New-York.

that of Duccio's *Maestà* in the matter of composition, but is somewhat simplified by the omission of the two thieves who were crucified on either side of the Saviour. Here two small angels accompany the Crucified, and numerous groups are seen standing on either hand; the swooning Virgin is supported by



Fig. 56. School of Duccio, Triptych. Sta. Catarina, Montalcino.

Photo Lombardi

her companions and St. John, while some small boys stand near the foot of the Cross. Comparing this representation with Duccio's, we observe an inability on the part of the artist to imitate the master's treatment of groups. The people in the picture now in question form compact masses, their heads appearing one above another in ascending lines.

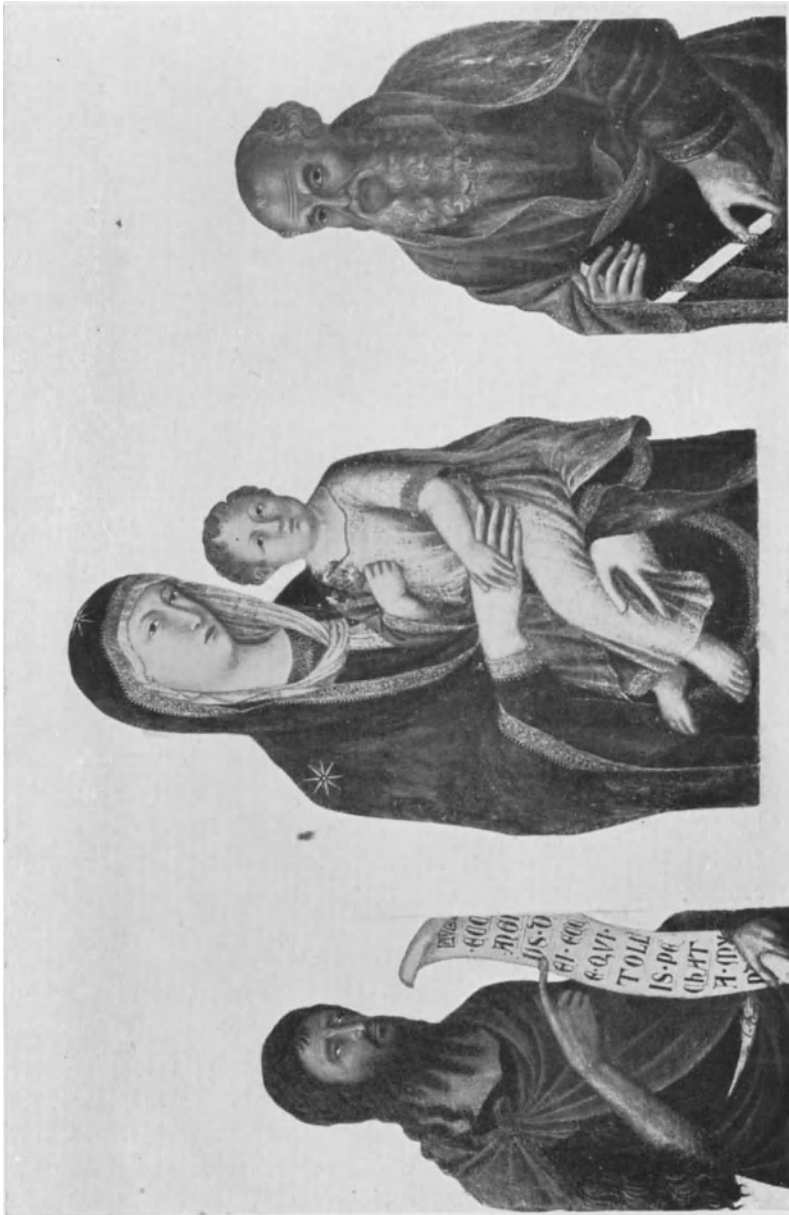


Fig. 57. The Master of Montalcino, Madonna and Saints. Pieve, San Giovanni d'Asso.

Photo Istit. Arti Grafiche.

To a more faithful adherent of Duccio's manner we may perhaps attribute four different works. They are:

1. a damaged and restored triptych on the altar of the sacristy in the Conservatorio of Sta. Caterina at Montalcino (fig. 56), showing the half-length figures of the Madonna and Child, a holy bishop (Nicholas?) and St. Antony of Padua, and on the terminals the Lord and two angels;
2. four parts of a polyptych in the Accademia of Siena (no. 38), each depicting the half-length figure of a saint in the main panel and two small half-length figures of saints above; the principal figures are St. Benedict, the archangel Michael, St. Bartholomew and St. Nicholas;
3. no. 37 of the same gallery: a panel of identical composition, showing as principal figure St. Bartholomew;
4. in the church of S. Giovanni Battista of San Giovanni d'Asso, certain paintings of better quality than the foregoing, for which reason I rather hesitate to include them here. They comprise three considerably restored and detached polyptych panels, showing the Madonna and the two SS. John with the Saviour and two angels on the terminals (fig. 57) ⁽¹⁾. They are finer in feeling and of a more tender expression.

On the whole, however, the work of this painter does not reveal him to us as a very refined member of this group; the colouring is dark, the drawing not without a certain hardness, the draperies fall in heavy folds, there is a lack of grace in the attitudes, and the contrast of light and shade is almost startling. The painter, however, faithfully adheres to the Ducciesque type and feeling, although the latter is somewhat exaggerated.

Of a more refined disciple of Duccio's we have, in the Gallery of Siena (no. 36), a crucifix (fig. 58), on which the date 1305 is visible, attributed, without any reason, to a painter called Masarello di Gilio. At the ends of the cross-bar the half-length figures of the Virgin and St. John are seen, and above, in a circular medallion, that of the Lord. This crucifix is one of the finest

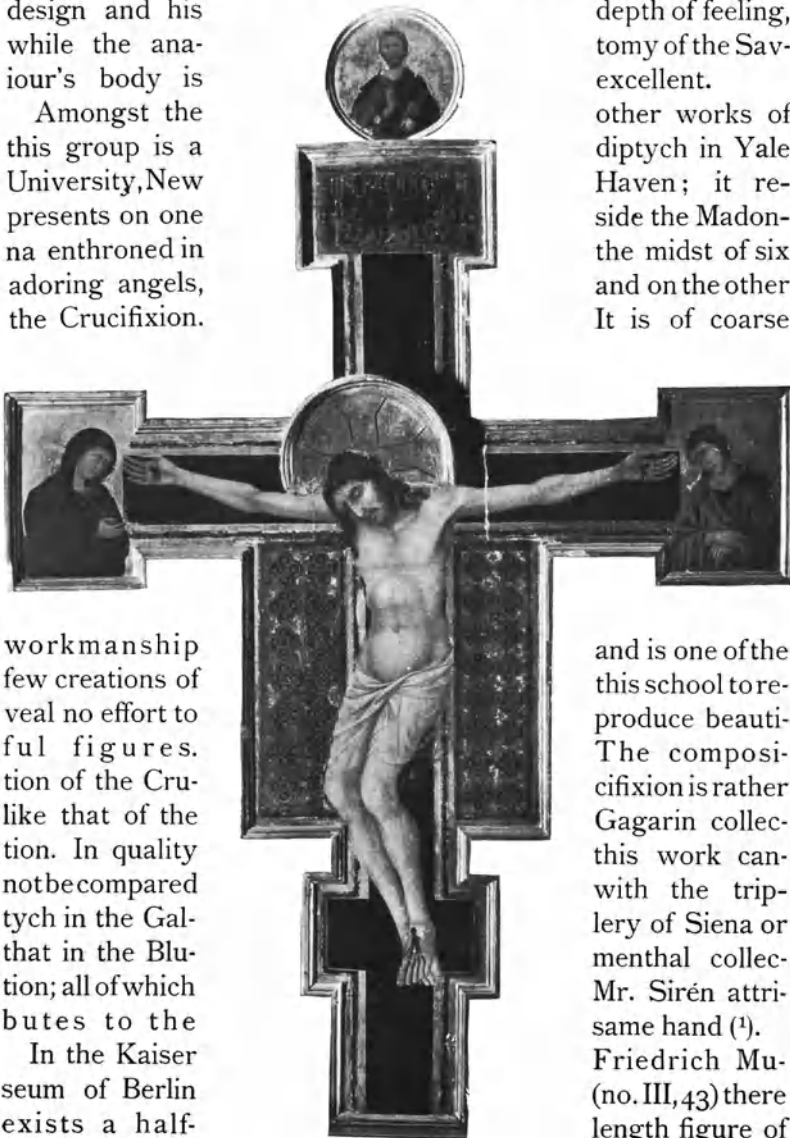
⁽¹⁾ *F. Bargagli Petrucci*, Pienza, Montalcino e la Valdarno, Bergamo, 1911, p. 17. *Dr. De Nicola* believes these last three paintings to be by the same author (*Catalogo*, Nos. 61—66, 85—86), but does not include the first of these works in the same group.

products of Duccio's school, showing the master's nobility of design and his while the ana-
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Fig. 58. School of Duccio,
Crucifix. Accademia, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

⁽¹⁾ O. Sirén, A descriptive Catalogue of the Pictures in the Jarves Col-
lection belonging to Yale University, New Haven, etc., 1916.



Fig. 59. School of Duccio, Angel. Museum, Berlin.

polyptych; a similar panel was recently offered for sale in the Florentine market for antiquities, which might have formed part of the same polyptych, while a third once formed part of the Saracini collection, in Siena, but is now in the Johnson collection in Philadelphia (no. 88) ⁽¹⁾. Finer than any of these are two similar figures of angels in the Loeser collection in Florence.

⁽¹⁾ In the catalogue the Berlin panel is attributed to the "School of Cimabue". The picture in the Saracini collection was believed by Messrs. Berenson and Douglas to be by Duccio himself, although the former is now less affirmative about the matter. See the *Catalogue of a Collection of Paintings and some art Objects: Italian Painting, Philadelphia, 1913.*

An important Ducciesque Madonna belongs to the Duchess Melzi d'Eril Barbi at Milan, which shows us the Madonna enthroned between two angels, St. Bartholomew and St. John, with vases of flowers in the foreground ⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ In addition to the numerous works by Ugolino, Segna, or his son and their disciples, there is still a certain number of paintings belonging to the school of Duccio. Most of these were included in the Ducciesque exhibition held at Siena in 1912. A few of the following are known to me only by the evidence of catalogues, critical essays, etc., so that, if they have lately changed hands, the possibility exists of my quoting the same work twice. *Siena*, Orphanage, Madonna and Child; Gallery, no. 21, crucifix, with the Virgin and St. John on the terminals of the cross-bar; it betrays a stylistic relation to the crucifix attributed to Masarello di Gilio, but is of inferior quality; it is the work of the artist who made the crucifix of Pienza; no. 44, a grandiose but coarse half-length figure of the Madonna; no. 314, a half-length figure of St. Paul, from a polyptych. In 1912, the antique dealer, Merlotti of Siena, possessed a Madonna enthroned; the brothers Turini a weeping Madonna from the side terminal of a crucifix, and Signor Morandi a Madonna. At the exhibition of Sienese art held at Siena in 1904, I find attributed to Duccio or artists under his influence the following: Room 27, no. 30, an enthroned Madonna, the property of the brothers Pannilini, San Giovanni d'Asso; and no. 36, a Madonna enthroned, feeding the Child, the property of the brothers Griccioli. In the region of Siena: *Buonconvento*, in SS. Pietro e Paolo, on the altar to the left, a Madonna (considerably damaged); it shows a close stylistic connection with the works of the master of Badia a Isola; *Castelmuzio*, Pieve, Madonna (much restored); *San Galgano*, Pieve, Madonna; *San Gimignano*, Conservatorio, polyptych, Madonna enthroned between SS. Francis and Clare of Assisi, above the principal figures are some smaller representations of saints, several of which have disappeared (entirely repainted); *Montalcino*, hospital-cloister, fragment of a Crucifixion; sacristy of S. Antonio (besides the four panels in the manner of Segna), two panels of a polyptych, the Baptist and a holy bishop with an angel and St. Paul in the apices; they were repainted, at a rather late date and are not of very good quality; mention is made of a mourning Virgin (fragment of a crucifix) in the Conservatorio, but it is no longer to be found there. *Montisi*, Annunziata, a small fine crucifix (much damaged, the extremities being cut off); *Mont' Oliveto Maggiore*, Biblioteca, Madonna, enthroned with the Annunciation above (damaged); *Pienza*, S. Francesco, a crucifix, which is by the same hand, as that in the Gallery of Siena (no. 21); *Pilli*, S. Rocco, Madonna (restored); *San Polo* (Chianti), Pieve, crucifix with the Saviour, the Virgin and St. John on the terminal panels; *Rocca-di-Papa*, Duomo, half-length figure of the Madonna with the Child, coarsely painted and restored. PUBLIC AND PRIVATE COLLECTIONS: — *Chicago*, Reyer son collection, Madonna (*T. Breck*, *Art in America*, 1913, p. 112); *Frankfort-on-Main*, Städtisches Kunstinstitut, triptych,



UGOLINO DA SIENA AND HIS
FOLLOWERS.

The most important individual pupil of Duccio's was Ugolino di Neri, commonly called Ugolino da Siena, and Herr Weigelt thinks, — and I believe correctly — that he is quite possibly the earliest. Cavalcaselle goes as far as to call him Duccio's contemporary, but in any case, even if this be true, he profitted considerably by Duccio's example.

with the Lord enthroned between angels in the centre and on either wing two Apostles, with an angel above; *Harvard*, U. S. A., Fogg art Museum, damaged triptych; *London*, Exhibition at the Burlington Club, a male saint and St. Catherine of Alexandria, collection of Mr. Ellison Macartney (*Langton Douglas*, Burlington Fine Arts Club; Exhibition of Pictures of the School of Siena, etc., London, 1904, nos. 94—65); *New York*, Collection of the late T. Pierpont Morgan, triptych of the Crucifixion with SS. Augustine and Ambrose in the wings, attributed to Duccio by *Langton Douglas, Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, III, p. 19, note. *Paris*, Louvre, no. 1620, Madonna and saints; *Rome*, Spiridon coll., half-fig. Madonna (late).

Fig. 60. Ugolino da Siena, St. Peter. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.

We have no certain dates concerning Ugolino's life. Vasari tells us that he died in 1349; Baldinucci places his death ten years earlier. Milanesi assumed a family relationship between Ugolino and Guido da Siena, with a rashness which we find but rarely in the scientific annotations of this author⁽¹⁾. If Ugolino painted a Madonna on a pillar of the Or San Michele of Florence, as Cavalcaselle believes⁽²⁾, it is likely that he did so shortly after a miracle which occurred in 1291, and the great authentic work, part of which still exists — the altar-piece made for the church of Sta. Croce of the same city — was probably begun after this church was founded in 1294.

The authenticity of the altar-piece of Sta. Croce is guaranteed by a statement of Padre delle Valle, who saw the inscription "*Ugolinus de Senis me pinxit*". This important

(1) *Vasari*, ed. Milanesi, I, p. 453, et seq.

(2) *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, III, p. 22.



Fig. 61. Ugolino da Siena, St. John the Baptist. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.

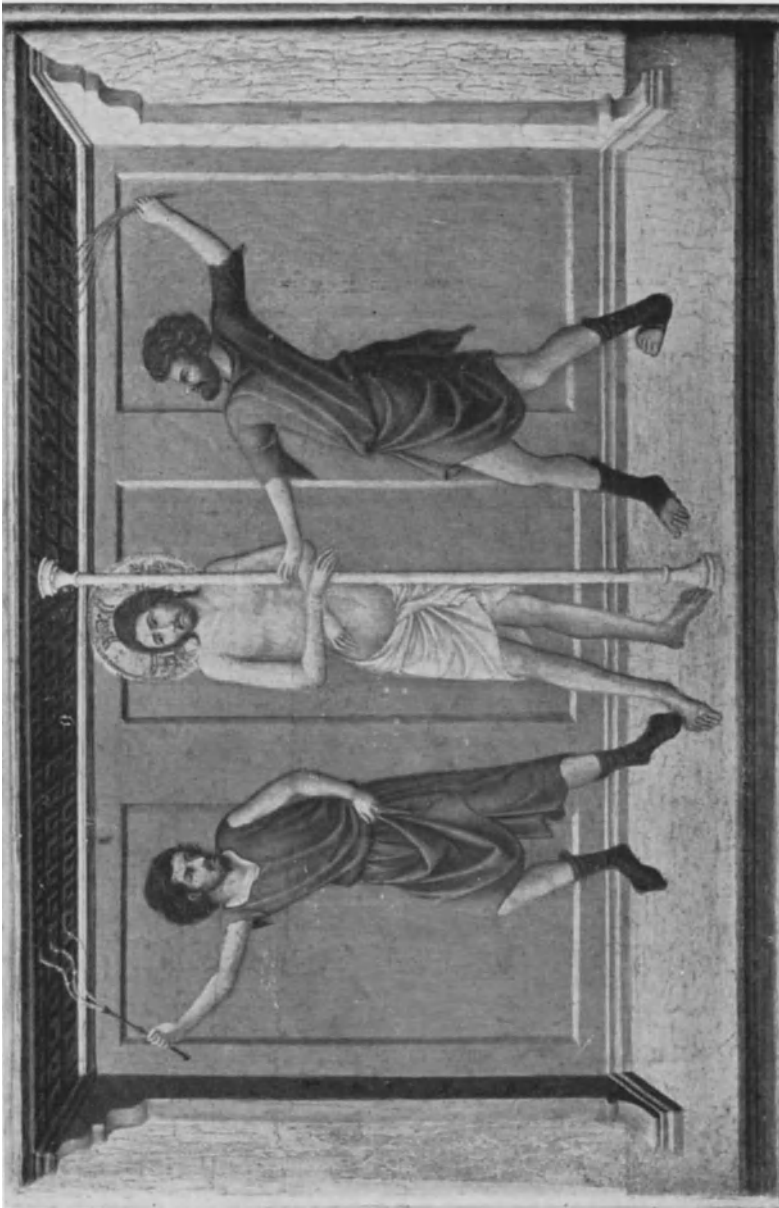


Fig. 62. Ugolino da Siena, the Flagellation. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.



Fig. 63. Ugolino da Siena, the Entombment. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.

polyptych consists of the Madonna and Child in the centre, three half-length figures of saints with angels in the spandrels of either wing, seven panels in the predella, fourteen half-length figures of saints above and still seven others in the pinnacles. The central piece which bore the inscription has unfortunately disappeared, but the Museum of Berlin possesses the three half-length figures of saints which formed the left wing⁽¹⁾. They are: St. Peter, holding a book and key (fig. 60) between St. Paul with a book and sword and St. John the Baptist with a long scroll (fig. 61); in the corners above



Fig. 64. Ugolino da Siena, the Calvary. National Gallery, London.

each saint we see two small angels. It is more especially the *schema* of the figures and the drawing that differentiate this artist's work from Duccio's. The structure of the body is somewhat more plastic, with heavier draperies and longer heads; the drawing is decidedly more minute, harder in outline, and more detailed; the eyes are differently set and the expression is more penetrating. The most important part of Ugolino's altar-piece, however, seems to have been the predella, of which the same Museum possesses the scenes of the Flagellation (fig. 62) and the Entombment (fig. 63) and the National Gallery those of the Betrayal of Judas and the Calvary (fig. 64). The other panels represent the Last Supper,

(1) *L'Arte*, 1906, p. 386, and *Rivista d'Arte*, 1907, p. 41.



Fig. 65. Ugolino da Siena, the Deposition. Wagner Collection, London.

the Descent from the Cross (fig. 65) and the Resurrection, and are now in private collections ⁽¹⁾. Although this is the only authentic work that we have of Ugolino's, several panels may be attributed almost certainly to this master.

Mr. Perkins, I believe, was the first to attribute to Ugolino the half-length figure of the Madonna between SS. Stephen and Clare on the left and SS. John and Francis on the right, in the Accademia of Siena (no. 39); and he mentions that in this assumption Mr. Berenson concurs. He judges it to be an earlier work than the Sta. Croce altar-piece, more Ducciesque, and simpler as to the draperies, regarding it as Ugolino's master-piece ⁽²⁾.

But little time can have passed between the execution of this painting and that of another polyptych in excellent preservation in the Castle of Brolio (Chianti) ⁽³⁾; here the centre represents the Virgin with the Child — similar in type to the Madonnas of Segna and his school — between SS. Paul and Peter on the left and SS. John-Baptist and Evangelist on the right, all in half-length; while the terminals above contain the Saviour and four angels. The type and the proportions resemble those in the painting just mentioned; particularly the figures of saints in Berlin, although those are somewhat harder in execution and in linear effect.

Of a somewhat later date, it seems, and technically less affected by Duccio's influence, is the magnificent bust of an Apostle, now in the Lehman collection, New York (fig 66) ⁽⁴⁾. In this work Ugolino shows a more grandiose conception and more beautiful design than in any of his other works.

Very much in the manner of the Sta. Croce altar-piece are two

⁽¹⁾ In 1908 Mr. Langton Douglas informed us that these panels belonged respectively to Messrs. Meyers, Wagner, and White. Of the smaller half-length figures one was the property of Lord Crawford, four of Mr. Charles Butler and two of Mr. Langton Douglas, while Mr. Wagner and Col. Warner Otley owned other fragments (*Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, III, p. 23 etc.).

⁽²⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, *Alcuni appunti sulla Galleria delle Belli Arti di Siena*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1908, p. 48. *De Nicola*, *Catalogo*, no. 41, calls it "in the manner of Ugolino".

⁽³⁾ *G. De Nicola*, *Ugolino e Simone a San Casciano, Val di Pesa, L'Arte*, 1916, p. 13.

⁽⁴⁾ Published by *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1908, p. 50; *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1913, p. 8; and by *Weigelt*, *op. cit.*, p. 186. *Lusini*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1912, p. 124.



Fig. 66. Ugolina da Siena, an Apostle. Lehman Collection, New York.

panels which might have formed part of a similar polyptych, in the church of the Confraternity of the Misericordia, San Casciano (Val di Pesa), representing the half-length figures of SS Peter and Francis (fig. 67) ⁽¹⁾, and perhaps of a slightly later date is the figure of Daniel in the Johnson collection in Philadelphia ⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1913, p. 8. *De Nicola*, *op. cit.*

⁽²⁾ *B. Berenson*, *Catalogue of a Collection of Paintings*.



Fig. 67. Ugolino da Siena, St. Francis. Confraternity of the Misericordia,
San Casciano.

Photo Lombardi.

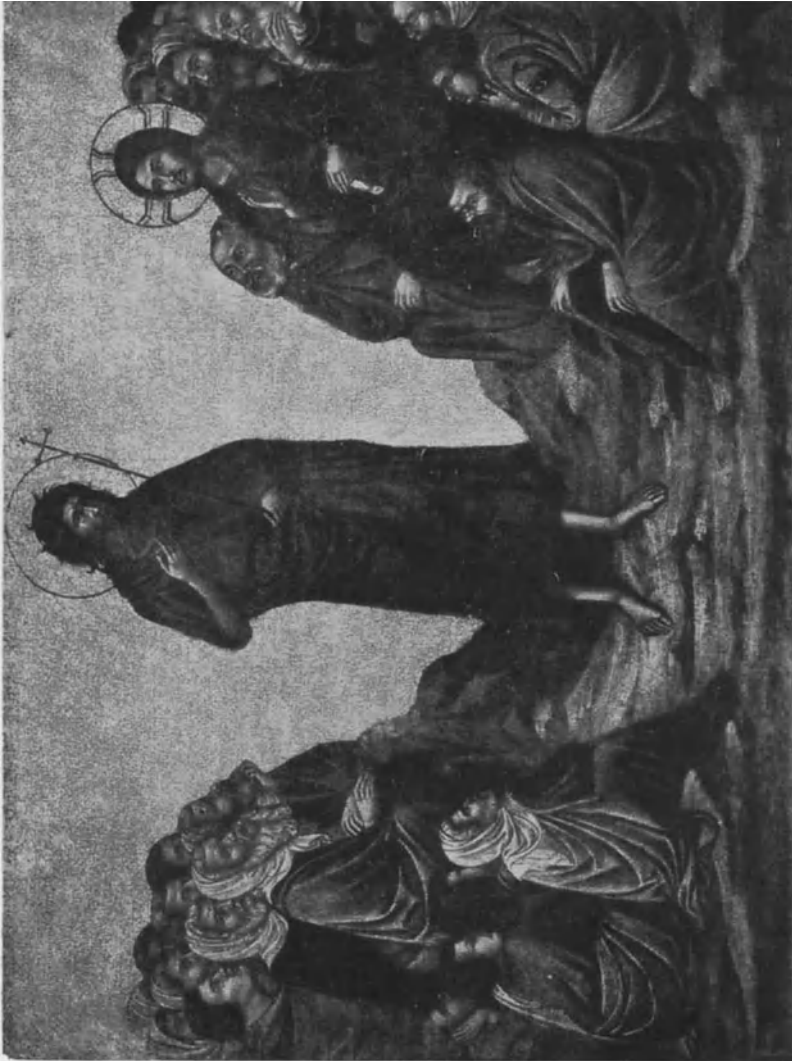


Fig. 68. Ugolino da Siena, the Sermon of St. John the Baptist. Gallery, Budapest. Photo Hanfstaengl.

Less pleasant in its general aspect is the predella now in the Gallery of Budapest, representing the Sermon of St. John (fig. 68), who is depicted standing between two groups of people, the Saviour appearing in that on the right hand. The forms and

attitudes, especially of the foremost figures, lack that grace so characteristic of Duccio and his followers. In comparing this work with the predella panels of the Sta. Croce polyptych, I find a considerable difference, and therefore do not believe it could ever have formed part of the same series (1); besides, this possibility is precluded by the fact that this predella only comprised seven compartments, all of which can be traced (2).

I know of no other pictures by Ugolino, though there are still others ascribed to him: the terminal of a polyptych containing half-length figures of Moses, a holy bishop, and two angels, probably a fragment of a Crucifixion in the Cook collection, Richmond (3), as well as a Crucifixion in the Johnson collection, Philadelphia (4).

Though obviously a Ducciesque artist, there are a certain number of elements which distinguish Ugolino pretty clearly from his master; his works express less tenderness and are more serious, even tragic, in feeling. Comparing the Passion scenes of the one and the other artist, we find that in the representations of the Descent from the Cross and the Entombment, Ugolino has really confined himself to the production of free copies; this, however, does not apply to the Calvary, in which Duccio shows us the Cross carried by Simon, and the pupil, by the Lord Himself, an iconographical difference which is not without importance.

A technical comparison shows us that Ugolino's design lacks the easy flowing line of Duccio, and the grouping is less harmonious; in the Calvary of Ugolino, for instance, some figures are in motion, while others stand still, but the whole mass of the corresponding scene of Duccio appears to move forward. Ugolino's groups frequently comprise fewer units and the composition is more compact, forming a central nucleus (very evident in the Descent from the Cross and the Entombment), while Duccio's figures are more dispersed. Even in his earliest stage, (polyptych

(1) *A. Venturi*, op. cit., V, p. 587, note.

(2) This picture was attributed to Ugolino by Mr. Perkins, but is generally ascribed to Duccio, v. *von Terey*, *Der Gemälde Gallerie* etc. in Budapest, Berlin, 1916, p. 22; *Lusini*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1912, p. 139; *Berenson*, *Central Italian Painters*, p. 163, Duccio?

(3) *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1912, p. 143.

(4) *Berenson*, op. cit.

no. 39 in the Gallery of Siena) Ugolino's proportions are slenderer, but he never attains the master's grace; in his earlier works his figures show nothing of Duccio's strength. The drapery is heavier and not so clinging; the figures are less animated and the faces frequently differ from Duccio's, showing a very minute rendering of detail. The drawing, which is not always free from hardness, would lead us to believe that in another age Ugolino might have been a great engraver. It is this great care for detail in the drawing of the features and the rather artificial curves which enter into their delineation, together with the small mouths, pointed noses and rounded faces, all sharply outlined, and the general rarity of Byzantine elements, which form the chief characteristics of Ugolino's art, and enable us to decide that certain works were inspired by him, rather than by Duccio himself.

Very like Ugolino's early manner are four half-length figures of saints, each with an angel above, from the church of Sta. Cecilia of Crevole, now in the Gallery of Siena (nos. 29—32), representing SS. Peter, Antony Abbot, Augustine and Paul (¹). Here we find the same slender proportions which we noted in the polyptych of this Gallery; the serious expression, and the tendency to immobility, though still more evident than in Ugolino's works, betray their connection with the art of this master.

A triptych of the Madonna in half-length between SS. Peter and Paul, with the Lord, a bearded saint (St. John the Evangelist?) and a young deacon (St. Laurence?) in the terminals (fig. 69), the property of Nobile Pannilini at San Giovanni d'Asso (²), was inspired by Ugolino's later works, such as the half-length figure of the Lehman collection, or the figures of SS. Peter and Francis in San Casciano. The proportions here are somewhat more robust and the rich drapery displays excellent relief, although the work in general is more Ducciesque than its source of inspiration.

By the same hand is an enthroned Madonna with a small devotee at her feet, once more in the Misericordia chapel at San

(¹) *Lusini*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1913, p. 30. *De Nicola*, *Catalogo*, nos. 79—82, ascribes these panels to the Master of Citta di Castello.

(²) *Lusini*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1912, p. 128. *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1913, p. 8. Previously these panels also were in the S. Giovanni Battista church of this little town.

Casciano, Val di Pesa (1). The marble throne is similar to those which we have previously found in the painting of Duccio's school; the Virgin gazes into the eyes of the Child, Who plays with her veil (2). Besides the points of resemblance in the features of the Virgin and the Babe, we also notice the same excellent



Fig. 69. School of Ugolino da Siena, triptych. Pannilini Collection, San Giovanni d'Asso.

Photo Instit. Arti Grafiche.

arrangement of the draperies noted in the above-mentioned panel; but here the edge of the Virgin's robe shows Duccio's Gothic line.

(1) This assumption was previously made by *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1913, p. 8.

(2) *de Grüneisen*, *I ritratti di Monna Muccia e di un Committente ignoto nella mostra Ducciana di Siena*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1912, p. 52. *De Nicola*, *op. cit.*, and *Catalogo*, no. 47. I cannot agree with the opinion here expressed that this picture might be by Ugolino himself.

An equally close disciple was the painter of a half-length figure of an old bearded saint in the Blumenthal collection, New-York (1). The draping of the cloak is more plastic; the type of the saint and his robe in cloth of gold are among the elements which give this panel a more Byzantine aspect than any other works of this group.

We find also some later productions of Ugolino's disciples, which indicate that a small group of Ducciesque painters remained persistently faithful to his inspiration. Among these paintings is an enthroned Madonna from the convent of S. Francesco at Lucignano, Val di Chiana, now in the small collection of this church (2), in type very similar to that of San Casciano, except that the drawing and chiaroscuro are softer, and the colours darker than is usual in this school, while the draperies fall differently. Here also a small adorer — "*Mona Muccia moglie che fu di Guerino Ciantari*" — is kneeling at the feet of the Virgin. Although the features show obviously that the painter was inspired by Ugolino's example, the work is less severe in style, with less conventionality and more life and sentiment.

Of a later and much less skilful disciple, we have also a polypych of five half-length figures placed so high that it is hardly visible in the Pieve of S. Lorenzo in Monterongriffoli (near San Giovanni d'Asso), depicting the Virgin between SS. Laurence and Marcellinus on the left and SS. Leonard and Augustine Martyr on the right. The central terminal is adorned with a figure of the Saviour; while those at the sides show SS. Peter and two angels. That the painter was acquainted with Ugolino's polyptych in the Gallery of Siena is obvious: he follows the master almost exactly in type and hardness of drawing, which is here greatly exaggerated, but is incapable of reproducing any of his more artistic qualities.

Considerably later and one of the rare Ducciesque works of unpleasant aspect, is the polyptych in the Collegiata of Chianciano (fig. 70) (3). In the centre we see the attenuated, half-length figure of the Virgin with a staring Child; on the left, the Baptist

(1) *F. M. Perkins*, Some Sienese Paintings in American Collections, Art in America, 1920, p. 200.

(2) *de Grüneisen*, op cit.

(3) *De Nicola*, Catalogo, no. 87 and *Lusini*, Rassegna d'Arte Senese, 1912, p. 37, date it about 1330. I should be inclined to place it even later.



Fig. 70. Late follower of Ugolino da Siena, Polypych. Collegiata, Chianciano.

Photo Istit. Arti Grafiche.

and the archangel Michael, and on the right, SS. John the Evangelist and Bartholomew. Above each of these panels there were originally two small figures of saints; all the names remain, but only four of the images. The inscriptions, however, must have been repainted, as they are of a much later date than any that we can attribute to the painting in question (¹).

Some connection with Ugolino may be found in two polyptych panels representing SS. Justinus and Hugo, with prophets on the terminals, hung high up in the Gallery of Volterra (nos. 14 and 15).

The best and most individual painter of this group was the great anonymous artist who has been identified by Mr. B. Berenson, and called by him *Ugolino Lorenzetti*, combining thus the names of those whose influence is most clearly distinguishable: Ugolino da Siena and Pietro Lorenzetti (²).

1. The greatest achievement of this master is the Nativity, in the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University (fig. 71). The characteristics of this painter, and Mr. Berenson's demonstrations are such that we can safely accept his attribution to the same hand of the following pictures:
2. A polyptych (no. 8) in the Refectory Museum of Sta. Croce, Florence (fig. 72), showing us, on the left, the half-length figures of the Virgin and Child between the Baptist and an old bearded saint, and on the right, an equally old and bearded saint and St. Francis, with the Saviour; two saints, and two angels on the terminals; the dead Christ, erect in His tomb, and four saints, in the predella.

(¹) Curiously enough, this inartistic painting has on several occasions been attributed to Barna da Siena: *G. B. Manucci*, *Una tavola del Barna*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1905, p. 88. *F. Bargagli Petrucci*, *Montepulciano, Chiusi, etc., Bergamo*, 1907, p. 28.

(²) *B. Berenson*, *Ugolino Lorenzetti*, *Art in America*, October and December 1917, *Mr. Ferkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1913, p. 9, had already grouped together some of this artist's works. See also *De Nicola*, *Burlington Magazine*, XXII, p. 147, and *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1919, p. 95, where he points out the possibility that this anonymous artist might be identified with Biagio da Siena.



Fig 71. Ugolino Lorenzetti, Nativity. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, U. S. A.

3. A very much damaged polyptych, lost, but once in existence in S. Agostino at San Gimignano which must have been identical in form, but of which the predella had already disappeared.
4. The half-length figures of the Madonna (fig. 73), SS. Ansano



Fig. 72. Ugolino Lorenzetti, polyptych. Refectory of Sta. Croce, Florence.
Photo Alinari.

and Galgano (fig. 74) originally at Fojano, now in the Gallery of Siena.

5. A Crucifixion in the collection of Mr. B. Berenson (fig. 75), in composition not unlike those of Duccio and his immediate followers.



Fig. 73. Ugolino Lorenzetti, Madonna. Accademia, Siena.

Photo Lombardi.

6. An oblong panel — probably from a predella — in the Louvre representing the same subject somewhat differently: groups of scattered onlookers, backed by mounted soldiery on either side of an open space, on which are shown the Cross and St. John (fig. 76).
7. In the collection of Mrs. Gardner, Boston, a tabernacle con-



Fig. 74. Ugolino Lorenzetti, SS. Ansanus and Galganus. Accademia, Siena.
Photo Lombardi.

- taining the Virgin, near whose throne stand four saints; four angels look over the back of the throne, while two saints, one above the other, are depicted in each of the embrasures (fig. 77).
8. Four panels showing the standing figures of St. Catherine, the archangel Michael, SS. Bartholomew and Lucy, in the Gallery of Pisa (least characteristic of the artist, but none the less his).
 9. A panel, whose upper portion contains the figures of the

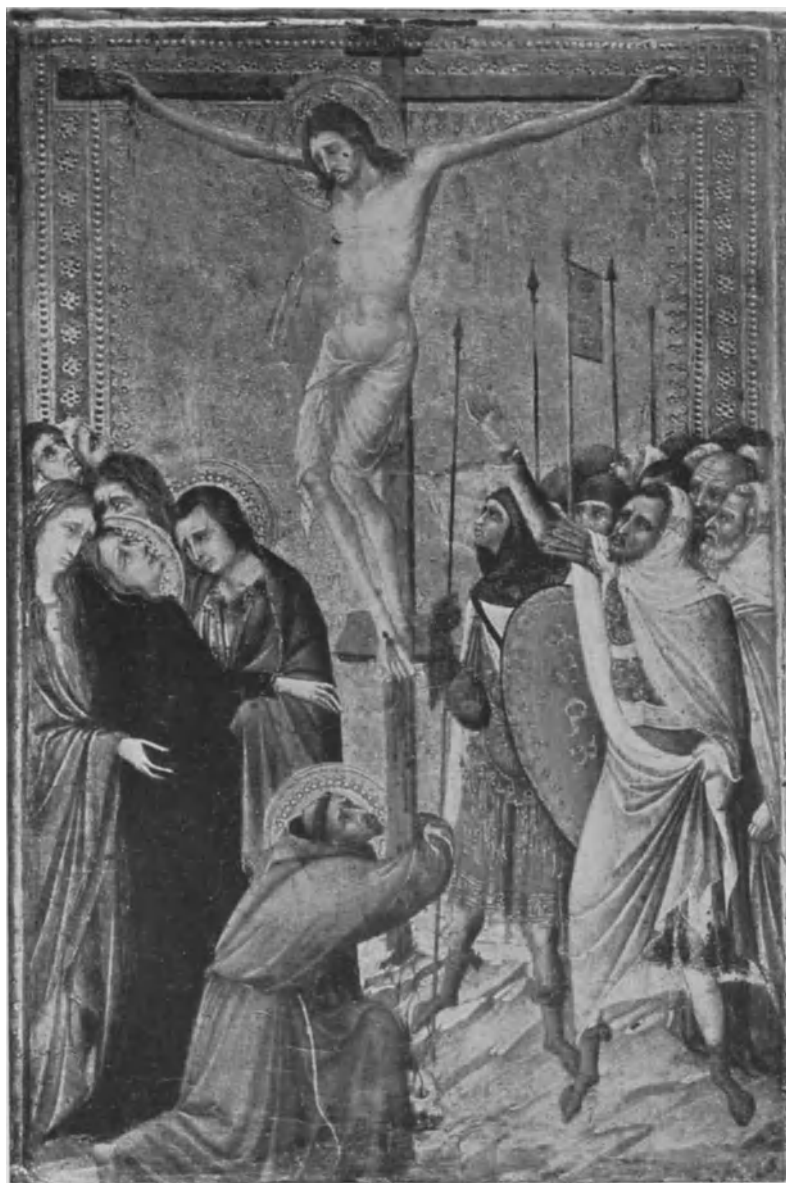


Fig. 75. Ugolino Lorenzetti, Crucifixion. Berenson Collection, Settignano.



Fig. 76. Ugolino Lorenzetti, Crucifixion. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Braun.

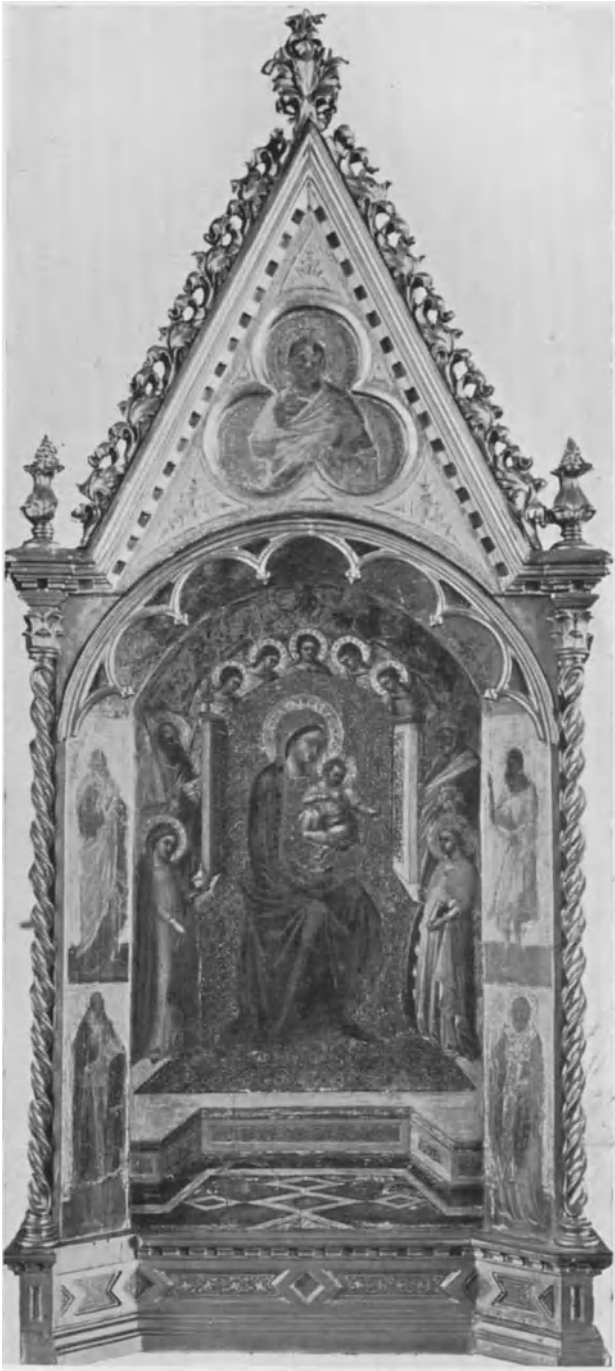


Fig. 77. Ugolino Lorenzetti, tabernacle. Gardner Collection,
Boston.

Photo Mar.

Annunciation, while below this are two rows, each of four separate saints, in the Johnson collection, Philadelphia.

10. Another work has of late been added to this list by Mr. Perkins: it is a Madonna in the Lehman collection, seated on a cushion resting on the ground, supporting the lively Child with her left arm, while with her right hand she grasps His leg ⁽¹⁾; a painting already strongly influenced by Lorenzetti.
11. A Crucifixion in the Gallery of Siena (no. 34 (fig. 78) which I attribute to the same artist. The Virgin and St. John are seen beside the Crucified; the Magdalene at the foot of the Cross and the sun and moon above, are either later additions or entirely repainted. Cavalcaselle attributed it to Ugolino.
12. Certainly by the same artist, and in that case an early work made wholly under the influence of Ugolino, is a weeping Madonna (fig. 79), on the lateral terminal of a cross once belonging to Sig. Angeli of Florence, but now in another private collection.
13. Another painting which I hesitatingly attribute to this artist is a diptych from the Archiepiscopal collection now in the Central Museum of Utrecht. It shows on one half the Madonna escorted by four angels, SS. Francis, Agnes, and the kneeling St. Clare (?), and on the other, the Crucifixion (fig. 80) in which the group formed by the fainting Virgin and her faithful companions is identical with the corresponding group in the Crucifixion in Mr. Berenson's possession. Another detail common to both is the curious shape of the upper terminal of the Cross, a shape which we find also in the Crucifixion now in the Gallery of Siena (no. 34). However, this diptych has been too much restored to allow us to say anything with certainty ⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, Some Sieneſe Paintings in American Collections, Art in America, 1920, p. 282.

⁽²⁾ A cusped panel in the Berlin Museum showing the Birth of Christ, with a row of angels in the grotto above the manger; the Virgin seated on the ground, touching the manger; the Child turned toward the approaching shepherds, who in the right-hand corner are seen receiving the angelic message; the Adoration, and, in a medallion, above the Annunciation, is in the Catalogue attributed to Ambrogio Lorenzetti, but is rather a production of the school of Ugolino Lorenzetti. The Madonna bears most resemblance to that in the Lehman collection.

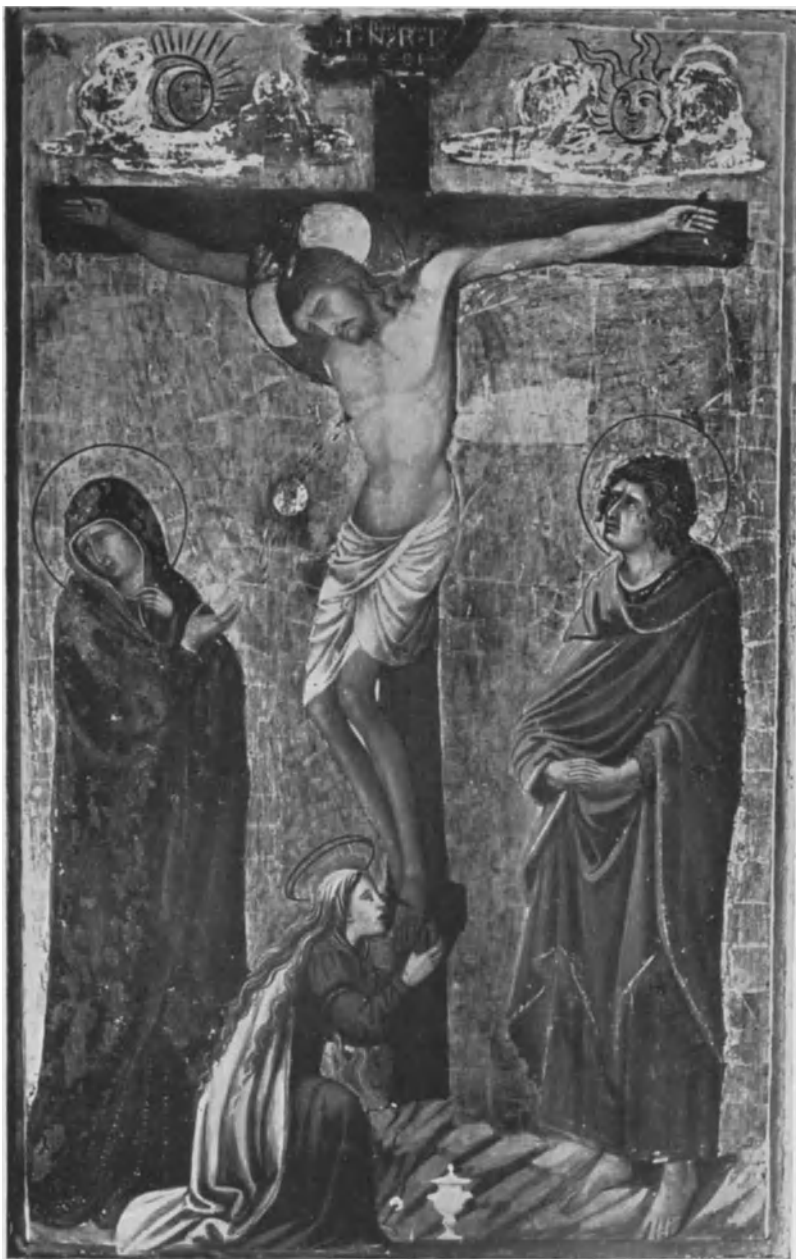


Fig. 78. Ugolino Lorenzetti, Crucifixion. Accademia, Siena.

Photo Lombardi.



Fig. 79. Ugolino Lorenzetti, Madonna. Private Collection.

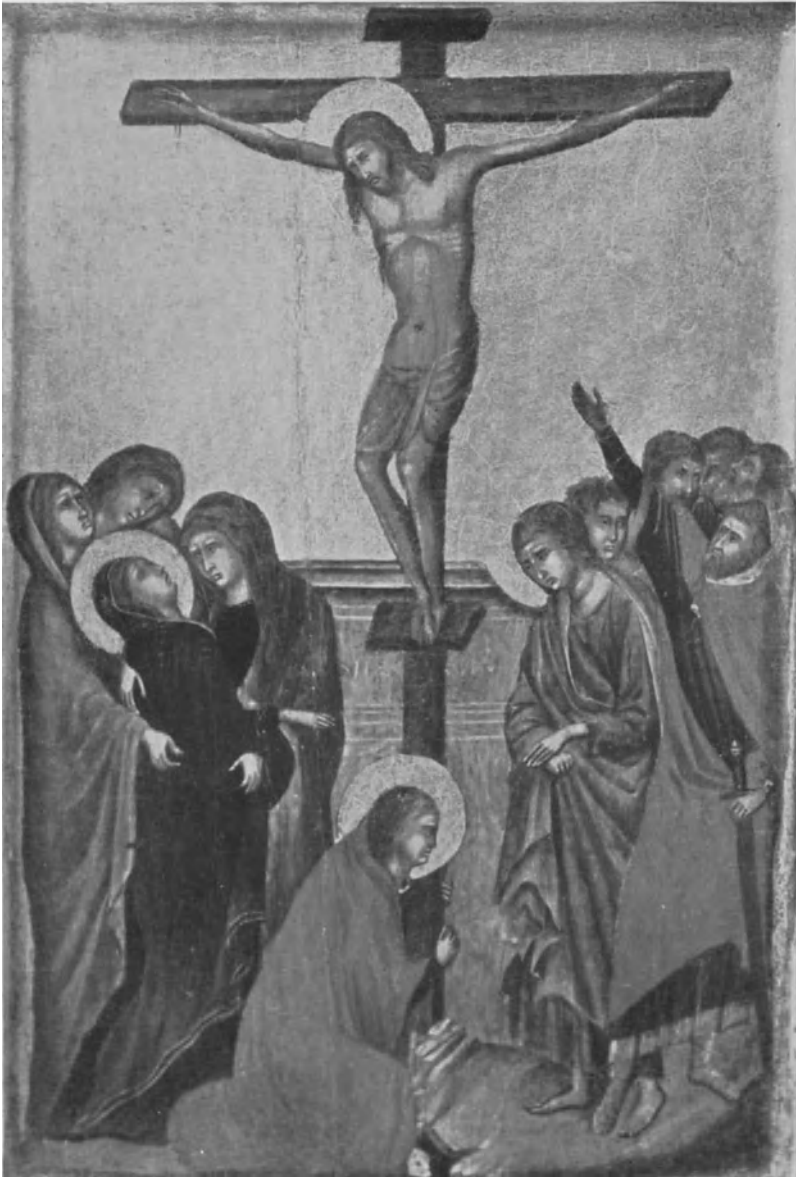


Fig. 80. Ugolino Lorenzetti, Crucifixion. Central Museum, Utrecht.

Photo Blitz.

As Mr. Berenson points out, this painter was one who began painting under the influence of Ugolino da Siena, to finish as a follower of Pietro Lorenzetti. The possibility that these works are the products of two different artists is eliminated by the characteristics constantly reproduced throughout the whole of these paintings.

The works which show us the master as an adherent of the Ducciesque manner are the Madonna with saints from Fojano, the partly repainted Crucifixion in the Gallery of Siena, and the polyptychs in Florence and San Gimignano. In these we note that the proportions, the sharp outlines and the features have obviously been borrowed from Ugolino.

Of the intermediate stage, in which the forms, the composition and spatial effects of Lorenzetti, are intermingled with elements of the Ducciesque inheritance, are the Fogg Museum Nativity, and the Crucifixion of the Berenson collection; inclining more strongly to the former are the Crucifixion in the Louvre and the panel at Pisa; as for the three pictures in the private American collections, we need scarcely hesitate to describe them as the work of a close follower of the Lorenzettis. In fact, the artist became a more faithful interpreter of the Lorenzettis than he had ever been of Ugolino. In his early works we find peculiarities of form in the bodies, legs and arms, and the strangely elongated heads, not to mention the nervous and anxious expression and the frenetic movements and gestures which were never seen in Ugolino's art. Ugolino Lorenzetti, then, was a painter whose style was more individual at the outset of his career, when the traces of Ugolino's influence were mainly extrinsic, than in his later years, when he seems to have been entirely captivated by the manner of the Lorenzettis.

SEGNA DI BUONAVENTURA AND HIS GROUP.

Segna di Buonoventura, or di Tura, is a less important painter than Ugolino. He is mentioned in documents between the years of 1298 and 1326. In 1305 and '06 he worked for the Bicherna at Siena, in 1317 he executed a Madonna for the high altar at Lec-



Fig. 81. Segna di Buonaventura, Maesta. Collegiata, Castiglione Fiorentino.
Photo Instit. Arte Grafiche

ceta near this city ⁽¹⁾, and in 1319 was working at Arezzo. He died before 1331 ⁽²⁾.

There are two signed works extant: an enthroned Madonna in the Collegiata at Castiglione Fiorentino with the inscription: "*Hoc opus pinxit Segna Senensis*" and four saints in the Accademia of Siena (no. 40) on which we read: "*Segna me fecit*". Moreover, the discovery of documents in the archives of Arezzo, which prove not only his presence in that town in 1319 but also his acquaintance with the abbot of SS. Fiora e Lucilla, make it certain that he is the author of the large crucifix in this church ⁽³⁾, which was already attributed to him by Cavalcaselle before the finding of written evidence.

The large painting at Castiglione Fiorentino ⁽⁴⁾ shows us the Madonna (fig. 81) of the

⁽¹⁾ *Vasari-Milanesi*, I, p. 653, note.

⁽²⁾ His son in 1331 is mentioned as „Nicolaus Pictor olim Segna Pictoris de Senis” *S. Borghesi e L. Bianchi*, *Nuovi Documenti per la Storia dell' Arte Senese*, Siena, 1898, p. 17.

⁽³⁾ *M. Salmi*, *Il crocifisso di Segna di Buonaventura in Arezzo*, *L'Arte*, 1912, p. 33-35. *Vasari* attributed it to Giotto, *Weigelt* to Niccolo di Segna.

⁽⁴⁾ *Weigelt*, pl. 51.



Fig. 82. Detail of fig. 80.

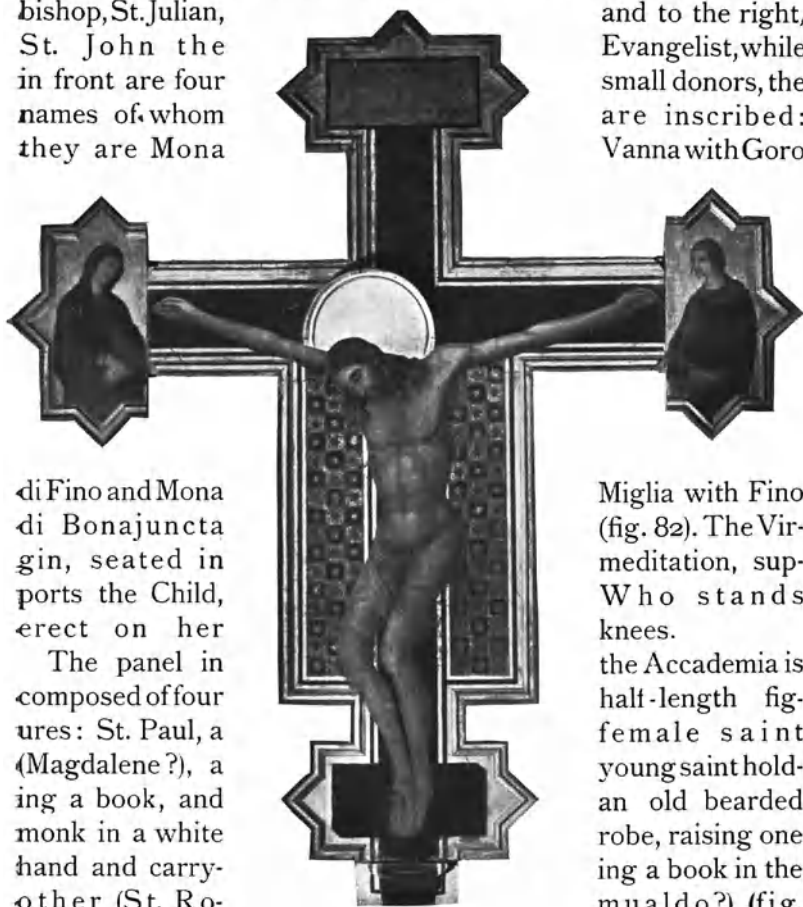
Photo Istit. Arti Grafiche



Fig. 83. Segna di Buonaventura, panels from a polyptych. Accademia, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

Maestà type on a high-backed throne, with two angels looking over the top on either side, while two others are seen to the right and left. Nearer the spectator, on the left, stands a holy bishop, St. Julian, St. John the Evangelist, while in front are four small donors, the names of whom they are Mona



di Fino and Mona di Bonajuncta gin, seated in ports the Child, erect on her

The panel in composed of four ures: St. Paul, a (Magdalene?), a ing a book, and monk in a white hand and carry- other (St. Ro-

Miglia with Fino (fig. 82). The Vir- meditation, sup- Who stands knees.

the Accademia is half-length fig- female saint young saint hold- an old bearded robe, raising one ing a book in the mualdo?) (fig.

83) No doubt a formed the cen- was originally

Fig. 84. Segna di Buonaventura, Crucifix. Badia, Arezzo. Photo Alinari. Madonna once tre. The work in the Abbey of Ombrone della Berardenga. The signature is seen on the sword of St. Paul. A certain hardness which strikes us in the painting at Castiglione Fiorentino appears here likewise, but it is less noticeable in the crucifix of Arezzo (fig. 84). The body hangs heavily from the upstretched arms; the head is deeply bowed; the knees much bent; the anatomy is well observed and the figure not

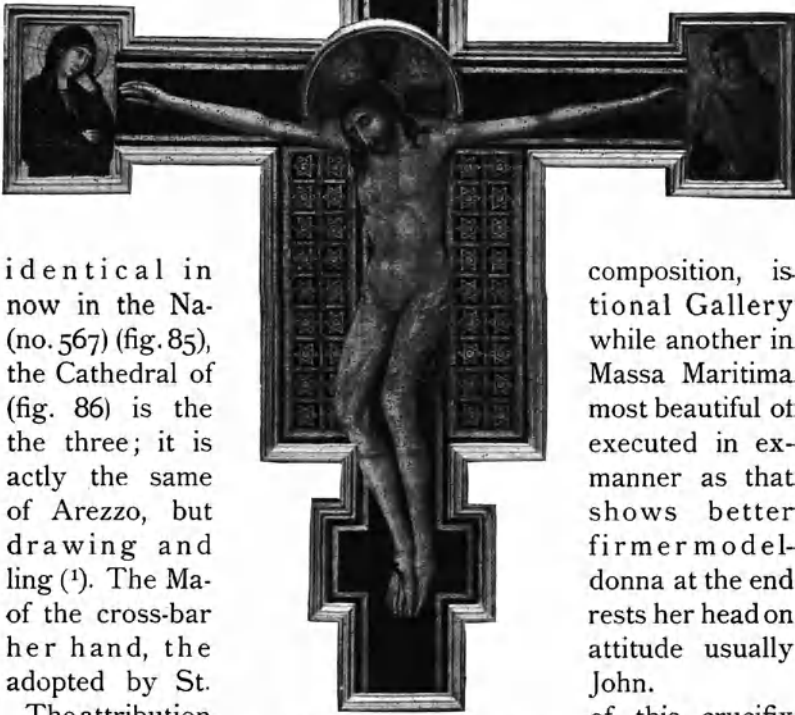
ungraceful. An ornamental expansion of the upright of the Cross forms a sort of background, like that found in some 13th century crucifixes. The terminals are rather fantastically shaped; the

lateral ones contain length figures of the Madonna and St. John, feeling and grace figures in the

A very similar

tain large half of the Madonna expressing more than most of the other paintings.

crucifix, almost



identical in now in the National Gallery (no. 567) (fig. 85), the Cathedral of Segna (fig. 86) is the the three; it is actually the same of Arezzo, but drawing and coloring (1). The Madonna of the cross-bar rests her hand, the attitude usually adopted by St. John.

The attribution to the hand of that of the big this Cathedral

Fig. 85. Segna di Buonaventura, Crucifix. National Gallery, London.

composition, is Segna renders altarpiece in to the same

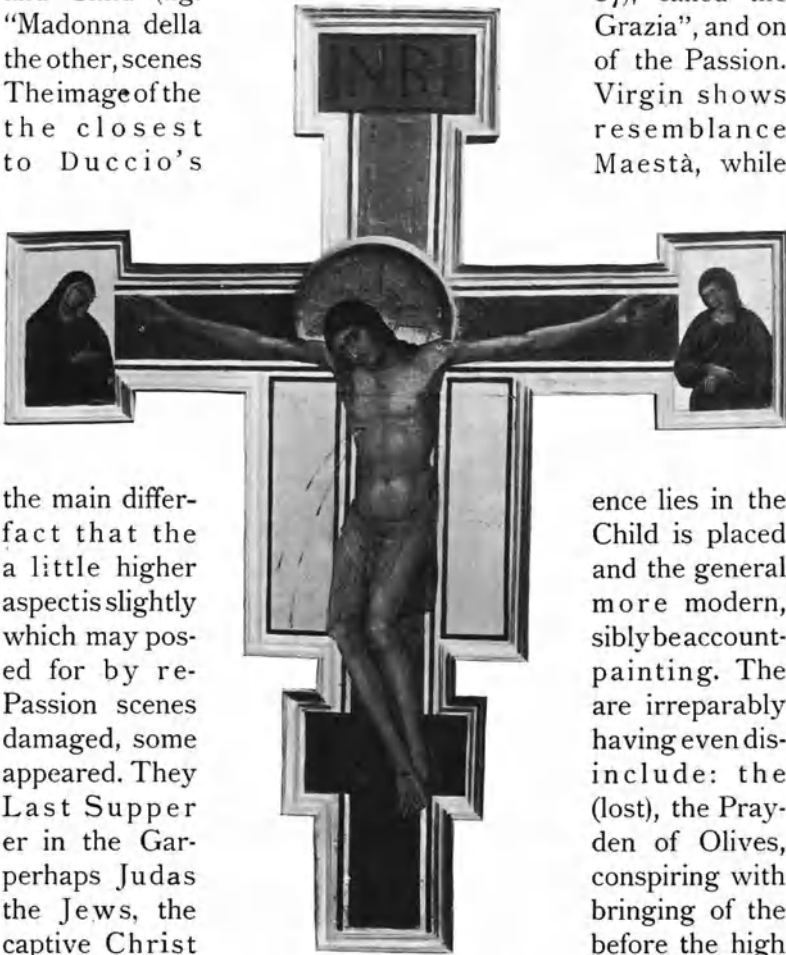
of this crucifix Segna renders altarpiece in to the same

painter all the more probable. As Dr. De Nicola says, this panel may be called an "assimilation", but not a copy, of Duccio's

(1) It is reproduced in *G. De Nicola, Una Copia di Segna di Tura della Maesta di Duccio, L'Arte, 1912, p. 32.*

Maestà". A document, which unhappily does not give us the name of the painter, mentions, however, that in 1316 the work was interrupted (1). It comprises on one side a Madonna and Child (fig. 87), called the "Madonna della Grazia", and on the other, scenes of the Passion. The image of the Virgin shows the closest resemblance to Duccio's

87), called the "Grazia", and on the other, scenes of the Passion. The Virgin shows the closest resemblance to Maestà, while



the main difference that the Child is placed a little higher and the general aspect is slightly more modern, which may be posed for by reason of the Passion scenes damaged, some of which have since appeared. They include the Last Supper in the Garden, perhaps Judas conspiring with the Jews, the captive Christ before the high priest Annas, St. Peter's denial, the Crowning with

Fig. 86. Segna di Buonaventura, Cathedral, Massa Maritima.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. I-tr.

ence lies in the Child is placed and the general more modern, which may be posed for by reason of the Passion scenes damaged, some of which have since appeared. They include the Last Supper in the Garden, perhaps Judas conspiring with the Jews, the captive Christ before the high priest Annas, St. Peter's denial, the Crowning with

(1) v. *De Nicola*, op. cit., p. 21, etc. with reproduction. *F. M. Perkins*, *The Burlington Magazine*, 1904, p. 83, note 7. *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1904, p. 191. *Weigelt*, and some others, however, attribute it to the school of Duccio, without being more precise.



Fig. 87. Segna di Buonaventura, Madonna. Cathedral, Massa Maritima.

Photo Minist. del Pubbl. Istr.

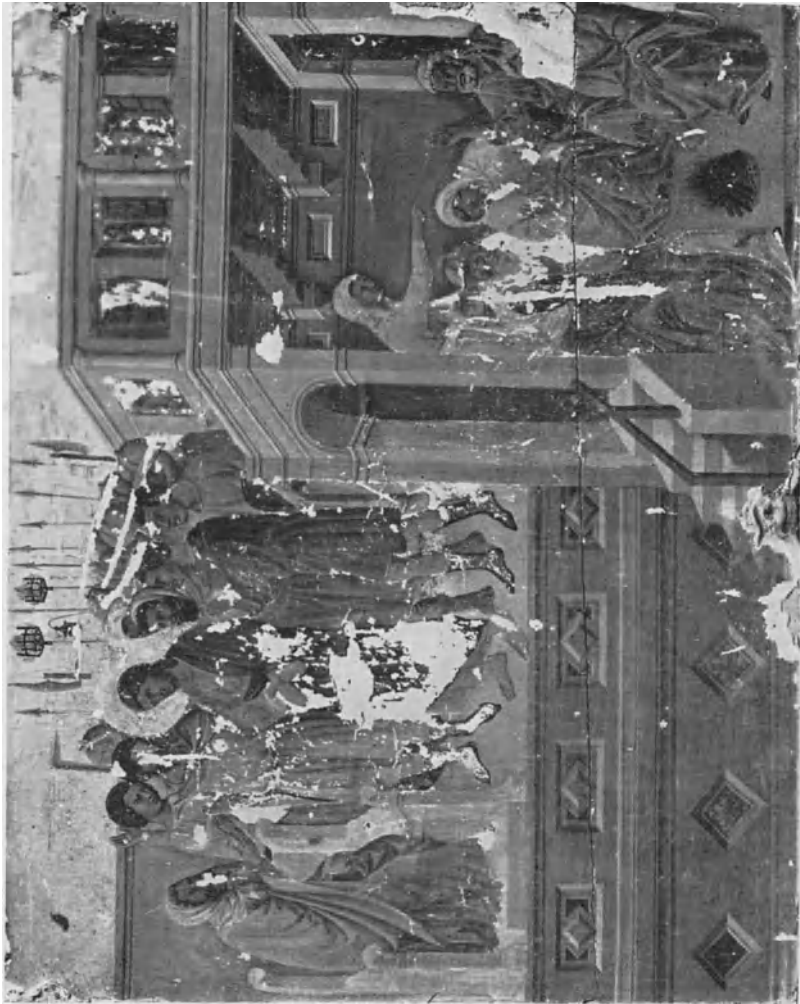


Fig. 88. Segna di Buonaventura, Christ before Caiaphas and St. Peter denying Christ. Cathedral, Massa Maritima.

Photo Minist. del Pubbl. Istr.

Mocking of Christ, the Flagellation, the Calvary, the Crucifixion, the Descent from the Cross, and the Entombment. In as far as its poor condition allows us to judge, we again find the drawing and expression superior to those of the two authentic works. However, in comparison with Duccio's, and Ugolino's, Segna's figures have but little vitality. Duccio's Byzantine reserve when



Fig. 89. Segna di Buonaventura, Madonna. Servi Church, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

the representation of dramatic action is concerned, results here in phlegmatic indifference.

Although I think the attribution to Segna of this last work is in all probability correct, we cannot call it his most characteristic production. The peculiarly elongated proportions of the signed pictures, most conspicuous in the crucifix of Arezzo, are here absent.



Fig. 90. Segna di Buonaventura, Madonna. Seminary, Siena.

Photo Anderson.



Fig. 91. Segna di Buonaventura, Mary Magdalene. Loeser Collection.
 Florence. Photo Reali.

Finer in execution and more beautiful is a Madonna in half-length above the door leading to the sacristy in the Servi church at Siena (fig. 89), a beautiful painting, thoroughly Ducciesque in



Fig. 92 Segna di Buonaventura, Madonna. Lehman Collection, New York.
Photo Brogi.



Fig. 93. Segna di Buonaventura, Madonna. Compagnia di S. Antonio,
Montalcino.

Photo Lombardi.

spirit, but somewhat lacking in refinement of detail, a fault especially noticeable in the hands. A few similar Madonnas of this master still exist; one in Siena, in the Seminary, next the church

of S. Francesco, (fig. 90); another in the Misericordia church of Grossetto ⁽¹⁾, while the Loeser collection, Florence, contains a Madonna ⁽²⁾ and a Magdalene (fig. 91) ⁽³⁾, obviously from the same hand. Outside Italy we find an example of Segna's Madonnas in the Lehman collection (fig. 92) ⁽⁴⁾.

In the S. Antonio Abbate church of Montalcino, a somewhat damaged Madonna (fig. 93) which may be attributed to Segna, forms the centre of a dismantled polyptych, the lateral panels of which show St. John the Evangelist, a holy female martyr, S. Augustine and S. Dominic. These works betray Duccio's immediate influence on the artist.

Segna has also left us two small pictures of less importance, one of the archangel Michael in the Gallery of Grossetto, evidently a terminal of a larger work ⁽⁵⁾, the other a panel representing the Magdalene, in the Gallery of Siena (no. 23) ⁽⁶⁾. Mr. Langton Douglas mentions an oval-shaped Madonna by Segna in the director's room of the Borghese Gallery, similar to that in the Seminary of Siena ⁽⁷⁾, and Mrs. Logan Berenson, an angel in the Czartoryski Museum at Cracow ⁽⁸⁾.

A very interesting creation of this master's, which indeed might pass for the best product of his hand, is a Crucifixion belonging to Lord Crawford (fig. 94) ⁽⁹⁾. Duccio's composition was obviously its inspiration, both showing the three crosses, around which fly six angels, with two large groups of people below. The drawing is minute and refined, the draping plastic;

⁽¹⁾ *C. A. Niccolosi*, *Il Litorale Maremmano*, Bergamo, 1910, p. 117

⁽²⁾ *Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1908, p. 7. *De Nicola*, *Catalogo*, no. 38, qualifies it as in the "manner of Segna".

⁽³⁾ *Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1908, p. 7, and 1913, p. 196.

⁽⁴⁾ *Perkins*, *Art. in America*, 1920, p. 195. This picture appeared at the exhibition of Siennese art as the property of Signor Giuggioli.

⁽⁵⁾ *Niccolosi*, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

⁽⁶⁾ *Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1913, p. 6, note 4. *De Nicola*, *Catalogo*, no. 72, describes it as in the "manner of Segna".

⁽⁷⁾ *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, III, p. 28, note 1.

⁽⁸⁾ *Rassegna d'Arte*, XV, 1915, p. 4.

⁽⁹⁾ At the Burlington Exhibition of Siennese Art it was even listed as a work of Duccio's. It has been attributed to Segna by *Venturi*, *Lusini* (*Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1912, p. 50) *Perkins* (*Rassegna d'Arte*, 1913, p. 38 note 8), and, somewhat hesitatingly, by Messrs. Weigelt and Langton Douglas.

the proportions and type, however, are rather different from Duccio's, and although the figures are more animated than in the panels of Massa Maritima, here too we detect a tendency toward a lack of vitality.

A crucifix signed by Segna exists — or existed — in the Alexander III Museum at Moscow (¹).

Among the many paintings usually attributed to Segna I do not think there is any other actually from his hand. Segna's followers were very numerous and for some time painted in his manner, even exhibiting a certain evolution, or at least a transformation, of the Ducciesque manner. Segna then occupied the same position toward Duccio as Taddeo Gaddi did toward Giotto, the difference being that Segna not only reflected the manner of his master, but also that of the latter's first and most important follower, Ugolino, from whom he borrowed the more conspicuous linear effects visible in his drawing, and the curious features, with their strongly incisive curves around chin, mouth, nose and eyes. Segna, however, has nothing of Ugolino's nervous agitation; on the contrary, he rather exaggerates Duccio's religious calm.

The dated works — the Maestà of Massa Maritima, of about 1316, and the crucifix of Arezzo, 1319 — do not enable us to construct the chronology of Segna's activities. However, the nearest to Duccio and therefore probably the earliest, is the Crucifixion in the collection of Lord Crawford; a different and more pronounced draughtsmanship in the features and more attenuated forms may be discovered in the Madonna of Castiglione Fiorentino, the polyptych panels in the Gallery of Siena, and the Magdalene of the Loeser collection. These same characteristics become more obvious in the crucifix of Arezzo, with which we may class the Madonna of the Lehman collection; those at Siena, of which that in the Servi church seems earlier than the Madonna in the Seminary, may in that case be the outcome of a later — probably

(¹) *De Nicola*, op. cit., p. 32, note 2. Once Mr. Perkins attributed to Segna's later manner the SS. Louis and Francis in the Gallery of Siena (*Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1908, p. 48) but afterwards retracted this opinion (*Rassegna d'Arte*, 1917, p. 45). *Prof. Venturi* (*L'Arte*, 1905, p. 425) attributed to Segna a Nativity then in the Sterbini collection, Rome, but afterwards in the Johnson collection, Philadelphia, which, however, belongs to the school of Cavallini. See vol. I, p. 540.



Fig. 94. Segna di Buonaventura, Crucifixion. Lord Crawford's Collection.



Fig. 95. School of Segna di Buonaventura, Madonna. Platt Collection, Englewood, U. S. A.

a final phase of development, from the shaping of which the influence of Simone Martini cannot be entirely excluded ⁽¹⁾.

Among the works showing a particular stylistic relation in respect of Segna's manner, there are some which may be grouped together, thus enabling us to establish certain unnamed artists. At least one of these appears to have been in no wise inferior to Segna, and might have been his contemporary and companion as well as his disciple. To this artist we may attribute three paintings. The first is a Madonna enthroned, feeding the Child, and attended by four small saints: two on either side, one above the other. It is now the property of Mr. Platt, Englewood, N. J. (fig. 95), its provenance being the monastery of S. Eugenio near Siena, and is certainly the most important contribution which has been left to us by this artist ⁽²⁾. His draughtsmanship is superior to Segna's, especially in the draperies, and though more conventional, he has a greater sense of harmony; the strong and severe drawing of the features is not unlike Ugolino's.

Without doubt by the same painter is a head and shoulders of the Magdalene (apparently cut off a larger figure) in the Fine Arts Museum, Boston (no. 49) (fig. 96), a work in every way similar to the foregoing ⁽³⁾. Somewhat less obvious is the resemblance between these two paintings and a panel of the half-length figure of St. Thomas holding a book, in the collection of Mr. Berenson ⁽⁴⁾, which, however, after minute investigation, shows sufficient points of contact with the other two for us to believe it to be by the same artist.

Of slightly later date and by another master, though one probably inspired by these examples, is a Madonna della Misericordia in the church of Vertina, under whose cloth-of-gold mantle are sheltered two groups of adorers ⁽⁵⁾.

To another close follower of Segna we owe a fragment of a

⁽¹⁾ *Mr. Langton Douglas* has already commented on this influence, *op. cit.*, p. 28, note.

⁽²⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1908, p. 38, and *Art in America*, 1920, p. 199. It was attributed to Duccio himself by Mr. Berenson.

⁽³⁾ *Mr. Perkins*, *Art in America*, 1920, p. 199, has already attributed these two works to the same artist. In the Museum catalogue the second panel is ascribed to Segna.

⁽⁴⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1913, p. 39.

⁽⁵⁾ Published by *Mr. Perkins*, *idem*, p. 36, as probably by Niccola di Segna.

fine Coronation of the Virgin in the Gallery of Budapest, of which only the figure of the Virgin and the hands of the Saviour holding the crown remain (1).

The same Gallery possesses a half-length figure of St. Lucy, which bears so much resemblance to the above that it seems highly possible that it is a work of the same artist (2). By the same hand, and doubtless belonging to the same polyptych, considering the identity of form and the fact that both belonged to the Ramboux collection, is a St. Margaret (no. 513) in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne (fig. 97). Perhaps by the same master, though not of equal quality, is a Madonna rising from her throne, obviously at the approach of the angel Gabriel, who must have been represented on another panel; it was in the Helbing collection, Rome (3).

A triptych in the collection of Christ Church College, Oxford, shows great similarity in style to the foregoing pictures, and especially to the last; the Madonna is represented enthroned in the centre and surrounded by six angels, while the wings depict the Crucifixion and St. Francis receiving the stigmata (4).

Numerous are the half-length figures of the Madonna which, though in type obviously akin to the art of Segna, show in their execution a more advanced stage of Sieneese art. It is doubtful if any of these were produced prior to the death of the master.

The oldest and nearest to Segna himself is a Madonna, with the prophets in the background, in the Gallery of Siena (no. 45) (fig. 98). Though somewhat broader in proportions, the inspiration of Segna's Madonnas (for instance, those still found in Siena, in S. Francesco or the Servi) is very obvious, although more in the type and the general aspect than in technique.

A little group of half-length figures of the Virgin and Babe

(1) Reprod. in *von Terey*, op. cit., p. 26.

(2) Catalogued under Niccolo di Segna to whom other critics also attribute it. *von Terey*, op. cit., p. 29. *Suida*. L'Arte, 1907, p. 178, ascribed it to Segna.

(3) *B. Cagnola*, Rassegna d'Arte Senese, 1908, p. 45, published it as a work of Segna's.

(4) Attributed to Segna by *Langton Douglas*, Crowe and Cavalcaselle, III, p. 28, note 1. This opinion is not shared by *Tancred Borenius*, Pictures by the Old Masters in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford, etc., 1916, p. 38.



Fig. 96. School of Segna di Buonaventura, Mary Magdalene. Fine Arts Museum, Boston.

shows certain peculiar points of resemblance in the type of the Child, whose plebian appearance is accentuated by His dull expression and tight conventional curls. Most closely resembling



Fig. 97. School of Segna di Buonaventura, St. Margaret. Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne.



Fig. 98. School of Segna di Buonaventura, Madonna. Accademia, Siena.

Photo Lombardi.

Segna's own Madonnas is one in the Fine Arts Museum of Boston (no. 60) (fig. 99), especially the tall figure of the Virgin and her sharply defined features ⁽¹⁾. Another will be found in the Lehman

⁽¹⁾ Catalogued under Ugolino.



Fig. 99. School of Segna di Buonaventura, Madonna. Fine Arts Museum,
Boston.

Photo Reali.



Fig. 100. School of Segna di Buonaventura, Madonna. Private Collection.
Photo Lombardi.

collection, New York, and a third in that of Mr. Platt at Englewood, N. J. (1); and these two so strongly resemble each other that they

(1) These three Madonnas have been published by Mr. *Perkins*, *Art in America*, 1920, p. 195 etc.



Fig. 101. School of Segna di Buonaventura, Madonna. Schiff Collection, Pisa.

Photo Reali.



Fig. 102. School of Segna di Buonaventura, Madonna, Annunciation and Nativity. Metropolitan Museum, New York.



Fig. 103. Distant follower of Segna di Buonaventura, Madonna and saints. Private Collection. Photo Reali.

may well be attributed to the same artist at different phases of his career, in which case the former, with its likeness to Segna's work and its traces of Ugolino's influence, must be the earlier. A fourth Madonna, perhaps the finest of the group, was to be found some years ago in a private collection in Florence (fig. 100).

Forming part of this group there is also a Madonna in the Schiff collection at Pisa (fig. 101) ⁽¹⁾, originally in the church of S. Francesco, Lucca; very possibly the picture which Vasari had in mind when he asserted that Duccio worked for the churches of this city as he did for those of Pisa and Pistoia.

Some other works show us the later evolution of the Ducciesque school, after it had emerged from the influence of Segna. Such is the panel representing, in its upper part, the half-length figure of the Virgin with the Child, and below, the Annunciation and the Nativity, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (fig. 102); it is of coarse workmanship, but was none the less painted under the more direct inspiration of Segna. With the master himself we must closely associate the author of an enthroned Madonna between SS. Bartholomew and Ansano, with a microscopic adorer below; a privately owned picture (fig. 103). Somewhat more remote is a picture in the collection of Mr. Berenson, showing us the Madonna seated on a Gothic throne, over the high back of which look four little angels, while the Babe pulls at His mother's veil (fig. 104); a very familiar motif in the panels of this group. In this work, the date of which may approach the middle of the 14th century, all the Ducciesque archaism has disappeared. We find yet one other picture of this period in the splendid Lehman collection in New York, in which perhaps there are no more reminiscences of Duccio, or, to be exact, of Segna, than of Simone Martini. The enthroned Madonna, whose robe falls in loose Gothic folds, holds the Child, blessing, with her left arm, while a holy bishop recommends a kneeling donor (fig. 105). We may also discover Ducciesque elements in a work of even later date: the Saviour amidst the half-length figures of a bearded saint and the Baptist, St. Mary Magdalene and St. Antony of Padua, all in separate divisions of a panel, in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum of Cologne (no. 509)

⁽¹⁾ *R. Schiff*, Rivenimento di due opere di Duccio.



Fig. 104. Distant follower of Segna di Buonaventura, Madonna.
Berenson Collection, Settignano.

Photo Reali.



Fig. 105. Distant follower of Segna di Buonaventura, Madonna with Saints and adorer. Lehman Collection, New-York.

(fig. 106); but these elements are too vague to be the basis of a more precise classification (¹).

A big polyptych in the Gallery of Borgo San Sepolchro, originally in the church of Sta. Chiara, where Cavalcaselle attributed it to Niccolo di Segna, shows us, in the centre, the Lord arising from His tomb, and at the sides four half-length figures of saints, with angels in the spandrels; over the central panel is a prophet, and over each side panel two saints, while the terminals contain six entire figures of saints, and the predella, five scenes of the Passion. Here the Ducciesque elements are very conspicuous, showing a particular relation to Segna; type and colouring, on the other hand, seem to lead the way to Taddeo di Bartolo, and the picture obviously dates from the second half of the 14th century.

These pictures reveal to us that although we cannot actually prove the persistence of the Ducciesque tradition through the second half of the 14th century, certain artists seem none the less to have derived their inspiration from this source (²).

Of Segna's two painter sons, Niccolo and Francesco, we know

(¹) Mr. *Ferkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1913, p. 38, note 4, believes this picture to be by a contemporary of Bartoli di Fredi or Lucca di Tommè, in which I concur, although I fail to note here the resemblance to the latter artist's manner which this critic perceives. Crowe and Cavalcaselle and their recent commentators ascribe this picture to Niccolo di Segna.

(²) Works which might also be attributed to Segna's school I have seen or found mentioned as follows: *Siena*, Accademia, a damaged Madonna from S. Giorgio Petroia (*Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1905, p. 110); no. 41: half-length figure of the Virgin, with whose veil the Child plays (inferior work); no. 593: a half-length figure of the Madonna and Child, entirely repainted, but underneath one might conjecture the hand of Segna; S. Spirito Sacristy, Madonna; Sta. Marta. (orphanage), Madonna; in the Abbey of S. Eugenio (residential part), enthroned Madonna with Child standing on her knee, attended by two saints and angels; a Crucifixion, with the Virgin and St. John in the apex; the Exhibition of Sienese Art, 1904, p. 305—306 of Catalogue, nos. 14 and 18 *In the region of Siena: Casole d'Elsa*, chapel of the Franciscans, on the altar, a much repainted half-length figure of the Madonna; *Castiglione d'Orcia*, in the house of the curate of the Pieve, previously in the church, Madonna with Child, Who sucks His fingers (fig. 107) (*Bargagli Petrucci*, Pienze, etc., p. 119); *San Gimignano*, Sta. Chiara, Madonna and eight adoring saints (repainted), attributed to Segna by Perkins (*Rassegna*

only works of the former (1); he is a less able artist than his father, but is not without interest, because he kept alive the Ducciesque tradition at a time when this tradition had few followers. He is mentioned in a document of 1331 as renting a workshop from the monks of the Casa di Misericordia (2).

The only authentic work we have of Niccolo di Segna is a crucifix in the Accademia of Siena (no. 46), which is signed "*Nicholaus Segne fecit hoc opus*" and bears the date 1345. The anatomy of the Crucified is a good piece of work in the early Sienese manner, but the expressions on the faces of the half-length figures of the Virgin and St. John on the terminals of the cross piece are painful and unpleasant. The drawing is harder and more angular than any we have found so far in other Ducciesque work.

The above characteristics allow us to attribute to the same artist a similar important crucifix in Sta. Maria dei Servi, Siena (fig. 109). The lateral figures are missing; the drawing is harder, and the expression more painful.

I do not believe that there are many works by this painter. I think, however, that he may be the author of the figure of St. Francis in the Museum at Altenburg (no. 46) attributed to him by Herr Weigelt (3); we find the same inclination to rigidity of form and hard angular features which we observe in the two crucifixes, but to a less extent, and if the work be by our artist, it seems to belong to a different period.

d'Arte Senese, 1908, p. 7), S. Pietro, niche to the left of the choir, the Virgin and St. John under the Cross (fig. 108); *San Leonardo al Lago*, Madonna, only known by rumour (Weigelt, op. cit., p. 177, note 1) *Montepulciano*, Conservatorio di S. Girolano, Madonna, one end of a cross-bar; *Derby*, Locko Park, Drury Lowe collection, Madonna (Douglas's note on *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, III, p. 28). The Picture Gallery of Brussels possesses a half-length figure of the Madonna with the Child, which seems a 15th century copy of a picture of Segna's.

(1) Francesco painted in 1339 a panel for the town hall of Bagno di Petriccoli, *G. Milanesi*, Siena e il suo territorio, p. 166 and: Sulla Storia dell'Arte Toscana, p. 46.

(2) *Borghesi e Bianchi*, op. cit., loc. cit.

(3) *Weigelt*, op. cit., p. 191. Herr Weigelt is the only author I know who admires Niccolo's manner, rating him even higher than his father.



Fig. 106. Distant follower of Segna di Buonaventura, polyptych. Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne.

More in the manner of the two crucifixes are the figures of saints and prophets which decorate the sacristy cupboard of S. Lucchese, near Poggibonsi⁽¹⁾. Doubtless by the hand of Niccolo are the frescoes of the Prayer in the Garden of Olives and the Crucifixion, in the church of Sta. Colomba at Monteriggione; but with any of the other attributions to this artist I find in current literature, I do not agree⁽²⁾.

Niccolo was obviously a transition

⁽¹⁾ Perkins, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1913, p. 36 note 1.

⁽²⁾ I do not know the Nativity of the ex-von Kaufmann collection Berlin (*Langton Douglas*, note on *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, III, p. 30). A crucifix in one of the rooms of the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena, is executed in Niccolo's manner.



Fig. 107. Distant follower of Segna di Buoneventura, Madonna.
Castiglione d'Orcia.

Photo Istit. Arte Grafiche.

painter, and none of his work can be called purely Ducciesque, as too many other elements enter into it. The hard outlines of the almost grimacing faces remind us of a certain phase of

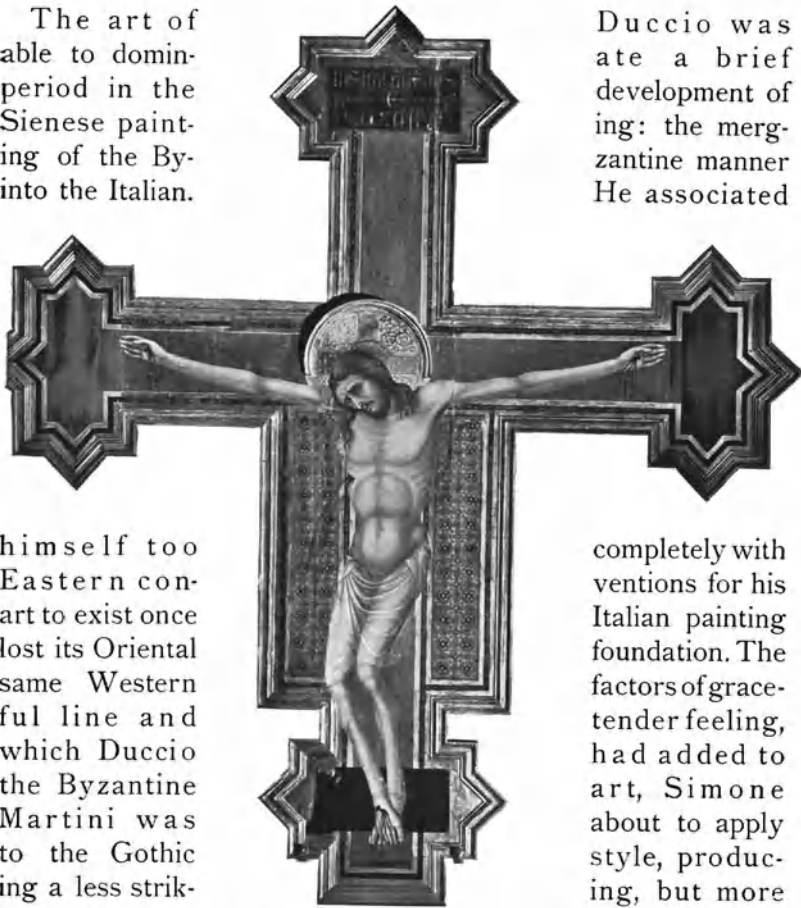


Fig. 108. Distant follower of Segna di Buonaventura, Virgin and St. John.
S. Pietro, San Gimignano.

Photo Logi.

Pietro Lorenzetti's, and the elegant but not over-elongated forms of Simone Martini. With Niccolo di Segna, then, we come to the rather sudden end of the Ducciesque tradition.

The art of able to domin- period in the Siene painting of the By- into the Italian.



Duccio was ate a brief development of ing: the merg- zantine manner He associated

himself too Eastern con- art to exist once lost its Oriental same Western ful line and which Duccio the Byzantine Martini was to the Gothic ing a less strik- homogenous, much more last- painting.

completely with ventions for his Italian painting foundation. The factors of grace- tender feeling, had added to art, Simone about to apply style, produc- ing, but more and therefore ing school of

Fig. 109. Niccolo di Segna, Crucifix. Servi church, Siena.
Photo Anderson.

CHAPTER III.

SIMONE MARTINI⁽¹⁾ AND DONATO.

Simone Martini is the most important figure of the Sienese school of painting of the 14th century, and if we consider to what an extent he inspired the artists of later generations, we might almost say the most important figure of his day, because it was he who created that particularly fascinating style of painting, which not only flourished in Siena until well into the 15th century, and entirely dominated the schools of Pisa, Orvieto and Naples, but made its influence felt as far a field as France, Germany, England and Spain.

This extremely charming Italian painter was born, according to Vasari, in 1284, and although we have nothing to confirm it, the statement is possibly correct. In his account of the artist's life, Vasari calls him Simone Memmi, a mistake which has misled even modern critics, and which owes its origin to the Aretine biographer having thought that Simone's brother-in-law and collaborator, Lippo Memmi, was Simone's own brother.

Simone's father was called Martino, and lived in the S. Egidio quarter of Siena. He had another son, also a painter, of the name of Donato, about whom more will be said later on. Vasari tells us that Simone received his artistic instruction from Giotto, an affirmation impossible to believe. It seems much more likely that his education was confided to Memmo di Filippuccio, and that an intimate friendship existed between pupil and master, whose daughter, Simone later on married.

In the first instance then, we must devote a few lines to Memmo

(¹) *A. Gosche*, Simone Martini, Leipzig, 1899; *M. L. Gielly*, Les Trecentistes Siennois, S. M. et Lippo Memmi, Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne, 1913, p. 253; *R. van Marle*, S. M. et les peintres de son école, Strasbourg, 1920.

di Filipuccio ⁽¹⁾, the father-in-law and, most probably, the master of Simone Martini. In 1303 and 1307 he is employed as painter in San Gimignano; in 1310 he draws an annual pension; in 1317, together with his son, Lippo, he executes the extant Maestà in the town hall of San Gimignano, while in 1321 he is established in Siena, in which place he is mentioned as having borrowed money.

The Maestà of 1317 is the only authentic work we have of this artist, and, as I have already said, it was executed in collaboration with his son. This is proved by the document reported by Davidsohn: "*Ei depinsero le figure nel palazzo nella sala del Consiglio del popolo per Memmo pittore e suo figliolo*".

The fresco in question (figs. 110—112) is an adaptation of one which Simone painted two years earlier in the town hall of Siena, the general lines of the composition being the same.

The Virgin is enthroned under a canopy, with an array of saints at either side; the throne is lower, and the lateral figures more erect and more uniform in type than in Simone's Maestà. The holy martyrs Agnes and Agatha stand next the throne. To the right the kneeling Podesta, Nello de Tolommei, is presented by St. Nicholas, behind whom are St. John the Baptist, St. Peter and St. Galgano(?), while the two rows behind are formed by angels. To the left, behind St. Agatha, we see the holy bishop Geminius, followed by SS. John the Evangelist, Paul and Aniano(?). The last two figures on either side — on the right St. Antony of Padua, and St. Louis of France, and on the left St. Fina(?) and St. Antony Abbot — are probably additions which Benozzo Gozzoli made to this fresco when he restored it in 1467. He also copied the inscription, parts of which are now seen on a different level, but which originally no doubt ran: "*Lippus Memmo di Senis me pinsit al tempo di Messer Mino de Talommei (sic) Di Siena Onorevole Podesta e Capitano del Chomune Del Popolo Della Terra di San Gimignano*". Lippo's name is alone mentioned in the signature, but we notice in this fresco, especially in the drawing of the features, many archaisms, no trace of which is to be found in Lippo's other works, executed at a later date,

(1) *J. Carlyle Graham*, Una scuola d'arte a San Gimignano nel Trecento, Rassegna d'Arte Senese, 1909, p. 39. *R. Davidsohn*, Forschungen zur Geschichte von Florenz, II, Berlin, 1900, p. 311. *R. van Marle*, Memmo di Filipuccio, Rassegna d'Arte Senese, 1920, p. 50.

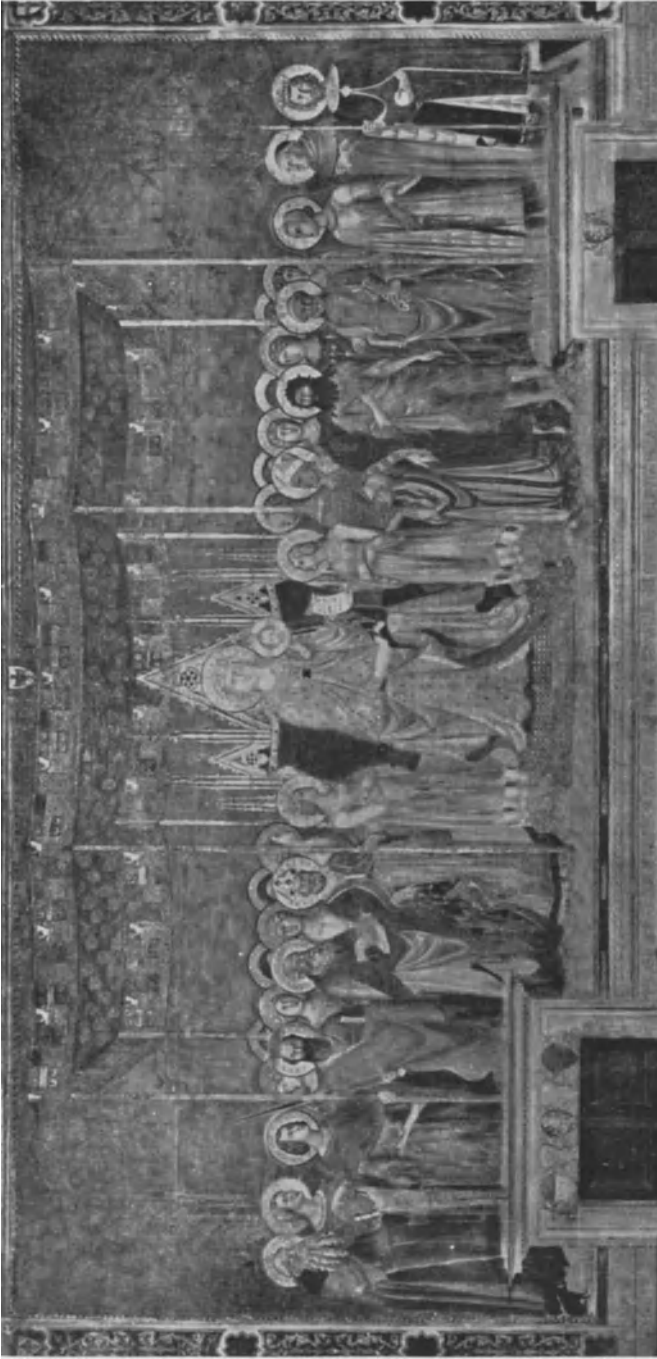


Fig. 110. Memmo di Filipuccio and Lippo Memmi, *Maestà*, 1317. Town Hall, San Gimignano.

Photo Alinari.



Fig. 111. Detail of fig. 110.

Photo Lombardi.

when he was directly influenced by Simone. The curious hard lines, particularly in the faces, the small mouths, straight, long noses, and heavy-lidded eyes belong to an art other than Simone's, although the latter was, at that time, an established and flourishing painter.

Another mural painting at San Gimignano is possibly a work

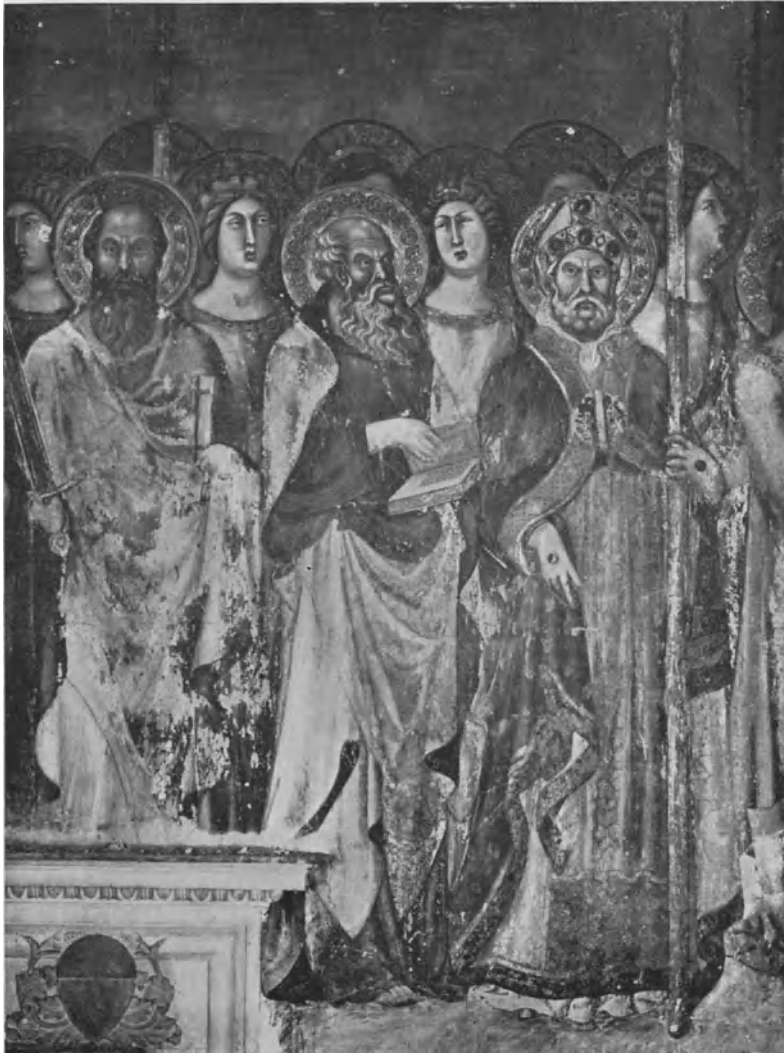


Fig. 112. Detail of fig. 110.

Photo Lombardi.

of Memmo di Filipuccio ⁽¹⁾, but as in the execution of the *Maestà* he was assisted by his son, and as we do not know how much

⁽¹⁾ *J. Carlyle Graham*, op. cit., attributes to Memmo a Last Judgment in the Cathedral, which, although of poor quality, is obviously a work by Taddeo di Bartolo, who signed the frescoes near-by.



Fig. 113. Memmo di Filipuccio (?), Maestà. S. Giacomo, San Gimignano.

Photo Logi.

Benozzo altered it, the comparison is a rather delicate matter. The fresco in question adorns the church of S. Giacomo, and represents the Virgin enthroned between SS. James Major and John the Evangelist, with the head and shoulders of two angels behind (fig. 113). In this fresco, besides some archaisms which connect it with the art of a previous century, we find a certain

grace and sentiment, forming, as it were, an introduction to Simone's art, while in the proportions, aspect, technical details and peculiarities of form, such as the curiously shaped feet, we discover points of resemblance with the fresco of the *Maestà*. Consequently, it is possible that we have in this painting an earlier work of the same artist, Memmo, Simone's father-in-law, and probable master.

A considerable number of dates relating to Simone's career are known to us. In 1315 he signed the extant *Maestà* in the town hall of Siena, and although we know no authentic works anterior to this date, there must exist at least a few, because it may be supposed that the authorities would order this official painting from no one but an artist of recognized ability. It was no doubt in 1317 that Simone signed the picture of St. Louis of Toulouse crowning his brother, Robert of Anjou. It is probable that the artist himself went to Naples, because not only does there exist a document of July 23rd 1317 in which King Robert orders an annual salary of fifty ounces of gold to be paid to the Knight Simone Martini ⁽¹⁾, but the whole Neapolitan school of the 14th century is so entirely under Simone's influence that we can only explain it by a prolonged sojourn of the artist in this city.

Robert of Anjou was a man of great refinement and artistic taste. He and his brothers paid frequent visits to Siena, where the King had made an alliance with the other Guelphs. It was no doubt on these occasions that King Robert became acquainted with, and learned to appreciate the art of Siena.

In 1320, however, Simone had returned from the South, because that year he signed the still existing polyptych for the church of Sta. Caterina, Pisa ⁽²⁾, and signed and dated the altar-piece for the Dominican monastery at Orvieto. The date of the latter has generally been read 1321, but since the picture has been cleaned,

⁽¹⁾ *H. W. Schulz*, *Denkmäler der Kunst des Mittelalters in Unter-italien*, III, Leipzig, 1860, p. 165. This author's opinion that the document possibly refers to another person of the same name seems to me without foundation although another Maestro Symon, probably a Neapolitan, was active in Naples contemporaneously. *Gosche*, *op. cit.*, p. 35, note 1.

⁽²⁾ *Bonaini*, *Memorie inedite intorno alla vita e ai dipinti di Francesco Traini*, Pisa, 1846.

it is very clear that the numerical I does not follow the date MCCCXX. According to the monastery archives, Trasmondo Monaldeschi, Bishop of Soana ⁽¹⁾, who ordered this painting, in which he had himself represented, paid the artist one hundred florins ⁽²⁾.

During the years 1321 and 1322, Simone was busily occupied in his native town. We find that he received 26 pounds for restoring his fresco of 1315, and 40 guilders for a Madonna and a crucifix for the Council of Nine ⁽³⁾, but the second of these paintings was left to his pupil Mino di Cino Ughi. In 1322 payments were made to him for a painting in the Loggia of the Palazzo Pubblico, also for others in the chapel of the Council of Nine and for a St. Christopher with the coat of arms of the Podesta in the Biccherna.

In 1324 Simone married Giovanna, the daughter of Memmo di Filipuccio. A year later, he executed a painting for the palace of the Captain of the People ⁽⁴⁾; in 1326 he was employed by the town as architect to inspect certain houses in the neighbourhood, and in 1327 he was paid for quite modest ornamental work gilding lilies and lions — no doubt a product of his "bottega". The year after, Simone executed the extant fresco of the Condottiere Guidoriccio dei Fogliani, on the wall opposite the Maestà of 1315; a document which refers to this fresco as the picture of Montamassi and Sassoforte informs us that on August 2nd he received 16 guilders for it.

In 1329 he executed two angels for the altar of the Council of Nine, and, together with Neri Mancini, decorated some houses at Ansedonia, belonging to the city. The following year he painted a figure of Marcus Regulus, again for the Council of Nine, and was active at Arcidosso. In 1332 he executed a pedestal for a cross for the same Council.

In 1333 Simone, with his brother-in-law Lippo, signed and dated the Annunciation for the altar of the chapel of S. Ansano,

⁽¹⁾ And not of Savona as Cavalcaselle read. Soana is a small bishop's seat near Orvieto; it was permanently occupied by the Monaldeschi.

⁽²⁾ *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, III, p. 39, note 1.

⁽³⁾ *Milanesi*, Documenti per la Storia del' Arte Senese, I, p. 217 etc.

⁽⁴⁾ This, as well as most of the following documentary information, is furnished by *Milanesi*, op. cit., p. 218.

in the Cathedral; from there it was transported to the church dedicated to this saint, but now is one of the gems of the Uffizi. Of the 316 pounds, 17 sols, which Simone was paid for this work, he gave 10 golden guilders to his collaborator, simply for the gilding and decoration of the lateral panel on which St. Ansano is depicted.

Della Valle ⁽¹⁾ speaks of a Madonna, enthroned with the Saviour, and surrounded by angels which Simone executed on the facade of a house, opposite the Cathedral, and dated 1335.

In February 1339 Simone, with the permission of the authorities of Siena, and accompanied by his wife and his brother Donato, left for Avignon. He was called to this town probably through the intervention of the art loving Cardinal Jacopo Stefaneschi, who, as Dr. De Nicola has proved ⁽²⁾, was Simone Martini's protector at Avignon, and not through the intervention of Cardinal Annibale de Ceccano, as has frequently been believed, and still less through the mediation of Pandolfo Malatesta, as Vasari pretends.

During 1340 while at Avignon, Simone made various payments for a house at Siena, which he must have bought shortly before leaving. In 1342 he executed there the signed panel of the Lord at the age of twelve, returning from the temple. At Avignon itself traces still remain of the Madonna in fresco, in a lunette over the door of Notre Dame des Doms. Simone and his brother represented the Dominicans in a call of this order before the Papal Court at Avignon ⁽³⁾.

Simone died at Avignon in July 1344. A month later his death was registered at Siena, and a funeral service celebrated the same day; the account for this was settled by Lippo ⁽⁴⁾. As he left by will his house and furniture to his wife and the rest of his belongings to his nephews and nieces, it may be concluded that he died childless. In 1355 his inheritors and those of Donato, who died in 1347, had a law suit.

During the last years of his life Simone enjoyed the friendship

⁽¹⁾ Lettere Senese, II, p. 98.

⁽²⁾ *De Nicola*, L'Affresco di Simone Martini ad Avignone, L'Arte, 1906, p. 336.

⁽³⁾ *Milanesi*, Doc. Sen., I, p. 216.

⁽⁴⁾ *Milanesi*, pp. 243 and 244.

of the much younger Petrarch ⁽¹⁾ who in the 84th of his "Familiar Epistles" says that "he has known two talented painters, the one, Giotto who has great fame amongst the moderns, the other, Simone the Sienese". We gather from this that Petrarch was of the opinion that Giotto was the more celebrated of the two. However, two of his sonnets reveal the intimate friendship which existed between poet and painter. In that usually bearing the number 49 (in some editions 58), Petrarch, speaking of the portrait Simone made of Laura, says:

"But certainly my Simone must have been in Paradise
Of which this gentle lady forms a part
There he saw her and portrayed her on paper
To give evidence here below of her beautiful face" ⁽²⁾

In the following sonnet the poet praises the excellence with which the painter executed the portrait of Laura ⁽³⁾.

There is no doubt that Petrarch here alludes to a real portrait, obviously designed in silverpoint (stile), on parchment (charte).

That Petrarch charged Simone to make a portrait of the object of his deep and poetical love is only another proof of their mutual affection. The poet evidently thought Simone worthy of understanding his sublime passion, and by this we obtain an insight into the character of Simone, which only confirms what his spiritual and ethereal art leads us to surmise. Again, the term "my Simone", used by the poet hints at a close and heart-felt attachment.

The various portraits said to be Laura's, such as the one Vasari discovered in the Spanish Chapel, do not represent this lady; it

⁽¹⁾ *P. Rossi*, *Simone Martini e Petrarca*, *Arte Antica Senese*, I, Siena, 1904, p. 160.

⁽²⁾ verses 5—8

"Ma certo il mio Simon fu in paradiso
On de questa gentil donna fi parte
Ivi la vide, e la ritrasse in charte
Per far vede qua giu del suo bel viso".

⁽³⁾ Verses 1—4:

"Quando giunse à Simon l'alto concetto
Ch'à mio nome gli pose in man lo stile
S'havesse date à l'opera gentile
Con la figura, voce ed intelletto", etc. etc.

is possible, however, that she is shown in a miniature of the St. George codex in the Vatican, as will be seen later.

A faint trace of the friendship which united these two great artists will be found in the oeuvre of Simone, in one of his weakest products. In 1326 Petrarch lost a Virgil codex to which he was particularly attached, and which he did not recover until twelve years later ⁽¹⁾. This book, which is now in the Ambrosiana Library of Milan is adorned with a miniature; on the verso an inscription in which the great student of Petrarch, de Nolhac, has recognized the poet's own hand, runs:

"Mantua Virgilium qui talia carmina finxit
Sena tulit Symonem digito qui talia pinxit".

That Petrarch, without being sure of the facts, could have written these lines, in which he affirms that the miniature was painted by Simone's own hand, is just as unlikely as the supposition that the painter, desirous of performing an act of kindness to his beloved friend on the recovery of this long-lost treasure, would have charged a pupil with the execution of this miniature. Such arguments as these, rather than any artistic considerations, lead us to accept this miniature, which, though in Simone's manner, is rather beneath the standard of his other productions, as the work of his own hand. Further, those who question the authenticity of this work should remember that we have no genuine miniature of Simone's with which to compare it, and that we do not find, amongst the numerous documents referring to this artist, any record which might lead us to believe that he was ever a painter of miniatures. Simone, then, in his old age, may for once have tried his hand at this branch of painting, more, probably, for sentimental reasons than because he felt assured of the result. These considerations sufficiently explain why this miniature, which is by no means of inferior workmanship, falls somewhat short of the other creations of his genius. ⁽²⁾

A problem not easy to solve is that relating to Simone's

⁽¹⁾ *Müntz*, Petrarque et Simone Martini, à propos du Virgile de l'Ambrosienne, *Gazette Archéologique*, 1887, p. 102.

⁽²⁾ *L. Venturi*, *L'Arte*, 1922, p. 243 also admits for these reasons Simone's authorship.

creations before the *Maestà* of 1315. As I have already stated, we cannot reasonably assume that in a city so rich in painters as Siena was at that time, a young and unknown artist would have been entrusted with such an important fresco for the Municipal Palace. But there is just one thing which might induce us to ascribe this painting to an early date in the artist's career: namely, the frequent occurrence of various reminiscences of Duccio's manner to be found in it.

A panel in which such reminiscences are even more plainly evident, and which, I think, must be the earliest work of this artist's now in our possession, is a half-length figure of the Saviour, in the attitude of benediction, clad in a green tunic, with a red cloak, in the Vatican Gallery (no. 27) (fig. 114). This bears a strong resemblance to the Byzantine type which Duccio adopted from the East.

The peculiar loose draping of the above figure is found again in another picture which may be also a juvenile work. This is the half-length figure of St. John the Evangelist, obviously part of a polyptych, in the late Sterbini collection in Rome ⁽¹⁾, but recently this work was put up for public auction in Paris and it has now passed into other hands. Here Duccio's influence is manifest not in the type or general aspect, but in a few technical details, such as the treatment of the hair, and certain linear effects, as well as in the folds of the drapery, which betrays the same Gothic feeling, as yet unmastered and alien to the subject, and more natural to the productions of another style. This half-length figure, however, is not so typical of Simone's early period as the Christ in the Vatican, the shape of Whose hands is indicative of another stage in the artist's development.

Two characteristic early works, revealing in their technique a close connection with the picture of the Saviour in the Vatican, are the half-length figures in the Berenson collection at Settignano, representing SS. Lucy and Catherine of Alexandria (fig. 115) ⁽²⁾. The conventionality apparent in these figures is less marked in the Sterbini panel. No doubt the two pictures formed part of a polyptych.

⁽¹⁾ *A. Venturi*, *La quadreria Sterbini in Roma*, *L'Arte*, VIII, 1905, p. 424.

⁽²⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, *Ancora dei dipinti sconosciuti della scuola Senese*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1908, p. 3.

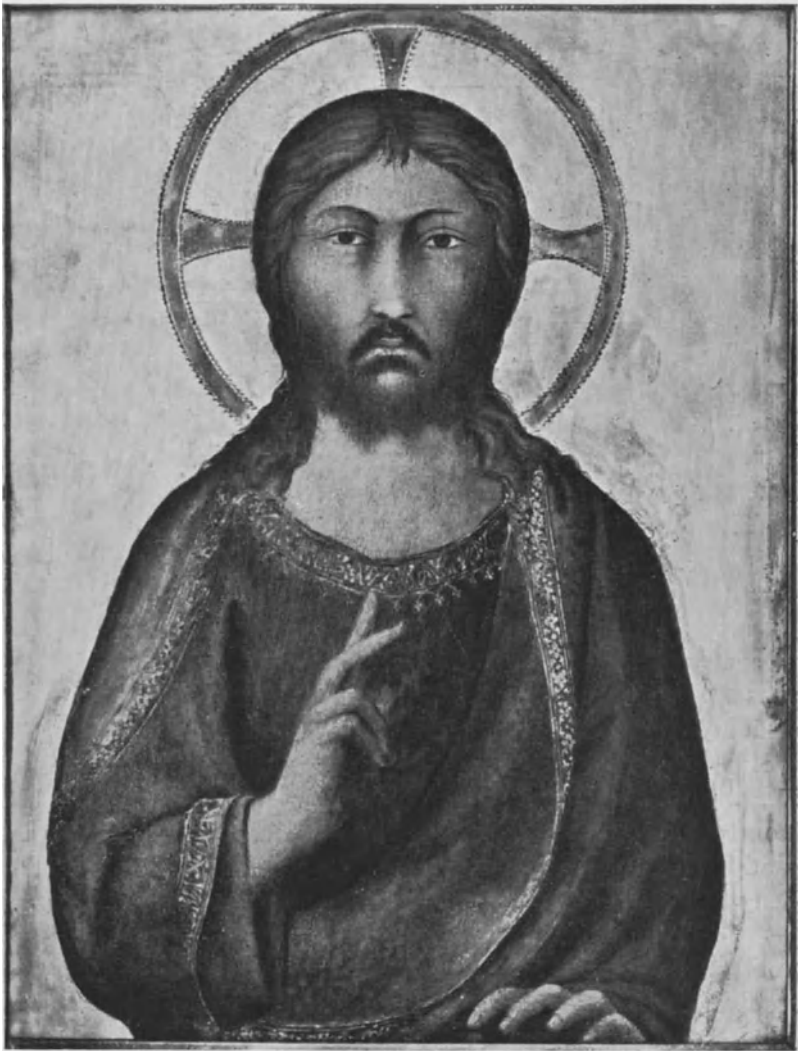


Fig. 114. Simone Martini, *The Saviour*. Vatican Gallery.

Photo Anderson.

The scarcity of works which may reasonably be attributed to this early period, and the Ducciesque elements evident in the *Maestà* and other paintings, suggest that before he had worked out a style of his own, perhaps under the guidance of Memmo di Filipuccio, Simone may have painted in the style of Duccio, and



Fig 115. Simone Martini, St. Lucy. Berenson Collection, Settignano.

may actually have belonged to the group of the master's direct followers.

The fresco of the *Maestà* (figs. 116–120) decorates the Sala della Mappamonda of the Palazzo Pubblico. Earlier writers took it to be the work of a certain Mino, who was employed as painter in this palace in 1289, and Romagnoli, making a mistake in his

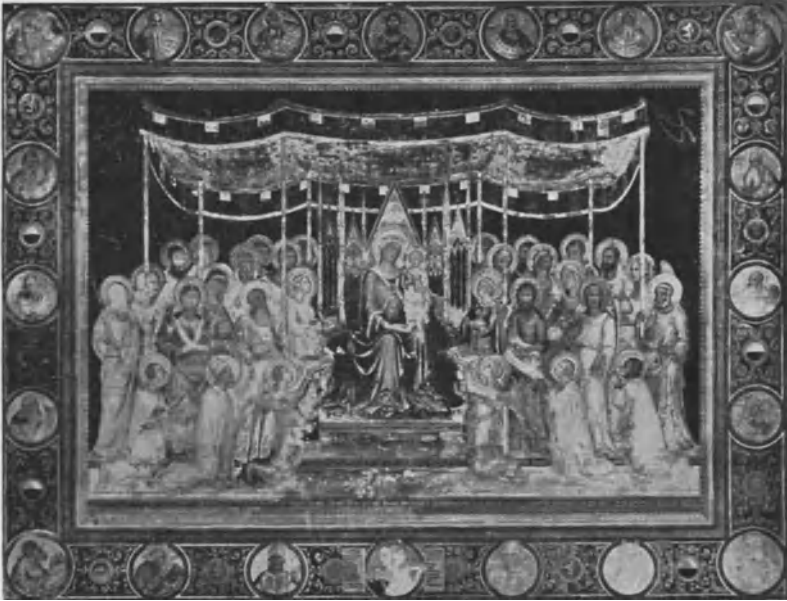


Fig. 116. Simone Martini, *Maestà*, 1315. Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

reading of the signature, declares that the name of the artist there inscribed is Ser Mino di Simone⁽¹⁾.

The inscription in verse underneath the fresco is incomplete; the last line runs: "S a man di Symone"⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *Milanesi*, Doc. Sen., I, p. 219, the same in his ed. of *Vasari*, I, p. 565, and *F. Donati*, Il palazzo del comune di Siena, Arte antica Senese, I, Siena, 1904, p. 311 point out this mistake.

⁽²⁾ Mille Trecento quindici volte era . . .
Et della avia ogni bel fiore spinto . . .
Et Juno gia gridava i mi rivolte
S a man di Symone.

Milanesi, op. cit., p. 568 completes the last line: "Se la man di Symone".



Fig. 117. Detail of fig. 116.

Photo Anderson.

Simone's fresco of the *Maestà* differs in its general mood from the panel of the same subject which Duccio had executed four years earlier. The festooned canopy, the essentially Gothic throne, the crown on the Virgin's head, and her position -- above, and isolated from, the other figures -- are the chief features which differentiate Simone's work from Duccio's. These characteristics are all of a thoroughly northern and mediæval

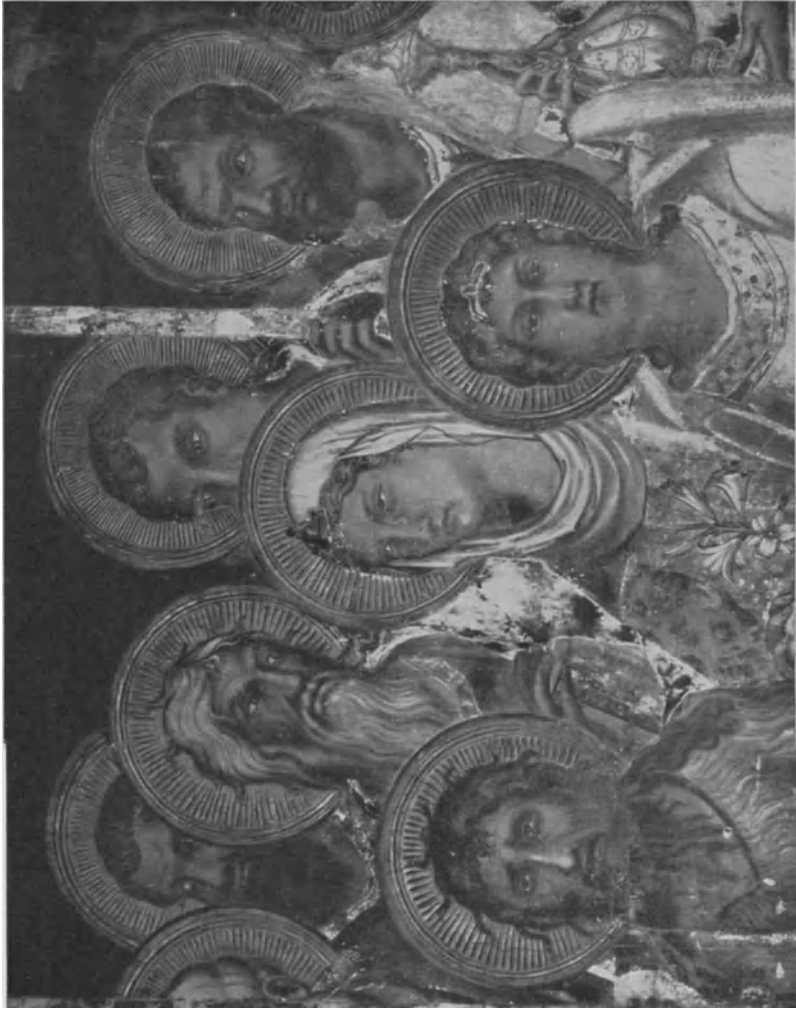


Fig. 118. Detail of fig. 116.

Photo Lombardi.

spirit, and directly opposed to the Byzantine feeling of Duccio's picture. Again, the vertically arranged groups are conceived very differently from Duccio's horizontal rows, a composition which the half-length figures framed above deprive of any trace of realism or actuality.

The mediæval Queen who forms the centre of Simone's *Maestà* holds the charming Babe upright on her knee. The fore-



Fig. 119. Detail of fig. 116.

Photo Anderson.

most row on either side consists of three kneeling figures; the two nearest the centre are angels offering baskets of flowers; that on the left being supported by SS. Victor and Crescentius, and that on the right by SS. Ansanus and Savinus. The row behind is again composed of three figures on either side, but this time all are standing; we see St. John the Evangelist, the archangel Gabriel, and St. Paul; and on the other St. John the



Fig. 120. Detail of fig. 116.

Photo Anderson.

Baptist, Michael the archangel and St. Peter. Behind them are two young crowned female saints, no doubt SS. Catherine and Barbara, the one followed by the Magdalene, the other by St. Agnes and an angel, while the Twelve Apostles are depicted in the two last rows. The fresco is surrounded by a rich decorative border in which are enclosed twenty medallions. The central

medallion above contains the bust of the Saviour; those in the corners the four Evangelists; the others, saints and prophets holding scrolls with inscriptions in honour of the Virgin, while in the middle of the lower part of the frame we see two half-length figures personifying the Old Law and the New, one holding the Decalogue, the other a list of the seven Sacraments.

Two stanzas of a didactic and moralizing spirit disclose to us how this painting was meant to inculcate just and altruistic principles in the rulers of the city. Beneath the feet of the Madonna we read :

“The angelic flowers, the roses and the lilies
 With which the heavenly fields are adorned
 Do not delight me more than the righteous council
 But at times I observe some who, for their own ends,
 Treat me and my territory ⁽¹⁾ with contempt
 And the worse their words, the more they are praised
 With all those whom this rhyme condemns” ⁽²⁾.

In a border at a still lower level the second verse runs :

“My beloved ones, keep well in mind
 That your devout, candid prayers
 Will be answered according to your desires;
 But when the powerful molest the weak
 Oppressing them with shame or insult
 Your prayers will be of no avail to them,
 Nor to those who betray my territory” ⁽³⁾.

⁽¹⁾ By “the Virgin’s territory” was meant the town of Siena which was called “Civitas Virginis”.

⁽²⁾ Li angelichi fioretti, rose e gigli
 Onde s’adorna lo celeste prato
 Non mi diletta più ch’è buon consigli
 Ma talor veggio, chi per proprio stato
 Disprezza me e la mia terra inganna
 E quando parla peggio e più lodato
 Con ciaschedun qui questo dir condanna.

⁽³⁾ Diletti mei, ponete nelle menti
 Che le devoti vostri preghi onesti
 Come vorrete voi, farò contenti
 Ma si i potenti a debil fien molesti
 Gravando loro o con vergogne o danni
 Le vostre orazione non son per questi
 Ne per qualunque la mia terre inganni.

Simone's *Maestà* is both damaged and repainted, so that it is not easy to form anything like a correct idea of its original appearance. Even in its present condition, however, it possesses great charm as a decorative work of art in which the northern spirit, so entirely opposed to the Ducciesque tradition, intermingles with various Ducciesque elements. The types of the Magdalene, the Baptist, St. Peter, several of the Apostles and most of the images in the medallions seem to be directly inspired by Duccio's figures; on the other hand, the proportions are more majestic, and the broad treatment of the draperies shows no trace of Byzantinism, though we cannot claim that the Gothic spirit is here more marked than in some of Duccio's figures. Many of the figures, such as those of the Virgin, the crowned saints nearest the throne, and the kneeling adorers below, do not suggest any connection with Duccio's art. This mixture of Byzantine and Western elements, of Ducciesque and individual qualities, is the puzzling feature of Simone's early work; sometimes he yielded to the inspiration of his great immediate predecessor and sometimes worked on quite different and wholly personal æsthetic principles.

Simone's next work to which a date can be assigned is the panel which he executed two years later (1317) in Naples. This picture is entirely free from Duccio's influence, which, however, reappears in the polyptych at Pisa, which was painted three years later (1320).

The former of those paintings, originally in the church of *Stà. Chiara*, but now in *S. Lorenzo*, Naples, was full of significance for the Anjous. Firstly, it glorified the second saint of the name of Louis of the French royal house, and, fervently religious as its members were, this was of great consequence ⁽¹⁾. Secondly, the composition seems to have been meant to emphasize how willing the recent and popular saint had been to cede his kingdom to his younger brother, Robert, who by some was accused of usurping the throne.

It is no doubt for this reason that Robert is represented kneeling at the feet of his saintly brother, who is placing a crown on

⁽¹⁾ *E. Bertaux*, *Les saints Louis dans l'Art Italien*, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Avril, 1900, et *Etudes d'Histoire et d'Art*, Paris, (without date), p. 70.



Fig. 121. Simone Martini, St. Louis of Toulouse crowning Robert of Anjou, 1317. S. Lorenzo, Naples.

Photo Anderson.

his head (fig. 121). St. Louis is depicted in full episcopal attire, seated in a small bishop's stall, which is draped with a beautiful piece of some textile fabric. From beneath the saint's cloak appear the lion's-paw feet of the chair. The decorative details are very rich. The border of St. Louis' cloak, which he wears over the Franciscan habit, is adorned with the arms of France and Aragon, as is also his mitre, above which two flying angels support a crown. The garments of the kneeling king are no less magnificent, while around the panel is a border of fleurs-de-lis. What adds to the importance of this picture is that both the images are real portraits; and neither of them is flattering. St. Louis has a saintly but not especially handsome face and his brother is decidedly ugly; but we know from other portraits that his features are faithfully rendered.

The principal panel is not in perfect condition, but time has dealt even less leniently with the predella, on which five events from the life of St. Louis are represented. Each scene is enclosed in a round arch, supported on plain columns; between them we see the Aragon coat of arms, and above them is the signature "*Simon de Senis me pinxit*". The episodes represented are: 1) St. Louis kneeling before the Pope, apparently refusing to accept the bishop's mitre, making, at the same time a gesture toward some Franciscan monks behind him, indicating his desire to join the order; 2) the saint entering the Franciscan order, and his ordination as bishop; 3) St. Louis serving the poor at table (fig. 122); 4) his death (fig. 123), and 5) one of his miracles; the saint appears in the heavens and resuscitates a dead child who is lying on the ground surrounded by women,

As in practically all those paintings of the Sieneese school, whose aim is to depict events, there is much more realism in the faithful presentment of detail than in the portrayal of action, which is neither dramatic nor narrative. Notwithstanding the imperfections of the architecture, the scene of St. Louis serving the poor is most remarkable on account of the wonderful intensity of emotion conveyed thereby.

I have already mentioned that there are no Byzantine or Ducciesque elements in this work; nevertheless I cannot describe the enthroned saint as a Gothic work. The edge of his cloak, it is true, falls into a Gothic curve, but, like the panel of



Fig. 122. St. Louis serving the poor, a scene from the predella of the picture reproduced in fig. 121.

Photo Anderson.

the Sterbini collection, the figure itself is not an example of the delightful style which Simone subsequently acquired, and which we recognize as his very own. The Gothic folds and outlines of the draperies are still just as extrinsic a feature as they were in many of Duccio's works.

During his Neapolitan period, Simone probably painted the beautiful half-length figure of the Madonna with the Child, which,



Fig. 123. The Death of St. Louis, from the predella of the picture reproduced in fig. 121. Photo Anderson.

after having formed part of divers Roman galleries, will now be exhibited in the Palazzo Venezia (fig. 124). This lovely panel shows us the Virgin holding one of the most charming Babes ever produced by Italian art. In proportion and execution, the work somewhat resembles the St. John of the Sterbini collection; in both we observe the same youthful appearance ⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *A. Venturi*, *La Madonna di Simone Martini nella Galleria Borghese*, *L'Arte*, XII, 1904, p. 309. *E. Modigliani*, *Un quadro sconosciuto di S. M.*, *L'Emporium*, July 1904. *M. Pératé* in the "Histoire de l'Art" directed by *A. Michel*, II², p. 912. curiously attributes this picture to Naddo Ceccarelli.



Fig. 124. Simone Martini, Madonna. Palazzo Venezia, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

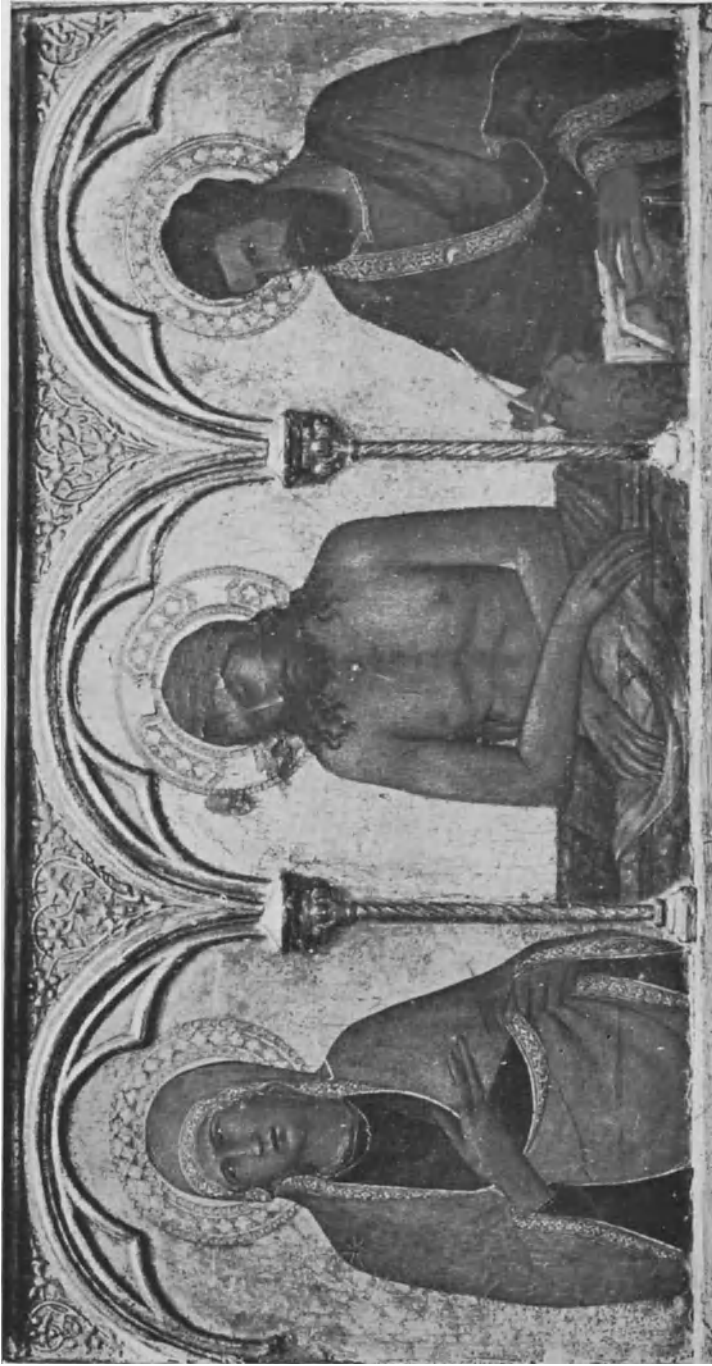


Fig. 125. Simone Martini, part of a polyptych, 1320. Museum, Pisa.
Photo Minist. del Pubbl. Istr.

With the polyptych of Pisa, which Simone executed in 1320, we find the artist again working in a more Ducciesque manner ⁽¹⁾. The greater part of this important painting is in the collection of the Seminary of Pisa; some parts of it, however, are conserved in the city gallery ⁽²⁾.

The *ensemble* consists of seven parts, each comprising one principal half-length figure, two smaller figures above this, a slightly larger one in the triangular terminal and two in the predella. The centre, which belongs to the Seminary is rather different; it shows the Madonna and Child, with the archangels Gabriel and Michael above them, and a bust of the Saviour in the apex; the signature "*Symone de Senis m pinxit*", being visible underneath. The predella of this part, being wider, contains three figures: the dead Saviour between the Madonna

⁽¹⁾ *L. Dami*, *Il polittico pisano di Simone Martini*, Dedalo, June 1922.

⁽²⁾ *C. Lupi*, *L'Arte Senese a Pisa*, *Arte Antica Senese*, I, Siena, 1904, p. 403. *D. A. Manghi*, *La nuova Pinacoteca del Seminario di Pisa e un dipinto di S. M.*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1911, p. 94.



Fig. 126. Simone Martini, a panel of a polyptych, 1320. Museum, Pisa.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.



Fig. 127. Simone Martini, St. Mary Magdalene, a panel of a polyptych, 1320.
Museum, Pisa.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

and St. Mark (fig. 125). Most of the predella is in the city Museum.

Whether the reconstruction attempted by the authorities of the Seminary be correct is difficult to say; but the point is not one



Fig. 128. Simone Martini, St. Agnes, a panel of a polyptych, 1320.
Museum, Pisa.

of very great importance. I shall not enumerate all the small half-length figures; those in the principal panel in the Seminary are SS. John the Evangelist, Dominic, Catherine, Peter the

Martyr and the Magdalene, while St. John the Baptist (fig. 126) is now in the Municipal Museum ⁽¹⁾.

The influence of Duccio is most obvious in certain of the small predella figures, such as those of the Magdalene (fig. 127), St. Agnes (fig. 128), Thomas d'Aquinas and Gregory the Great (fig. 129). The Madonna in the central part of the predella betrays the same source of inspiration. The heads, however, are often of a different and rounder type, the draperies are graceful, sober and slightly Gothic. I think it quite probable that the artist wearied of the tedious task of representing fifty independent half-length figures, for in some we detect a certain lack of inspiration. On the whole, however, we can but praise the variety of types which the painter has created here, each executed with the utmost care and much aesthetic feeling.

Simone's Orvietan period, which we shall now consider, is not his happiest, and the opinion that Lippo Memmi must be held partly responsible for the two polyptychs which we know that Simone executed about this time, has been expressed by various students ⁽²⁾. I have always been under this impression ⁽³⁾; further investigation has but slightly modified my opinion and I now believe Lippo's share in the signed polyptych to be greater than I previously admitted.

Apart from this, there is another element which I think makes this period of Simone's career a critical one; namely, his adoption of more monumental proportions. This phase of his development must have set in about 1320, the date visible on the central panel of his polyptych.

⁽¹⁾ As no panels are missing, it is impossible that a painting representing St. Barbara, first in the Rothpletz collection, Aarau, and later in the Sommerhoff collection, Frankfort, should have formed part of this polyptych, as E. Forster supposed in *Gesch. der Ital. Kunst*, II, Leipzig, 1870, p. 293. *A. Gosche*, op. cit., p. 21, attributes it to Lippo Memmi. I myself have never seen this panel.

⁽²⁾ *Jacobsen*, *Sienesischer Meister des Trecento in der Gemälde Gallery in Siena*. Strassburg, 1907, p. 32, is of opinion that the entire polyptych, signed by Simone, in the Opera del Duomo of Orvieto, is by the hand of Lippo Memmi. *F. M. Perkins*, *Pitture Senese negli Stati Uniti*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1905, p. 74, believes that Lippo collaborated with Simone in the execution of the polyptych from Orvieto now in the Gardner collection, Boston.

⁽³⁾ *R. van Marle*, *Simone Martini etc.*, pp. 22 and 28.



Fig. 129. Simone Martini, St. Gregory, a panel of a polyptych, 1320.

Museum, Pisa.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

Obviously by Simone's hand is the image of the Madonna (fig. 130), a broad but soberly draped half-length figure, turned slightly to one side; the Child Jesus, with a look of sad surprise on His face, is held in His Mother's left arm, His feet supported by her right hand. The polyptych must originally have been wider,



Fig. 130. Simone Martini, Madonna, a panel of a polyptych, 1320.
Opera del Duomo, Orvieto.

Photo Rafaelli Armoni.



Fig. 131. Simone Martini or Lippo Memmi, a panel of a polyptych. Opera del Duomo, Orvieto.

Photo Rafaelli Armoni.

since of the four lateral saints now remaining three, if we consider the direction of their gaze, must have belonged to the same side (¹). These three left wings which are inferior to the Madonna and the other side panel, represent SS. Mary Magdalene, Peter and Dominic (fig. 131). Each forms a beautiful picture, especially the figure of St. Peter, an imposing and finely executed work and I think for the greater part it must be from the hand of Simone. The two other pictures are less fine in quality; a certain smallness and hardness of feature, a rigidity of attitude and a stiffness of the hands reveal their inferiority; although it must be admitted that badly drawn hands are also to be found in the Pisan polyptych. The Bishop of Soana is portrayed as the donor in a corner angle of the Magdalene panel, a detail which leads us to infer that this was one of the parts nearest the centre. The only surviving figure of the right-hand panel, is that of St. Paul; this is of fine workmanship, and is certainly a product of the master's own hand. We notice here for the first time a little iconographical detail which will frequently be met with in images of this saint, by Simone and his adherents; it is that St. Paul holds in one hand his Epistles, as little separate volumes, on one of which the words "ad Romanos" are inscribed.

In the other polyptych (fig. 132), which was previously exhibited in the Opera del Duomo as the property of Signor Mazocchi, but which now belongs to Mrs. Gardner of Boston, it is more difficult to discriminate the work of the two different hands. None of the figures reaches the level of the Madonna or the St. Paul of the above-mentioned altar-piece; at the same time, however, there is none as weak as the Magdalene or the St. Dominic.

Here, in the centre, we see the Madonna, whose face the Child caresses; to the left are SS. Lucy and Paul and to the right St. Catherine, and the damaged image of the Baptist. The terminal over the Madonna contains the Saviour of the Last Judgment, and those of the lateral panels, two angels, holding instruments of the Passion, and two others blowing trumpets; figures belonging to the same Apocalyptic vision.

Although there is more uniformity in the quality of the various

(¹) At the moment of writing these lines the polyptych, several of whose panels have been dismounted, is being judiciously restored and reconstructed.

panels of this picture, we can none the less distinguish a superiority in the execution of the two male figures, which are free from that rigidity and smallness of feature still evident in the Madonna, the two female saints, and the half-length figures of the apices. The contours and the structure of all the figures, however, are more monumental, and I think we shall be nearest the truth in



Fig. 132. Simone Martini, three panels of a polyptych. Gardner Collection, Boston.

Photo Anderson.

admitting that Simone executed in entirety the figures of SS. Paul and John, but made only rough sketches for the others, leaving them to be finished by Lippo Memmi.

Another product of a similar collaboration is probably the half-length figure of St. Catherine (?) now in the collection of Prince Liechtenstein in Vienna, but until recently in his castle near this city (fig. 133). Again we have to deal with a panel of a polyptych which must have been executed during Simone's Orvietan period; but notwithstanding its great technical excel-



Fig. 133. Simone Martini and Lippo Memmi, St. Catherine.
Liechtenstein Collection, Vienna.

lence, I do not think the standard is high enough for us to attribute to Simone anything but the general outline of the figure ⁽¹⁾.

Of about the same date are three reconstructed polyptych panels in the Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge (no. 552) ⁽²⁾. They show us the archangel Michael, holding his emblems, between the holy Bishops Ambrosius and Augustine, and on each terminal the half-length figure of an angel (fig. 134). This painting, in which Simone's own hand is more apparent, shows some of the characteristics of the Pisan polyptych, although the broadly-treated drapery betrays its relation with the works of this, the Orvietan stage.

An enthroned figure of the Baptist in the Lindenau Museum, Altenburg (no. 42), may be attributed to the same phase of the artist's career ⁽³⁾. Apart from an increased development of detail, the type and attitude of the upper part is very similar to those to be seen in the representation of this saint in the Gardner polyptych; but the lower part is less well executed, the legs being shapeless and rigid, and the feet unduly broad.

A work of the end of this transitional period, which Simone seems to have passed almost entirely at Orvieto, is the crucifix in the Misericordia church of San Casciano ⁽⁴⁾. It belongs to that type of the crucifix, which was depicted by Giotto's disciples in Florence and by Duccio's followers in Siena, showing the Lord dead on the Cross, with half-length figures of the Virgin and St. John in the lateral terminals. Of the three figures that of the Apostle is the most beautiful (fig. 135); it is also the most significant in respect of Simone's future manner, in which the principal

⁽¹⁾ The picture was published as a work of Simone's simultaneously by *De Nicola* (Due Dipinti Senese della collezione Liechtenstein, Bolletino d'arte del minist. d. Pubbl Istr., 1921, p. 243), and *Prof. A. Venturi* (Un opera etc. di Simone Martini à Vienna, L'Arte, XXIV, 1921, p. 198). *B. Berenson* (Central Italian Painters, p. 102) calling the saint Justina, attributed it to Lippo Memmi, and I too (Simone Martini etc., p. 111), when the picture was still at Castle Liechtenstein, mentioned it as such, naming the figure St. Juliana, whom I believed at that time that it was supposed to represent.

⁽²⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, Un dipinto poco conosciuto di Simone Martini, Rassegna d'Arte Senese, 1909, p. 3.

⁽³⁾ First attributed to Simone by *Schmarzow*, Festschrift zur Ehren des Kunsthist. Inst. in Florenz, Leipzig, 1877, p. 153.

⁽⁴⁾ *De Nicola*, Ugolino e Simone a San Casciano.

change was the great importance given to the linear element, here as yet visible only in the drawing of the features.

This new factor, combined with more monumental proportions and plastic effects, characterizes the next phase in the artist's development. Its predisposition was to the production of



Fig. 134. Simone Martini, three panels of a polyptych. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Photo Mansell

Gothic figures, an aim still farther promoted by the French works of art with which the artist became familiar at Assisi. Here in the St. Martin chapel of S. Francesco, he has left us a highly important series of paintings, in which these French-Gothic elements are strongly marked.

These frescoes were obviously executed some time after his paintings at Pisa and Orvieto in the year 1320, but they are at the same time prior to the fresco of Guidoriccio, which he painted in Siena, in the year 1328, and in which his Assisan manner is



Fig. 135. Simone Martini, St. John, lateral terminal of a Crucifix. San Casciano.

Photo Sansaini.

seen at a more advanced stage of its evolution. Consequently, I think, we may attribute his activities at Assisi to a date somewhere between 1322 and 1326 ⁽¹⁾. Vasari's absurd attribution to the Florentine, Puccio Cappana, was contradicted more than a hundred years ago by Fea ⁽²⁾, who reinstated the rightful artist. No one has since then doubted Simone's authorship which, besides, is only too obvious.

The St. Martin chapel was added to S. Francesco by the Franciscan Cardinal Gentile, who was entombed there. The same prelate had another chapel built opposite this and adorned, again by Simone, with scenes from the life of St. Louis, King of France; but nothing now remains of the original decoration of this chapel except the windows ⁽³⁾.

Cardinal Gentile was sent to Hungary, as diplomatic envoy, to regulate the question of the succession of the Anjous to the throne of Sicily, the young King Carobert of that country being one of the claimants. From Hungary the cardinal returned with many gifts for the basilica of Assisi ⁽⁴⁾; these are mentioned in the inventory which was made of the treasure in 1338 ⁽⁵⁾. In 1312, while journeying to Avignon with gifts for the Pope, he died at Lucca and the inhabitants of the city took possession of the riches which had been entrusted to him ⁽⁶⁾. In the above-mentioned inventory there are frequent records of liturgical objects, such as robes and altar-cloths, which the church seems

⁽¹⁾ This date was admitted by Prof. Venturi, but Miss Gosche, Mr. Langton Douglas (Crowe and Cavalcaselle, III, p. 41) and P'ératé, *op. cit.*, p. 848, believe that Simone executed these frescoes at the end of his career, between 1333 and 1339, Cavalcaselle thought them contemporary with the St. Louis panel of 1317.

⁽²⁾ *C. Fea*, *Descrizione ragionata della Basilica etc. di S. Francesco d'Assisi*, Roma, 1820, p. 11.

⁽³⁾ *P. M. Giusto*, *Le Vetrate di S. Francesco Assisi*, Milan, 1912, p. 287, note 2.

⁽⁴⁾ *Acta legationis Cardinalis Gentilis*; *Mon. Vat. Histor. Hungar*, 1886; *Arch. f. Litterat. u. Kirchengesch. des Mittelalt.*, 1885, p. 233.

⁽⁵⁾ *L. Alessandri e F. Pennacchi*, *Inventari della sacristia del sacro convento di Assisi compilato nel 1338*, Quarracchi, 1920. A translation in part had previously been published by *G. Fratini*, *Storia della basilica di S. Francesco in Assisi*, Prato, 1882, pp. 161 and 167. This author is under the impression that part of the inventory was made in 1341.

⁽⁶⁾ *R. Davidsohn*, *Geschichte von Florenz*, III, Berlin, 1912, p. 565.

to have inherited from Cardinal Gentile and he doubtless made arrangements for the construction and decoration of the chapel in which his body was to be placed.

The entire decoration consists of ten scenes from the life of St. Martin, a portrait of the donor before his protector, whole and half-length figures of saints, and borders with medallions containing angels. The *ensemble* produces a magnificent decorative effect, and only goes to prove once more how important this factor was in the pictorial activity of Siena. The chapel is a beautiful Gothic structure, and I dare say we also owe its plan to the painter. It comprises a groined vault preceded by a wide archway, and it is on this arch that we find the frescoes of the legend of St. Martin. They are arranged in pairs, and to follow the order one should begin with the two lowest on the left, then look at the two on the right wall opposite, and so alternately until the top.

The first fresco, which is somewhat damaged, represents St. Martin on horseback, cutting his cloak in order to give half to a tattered beggar. The incident occurs just outside the gate of a city. The outline of St. Martin and his horse, which looks round to see what his master is about, is fundamentally Gothic.

The second picture shows us the dream which the saint dreamed after this charitable act. In a room seen in section, the saint lies in a bed whose curtains have been drawn aside; behind the couch stands the Saviour surrounded by angels (fig. 136). Comparing this painting with Simone's other works, we observe a very marked difference, especially in the features, and, although we can regard it as an outcome of Simone's art, I do not think we can consider it to be a work from the master's own hand. We very likely owe these figures to a helper, possibly to Donato, his brother, about whom more will be said later.

The third and fourth are the most charming scenes of the whole cycle, as we now see it. They illustrate the knighting of St. Martin and his departure from the army. It is curious that the former of these two events is not mentioned in the biographies of St. Martin. The oldest of these — that of Sulpizio Severo — only enumerates the different military ranks through which the saint passed before renouncing the army ⁽¹⁾, while the Golden

⁽¹⁾ *H. Regnier*, San Martino, translated from the French, Rome, 1907, Chap. II.

Legend, the text our artist most likely followed, infers that St. Martin was really more or less forced into the military career ⁽¹⁾. If, then, the artist consecrated one whole scene of this short series to the ceremony of knighting, representing it with all the details usually practised at the French court, and consequently, therefore, at that of the Anjous ⁽²⁾, it is most probably because the honour had been conferred on the artist himself, as we learn



Fig. 136. Donato (?), detail from the Lord appearing to St. Martin. St. Martin's Chapel, S. Francesco, Assisi.

Photo Anderson.

from a Neapolitan document referring to the painter as the "knight Simone Martini". Evidently his artistic eye had been struck by the beauty of the ceremony, and he seized the opportunity of depicting it when the occasion presented itself. The

⁽¹⁾ I find mention of St. Martin as a knight in the German version of the Golden Legend, the "Passional", in which the facts have been taken from different sources. St. Martin is spoken of as "being a knight like his father".

⁽²⁾ Miss Gosche has demonstrated how faithfully Simone has rendered all the details of this ceremony.



Fig. 137. Simone Martini, the Knighting of St. Martin. St. Martin's Chapel, S. Francesco, Assisi. Photo Anderson.

event takes place in an arcaded hall (fig. 137); the Emperor, bending slightly forward, buckles the sword around the young knight's waist; a squire kneels behind him to affix the spurs to the heels of the saint, while two others stand behind the Emperor, one carrying the hood on a staff, and the other a falcon, all badges

of knighthood. Two musicians on the right hand are seen playing on the flute and the lute (fig. 138), while three others stand singing close by. In this scene Simone has united ten remarkably handsome and graceful figures. The religious fervour of the saint and the grave dignity of the young Emperor are wonderfully well expressed. This fresco reveals the artist's ability in combining idealism of conception and elegance of form with realism of atti-



Fig. 138. Detail of fig. 137.

Photo Anderson.

tude and detail, for the attitudes of the different persons represented, their gestures and expressions are surely the result of a minute study of the living model. That the Emperor's head is a reproduction of a classical relief, as Miss Gosche assumes, does not seem likely, for, with the exception of the laurel wreath, there is nothing particularly classical in his features or the artist's treatment of them.

The next scene shows us St. Martin leaving the army, for which he feels that he cannot fight, being a soldier of the Lord. When the Emperor reproaches him, saying that it is more his fears than

his convictions that makes him abandon the ranks, the saint's reply is an offer to present himself before the enemy, with nothing but a cross as a weapon of defence. It is obviously just this moment



Fig. 139. Simone Martini, St. Martin leaving the army. St. Martin's Chapel, S. Francesco, Assisi. Photo Anderson.

that the painter has illustrated (figs. 139 and 140). To the prince, who seems to remonstrate with him, St. Martin shows his cross; close behind the saint stands a rough, sturdy soldier, with the unrefined and unintelligent features of a man of the people. Behind the Emperor's chair a soldier is on guard, while farther



Fig. 140. Detail of fig. 139.

in the background we see, against an open tent, the paymaster counting out money to a warrior, a scene which reminds us of the passage in the legend relating how the Emperor Julian distributed money to the soldiers who were to expel the barbarians

from Gallia. Between the rocks of the background more tents are visible, and on the right, the heads and shoulders of a body of soldiers, with shields and pikes; little indications that serve to point out that the site of the event is an army camp. Simone frequently employs similar methods for such a purpose.

Returning to the left-hand wall we find some fragments of what once was the scene of St. Martin restoring a child to life. Apparently the saint kneels before the infant, who is supported by his mother. This composition must have had some points in common with the previous one, for here too a group of figures is partly visible behind a rocky slope, which descends toward the centre of the picture. While we realise from the remnants of this scene that the whole composition might have been lacking in concentration, we find in the next an almost Florentine conciseness. The legend relates how St. Martin, when a bishop, was once so lost in meditation that two young priests had to rouse him for Mass. The artist has represented the three figures only; the saint, in episcopal attire, sits in a low chair, obviously unconscious of the outer world, one of the young acolytes touching his shoulder and the other kneeling before him, holding a missal. Although very different in expression, they both look at the holy bishop in a somewhat preoccupied manner. The spirituality and realism of the picture is again remarkable. Subtle folds in the drapery of the seated and kneeling figures distinguish this work from all those which we have as yet seen. For the first time we have before us true Gothic types, very different from the extrinsic and traditional folds of Duccio's art, which Simone had until now adopted. For the future it is the Gothic element which predominates in most of Simone's figures; it is no longer merely a detail, but an essential constructive factor.

The Gothic spirit, however, seems to be exceptional in most of the scenes of the St. Martin chapel, and is, for example, entirely absent in the following work. Here we are shown how the Emperor Valentinian, after refusing to see the saint, finally receives him, but, as he remains seated when St. Martin enters, miraculous flames spring up around his throne, forcing him to stand up. The converted monarch is then seen at the feet of St. Martin, who, followed by a cleric, enters the hall. Although the fresco is in rather a dilapidated condition, we can still distinguish

the finely executed face of the Emperor, and the well-drawn vaulted ceiling which displays an excellent knowledge of perspective.

We then see St. Martin, who has given his cloak to the poor man, saying Mass with bare arms, but two angels descend and



Fig. 141. Simone Martini, the Death of St. Martin. St. Martin's Chapel,
S. Francesco, Assisi. Photo Minist. del Pubbl. Istr.

cover them with precious stones, while a fiery globe appears over his head. The ecstatic expression on the saint's face is very impressive; he seems all unconscious of the miracle and has his eyes fixed on the Host. The acolyte, on the other hand, who kneels behind the holy bishop, holding a long candle, gazes with



DETAIL OF ST. MARTIN'S FUNERAL SERVICE

By Simone Martini, S. Francesco, Assisi.

Photo Anderson.

awe at the supernatural light which streams down from above. Such details as the liturgical instruments, and even the embroidery of the typically Umbrian altar-cloth, are faithfully rendered.

Above these frescoes we find one on either side representing the death of the saint and his obsequies. The room in which the former event (figs. 141 and 142) takes place has part of the containing wall cut away, enabling us to see a low square portico at one end of the roof, immediately above the death chamber. The saint, lying on the floor, his head slightly raised, is surrounded by many clerics, of whom one is seen to be wearing a nimbus; this is probably St. Ambrosius, who miraculously appeared during the saint's last moments at Candes, he being seen at the same time, apparently asleep, during a Mass in Milan. At the head, an old bearded priest, not unlike St. Martin himself, reads the prayers for the dead; a curious figure is that of a monk who, bending over his body, looks down at the dead saint. Above the roof, the soul of St. Martin, represented by a half-length figure, is being carried to heaven by four angels; but I believe this is another part which the master has left to his brother Donato.

The obsequies are held in a Gothic church with fine lancet-shaped window (figs. 143, 144 and pl. IV). The saint, lying on his bier, is again attended by a group of faithful followers, some of whom can be recognized in the previous scene. Two monks, holding candles, are chanting, and we can guess from their facial muscles that one is a tenor and the other a bass. On one side of the saint's head stands a little hunchback, and on the other side is the officiating bishop, who presents a censer to a youth who kisses his hand. The legend does not give us any indication by which we might identify the bishop and the sturdy monk, both of whom wear haloes.

The borders round all these frescoes are adorned with medallions containing busts of saints and angels, and similar borders surround the figures depicted on the entrance arch. These small ornamental representations greatly resemble the figures of the second scene, which, it will be remembered, I attributed to Donato. These medallions are no doubt by the same assistant, who helped Simone throughout the series, but in a less conspicuous manner.

Over the entrance there is another fresco representing, under



Fig. 142. Detail of fig. 141.

a Gothic ciborium, the founder, kneeling before St. Martin, who bows slightly to receive his homage. Here we observe Simone's extraordinary power of spiritualization; although he has faithfully represented an aged and not very attractive person, he has



Fig. 143. Simone Martini, the Funeral Service of St. Martin. St. Martin's Chapel, S. Francesco, Assisi. Photo Anderson.

been able to transform him into the personification of devotional adoration. A curious and rather informal detail is the position of the cardinal's hat, which had to be shown on account of the donor's dignity, but which at the same time could not be worn before St. Martin. The artist has solved the problem by placing it on a balustrade in the background.

Doubtless we may also ascribe to Simone the eighteen busts of saints that adorn the three window arches, each in an elaborate Gothic frame, similar to the ciborium over the entrance (¹). The



Fig. 144. Detail of fig. 143.

Photo Anderson.

images round the right window are all monks; in the centre they are holy bishops and to the left lay saints. Some of these figures are very finely executed; not only is the drawing of the features

(¹) *G. Cristofani*, *Dipinti inediti di Simone Martini*, *L'Arte*, 1913, p. 131.

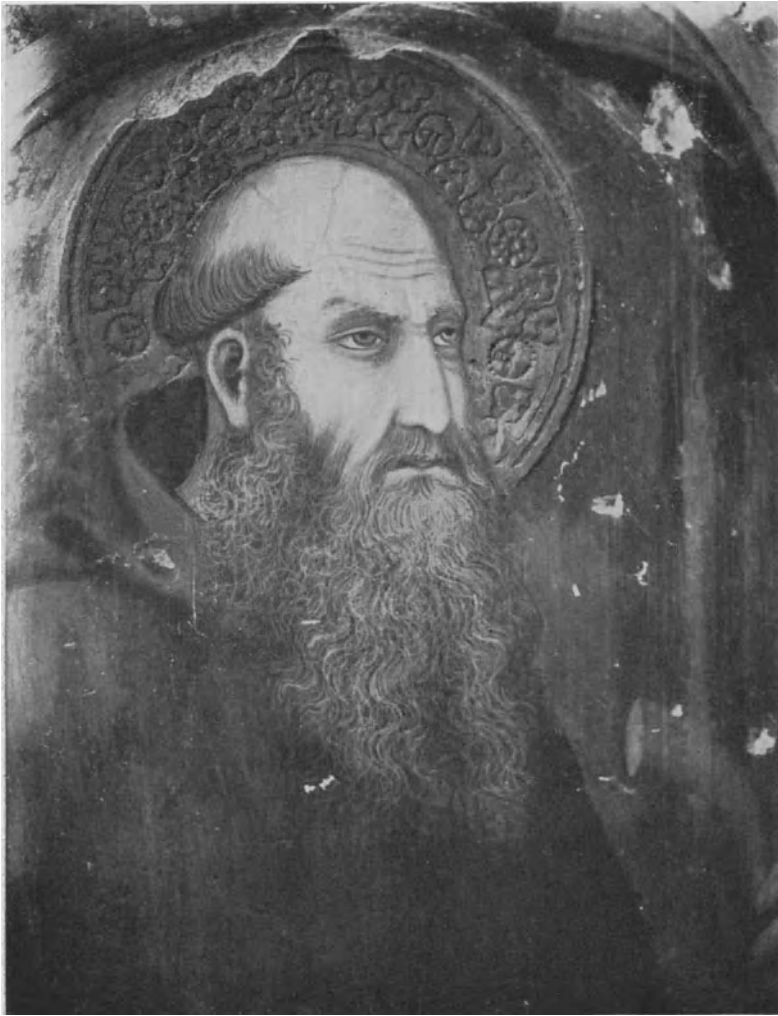


Fig. 145. Simone Martini, A holy monk. St. Martin's Chapel, S. Francesco, Assisi.

Photo Benvenuti.

full of minute detail, but the gradations of colour and the plastic effect of the flesh are here perhaps even more carefully rendered than in the large frescoes. Moreover, each is a strongly individual portrait. Most remarkable of the monks is one with a long white beard and piercing eyes; his head is covered with a cowl and he holds a stick in one hand and a book in the other (St. Benedict?).

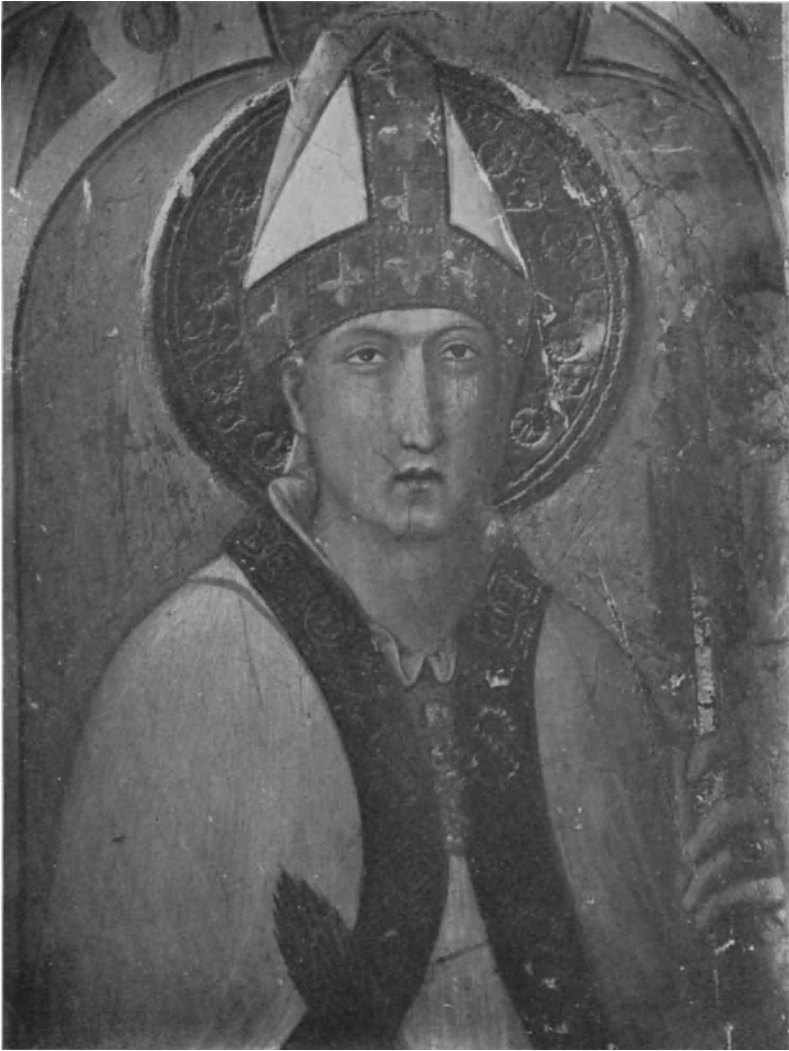


Fig. 146. Simone Martini, A holy bishop. St. Martin's Chapel, S. Francesco Assisi.

Photo Benvenuti.

Extremely individual as to feature is an old bald-headed monk with a shorter beard (St. Antony?) (fig. 145). Noticeable among the bishops are a short white-bearded one with soft dreamy eyes (St. Victor?) and a young clean-shaven one, in type not unlike St. Louis of Toulouse (fig. 146). Amongst the secular saints there



Fig. 147. Simone Martini, A holy knight, St. Martin's Chapel, S. Francesco, Assisi. Photo Benvenuti.

is one with thick lips and woolly hair, who is obviously a negro, while a very beautiful figure is a youthful saint, depicted full-face, with hands clasped in prayer and gaze uplifted to heaven (fig. 147).



Fig. 148. Simone Martini, SS. Magdalene and Catherine. St. Martin's Chapel,
S. Francesco, Assisi. Photo Anderson.

Eight figures of saints, forming four pairs, adorn the entrance arch. On the right we see St. Francis with St. Antony of Padua, and St. Catherine with St. Mary Magdalene (fig. 148), and on the



Fig. 149. Donato(?), SS. Louis of France and Louis of Toulouse. St. Martin's Chapel, S. Francesco, Assisi.

Photo Anderson.

left St. Louis, King of France, with St. Louis, Bishop of Toulouse (fig. 149) and St. Elizabeth of Hungary with St. Clare. Each saint is enclosed in a decorative Gothic border, while a spiral column divides each pair of figures.

In the matter of execution the male saints are inferior to the female; the garments do not reveal the shape of their bodies; indeed the drawing is somewhat hard and angular, and, although the hands are of the same type as Simone's, they are less skilfully executed; the faces are elongated and show — especially those of the two SS. Louis — all the characteristics of the painter whom we have called Donato. The figures of SS. Francis and Antony, although not of a very high standard of work, more closely resemble Simone's own manner.

The four female saints, on the other hand, are magnificent, and possess all the spiritual grace of the master's finest productions; but we can detect in them certain hitherto unknown peculiarities. Their plasticity is perfect and their shape seems to have been modelled on a certain formula. These factors seem to indicate that the figures have been inspired by sculpture, which impression is further heightened by their attitudes and monumental proportions, while the image of Mary Magdalene makes it evident that the model followed must have been a Gothic, and probably a French Gothic statue. It is true that the linear effect of the drapery has been somewhat intensified by the outlining of the contours, but the forms were to begin with just as we now see them, corresponding exactly with the French Gothic plastic art of the first years of the 14th century. Simone may have even found this model at Assisi itself, for the Treasury of St. Francesco still possesses one of the most beautiful of the French Gothic ivories known to me. Even questioning this possibility, there is no doubt that the refined forms of these figures, and especially the shape of the hands, were influenced by the Gothic ivories of the French (1).

Simone's task in the St. Martin chapel did not end here; he probably sketched the preliminary plan of the windows (2), each of

(1) *R. van Marle*, op. cit., pp. 48 and 89.

(2) *G. Cristofani*, *Le Vetrate del 300 nella Basilica inferiore di Assisi*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, IX, 1909, p. 153. *P. M. Giusto*, op. cit., p. 292. *B. Klein-schmidt*, *Die Basilika von San Francesco in Assisi*, I, Berlin, 1915, p. 232.



Fig. 150. Simone Martini, St. Paul, window. St. Martin's Chapel, S. Francesco, Assisi. Photo Benvenuti.

which is composed of six standing figures, and above, two half-length figures. Besides the Lord, St. Peter, St. Paul (fig. 150) and many others, we again find here the two great Franciscan saints — Francis and Antony — and the two SS. Louis. The cardinal

founder is represented kneeling in adoration, and from the similarity which the figure bears to the fresco opposite we cannot doubt its likeness to the original.

The windows of the St. Louis chapel seem to have been designed by the same artist; it is true that the colours are brighter, but this difference may be intentional, as the chapel looks north. The window comprises four divisions, above which is a rose composed of ornamental figures and numerous small segments filled with ornaments, or with angels and prophets. On each of the windows themselves we see a Gospel symbol, two standing figures separated by the bust of an angel, and below these the Montefiore arms. Besides the Saviour and the Virgin, the figures include those of SS. Francis, Antony, Louis of Toulouse, and the kneeling cardinal, the donor (¹). Simone's art is not so faithfully interpreted here. Very possibly these windows were made at Assisi, where the master window-maker, Bonino di Assisi, was at work shortly after Simone had decorated the St. Martin chapel.

I agree with Professor Venturi in believing that it is to the pseudo-Donato, and not to Simone, that we owe the well-known half-length figures in the right transept of the same church. Although in recent years many have judged these to be Simone's finest creations, art critics of other generations did not ascribe them to the master's own hand. Vasari assigned them to Lippo Memmi, and Fea was of the opinion that only the Madonna and St. Elizabeth were by this artist. Miss Gosche believes that Lippo only helped in the execution of these works (²).

(¹) *G. Cristofani*, op. cit.; *Giusto*, op. cit., p. 287, and *Kleinschmidt*, op. cit., p. 228. Thode thought the head of St. Antony must have been restored in the 15th century, but, as M. de Mandach remarks, this is more likely to be true of St. Francis (*St. Antoine de Padoue et l'art italien*, Paris, 1899, p. 43). There is no reason to believe that the image of the donor is a later addition. *P. M. Giusto* thinks that it may be the work of Arrigo van den Broech, of Malines, or "Fiamingo", who was working in Assisi in 1564.

(²) In his review of my book on Simone Martini, my friend *Count Umberto Gnoli* (*Rassegna d'Arte Umbra*, 1921, p. 5), who believes these figures to have been painted by the great master himself, suggests that they were executed as a test of the artist's capacities before he was entrusted with such an important decoration as that of the St. Martin chapel. Although I am aware that in later years minor artists were frequently judged in this manner, I can hardly believe that the leading painter of such a flourishing artistic centre as Siena then was, would ever have consented to undergo such a test.



Fig. 151. Donato (?), St. Francis. Right transept, S. Francesco, Assisi.

Photo Anderson.

The figures, from their nature and position, form two distinct groups. One, on the end wall of the right transept, or the entrance wall of the St. Nicholas chapel, is composed of five figures: SS. Francis (fig. 151), Louis of Toulouse, Elizabeth of Hungary, and



Fig. 152. Donato (?), St. Clare. Right transept, S. Francesco, Assisi.

Photo Anderson.

Clare (fig. 152), and a young male saint holding a lily, his eyes turned heavenwards; he is possibly St. Louis, King of France. They are executed in very faint and now much faded colours, against a grey background, each divided from his neighbour by a decorative spiral column. Near them, on the right-hand lateral wall of the transept, is the second group. Against a decorative golden background is the half-length figure of the Madonna and Child between two young

royal personages. These were executed in brighter colours, which, however, are now considerably faded. These three figures are neither fine in quality nor especially pleasing to the eye when compared with the rest, some of which may be ranked with the most beautiful products of the Trecento. This is especially true of the figures of SS. Clare, Francis and Louis which captivate us by their charming design and ethereal spirituality of expression.

My conviction that these figures are by Donato is in no way founded on any lack of quality in the painting; on the contrary, these beautiful paintings permit us to form none but a very high opinion of Donato's capacities, which, as expressed here, do not fall short of Simone's own, even at the zenith of his career. The figures under discussion are in a way superior to his share in the St. Martin chapel, and must be looked upon as his greatest and most inspired achievement. On the other hand the fact that the elongated shape of the faces, their somewhat peculiar structure, and the hardly perceptible plastic effects are not due to the master himself, who, more especially at this particular period, was following very different ideals in his art, must be clear to every one who is familiar with Simone's work. I even venture to think that the manner which inspired Donato, was not that of Simone's Assisan period, but that earlier manner exemplified by the portrait of St. Louis in Naples (1317).

There is no doubt, however, that the half-length figures in the transept were executed at the same time as the frescoes in the St. Martin chapel, because in both series we find the same decorative design on the embossed golden haloes.

Other paintings which I hesitatingly ascribe to the same hand are two panels in the Gallery of Siena (nos. 40 and 41), representing St. Louis of Toulouse and St. Francis. Although the changed technique may account for the difference which certainly exists, the proportions and general feeling strongly remind us of the half-length figures in the Lower Church of S. Francesco. Much more relief has been given to the face of St. Francis (¹).

(¹) A good many years ago Mr. F. M. Perkins attributed these panels to Segna di Buonaventura (*Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1903, p. 148), but has since altered his opinion, and now (*Rassegna d'Arte*, 1907, p. 145) believes them to be the work of Lippo Memmi or one of his followers. Previously, I also thought them to be a youthful product of Lippo's art (Simone Martini etc., p. 102).

If these panels be really by the hand of this artist, I think we should also ascribe to him a very beautiful Madonna belonging to Mr. Langton Douglas, in which, however, the master reveals himself as more than usually independent of his brother. The Madonna is seen in half-length, carrying the Child, Who is grasping a small bird in His hand; the drapery is ornamented, while the design of the nimbus repeats that round the head of the half-length figure of St. Francis in the Lower Church, Assisi.

Assuredly by the same artist as the foregoing is the panel of the Madonna seated on the ground, nursing the Child, now in the Berlin Museum (no. 1072) (fig. 153), frequently — and formerly with much hesitation by myself — ascribed to Bartolo di Fredi. The only notable difference between the above picture and this one is that the lines of the draperies are more markedly Gothic, and with a Gothicism even more pronounced than that which appears in Simone's own works. Again, the ornament is very rich, and we observe a resemblance in the decorative design on the nimbus. The type of the Child and the shape of His arms and legs, are also of great significance in our attribution of these two works to this artist.

The only certain facts which we possess relating to Donato are these: in 1339 he followed Simone to Avignon, returning after his brother's death; and he himself died in 1347⁽¹⁾. His children inherited from their uncle Simone and were afterwards involved in a law-suit on account of this heritage⁽²⁾.

Of the subsequent phase of the development of Simone's art, we possess one dated work: the fresco of the condottieri Guidoriccio Ricci dei Fogliani da Reggio (figs. 154 and 155), which decorates the wall opposite that on which the Maestà is depicted. In this manner the Sienese united, in the same room of their town hall, the images of their celestial and their worldly protectors; for Guidoriccio repulsed the terrible Castruccio Castracane on his invasion of Tuscany, and in 1328 captured from their enemies the town of the Montemassi. The fresco was obviously in com-

(1) *Milanesi*, Doc. Sen., I, p. 216.

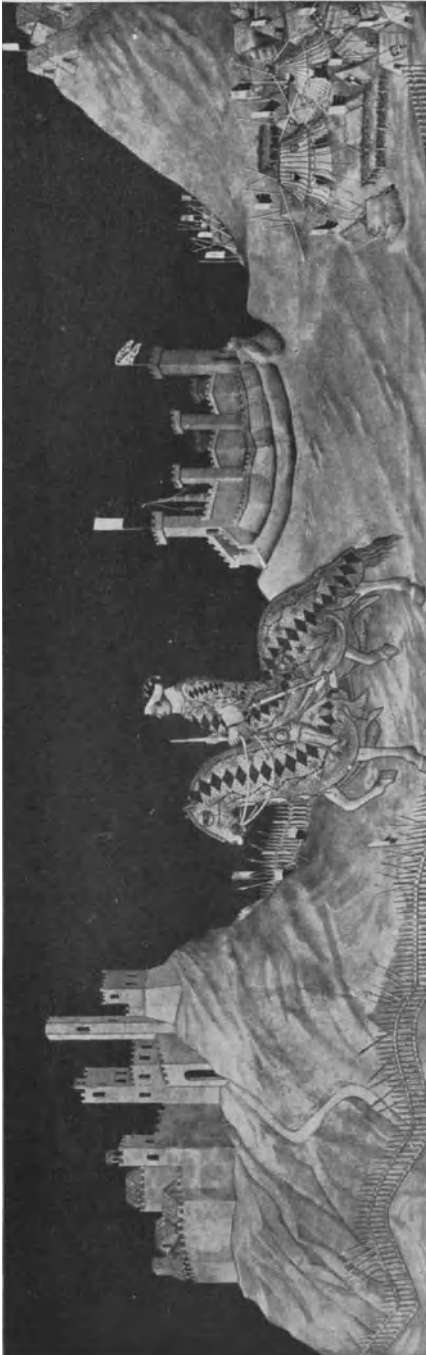
(2) *Idem*, p. 244.



Fig. 153. Donato (?), Madonna. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.

Photo Hanfstaengl.

memoration of the latter victory, since it was executed during the same year, and in the background we see a town flying the



banner of Siena, together with that of the victorious general (1). I dare say the painting was also the outcome of a reaction against that lax spirit — unworthy of the descendents of the heroes of Monteperti (1260) — which had gradually taken hold of the city where peace was maintained at any cost; the inhabitants even paid ransoms to marauding troops instead of defending their city, to insure their commercial interests, material welfare (2) and that easy existence which Ambrogio Lorenzetti had glorified in his allegory of the Good Government.

Guidoriccio is represented on a proudly-stepping horse, his homely features are full of individuality, and the painting is doubtless a good portrait. He wears a fur biretta and a yellow surcoat with a black diamond-shaped heraldic pattern over his

(1) For the history of Guidoriccio see *O. Malavolti, Historia dei Fatti e Guerre dei Senesi etc.*, Venice, 1599, p. 77.

(2) *Langton Douglas, History of Siena* (French edition), I, Paris, 1901, p. 127.

Fig. 154. Simone Martini, Guidoriccio, 1328. Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.

Photo Anderson.



Fig. 155. Detail of fig. 154.

Photo Anderson.

armour; the horse is almost completely enveloped in a housing of similar design. Besides the conquered town, on the walls of which we see an instrument of defence, the painter has depicted an unfortified town on the crest of a hill to the left, towards which the condottieri is marching. On the right, in a similar position, are a few tents, no doubt the out-look of the camp which is placed at the foot of the hill. A railing, which must have formed part of Guidoriccio's strategic plan, surrounds the battlefield,

and here and there pikes and shields are seen leaning against it. No other figures but the condottiere's is visible, although the numerous spears and banners which appear over the ridge of the hill indicate the presence of an army. The fresco is altogether a characteristic image of military glory as understood in the later Middle Ages. It is Gothic, not only in spirit, but also in form, as is most clearly expressed in the folds of the horse's



Fig. 156. Simone Martini, Beato Agostino Novello. S. Agostino, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

trappings, while the importance given to the linear element in general produces a strength of design hitherto unknown in Simone's art.

We find the same vigorous design in another picture of Simone's; one, however, as to which there is much diversity of opinion ⁽¹⁾. This is the altar-piece of the Blessed Agostino No-

⁽¹⁾ It has been attributed to Simone by *Burckhardt*, by *Cavalcaselle* (hesitatingly) and by *Berenson*. *Langton Douglas* (notes on *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, p. 48) believes that the work was begun by Simone and finished by others. *L. Dami* (*Siena e le sue opere d'arte*, Florence, 1915, p. 23) also believes that other artists collaborated with Simone. The same picture has been ascribed to Lippo by *Venturi*, *Pératé*, op. cit., II³, p. 848, and *Guthmann*, op. cit., p. 73. *Miss Gosche* does not attribute it to either.

vello with four scenes of miracles accomplished by him (fig. 156).

In the centre the tall graceful figure of the saint in a monk's habit stands holding a book in both hands and listening to a small angel who is whispering into his ear. Some little birds are perched on the trees which are shown on either side. In each of



Fig. 157. Detail of fig. 156.

Photo Anderson.

the spandrels between the central and lateral panels is a medallion containing a bearded saint. The two scenes on the left show the saint restoring to life a child who has been killed by a mad dog and another child falling through a gap in a broken loggia preserved from injury (fig. 157). To the right we see a traveller who, with his horse, has fallen down a precipice, being rescued by St. Augustine, and a child, killed by a bed falling on him, being resuscitated. In each scene the saint is represented flying down

from above. The miniature-like fineness and neatness of form in these small pictures is unlike anything to be found in Simone's other works, and explains the diversity of opinion which this panel has provoked. The perspective of the two scenes on the left is very remarkable. Although we have to admit that this picture is unlike any of Simone's other products, the quality of the painting is such and the characteristic qualities of Simone's genius are so clearly manifest throughout the work, that it is hardly possible to admit the presence of another hand and still less to ascribe the whole work to an inferior artist. Neither Lippo nor Donato can be seriously considered as the author of this panel. The marked agitation and strenuous movements which we observe in all four scenes, are quite unusual in Simone's work; nor do we find in any of his other creations more than one phase of an event depicted simultaneously. Here, however, the first three scenes show us two incidents and the last even three (¹). Gothic forms do not predominate but are visible here and there, as, for example, in the general curve of the central figure and the drapery of some of the smaller ones, especially those in the lower left-hand and the upper right-hand scene.

Simone's Gothicism is splendidly revealed in the Annunciation of 1333, originally in the Cathedral of Siena, afterwards in the church of S. Ansano, but now in the Uffizi (pl. V).

According to the signature, which is as follows: "*Simon Martini et Lippus Memmi de Senis me pinxerunt anno Domini MCCCXXXIII*," Simone collaborated with his brother-in-law in the execution of this magnificent work of art. The part for which each can be held responsible has again given rise to much controversy. That Lippo was paid for the gilding and ornamentation of one of the lateral panels, as the documents which I have already mentioned records, does not mean that his share was limited to this work alone, as Cavalcaselle supposed. The prominence of his name is given in the signature and the use of the word "pinxerunt" entirely excludes the possibility of such a thing (²). Besides I find

(¹) Since I published my work on Simone, p. 74, I have discovered that what I mistook for a large shadow in the last scene is a fourth female figure almost entirely hidden behind the third.

(²) Recently *Mr. L. Ozzola* (Lippo Memmi collaboratore del padre Memmo e di Simone Martini, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1921, p. 117) expounded the opinion



THE ANNUNCIATION (1333)
By Simone Martini, Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Anderson.

that, fine as they are, the two lateral figures do not come up to the level of the central group. Nor do we discover in them these Gothic elements of which we have been following the gradual development of Simone's art. Consequently I think we should attribute the panel of the Annunciation to Simone himself and the figures of SS. Ansano and Julitta, as well as the four medallions, to Lippo. The central medallion is missing. The frame is of recent date ⁽¹⁾.

In this Annunciation of 1333 Simone has succeeded in expressing his aesthetic ideals to perfection. The Virgin, seated on a wide decorated chair, has closed her book, and, making a gesture of alarm, slightly turns away from the angelic messenger who kneels before her. The figure of the Annunciator is even still finer than the Virgin's and no words can express the supernatural charm which emanates from it. The Madonna and the angel are separated by a beautiful vase of lilies. From above, the symbol of the Holy Ghost surrounded by cherubs descends toward the Virgin. The Gothic influence is very evident in the construction of the bodies, moreover, the line of the golden border of the Virgin's dress and the drapery of the angel — especially the part flying behind — are characteristics of the same style.

Next to this masterpiece the otherwise beautiful lateral saints are not seen to advantage. There is a certain rigidity in the long-necked Ansano, a heaviness in the broadly draped Julitta, and a hardness of design in both which are all the more obvious next the exquisite figures of the centre. At all events, they take no part in the mystical exaltation so subtly rendered in the line and expression of Simone's masterpiece.

The first traces of the broadening out of the Gothic construction, which characterizes the works of Simone's old age, are faintly visible in the Madonna of the Annunciation in the Stroganoff collection in Rome. This is all the more evident if we compare this slightly damaged figure with the beautiful Madonna of the altar-piece previously mentioned, for the Virgin, here seated on a cushion on the ground, makes a similar gesture (fig. 158).

that the left half of the panel — the lateral saint and the angel of the Annunciation — is by Lippo and the right half by Simone, a distribution which seems to me utterly inconceivable.

(1) *Langton Douglas*, History of Siena, II, p. 336.



Fig. 158. Simone Martini, Madonna of the Annunciation, Stroganoff Collection, Rome.

Photo Lombardi.

We cannot however speak of heaviness in connection with this very graceful and inspired figure. It is only when comparing it

with the pictures which Simone painted at Avignon that we can detect in this panel signs of the incipient stage of this change of which the rounder shape of the face is very significant.

We still possess three authentic works which Simone executed at Avignon: they are the miniature in Petrarch's Virgil, some remains of the frescoes, for the greater part only the preparation, in the portal of Notre Dame des Doms, and a panel, dated 1342, in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.

I have already referred to the authenticity of the first of these works (fig. 159) ⁽¹⁾. We see in the foreground a shepherd milking his ewes in symbolical reference to the personification of the *Eclogues*, and a peasant cutting up a bough, the *Georgics*. In the background, Virgil is seated on the ground, his back resting against a tree-trunk; he holds a quill in his hand and an open book on his knee as he looks heavenwards, as if in search of inspiration. The man who draws aside the transparent curtain, in order clearly to reveal the poet, is no doubt Servius, whose annotations are found in the codex, and this action is in all probability meant to symbolize his explanations. The gesture, however, with which he indicates Virgil to Æneas, who is dressed as a Roman soldier, is rather illogical. In the centre of the page there are two unrolled scrolls held by birds; on each a couplet is inscribed.

The composition is somewhat incoherent and not one of the figures is perfectly beautiful. By far the best is that of the poet, whose Gothic draperies remind us to a certain extent of the robe of the angel in the Annunciation of 1333. The figure of Æneas betrays a certain knowledge of classical costume on the part of the artist, but we find no real familiarity with the art of that

⁽¹⁾ Amongst the more modern authors there are few who attribute this miniature to Simone. *Müntz* did so in the *Gazette Archéologique*, 1887, p. 102, but has since changed his mind; *d'Essling and Müntz*, *Petrarque*, Paris, 1902, p. 9. *Rossi*, op. cit., believes it to be by Simone; *Langton Douglas*, in *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, III, p. 58, note 2, says that it reminds him of a youthful work of Bartolo di Fredi. *Miss Gosche* believes that Donato collaborated with Simone in its execution. Comp. *A. Ratti*, *Ancora del celebre codice M. S. delle opere di Virgilio, già di F. Petrarca ed ora nella Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, Milan, 1904. *M. Pesenti Villa* in *F. Malaguzzi Valeri*, *La corte di Lodovico il Moro*, IV, Milan, 1923, p. 151.

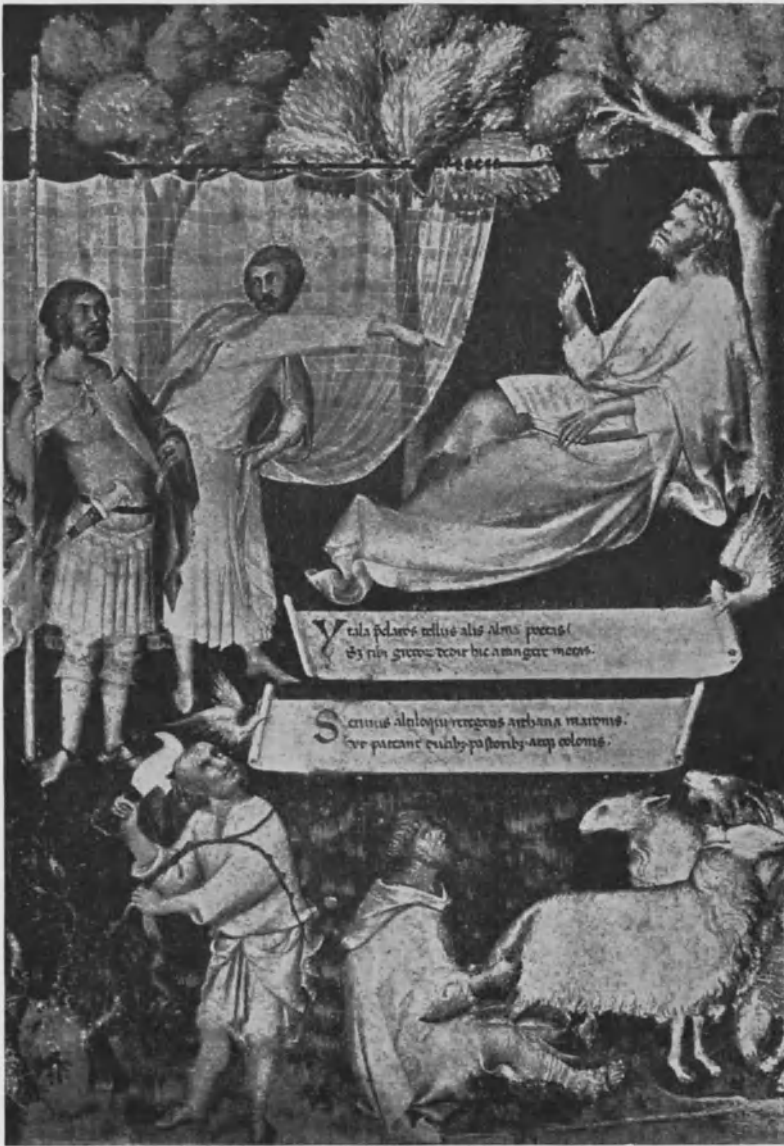


Fig. 159. Simone Martini, miniature from Petrarch's *Virgil*. Ambrosiana Library, Milan.

Photo Brogi.

period, for there is in this miniature no trace of the classic spirit.

The fragmentary frescoes in the portal of Notre Dame des

Doms at Avignon ⁽¹⁾, included a half-length figure of the Madonna, still fairly visible. She is depicted inclining her head toward the Infant Christ, between two almost effaced angels; six other celestial figures attend her. We still see the figure of the donor in adoration, and Dr. De Nicola has demonstrated that this is the Cardinal Jacopo Stefaneschi, and not Annibale Da Ceccano ⁽²⁾, as has always been supposed, on the authority of Valladier, whose "Labyrinthe de l'Hercule Gaulois" was published in 1600. Higher up another fresco, still more damaged, represents the Saviour surrounded by six angels ⁽³⁾, while above an architrave we can vaguely distinguish some remains of what may have been an Annunciation.

From early descriptions and an old drawing we know that there existed another fresco, which was still visible in 1818, of St. George delivering the princess from the dragon ⁽⁴⁾.

The panel which, in the Art Gallery of Liverpool, is catalogued as the "Lord's Return from the Temple" is signed: "*Simone de Senis me pinxit sub A. D. M.CCCXLII*" (fig. 160). This picture might represent any moment in the boyhood of Christ, in which He was alone with His parents, and as an illustration of the Return from the Temple the composition would be unique; there is no trace of the anxiety which the Scriptures mention on this occasion and the fact that Joseph is leading the young Jesus by the shoulder to His Mother, who sits quietly reading, is quite contrary to the accounts of this event.

The Madonna seated on a low chair with an open book on her knee, holds out a hand towards her Son; St. Joseph, with his arms around the shoulder of the youthful Saviour, looks persuasively towards Him, with his right hand indicating the Mother. The figures are decidedly broader and the faces rounder than in

⁽¹⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, Gli Affreschi di Simone ad Avignone, Rassegna d'Arte Senese, 1908, p. 87. *E. Müntz*, Les peintures de S. M. à Avignon, Mem. de la Soc. Nat. des Antiquaires de France, 1884. *The same*, Gazette Archéol., 1887, p. 104. *G. Didot et H. Laffilée*, La peinture décorative en France, Paris, 1889, pl. 58.

⁽²⁾ *De Nicola*, L'Affresco di S. M. ad Avignone, L'Arte, 1906, p. 335.

⁽³⁾ *G. Didot et H. Laffilée*, op. cit., give a sketch of this fresco in the text of pl. 44.

⁽⁴⁾ *De Nicola*, op. cit.



Fig. 160 Simone Martini, *The Return from the Temple*, 1342.

Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.

Photo Mansell.

the master's earlier works, but the structure of the bodies and the wide folds of the drapery are fundamentally Gothic, reminding us quite as much of contemporary French plastic produc-

tions as the figure of Mary Magdalene on the entrance arch of the St. Martin chapel. There are strong linear effects, not only in the folds, but also in the drawing of the features.

The peculiarities seen in this handsome panel are perhaps more marked in a small polyptych ⁽¹⁾, which Simone must have executed about this time, if not in the two years which elapsed between the execution of the picture in Liverpool and his death; for to me at least, notwithstanding the exceptional richness and depth of the colour, this work shows obvious signs of decline, especially in the drawing.

The Picture Gallery of Antwerp possesses four of the six known panels of this polyptych. Two of these contain the figures of the Annunciation; in one the angel is kneeling, in the other the Madonna is enthroned (fig. 161). They closely resemble the corresponding figures of the Annunciation in the Uffizi; here also a vase of lilies is placed between them and the Holy Ghost — the dove alone — is seen descending from heaven. This resemblance in composition makes the difference in execution all the more evident. There is no trace of spiritual grace; on the contrary, both figures are sturdily built and the gesture of the Virgin seems almost one of physical fear. The golden border of her dress and the draping of the angel's garments, although Gothic in outline, do not make for slender and graceful proportions, but tend rather to broaden the two figures. The angel, however, is an imposing figure, and seems to have been inspired by ancient sculpture.

The two other panels in the Antwerp Gallery represent the Crucifixion and the Descent from the Cross (fig. 162). Under the latter we read the name "Simone", and under the former the word "pinxit", which would lead us to suppose that originally the Deposition must have been to the left of the Crucifixion. The latter shows only the Cross of the Saviour; two angels hover close by and a large group of agitated people is depicted below. To the left the Virgin has swooned and lies on the ground sur-

⁽¹⁾ *Schubring*, Ein passions Altärchen aus Avignon, Jahrbuch der K. Preusz. Kunstsamml., 1902. *Miss Gosche* is, as far as I know, the only writer who ascribes this work to an earlier stage in the artist's career. That the parts now in Antwerp were bought at Dijon in 1828 might serve to support the argument that they were executed in France.



Fig. 161. Simone Martini, *Madonna of the Annunciation*. Museum, Antwerp.
Photo Braun.



Fig. 162. Simone Martini, the Descent from the Cross. Museum, Antwerp.

Photo Braun.

rounded by some faithful followers; one soldier is piercing the Lord's side while a second holds the sponge on a long stick. Mary Magdalene is clasping the foot of the Cross. On the other side we see many soldiers, amongst whom the converted centurion is easily recognizable, and some boys. The composition and even some of the types remind us of the Crucifixion of Duccio's *Maestà*.

Numerous figures are represented in the scene of the Deposition, so that this version is very different from Duccio's sober image. Contrary to all iconographical tradition the number of persons depicted is almost as great as in the scene of the Crucifixion; almost all of them are agitated by feelings of compassion, and several are lifting their arms to the Crucified. By means of two ladders set against the Cross, two bearded saints are lowering the body of Christ. A man who is illogically attempting to remove the nails wounding the feet with a hammer instead of pincers, is an old iconographical figure. The small adoring bishop in the foreground is Cardinal Stefaneschi and not Cardinal da Ceccano (¹).

The panel of the Calvary of the same series once belonged to Louis Philippe and now forms part of the Louvre collection of pictures (fig. 163).

The Lord in the midst of a group of brutal-looking soldiers is dragged roughly along by a rope around His neck; on His shoulder He carries a large cross. The Madonna and some faithful followers are thrust back by that centurion who is afterwards converted. A multitude of figures throngs the gateway of the town which forms the background to the scene. A great technical error, never found in Simone's earlier works, is the complete absence of comparative proportions, for example, as between the people and the architecture, or the nearer figures and those more remote.

In the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, we find the last panel of this polyptych: the Entombment, which once belonged to the Pacully collection, Paris. Against a background of hills covered with vegetation and a few scattered trees, we see the same unusually large crowd, which assisted at the Deposition, approach-

(¹) *De Nicola*, op. cit.



Fig. 163. Simone Martini, the Calvary. Louvre, Paris. Photo Braun.

ing the central group, where some of the holy companions kiss the body of the Saviour before letting it down into the sarcophagus, while others anoint His limbs or express their grief in gesticulation. The manner in which the Madonna kisses the face of her Son is full of dramatic pathos.

Comparing all these panels with Simone's early works, we can detect a certain lack of refinement in the technique of the design as well as in the general feeling. The artist here betrays a taste for ultra-tragic realistic effects which he obtains even at the cost of the aesthetic value of his work. This new factor, as we shall presently see, may certainly be ascribed to the influence of Pietro Lorenzetti.

There is still one small panel which we may attribute to this period of the artist's career. It passed a few years ago from the collection of the painter Bonnat to the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University, and represents only the Christ nailed on the Cross (fig. 164). The figure is an exact copy of the central image of the Crucifixion at Antwerp, but seems less finely executed.

The principal factors in Simone Martini's art are delicate grace on the one hand and on the other spiritual idealism.

The first of these qualities may be accounted for by the actual surroundings in which he lived, for life at Siena, at the beginning of the 14th century, was the embodiment of all that was gay, light-hearted and refined, to such an extent that many a moral preacher tried to persuade the inhabitants to return to a simpler and more sober mode of living, and to cease their indulgence in extravagant fashions. In Naples similar refinements were pushed even farther. The court of the Anjous, with its unheard of luxury, also introduced French customs and habits, and the magnificence which was to be found in this city was so generally recognized that the expression "fatta alla Napolitana" became a synonym for extreme elegance.

Much of this elegance which Simone saw around him has been reproduced in his works. His saints are either courtly gentlemen or noble ladies, and their beautiful gestures and dainty movements are perhaps depicted with a greater sense of reality than we can nowadays very well imagine. Simone's mystical

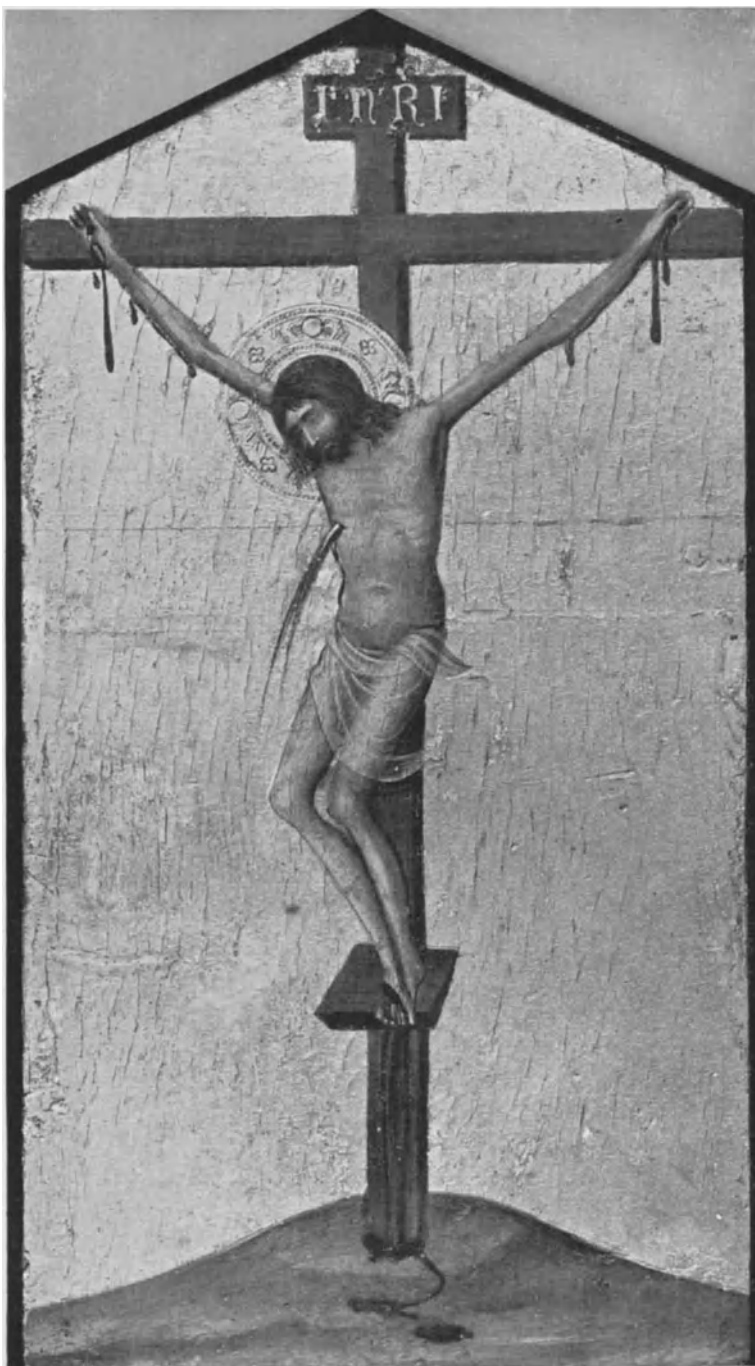


Fig. 164. Simone Martini, the Lord on the Cross. Fogg Museum, Harvard University, U. S. A.

temperament spiritualized this elegance. His world was one of beautiful illusions where nothing discordant shocked the eye and it is at Assisi that he first reveals it to us in all its perfection. It is only natural that the examples of French Gothic statuary in that city should have produced a profound impression on the painter, for theirs was an art imbued with the same ideals as those which inspired Simone.

After having followed Duccio, in whose art we find considerable traces of Gothic feeling, which, however, always remains extrinsic, we need not be surprised when Simone produces really Gothic forms. Whereas the figures of the *Maestà* of 1315 betray a Ducciesque and a Byzantine influence, the St. Catherine of the chapel at Assisi and the figures of the Annunciation of 1333 are fundamentally and essentially Gothic. From this period onward it is this style that dominates Simone's art, although in his last products the thickset proportions of his figures rather detract from its beauty.

As I said before, Pietro Lorenzetti's is the last influence reflected in Simone's art, and in the divers panels of the polyptych in Antwerp, Paris and Berlin this becomes very clear. It is not that we find here livelier action; this was observed in the panel of the Beato Agostino Novella at Siena, without any diminution of Simone's peculiar grace; but the passionately tragic scenes, the wild gesticulations, the faces distorted with grief, do not belong to Simone's own personal art, but are an obvious imitation of Pietro Lorenzetti. Still worse, the master at this moment seems to have found pleasure in depicting grimacing faces quite independent of the feelings to be represented. On the bridge in the scene of the Calvary, an ugly old woman's profile, with angular features, hooked nose and chin, is one of Pietro's fantastic figures, but in a work of Simone's she seems quite out of place. The type is, however, repeated in the panel of the Entombment, and there can be no doubt that we have here a manifestation of the master's decline, combined with the unhappy introduction of factors foreign to his artistic ideals.

In studying Simone's work we are struck over and over again by the manner in which he combined his spiritualized conceptions with thoroughly realistic details. Looking, for instance, at the fresco of the knighting of St. Martin, we obtain the impression

that we are assisting at a supernatural event, but on casting a glance at the musicians on the right, we see that every detail of gesture and expression has been observed and rendered with an unsurpassed sense of reality. This combination of idealism in the general conception and minute realism of expression is characteristic of the Sienese school but no other artist presents it with such consummate skill as Simone.

Again the master reveals another Sienese characteristic in the great importance which he gives to the decorative effect, not only of each individual fresco, but of a whole *ensemble* of paintings. As such the decoration of the St. Martin chapel could not be improved. That the element of beauty is infinitely more significant than that of narrative power in his work is clear to anyone who compares his paintings with those of his contemporary, Giotto, in whose works exactly the contrary tendency is manifested, Simone in this — again, like all artists of the Sienese school — betrays the persistence of an occult contact with Byzantium. The master is not a story-teller but an author of beautiful pictures. His compositions therefore are rarely concise, and he deliberately adds figures unnecessary to our comprehension of the event portrayed, even though in doing so he breaks all faith with iconographical traditions.

Simone does not introduce any novelties in his representation of interiors; he suppresses the front wall, showing simultaneously the inside and the outside of the building, but he never limits himself to representing isolated fragments of architecture, as Giotto occasionally did. His perspective is often very good, especially when he connects a plain or vaulted ceiling with the back wall. In the last two scenes of the St. Martin legend, Simone, in order to emphasize the fact that the figures are inside the room, shows them behind two of the pillars on which the ceiling rests. In the fresco of Guidoriccio, on the other hand, it is not easy to understand exactly where the artist desired to place his figure, because the fore-quarters of the condottiere's horse are well on the surface of the fresco, while the hind legs are on a different and remoter plane.

Simone hardly ever tries to accentuate the impression of space by showing the action at an angle, and except for the Calvary in Paris, and, to a certain extent, the Entombment in Berlin, in

which the results are anything but good, the action in Simone's pictures is almost invariably at right angles with the line of vision.

Simone is not only very significant on account of his own beautiful productions, but is unequalled as the inspiration of other painters. We find adherents of his manner in Siena itself, until well into the 15th century, while outside his native city, important groups were formed at Naples, Pisa, Orvieto, and several in Umbria, and France; in short, at each centre of his activities a nucleus of painters must have gathered around him, and it is to them that we owe the survival and propagation of Simone's manner (1).

(1) Of the works which I think wrongly attributed to Simone only a few deserve any mention. One of these is a panel in the Jarves collection, Yale University, U. S. A., representing St. Martin dividing his cloak ascribed to Simone by Mr. Berenson and also by Sirén, who, in his *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 35, assigns it to the artist's Avignon period. Mr. Perkins (*Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1905, p. 76) believed this picture to be by a pupil of Bartolodi Fredi. Judging from the reproduction the attribution to Simone seems to me quite inadmissible and the opinion of Mr. Perkins more probably correct. Another work which Prof. Venturi assigned to Simone is a Calvary, once in the Sterbini collection, Rome (*L'Arte*, 1904, p. 427, see also *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1905, p. 148). Again judging from the reproduction, I should consider this picture to belong to the Bolognese school. For other erroneous attributions and paintings now lost see my book on Simone Martini, p. 82 et seq.

The following list for the greater part is taken from the same source pp. 190—192; many of them are mentioned by Langton Douglas in his notes on Crowe and Cavalcaselle: — *Aix en Provence*, Museum, Robert of Anjou and Queen Sancha kneeling before St. Louis, (French ?) (Bertaux in *S. Maria di D. R.*, p. 120 and *Les Saints Louis*, p. 72. Reprod. in Bouchot, *Les Primitifs français*); *Assisi*, Museum, Madonna surrounded by angels, and a St. Francis (detached frescoes) attributed to Simone by Schmarzow and Gosche, op. cit., p. 77, but they are only vague school works which Mr. Perkins has rightly associated with the *Maestà della Volta* at Perugia (*Rassegna d'Arte*, 1909, p. 41). *Berlin*, Museum no. 1071 A, Madonna and saints of a much later date than Simone, but still belonging to his school, Douglas in *Cr. and Cav.*, note 2, believes it to be by the same hand as the Madonna of Staggia; the late von Kaufmann collection, half-length figure Madonna and Child, Lippo's school (Venturi, op. cit., V, p. 655, is of opinion that it was inspired by Simone's Madonna in the Palazzo di Venezia). *Boston*, Fine Arts Museum, half-length figure of St. Gregory by a distant follower of Simone; *Brant Broughton* (England), Sulston collection, Madonna and six saints, (Douglas in *Cr. and Cav.* p. 79, note 1, mentions it as a work of Lippo's school); *Capriano (Murlo)*, S.

Giovanni, Madonna (Rothes, *Die Blütezeit der Sienesischen Malerei*, Strasbourg, 1904, mentions it as Simone's); *Cologne*, late Ramboux collection, no. 63, Madonna. Cr. and Cav., p. 69, find the attribution to Simone uncorrect, believing it to be by Lippo. Is it the same as no. 511 of the Wallraf Richartz Museum? no. 64 also of the same collection is mentioned by Cr. and Cav., p. 69, note 1, as a school work of Simone or Lippo. Wallraf-Richartz Museum, no. 510, Madonna enthroned; no. 511, Madonna enthroned between two saints with the Crucifixion above, centre of a triptych of the school of Lippo. Schnütgen Museum, triangular terminal of a polyptych containing half-length figure of St. Francis, much effaced. *Dresden*, Museum, nos. 28–29, Madonna between saints and St. Francis receiving the stigmata, by two different artists, catalogued as school of Duccio and school of Memmi (Thode and Douglas in Cr. and Cav., p. 78, note 4, believe them to be executed in the manner of Bartolo di Fredi); no. 31, the dead Christ erect in His tomb, catalogued as Lippo Memmi, Morelli believes it to be by Barna, Schubring only in Barna's manner; no. 32, Madonna enthroned between four saints with the Saviour in benediction above, catalogued under the school of Memmi, (Cr. and Cav., p. 74, ascribe it to Simone's school). *Florence*, Horne collection, small Madonna and Child, which I believe to be by the same hand as the nos. 85–86, 93–94 and 108 in the Gallery of Siena, Mr. Horne attributed it to Simone (Perkins, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1918, p. 105). *Frankfort*, Städelsches Kunst-Institut (Director's office), three saints, (Douglas in Cr. and Cav. p. 79, note 1). *Liverpool*, Roscoe collection, Walker Art Gallery, fragment of a Coronation of the Virgin by a poor artist influenced by Simone, and showing a certain connection with Barna. *London*, Butler collection, triptych, of which the central Madonna is by a clever pupil of Simone's, the wings by Sassetta (Douglas Cr. and Cav., p. 69, note 2); Poynter collection, SS. Apollonia and Agatha, trivial figures of Lippo's school. At the exhibition at the Burlington Club (no. 17) it was attributed to Lippo himself; sometimes also said to be by Bartolo di Fredi. *Massa Maritima*, Cathedral, frescoes of the Adoration of the Magi, etc., reminding one of Bartolo di Fredi. *Montepulciano*, Sta. Agnesa, Madonna and Child with a faint resemblance to Simone's school (Rothes, *op. cit.*, p. 15, believes it to be by Simone). *Naples*, Gallery, Blessing Redeemer. *Paris*, Louvre, two small Madonnas of Simone's school, attributed to the master himself, from the Campana collection. (Cr. and Cav., p. 71), no longer exposed. *Rome*, Borghese Gallery, 1st. room no. 72, large Annunciation attributed to Spinello Aretino but according to Cr. and Cav., p. 78, belonging to Simone's school, disappeared; Vatican Gallery, no. 2, St. Peter and two angels, school of Simone with traces of Duccio's influence; no. 24, Crucifixion, Lippo's school with Giottesque influences; Stroganoff collection, small Pieta, school of Lippo (Douglas in Cr. and Cav., p. 79, note 1). *Siena*, Gallery, no. 58, Madonna between four saints with a Crucifixion above, executed under the influence of Lippo and Pietro Lorenzetti (Perkins, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1908, p. 53); nos. 85–6, 93–4, SS. Catherine, John the Evangelist, the Baptist and Paul, with a medallion above each, and two panels showing figures of prophets. They are beautiful works, directly inspired by Lippo Memmi, and by the same artist as the Madonna of the Horne collection, and the following picture, no. 108, mystic

marriage of St. Catherine, by the same hand as the last mentioned works (Perkins, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1908, p. 55); nos 123, 138, 139, 124, four polyptych panels, three prophets and St. Catherine, not very fine; Palazzo Pubblico, frescoes in a room next the chapel, a large figure of St. Paul and above the door a fragment, a female saint and male saint with a book and a bishop laying his hand upon a kneeling worshipper (probably at the feet of a Madonna); in the church of S. Donato, fresco of the Madonna and Child (*Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1910, p. 88–89, inspired by Simone's school); church of Sta. Marta, a fresco, the Death of the Virgin, inspired by Simone's school; S. Pellegrino alla Sapienza, three saints, Simone's school, attributed to Lippo by Gielly, (*Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, 1913); Compagnia della Madonna, the Madonna between angels and four saints, in the upper part of the fresco is the Saviour in the act of benediction (Cr. and Cav., p. 78); Franci collection, a figure symbolising Justice, attributed to Sano di Pietro, at the exhibition held at Siena in 1904 (no. 1599), according to Perkins it is a work of the school of Simone (*Rassegna d'Arte*, 1904, p. 146). *Staggia* (prov. of Siena) Pieve, Madonna. Douglas in Cr. and Cav., p. 69, note 1, believes it to be by the same hand as the Madonna in Berlin, no. 1071A, with which it has really no connection. It is a work of the second half of the 14th century, executed under the influence of the art of Andrea Vanni. Rothes (op. cit., p. 15) thinks it might be by Simone. *Trieste*, Cathedral, frescoes in the chapel of S. Giusto illustrating the legend of the saint, made under the influence of Simone's school.

CHAPTER IV.

THE IMMEDIATE FOLLOWERS OF SIMONE MARTINI.

LIPPO MEMMI ⁽¹⁾.

In dealing with the beginning of Simone Martini's career, I have already mentioned that his father-in-law was Memmo di Filipuccio, whose son, Lippo Memmi, worked in collaboration with him at San Gimignano in 1317. Although Memmo is found with his family in that town as early as 1306, it is probable that Lippo was born at Siena; at least in certain instances he signs himself "de Siena", but this does not necessarily imply that Siena was his native city, because in signing their pictures artists often identify themselves with the most important scene of their activity.

Documents concerning Lippo are few in number; this is no doubt due to the fact that he was more or less the "alter ego" of his more talented kinsman, whom he certainly assisted on many occasions.

Reference to the combined activity of Memmo and Lippo in 1317, at San Gimignano is found in a document in the archives of that city ⁽²⁾; it is there reported that father and son were to paint certain figures in the town hall; besides which we have the date, and Lippo's signature, at the foot of the still existing fresco. Comparing this work, however, with Lippo's other paintings it is very clear that we cannot regard this as one of his creations. There are many archaisms which reflect the style of an earlier form of art, no doubt that of his father, as I stated when dealing with this fresco at the beginning of the chapter on Simone Martini.

We have records of other dates in connection with Lippo

⁽¹⁾ *R. van Marle*, *Simone Martini*, p. 97.

⁽²⁾ *R. Davidsohn*, *op. cit.*, II, p. 311.

Memmi, such as 1333 when, with Simone, he signed the Annunciation in the Uffizi, and 1341, when the city authorities charged him to make wooden models for the spire of the town hall ⁽¹⁾. Consequently he did not go to Avignon with Simone, but a document tells us that "*Lippus et Federicus de Senis Memmi*" worked there in 1347 in the church of S. Francesco. If we can identify the *Lippus* with our artist — and to me it seems quite admissible — we then gain the information that he had a brother called Federicus who followed the same craft.

The peculiar features, the pinched nose, extremely small mouth, and Oriental eyes, of the figures in the *Maestà* of 1317 are to be found only in one earlier painting; one in the church of S. Agostino at San Gimignano and generally attributed to Lippo ⁽²⁾. It represents the Madonna enthroned giving suck to the Child, and the archangel Michael, with the dragon underfoot, standing on one side; the pendant, which was no doubt originally placed on the other side, has now disappeared. It is the image of the archangel that in many respects reminds us of the figures in the fresco of the town hall, but the picture is so entirely repainted that we cannot, with certainty, attribute it to any individual artist.

A faint trace of those elements which characterize Lippo's earliest manner is still evident in the "*Madonna della Misericordia*" which, a short time ago, was transferred from one of the chapels in the Cathedral of Orvieto to the Opera Museum (fig. 165). As central figure of this large panel the crowned Virgin stands on a small dais, clasping her hands as if in prayer; several angels at either side hold up her cloak, under which are two large groups of kneeling suppliants, beseeching protection. The signature, which is inscribed on the edge of the dais, runs: "*Lipus De Senis natus nos pinxit Amena*".

Although the form and type of the faces betray a certain con-

⁽¹⁾ *Linsini*, Chi fu l'architetto della Torre del Mangio, Misc. Stor. Sen., II, 1894, p. 131. *F. Donati*, Il palazzo del Comune di Siena, Arte Antica Senese, I, Siena, 1904, p. 341. The tower was finished in 1348. *Burckhardt*, Cicerone, p. 101, believes that Lippo made the design for the whole tower, but there seems no reason to admit this.

⁽²⁾ *N. Baldoria*, Monumenti artistici in San Gimignano, Archiv. Stor. dell'Arte, 1894, p. 41. *Berenson*, op. cit.



Fig. 165. Lippo Memmi, *Madonna della Misericordia*. Opera del Duomo, Orvieto.

Photo Anderson.

nection with the two frescoes of San Gimignano, we find here a more developed sense of beauty, a suavity of expression, and precision of design, which reveal the influence of Simone, who, however, did not yet entirely dominate Lippo.

Simone's influence is more manifested in a very fine picture of the enthroned Madonna, holding the Child erect on her knee, in Mr. Berenson's collection at Settignano (fig. 166). To the left we see St. Michael and the dragon, to the right a youthful female saint holding an inscription; behind each is the figure of an angel; above, two small angels, hovering in mid-air, hold the curtain which forms the background, while in the upper part of the frame two medallions enclose half-length figures of prophets. The picture is remarkably rich in ornamental detail; the aesthetic ideals which inspired the artist are obviously Simone's, and the principal figure, in its general lines, shows an obvious resemblance to the picture of St. Louis crowning Robert of Anjou, in the church of S. Lorenzo at Naples.

This work forecasts Simone's complete dominance over Lippo, and we have seen in the polyptychs of Orvieto how faithfully he followed his more gifted brother-in-law's manner. In dealing with Simone's activities at Orvieto, I have already demonstrated why several parts of these altar-pieces should be regarded as the work of Lippo, Simone probably only supplying the rough outline.

Very characteristic of this period in Lippo's career is the Madonna — no doubt the central panel of a larger work — in the Opera Museum of Orvieto, originally in the church of S. Francesco (fig. 167).

Besides the half-length figure of the Virgin with the Child we see, in the spandrels, two medallions, each containing the head and shoulders of an angel of the hierarchy of the "thrones", and in the terminals the important half-length figure of the Saviour, between a cherub and a seraph. In my opinion this picture does not possess the qualities necessary to justify its general attribution to Simone. Comparing the figures of this otherwise very pleasing and charming panel with Simone's own pictures, we find them, to be somewhat lacking in vitality, hard, especially in the drawing of the features, and not so grandiose.

Three other half-length figures of the Madonna resemble in type



Fig. 166. Lippo Memmi, Madonna. Berenson Collection, Settignano.



Fig. 167. Lippo Memmi, Madonna. Opera del Duomo, Orvieto.

Photo Raffaelli Armoni.

and execution the picture of Orvieto. One of these, in which the proportions are slightly more alternated and the Madonna is younger in appearance, is now included in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum of Berlin (1081A); the lower part of the frame contains the signature "*Lippus Memmi de Senis*" (fig. 168) (1). From the presence of the angel of the Annunciation in the medallion of the apex one might surmise that this picture was originally half of a diptych. It is a significant fact that the following inscription is found on the back of the panel: "*Insegni Campo Santo di Pisa*". We have seen that Simone worked in both Pisa and Orvieto in 1320, and this, besides providing us with an idea of the date, makes it probable that Lippo accompanied him to Pisa, as well as to Orvieto.

(1) *Suida*, Notizi su alcuni quadri primitivi italiani nel Kaiser Friedrich Museum di Berlino, *Rivista d'Arte*, 1907, p. 41. See also *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1907, p. 67.

The second of this little group was, until a short time ago, in the R. Conservatorio of Montepulciano ⁽¹⁾, but it is now hung, in the Gallery of Siena (fig. 169). It is a somewhat damaged picture. The Madonna's figure is almost three quarter length, and the Child, held rather high in His Mother's arms, is shown playing with her veil. Above, in the trifoliate decoration, is a head and shoulders of the Saviour at the Last Judgment. The execution is here simpler; the decorative details, especially rich in the panel of Orvieto, are absent here.

⁽¹⁾ *De Nicola, Arte inedita Senese, Vita d'Arte, 1912, p. 12.*



Fig. 168. Lippo Memmi, Madonna. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin. Photo Hanfstaengl.



Fig. 169. Lippo Memmi, Madonna. Accademia, Siena.

Photo Alinari.



Fig. 170. Lippo Memmi, St. Peter. Chiamonte Bordonaro Collection,
Palermo.

Photo Alinari.

The last picture which may be classed with the above works is a Madonna on the altar of Sta. Maria Maddalena at Castiglion d'Orcia; but here the Child, seen holding a bird, is rather clumsy in appearance.

These three works, together with the Madonna of Orvieto are products of a certain stage in the artist's career, when, notwithstanding Simone's powerful influence, certain individual factors still persisted.

Three other panels belong to the same phase, although the freer folds of the drapery might point to a slightly later date. The paintings I refer to are those of SS. Peter (fig. 170) and Paul in the Chiaramonte Bordonaro collection at Palermo ⁽¹⁾ and of the Apostle James in the Gallery of Pisa (fig. 171). These three panels are in composition and general conception so similar, that if the dimensions were identical -- as to which I have had no opportunity of investigation -- it might be assumed that they once formed part of the same work of art. The saints are seated on draped thrones, the arms of which are adorned with lions' heads; each holds a book in one hand, and in the other his own special emblem. The features are very beautiful, and the expression indicative of deeper feeling than is seen in Lippo's other works. The folds of the drapery are particularly well executed, and accentuate the grace of these noble figures.

A small half-length figure of St. Elizabeth, in the collection of Mr. Charles Loeser, Florence, is also probably an example of an early stage of Lippo's career ⁽²⁾.

An increase of Simone's influence is manifest in the so-called "Madonna of the People" in the Servi church, Siena (pl. VI); the signature "*Lippus Memmi . . . pinxit*" is found in the border ⁽³⁾. The type of the Virgin still shows a certain affinity with the previous group of Madonnas found in Orvieto, Berlin, Siena and Castiglion d'Orcia, especially in such matters as the roundness of the head and the hardness of execution, but in the sentiment, some of the technical details and the type of the Child, we see

⁽¹⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1906, p. 31.

⁽²⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, *Una tavola di Lippo Memmi*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1920, p. 115.

⁽³⁾ This panel has been stolen but later on it was fortunately found again, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1905, p. 125.



MADONNA

By Lippo Memmi, Servi Church, Siena.

Photo Anderson.



Fig. 171. Lippo Memmi, St. James. Gallery, Pisa.

Photo Minist. del. Pubbl. Istr.



Fig. 172. Lippo Memmi, St. Gregory. Parry Collection,
Gloucester.

Photo Mansell.

that Lippo is much more familiar with Simone's art than when he executed the previous works.

This is still more evident in a panel of a polyptych in the collection of Sir Hubert Parry, Highnam Court, near Gloucester; it represents a half-length figure of St. Peter in papal vestments (fig. 172), holding a book and his two keys, one of which is named "*autoritas*" and the other "*discretio*". This is a particularly fine painting; not only does it surpass Lippo's other works in the rendering of relief, but the minute execution of decorative detail and the deep religious feeling almost rank it with Simone's own.

We now approach that period in which Lippo executed the two figures which I believe to be his part in the Annunciation which they signed together in 1333 (fig. 173).

Although Julitta is more advanced in age than the Madonna of the Servi church, Siena, the type exhibits a good deal of similarity, and in neither do we find that particularly elaborate treatment of the flesh which struck us in the St. Peter of Sir Hubert Parry. On the other hand, the ample proportions and heavy folds of the drapery differentiate these two panels from such of Lippo's other work as we have hitherto considered.

A work in which these elements are discernible, although on account of its size, such characteristics are not especially prominent, is the centre of a small triptych in the Alte Pinakothek of Munich (no. 986) (¹). The Virgin, seated with clasped hands, is surrounded by a group of angelic musicians. In the upper tier the Eternal and sundry prophets are seen in heaven, while still higher the Virgin is depicted, being crowned by the hands of her Son. The wings show the Annunciation, and groups of saints, but these are merely additions in grisaille of a slightly later date and do not form an *ensemble* with the central part.

Of Lippo's last manner, in which he again follows Simone's heavier rendering of the Gothic outline, we possess several half-length figures of Madonnas.

The earliest and most graceful of these is that in the Museum of Altenburg (no. 43), signed "*Lippus de Senis me pinxit*". The neatness of the drawing and the proportions remind us of an earlier stage of Lippo's career.

(¹) *Prof. A. Venturi, L'Arte, 1904, p. 391, erroneously declares the whole triptych to be false.*



Fig. 173. Lippo Memmi, SS. Julitta and Ansanus from the Annunciation of 1333. Uffizi, Florence. Photo Alinari.

The period of transition, which ends in the adoption of ampler proportions, is exemplified by a partly repainted panel in the



Fig. 174. Lippo Memmi, Madonna, Benson Collection, London.

Photo Braun.



Fig. 175. Lippo Memmi, Madonna. Gardner Collection, Boston. Photo Mar. monastery of S. Sigismondo just outside Montefollonico ⁽¹⁾, in the region of Montepulciano, and by a very finely executed picture in Mr. Benson's collection, London (fig. 174) ⁽²⁾. Here the

⁽¹⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1908, p. 9, hesitatingly ascribes the picture to Andrea Vanni.

⁽²⁾ v. *Catalogue of the Burlington Exhibition of Sieneese Art*, pl. XVI.



Fig. 176. Lippo Memmi, *Madonna*. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.

Photo Hanfstaengl.

artist has also attempted to reproduce the tender Simonesque melancholy, but has not been able to prevent an expression of discontent from appearing in the Virgin's face.



Fig. 177. Lippo Memmi, St. Peter. Louvre.

Photo Braun.

The same trait is found in a half-length figure of the Madonna in Mrs. Gardner's collection, Boston (fig. 175). Here, however, the proportions are somewhat ampler and five small half-length figures of saints beneath the principal image form a predella. We meet with the same peculiar expression in another work, a second Madonna in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (fig. 176), which, notwithstanding certain defects of composition is a monumental and impressive work (1).

With the other products of this latter part of Lippo's career, may be classed a fine figure of St. Peter in the Louvre (no. 1152) (fig. 177) (2). A picture of St. Paul in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (fig. 178) may once have formed part of the same polyptych as the panel in the Louvre (3). Both, but especially the former, show the features markedly in relief, like those of the St. Peter in the Parry collection.

Two small terminal panels in the Gallery of Siena (nos. 72 and 74) are executed in the same manner; they represent St. Peter and St. Paul seated on a low chair (4).

Similar proportions are to be observed in a small but very fine panel of the Crucifixion in the Vatican (no. 28), and for this reason I think this also should be considered one of Lippo's later productions (fig. 179). The Saviour is nailed on a tall cross, at the foot of which are numerous figures, some of them on horseback; on the left the Virgin, who has fainted, is surrounded by her companions. As in the Madonna of Mrs. Gardner's collection, there is an attached predella, showing a row of half-length figures of saints, here six in number. In the apex a pelican is shown in a medallion, with the image of a prophet on either side. The dramatic expression of several of the figures leads us to believe that Lippo, like Simone

(1) *Suida*, op. cit., questions the attribution of this picture to Lippo Memmi.

(2) This panel is frequently ascribed to Taddeo di Bartolo v. *Seymour de Ricci*, *Description raisonnée des peintures du Louvre*, I, Paris, 1913, p. 15. *A. Venturi*, *Storia dell' Arte*, V, fig. 612. *Schubring*, *Zeitschr. f. Christl. Kunst*, XIV, 1901, p. 378. It is obviously, however, a work of the first half of the 14th century. *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1906, p. 31. published it as a work of Lippo's.

(3) *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1917, p. 45.

(4) *Idem*.



Fig. 178. Lippo Memmi, St. Paul. Metropolitan Museum, New York.



Fig. 179. Lippo Memmi, Crucifixion. Vatican Gallery.

Photo Anderson.



Fig. 180. School of Lippo Memmi, Crucifixion. Fine Arts Museum, Boston.



Fig. 181. School of Simone, Madonna. Lehman Collection, New York.

Martini, was also slightly influenced by the Lorenzetti (1).

A small Crucifixion, in which, besides the Crucified, only the Virgin and St. John are represented, both seated on the ground, has been ascribed to Lippo (fig. 180) (2). It originally belonged to the family della Genga of Assisi, but is now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. I have never seen this picture, but can hardly imagine that the somewhat podgy forms were really drawn by Simone's faithful collaborator, and am inclined rather to regard it as a school work.

It would be impossible to call Lippo anything more than the follower and imitator of his brother-in-law, Simone Martini, and his greatest quality is his ability to reproduce his master's types. Herein he was so successful that in several instances, as we have seen, the question whether a painting was the work of Lippo or of Simone is still open to controversy.

Generally, however, his productions are less inspired and less expressive, with a certain hardness of line, rigidity of attitude and absence of dignity, but these shortcomings only strike us when his work is compared with Simone's (3).

(1) This panel is not always attributed to Lippo, but the catalogue of the Gallery, Mr. Berenson and Mr. Langton Douglas ascribe it to this master.

(2) *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1917, p. 73, and *Art in America*, 1920, p. 277.

(3) Works which may still be attributed to Lippo Memmi are: — *Berlin*, the late von Kaufmann collection, half-length figure of the Madonna (reproduced in Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte*, V, fig. 532); *Providence*, Rhode Island School of Design, half-length figure of a female saint; *Rome*, a short time ago a half-length figure of the Madonna in a reliquary was for sale (*F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1904, p. 31). A few other attributions will be found in Mr. Berenson's "Central Italian Painters" and my book on Simone Martini, p. 110, where incorrect attributions and lost pictures are also mentioned. I have mentioned the school works, together with those of Simone, at the end of the chapter on the latter artist. A half-length figure of St. Stephen in the Blumenthal collection, New York, is, in Mr. Perkins opinion, a work of Lippo's school (*Art in America*, 1920, p. 273). A small panel of the faithful mourning over the Lord's body, which some years ago was in the hands of a Florentine art dealer, bore in some of its details a closer resemblance to Lippo's than to Simone's work, showing a considerable likeness to the della Genga Crucifixion, now in the Boston Museum. *Siena*, machine-room of the Arts and Crafts School (cloister of S. Domenico, adjacent to the fragment of Lippo Vanni's Annunciation), Madonna and Child, with an angel on the left offering flowers, and St. Paul; the figures on the right have disappeared. Other fragments here seem to be by the same hand.

THE MADONNA AND THREE SAINTS IN THE LEHMAN AND
BLUMENTHAL COLLECTIONS, NEW YORK.

One of the most faithful and most important of Simone Martini's followers painted an altar-piece, several panels of which have come down to us. They include half-length figures of the Madonna with the Child (fig. 181), of SS. Peter and Ansano (fig. 182), and of an Apostle, which, with the exception of the last, which belongs to Mr. Blumenthal of New York, have been united in the collection of Mr. Philip Lehman, of the same city.

We have known of the Madonna for many years. It was first spoken of as a work of Lippo Memmi's (1). After the discovery of Lippo Vanni's signed triptych, however, the resemblance in type of the two Madonnas led several critics, including myself, to attribute this panel to Vanni (2).

The three panels of saints were attributed to Simone by Mr. Sirén in his catalogue of the New York loan exhibition, and although I have never seen the originals, I thought this attribution justifiable (3). Mr. Perkins was the first to point out that the Madonna and these three panels, on account of their size and general aspects, must have formed part of the same altar-piece, for which reason he ascribed them all to Lippo Vanni (4).

On the other hand, the demonstration that the four paintings form an *ensemble* forced me to come to the conclusion that neither the figures of the saints nor the Madonna, which at first I believed to be by Lippo Vanni, can possibly be from his hand. I still agree that the Virgin and Child are very similar in type to those of the signed triptych, but while this might be explained by the hypothesis that the two different artists followed the same prototype, the technique, especially of the three saints, differs so completely from Lippo Vanni's, as we know it from

(1) At that time it belonged to the Imbert collection, Rome. *F. M. Perkins*, *Il cosidetto originale della Madonna del Popolo*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1905, p. 129.

(2) *F. M. Perkins* and *G. De Nicola*, *Alcuni dipinti di Lippo Vanni*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1910, p. 39. *R. van Marle*, *Simone Martini*, p. 139. It formed then part of the Norton collection, Boston.

(3) *R. van Marle*, *op. cit.*, p. 3 and *Errata*, p. 199.

(4) *Art in America*, 1920, p. 278.

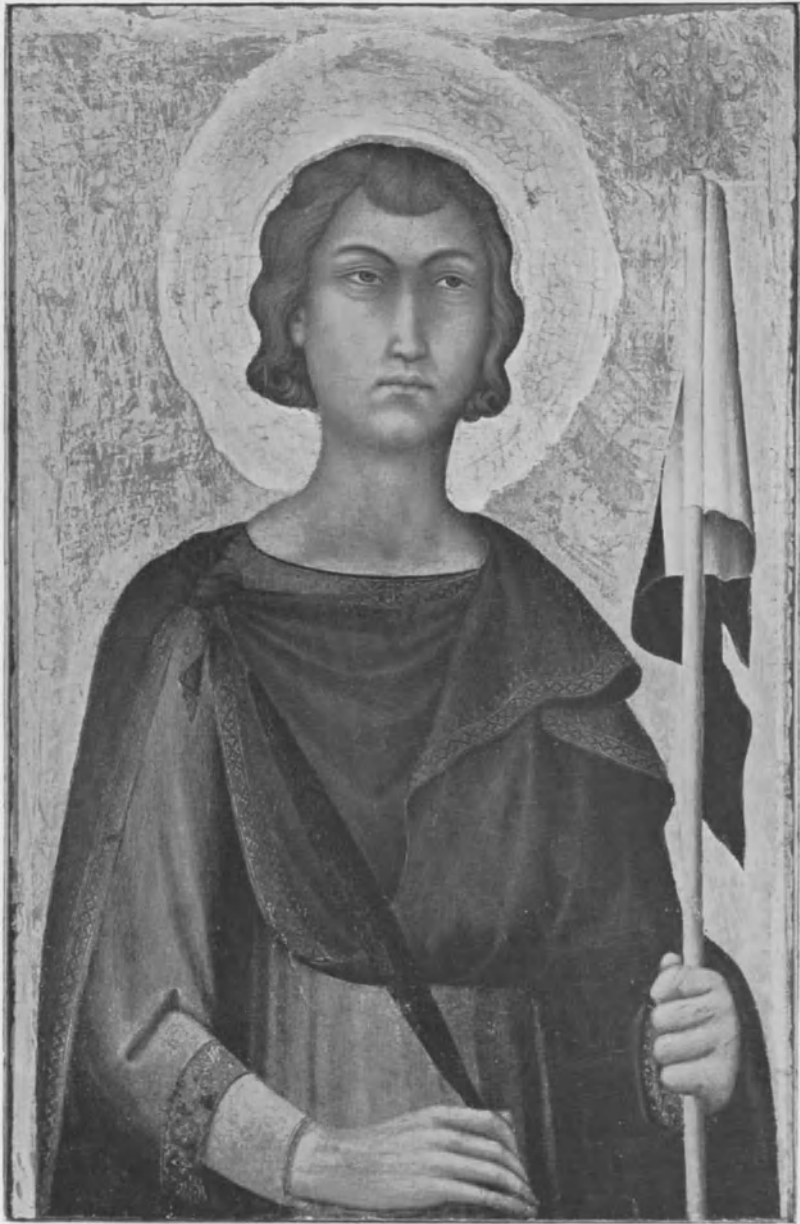


Fig. 182. School of Simone, St. Ansanus. Lehman Collection, New York.

his other works, that I do not see how we can ascribe them to the same hand.

We have no reason to believe that Lippo Vanni was ever so intimately connected with Simone's art as the author of these panels obviously must have been; nor do such dates as have come to our knowledge in relation to Lippo Vanni allow us to suggest that he was trained under Simone. On the contrary: for the first document with any mention of Lippo is one of 1341, two years after Simone's departure for Avignon, and as we find only references to the execution of miniatures between 1341 and 1345, while in 1344 he is even called "miniature", we have no reason to believe that he practised any other branch of painting before 1352. Moreover, the document of 1345 mentions miniatures yet extant, which reveal Lippo Vanni at the outset of his career as a follower of the Lorenzetti and not of Simone, whose persisting influence, as will be seen, was not felt until a considerably later period. Further, the quality of Lippo Vanni's works cannot be compared with that of the fine paintings in the two New York collections.

These four panels seem to me the work of a great artist, who, at the moment of their execution, was entirely dominated by Simone, whose direct pupil he must have been.

I know of no other works from the same hand, and I do not believe that these paintings are the youthful achievement of an artist who, in his riper work, might appear under quite a different aspect.

THE MASTER OF THE ST. GEORGE CODEx (1).

The painter-miniaturist known as the "Master of the St. George Codex" may, with Donato and Lippo, be classed amongst the direct followers of Simone Martini, and it is possible that he might even have been a member of the same gifted family of artists; perhaps that Fredericus whom we found working with Lippo at Avignon.

The artist owes his name to the miniatures in the codex of

(1) *F. Hermanin*, Il miniatore del codice di San Giorgio nell'archivio capitolare di San Pietro in Vaticano, *Scritti vari di filologia* a Ernesto Monaci, Roma, 1901. p. 445. *R. van Marle*, *Simone Martini*, p. 112.

“Missorium libri et sancti Georgii martyris historia” in the archives of St. Peter’s Rome. They were at first ascribed to Simone himself; later Cavalcaselle sought to identify their author with the miniaturist Oderisi da Gubbio, whose praises are sung by Dante.

De Nicola’s study of this anonymous artist has considerably advanced our knowledge of him ⁽¹⁾. He has pointed out that the text was written by Cardinal Stefaneschi, who offered it, with a letter from Avignon dated 1319, to the Celestine monks at Sulmona. It will be remembered that it was the Cardinal who employed Simone at Avignon, and it is only natural that he should have chosen a collaborator of Simone’s to illuminate his codex.

This is all the more likely, as the miniature of St. George killing the dragon (fig. 183) resembles in every detail the illustration of this subject which Simone painted at Avignon, but of which only a drawing remains.

Besides this miniature, the codex contains others, representing the Annunciation, the Cardinal author, seated, writing, another picture of St. George and the dragon, one of the delivered princess kneeling in prayer, St. George being beheaded before the king, and Queen Helena, a cross in her hands, kneeling before an altar.

Other miniatures by the same artist are found in a manuscript in the Paris National Library (Pontificale MS. Lat. 15619) in which one illustration shows us a Pope cropping the hair of a monk who is kneeling in front of him, and in Berlin, where the Print Cabinet contains several representing, for the greater part, half-length figures and heads of saints, but also the Nativity, the Death and Coronation of the Virgin, St. Peter curing a lame person, and a second Nativity, probably that of St. John (nos. 1984—2000).

The first of this artist’s panel paintings deserving of mention, is the set of four panels divided between the Bargello Museum in Florence, and the Benson collection in London; the former possessing the *Noli me Tangere* (pl. VII) and the Coronation of the Virgin (fig. 184) and the latter the Crucifixion and the Pietà ⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *G. De Nicola*, *L’Affresco di Simone Martini ad Avignone. The Same, Opere del miniatore del codice di San Giorgio*, *L’Arte*, 1908, p. 385.

⁽²⁾ *Suida*, *Studien zur Trecento Malerei*, *Repert. f. Kunstw.*, 1908, p. 213.



THE APPARITION TO St. MARY MAGDALENE
By the Master of the St. George Codex, Bargello, Florence.

Photo Atinari.



Fig. 183. The Master of the Codex of St. George, Miniature. Vatican Library, Rome.

In the two last pictures we find a very genuine and realistic expression of grief and well-observed dramatic action. The scene of the *Noli me Tangere*, though very sober in composition, is also



Fig. 184. The Master of the Codex of St. George, the Coronation of the Virgin. Bargello, Florence.

Photo Brogi.

full of feeling. Escorting the principal figures in the Coronation, the artist has depicted a group of angels, some of them swinging censers.

According to Sig. De Nicola, a panel in the Louvre (1666) must have formed the central composition of this series. It shows the Virgin seated on a high Gothic throne, holding the Child on her knee, with angels standing around and St. Peter and the Baptist beneath (fig. 185).

Several other panels may be attributed with certainty to the same artist. Amongst them is a small Annunciation in the Czartorisky collection at Cracow; the Virgin standing by a marble throne while the angels kneel before her. A reliquary in the Carmine church in Florence shows the Virgin enthroned, playing with the Child, who is full of



Fig. 185. The Master of the Codex of St. George, Madonna, saints and angels. Louvre.

Photo Braun.



Fig. 186. The Master of the Codex of St. George, Madonna and saints.
Carmine church, Florence.

Photo Brogi.

life and movement; below, on either side, stand the two SS. John (fig. 186). In this little painting we discover a certain angularity of form unusual in this master's work. It may be a youthful achievement, as is probably also a small panel of the Virgin, standing, in the Stocklet collection; the latter was shown at the exhibition of primitive Italian painters in Brussels (1).

The only known painting of this artist of a more monumental character is one of the Virgin and Child, which is among the pictures exhibited in the Refectory of Sta. Croce, Florence (fig. 187)⁽²⁾. The proportions of the Madonna are ample and majestic and the draperies fall into broad folds; at the apex is a medallion containing an image of the Saviour. Although technically this is not lacking in skill, we feel that the artist was more accustomed to producing smaller works, as it differs from his other paintings.

The "Master of the St. George Codex" was no doubt a miniaturist originally or at least had devoted his talents chiefly to that branch of painting. In his panels we occasionally find errors of perspective and other technical defects which confirm this impression. He does not attempt to obtain monumental effects, painting quite minute figures, to which he gives Simone's grace and sincerity of feeling. Certain of his long-featured types, however, were borrowed, as I have already remarked, from the works of pseudo-Donato rather than from those of Simone⁽³⁾.

BARNA DA SIENA (4).

Of the work of Barna da Siena, without any doubt the most important of Simone Martini's followers, we have only a few

(1) *A. Venturi*, *L'Arte*, 1922, p. 164, who omits to mention that this panel, when it was included in the d'Hendecourt collection, Paris, had already been pronounced a work of the Master of the St. George Codex, by *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1917, p. 45.

(2) *F. M. Perkins*, *op. cit.* I have already mentioned this panel in speaking of Paccino da Buonaguida and his group of followers, to whom Burckhardt attributes it.

(3) *G. Bernardini*, *La Nuova Pinacoteca Vaticana*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1909, p. 93, considers that a Descent from the Cross in the Vatican Gallery is executed in this manner. I ascribe it to a follower of Lippo Memmi's.

(4) *G. De Nicola*, in *Thieme-Becker*, *Kunstler Lexikon*, II, p. 506. *R. van Marle*, *Simone Martini*, p. 116.



Fig. 187. The Master of the Codex of St. George, Madonna. Refectory,
Sta. Croce, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

examples, while documentary evidence furnishes us with but little information.

The name Barnaba recurs from time to time in the family of Simone Martini ⁽¹⁾; and considering the close connection which must have existed between the two artists, we cannot exclude the possibility of their having in some manner been related. Whether the name Barna derives from Bernardo as Vasari believes, or from Barnabas, is of little importance. Milanese discovered a painter called Barna Bertini in 1340 amongst the inhabitants of the S. Pelegrino quarter of Siena ⁽²⁾. Vasari informs us that Barna da Siena, when still young, was accidentally killed by falling from a scaffold while painting in the Collegiata of San Gimignano, and adds that his death occurred in 1381. This is not at all probable. Barna's work looks rather like that of an immediate follower of Simone's, working about the middle of the 14th century.

Milanese's documentary evidence agrees with this, as does the fact that Bartolo di Fredi painted the other half of the frescoes in the Collegiata of San Gimignano between 1356 and 1362. This chronology is farther corroborated by the statement made by Vasari that he was the teacher of Luca di Tommè who was an established artist in 1355.

From an early date Barna has always been highly appreciated. Vasari dedicates a long chapter to him, and Ghiberti mentions him amongst the Sienese working in Florence, qualifying him as "eccellentissimo" ⁽³⁾. He praises the frescoes which he executed in S. Agostino, but this the Anonimo Magliabechiano or Gaddiano, who otherwise repeats Ghiberti's statements, has taken as referring to the church of that name at Siena. Ghiberti erroneously reports that Barna painted the Old Testament scenes at San Gimignano, his part being confined to the illustrations to the Gospels; he also speaks of his working at Cortona. Vasari tells us that from Cortona he went to Arezzo, and this fact is confirmed by the existence of a fresco in a chapel of the Cathedral of that town, mentioned by Vasari and about which more will be said later. The date 1369, however, furnished by Vasari, is

⁽¹⁾ *Milanese*, Doc. Sen., I, p. 245.

⁽²⁾ Annot. on Vasari, I, p. 647 and Doc. Sen., I, p. 28.

⁽³⁾ *Ghiberti*, ed. von Schlosser, pp. 42 and 152.

highly questionable, on account of other considerations. Of the frescoes which illustrated the legend of St. James in S. Agostino, the scenes from the life of the Virgin in the Pieve, and other mural paintings in this city, nothing now remains.

The only important work of Barna's, then, which has come down to us, is the series of frescoes in the Collegiata of San Gimignano. In 1745 they were considerably repainted by Lupinari, but in 1891 most of the unnecessary restoration was removed, and, as we now see them, sufficient of the original remains for us to form an opinion of Barna's qualities. The wall is divided in five compartments, each of which contains four scenes, arranged in two pairs, one above the other, while over each group of frescoes is a lunette. The Entry into Jerusalem occupies the space of two scenes and the Crucifixion that of four.

Of the five lunettes only the first, which contains the figures of the Annunciation, is of any particular importance (¹). Barna has chosen as his model Simone's panel of 1333, but has added the servant who interrupts her spinning to listen. The Nativity in the next lunette seems considerably repainted. In the Adoration of the Magi following this last we are struck by the weak drawing of the animals in an otherwise not badly designed scene. The two remaining paintings in the lunettes, the Presentation in the Temple and the Massacre of the Innocents, are both rather inferior works. It seems not unlikely that the decoration of these lunettes was left to an assistant, who, if such be the case, must have been Giovanni d'Asciano, a nephew of Barna's, who according to Vasari collaborated in this work with his uncle, after whose death he completed the cycle.

The scenes of the lower series are certainly of superior quality. The upper row illustrates the youth of the Lord and his Life until the Entry into Jerusalem. The best of these are the Lord at the age of twelve teaching in the Temple, the Baptism of Christ, in which the nude betrays a minute study of human anatomy, and the impressive Calling of St. Peter who stops fishing in order to concentrate all his attention upon the Lord Who stands on the shore (fig. 188). In the representation of the Wedding of Cana (fig. 189), the composition is excellent and the

(¹) *L. de Schlegel*, *L'Annunziatazione del Barna*, *L'Arte*, 1909, p. 209.

figures of the Saviour and the Virgin highly impressive. The Transfiguration is inferior as a composition; the figures are somehow a trifle incoherent, while the three Apostles are not



Fig. 188. Barna da Siena, the Call of St. Peter. Collegiata, San Gimignano.

Photo Lombardi.

very graceful. We do not find any deep religious feeling in the Resurrection of Lazarus, which is represented in a somewhat exaggerated scene. In the Entry into Jerusalem (fig. 190), the group formed by the Saviour and His followers is less well executed and less inspired than the mob of people emerging from the city gate.

In the second row of scenes is related the history of the Passion, from the Last Supper until the Crucifixion.

In the first the Apostles, including Judas, are depicted sitting at table, St. John leaning his head on the Saviour's breast. The



Fig. 189. Barna da Siena, the Wedding at Cana. Collegiata, San Gimignano.

Photo Lombardi.

episode of Judas conspiring with the high priest (fig. 191) takes place inside a beautiful Gothic building. An old white-bearded priest drops the price of betrayal into the eagerly outstretched hand of the twelfth disciple; the others, anxious but interested, look on. In the scene in the Olive Garden we see, above, the Lord in prayer, and below, the Apostles, fast asleep, a group

remarkable for its realism (fig. 192). The seizure of Christ is one of the weaker scenes of this cycle, on account of the vulgarity of feature as much as the unskilful composition of the large group



Fig. 190. Barna da Siena, detail of the Entry into Jerusalem. Collegiata, San Gimignano.

Photo Lombardi,

of soldiers. The Lord before Caiaphas, and the Flagellation, in which Pilate is seen conversing with the Jewish priest, the Crowning with Thorns and the Mocking of the Saviour by the soldiers are of lesser importance; especially in respect of the attitudes and gestures, and the draperies, which are inferior to

those of the other paintings. The Calvary (pl. VIII) is of better quality; the features also are finer. The Crucifixion is depicted in a large, dramatic composition, with three crosses and a multitude of onlookers, but the arrangement and the variety in the



Fig. 191. Barna, Judas receiving the price of his betrayal. Collegiata, San Gimignano.

Photo Lombardi.

proportions of different figures make it rather incoherent.

In the adjacent oratory of St. John a figure of a prophet on the ceiling is all that remains of Barna's original decoration ⁽¹⁾.

Although it is an exaggeration to say that Barna borrowed

⁽¹⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1907, p. 74.



THE CALVARY

By Barna da Siena, Collegiata, San Gimignano.

Photo Lombardi.

his iconography — which on the whole was the current one of that period — from Duccio, there are none the less certain indications which point to Ducciesque examples; these indications



Fig. 192. Barna da Siena, Detail from the Prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane. Collegiata, San Gimignano. Photo Lombardi.

will be observed, for example, in the scenes of the Calling of St. Peter, Judas Conspiring, the Seizure of the Saviour, with the detail of the fleeing Apostles, and those of the Lord before Caiaphas and Pilate ⁽¹⁾. We might even say that in many of these in-

⁽¹⁾ In my book on Simone Martini, p. 123, I dwelt at some length on these iconographical resemblances.

stances Barna not only followed Duccio's composition but even dealt with the subject in a soft and sentimental yet undramatic manner, like that of the great Sieneſe in the panels of his *Maestà*; or — ſince it exhibits greater animation than Duccio's work — rather like that of Ugolino. In ſome, however, there are traces of natural dramatic action introduced with great effect, ſuch as we ſee in the works of the Lorenzetti. On the whole, Barna's types, with their tender expreſſion, regular beauty and Gothic elegance, bear moſt reſemblance to thoſe of Simone, though in their features and their expreſſion there are many Duccieſque elements. Conſequentlly Barna's human model ſtands between Simone's and Duccio's, ſhowing, however, a greater ſimilarity to that of the former painter.

The frescoes of San Gimignano are no doubt a product of Barna's riper years, and a ſomewhat different manner might be expected in his earlier works.

There are a few panels which I think are obviously Barna's work, but which muſt have been painted at the outſet of his career. The moſt important of theſe is a picture, whoſe principal ſubject is the *Mystical Wedding of St. Catherine*, now in the Fine Arts Muſeum, Boſton (no. 34, fig. 193), where it is attributed to Lippo Memmi⁽¹⁾. Two other panels, one repreſenting a female ſaint holding a crown and two palm-leaves of martyrdom (*St. Catherine?*), and the other a young holy knight holding a branch (*St. Anſano?*) (fig. 194) are at the preſent moment to be found in the Ehrich Galleries, New York; ſome critics, I believe, have aſcribed them to Lippo Vanni⁽²⁾.

The ſubject of the Boſton panel⁽³⁾ is ſhown to us in a ſomewhat unuſual compoſition. Tall figures of *St. Catherine* and the *Saviour* are depicted at the ſides, the latter ſtretching forth His hand to ſlip the ring on to the finger of the ſaint, whoſe name "*Sca Katorina*" is inſcribed. In the centre, on a much ſmaller ſcale, we ſee the *Virgin* and *St. Anna*, ſeated on a bench, with

(1) *R. van Marle*, *Opere giovanile di Barna da Siena*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1923, p. 41.

(2) *R. van Marle*, *op. cit.*

(3) Several years ago this picture was in a private collection in Paris and was then exhibited at the *Musée des Arts Décoratifs*.



Fig. 193. Barna da Siena, Mystical Marriage of St. Catherina. Fine Arts Museum, Boston.

the Child Christ standing between them. The predella is composed of three separate scenes; on the left and the right St. Margaret and the archangel Michael are shown, each, slaying a demon, while in the centre two richly dressed young knights are clasped in each other's arms, under the protecting care of the archangel.

The picture was no doubt made in commemoration of this peace-making. On a strip between the principal panel and the



predella we read: "*Arico di Neri Arighetti fece fare questa tavola*".

The extraordinary grace of the attenuated proportions and the strongly drawn draperies make it, I think, certain that this picture and the two panels of saints are the work of the same artist, who shows us here the aesthetic principles of Simone, as well as the grave melancholy which he owes to his knowledge of Duccio's art, and which is one of the characteristic features of Barna's work.

Two other paintings form the connecting link between these panels and the frescoes of the Collegiata of San Gimignano; both have been attributed to Barna by Mr. Perkins ⁽¹⁾. The first of these is a fresco on

⁽¹⁾ *F. M. Perkins, Una pittura di Barna da Siena, Rassegna d'Arte Senese, 1920, p. 109.*

Fig. 194. Barna da Siena, St Ansanus(?). Ehrlich Galleries, New York.

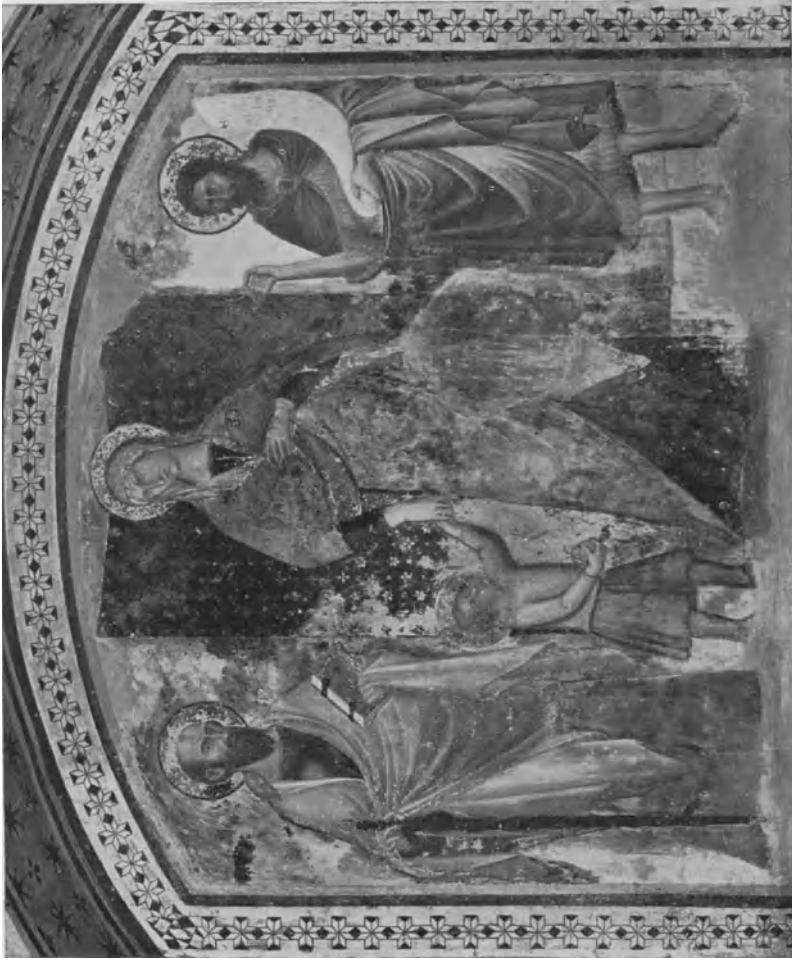


Fig. 195. Barna da Siena, *The Virgin and Saints*. S. Pietro, San Gimignano.

Photo Instit. Arte Grafiche.

the right-hand wall of the church of S. Pietro, San Gimignano, and represents the Virgin walking, leading the Child by the hand, between SS. Paul and John the Baptist (fig. 195) (1). The other is a panel in the church of S. Francesco at Asciano, where its presence doubtless influenced Cavalcaselle in his attribution of it to Giovanni d'Asciano; it has frequently been ascribed to Lippo

(1) *L. Patini*, San Gimignano, Bergamo, 1908, p. 110.



Fig. 196. Barna da Siena, Detail of the Madonna. S. Francesco, Asciano.

Photo Lombardi.

Memmi ⁽¹⁾. It shows the Virgin seated on a high throne, holding the half-naked Babe against her; beneath is a small figure kneeling in adoration (fig. 196). The extraordinary technical qualities

⁽¹⁾ *F. M. Perkins* himself once ascribed it to Lippo, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1904, p. 147; so also by Messrs. *Berenson, Langton Douglas* in *Cr. and Cav.*, p. 79; and *Jacobsen*, *Sieneische Meister des Trecento in der Gemäldegalerie in Siena*, Strasburg, 1907, p. 33.

of this painting are still visible in spite of its damaged condition.

If this last-mentioned picture be by Barna, I think we should also ascribe to him two small panels, half-length figures of the dead Saviour and the Madonna, in the Horne collection, Florence. In type, general aspect and feeling they are very similar to the panel at Asciano.

It should however be remembered that although it is not only likely, but even highly probable that this little group of paintings is the work of Barna, we have nothing actually to confirm this attribution. A not insignificant difference separates them from the San Gimignano frescoes, but, as we have no authentic work of Barna's early years with which to compare them, these attributions must remain hypothetical. Amongst them the panel of Asciano most closely resembles the series of frescoes at San Gimignano.

There is one other painting which everyone agrees in ascribing to Barna, it represents the Saviour carrying the Cross, with a small Dominican monk in adoration, and belongs to the Benson collection in London (fig. 197). The proportions and type of the principal figure force us to class this work with the frescoes of San Gimignano, but there is a more developed feeling for dramatic effect.

Less obviously a work of Barna's is a Crucifixion with several figures, in the Johnson collection, Philadelphia, which has been assigned to this artist by Mr. Berenson⁽¹⁾. Mr. Berenson also ascribes to Barna a small Crucifixion in the late von Kaufmann collection, Berlin, another in the Walters collection, Baltimore, and a Madonna with SS. Peter and Paul in the Lindon-Smith collection, Boston⁽²⁾. Mr. Perkins still attributes to Barna a panel of the Lord on the Cross between the Virgin and St. John, which once belonged to Mr. Charles Fairfax Murray, but is now owned by Signor Carlo Angeli, Florence⁽³⁾.

It seems highly probable that a fresco of the Crucifixion in a

⁽¹⁾ *B. Berenson*, *Catal. of a Coll. of Paintings and some art Objects: Italian Painting*, Philadelphia, 1913, p. 53.

⁽²⁾ *B. Berenson*, *op. cit.* I do not know any of these works. A Madonna in the Museum of Le Mans which Mr. Berenson also ascribes to Barna is, as Mr. Perkins has pointed out, by Lippo Vanni.

⁽³⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1920, p. 115.



Fig. 197. Barna da Siena, Christ carrying the Cross. Benson Collection, London.

Photo Braun.

chapel of the Cathedral of Arezzo is also the work of Barna, to whom it has been attributed ever since the time of Vasari (fig. 198). The Aretine biographer, however, places it in a chapel of the bishop's palace, telling us that it was executed by order of



Fig. 198. Barna da Siena (?), The Crucifixion with Saints. Cathedral, Arezzo.

Photo Alinari.

Guccio di Vanni Tarlati da Pietramala, who is depicted kneeling at the foot of the Cross. He is greatly mistaken with regard to the date; for according to him this fresco was executed later than the year 1369, when Barna left Cortona for Arezzo, whereas the portrait of the donor was damaged in 1343, when the Are-

tines exiled the family of the Tarlati, so that the fresco must have been executed prior to that date (1).

Notwithstanding the rather free restoration of this work in 1812, Barna's style is still clearly evident. Eight small angels hover around the Crucified and, in addition to the donor in armour, who kneels at the foot of the Cross, we see large standing figures of St. Michael, St. John and St. Francis. The figures of the Saviour and St. Francis, which have suffered least, are quite characteristic of Barna's art.

Some medallions around the fresco contain half-length figures of saints, and the central medallion of the topmost series shows a half-length of the Lord in benediction.

The actual condition of the painting prevents us from forming an opinion as to the exact stage of the artist's career at which it may have been executed (2).

As I said before, Barna is one of the greatest and most individual followers of Simone Martini; his art is more tragic than Simone's or Duccio's, although he was influenced by both. In his darker and less opulent colouring he reveals a connection with Florence, which is possibly closer than his adherence to the Sienese school; nor do we find in his works that profusion of ornamental detail common, at that time, in the art of his own city. Vasari tells us that Barna was the first artist to make faithful images of animals, and this was clearly demonstrated in a drawing or cartoon which he himself possessed.

About Giovanni d'Asciano we have no further information

(1) *A. Del Vita*, Il Duomo di Arezzo, Milan, no date, p. 58.

(2) For lost works and erroneous attributions see my book on Simone Martini, p. 124. *De Nicola*, in Thieme-Becker's *Künstler Lexikon*, II, p. 506, and *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, ed. *Langton Douglas*, II, p. 85, note 1. Some absurd attributions to this artist have been made by *Roths*, *Blütezeit der Sienesische Malerei*; he even goes as far as ascribing to Barna, Antoniazio Romano's decoration of the ciborium in S. Giovanni in Laterano. *Von Schlosser* in his edition of *Ghiberti* has already refuted these unpardonable errors. Amongst the works of Barna's school should be mentioned: *Siena*, Gallery, no. 11, Crucifixion and Entombment; no. 57, five scenes from the Passion (Perkins, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1908, p. 53). *Rome*, Vatican Gallery, no. 61, the Resurrection of Lazarus (the catalogue mentions that Mr. Sirén believes this panel to be by a Pisan follower of the Sienese school).

than that offered by Vasari and from which we gather that he was Barna's assistant. Hence we are probably justified in attributing to him the weaker parts of the frescoes at San Gimignano, certainly the Massacre of the Innocents, perhaps the Transfiguration, certain figures in the Seizure of Christ, and most of the scenes of the Lord before his diverse judges.

At Asciano itself we find in the church of S. Francesco some paintings which betray, on the part of the artist, a knowledge of Barna's art, but which are much coarser in execution. They are painted over frescoes of the 13th century and represent the Last Supper, the Prayer in the Garden of Olives, together with the Betrayal of Judas (fig. 199), and the dead Saviour between SS. Peter and Paul (1). It is possible that we have in these frescoes the work of Giovanni d'Asciano. A series of isolated saints in the same church is obviously by another hand, being indeed the work of a weak follower of Simone Martini. To Giovanni, Cavalcaselle also ascribed an altar-piece in the Oratory of S. Niccolò, near the Carmine church, Florence, representing the Virgin between SS. Nicholas, Leonard, the Baptist, and Eliah. Vasari further informs us that the same artist worked in the Scala Hospital at Siena, and in Florence, in the houses of the Medici.

However, if Giovanni d'Asciano were really Barna's collaborator, and if he completed the New Testament cycle at San Gimignano as Vasari claims, then I do not think we need identify him with the inferior artist whose frescoes we find at Asciano. A panel which betrays a much closer connection with Barna is that illustrating the text: "Woman behold thy Son"! in the Fogg Art Museum (no. 180b) (Cambridge, U. S. A.) and there hesitatingly attributed to Barna (2). The Saviour with the Virgin and

(1) *M. Baroni*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1906, p. 14.

(2) *D. T. Camuti*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1908, p. 10 et seq., attributes to the artist who executed the frescoes of Asciano, an important Crucifixion in the Oratory of S. Bernardino at Città della Pieve. I think, however, that this fresco is by an Umbrian master working under Sienese influence. In the Gallery of Budapest an important panel of the Crucifixion (no. 47), is, without sufficient reason, ascribed to Giovanni d'Asciano. v. *G. von Terey*, *Die Gemälde Gallerie etc.*, zu Budapest, p. 25. Two panels of a polyptych in the Gallery of Urbino are attributed to Barna; they represent the Baptist and the archangel Michael and I can only say that they vaguely display a certain relation to his school.



Fig. 199. Giovanni d'Asciano, Christ's prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane, and the Betrayal of Judas. S. Francesco, Asciano.

Photo Lombardi.

St. John from the centre, while at the sides are the standing figures of SS. Peter and James Major.

To me this panel seems much more likely to be the product of a collaborator of Barna's than are the frescoes of Asciano.

NADDO CECCHARELLI (1).

Little is known about Naddo Ceccharelli except that he signed two pictures, and that in one of these his name is accompanied by the date 1347. This date is found on the frame of a picture in the Cook collection, Richmond; the panel itself shows, within an ornamental border, a half-length figure of the Madonna with the Child, Who grasps a tiny bird in His right hand (fig. 200). The artist has obviously been inspired by Simone, and more particularly by the Madonna in the Museum of the Palazzo Venezia, Rome; but the Virgin here is frail, shy and timid, and does not possess the refinement and charm of the products of the great master himself. The beautiful border is adorned with eight medallions depicting saints, while the inscription below runs: "*Naddus Ceccharelli de Senis me pinxit MCCCXLVII*" (2).

The other signed picture represents a half-length figure of the dead Saviour; it is now in the Lichtenstein collection, Vienna, and until a few years ago was kept in the palace storehouse (fig. 201). The type resembles that of Simone's Pietà in the Pisan polyptych, but the forms are more attenuated and the drawing somewhat harder. The panel and frame are decorated in the same manner as those of the Cook Madonna, and below we read: "*Naddus Ceccharellus de Senis me pinx . . .*" (3).

There can be little doubt as to the authenticity of two other Madonnas, owing to the remarkable likeness which they bear to the Richmond panel. One, no. 42 in the Gallery of Budapest, where it is attributed to Lippo Memmi (4), corresponds in general

(1) *M. H. Bernath*, in Thieme-Becker, *Künstler Lexikon*, VI, p. 253. *R. van Marle*, *Simone Martini*, p. 125.

(2) This picture is reproduced in the Catalogue of the Burlington Exhibition of Sieneese art, pl. 20.

(3) *G. De Nicola*, *Due dipinti senesi della collezione Lichtenstein*, *Bollettino dell. minist. della Pubbl. Istr.*, 1920, p. 243.

(4) *G. von Terey*, *Die Gemälde Gallerie etc. in Budapest*, p. 28.



Fig. 200. Naddo Ceccharelli, Madonna. Cook Collection, Richmond.

Photo Anderson.

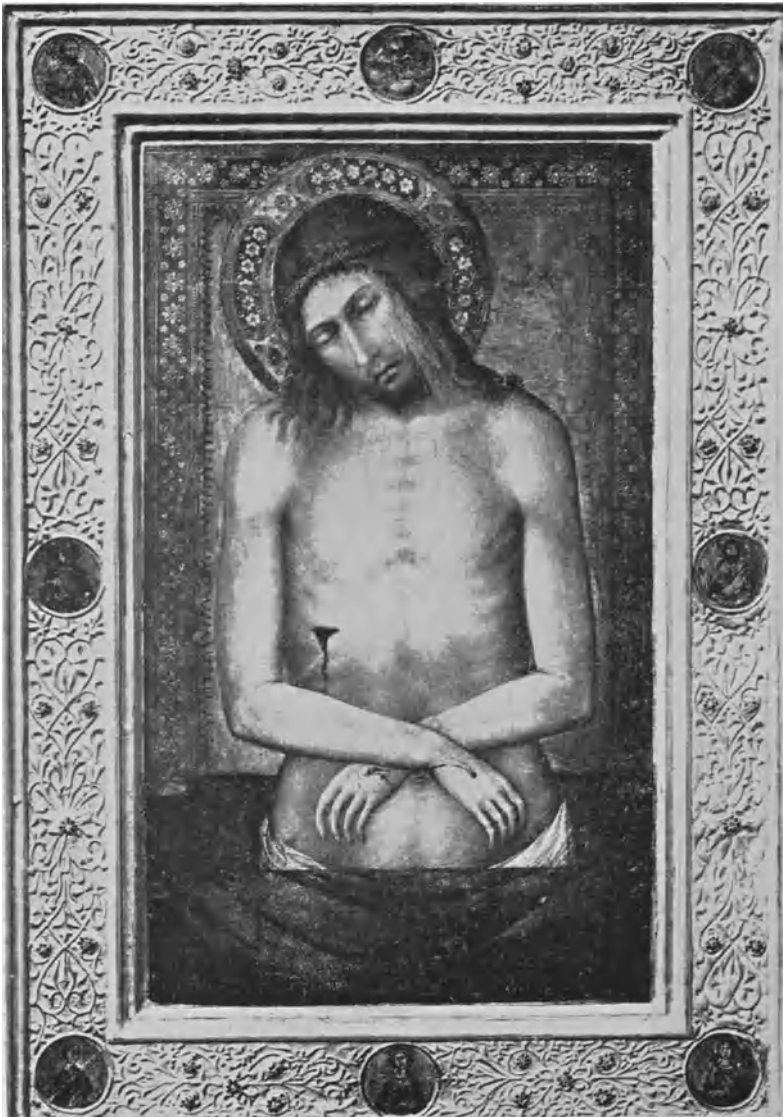


Fig. 201. Naddo Ceccarelli, *The dead Christ*. Lichtenstein Collection, Vienna.

aspect and arrangement to that in the Cook collection, but is less refined in form and execution; the other, in the Horne collection, Florence, bears a still more striking resemblance to the signed work.

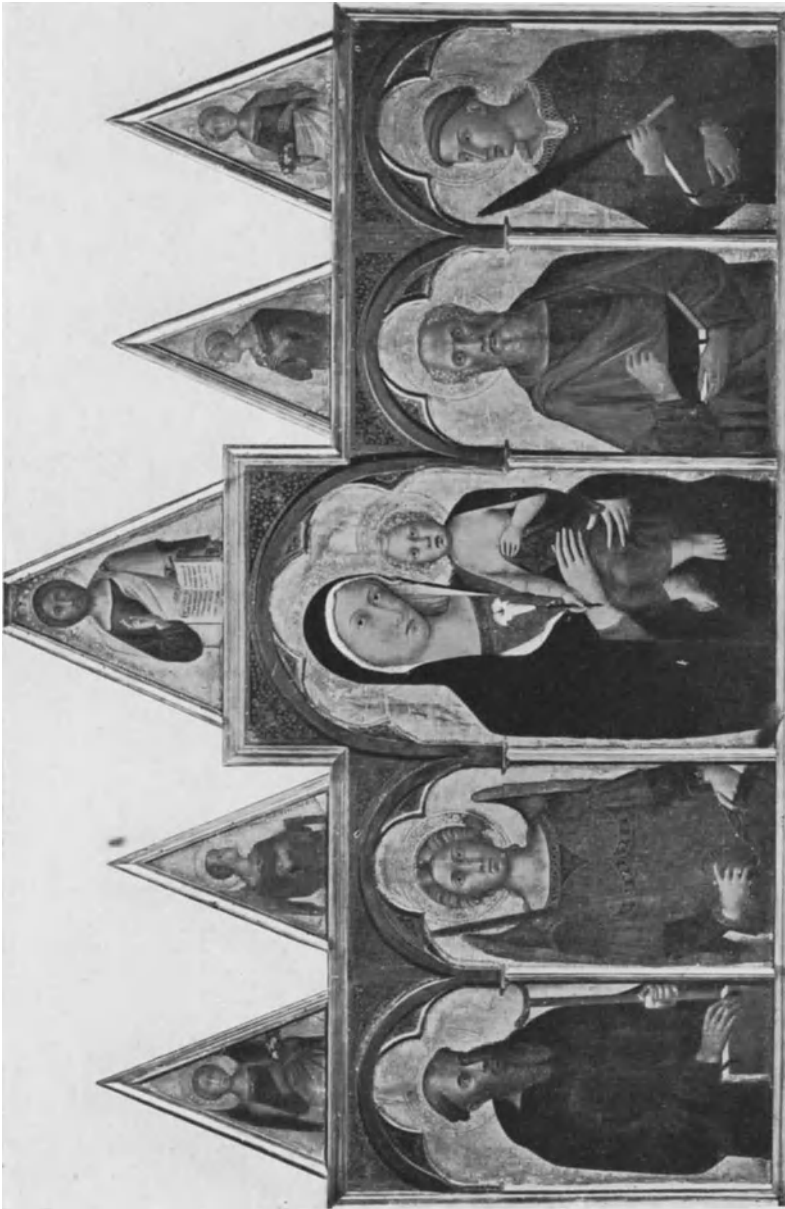


Fig. 202. Naddo Ceccharelli, Polyptych. Accademia, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

Somewhat different is the polyptych in the Gallery of Siena (no. 115) (fig. 202) which Mr. Perkins has ascribed to Naddo ⁽¹⁾; it is catalogued as by Bartolommeo Nutino, a painter about whom nothing is known except his name and the dates 1355 and 1389 ⁽²⁾. This altarpiece is composed of a half-length figure of the Madonna with the Child holding a lily, between St. Antony Abbot and the archangel Michael on the left-hand and St. John the Evangelist and St. Lawrence on the right; the Saviour and four angels are depicted on the terminals. The figures here possess a certain rigidity not found in the other paintings, which are no doubt products of a riper period of the artist's career. As one of these later works bears the date 1347 — that is to say, three years after Simone's death — it may be assumed that Naddo was a contemporary and immediate follower of Simone's.

Although I do not positively affirm that they are by the hand of Naddo Ceccharelli, I always associate with this artist two charming small panels in the Museum of Aix-en-Provence ⁽³⁾, one representing the Annunciation and the other the Nativity (fig. 203). The scene of the former is a Gothic hall in which we see both figures kneeling and the servant, seated, fast asleep.

The Nativity takes place in a grotto and the artist has depicted on the same panel the Child's first bath and the Message to the shepherds.

A third panel representing the Adoration of the Magi belongs to Mr. Philip Lehman, of New York; it not only bears a strong resemblance to the picture at Aix-en-Provence but has a similar ornamental frame, so that I do not understand Mr. Perkins' hesitation to attribute all to the same hand ⁽⁴⁾. In my opinion they undoubtedly once formed an *ensemble*, but whether they are the work of Naddo Ceccharelli is quite another question. I, personally, am not sure. On the whole they are finer in execution but the very slender types remind us of the figures of the polyptych in the

⁽¹⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, Su certi pitture di Naddo Ceccharelli, Rassegna d'Arte Senese, 1909, p. 3.

⁽²⁾ *Manzoni*, Statuti e matricole dell'arte dei Pittore delle citta di Firenze, Perugia e Siena, Roma, pp. 119 and 110. *Milanesi*, Doc. Sen., I. pp. 40-42.

⁽³⁾ Mr. Berenson at one time ascribed these panels to Lippo Memmi but now believes them to be by Bartolo di Fredi.

⁽⁴⁾ Art in America. 1920, p. 273.



Fig. 203. Naddo Ceccharelli (?), the Nativity. Museum, Aix-en-Provence.

Photo Giraudon.

Accademia of Siena. From the presence of these two pictures at Aix one might plausibly argue that their author was one of that group of painters who accompanied Simone to France.

The somewhat restored half-length figure of the Madonna nursing the Child, in the church of S. Martino, Siena, has also been ascribed to Naddo (fig. 204) ⁽¹⁾. In type this work, as has rightly been remarked, is inspired by Ambrogio Lorenzetti's picture of the Virgin in the Seminary chapel of this city; the forms, however, are rather those of Simone, in spite of the difference in style which justifies the doubt as to its author being Ceccharelli. Personally I find a sufficient relationship, especially with the polyptych of the Siena Gallery, to accept this attribution ⁽²⁾.

SIMONE MARTINI'S FOLLOWERS IN FRANCE ⁽³⁾.

In France, where questions of art criticism and history are more and more frequently dominated by chauvinism, we shall always find authors who will pretend that either the school of Avignon flourished independently of the advent of the Italians, or that as soon as these Italians crossed the frontier, they were incorporated into the French school ⁽⁴⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *De Nicola*, op. cit.

⁽²⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, *Art in America*, 1920, p. 278, mentions two other works which he attributes to Ceccharelli: one a predella panel, showing the dead Christ and seven figures of saints, in the Platt collection, Englewood, and the other a restored picture of three saints in the Loeser collection, Florence. I know neither the one nor the other. *Jacobson*, *Siensische Künstler der Trecento in der Gemälde Galerie in Siena, Strasbourg, 1907*, p. 55, is, I find, wrong in ascribing to the master of the polyptych in the Accademia of Siena (no. 115), another altar-piece in the same collection (no. 58). In the Fitz-William Museum, Cambridge, a Crucifixion (no. 558) is erroneously attributed to Ceccharelli. Works certainly not from his hand are the Madonna in the Palazzo Venezia (Simone) and no. 1067 of the Gallery of Berlin (Lippo Memmi) which have been sometimes attributed to him, for example by *M. H. Bernath* in *Thieme-Becker, Künstler Lexikon*, VI, p. 253. The Gallery of Dresden possesses a half-length figure of the dead Saviour, (no. 31), which seems to be inspired by Naddo, but might be of slightly later date.

⁽³⁾ *R. van Marle*, *Simone Martini*, p. 127.

⁽⁴⁾ "Nous avons donc le droit de considérer comme faisant partie intégrante de l'art français primitif des hommes venus d'Italie comme ceux qui travaillèrent à Avignon" *J. Guiffrey et P. Marcel*, *La Peinture française: Les Primitifs*, I, Paris (no date), p. 4. Why not include Simone Martini himself in the French school, once it is known that he worked at Avignon?



Fig. 204. Naddo Ceccharelli (?), Madonna. S. Martino, Siena.

Photo Alinari.

E. Müntz, however, who was the first to study seriously the frescoes of Avignon, never thought of calling them anything but Italian works executed on French territory, and of late M. Robert

Andre-Michel, exposing the weakness of chauvinistic arguments, has also come to the conclusion that the frescoes of Avignon are really Italian (1).

Moreover, the documents which exist relating to the frescoes in the Palace of the Popes at Avignon, which have been published by Müntz, only confirm what the appearance of these paintings had already made quite manifest (2). The leading artist who directed the work, and to whom the others acted as assistants, was Matteo Gianetti da Viterbo. We find this Matteo da Viterbo receiving payment in 1343, 1346 and 1353, while in 1366 he is still working in the Palace. The artists who collaborated with him were, Pietro da Viterbo, Ricconi and Giovanni d'Arezzo, Giovanni di Luca from Siena, Francesco and Niccolo da Firenze, the French painters Simon de Lyon, Pierre Resdol from Vienne, Pierre Robaut, Robin de Romans, Bernard Escot, Pierre de Castres, Bisson de Chalons, Jean Moys, a German, Henry Deboslat in 1343 and an Alsatian, John Hertsnel, in 1377 (3).

The various series of frescoes at Avignon have been so frequently described that I shall do no more here than enumerate them briefly.

The most important remains of mural decoration are found

(1) "On n'exagéra jamais à notre sens l'influence en Avignon des maîtres italiens du trecento", *Robert André-Michel*, *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie*; Avignon, les fresques du Palais des Papes etc., Paris, 1920, p. 34.

(2) *Müntz*, *Bulletin Monumental*, 1882, p. 90; 1884, p. 736; *Mémoires des antiquaires de France*, 1885. *The same*, *Fresques inédites du 14^e siècle du Palais des Papes à Avignon et de la Chartreuse de Villeneuve*. *Gazette Archéol.*, 1885, p. 392; 1886, pp. 202 and 257; 1887, p. 298. *The same*, *Le Palais des Papes; La France artistique et monumentale*, Paris, 1892. *The same*, *Comptes rendus de l'Ac. des Inscr.*, 1902, p. 237. *Causon*, *Le Palais des Papes à Avignon*, 3^e éd. 1884. *G. Didot et H. Laffite*, *La peinture décorative en France*, pls. 43 and 44. *Boyer d'Agen*, *Les peintures murales du Palais des Papes à Avignon*, *Les Arts*, 1907. *L. H. Labaude*, *Le Palais des Papes d'Avignon et ses nouvelles fresques*, *Musées et Monuments de France*, 1907, p. 108. *L. Dignonnet*, *Le Palais des Papes d'Avignon*, 1907. *Denifle*, *Ein quaternus rationum des Malerei Matteo Gianetti da Viterbo in Avignon*, *Arch. f. Literat. u. Kirchengesch.*, IV, p. 606. *R. André-Michel*, *Matteo di Viterbo et les fresques au palais pontifical d'Avignon*, *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartres*, pp. 191 and 341, and *Mélanges d'histoire et d'Archéologie*, p. 57. *R. van Marle*, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

(3) *Müntz* has incorrectly copied certain of these names, which are more faithfully transcribed by *Robert André-Michel*.



Fig. 205. Matteo da Viterbo and helpers, Scenes from the legend of St. Martial, Palace of the Popes, Avignon.

Photo Comm. des Monuments hist.

in the tower of St. Jean, on the second floor, which is occupied by the chapel dedicated to St. Martial, the patron saint of Pope Clement VI. The vault has retained much of its decoration, which comprised thirteen scenes from the life of the saint (fig. 205). The ensemble is not very harmonious; the centre is left bare, and the various pictures are arranged rather incoherently on the vaulted ceiling. On the walls around the windows are further illustrations from the story of the saint, and fragments of a Crucifixion.

Below this chapel is that dedicated to St. John; here too we owe the decorations to Clement VI. Each of the four divisions of the vaults contains two figures, while the frescoes on the wall narrate the legends of the two SS. John (figs. 206—8); the latter series also includes the Baptism of Christ, the Saviour in the Garden of Olives, St. Peter receiving the Keys, and the Crucifixion.

The subjects have been identified by M. R. André-Michel, who, however, has demonstrated that none of the scenes refers to the legend of St. Peter as Müntz, and those who agree with him, believe to be the case ⁽¹⁾.

Comparing these paintings with those of the St. Martial chapel, we observe a greater refinement of treatment, and aesthetic ideals, which reveal a closer connection with Simone's art. These differences, however, are not sufficient to admit of the existence of another artistic leader, and I suppose Matteo da Viterbo must have directed the decoration of both chapels, leaving the execution of the latter to painters more familiar with Simone's manner.

In the Audience Hall — not the same as the Consistory Room as has frequently been supposed ⁽²⁾ — each of the two divisions of the vault contains ten figures of Old Testament characters, all holding long inscriptions. These paintings strongly resemble those in the chapel of St. John, but nevertheless seem to be by a different hand. A document of 1353 which records the payment of 600 guilders to Matteo da Viterbo for the decoration of an "archum" in the new Audience Hall, no doubt refers to this work ⁽³⁾.

In another tower called "la Tour de la Garderobe", traces of extensive mural painting are found in the chapel of St. Michael, while in two other rooms some frescoes of a purely ornamental design still remain visible. A third room, however, has preserved much of its original wall-painting, and this differs not only in appearance but also in subject from that which we have already

⁽¹⁾ *Robert André-Michel*, *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie*, p. 43.

⁽²⁾ *Idem*, p. 57. The decoration of the Consistory Room comprised a Last Judgment and figures from the Old and New Testaments, according to *Baluze's* description, which dates from the end of the 17th century.

⁽³⁾ *R. André-Michel*, *op. cit.*, pp. 59 and 66.



Fig. 206. Matteo da Viterbo and helpers, Detail from the story of St. John (the Resurrection of Drusiana). Palace of the Popes, Avignon.

Photo Comm. des Monuments hist.



Fig. 207. Matteo da Viterbo and helpers, Detail from a scene of the story of St. John (St. John conversing with the Pharisees). Palace of the Popes, Avignon.

Photo Comm. des Monuments hist.

seen. The frescoes here depict the various methods of hunting ⁽¹⁾, and each scene is composed of one or two figures only, against a background of very dense foliage. This dissimilarity to the



Fig. 208. Matteo da Viterbo and helpers, Detail from the story of St. John, (angel from St. John's Sermon). Palace of the Popes, Avignon.

Photo Comm. des Monuments hist.

other paintings has induced several authors to ascribe them to French artists and to deny any Italian influence; but in this they are wrong, for the frescoes in this room are just as Italian as the

⁽¹⁾ *R. André-Michel*, op. cit., p. 19.

rest and were probably executed by the helpers of Matteo da Viterbo.

An important series of frescoes in which I think we may discern, amongst others, the hand of the master of St. John's chapel, will be seen in the chapel of the Chartreuse at Villeneuve les Avignon, founded in 1356 and completed in 1362 ⁽¹⁾. This chapel was entirely covered with frescoes, the majority of which illustrated the life of St. John the Baptist; but besides this cycle there were isolated figures from the Old and New Testaments, a Crucifixion, a Pope -- no doubt the founder, Innocent VI -- holding an open scroll, and a second portrait of him in adoration before the Virgin.

The frescoes of Avignon, although here and there it is possible to identify a particular artist, form an individual unit and are all the outcome of the same artistic inspiration.

The source of this inspiration must be looked for in Matteo da Viterbo, who, as we saw, was the director of these decorative labours, and was obviously an adherent of the school of Simone Martini. We find the same types, the same technique, attempts to produce the same grace of figure and beauty of feature, but the artist never quite attains the level of the best of Simone's Italian followers. His figures lack the distinction, the refinement, and even sometimes the animation of Simone's, while we shall discover no trace of ideal spirituality of this master. Matteo da Viterbo's task as he conceived it was doubtless merely the decoration of extensive wall surfaces.

The only other works of Matteo da Viterbo's which I have ever come across were two somewhat damaged panels with figures of saints, which were offered for sale some time ago in Munich.

To the same group of artists, however, may be ascribed a panel in the Museum of Aix-en-Provence, representing the standing figure of St. Louis of Toulouse (fig. 209), on whose head two small angels are placing the episcopal mitre, while at his

⁽¹⁾ *Guiffrey et Marcel*, op. cit., pls. VII - X.

⁽²⁾ A painting certainly not by Matteo, but by a skilful disciple of Simone's, and revealing a markedly Gothic design, is the picture in several compartments, representing the Crucifixion, the Last Supper, the Calvary, Abraham's Sacrifice and the Stigmatization of St. Francis, in the Stocket collection. It is attributed to Matteo by Sig. *A. Venturi*, *L'Arte*, 1922, p. 166.



Fig. 209. French-Sienese school, St. Louis of Toulouse. Museum,
Aix-en-Provence.

Photo Bulloz.



Fig. 210. The Calvary, from the *Parement de Narbonne*. Louvre, France.

Photo Giraudon.

feet kneel the miniature figures of King Robert of Anjou and his wife (1). Consequently the spirit and significance of this picture are identical with those of one which Simone executed at Naples in 1317. The influence of this master is very evident in the panel at Aix, which we probably owe to a painter of the third quarter of the 14th century.

I do not desire to deal at any length with the problem of the origin of the French school of painting of the 14th century, nor is this the right place, but I cannot pass on without mentioning that, notwithstanding the protests of the ultra-patriotic art-historians, the part due to Italy is becoming gradually more recognized (2). It is true that Paris, especially toward the end of the 14th century, was a very cosmopolitan art centre, but all the works produced in France from the first half of this century onward betray a foreign, or Italian, or more exactly a Siense influence. There are many instances of the connection which existed at that time between Italy and Paris (3), and I think I may safely say that there is not one French panel painting of the 14th century in which a Siense influence cannot be detected, while the new style of French miniature painting, which arose at that time, owes much of its origin to the same Italian school (4). Whether we look at the *Parement de Narbonne* in the Louvre (fig. 210), the pictures by, or attributed to, Malouel of Broederlam, the miniatures of Pol de Lembourg, or those illustrating the *Heures du Maréchal de Boucicaut*, we find, in all that peculiar spiritual and Gothic grace which Simone may have borrowed from French sculpture, but which he transmuted into painting.

Tho French artists of that day were more than prepared for this indirect heritage since it was, in some of its essentials, really French, so that they promptly accepted it and incorporated it in their own art.

(1) *Guiffrey et Marcel*, op. cit., II, pl. 12, attribute it to the Provençal school of the 14th century.

(2) *P. Durrieu*, *La peinture en France*, in the *Histoire de l'art*, dirigée par A. Michel, III, p. 142.

(3) *R. van Marle*, *Simone Martini*, p. 185.

(4) *Idem*.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LORENZETTI.

PIETRO LORENZETTI (¹).

Vasari's incorrect statements have again given rise to some erroneous ideas about Pietro Lorenzetti. He did not know that this artist was a brother of Ambrogio's, and miscalled him Laurati, which name is a misinterpretation of Laurentii, or son of Lawrence.

The year of his birth is unknown, but the fact that he was an artist of established reputation in 1305 makes it likely that it was before, rather than after, 1280 (²). The dates relating to his career on which we can rely, whether found in documents (³) or inscribed upon his works, are as follows: February 1305 (1306) a receipt for 110 lire for a painting made for "the Council of Nine"; April 17th 1320, a contract with Guido Tarlati, Bishop of Arezzo, for the altar-piece of the Pievè at Arezzo, 160 Pisan lire (⁴); 1326, a payment of 20 lire for the Madonna and saints now in the Opera del Duomo of Siena; 1328, a signed Madonna and two saints at Dofana; 1329, mention in two records of a panel made for the monks of Sta. Maria del Carmine of Florence, who were so poor that the municipality advanced a third of the payment. England bought this picture, which represented the Madonna, St. Nicholas, Apostles, martyrs, confessors, virgins, etc. As we shall see, two

(¹) *Vasari-Milanesi*, I, p. 471. *Thode*, Studien zur Gesch. der Ital. Kunst des XIV Jahrh., Repert. f. Kunstw., 1888. *Schubring*, Repert. f. Kunstw. 1899. *O. Wolff*, Zur Stilbildung der Trecento Malerei. *G. Vasari*, Vita di P. Laurati, ed. *F. Mason Perkins*, Florence, 1912.

(²) However the fact that in the document of 1305 he was called Petruccio instead of Pietro or Petrus might point to his being very youthful at this moment.

(³) Almost all given by *Milanesi* in his "Documenti per la Storia dell' Arte Senese", I, p. 193 and also in his edition of Vasari.

(⁴) *Borghese e Banchi*, Nuovi Documenti, p. 10.

parts are now in the Gallery of Siena (nos. 83 and 84). On Tizio's authority, Della Valle mentions a painting executed in 1329 for the church of Sta. Umilita of Siena but when he wrote only a figure of St. Benedict remained. To return to our dates: in 1333 Pietro received 2 lire for a fresco in the portal in the Duomo of Siena; although this was repainted by Luca di Tommé, nothing now remains of it; 1335, an advance of 80 lire on account of a sum of 30 golden guilders paid for a panel of St. Savino, with scenes from his life (1); Cavalcaselle supposes that part of it is now no. 1113 of the National Gallery. Urgurgieri, in his "Pompe Senese", Della Valle, and Pecci speak of seeing the signed frescoes which Pietro and his brother made in the Scala Hospital; lost to us after 1720, when the protective roof was removed; they seem to have been among Pietro's principal products. Vasari says that they strongly reminded him of Giotto's work and that the scenes represented the story of the Madonna: her Presentation in the Temple, and her Marriage. Ghiberti speaks of a Nativity and a Presentation, and later mentions an Annunciation; ignoring entirely Pietro's existence, he attributes them all to Ambrogio Lorenzetti (2). However, the first-mentioned authors report that the inscription ran. "*Hoc opus fecit Petrus Laurentii et Ambrosius eius frater MCCCXXXV*". This wording, as Milanesi remarks, would lead us to believe that Pietro was the more important. Tizio records in his chronicle for 1337 that Pietro made a painting of St. Martin, which is now untraceable. A Madonna and Child made for S. Francesco, Pistoia, may be the same as the picture in the Uffizi (no. 15) signed and dated as follows: "*Petrus Laurentii de Senis me pinxit Anno Domini MCCCXI*" (3). In Vasari's time this picture had a predella.

Another authentic work, the Nativity of the Virgin, in the Opera, Siena, is dated 1342. In that same year the master buys land and two years later it is recorded that he and his wife Johanna sell some of their property (4). As neither he nor his bro-

(1) At the same time, a grammarian received one lire for translating the story which Pietro had to illustrate.

(2) L. Ghiberti, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, herausgegeben etc. von J. von Schlosser, Berlin, 1912, I, pp. 41 and 42.

(3) It is from this inscription that Vasari read the name Laurenti.

(4) *Borghese e Banchi*, op. cit., p. 11.

ther is mentioned after 1348, it is often assumed that both died of the plague which that year devastated the city.

Vasari gives further data concerning Pietro's activities, stating that he made a panel for Monte Oliveto and a tabernacle near the left portal of S. Spirito, Florence; also that he worked in Rome in S. Pietro, at Arezzo in SS. Fiore e Lucilla, and at Cortona. The presence of a work in this last city confirms his assertion, but the other statements cannot be substantiated.

Vasari also attributes to Pietro those frescoes in the Campo Santo of Pisa which represent the life of the anchorites in the desert. Others follow him in this attribution, but these paintings are certainly not by his hand, nor are they even Sienese. Continuing, he informs us that in 1355 — probably several years after the master's death — Pietro was summoned by the Archpriest Guglielmo to the Pieve of Arezzo, in which he frescoed scenes from the Madonna's life; as there existed an Archpriest of the same name in 1343, it is possible that Vasari errs only in the date. He adds that Pietro had a pupil, Bartolomeo Bologhini — whom Milanesi identifies as Bolgharini — a painter mentioned from 1353 to 1375, and that he made an altar-piece for the S. Silvestro chapel in Sta. Croce, Florence, which has now disappeared.

Mr. Perkins observes that as no mention is found of the master between 1306 and 1320 he may have been employed in cities other than his own; the same authority dates his activity at Assisi between 1320 and 1330. The many places in which Pietro was asked to execute orders prove to a certain extent the great fame he enjoyed among his contemporaries.

Looking for paintings which Pietro is likely to have executed before his first dated work — the polyptych of Arezzo of 1320 — we discover a group of panels clearly betraying his dependence on Duccio. These groups may even be divided into two categories of which one more closely approaches the art of the great master than the other.

Messrs. De Nicola and Venturi go so far as to attribute to Pietro's early years works which I have ascribed to that Ducciesque master whose greatest achievement is the Madonna in Majesty in the National Gallery; the former believes him to be

the author of the fresco in the Collegiata of Casole; the latter, the master of the enthroned Madonna with the Child in the Gallery of Siena. The resemblance between the products of this ar-



Fig. 211. Transition artist between Duccio and Pietro Lorenzetti, Triptych.
Lehman Collection, New York.

tist and Pietro's early works is very obvious, and as none of Pietro's other products shows a more intimate knowledge of Duccio's art, it might be that Pietro's real master was this particular follower of the great founder of the Sienese school.

There is, however, yet another work which illustrates a tran-



Fig. 212. Pietro Lorenzetti, St. Peter. Vatican Gallery, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

sitional stage between Duccio and Pietro Lorenzetti. It is a beautiful triptych in the Lehman collection, New York, showing in the centre the Madonna and in the wings the standing figures of SS. Antony of Padua and Dorothy (or is it St. Elizabeth of Hungary?) (fig. 211). Although the precise drawing of the features and the types in general strongly remind us of Ugolino da Siena's work, on the other hand the loose draperies, the natural well-posed attitudes, the fine slender necks, and the broader, more monumental proportions are special manifestations of Pietro Lorenzetti's art. Without actually ascribing this painting to him, I think we should imagine his earliest efforts to resemble it very closely.

It is with much more certainty that I include, in the list of Pietro's works, two panels, which as far as I know have never been before attributed to him. They are the half-length figures of SS. Peter (fig. 212) and John the Baptist, with an angel in each of the four spandrels, in the Vatican Gallery (nos. 2 and 3), which originally no doubt formed part of a larger work. The connection with Duccio's art is quite conspicuous in these paintings, which are not entirely free from Byzantine elements.

With the above work I think we should closely associate the Madonna in the Cathedral of Cortona (fig. 213), for the angels in either case are very similar. Here four of them stand at the side of the throne. The Virgin holds the Child in her left arm, a peculiarity which we find in other pictures of the Madonna by this artist; she gazes fixedly into His eyes. This panel has always been ascribed to Pietro Lorenzetti and Vasari himself speaks of Pietro's activity in Cortona. It has, however, been placed as late as 1335, when Abrogio was working for Bishop Ubertini of Cortona⁽¹⁾, but the Ducciesque elements and reminiscences of Byzantium are so conspicuous that it must of necessity be an early work.

The same characteristics appear to a less degree in three polyptych panels of the late Sterbini collection, representing half-length figures of SS. Catherine, Mary Magdalene (fig. 214) and Bartholomew (fig. 215)⁽²⁾. The differences which exist between

⁽¹⁾ *A. Venturi*, *Storia dell' Arte*, V, p. 672.

⁽²⁾ *A. Venturi*, *L'Arte*, 1905, p. 428.



Fig. 213. Pietro Lorenzetti, Madonna. Cathedral, Cortona.

Photo Alinari.



Fig. 214. Pietro Lorenzetti, Mary Magdalene. Late Sterbini Collection, Rome.



Fig 215. Pietro Lorenzetti, St Bartholomew. Late Sterbini Collection, Rome.

these panels and the foregoing might point to their having been executed at a slightly later date. Although the St. Catherine, especially, shows us that the master was already working in a more individual manner, the other two saints are, in essential, free renderings of works executed in Duccio's immediate surroundings.

Another work which no doubt belongs to this period of the artist's career is a triptych in the Museum of Dijon (¹). In the centre we see the Madonna seated between St. Peter and St. John the Baptist; behind the throne are two other saints and four angels, supporting the curtain, which forms the background. The wings show, above, the two figures of the Annunciation — the Madonna sitting on a cushion on the ground — and lower, St. Cristopher with the Child Jesus on his shoulder, and the Crucifixion, between the Virgin and St. John. Reminiscences of Duccio's art are still very evident; the type of the central Madonna resembles that of Mary Magdalene in the Sterbini collection.

A similarity of style forces us to connect with those paintings a half-length figure of St. Gregory the Great, in pontifical attire, in the Gallery of Siena (no. 59), but the figure of a young Apostle in the same collection (no. 75) seems to belong to a more evolved stage.

The most striking production of this early period is a panel of the Assumption, the property of the Scala Hospital, but now in the Gallery of Siena (no. 61, fig. 216). The richly dressed Virgin with clasped hands is majestically enthroned and surrounded by hosts of angels, some of whom lift her heavenwards, while others accompany her with music. Below, St. Thomas receives the holy girdle; above, in each of the spandrels, is a group of five prophets. This picture is of very refined design and colour; the stateliness of the central figure, as well as many of the technical details, strongly reminds us of Duccio.

In the second group of these works, the connection with Duccio, although still discernable, does not strike us at first sight. Several crowned and enthroned Madonnas belong to this period. Two of these are to be found in the Gallery of Siena: the one

⁽¹⁾ *M. E. F. Mercier*, in an article on the Gallery of Dijon in "L'art et les Artistes" Nov. 1922, announced that Signor Longhi attributed this picture to Pietro Lorenzetti. Unaware of this article, I came independently to the same conclusion.



Fig. 216. Pietro Lorenzetti, Assumption. Accademia, Siena.

Photo Lombardi.



Fig. 217. Pietro Lorenzetti, Madonna. Accademia, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

(no. 76) shows us the Virgin, turning slightly aside, holding the Child standing on her knee (fig. 217); the heads of two angels are seen behind the throne, while three small angelic figures adorn each of the spandrels; the other (no. 80) depicts the Madonna facing the spectator (fig. 218). Here again the Child is standing; eleven angels throng around the back of the throne and six others are visible in each spandrel.

In two other enthroned Madonnas, the Babe is represented seated on His Mother's lap. One is the centre of a triptych — the lateral figures of which may have been painted by Matteo di Giovanni — in the church of S. Pietro a Ovile, Siena (fig. 219). Here four angels hold the curtain which drapes the background. There is a far-away look in the eyes of the Virgin, who is of broader proportions than we have as yet encountered; the curiously animated Child seems fascinated by a small bird which He holds by means of a string.

Slenderer proportions and a certain hardness of outline are to be remarked in the fourth enthroned Madonna; this is in the Cathedral of Grosseto. Again the Virgin looks away from the Child Jesus, Who, as in the previous picture, is holding a little bird ⁽¹⁾.

Apart from the Ducciesque elements, most evident in the figures of the angels, Pietro's early works are characterized by a profusion of ornamental detail.

The decrease of these two particular factors, together with the broadening of the proportions, constitutes the leading feature of our artist's next groups of works.

This phase, to which the panel in S. Pietro a Ovile may be said to form the transition, is exemplified by four Madonnas. The enlarged proportions, broad profiles, round heads, more regular beauty of feature, and softness of expression are distinguishing points of these panels; the Ducciesque mysticism, which was less noticeable in the last group, has here entirely disappeared.

An early product of this manner is the beautiful picture in the Poldi Pozzoli Gallery, Milan (no. 893, fig. 220), in which the Madonna is depicted looking at her Son, Who is once more holding a small bird. The throne here too is also draped; SS.

(1) *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1908, p. 3. *C. A. Nicolosi*, *Il litorale Maremmano*, Bergamo, 1910, p. 105.



Fig. 218. Pietro Lorenzetti, Madonna. Accademia, Siena.

Photo Lombardi.



Fig. 219. Pietro Lorenzetti, Madonna. S. Pietro a Ovile, Siena.

Photo Anderson.



Fig. 220. Pietro Lorenzetti, Madonna and Saints. Poldi Pezzoli
Museum, Milan.

Photo Alinari.

Agnes and Catherine stand at the sides, while six angels are seen looking over the back. Above a half-length figure of the Lord is represented in the posture of blessing.

Strongly resembling this work is the handsome picture of the standing Madonna in Mr. Berenson's collection at Settignano (fig. 221). The Child carries a long scroll, and a small monk kneels in adoration at the feet of the Virgin. The diptych in the Lindenau Museum at Altenburg may be of slightly later date. It shows on one side the "Ecce Homo", and on the other again the image of the standing Virgin, under which we read the somewhat restored, but nevertheless original signature: "*Petrus Laurentii de Senis me pinxit*".

The ripest and most characteristic product of this manner is a half-length figure of the Virgin with the Child in Mr. Loeser's collection in Florence (fig. 222). It figured at the exhibition of Sienese art held in 1904, and is a most impressive picture, not only because of its great beauty, but also on account of the deeply serious spirit which emanates from it.

Although of inferior quality, we may compare with the Loeser Madonna the two broad figures of SS. Agnes and Catherine, with busts of angels in the spandrels, in the Gallery of Siena (nos. 578 and 579, fig. 223).

I believe the fresco of the Massacre of the Innocents (fig. 224) in the chapel to the right of the choir of Sta. Maria dei Servi at Siena must have been executed about this period. It is composed of a large group of agitated figures hemmed in by four mounted soldiers and surrounded by architecture. The unlikeness to Pietro's later dramatic scenes is obvious, not only in the close-packed undivided group, which obscures the view, but in the types, the less animated action and the less emphatic outline. The architecture is finely delineated, betraying clearly the artist's study of perspective, but also his imperfect rendering of space. We shall return to this question later on.

Of much poorer quality are two other frescoes in the same church, in the chapel to the left of the choir. Their great inferiority has led Mr. Perkins to believe that they could only be by a close follower of Pietro, but notwithstanding their numerous shortcomings, I find the resemblance too striking for us to ascribe them to anyone but Pietro himself. However, I am of opinion that re-



Fig. 221. Pietro Lorenzetti, Madonna. Berenson Collection, Settignano.



Fig. 222. Pietro Lorenzetti, Madonna. Loeser Collection, Florence.

Photo Brogi.

storage has deprived them of much of their original refinement. The events represented are the beheading of St. John the Baptist (fig. 225) and the Ascension of St. John the Evangelist, the latter



Fig. 223. Pietro Lorenzetti, SS. Agnes and Catherine. Accademia, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

rather like Giotto's portrayal of this subject in Sta. Croce, Florence. The other differs slightly from Giotto's corresponding scene; it affords us one of the rare instances in Lorenzetti's works of two moments being depicted simultaneously, for in it we see

the executioner cutting off St. John's head, and, at the same time, bringing it to the figure seated at the table.

Very superior to these frescoes is a small panel in the Vatican Gallery (no. 9), which I believe to have been executed at a slightly later period of the artist's career ⁽¹⁾. The event represented is that of Christ before Pilate (fig. 226): under an open portico we



Fig. 224. Pietro Lorenzetti, The Massacre of the Innocents. Servi Church, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

see the Lord standing erect, looking straight at His judge, who is seated on a throne; a small group of soldiers escorts the Saviour. Although only a small predella panel, the scene is full of genuine feeling; it is a moment of suspended action, the onlookers being obviously struck by an answer which the Prisoner has just given to His judge.

Executed in the same manner is an equally small panel which Mr. Fairfax Murray presented to the National Gallery (no. 1113)

⁽¹⁾ *Sirén, L'Arte*, 1906, p. 325.

It shows us a holy bishop and two other saints before a prince or judge (fig. 227). Amongst the followers, one carries a candle, another a statuette, perhaps a pagan idol which the Christians had refused to adore. Although the spirit of this work is less



Fig. 225. Pietro Lorenzetti, Salome dancing before Herod. Servi Church, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

lively, the technique strongly reminds us of the small picture in the Vatican.

It is possible that these last pictures are somewhat later than the polyptych in the Pievè of Arezzo (fig. 228), the earliest of Pietro's dated works which is known to us, and which seems to form the link between the master's earlier and later manners. For while on the one hand the Madonna shows some resemblance



Fig. 226. Pietro Lorenzetti, Christ before Pilate. Vatican Gallery, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

even to the panel of Cortona, on the other hand we notice for the first time that predominance of line in the drawing of the features which in a few years was to become one of the chief elements of Pietro's art.

The polyptych, which originally possessed a predella, is of

rather complicated form. In the central part we see the half-length figure of the Virgin gazing into the eyes of her Child, Whom she holds in her left arm. The four lateral panels contain,



Fig. 227. Pietro Lorenzetti, Holy martyrs before their judge. National Gallery, London.

on the left, St. John the Evangelist, and the holy Bishop Donato, and on the right the Baptist and St. Matthew, while above each of these four figures are two busts of angels. The superimposed row of panels shows us, at the centre, the two figures of the Annunciation, and laterally, eight saints; above each pair of figures is a small medallion containing the head of a prophet. Each division

is surmounted by a terminal; the central one, which is much higher than the others, because the panels below it are larger, is decorated with an image of the Madonna in the mandorla of the Assumption, and those at the sides with half-length figures of saints.

Did not the date inform us of the fact, a glance would enable us to realize that we are here dealing with the work of a tho-



Fig. 228. Pietro Lorenzetti, Polyptych, 1320. Pievè, Arezzo.

Photo Alinari.

roughly established and accomplished artist and not with that of a young man.

Firstly, we are struck by the difference between the human form as drawn by this painter, and that represented by his predecessors: majestic, but in no way reminiscent of Giotto's majesty; full of expression, but of expression less human than that which the Florentine depicted.

The figures of this polyptych show a celestial rather than a

human grace; the strangely profound expression on the face of the Madonna is not that of an earthly mother gazing at her child, but reveals to us Pietro's mystical and superhuman conception of the holy figure which he is representing. The religious significance which the artist gives to his figures is more manifest than in the works of any of his contemporaries or immediate predecessors.

Besides the exquisitely refined design, we may also admire the remarkable choice of colouring. The Madonna, St. Donato, St. John and St. Matthew are clothed in white or light gray, combined, in the case of the last saint, with yellow; an unusual and effective combination, all the more impressive on account of the dark robes of almost all the other figures.

Considering them now in chronological order, the next of Pietro's signed works is the Madonna and Child between SS. Antony, Abbot, Nicholas of Bari, and four angels, in the church of S. Ansano of Dofana near Siena (fig. 229) ⁽¹⁾. It is dated 1328, but is much repainted; Cavalcaselle admires this work, and even designated the Virgin as the finest of the Sienese school. The Madonna is here enthroned; the drawing of the figure and features is perhaps even finer than in the polyptych of Arezzo. The spirit of the composition is somewhat slightly modified, as the Holy Mother, majestically seated, looks before her, while the Babe turns toward St. Antony.

As Cavalcaselle has already remarked, it is possible that the two small panels in the Gallery of Siena (Nos. 83 and 84) formed part of an altar-piece which we know Pietro made in 1329, for the Carmine church, and which, according to Milanese, was sold to England in 1818.

Each of these panels is composed of two scenes: the first pair depicts Pope Honorius IV presenting the habit to the Carmelite monks, and the Pope enthroned in front of an open loggia, in which cardinals are seated, and handing the rules of the order to the foremost of the kneeling friars before him (fig. 230). The other panel shows a man in bed inside a house, one wall of which has been removed in order to reveal the interior; an angel holding a scroll appears to the sleeper (fig. 231). In the second scene a Car-

⁽¹⁾ *G. De Nicola*, *Arte inedita in Siena*, *Vita d'Arte*, July, 1912.



Fig. 229. Pietro Lorenzetti, Madonna, saints and angels, 1328. S. Ansano, Dofana.

Photo Lombardi.

melite monk is depicted drawing water from a well while another, with book in hand, stands in the centre of his cell.

The drawing of these small scenes is extremely neat, and in them we observe, for the first time, the simple means by which the master gave an environment to his representations without neglecting details. This is especially noticeable in the scene of the angel appearing to the sleeping man, in which the curtain of the bed has been drawn aside and a towel hastily hung on a rack.

Everything is conceived in a complete and orderly manner, but no superfluous elements are to be found in this or any other picture of Pietro's. The details of the architecture, pillars etc., show with what love and care the artist worked.

I think we can ascribe to this period the most important creation of Pietro's which has come down to us: the decoration of the



Fig. 230. Pietro Lorenzetti, Honorius IV confirming the order of the Carmelites. Accademia, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

left transept of the Lower Church at Assisi. It is true that only a small part of the frescoes there can be attributed to his own hand, although the entire series must have been executed under his direction.

After Vasari's absurd attribution of these frescoes to Giotto, Pietro Cavallini and Puccio Capanna, Cavalcaselle was the critic who first reinstated Pietro Lorenzetti as their author.

For these paintings, Thode invented a special master — a follower of Pietro — to whom he also ascribed the Crucifixion and

the martyrdom of the Franciscan monks in the church of S. Francesco, Siena (1). Schubring assigned them to Pietro and his helpers (2), and this opinion, which I believe to be correct, has been almost generally accepted by modern art historians. However, on one point I disagree with this writer, and that is in placing these works as early as 1317 – 1320, and thus before the polypych of Arezzo. Admitting that part of the decoration adorns the

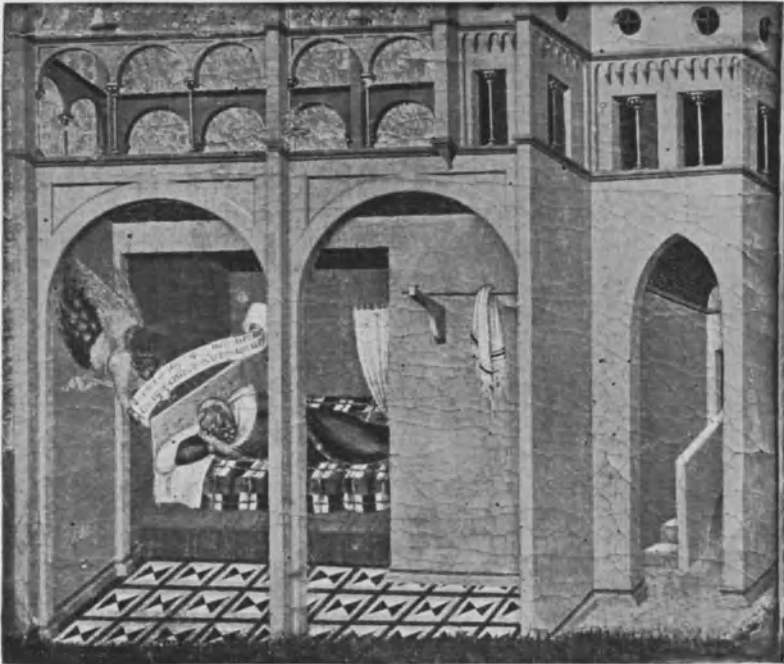


Fig. 231. Pietro Lorenzetti, An angel appearing to a man asleep. Accademia, Siena. Photo Anderson.

burial chapel of an Orsini, the tomb of whose brother, at the end of the opposite transept, was embellished at this early date, and notwithstanding the fact that the Madonna between saints, the finest bit of this *ensemble* of paintings and the gem of Pietro's works, betrays an obvious similarity to the products of this early

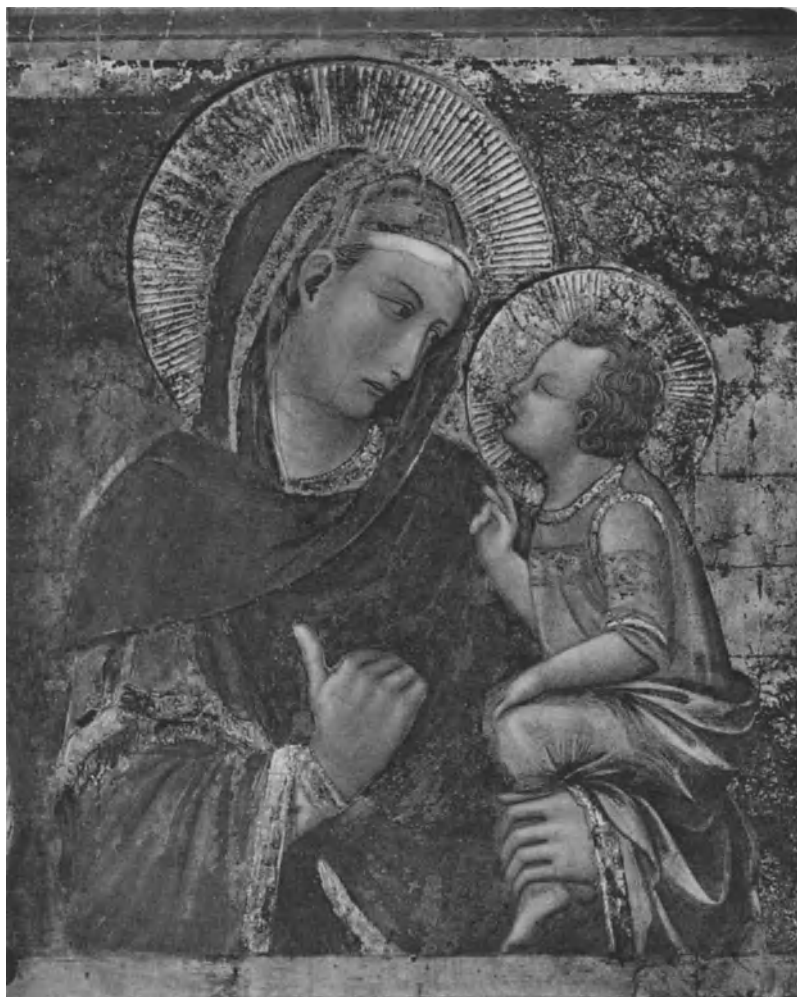
(1) *H. Thode*, *Repertorium f. Kunstwiss.*, 1888, p. 20. Dobbert's attribution to Ambrogio Lorenzetti never met with any approbation.

(2) *Repert. f. Kunstwiss.*, 1899, p. 1.



Fig 232 Pietro Lorenzetti, Madonna between St. Francis and St. John. S. Francesco, Assisi.

Photo Anderson.



MADONNA

By Pietro Lorenzetti, S. Francesco, Assisi.

Photo Anderson.

stage, its technical details rather tend to refer it to the following decade, such as the predella panels of 1329, the fresco of the Crucifixion at Siena, possibly of 1331, and other works of this period of the artist's career.

The half-length painting of the Madonna and Child (fig. 232 and pl. IX), looking intently into each others eyes, is found on the left wall of this transept. The Virgin, with a gesture somewhat unrestrained but full of meaning, points to St. Francis behind her; his pendant is the Apostle St. John. The predella below occupies the centre of a crucifix, to the right of which is an image of the donor; the corresponding division on the other side, in which no doubt a portrait of his wife was represented, and the two coats of arms in the still existing shields, have disappeared.

Comparing these figures with the polyptych of Arezzo, it is clear that the taste for linear effects in the drawing of the features, which in the earlier works we found in an incipient stage, has at Assisi reached a more advanced phase of development; on the other hand, plasticity has decreased as linearity has increased, and the difference which this involves, seems to me ample to account for a difference of ten years between these products.

The other frescoes which I attribute to Pietro's own hand are the Descent from the Cross, the Entombment, and, near by a representation of St. Francis receiving the stigmata, most of the large Crucifixion above the Madonna just described, and yet another fresco of the Virgin and Child (fig. 233), in composition not unlike the latter, above the tomb of Napoleone Orsini; this mural painting is frequently mistaken for a panel on account of its great refinement of execution. The saints here are St. Francis and the Baptist; each of the three figures is enclosed by an ornamental arch, while in each of the spandrels above is the head and shoulders of an angel.

The Crucifixion (figs. 234 and 235) is a fresco of unusual importance, but unfortunately it is rather damaged, the surface of the wall having been broken for the erection of a large altar which has since been removed. The dense mass of figures is a composition which, after it was adopted by Duccio, became more and more frequently employed.

Here the three crucified figures stand out high above the surrounding multitude. The Saviour's well-proportioned body hangs



Fig. 233. Pietro Lorenzetti, Madonna between the Baptist and St. Francis.
S. Francesco, Assisi.

Photo Anderson.

almost straight upon the Cross; the beautiful head is bowed. Fourteen small angels, making gestures of despair, hover around and divide Him from the criminals beside Him, who are roped to their crosses.

The group below must have contained over fifty figures, but the breach made in the wall destroyed a good many. The figures toward the edge of the fresco are almost all on horseback; amongst



Fig. 234. Pietro Lorenzetti, Crucifixion. S. Francesco, Assisi.

Photo Anderson.

those nearer the centre we see, on the left, the faithful group of followers surrounding the fainting Virgin. It is one of the finest and most harmonious compositions of the Christian drama ever made. The great variety of faces and expressions displayed by the assembled mob, all completely absorbed in the dread event, reveals a new side of the artist's talent. The bright, vivid colours form a marvellous contrast with the dark blue background.

The Deposition and the Entombment, on either side of the archway between the transept and the adjacent chapel, are executed very similarly and are rather violent in appearance. It should

be remarked that here, for the first time, we find in Pietro's work faces whose features are distorted with grief.

The Descent from the Cross (fig. 236) shows us Joseph of Arimathea on a ladder supporting the Lord's body; His left arm hangs limply over the naked chest, His right is held by a holy companion of the Virgin, who is supporting the head of her Son; between these two figures a second faithful follower holds up her



Fig. 235. Detail of fig. 234.

Photo Anderson.

hands aghast. St. John, holding the legs, looks sorrowfully down at Mary Magdalene, who kisses the feet from which Nicodemus is extracting the nail.

The same figures appear in the representation of the Entombment. The three men, one at the head, another at the feet, and the third beside the mosaic-covered tomb, are seen lowering the body; the Madonna casts herself down upon her dead Son and kisses His face; the three women behind gesticulate in despair.

These strongly outlined, angular figures are certainly contemporary with the fresco of the Stigmatization of St. Francis. The

saint is depicted in the midst of a rocky landscape, his hut being visible behind him; he kneels on one knee and uplifts his hands, palms outward, at the apparition of the seraph.

These figures are separated by a narrow ravine from that of a monk who sits reading while he awaits his leader. Further to the right the façade of a church obviously belongs to the Tuscan school of architecture.

On the adjacent or window wall there is a damaged fresco of



Fig. 236. Pietro Lorenzetti, Deposition. S. Francesco, Assisi.

Photo Anderson.

the hanging body of Judas. It is an unimportant work, but is probably also from the hand of Lorenzetti.

The rest of the Passion scenes may be attributed to followers of Lorenzetti. The Entry into Jerusalem (fig. 237) shows us the Lord, mounted on an ass, followed by a foal, blessing the crowd which approaches Him from the city; the architecture of the latter occupies the greater part of the background; one young man spreads his cloak on the ground for the Saviour to pass over and others prepare to do likewise. A small boy climbs into a tree; near him another is throwing branches at the people; the

Saviour is accompanied by a large group of faithful followers.

The Last Supper takes place in a hexagonal room, the unattractive interior of which is revealed by the suppression of a wall. The pillars supporting the roof are surmounted by small statuettes of naked angels. The Apostles are seated around the table, St. John resting his head on the shoulder of the Lord, Who faces the spectator. The arrangement is neither tasteful nor



Fig. 237. Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti, The Entry into Jerusalem.
S. Francesco, Assisi.

Photo Anderson.

artistic and the figures are awkwardly separated from one another; two servants stand in a doorway on the left leading into a pantry in which two others are washing up the dishes, while a dog is seen eating the scraps. It is an amusing but somewhat vulgar little scene, which does not in any way harmonize with the solemnity of the moment represented.

The fresco of Christ washing His disciples' feet is situated over an archway and its composition has been adapted to the space

available. Of many of the Apostles only the heads and shoulders are visible, above a low wall; these disciples are obviously awaiting their turn, as they look toward the Saviour and St. Peter on the left; the latter, in the usual manner, raises one hand to his head, as the Master, kneeling before him, performs His task. Three other disciples are seated in the same part of the vaulted Gothic room.

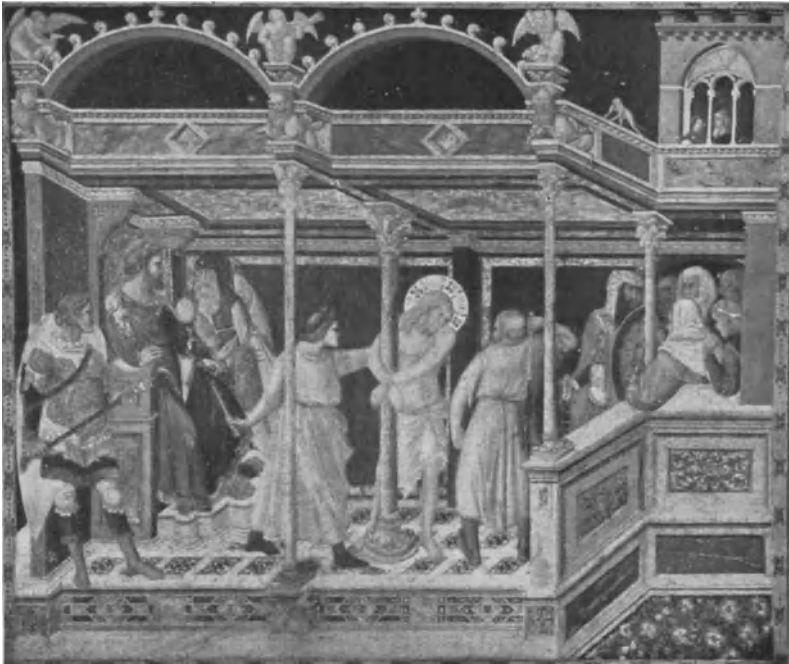


Fig. 238. Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti, The Flagellation. S. Francesco, Assisi.

Photo Anderson.

The Kiss of Judas is depicted in the usual melodramatic manner; many soldiers, some mounted, have surrounded the Lord, and some are laying hands on Him. Buildings and a landscape provide a background.

The Flagellation (fig. 238) takes place in a portico which juts out from the corner of a house. The roof is supported on pillars and the façade adorned with arcades and seraphic figures. Christ, in the hands of two executioners about to scourge Him, is bound to the central pillar; to the left, Pilate, enthroned between a white-

bearded old man and a soldier, looks on, while in the group to the right some Jewish priests are easily recognizable. Above this group, at a first storey window, is a woman, chin on hand, and a small child, holding on a leash a monkey which has made its way to the roof of the portico.

The Calvary is depicted just outside the walls of a city which forms the background to the composition. The procession, which has partly emerged from a large gateway, is headed by mounted soldiers; immediately behind them are the two criminals, bound and guarded. The Saviour, surrounded by soldiers, is bowed beneath the weight of the Cross; the Madonna and her few faithful companions who try to approach are roughly pushed back. Within the city gate, bringing up the rear of the procession, we see more mounted soldiers.

There are still two small frescoes belonging to this series. They represent the Descent into Limbo and the Resurrection, and are situated above an archway. In the former Christ, treading on the body of Satan, advances from the left, and takes Adam's hand in His own; in the latter the Saviour is shown, arising from His open tomb, before which some soldiers lie on the ground asleep.

Pietro's pupils also executed some half-length figures of saints beneath the Deposition — SS. Rufinus, Catherine, Clare and Margaret — as well as that of St. Victor beneath the Crucifixion to the left of the Madonna. The same assistants may have executed the decorated borders which frame the entire cycle and enclose numerous medallions of half-length figures.

Mr. Perkins attributes to Pietro himself the less important half-length figures of Franciscan monks which are to be found in the right transept, under Cimabue's Madonna.

The connection between the frescoes at Assisi — particularly the Deposition and the Entombment — and the Crucifixion once in the Chapter-room of the Franciscan monastery of Siena, now in the Bandinelli chapel of the church (fig. 239), is too obvious to give rise to any controversy. Della Valle, in his "Lettere Senese", tells us, on Tizio's authority, that Ambrogio painted in the same Chapter-room in 1331, and as we know that the brothers collaborated on various occasions, it is possible that Pietro's fresco was executed about this time. However, J. von Schlosser has

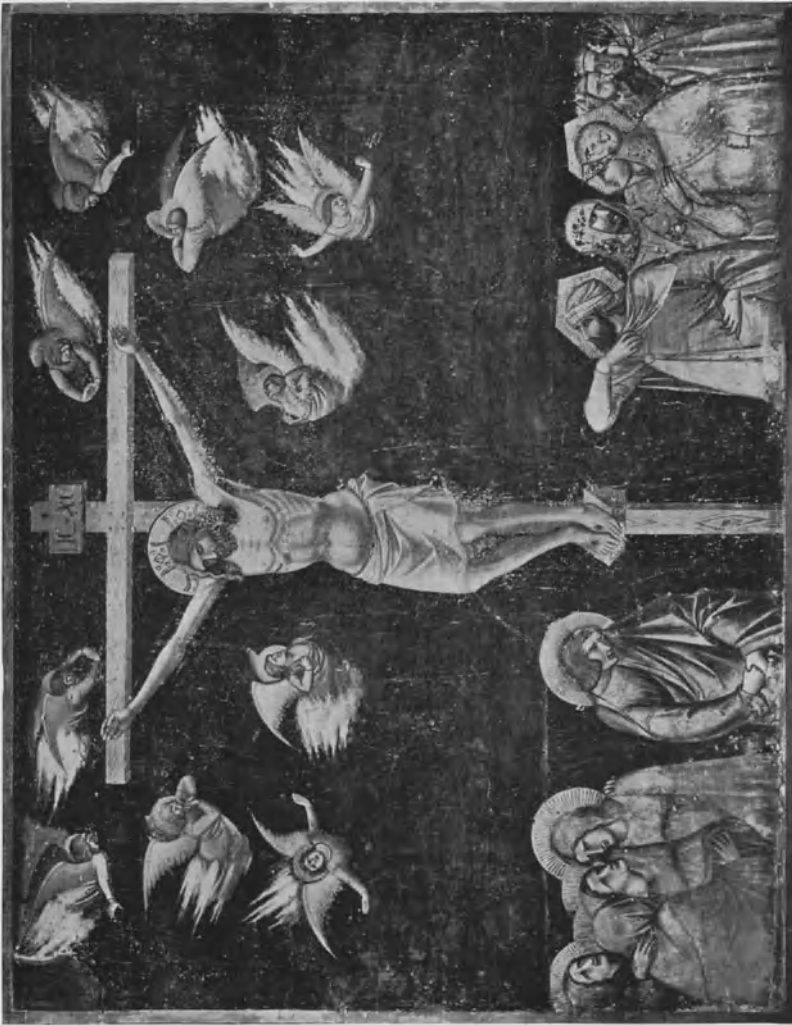


Fig. 239 Pietro Lorenzetti, The Crucifixion. S. Francesco, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

pointed out that this indication of date deserves little serious consideration; but the study of Pietro's artistic development leads us to ascribe this product to about the same period.

The fresco has been cut and the lower part of the figures around the foot of the Cross is missing. These are few in number — eleven in all — but ten angels hover around the Crucified.

Never has Pietro produced a work so imbued with his passionate dramatic spirit. The features of the five faithful women to the left are disfigured with grief as are also those of the angels, whose bodies writhe in anguish. The converted Centurion, other soldiers and the priest on the right are less agitated; and some of these figures are of great beauty.

The figure of the Redeemer is very impressive; the moment apparently chosen by the artist is the transition from great suffering to death, as will be gathered from the expression on the Saviour's face. His body hangs heavily from the arms; the anatomy, emphasized by the play of light and shadow, is good; differing from and more modern in type than that to be found in Pietro's earliest works. In this respect the Crucifixion is superior to the frescoes of Assisi, but the importance given to linear effect and the detailed execution of the faces in both, betray a definite connection.

A panel of a curious, mystical composition in the Gallery of Siena (no. 92), originally in the Monna Agnese convent, seems to belong to this period. It represents Cain slaying Abel, the Lord crucified, with many corpses on the ground beneath the Cross, and the Last Judgment, and although it is rather damaged, we can still easily recognize the hand of Pietro. This picture is of particular interest on account of the landscape background, which proves to us that our master was far ahead of his contemporaries in the study of this special branch of painting. This panel leads us to attribute two other works in the same Gallery (nos. 70 and 71) to Pietro Lorenzetti. One represents a landscape near a lake (fig. 240), the other shows us a city with the sea in the background (fig. 241); both are of extraordinary refinement. These are the earliest examples in Italian art of real landscape painting, for here it is not merely an accessory but the chief subject of the work.

It is curious that during this phase of his artistic development, Pietro seems to have followed simultaneously two different manners; to be seen one, in his dramatic representations, characterized by unnaturally tall and slender figures and sudden curves of small radius, and one, in which, notwithstanding the same minuteness of detail, the figures are broad in proportion to their stature, and the folds of the draperies are wider and fuller, as we see them in the Madonna and saints at Assisi and which will be



Fig. 240. Pietro Lorenzetti, Landscape. Accademia, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

discovered in some panels of half-length figures, which no doubt originally formed part of polyptyches.

The most important of these are nos. 79, 81 and 82 in the Gal-

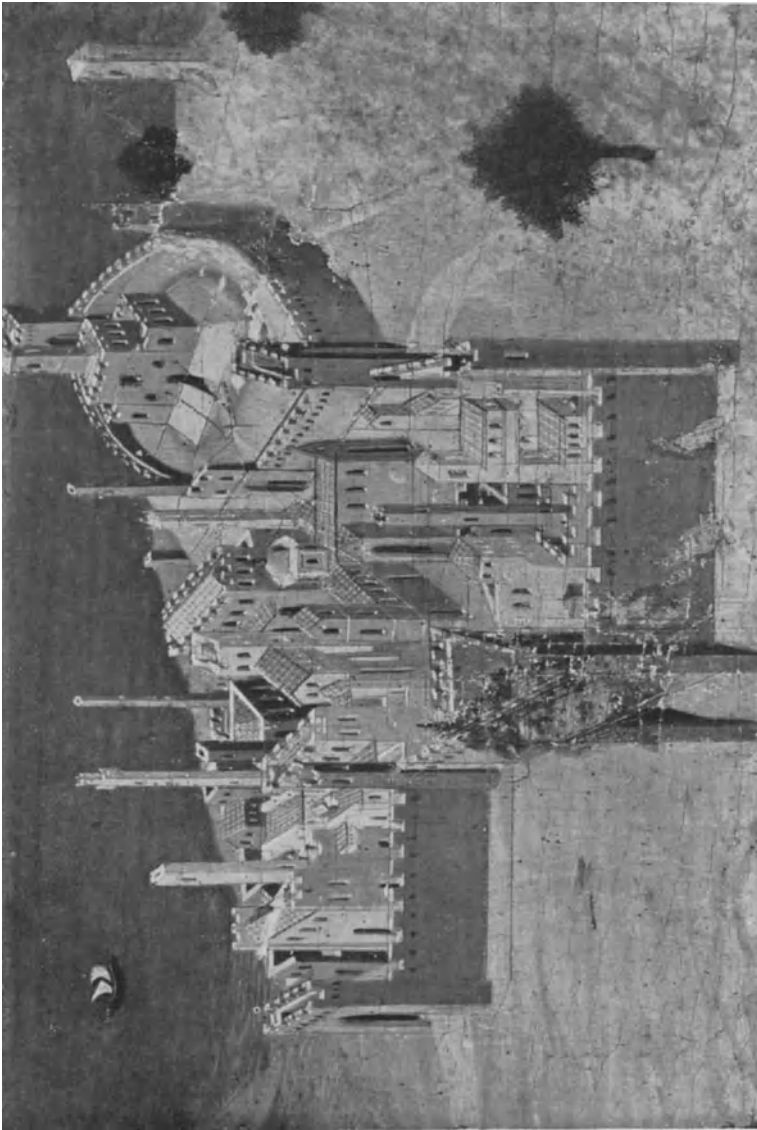


Fig. 241. Pietro Lorenzetti, Landscape. Accademia, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

lery of Siena; they represent SS. John the Baptist, Cicely and Bartholomew. On the first we find the date 1332, and on the second part of the original signature still remains visible: “. s

Laurentius" (?). This may very well be a fragment of Pietro's name for it is certainly to him that we owe these pictures. The execution, however, is not so fine and the drawing is hard and unpleasant.

A short time ago a few similar half-length figures were offered for sale in Florence, but these may have been products of Pietro's *bottega* only.

Of about the same period, but infinitely superior, are the three panels of SS. Catherine, Margaret and a holy friar, in the Horne collection, Florence. Another half-length figure, also of excellent workmanship, is that of St. Margaret in the Museum of Le Mans. A half-length figure of the Madonna in the church of the convent at Rapolano ⁽¹⁾ is executed in a similar manner. The Child holds a little bird in His hand and is tenderly clasped by His Mother.

Two other beautiful Madonnas are perhaps of slightly later date; they are, the somewhat retouched half-length figure in the Pieve of Castiglione d'Orcia (fig. 242) ⁽²⁾ and that in the Pieve of Monticchiello, near Pienza ⁽³⁾. The last of these, in which Mother and Child are again depicted as gazing into each other's eyes, is an extremely fine and impressive work and falls but little short of the fresco at Assisi. Here Pietro's figures are more monumental and of a more perfect plasticity than ever they were before.

These panels pave the way to another of Pietro's important works: the somewhat repainted Madonna in the Uffizi (New Catalogue no. 445), which was probably first in the church of S. Francesco at Pistoia. The inscription runs: "*Petrus Laurentii De Senis me pinxit Anno Domini MCCCXL*"; the predella which this panel originally possessed has disappeared. In comparing this picture with the fresco at Assisi and other works of the same period, a very distinct difference in manner will be remarked. The Madonna, full-faced, sits on a throne, with both hands upholding her little Son, Who tenderly caresses her; four angels stand at the sides of the throne, three looking at the central group, the fourth facing the spectator. If this panel be compared with the

⁽¹⁾ Reprod. in C. Ricci, *Il Palazzo Pubblico di Siena e la Mostra d'Antica Arte Senese*, Bergamo, 1904, fig. 55.

⁽²⁾ F. M. Perkins, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1903, p. 3. *Bargagli-Petrucci*, Pienza, etc., p. 119.

⁽³⁾ Perkins, *op. cit.*, p. 4.



Fig. 242. Pietro Lorenzetti, Madonna. Pieve, Castiglione d'Orcia.

Photo Instit. Arti Grafiche.

altar-piece of Arezzo, a certain difference will be observed in the shape of the Madonna's head, which is now rounder; the expression too has changed; it is less mystical, more human and more melancholy; the Child has undergone a similar change, and al-

though His gesture is caressing, His expression is very severe. The spirit of the whole work is different; we have here a solemn Mother of God, reminding us rather of the Duecento tradition than of the same artist's earlier work. Although the play of imagination is, in this instance, somewhat restricted, neither his senti-

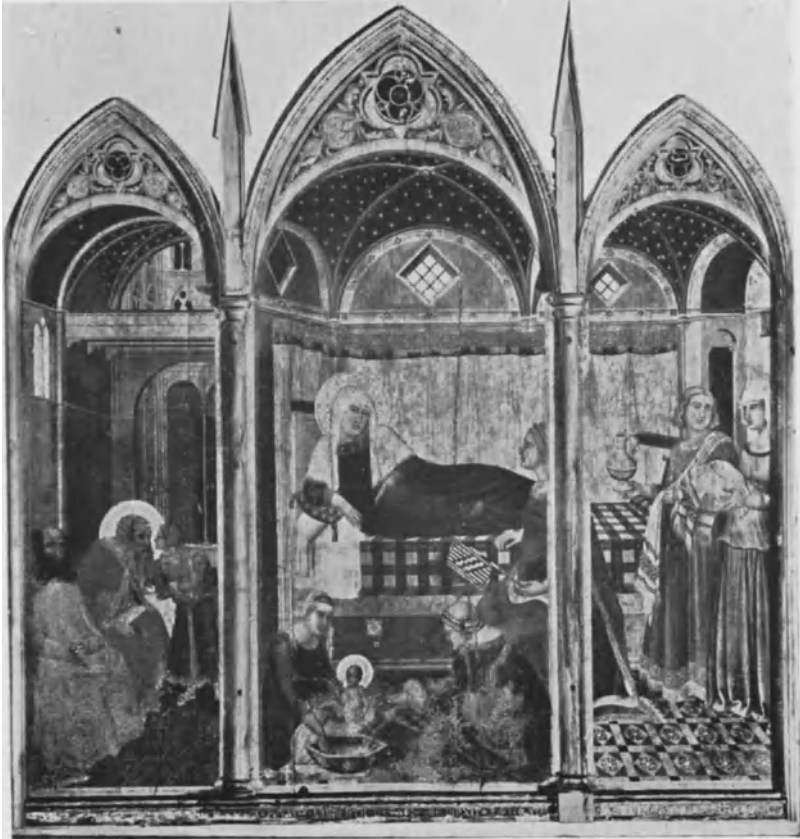


Fig. 243. Pietro Lorenzetti, *The Nativity of the Virgin*, 1342. Opera del Duomo, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

ment nor his skill has in any way suffered, while his drawing of the human figures remains of surpassing refinement.

The same qualities are manifest in the slightly later panel of the *Nativity of the Virgin* in the Opera del Duomo of Siena (figs. 243 and 244); it is signed and dated 1342. In the centre of the triptych we see St. Anna reclining on her couch and looking down at



Fig. 244. Detail of fig. 243.

Photo Anderson.

the two women on the floor, who are giving the Infant Virgin her first bath. A female figure sitting at the bedside is only partly visible behind the dividing pillar; part of her cloak is seen on the right wing, where the scene is continued; here two stately and beautiful women approach, carrying gifts. On the left wing we see, in quite another room, Joachim bending eagerly forward toward a small



Fig. 245. Pietro Lorenzetti, The St. Humility altarpiece, 1341. Uffizi, Florence.
Photo Brogi.

boy who seems to whisper the tidings into the ear of the happy father; a black-bearded figure sits beside him. The Gothic rooms with their groined vaults are well executed, especially that on the left; behind it the artist has drawn with marvellous accuracy and detail the apse of a church.

The delicate passages of tender and beautiful colour and the excellent draughtsmanship of this picture surpass even those to be seen in the Madonna of the Uffizi. Pietro's renderings of space

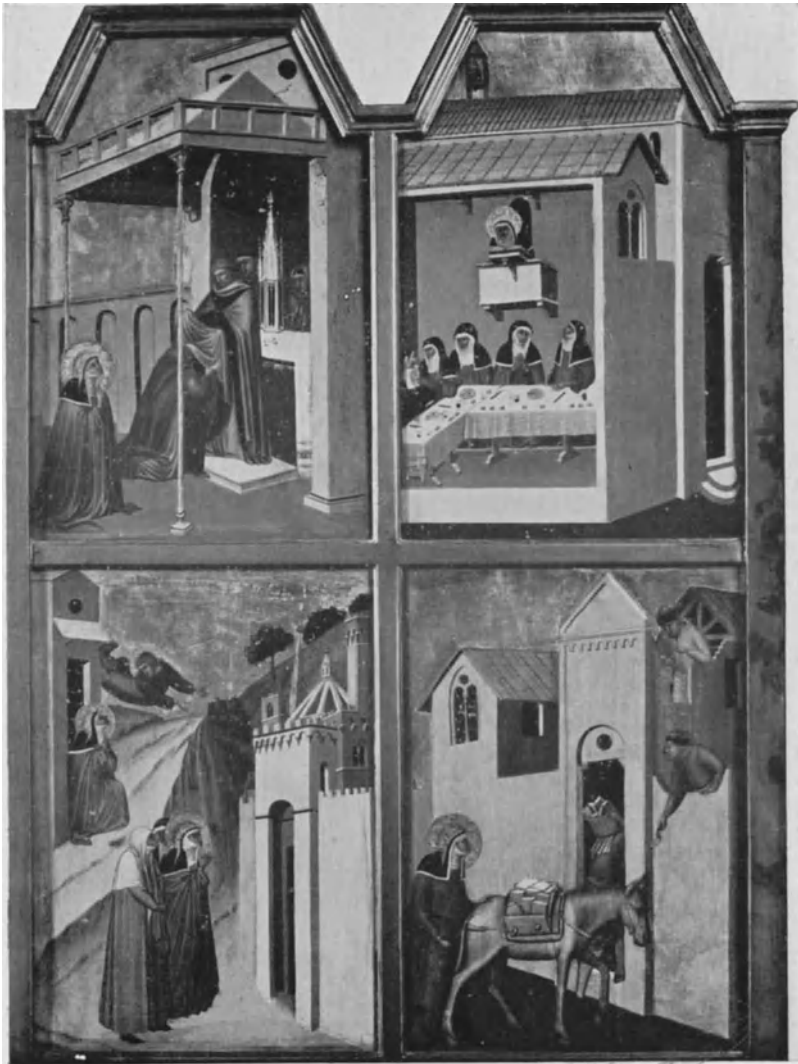


Fig. 246. Detail of fig. 245.

Photo Brogi.

and perspective here exceed anything which he has previously attempted.

Another of Pietro's late works is the Sta. Umilita altar-piece, now in the Uffizi (figs. 245 and 246). The repainted inscription

bears the date 1341⁽¹⁾ which may very well be the correct one, although the picture is very inferior in quality to the previous triptych. It is composed centrally of a large figure of St. Humility, holding a book and a palm-leaf, with a small adoring nun at her feet. On the right and left were originally six scenes, arranged in pairs, from the history of the saint, but one of these has been removed and is now in the Museum of Berlin, whence the larger



Fig. 247. Pietro Lorenzetti, a panel from the St. Humility altar-piece. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.

Photo Hanfstaengl.

scene, now missing from beneath the central panel, has also migrated (fig.247). The little paintings excel in drawing and colour, but the outlines and shadows are a little hard; the lack of relief reminds us of the frescoes at Assisi.

(¹) The "L" of the date MCCCXLI is of rather a strange form and has frequently been read as V, making the date MCCCXVI. Arch. Storico dell' Arte, I, 1888, p. 430; and *Schubring* in *Zeitschr. f. Christl. Kunst*, 1901, p. 375.

The Umilita altar-piece does not nearly come up to the level of the exquisite Nativity of the Virgin painted the following year, which is superior not only in modelling but also in its representation of space and perspective. This will be very acutely realized if a comparison be made between the last scene of the Sta. Umilita picture and the left wing of the triptych at Siena, in both of which we have a perspective view of a Gothic church.

The fine majestic painting of St. Lucy in the church of Sta. Lucia tra le Rovinate, Florence (fig. 248) ⁽¹⁾, has been justly ascribed to about the same period in Pietro's career. This work, however, has been considerably repainted by Jacopo del Sellaio ⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ The attribution was first made by *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1906, p. 15 and accepted by *W. Suida*, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

⁽²⁾ *O. H. Giglioli*, *Rivista d'Arte*, 1906, p. 184. Other works by Pietro Lorenzetti, almost all of which I have seen, are: — *Siena*, Gallery, nos. 62 and 64, two panels each, containing two Apostles, and a prophet above, resembling the Arezzo Madonna; no. 90, St. Peter showing similarity to the St. Peter in the Vatican (early); Hospital, operating room near the entrance, St. Antony Abbot and another saint. *In the environs of Siena*; *S. Galgano*, church, Christ resurrected. *In private collections*: *Amsterdam*, Lanz coll., Madonna lowly seated and Child, centre of a small triptych (early); *Boston*, Mrs. Gardner's collection, Madonna; *Florence*, coll. of Mr. F. M. Perkins, Madonna and saints; Count Serrestori's collection, Madonna; *Genoa*, Mr. U. Jaeger's collection, Madonna and donor; *Palermo*, Baron Chiamante Bordonone's collection, polyptych; *Rome*, Stroganoff collection, two busts of prophets. As school works may be quoted: *San Angelo in Colle*, S. Michele church, half-length figure of the Madonna with the Child sucking His finger (fig. 249) (F. Bargagli Petrucci, *Pienza Montalcino*, etc., p. 143, attributes it to Lippo Memmi); *Castiglione d'Orcia*, Sta. Maria Maddalena, sacristy, damaged half-length figure of the Madonna; *Cologne*, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, no. 510, Madonna and Child with bird (weak); *Cortona*, S. Marco, crucifix; *Frankfort*, store-room of the Städelsche Gallery, Madonna, saints, Nativity and Crucifixion (*Rassegna d'Arte*, 1906, p. 84); *Paris*, Louvre, no. 1317, Nativity of the Virgin, there attrib. to "le Maître dit de St. Humilité"; *Rome*, Vatican, no. 43, Madonna, many saints and the Annunciation, all in separate divisions on one panel (attributed to Pietro himself by Sirén, *L'Arte*, 1906, p. 329, Perkins and Berenson); *Idem*, no. 24, Crucifixion (centre of a triptych); *Siena*, Gallery, no. 147, Crucifixion; no. 50, polyptych, Madonna, four saints, eight Apostles and the Annunciation in the terminals; no. 105, Annunciation; *Urbino*, Cathedral, fragmentary fresco, Madonna and Child (L. Venturi, *L'Arte*, XVIII, 1915, p. 11). Among the many works wrongly attributed to Pietro we need only take into consideration the large polyptych in the Pinacoteca of Gubbio (*Rassegna d'Arte Umbra*, 1909, p. 86; 1910, p. 22). As I explained in the same review (1921, p. 7), I believe it to be a product of Pietro's Gubbian follower, Guiduccio Palmerucci. A Madonna in the church of Sta. Lucia, Rome, is modern, probably a copy of the original which this church once possessed. For other school works v. list at the end of the list of Ambrogio's paintings.



Fig. 248 Pietro Lorenzetti, St. Lucy. Sta. Lucia, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

Many different judgments have been pronounced on Pietro Lorenzetti. Mr. Perkins is undoubtedly the writer by whom he is most appreciated. Cavalcaselle is somewhat critical and Prof. Venturi is of opinion that the frescoes of Pietro and his helper at Assisi are products of the decadence of that art which began with Cavallini.

Let us now endeavour to find out how much or how little the master deserves their praise or disparagement.

One of Pietro's qualities is his originality. He certainly owes much to Duccio, this is most noticeable in his earlier works, in which the angel figures are entirely in the Ducciesque tradition. At a later date his angels betray a certain influence of Simone Martini's art, as is most clearly evident in the Madonna of the Uffizi. Whereas Duccio's influence is only of importance in the formation of his earlier manner, there is, as has often been remarked, a distinct element of Pisano's sculpture in many of his figures. Pietro must have seen Giovanni Pisano's pulpit in the Cathedral of Siena, and surely it was his knowledge of this sculptor's work that developed in the painter a taste for that unlimited realism and dramatic expression, which we find in his frescoes at Assisi and his Crucifixion at Siena (¹).

In his earlier works the heads are of a peculiar oval shape.

From 1330 onward, the influence of Simone Martini is manifest in the refined and minute drawing of the human features, but this, at first sight, is not very evident, because the types of figure represented are so different. His search after detail leads him to commit certain exaggerations, such for example as the too apparent teeth of the Assisi Madonna and of some of the figures in the Crucifixion at Siena, but where the faces are not distorted with grief the resemblance to Simone's figures is very obvious.

We are, then, able to identify a few masters who influenced Pietro without hindering him from developing into a powerful and independent artist, more unlike Duccio than were Simone or Lippo Memmi, and creating a style of his own, less graceful, but more virile and impressive than that of Simone or his brother-in-law.

(¹) These may be the factors which led Vasari to believe that Giotto was Pietro's master.



Fig. 249. Pietro Lorenzetti, Madonna. S. Michele, San Angelo in Colle.

Photo Istit. Arti Grafiche.

Pietro Lorenzetti was probably of a mystical temperament; he was at all events a man who employed his art to express his passionate and deeply felt religious convictions. As was the case with Simone Martini, we do not receive the impression that all Pietro's figures are celestial beings; but the ecstatic emotion of the Virgin as she gazes into the eyes of her Son conveys to us a strongly mystical conception of these two figures. To say, besides, that the master succeeded in expressing all the emotions of the human heart and soul, seems to me praise merited only by Giotto, who was a psychologist but not a mystic.

Pietro's contorted faces are interesting as a manifestation of courage in realistic expression; not always, it is true, quite free from a certain vulgarity. Attitudes which require muscular effort are neither well observed nor natural, but they afford us another instance of Pietro's deviation from Duccio's manner. Duccio's figures are before all calm and graceful, for, working in accordance with the Byzantine tradition, he never attempts to depict those violent movements which Pietro portrays to the best of his ability and without any reserve, disclosing thereby his powerful and energetic temper. Pietro's sharp-cut lines, which, in some cases, offend the eye, in others merely reveal his great talents as a draughtsman. As a colourist he is very unequal; his combination of warm and clear tints sometimes results in a really harmonious *ensemble*. This is more commonly the case with his panels, but in some of his frescoes the colouring seems to have been of minor importance; the Siena Crucifixion, for example, is almost in monotint. However, in the fresco of the same subject at Assisi the colours are varied and beautiful. The realism of his flesh tints has already been remarked on by Cavalcaselle.

His skill in obtaining plastic effects gradually increases. This is one of the chief factors which enables us to tell his earlier works from those of his intermediate phase. This feature reaches its highest degree of perfection after about 1330. Only then does Pietro seem to have mastered the art of expressing space, depth, distance and perspective, four different but closely connected requirements of painting. When possible they are all dispensed with. In depicting his Crucifixions against a uniformly tinted background, Pietro Lorenzetti was only following the prevailing tradition. Giotto, Duccio and their adherents had done likewise.

Be this as it may, in order to facilitate the representation of other events, such as the Deposition and the Entombment, the master adopted the uniform backgrounds of the panel painters, while in the Stigmatization of St. Francis, he shows no more landscape than the story actually requires. These monotint backgrounds are all the more curious, as later on he proves his skill as a landscape painter.

Pietro's compositions are but rarely entirely free from rigidity. His figures are either crowded together, as in the Massacre of the Innocents, or arranged in stiff groups, as in the Siena Crucifixion. The actors are frequently few in number, and the action is always depicted in profile, never perpendicular to the surface of the painting. It is only in the Crucifixion at Assisi that some of the people are seen from the back. We never find in this artist's work those varied groups in the deeper planes of the picture, such as Duccio so frequently portrays.

In depicting scenes in the interior of houses, Pietro usually adopts the primitive plan of suppressing one wall. This is the system which he has followed in the St. Humility picture, and his panels of 1329, although here the site resembles an open loggia, which is obviously what the painter intended to represent in the panel of the Lord before Pilate in the Vatican Gallery, the picture in the National Gallery, and the Flagellation at Assisi. If in these last instances he has succeeded, by means of the perspective of the ceiling, walls, and floor, in representing depth, he has not been able to convey to us exactly in what plane he wished to place his figures, and this combination of careful perspective and the lack of it, is very incongruous, especially in the Vatican panel. I think the oft-occurring widely spaced pillars were employed by the artist only to heighten the effect of his perspective.

The perspective in the St. Humility panels, where it is indicated only by the walls, is most unsuccessful. In both the scenes in the Berlin Museum, the bed in which the saint is lying, seems to occupy the whole room, and it is not at all clear, especially in one of the two scenes, how the nuns are able to pass through the door in the side wall. In the other, the room in which the event takes place is not in harmony with the rest of the building, which seems to form a court yard, to judge by the tree in the centre. However, in the contemporary Nativity of the Virgin (1342)

Pietro represents an interior with a perfection of perspective, space and expression which no predecessor had ever attained. This point in his technique must have caused him a good deal of thought. Here it is very clear that there is sufficient space for the Child's bath at the side of the bed, nor are we surprised at the presence of the three visitors, for whom there is ample room.

The dark, star-covered, groined and vaulted ceiling appears also in the panel of 1329 (Honorius confirming the Carmelite rules) and in the frescoes at Assisi (the Entry into Jerusalem and Christ washing the feet of His disciples); but when seen from a different angle they do not give the wide dome-like effect produced in the central part of the panel in the Opera del Duomo. A still greater improvement is the view of the Gothic building beyond the room in which Joachim receives the news of the Virgin's birth. In none of Pietro's other works do we find these fine architectural details, the perpendicular grace of which seems more French than Italian. The picture, in which these notable qualities are found dates from 1342; that is to say, from a time when the artist was probably already an old man; but there is no trace of decadence, as is so often the case about the end of a painter's career.

Pietro's rendering of space in his out-door scenes is very different (1). This, however, does not apply to the Massacre of the Innocents in the Servi church at Siena, for here the action is framed by the surrounding buildings, but in one of the scenes of the St. Humility altar-piece — otherwise not one of his best pictures — there is a landscape background with a fine effect of rising ground far into the distance.

Admirable too is the rendering of space in the two landscapes in the Gallery of Siena; like Japanese paintings, they express all the poetry of distance, the effect of which is much more realistic than the means employed, and their melancholy is but accentuated by the absence of figures. This same is true also of that picture which might be called an allegory of Sin and Redemption. We cannot say, however, that these works are perfect, in so far as the technique of perspective is concerned; on the contrary, in none of them do we find that effect of the unique point of vision so that the different parts of the landscape are placed on different

(1) *J. Guthmann*, Die Landschaftmalerei der Toskanischen und Umrbrischen Kunst von Giotto bis Raphael, Leipzig, 1902, p. 73.

levels; nor does the horizon appear to be at the right height.

The marvellous effects of aerial perspective are chiefly obtained by the handling of light and shade, the excellence of which would alone suffice to rate the master among the great artists of his age, and a worthy precursor of Piero della Francesca.

AMBROGIO LORENZETTI (1).

The presumption that Ambrogio Lorenzetti may be the younger of the two brothers is not based on the feeble argument that the first mention of him is of considerably later date than that of Pietro, but on the fact that from 1331 onward his manner of painting is obviously dependent on that of his brother, while there is no evidence of a contrary influence. We have, however, no proof; but after all the question is one of no great importance.

The dates which have come to our knowledge concerning Ambrogio cover only a period of twenty-three years, from 1324 to 1347 (2). In the first instance we find him selling ground; in his "Lettere Senese", Della Valle records the statement made by the chronicler Tizio that in 1331 he executed the frescoes in S. Francesco, Siena, of which the two remaining will be dealt with presently.

Ghiberti mentions a panel, and, in a chapel, scenes from the life of St. Nicholas in S. Procolo, Florence; we have proof that this panel was signed and dated "*Ambrosius Laurentii de Senis MCCCXXXII*" (3). Vasari relates, too, that in one of these two works the master painted his own portrait.

Ambrogio executed these pictures in Florence, where he matriculated and perhaps remained until 1335, when he decorated Sta. Margarita at Cortona; of these frescoes, however, nothing remains. That same year Ambrogio restored a Madonna in the Duomo of Siena; he retouched the face, hands and book; but this cannot have been a commission of any importance, since the sum paid

(1) *A. L. von Meyenburg*, A. L., Zurich, 1903. *L. Gielly*, *Les trecentistes siennois*: A. L., *Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne*, Janvier-Février, 1912.

(2) Almost all are found in *Milanesi*, *Doc. Sen.*, p. 195, or in his *Vasari* edition I, p. 521.

(3) *Vasari-Milanesi*, I, p. 524, note 1.

him for this work was only 20 sous. In 1335 he and Pietro, as we have already said, signed the frescoes on the facade of the Scala Hospital; Ghiberti, who ignored the existence of Pietro, ascribed them all to Ambrogio. A chronicler of the name of Angelo Tura tells us that in 1337 Ambrogio decorated the outside of the Palazzo Pubblico with scenes from Roman history, but perhaps he has mistaken these for Ambrogio's frescoes in the Sala dei Novi in this palace, as it is quite possible that the ten different payments made to the painter between 1337 and 1339 were for this work. In 1339 he is paid for the angel and the candlesticks which were to stand in front of the Virgin's altar in the Cathedral, and the following year he receives 135 golden guilders for an altarpiece, probably the "Tavola di S. Crescenzo", also for the Cathedral of Siena. That same year he is recorded as having worked in the chapel of the cemetery. In 1342 he signed and dated the Presentation in the Temple, destined for the Spedaletto of Monna Agnesa now in the Uffizi, where it is probable that he also made some frescoes. Two years later he signed and dated an Annunciation for the Palazzo Pubblico, now forming part of the Gallery of Siena. In 1344 Ambrogio was requested to paint a cosmographical chart in the large hall of the Palazzo Pubblico; this work is mentioned by Ghiberti and Vasari⁽¹⁾.

The following year he was paid for some figures which he executed in the Camera dei Signori Nove; none of this decorative work has been preserved. Lastly, in 1347, he is referred to as speaking in the Council.

As no date concerning him are found after this year, it has been supposed, that he, as well as his brother Pietro, died of the plague which ravaged the country in 1348. Vasari offers us the unlikely information that at his death he was eighty-three years of age.

Ghiberti, who expresses very great admiration for Ambrogio Lorenzetti, praising especially his composition and his drawing, not only mentions several of the above quoted works, but speaks as well of his activity at Volterra and in the Chapter-room of the monastery of S. Agostino at Florence.

In many instances Vasari and the Magliabechiano merely copy

(1) *F. Bargagli Petrucci*, Il mappamondo di A. L. nel Palazzo Pubblico di Siena, Rassegna d'Arte Senese, 1914, p. 3.

Ghiberti's facts concerning this artist; the former, however, refers to some effaced frescoes in the small hospital of SS. Gregorio e Niccolo, whence also originated the panel of 1342.

Once the whole of one side of the cloister of S. Francesco was covered with frescoes of the story of the Blessed Peter and Demetrius of Siena; these may have formed part of the cycle which Ambrogio made here, parts of which have since been transported to the Bandini-Piccolomini chapel of the church (¹).

Vasari also tells us of his taste for literature, and how highly he was esteemed by his fellow citizens, for his exemplary moral character on account of which he is said to have held many important offices in the city; but nothing of this is reported in the archives.

Only five of Ambrogio's works are authenticated either by inscription or by document; they cover a period of 13 years, 1331—1344; the former of these dates is based on Tizio's report, the veracity of which has often been doubted.

A recent discovery of Dr. De Nicola has considerably changed our conception of Ambrogio's art. It is that of an enthroned Madonna in the church of S. Angiolo at Vico l'Abate, near Florence, with the date 1319 in the inscription which reads: — "*A D MCCCXVIII p rimedio d lanima di Burnacio da Tolano feceta fare Bernardo figliuolo Burno . . .*" (fig. 250) (²). The importance of this work lies not only in the fact that it provides us with a picture twelve years older than the artist's next dated work, but also that it forces us to admit that an early — if not the earliest — stage of Ambrogio's activities took place in Florence. It is almost certain that the artist executed this work on the spot itself, and this is merely confirmed by the short distance which separates Tolano from Vico l'Abate.

The composition of the newly discovered panel is extremely simple. The Virgin, majestic in appearance and proportions, is seated on a throne of inlaid mosaic, holding the lively Child with both hands. The image is not without a certain austerity and even

(¹) *Lusini*, Storia della Basilica di S. Francesco in Siena, Siena, 1894, pp. 214 and 264 (*Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, III, p. 109, note 3.)

(²) *De Nicola*, Il soggiorno fiorentino di Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Bollettino d'Arte del Ministero della Pubbl. Istr., 1922, p. 49.



Fig. 250. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Madonna, (1319). Vico l'Abate.

Photo Perazzo

a suggestion of physical force. The part of the panel which bears most resemblance to Ambrogio's later works is the figure of the Child Christ.

As there can be no doubt as to the correctness of this attribution, we are at once impressed by the fact that Ambrogio, at the outset of his career, was in no way influenced by his brother, and that in this early manner the Giottesque elements were as important as the Sienese.

None of Ambrogio's other works is as Giottesque as the Madonna of Vico l'Abate. The Sienese influence is clearly noticeable in the greater elegance and softness of expression of a certain number of panels, which may be grouped together as the products of an early period, though not the earliest, of Ambrogio's career.

There are certain factors which point to Simone's influence but the works are still free of elements borrowed from Duccio or from his brother Pietro.

A certain amount of Simone's elegance applied to Giottesque forms resulted in the production of the graceful standing Madonna holding the Child, the centre of a reliquary, now belonging to Mr. Wildenstein of New York. This picture may also be of Florentine origin ⁽¹⁾.

Not unlike the foregoing is a half-length figure of the Madonna looking down at the swathed Child on her knee, a picture which once belonged to Mr. Helbig, in Rome ⁽²⁾. Even although the Babe is all wrapped up, His agitation is manifest in the movements of His hands and feet; this liveliness, which we also find in the Madonna of 1319, is apparently a characteristic of Ambrogio's early manner.

The Virgin Mary is dressed in a robe of flowered material, and has all the usual Sienese elegance and soft tenderness of expression.

Of greater importance is the altar-piece in the Badia of Rofena in the region of Siena. It shows St. Michael killing the dragon between SS. Benedict and Bartholomew, and the half-length figures of the Madonna, SS. Louis and John on the terminals ⁽³⁾. The style is very similar to that of the faded fresco of the Saviour

⁽¹⁾ *De Nicola*, op. cit.

⁽²⁾ *G. Cagnola*, *Dipinti ignorati*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1908, p. 45.

⁽³⁾ *De Nicola*, *Vita d'Arte*, July, 1912.



Fig. 251. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, SS. Francis and Mary Magdalene. Opera del Duomo, Siena.

Photo Alinari.

arisen from His tomb in the refectory of the Seminary of S. Francesco, Siena.

In chronological order Ambrogio's next work comprises four considerably damaged and restored polyptych panels in the Opera del Duomo of Siena (nos. 69, 70, 72 and 73, fig. 251). The

connection between these pictures and the previous Madonnas is very plain, especially if a comparison be made between them and the figure of St. Mary Magdalene. Form, proportion and feeling are all identical. The other saints depicted are SS. Francis, Catherine (?) and Romuald (?); the apices contain small figures of St. John the Baptist, St. Paul, and two evangelists. The detailed drawing of the features has here been executed in conventional and indeed stereotyped lines reminding us of the technique of the previous century; this is very evident in the figure of St. Romuald.

The following four pictures — all Madonnas — announce the increasing amplitude of proportions which characterizes Ambrogio's riper years.

Most closely related to the previous work is a very damaged fresco in a loggia situated at the back of one of the upper storeys of the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena.

The Virgin is seated on a broad, richly decorated throne; with one hand she supports the animated Child, Who carries a scroll; in the other, she holds a globe. She looks seriously, almost sadly, at the Infant Redeemer. Though the refined design and proportions in general are similar to those which we have already seen, there are some minor details, such as the shape of the hands, which differentiate this work from earlier ones and presage a change of manner.

This is still more evident in the panel in the Chapel of the Seminary (fig. 252). The Virgin is depicted nursing the Child at her breast; with a calm but austere expression she looks down at the Babe, Who, although, facing the spectator, is entirely absorbed in what He is doing. His little form is finely drawn and the high forehead very characteristic of Ambrogio; He kicks His legs in a spirited fashion and the drapery which half covers Him describes a beautiful Gothic curve.

Broader and sturdier are the figures which we find in the handsome picture of the Virgin in SS. Pietro e Paolo at Roccalbenga ⁽¹⁾. The large throne is decorated in the same fashion as that seen in the fresco of the Palazzo Pubblico; the Madonna,

⁽¹⁾ *C. A. Nicolosi*, *La Montagna Maremmana*, Bergamo, 1911, p. 63, wrongly attributes this to Ambrogio's school.



Fig. 252. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Madonna. Seminary, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

with head slightly inclined, almost faces the spectator. The chubby Child is seated comfortably in an attitude not unlike that in the Sienese wall-painting; His wide, apprehensive gaze is not perpendicular to the plane of the picture.

The last of these four Madonnas is that in the Gallery of Budapest (fig. 253) ⁽¹⁾. The Virgin is represented facing the spectator, with her head slightly bowed; she is looking at the Child, Whom she holds with her left hand; her right hand is placed on her knee, in a very ungainly attitude. The Infant Christ seems to offer an unrolled scroll to a person who was perhaps at one time depicted at one side of the painting. In type and attitude the Child reminds us of the Infant Christ of the last two works, but the etiolated elegance of the previous pictures is lacking here.

Two half-length figures of St. Paul and St. John the Baptist in the Gallery of Siena (nos. 52 and 53) are insignificant products of this same period.

All the pictures of Ambrogio's which we have dealt with hitherto are probably anterior to the frescoes of 1331 in the church of S. Francesco, Siena.

These frescoes are two in number and represent the massacre of the Franciscan monks at Ceuta, and Pope Boniface VIII receiving St. Louis as a monk. In the former (figs. 254 and 255) we see the Sultan, holding a sort of bludgeon across his knee, enthroned on a small platform, to either side of which stands a group of five courtiers; in the foreground are depicted the martyred monks and their executioners. To the left a man with uplifted sword is about to behead a kneeling friar; two other brothers, kneeling nearby, await their turn. On the right we see some children throwing stones at the monks who have already suffered this fate; further to the right a barbarous-looking man is about to sheathe his sword. Two figures on the extreme right and left seem painfully engrossed in the slaughter; the Sultan and some of his courtiers are also looking down on it. The painter, ignorant of the appearance of the natives of Ceuta, has dressed his figures in a great variety of costumes; some, I should say, of his own

⁽¹⁾ *Von Terey*, op. cit. *W. Suida*, *Alcuni quadri primitivi nella Galleria Nazionale di Budapest*, *L'Arte*, X, 1907, p. 179. *Pittura Senese a Budapest*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1907, p. 62.



Fig. 253. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Madonna. Gallery, Budapest.

Photo Hanfstaengl.



Fig. 254. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, the Martyrdom of the Franciscan monks at Ceuta. S. Francesco, Siena

Photo Anderson.

imagination. Chinamen, Jews and Red Indians are recognizable by their racial type, but it is curious that the peculiar shape of the Chinese or Mongolian eye, a detail which must have favourably impressed a Sienese artist, has only been depicted on one occasion. The artist seems also to have been dubious as to the effect which the event had produced on the minds of the natives of Ceuta. Most of them seem upset and uneasy. Ambrogio has clearly depicted the fear of the monks, which, however human and



Fig. 255. Detail of fig. 254.

Photo Lombardi.

probable, might have been omitted in the representation of a martyrdom. It is evident that the author of this work knew of Pietro's grimacing figures, although he copied nothing but their sharpness of outline. We do not find here any such exaggerated realism of feature as in Pietro's frescoes; although many of the faces are far from beautiful, the contortions are quite different from those which Pietro records, as may be seen in the two figures nearest to the Sultan on the right, and the innermost of the three children.

Solidity is attempted by vigorous patches of white ; the realism of the attitudes is somewhat forced, and the figures, on the whole, rather rigid. The perspective is not very good ; that of the Gothic portico, in which the Sultan and his courtiers are seated, being incorrect.

Boniface VIII receiving St. Louis as novice (figs. 256 and 257) reminds us somewhat of Pietro's panel of Pope Honorius IV,



Fig. 256. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Pope Boniface VIII receiving St. Louis as novice. S. Francesco, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

confirming the Carmelite order, save that here the figures face the other way round and are assembled in a finely designed Gothic hall. The Pope is enthroned to the left; up the aisle which leads to the throne, and which is flanked on either side by seated cardinals, the kneeling monks approach, foremost amongst them the holy king, whose outstretched hands are clasped by the Pope. The saint's brother, Robert, is seated amongst the cardinals; he is crowned and leans eagerly forward, supporting his chin in the hollow of his right hand, his elbow resting on his left

hand. The group of handsome, elegant figures behind him no doubt forms his suite; they are well drawn, but lacking in relief, like most of the other actors in this scene, but this may be due to the dilapidated state of the painting.

In this fresco Pietro's influence is not nearly so evident as in the scene of martyrdom. The slenderer proportions, the long necks, and the much softer drawing, are characteristics of Ambrogio's own art. The architecture, and especially the perspective, is greatly improved.



Fig. 257. Detail of fig. 256.

Photo Anderson.

A fragment of a fresco in the National Gallery (no. 1147) is reported to be of the same provenance; it represents the heads of four nuns, two of which only are clearly visible. The handsome features of one of them remind us of some of the figures in the last fresco.

By slow degrees we have been able to establish the paintings which Ambrogio made for the church of S. Procolo in 1332, and to which Ghiberti and Vasari both refer. Cenelli, in his "Belezze della citta di Firenze" (1677, p. 389) tells us that one of these

works was signed and dated ; the same painting is also described by Richa in his "Chiese Fiorentine" (1754, I, p. 239). This last author, however, informs us that the Madonna is by Giotto, and only the lateral saints, the Baptist, St. John the Evangelist — these, as will be seen, formed the terminals — with SS. Proclus and Nicholas, and the scenes from the life of St. Proclus on the predella, are by Lorenzetti.

Mr. Perkins has identified the panels of SS. Proclus and Nicholas with two pictures of these saints — obviously parts of a polyptych in the Bandini Museum, Fiesole (fig. 258), where they are attributed to the Florentine school ⁽¹⁾; and recently Dr. De Nicola has discovered the Madonna, which must have formed the centre ⁽²⁾.

The four scenes from the life of St. Nicholas, now in the Uffizi, cannot have formed part of this same polyptych, because, as Dr. De Nicola rightly remarks, these panels are neither shaped like predella panels nor do they contain the illustrations from the life of St. Proclus which Richa describes in detail. From this he surmises that in the chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas in this same church there must have been another altar-piece, the central panel of which — now missing — showed a figure of the saint, and the lateral panels, scenes from his life, a composition not unusual in pictures of the 14th century. But I do not find Dr. De Nicola's suggestion very satisfactory, that the centre piece of the St. Nicholas scenes should have been the Madonna, signed by Ambrogio and dated 1332, which Cinelli mentions as being in this church. Firstly, Richa's description of the Madonna between saints does not correspond with Cinelli's, and secondly, there is neither date nor signature on the Madonna which Dr. De Nicola has recently discovered. Besides, I can hardly imagine that an image of the Madonna would have been placed between scenes from the life of St. Nicholas, so that we have really no reason to suppose that these panels now in the Uffizi come from the church of St. Proclus. Besides this, Ghiberti, in speaking of the paintings in this building, mentions only "frescoes and one panel".

⁽¹⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, *Alcuni opere d'Arte ignorate*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1918, p. 106.

⁽²⁾ *De Nicola*, *Bolletino d'Arte*, etc., 1922, p. 53.



Fig. 258. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, SS. Proclus and Nicholas. Bandini
Museum, Fiesole.

Photo Reali.

The two figures of saints with the two SS. John in the apices, in the Bandini Museum, Fiesole, betray, in the peculiarly hard, sharp drawing of the features, the obvious influence of Pietro. This confirms the hypothesis that about the early thirties a certain change took place in Ambrogio's art, for at that stage he



Fig. 259. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, A scene from the legend of St. Nicholas. Uffizi, Florence. Photo Alinari.

abandoned the manner in which Giottesque reminiscences intermingled with the Sienese style, and from then onwards became a faithful follower of his brother and his own native school of painting.

As I have already remarked, Ambrogio's activities in S Proclus in 1332 and his matriculation in Florence point to a stay of some length in that city. No doubt it was during this time that he executed the St. Nicholas panels now in the Uffizi (nos. 3848 and

3849, figs. 259 and 260); for as we saw, their provenance does not seem to have been S. Proclus. The scenes depicted are: the so frequently illustrated incident of St. Nicholas throwing gold in through the window of the house of the poor father with three daughters, the saint being consecrated bishop in the Cathedral



Fig. 260. Ambrogio Lorenzetti. A scene from the legend of St. Nicholas. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

of Mira, saving shipwrecked sailors in the harbour of the same city, and delivering a possessed child.

In these small panels, in which particular care has been given to the architecture, which, on the whole, is very fine and correct in perspective, there are certain factors which differentiate them from the earlier group of works. The chief, perhaps, is the form of the figures which are not only ampler in proportion but are

also different in structure. Especially in the first scene we notice the length of limb which gives a slenderness to the otherwise monumental form. It is here impossible to exclude Pietro's influence, which is also manifested, though rather feebly, in the shape of the heads and the harder drawing of the features.

This earlier stage of Ambrogio's second manner, which culminates in the allegorical frescoes of the Palazzo Pubblico, and which, roughly speaking, covers the period between 1330 and 1340, is the best moment in his career. Fortunately we possess several works which date from the period.

The oldest of these is probably a not very important triangular panel of St. Agnes in the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, U. S. A. (1). The figure is, however, very beautiful, and one in which something of the Ducciesque form and feeling has been preserved.

A charming panel, very characteristic of this manner, is the enthroned Madonna now in the Gallery of Siena (fig. 261). The lively Child, clasped in an unaffected embrace by His Mother, is unrolling a scroll; on a lower level four holy bishops kneel in adoration, and eight beautiful female saints stand at the sides of the throne. The wealth of decorative detail helps us to assign the panel to this early stage.

The lower half of a picture in the Lindenau Museum of Altenburg, the upper part of which represents the Crucifixion, strongly resembles the above-mentioned Madonna. The composition as well as the animation of the Child and the ornamental details, are very similar (2).

A small panel, which originally formed the centre of a triptych, in the Gallery of Siena (no. 184), is of simpler composition. The enthroned Virgin holds the little naked Child as He reaches toward the female saint, who, together with St. John the Baptist, forms the escort. An evangelist is depicted in a medallion above. Notwithstanding some slight points of difference between this and Ambrogio's most characteristic works, Mr. Perkin's opinion

(1) *J. H. Edgell*, *Un opera inedita di A. L.*, *L'Arte*, XVI, 1913, p. 206, and *Fogg Art Museum*, *Collection of mediaeval and Renaissance Paintings*, Cambridge (U. S. A.), 1919, p. 102.

(2) *Schmarzow*, *Festschrift zur Ehren des Kunsthist. Instituts in Florenz*, Leipzig, 1897, p. 153.



Fig. 261. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Madonna and saints. Accademia, Siena.

Photo Anderson.



Fig. 262. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Madonna. Platt Collection, Englewood, U.S.A.

that we have here a product of a very close follower of the master's seems to me hypercritical (¹).

This period in Ambrogio's artistic development is marked by the persistence of the vivacity which we noted in his earliest works, and the great beauty of the figures, which, although more monumental and plastic, remain graceful.

At the same time the artist has learned how to obtain wonderful effects in the representation of the third dimension; his thrones and interiors are no longer represented regardless of perspective and space.

A product of some importance, because it perhaps furnishes us with the link between the work of this little group and the somewhat later allegories in the Palazzo Pubblico, is a panel in Mr. Platt's collection at Englewood, originally in the Abbey church of S. Eugenio near Siena (fig. 262) (²). Here the increasing amplitude of the proportions is more marked but the spirit is more serene and the figures more placid, the result of a decrease in the minuteness of delineation. The Infant, for example, if compared with Ambrogio's earlier images, might be considered a little clumsy.

The series of frescoes which Ambrogio executed between the years 1331 and 1340 in the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena is certainly his chef-d'oeuvre. The paintings represent the Good and the Bad Government, and their consequences (³). Unfortunately they are badly damaged, even in part destroyed. The allegorical representations are somewhat complicated and clearly show the persistence of the mediaeval weakness for symbolism, which nowadays might be considered artificial and in bad taste, but a new element here is the fact that these representations are non-religious, being illustrative of civic institutions.

(¹) *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1908, p. 58.

(²) Published by *F. M. Perkins* in the *Rassegna d'Arte*, IV, 1904, p. 186 (De alcune opere poco note di A. L.) *Rassegna d'Arte*, XI, 1911, p. 4 (Dipinti italiana nella Raccolta Platt); *Art in America*, 1920, p. 209 (Some Sienese Paintings in American Collections).

(³) The signification of the allegories has been explained by *Vasari-Milanesi*, I, p. 527. *Giglioli*, L'Allegoria politica negli affreschi di A. L., *Emporium*, 1904. *Schubring*, Das Gute Regiment, *Zeitschr. für bildende Kunst*, 1902.

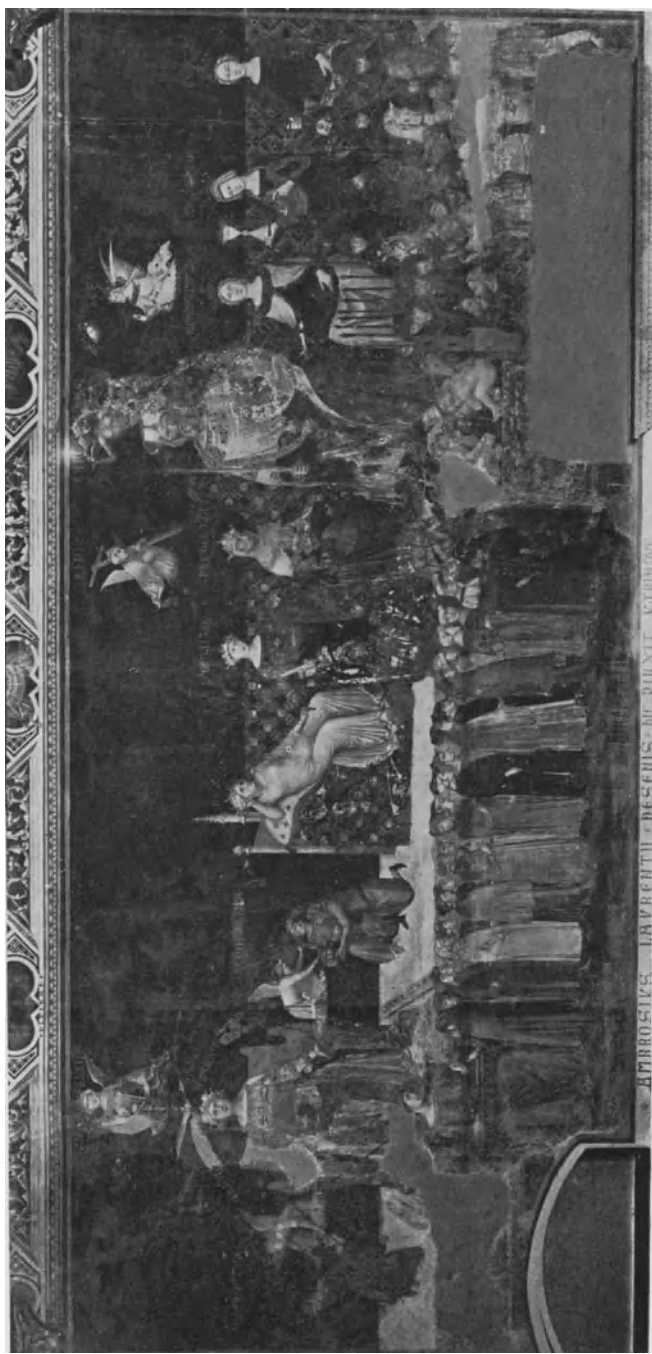


Fig. 268. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, The allegory of Justice and the Good Government, 1337—1340. Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.
Photo Lombardi.



Fig. 264. Justice, detail of fig. 263.

Photo Lombardi.

Justice and Good Government are represented on the one fresco (fig. 263). To the left we see, above, the half-length figure of Wisdom holding the Book of Laws and the Scales which, from below, the enthroned figure of Justice balances with both hands (fig. 264). In each of the scale pans stands a little angel; that on the left bends forward to crown one kneeling figure and to behead



PEACE

By Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

another, while that on the right, hands a lance to one and money to the other of the two imploring figures. A cord attached to the balance passes through the hands of Concordia, seated immediately below, and is handed by her to a procession of twenty-four men, who, in this way, help to keep the scales in equipoise (figs. 265 and 266). Concordia, who also holds a large wooden plane across her knee, and this same group of men, form the lower part of the fresco; above, to the right of Justice, the Good Go-



Fig. 265. Concordia, detail of fig. 263.

Photo Anderson.

vernment is depicted. An aged king (fig. 267), crowned and holding a mace and a shield with the image of the Madonna painted on it, is enthroned between six female figures. The latter are seated on the bench-like continuation of the throne and, according to the inscriptions, the three on the left are Peace (pl. X), Strength and Prudence, (fig. 268) while those on the right are Magnanimity, Temperance and Justice. Little half-length figures of Faith, Hope and Charity hover around the king's head. Each of these symbolical figures holds her own emblem. Below the three on the right, prisoners of war are being marched toward the king; they are guarded by soldiers, some of whom are mount-



Fig. 266. Detail of fig. 265.

Photo Anderson.

ed. The emblem of the town of Siena, two naked children suckled by a wolf, is represented at the feet of the king.

A white border below the fresco contains the inscription: "*Ambrosius Laurentii De Senis hic pinxit utrinque*".

Although it cannot be denied that the whole fresco is very impressive, I do not discover much beauty in the composition.



Fig. 267. The Good Governor, detail of fig. 263.

Photo Lombardi.

The large figures above the two uniform ranks below do not harmonize, and, as is often the case, the didactic element overrules the artistic; but this is true only in so far as the arrangement is concerned, for amongst the figures themselves we find some of the masterpieces of the Sienese school. Justice, facing the spectator, is an imposing and majestic image, and an excellent



Fig. 268. Prudence, detail of fig. 263.

Photo Lombardi.

representation of the virtue which she personifies. The others are not so well conceived, although many of them are very beautiful.

Concordia might have been made to seem somewhat more restful, but her figure could not have been better drawn or of nobler form. Pax, reclining on her couch, her head resting on the palm of her hand, is a figure worthy of the best period of Greek

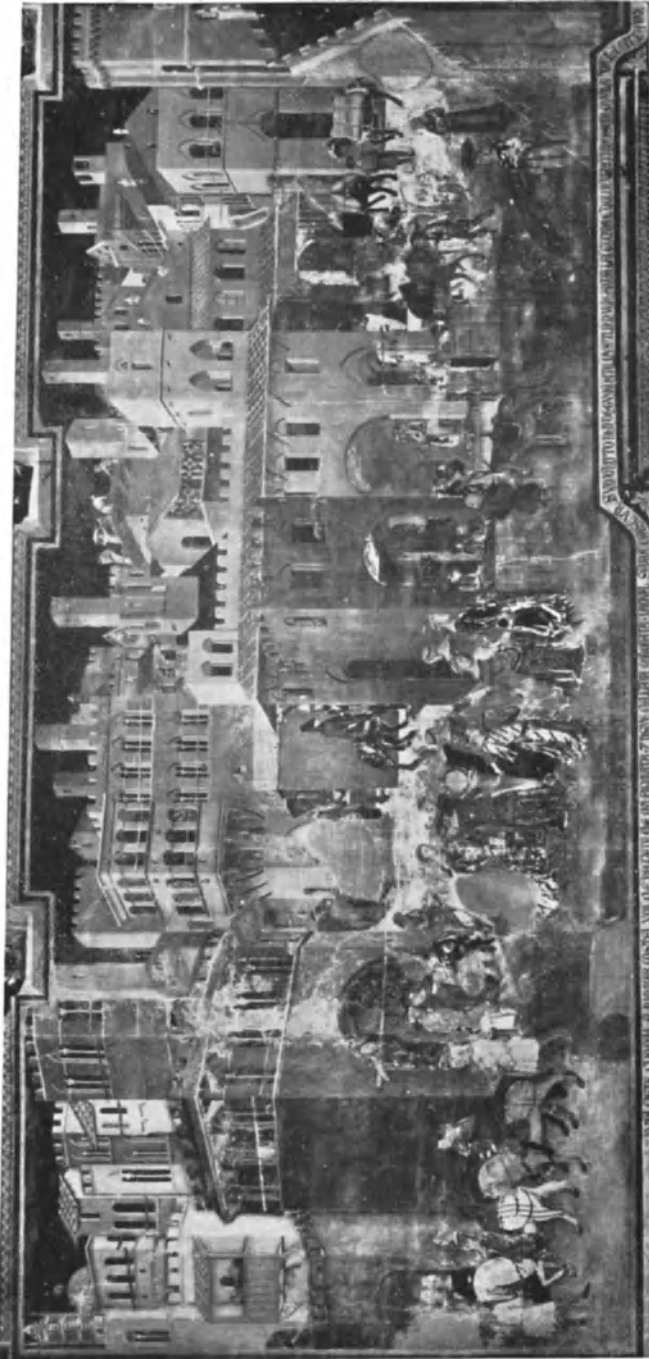


Fig. 269. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, the Results of the Good Government in town. Palazzo Pubblico, Siena. Photo Anderson.

sculpture. Her loose white robe reveals graceful outlines and her face is remarkably beautiful.

The five other virtues are less striking as is also the king, who personifies the Good Government; but all are excellent creations of an artist of real genius.

In two frescoes Ambrogio has represented the result of Good Government in town and country life. It is a glorification of material welfare as an outcome of peace, which the Sienese during this period maintained at any cost, sometimes even by unknighlyly expedients.

In the first, we see how the artist, and probably also the public opinion of the period, imagined the happy results of peace as affecting the existence of the citizens (fig. 269.) A great part of the representation is composed of important pieces of architecture, including numerous houses, with many towers, loggias and balconies. One such house is seen in the course of construction, with workmen busy on the roof. In the foreground, to the left, we see some people standing in a doorway, watching an arrogant lady on a white horse pass with an escort of servants, mounted and afoot. Some women, no doubt shopping, are seen within an archway behind, while farther back the members of a now much damaged group were probably similarly occupied. Near this we see two horsemen disappearing behind the corner of a house. More to the right are two large archways; over a counter in one of them a merchant sells his wares to a man who has just dismounted from a donkey, in the other a schoolmaster is depicted, teaching. On the extreme right donkeys and horses laden with goods are being brought into the town by peasants. Ambrogio has personified the joy with which peace filled the hearts in a group of young girls dancing in a graceful but rather stately manner; one of their number, in their midst, singing and beating on a tambourine (fig. 270). Obviously this little scene was meant to symbolize the careless joy of the peaceful days under Good Government, but with such surroundings it is somewhat incongruous; it is an allegory rather than a reality; and this strikes us all the more in the otherwise realistic surroundings.

The crenellated wall and gateway of the city separate this scene from the fresco of Peace in the country (fig. 271). Near the gate a noble lady on horseback followed by mounted servants, one of

whom holds a hawk, meets peasants driving their laden donkeys and pigs to the market (fig. 272). Along the entire length of the road are people going to, or coming from the city. The greater part of the picture is composed of a hilly landscape; castles and farms are dotted here and there and near them the inhabitants are seen at work. Some are galloping on horseback while others shoot with bow and arrow. Hovering in the left-hand upper cor-



Fig. 270. Young girls dancing, detail of fig. 269.

Photo Anderson

ner is an angel, symbolising "Securitas", who holds an inscription and a miniature gallows from which hangs a criminal.

Bad Government, or rather Tyranny, is again a more complicated allegory (fig. 273). A low crenellated wall running from left to right between two gateways forms a background to many of the figures. Enthroned in the centre is a sort of demon in human guise, but with horns and projecting teeth; in his hands he holds a knife and a cup, two instruments of murder, while under his feet lies a buck. Over his head is depicted a handsome figure of Pride, holding a yoke in one hand and resting the other on the hilt of her sword. To the left is Avarice, an old haggard woman, with wings, holding a coffer and a crook; to the right is Vanity,



Fig. 271. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Peace in the country. Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

admiring herself in a small mirror; she is a beautiful young girl but much of her beauty is destroyed by the falseness of her expression. The three figures seated to the left of the wicked ruler are Deceit, holding a staff in her clawlike hands; Treason, grasping a lamb-like monster, and Cruelty, an old woman inciting a serpent to curl round the body of a small naked child who is writhing in terror in her right hand. To the left of Tyranny are Fury,



Fig. 272. Hunters and peasants, detail of fig. 271.

Photo Anderson.

with the head of a wild boar, a human body, the legs of a horse and a wolf's tail; Discord, a human figure with a dress of two colours; on the white of one side is written the word "Si" and on the black of the other "No", and War, a soldier in a coat of mail with a helmet on his head, a large round shield in his left hand and a sword in his uplifted right. The prostrate figure of Justice lies under the feet of the Tyrant; the scales have been dragged from her and broken to pieces. On either side acts of a criminal nature are depicted.

The consequence of Tyranny is shown in much the same manner as that of Good Government, but the fresco is badly damaged.

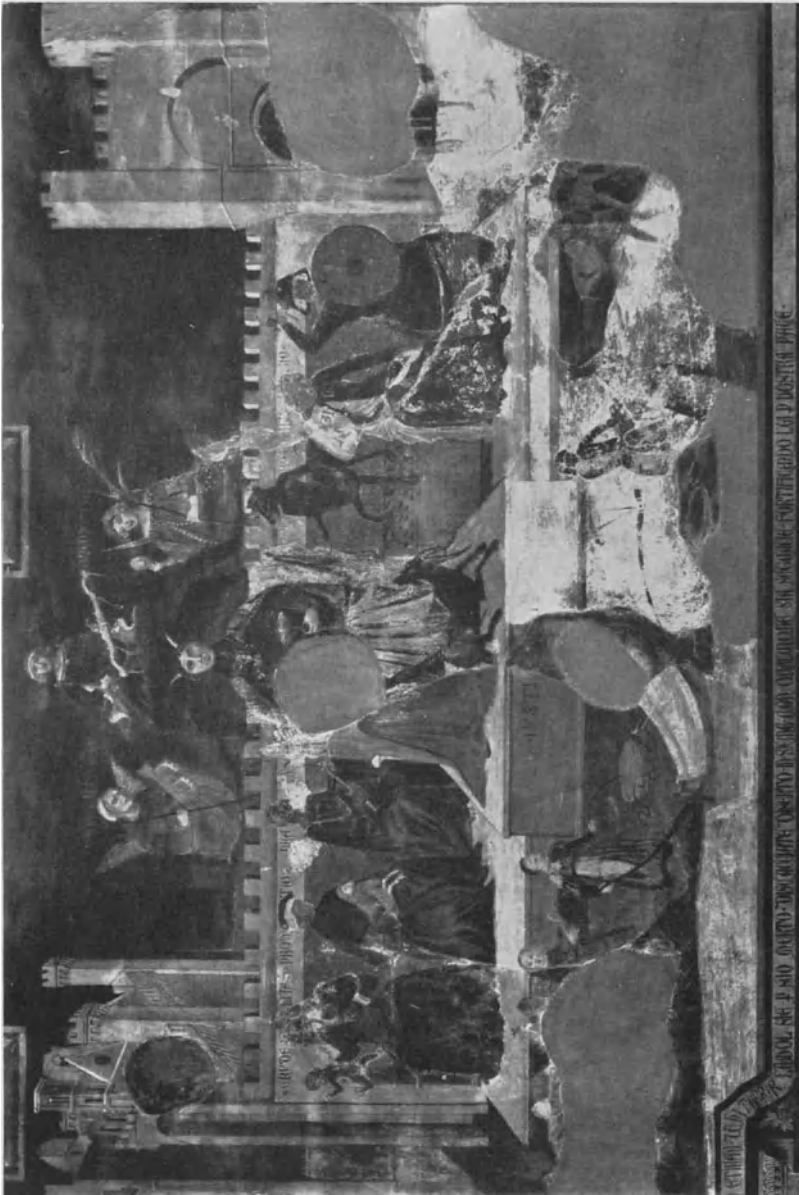


Fig. 273. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *The Allegory of the Bad Government*, 1337–40.
Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

We can distinguish men demolishing houses in the city, gate porters robbing the passers-by, dead bodies on the ground and soldiers preparing for a raid into the country districts. Hovering over the city is the awful figure of "Fear", an old haggard woman,



Fig. 274. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Summer. Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.

Photo Lombardi.

half naked, brandishing a sword and carrying an inscription.

The borders of these frescoes are highly ornamental and contain many symbolical and other figures in medallions. In those around the result of Good Government are half-length figures personifying the four seasons (figs. 274 and 275). Of the four sciences represented above, only three — Geometry, Astrology and Philosophy — remain. Those in the frame of the Despotic Government are tyrants, such as Nero, Caracalla, etc., while in the frame

of the sequel are seen Tubalcain, the signs of the Zodiac, and other figures.

There are many masterly figures in these allegories, which indeed must have impressed the Sienese public, absorbed as it was in internal politics. But we have no idea whatever as to how



Fig. 275. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Autumn. Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.

Photo Lombardi.

much of such decorative work is the painter's own invention, or how far the compositions were decided upon by those who commissioned the decoration. I do not think it likely that the subjects of such an important work were left entirely to the artist. No doubt, however, many of the details of the frescoes, and probably also much of their general structure, were left to Ambrogio, and Milanesi, in his interpretation of the allegories, expresses the

opinion that the master is also the author of the Italian verses in and around these representations. They all sing the praises of Good Government, condemning Tyranny, and are transcribed by Milanesi. It must be confessed that whereas the chief conception may have been the glorification of noble and upright principles, the love of comfort, bodily welfare, flourishing trade, a pleasurable life and a dislike of military exploits, may really have been the motives underlying the execution of these allegories.

Technically the work is full of inequalities, and personally I am inclined to believe that Ambrogio had some assistance; this, for example, is obvious in the female figures to the right of the good Monarch, for in comparison with the broad, majestic figures of Peace and Concordia opposite, they are very ordinary in quality. In the group of dancing maidens we see how the artist combined majesty with grace. Many of the smaller images, such as those near Justice or in the city and country scenes, remind us in form and attitude of Ambrogio's earlier productions, especially the St. Nicholas panel of about 1332. Again, it should be remarked that the increased rotundity of face and body and the sharp angular drawing — the latter apparently borrowed from Pietro and still more marked in the Presentation of 1342 — are not characteristics which we find in combination in subsequent phases of the artist's career. Very distinctive of Ambrogio's second manner are some of the male figures in the procession, not far from Concordia, who may be considered as typical of his earlier style.

The products of the last eight or ten years of Ambrogio's life, show a great diversity of quality.

On account of certain analogies, I think we should place near the frescoes of the Palazzo Pubblico a three-quarter length figure of the Madonna, the property of the infallible collector Lehman, New York (fig. 276) ⁽¹⁾. Here, as in the best figures of the Good Government, we find a combination of majesty and refinement of form. There is no trace of clumsiness in the grave, tender Mother who lovingly clasps the half-naked and somewhat anxious looking Babe.

The same cannot be said of the famous altar-piece of Massa Maritima (fig. 277) and I do not share the extraordinary enthu-

⁽¹⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, *Art. in America*, 1920, p. 209.



Fig. 276. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Madonna. Lehman Collection, New-York.

siasm which it has aroused in certain critics (¹). The *ensemble*

(¹) *G. Cagnola*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1902, p. 143. *F. M. Perkins*, *The Master-piece of A. L.*, *Burlington Magazine*, April 1904, believes it to be an early work.



Fig. 277. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Altar-piece. Massa Maritima.

Photo Alinari

certainly produces a magnificent decorative effect. The Madonna enthroned in the centre, presses the Child tenderly against her bosom, very much in the same attitude as in the picture in the Lehman collection. Of the four angels at the sides, two are throwing flowers at the central figures, and two hold the cushion of the throne. Lower down, at the side of the steps leading to the throne, kneel other six angels, the two nearest the Virgin swing-

ing censers, the others playing on musical instruments. Faith, Hope and Charity, whose names are inscribed, are seated on the steps. The sides of the panel are filled by dense groups of saints, on three different levels, the highest being that of the four terminals. Of many of these figures only segments of the haloes and occasionally parts of the heads are visible above and behind. Although we can pick out many beautiful faces in this multitude, the figures on the whole are ungainly. The Child in the Virgin's arms is so fat and ugly that it is almost deformed. The Madonna herself is more clumsy than majestic; so too are the angels throwing flowers; they put so much energy into the business that they look as though they were stoning somebody rather than performing an act of loving homage. Among the saints on either side there are also a number of heavy figures who stand rigidly packed together in a manner underserving of the term "composition". Perhaps, in reaction from what I believe to be unmerited praise, I have somewhat exaggerated my objections, for the picture is certainly not without a number of notable qualities; but these are to be found chiefly in the splendour of the colouring or the beauty of a few isolated faces and figures, like the three personifications of virtues on the steps of the throne.

About this time Ambrogio represented the same subject in his now rather damaged fresco in the Abbey of Montesepe near Siena (1). On the steps leading up to the Virgin's throne reclines the figure of Eva, holding a branch in one hand and a large inscription in the other. Angels carrying offerings of flowers approach from either side behind the back of the bench, on which two saints are seated. Two groups, each of five saints, are kneeling on the ground beneath.

A lunette in one of the lateral walls contains the two figures of the Annunciation. The angel, still quite visible, kneels in front of the Madonna, who was apparently depicted seated; but little more than her head and her hands, folded across her breast, has been preserved.

The dated work which chronologically follows the frescoes of the Palazzo Pubblico, is the Presentation in the Temple in the

(1) *Perkins*, op. cit., *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1904, p. 186. *De Nicola*, op. cit., *Vita d'Arte*, July, 1912.



Fig. 278. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, the Presentation in the Temple, 1342.
Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Anderson.

Uffizi (fig. 278), originally in the Spedaletto di Monna Agnesa. The proceedings take place within a curiously designed Gothic church which forms the background. The building is cut into sections, and both the interior and exterior are shown. Three arcades with mosaic decoration rest on two slender pillars surmounted by two statuettes. Above these arcades the roof is adorned with human figures and animals holding garlands, numerous small dragons, and some more ornamental mosaic. Behind the central part rises the cupola. The whole is surrounded by a border of Gothic design; in the spandrels of the larger central part are the busts of two prophets, holding unrolled scrolls, while the lower tier on either side contains a seraph.

The interior of the church is executed with infinite care and strict observance of detail, such as we find in none of Ambrogio's other works. The figures stand near the altar, and a triumphal arch, decorated with a mosaic of the Lord in a mandorla borne by two angels, divides that part from the deep apse behind. Perspective effects are obtained by the position of the columns with their Corinthian capitals, the vaulted ceiling, the width of the arches and other architectural details.

The group around the altar is more numerous than usual in representations of this subject by Ambrogio's predecessors. In the centre we see the high priest, in sacerdotal vestments, conversing amicably with a colleague, who stands on the high priest's right hand. Farther to the right, and partly hidden behind a pilaster, is depicted another bearded old man. In front of the altar, but on the left, the Virgin stands with a napkin in her hands, ready to receive her Son; she is followed by two unhaloed companions, behind whom we see St. Joseph. He carries no offering of turtle doves or pigeons, as he should, according to an old iconographical tradition. On the right the aged Simeon carries in his covered hands the Child Jesus, Who, sucking His finger, raises His eyes towards heaven. Further to the right the prophetess Anna holds a Latin inscription in one hand, pointing with the index finger of the other hand in the direction of the Infant Christ.

The appearance of the Madonna and of her two companions is very characteristic of this late phase of Ambrogio's career, but it is nevertheless curious that in none of Ambrogio's other works do we find this profusion of decorative detail or this tendency to

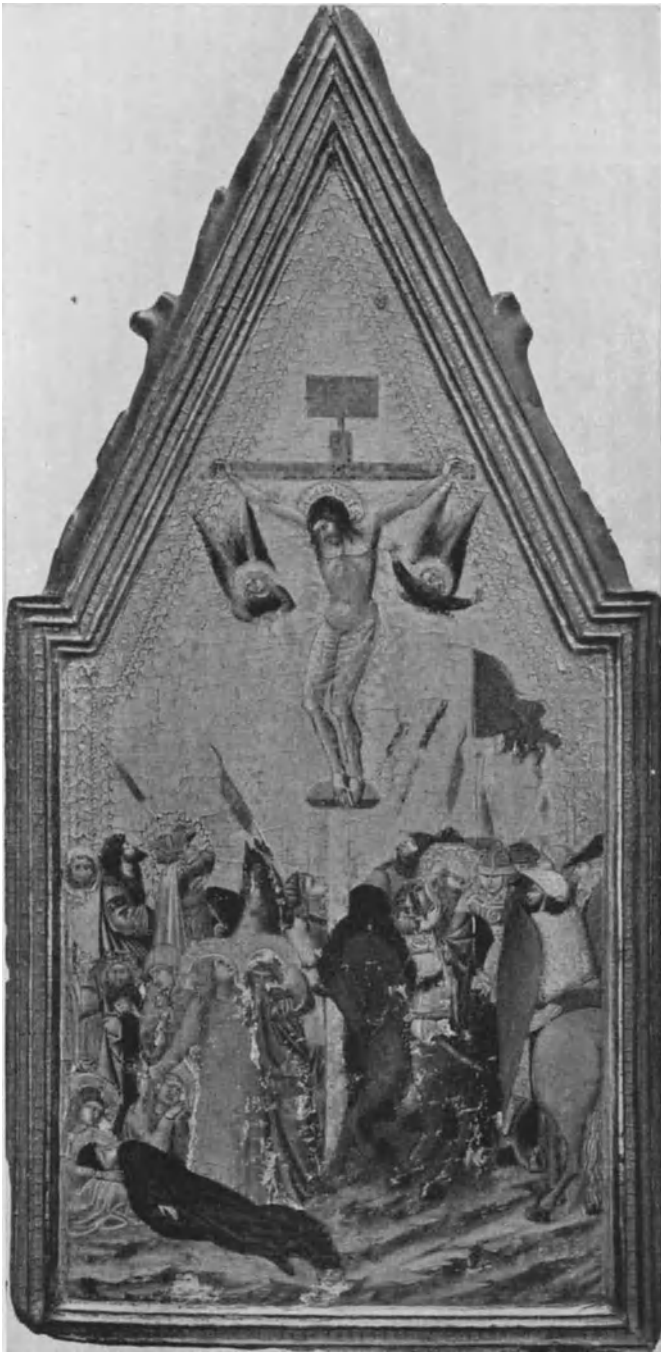


Fig. 279. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, the Crucifixion. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, U.S.A.

a miniature-like minuteness. The ornate interior of the church, the beautiful inlaid altar, the rich vestments of the high-priest, the embroidered borders on almost all the cloaks and veils, and the detailed drawing of the faces, in which every wrinkle of the more elderly actors in the scenes is shown, differentiate this work from all Ambrogio's other products, and reveal to us a manner of the artist's with which we should otherwise have been unacquainted. The Babe is of the same lively type and appearance as in Ambrogio's earliest works.

With this somewhat extraordinary manifestation of Ambrogio's art, I think we might class a small but exceedingly beautiful central panel of a triptych in the Fogg Art Museum at Harvard (fig. 279), which, a short time ago, was in the collection of Mr. Paul J. Sachs, and originally belonged to Mr. C. Fairfax Murray, who, like some other critics, attributed it to Pietro Lorenzetti. I think Mr. Perkins was right in re-establishing it as a work of Ambrogio's⁽¹⁾, the majestic proportions of whose figures are here combined with the sharpness of feature borrowed from the elder brother. Around the crucified Christ hover two angels; below the Cross is an excited mob, with mounted soldiers in its midst. The Virgin lies prostrate on the ground, grief and nervous agitation expressed in her features and attitude.

I think this Crucifixion should be placed between the Presentation of 1342 and the altar-piece with the mourners gathered about the Lord's body, which is now in the Accademia of Siena, and is described below, but much nearer in date to the Presentation, for in my opinion the latter must be one of Ambrogio's last creations.

The artist's last authentic work, the Annunciation of 1344 in the Gallery of Siena (figs. 280 and 281), is executed in quite a different spirit: the majesty of the two figures forming a marked contrast with the utter simplicity of the composition.

The angel on the left kneels on one knee before the Madonna, holding a palm-branch in the left hand and pointing backwards with the thumb of the other, in much the same manner as Pietro's Madonna at Assisi. The grave angelic head is crowned with a garland of leaves. Each figure stands in a separate division of a

⁽¹⁾ *Perkins, Art in America, 1920, p. 206.*

small arcade, a slender column dividing one section from the next. The Madonna, with her arms folded on her bosom, and an expression of a mystical sweetness on her face, looks upward in the direction of a small figure of the Saviour which occupies the



Fig. 280. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Annunciation, 1344. Accademia, Siena.

Photo Lombardi.

central spandrel. The Virgin is seated on a chair of simple but very beautiful design; a prayer-book lies open on her knee. Although this panel is not in a very good state of preservation, there are still many qualities to admire in the two majestic figures, well worthy of the hand which executed the frescoes in the Sala dei Nove. The colours are warm and harmonious, the taste for decorative detail, so marked in the previous panel, is here limited



Fig. 281. Detail of fig. 280.

Photo Lombardi.

to the ornamental borders of the garments and a figured design on the arms and front of the angel's dress. The floor is tastefully but simply tiled and the Virgin's chair sparsely inlaid. This panel constitutes an excellent indication as to Ambrogio's final manner, which is not entirely devoid of heaviness. The figure of the Madonna is too mature and the angel's is not that of the usual celestial

messenger; the face is uncomely and the gesture awkward. The general tendency in this panel is toward massiveness.

We possess yet another painting which Ambrogio executed in 1344, but on account of its nature it is of no great importance. It is the illuminated cover of the register of "Entrata e Uscita" of that year in the State Archives of Siena (fig. 282).

The principal figure personifies the Good Government and is conceived in the same manner as in the allegorical fresco to be seen in the city hall. The king is seated on a throne, the back of which is draped with a figured cloth; he holds a sceptre in one hand and in the other a circular shield, on which is engraven the enthroned Virgin, with a figure seated on either hand. Again we see, at the feet of the monarch, the emblem of Siena: a she-wolf suckling two little naked babes. The officials whose names appear in the inscription below are those who ordered the frescoes in the Palazzo Pubblico. Although majestic in spirit as well as in general aspect, we do not find here any trace of heaviness in the proportions, as in the Annunciation of the same year. This miniature betrays a closer connection with the Crucifixion in the Fogg collection. One should observe the extraordinary spirit and emotion with which the artist has depicted the sturdy yet graceful little figures on the steps of the throne. As Mr. Langton Douglas observes, this little work is so well preserved that it reveals to us, better than any other, Ambrogio's ability as a colourist.

Comparing these two products of one and the same year, we come to the conclusion that toward the close of his career Ambrogio Lorenzetti must have followed two quite distinct manners; at the same time, we must not forget that the nature of the second work might have caused him to employ a different technique.

Notwithstanding certain analogies with the Madonna in the Platt collection, I am of opinion that the polyptych from the Sta. Petronilla convent, now in the Gallery of Siena (no. 77), is a creation of the artist's declining years (fig. 283). This work shows us, in the centre, the half-length figure of the Madonna with the Child, between the figures of SS. Dorothy and Mary Magdalene; below these three panels is a long narrow picture of the Faithful mourning over the dead Christ, while the end panels of the polyptych contain full-length figures of the two SS. John. Two separate



Fig. 282. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Allegory of the Good Government, 1344.
 Archives, Siena. Photo Anderson.

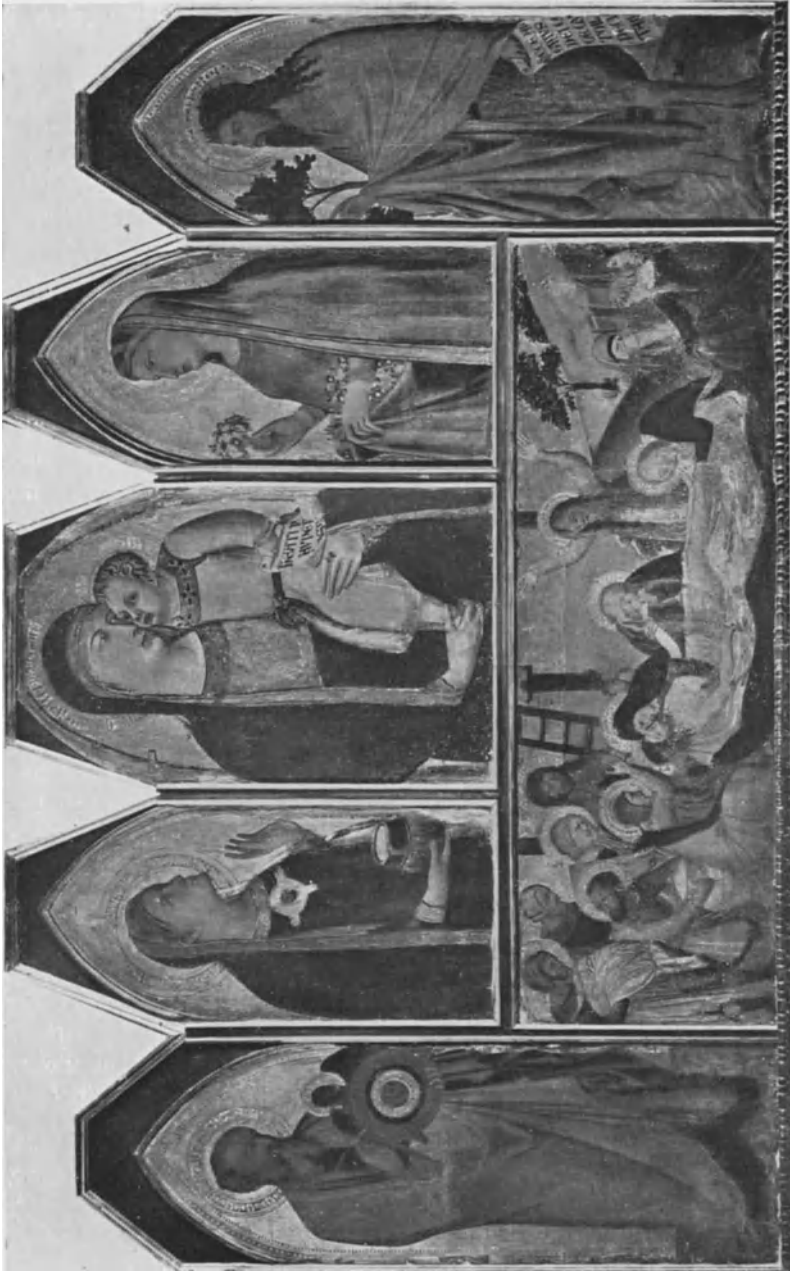


Fig. 283. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Altar-piece. Accademia, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

pinnacles, now nos. 89 and 91 of the same Gallery, represent St. Augustine and St. Antony.

The technical merits of this work are considerable, but we do not find the beautiful features of the painter's earlier productions. The figures are very broad, especially those of the two female saints; St. Dorothy, the better modelled of the two, holds a lapful of flowers with one hand and a little nosegay in the other. St. Mary Magdalene carries a vase in her right hand and raises the other as if in awe; her broad figure lacks all relief, while her features remind us of the Madonna in the Presentation of 1342. The Madonna, with a tenderly affectionate gesture, holds the face of the Child against her own; an action with which her somewhat austere expression is not in harmony. The pudgy features of the Babe resemble those of the Infant Christ in the Massa Maritima picture. The figures of the male saints are well drawn; but the scene, which as it were, forms the predella to the three central panels, is the finest part of this polyptych. The figures are better drawn and more plastic in appearance; the grouping is good, and the ensemble produces a strong dramatic effect. In the landscape behind the figures, we see the lower parts of the three crosses and of a ladder, and a hillside with a few scattered trees. The Lord's body, laid out on a sheet, is surrounded by five holy women; the Madonna kisses His face, while two of the other women kiss His feet and His right hand, and two make excited gesticulations. Five men approach from the left with balm and the winding-sheet, while to the right three unhaloed women sit weeping on the ground. Ambrogio has depicted more figures than we generally see in representations of this subject ⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Other works attributed to Ambrogio are: *Siena*, Accademia, no. 161, half-length figure of the Madonna, considerably repainted, to which side panels of a later date have been added; Carmine church, righthand wall, head of the Madonna from an Annunciation (*Rassegna d'Arte*, 1904, p. 191, attributed to Pietro); S. Pietro alle Scale, in the sacristy, a female saint and an archangel and high above the altar SS. Peter and Paul; the four together form an ensemble. They are very much restored and are probably early works. *In the region of Siena: Pomposa*, near Murlo, Madonna (Perkins). *Outside Italy: Vienna*, Ourousoff collection, Holy Family; Lichtenstein collection, St. Agnes, (Oesterreich. Kunstschaetze herausg. von W. Suida I. Jahrg., Wien, 1910). *London*, National Gallery, nos. 3071 and 3072, two heads, fresco fragments, I believe of the same origin as no. 1417 mentioned

Ambrogio was probably more refined and more impressionable than his brother, Pietro. He was eclectic and his work reflects the manner of several other artists. The discovery of the Madonna of 1319 shows that at the outset of his career Ambrogio was simply influenced by Giotto, for he not only imitated the great Florentine's more robust figures, but also his plastic effects and his rendering of the third dimension — depth — which at that time was depicted in a wholly different and much less realistic manner by the members of the Siense school.

That without Pietro's influence Ambrogio would also have been a great artist is proved by his earlier works; in which this influence is still entirely absent. However, I do not think the facts entitle us to state — as many have done — that Ambrogio influenced his brother; the contrary is, and rightly, the more general belief. From 1331, when he executed the frescoes in Siena, onwards, we find in Ambrogio's paintings many definite features of Pietro's art; these are to be seen chiefly in the dramatic spirit, the types, and the precise drawing of the faces, with their realistic

on p. 390. Some works wrongly attributed to Ambrogio Lorenzetti are: — *Rome*, Vatican Gallery, panels of the story of St. Laurence, which I ascribe to Bernardo Daddi (Meyenburg and others); *Aix en Provence*, diptych, Nativity of Christ and Adoration of the Magi (Meyenburg), which I define as possibly by Naddo Cequarelli; *Berlin*, panel from a predella with a scene from the life of St. Dominic, which I also attribute to Daddi (Venturi). Important school works of Ambrogio or Pietro are: — *Siena*, Accademia, no. 54, triptych, Crucifixion, between the Magdalene and another female saint, with figures on the terminals; no. 317, Nativity of the Virgin, both inferior works; Società di Pie Disposizione, Madonna between two angels with two adoring saints and the Saviour above, very near Ambrogio in his second manner (*Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1905, p. 50); S. Martino, fresco in the tower, Nativity and Baptism of a child, with Ducciesque elements; Palazzo Pubblico, panel of the Annunciation (free copy of the panel in the Gallery) with a half-length figure of the Lord in a medallion above; *Milan*, Ambrogiana, ivory diptych, on which the figures of the Lord, the Virgin, St. John and other saints are painted. *London*, Benson collection, Crucifixion and Entombment; *Cambridge*, Fitzwilliam Museum, no. 562, head of Christ; *Berlin*, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, nos. 1085 and 1086, scenes from the lives of the holy hermits Paul and Antony; no. 1428, Crucifixion; no. 1100, Virgin and Child, now in the Gallery at Bonn on loan; no. 1427, Crucifixion, on loan to the Gallery of Aix-la-Chapelle. *Paris*, Cluny museum, no. 1673, small panel of the Madonna resembling Pietro's early manner.

expressions and no one can deny that Pietro was the first to introduce these factors.

The resemblance which, from a certain moment onwards, may be observed in the works of the two brothers, is thus due to Ambrogio's gradual adoption of Pietro's style; but at the outset we find in Ambrogio's work no trace of Ducciesque elements; in fact, we have no reason to believe that he was ever to any extent influenced by Duccio, whereas Pietro, in his earliest years, was a true follower of this great artist.

The Giottesque origin of Ambrogio's art can be detected in almost all his works and explains the monumental proportions which differentiate his products from Pietro's.

There is a certain number of Ambrogio's figures, such as the principal images in the allegories, the Madonna in the Presentation in the Temple, the Virgin in the Annunciation of 1344, and the two saints on the laterals of the polyptych of Sta. Petronilla, which, in type and outline, might be classified as Giottesque rather than Sienese. His sense of decoration, not only manifest in the ornamental details of his panels, but also in the general spirit of his frescoes, is purely Sienese. Very different from the small and concise narrative wall-paintings of the Florentines are the large works of Ambrogio and his contemporaries. Like arras, they cover entire walls with one beautiful figure after another, without conveying much idea of where they start or come to an end, but they are highly ornamental, and ornament is always the chief factor in the art of Siena. These large compositions, never thought of by Duccio and his real followers, were first produced by the Lorenzetti and Simone Martini.

The latter artist was another of those whose influence was felt by Ambrogio, especially at an early stage of his career. A softness in the expression of these Madonnas which I have placed after his first Florentine period, the grace of the slender figures, the Gothic freedom of line appearing here and there in the draperies, and even a certain similarity in the features, all go to prove that amongst the many forms of art which the eclectic Ambrogio followed, we must include that of his great contemporary, Simone. This influence is manifest in the allegorical frescoes in the Sala dei Nove. The medallions in the borders, however, are executed in quite an impressionistic manner, and one very different from

the style of the allegories themselves. None the less, the types confirm our belief that this part of the decoration is also from the hand of Ambrogio, and we can only surmise that the change in technique and the pronounced chiaroscuro were the result of a sudden and capricious desire on the part of the artist to obtain a marked plastic effect. As I have already remarked, this difference in technique does not infer successive phases in Ambrogio's career, for the most angular figures are found together with extremely rotund ones.

Ambrogio's compositions are superior to, and more original than Pietro's. In the Crucifixion in the Fogg Museum as well as in the scene of the Faithful mourning over the dead Christ in the Petronilla panel, the artist does not restrict his compositions to those established by iconographical tradition. The fresco of the Pope receiving St. Louis is not only original but daring in composition, for the artist has succeeded in depicting four parallel rows of figures without any monotony, thus achieving a perfect solution of the problem of successive planes, which in this instance was not an easy one.

Ambrogio, like his elder brother, shows us an excellent handling of perspective in his interiors, one of the few exceptions being the picture of the martyrdom of the Franciscan monks at Ceuta. He even surpasses Pietro in his arrangement and distribution of light, by which he obtains better effects. In the panels, illustrating events from the life of St. Nicholas, the contrast of light and shade in the scene within the church, and the varying illumination of the indoor and outdoor scenes in the representation of St. Nicholas casting his gift through the window to the poor man, is really masterly. A skilful gradation of the light in the St. Louis fresco in S. Francesco, Siena, increases the depth of the vaulted ceiling and the darkness of the chancel behind the well-lit altar in the Presentation of 1342 adds to the impression of depth.

If the view of the city in the frescoes of the Palazzo Pubblico produces the impression of stage scenery, the presentment of the distant planes of the landscape, on the other hand, surpasses even that of Pietro, making it all the more likely that the two landscape panels in the Accademia are by the latter and not by his younger brother, to whom they have been sometimes attributed. Like Pietro, Ambrogio has more feeling for the beauty of an extensive

prospect with distant horizons than for nature objects in themselves. In this fresco infinitely more importance is given to the landscape than to the very few but excellently drawn figures. Again the effect of distance is obtained by the subtle transitions and variations of light much more than by the differing dimensions of near and remote objects, which the artist has observed less strictly.

Ambrogio Lorenzetti must have been a religious thinker, hence his taste for allegory and symbolism. This is revealed not only in the elaborate representations of the Good and the Bad Government, in the composition of which he was probably to a certain extent restricted, but also in the figures of the theological Virtues at the feet of one of his Madonnas, and the figure of Original Sin in the personification of Eve crouching at the foot of the throne before the Child Redeemer and thereby fixing the attention on the significance of the Babe on His Mother's knee. These are figures by no means common in representations of the Madonna, and point to the probability that Ambrogio was a mystic philosopher as well as a great painter.

The Lorenzetti had a certain influence, as we shall see later, on certain of the minor masters of the second half of the 14th century, such as Bartolo di Fredi, Lippo Vanni, Luca di Tomme, Giacomo di Mino, but we cannot speak of the actual formation of a school. The reason of this may be explained by the fact that after the Ducciesque influence had passed, the pictorial output of Siena was almost entirely dominated by Simone Martini, a more popular artist than either Pietro or his brother. We have proof of Simone's greater importance not only in the fact that several painters gradually abandoned the Lorenzetti manner to adopt Simone's, but also that Pietro and Ambrogio themselves were, at one stage, considerably influenced by Simone's art.

A true disciple, an actual follower of the brothers Lorenzetti, is Paolo del Maestro Neri, of whom mention is found between 1343 and 1382 ⁽¹⁾. The first of these dates is that of the completion of the only authentic work of his which we now possess; the series of frescoes in the two cloisters of Lecceto. The subjects chosen by

⁽¹⁾ *Milanesi*, Doc. Sen., I, p. 30.

the artist are greatly varied, the chief being the broad road to Hell and the means of Salvation. The former shows us many persons of vicious habit devoting themselves to all sorts of occupations which lead to Hades, as depicted at the end of the road. On the other hand, Christian Charity and the fulfilment of religious duties, represented by the Sacraments, are the graces which pave the way to Heaven. Some hunting scenes and frescoes of war on land or sea have no connection with these didactic paintings. The second cloister is decorated with a cycle of paintings illustrating the lives of holy hermits.

These frescoes, of which the first series seems to have inspired Fra Filippo of Lecceto in the conception of his celebrated moralising writings⁽¹⁾, reveal the artist's great facility of design and an extraordinary gift for depicting lively expression rather than acute sense of beauty.

⁽¹⁾ *Heywood*, *The Ensamples of Fra Filippo da Siena*, Siena, 1901.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MINOR MASTERS OF THE LATER XIV CENTURY.

ANDREA VANNI ⁽¹⁾.

Andrea Vanni played a certain rôle in the political history of Siena, and amongst the documents relating to him several refer to his political career alone, without mention of his artistic activities.

The date of his birth is unknown, and I find no good reason why Milanesi should assume it to have been 1332; a date, however, not entirely impossible, since his father, Vanni, married Giacoma di Vanuccio in 1329. Andrea had two brothers, Francesco and Cristoforo, both painters, and his wife's name was Piera ⁽²⁾. It does not seem likely that Andrea could have been mentioned as painter and "valet" to the Queen of Naples as early as 1354, although it is recorded that his name and this date were found at the foot of a panel of the Madonna, which the Queen commissioned for the chapel of the Castle of Casaluca. It was still there in the 18th century long before which time the building had been transformed into a monastery ⁽³⁾.

Andrea seems to have entered upon his political and public life in 1368, when he was a member of the party that chased

⁽¹⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, *Andrea Vanni*, *Burlington Magazine*, August 1903. *G. De Nicola* in *Thieme-Becker, Künstler Lexikon*, I, p. 464. *R. van Marle*, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

⁽²⁾ These facts as well as most of the following data, have been published by *Milanesi*, *Doc. Sen.*, I, p. 304 et seq.

⁽³⁾ The inscription ran: *Andreas Varris* (sic) *de Sennis, Magister pictor et domesticus familiarissimus Dominae Joannae Reginae Hierusalem et Siciliae me pinxit Anno 1354*. *D. da Siderno*, *Historia del real Castello di Casaluca*, Naples, 1622, p. 70. *P. Costa*, *Rammentagione istoria dell'effigie de Sta. Maria de Casaluca*, Naples, 1709, p. 172. *E. Bertaux*, *Sta. Maria di D. Regina e l'arte Senese a Napoli*, Naples, 1899, p. 141.

the nobles from the city. He sat on the City Council in 1370, 1372 and 1380. In 1371 he was Gonfalonier of the St. Martin quarter; in 1376 Rector of the Opera del Duomo and proveditor of the Biccherna, and in 1379 he was "Capitano del Popolo"; while he occupied less important posts in 1363, 1368, 1369 and 1373⁽¹⁾.

The City of Siena sent him as ambassador to the Pontifical Court; in a letter of the 17th February 1372, written at Pisa, he speaks of the difficulties which he and his three companions encountered on the road to Avignon. The following year he was sent on a mission to Florence, while in 1378 he was elected one of the syndics whose duty it was to choose a senator. Six dated letters reveal the fact that he acted as envoy to Naples during the years 1383, 1384 and 1385⁽²⁾. In these letters he sadly complains that whereas he has left his workshop and all his interests in Siena to serve his city, that same city of Siena leaves him without money in foreign parts. There is no doubt, however, that during his sojourn in Naples he did not entirely lay aside his brush, for not only has a picture by his hand been found in that city, but we know that he left Naples for Sicily, in order to paint there, as a certain Francesco Bruni explains in a letter of the 11th February 1385; he further adds that, on account of Andrea's absence, he is prevented from delivering to the Pope a certain message with which the city of Siena had charged him.

A remarkable factor in the life of our political painter is the friendship which existed between him and St. Catharine of Siena. Amongst the letters of the saint, there are three addressed to Andrea Vanni⁽³⁾, and from their contents, it seems likely that they were written when Andrea was a member of the municipal council. It is not surprising that St. Catherine, who took such a keen interest in the Papal policy, should correspond with the envoy whom Siena elected to send to the Court of the Popes. As regard Andrea's activity as a painter, we have the following record:

⁽¹⁾ *S. Borghesi e L. Banchi*, Nuovi documenti per la storia dell'arte Senese, Siena, 1898, p. 54.

⁽²⁾ *Milanesi*, op. cit., pp. 295, 297, 298, 300 and 302, and *Borghesi e Banchi*, op. cit., p. 54.

⁽³⁾ *Lettres de Ste. Cathérine de Sienne*, translated from the Italian by E. Cartier, 2nd ed., II, Paris, 1886, pp. 38, 43 and 46.

In 1353 he, together with Bartolo di Fredi, opens a workshop which he rents from the Casa della Misericordia, at the rate of 8 guilders yearly. His name appears on the list of the members of the "Arte dei pittore" of Siena for the year 1355, and we find it also in the "Libro delle Capitadini dell'Arte" of 1363 ⁽¹⁾. In 1370 Andrea and Francesco Vanni — Andrea's brother — are paid what is still owing to them for painting three chapels in the Cathedral. This same year he is paid for decorating a façade near the Crocifisso church and, together with Francesco da Venezia, the vault of the dome. In 1372 he is paid for painting a banner for the quarter of which he had just been officiating as gonfalonier, and in 1375, while at Naples, he is entrusted by Count Raimondo del Balzo with certain decorations in the church of Castello di Casaluce. The following year, however, we find him back in Siena, and in 1380 he receives payment for repainting the Madonna and Child and other figures on the façade of the Cathedral opposite the hospital. His name is again mentioned in the list of the members of the "Arte", which was first kept in 1389 ⁽²⁾. In 1398 he is paid a small sum for an Annunciation, and a year later, 30 golden guilders for some paintings over the doors of the Cathedral and six golden guilders for the decoration of the chapel of S. Giacomo Interciso in the same building. Andrea's friend, Cristofano Guidini, who was the godfather of one of his sons, commissioned him to paint, in the same chapel, a portrait of St. Catherine, and scenes from the life of St. James ⁽³⁾.

Tizio, in his "Historiae Senensis", the manuscripts of which are preserved in the City Library of Siena, offers us some further items of information, asserting that he copied the facts from a note-book written in the painter's own hand ⁽⁴⁾.

In 1379 Andrea painted a picture for the altar of St. Sebastian in the church of S. Martino, while the frescoes in the chapel of S. Giacomo Interciso are referred to the year 1400. Andrea's own note-book further records that in this same year he received

⁽¹⁾ *Milanesi*, Doc. Sen., I, pp. 31 and 49. *Manzoni*, Statuti e Matricole, pp. 109 and 113.

⁽²⁾ *Milanesi*, op. cit., I, p. 40, and *Manzoni*, op. cit., p. 110.

⁽³⁾ Ricordi di Cristofani Guidini, Arch. Stor. Sen, IV, 1st, p. 39 and *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, III, p. 128.

⁽⁴⁾ *Milanesi*, Doc. Sen., I, pp. 305—306.

100 golden guilders for an altar-piece in S. Stefano, Siena; and this piece of information is of particular value and interest, as it concerns an extant picture.

Milanesi, in speaking of Andrea's work in general, says that a panel of 1396 in the church of the "Alberino" beyond the Porta Ovile has been lost ⁽¹⁾, but the Gallery of Siena possesses a panel by Andrea Vanni — the Crucifixion between two prophets — which originally belonged to this church. It is not at all clear, however, how Milanesi arrived at the date of 1396, which, other things apart, is quite consistent with the style of the painting.

Milanesi also tells us, without quoting any source of information that Andrea died about 1414.

Since the discovery of the triptych signed by Andrea Vanni during his stay in Naples, I have to some extent modified my judgment as to the chronology of his works. At first I concluded that the art of Simone Martini had exercised a gradually increasing influence over Andrea's art ⁽²⁾, but I now believe that he was most affected by this great painter's manner at the outset of his career, while a certain degree of rigidity appears in the drawing and composition of his later works. If this theory be accepted, the dates suggested for the panel from the "Alberino" church and St. Stephen's altar-piece are quite in conformity with it. On account of the rather slow and partial development of Andrea's art, it is not easy to construct an exact chronology of the eighteen works which I think may be attributed to him. A fairly clear distinction, however, can be made between those works in which some of the beauty of Simone's art is reflected, and those in which a certain hardness of outline and rigidity of form exclude a similar charm. On the whole his work may be divided into three principal phases, for between the two manners above-mentioned we find a transitional manner in which various factors reminiscent of Simone's art are in some degree disguised by the first signs of rigidity.

The defects of a youthful work are manifest in a half-length figure of the Madonna in the Berlin Museum (no. 1054) ⁽³⁾. The type is obviously borrowed from Simone, or, more precisely, from

⁽¹⁾ *Milanesi*, op. cit., p. 305.

⁽²⁾ *R. van Marle*, op. cit., p. 133.

⁽³⁾ *W. Suida*, *Rivista d'Arte*, 1907, p. 42.



Fig. 284. Andrea Vanni, Madonna. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Photo Mansell,

the works of Lippo, whose signed Madonna in the same Gallery bears a considerable resemblance to this panel. The lively Child, in His richly decorated robes, is playing with a little bird, a detail which the painter frequently repeats.

A certain vagueness of line and of composition only confirms our opinion that this is an early work.

Similar forms and proportions might once have been visible in the fresco of the enthroned Madonna in the church of S. Francesco, Siena. It is that — for there are two Madonnas by Andrea in this church — in the fourth chapel on the left of the choir; but it has been so extensively repainted that we cannot even be certain that it is a work of Andrea Vanni's.

Very similar in type to the Berlin Madonna, but a much more beautiful picture, is a panel of the Virgin enthroned, in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England (fig. 284). With both hands the Virgin supports the Child, Who again is holding a little bird. The figures here have much more life in them than we found in the Berlin panel, and the Child Jesus shows a strong resemblance to Simone's own work. There is a great profusion of decorative detail.

A half-length figure of the Madonna in the collection of Professor Lanz, Amsterdam, belongs no doubt to this early period of Andrea's activity.

A slightly more mature product is an enthroned Madonna in the church of S. Spirito, Siena (fig. 285) ⁽¹⁾. The Child, Who is borne upon his Mother's left arm, holds a little bird by a string, while an adorer is depicted at the foot of the throne. The proportions are slightly different, but the painter is still inspired by Simone, from whose pictures he seems to have copied the image of the Child. The mantle of the Madonna is entirely repainted.

The influence of Simone is still more obvious in the second Madonna in the church of S. Francesco, Siena (fig. 286), where it will be found in the chapel to the right of the choir. The figures are somewhat larger than in the previous picture and although time has dealt roughly with the colouring — the faces and hands having become almost black —, the picture is still very rich in decorative detail.

⁽¹⁾ *Langton Douglas*, note on *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, op. cit., III, p. 13, attributes it to Fei.



Fig. 285. Andrea Vanni, Madonna. S. Spirito, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

A panel, now the author's property, which at one time formed part of the Ramboux collection, is painted in the same manner. It represents the Blessed Andrea Gallerani (fig. 287), a benefactor of the poor of Siena; he is also depicted in a 13th century panel in the Gallery of Siena, where he is once more shown wearing a grey cloak and a little round cap. The holy man is here seen hold-



Fig. 286. Andrea Vanni, Madonna, S. Francesco, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

ing a rosary, and his facial expression strongly reminds us of Simone's most impressive works (1).

To the close of this early period in Andrea Vanni's career, I

(1) *F. M. Perkins, Rassegna d'Arte Senese, 1923, p. 61.*



Fig. 287. Andrea Vanni, Beato Andrea Gallerani. The Author's Collection.

think we may attribute the two panels, representing St. Peter and St. Paul, which have recently been presented to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (fig. 288) ⁽¹⁾. The precision and certainty with

⁽¹⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1904, p. 147. *R. van Marle*, *Art in America*, August 1922.



Fig. 288. Andrea Vanni, SS. Peter and Paul. Museum, Boston.

which they are executed do not point to Andrea's earliest years, but it is evident that the artist was still striving to attain the aesthetic and spritual ideals of Simone Martini.

Two panels, each containing a figure of the Annunciation (fig. 289) seem to point the way to those works which we may ascribe to Andrea's Neapolitan period. At one time they



Fig. 289. Andrea Vanni, Annunciation. Fogg Museum, Harvard University, U. S. A.

belonged to the Chigi-Saracini collection, Siena, but they now form part of the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard. The general arrangement is obviously borrowed from the famous Annunciation of 1333; not only is the attitude of the Virgin very similar, but that part of the angel's robe which floats behind falls into the same Gothic folds. Although the figures strongly remind us of the Madonna of S. Spirito, we find here the rudiments of that rigidity which, had it not formed the chief defect of Andrea's later works, might here have passed unnoticed.



Fig. 290. Andrea Vanni, Triptych. Clark Collection, New-York.

The same characteristics appear in a panel of the Virgin nursing the Child, in the S. Chiodi chapel, near the church of S. Donato. This picture, in type and feeling, seems to have been directly inspired by Simone, but again the figures are rather stiff.

The principal work of this transitional period is a triptych in the collection of ex-Senator W. A. Clark, New-York (figs. 290 and 291) ⁽¹⁾, and as this picture was discovered in Naples it may, with some certainty, be attributed to some date between 1375, when, as we have seen, Andrea passed a short time in that city, and 1385, when his diplomatic mission of two years' duration seems to have ended. I think it very likely that it was during the latter visit, in the period 1383—1385, that he executed this picture.

The work in question is a portable triptych, not of the usual Gothic shape, but rectangular. The central panel shows a dramatic representation of the Crucifixion, containing many figures, all revealing an unusual state of excitement and producing many realistic dramatic effects. On the left wing we see the Lord praying in the Garden of Olives, while below this He is speaking to St. Peter after the two remaining Apostles have fallen asleep. On the right is depicted the Descent into Hell; the Lord, entering, crushes Satan under the fallen door, and bending slightly forwards, grasps the hand of Adam, the foremost of a large group of kneeling figures, which entirely fill the cavern. The inscription under the central panel runs: "*Andreas Vannis de Senis me pinxit*".

This picture is wonderfully effective on account of the refined and minute execution of the small figures, but had the dimensions been larger their rigidity would have shocked the eye. As it is, this shortcoming is most obvious in the Crucifixion, above all in the three crucified figures, and it is only their very small size that prevents us from criticising this defect.

The hardness of outline and rigidity of form are more pronounced in a three-part altar-piece in the Gallery of Siena (no. 67), originally in the church of S. Pellegrino (fig. 292).

The figure of the archangel Michael, clad in a richly ornate suit

⁽¹⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, A Triptych by Andrea Vanni, *Art in America*, 1921, p. 180. Mr. Perkins expresses the opinion that the Annunciation in the Fogg Museum comes nearest to this painting, assigning it, however, to a later date, to which I cannot agree.



Fig. 291. Detail of fig. 290.



Fig. 292. Andrea Vanni, Triptych. Accademia, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

of armour and cloak, is enthroned in the centre, crushing the dragon underfoot. The less resplendent figures of St. Antony Abbot and the Baptist occupy the lateral panels, while on the central terminal we see the half-length figure of the Saviour, and at the sides those of the Virgin and the angel of the Annunciation.

The influence of Simone Martini, although still perceptible, especially in the type of the archangel, has become much weaker, and the hard angular folds have but little connection with this artist's graceful treatment of draperies.



Fig. 293. Andrea Vanni, St. Catherine of Siena and a Devotee.
S. Domenico, Siena.

Photo Anderson

There is a panel of a half-length figure of the Virgin with the Child, in a chapel behind the sacristy of the Cathedral of Perugia, also belonging to this transition period, but this picture has been so completely repainted that we can hardly say more than that it is a work of Andrea Vanni's.

The other pictures by this artist now known to us are products of his final phase; indeed, if we compare them with his earlier works, we might even call them products of his decadence. The hardness and stiffness, traces of which imperilled even his earliest works, have now become the predominating characteristics, and we can detect but a feeble reflection of Simone's art, limited, as a rule, to a faint resemblance in the general aspect of the figures.

I think the fresco of St. Catherine in the church of S. Domenico Siena (fig. 293) should be placed earlier than the two dated works of 1396 and 1400, but this again is considerably repainted. The saint is represented standing and holding a lily; she stretches out her hand to be kissed by an adorer, who kneels at her feet. St. Catherine has here no nimbus, probably because it was not until 1411 that she was canonized. In the features of the saint we still detect reminiscences of Simone's art.

A certain resemblance exists between this figure and the half-length figure of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, carrying her emblematical rose, in the Gardner collection, Boston (¹), but this small triangular panel, no doubt one of the terminals of a larger picture, has been executed in a somewhat hasty manner, as is frequently the case with such accessory panels.

The picture, which Milanese informs us was executed in 1396, in the "Alberino" church outside the Ovile gate, may, as I said before, be identified with one now in the Gallery of Siena (no. 114 fig. 294). Once more we have a picture divided into three parts; in the central panel the Lord is depicted, crucified, between the Virgin and St. John, Mary Magdalene kissing His feet. In each of the lateral panels is the figure of a prophet, while of two other prophets the head and shoulders are seen in the trifoliate ornaments which adorn the elaborate frame. The type and proportions of the Crucified and the figure of the Madonna show some resemblance to the figures of the signed panel in the Clark collec-

(¹) *R. van Marle*, *Art in America*, August 1922.

tion but nothing remains of the refined drawing and the beauty of form found in the latter; indeed the creator of these stiff and heavy figures can be regarded only as a second-rate artist.

In the large altar-piece of S. Stefano (fig. 295), Andrea's deca-



Fig. 294. Andrea Vanni, the Crucifixion and Prophets. Accademia, Siena.

Photo Lombardi.

dence becomes still more obvious. The best part of this work is the central panel of the Virgin with the Child, Who stands on her knee, holding a small bird. They form a charming picture, and one which reminds us largely of the work of Simone and Lippo Memmi; but four lateral saints – SS. James and Stephen on the left, SS. John the Baptist and Bartholomew on the right – are hard,



Fig. 295. Andrea Vanni, Altar-piece. S. Stefano, Siena.

Photo Alinari.

lifeless images, with large, round, expressionless eyes, and figures which might have been executed by any provincial artist. The only pleasing quality of these four panels is the rich decoration of the second and fourth figures. Above each of them is the head and shoulders of an Evangelist, while above the Madonna is a beautiful Annunciation, similar in type to that in the Fogg Art Museum. All these figures are of a much finer quality. The vertical sides of the frame are adorned each with three small

saints, and the terminals with figures of the same size; the central terminal contains a head and shoulders of Christ, so much effaced as to be hardly recognizable. These small representations of saints are, once more, of very inferior execution, and to what extent Andrea's art had degenerated is obvious when we compare the figures of SS. Peter and Paul in the apices with the panels recently acquired by the Boston Museum ⁽¹⁾. The variety of quality manifest in the different parts of this picture might lead one to infer that the painter was assisted by his pupils; but, on the other hand, we must remember that Andrea, who as early as 1353 had his own workshop, was in 1400 — forty-seven years later — probably more than seventy years of age, so that the only too evident defects of his later work may be due simply to advancing age.

Andrea Vanni, then, began his career as a follower of Simone Martini, and might have been, in his earliest years a pupil, if not of Simone himself at least of one of his immediate followers, such as Lippo Memmi, with whose works Andrea's first representations of the Virgin display many points of resemblance. Andrea remained faithful to this tendency, but does not seem to have been strong enough an artist to maintain the same high level after Simone's influence over the art of Siena began to wane, and his direct adherents had all disappeared. Andrea Vanni, who out-lived his contemporaries, was the last of Simone's immediate followers.

That the lack of subtle draughtsmanship which is noticeable even in his earliest productions became so unhappily conspicuous in his later works can only be explained by senile decadence. No external influence can be held accountable for this feature of Andrea's later works, and the similarity which may be observed between some of them — such as the Crucifixion from the "Alberino" church — and certain pictures of the brothers Lorenzetti may be regarded as fortuitous ⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ The predella is by another and much later hand, and may be attributed to Giovanni di Paolo.

⁽²⁾ An Annunciation in S. Pietro in Olive, Siena, was at one time universally ascribed to Andrea Vanni; but this attribution has been abandoned by practically everyone; it is obviously a picture of a later generation. As Mr. *Perkins* (*Art in America*, 1921, p. 183) tells us that he has largely

LIPPO VANNI ⁽¹⁾.

A certain number of documents concerning Lippo Vanni were published by Milanesi ⁽²⁾. The earliest was dated 1344, but since their publication Mr. Langton Douglas has found five others, all dating from the period 1341, and referring to his activity as miniaturist ⁽³⁾. The first document of those which Milanesi published also mentions that Lippo illuminated a liturgical book, for which work he was paid two florins and seven sous; shortly afterwards he borrowed a sum of money, giving this same book as security. In both instances he is referred to as "*Lippo miniatore*", as though the painting of miniatures were the only branch of art which he practiced. Dr. De Nicola has discovered another document, one of 1345, concerning some miniatures yet extant.

In 1352 Lippo painted a Coronation of the Virgin in an administrative apartment of the Biccherna; but in 1445 this was entirely repainted by Sano di Pietro. The composition, however, is the original one, and the old signature still exists: "*Lippus Vannis de Senis fecit hoc opus Anno Domini Millesimo trecentesimo LII*". Besides, it has been discovered from the archives that in payment for this fresco he received 85 livres, 16 sous and 8 deniers.

changed his opinion of Andrea Vanni's work since writing the already quoted article in the Burlington Magazine, I need not recapitulate those points concerning which I cannot agree with him. Other attributions which I believe to be erroneous are mentioned in my book on Simone Martini, p. 134. Many works which Cavalcaselle ascribes to him are really by Fei. Mr. Berenson in *Central Italian Painters*, p. 261, includes the following in his list of Andrea's works: — Madonna, Saints and Crucifixion in the Gallery of Altenburg; St. Anna with the Virgin, SS. Ursula and Agnes, in the Städelsche Kunst-Institut, Frankfort-on-Main; SS. James and John the Evangelist in the Gallery of Siena (nos. 113 and 312); a Madonna in the oratory of S. Michele, Siena and a few other attributions, with which I do not agree. Mr. *Sirén* attributes a Madonna in his own collection at Stockholm to Andrea, Burlington Magazine, V, 1904, p. 440. *Lanzi*, in his history of Italian painting, which was written at the end of the 18th century, professes that he saw many works by Andrea Vanni in Naples. *Milanesi*, Doc. Sen., I, p. 305, speaks of a Madonna included in the Borbonico Museum in Naples.

⁽¹⁾ *R. van Marle*, Simone Martini, p. 135.

⁽²⁾ *Milanesi*, Doc. Sen., I, p. 27.

⁽³⁾ Note 3 in *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, III, p. 89.

⁽⁴⁾ *Arte inedite Senese*, Vita d'Arte, 1912, p. 12.

Three years later his name appears on the list of members of the guild of painters and in 1358 he signed the triptych, still preserved in the monastery of SS. Domenico e Sisto, Rome. In 1360 and 1373 he was a member of the Republican Government, and lived at that time in the parish of San Maurizio. There still exists a fragment of the Annunciation which he executed in the cloister of S. Domenico in 1372, and of which the rhymed signature ran:

Septanta due mille e trecent'anni
Da Siena qui dipinse Lippo Vanni (1).

He is last mentioned in 1375, when he is paid six golden florins and thirty-one sous for decorating the "doors" of the crucifix in the Cathedral.

Consequently we have three authentic and dated works by Lippo Vanni; they are the miniatures of 1345, the triptych of 1358, and the fresco of the Annunciation of 1372. Amongst the works attributed to him there is a fresco of the Battle of the Val di Chiana, in the Sala del Mappamondo of the Palazzo Pubblico, which was executed during the year last mentioned.

Comparing Vanni's works, we are forced to conclude that he had two consecutive and very distinct manners, the first of which reveals him as an adherent of the Lorenzetti, while in the second he seems to have come under the long-persisting influence of Simone Martini (2).

Dr. De Nicola has pointed out that the miniatures for which Lippo was paid in 1345 are those which adorn the "Corale 4" in the Cathedral Library. They are five in number (3) and represent Pentecost, the Annunciation, the Nativity of the Virgin (fig. 296), the Assumption and the Presentation (fig. 297). Dr. De Nicola ascribes certain other miniatures in the same library to Lippo Vanni; they are those in the choir-book 180, representing the Annunciation and Christ sending forth the Apostles to preach,

(1) We find these lines thus transcribed in the description of Siena of 1625 in manuscript in the city library. Milanesi's version runs: "*septanta e due e trecent'anni*" etc.

(2) In dealing with Simone's immediate followers, I stated my reasons for not regarding a Madonna and three saints in the Lehman and Blumenthal collections as an early work of Lippo's.

(3) *Arte inedita in Siena*, p. 12.



Fig. 296. Lippo Vanni, the Nativity of the Virgin, Miniature, 1345.
Cathedral Library, Siena. Photo Lombardi.

and in no. 181, the Maries at the Empty Sepulchre, the Apparition to the Apostles, Pentecost, and a half-figure of the Baptist.

The forms, proportions, types and expressions, as well as the vivacious action displayed in them, closely relate these miniatures to the art of Ambrogio Lorenzetti, and at the time of

their production Lippo was not only influenced by Ambrogio, but might even be called a faithful disciple of his.

A small panel in the Louvre is executed in this same manner. It represents St. Nicholas passing his presents through the open



Fig. 297. Lippo Vanni, the Presentation in the Temple, Miniature, 1345.
Cathedral Library, Siena. Photo Anderson.

window of the room in which the father and his three daughters, reduced to poverty, are sleeping. De Nicola was the first to establish this picture as a work of Lippo's ⁽¹⁾, and no one can deny

⁽¹⁾ Studi sull' arte Senese, Rassegna d'Arte, 1919, p. 95. This picture passed to the Louvre with the Duseigneur donation, Catalogue du Musée du Louvre; Collection Arconati Visconti, Paris, 1917, No. 125.

that the style of execution strongly resembles that of the miniatures. A detail such as we find in the work of the Lorenzetti is the towel hanging in the background. Only a short time could have elapsed between the execution of the miniatures and this little picture; nevertheless there are certain features which indicate that the panel is of a slightly later date.

On the back of the picture in the Louvre we see that it came



Fig. 298. Lippo Vanni, Triptych, 1358, Monastery of SS. Domenico e Sisto, Rome.

Photo Minist. del. Pubbl. Istr.

originally from Pisa, where the Gallery possesses a panel of the Virgin suckling the Child, attended by four angels, which Dr. De Nicola also ascribes to Lippo (¹). It is a poor piece of work, and not very characteristic of the artist, whose hand, however, may be recognized in the type of the Child. This work too is doubtless a product of an early stage in Lippo's career.

The panel in the Roman monastery (figs. 298 and 299) still

(¹) *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1919, p. 98.



Fig. 299. Detail of fig. 298.

Photo Minist. del. Pubbl. Istr.

shows us the master under the Lorenzetti influence (1). The central part depicts the Virgin enthroned between two angels, St. Dominic and the holy martyr Aurea; standing on the Madonna's knee is the Infant Christ, whose face may be reckoned as characteristic rather than beautiful. A small figure of Eve with the serpent close at hand is placed before the throne, while on the border below we read the inscription: "*Lippus Vannis de Senis me pinxit A Dni CCCLVIII.*"

The predella-like panel below shows the head and shoulders of the Saviour between the busts of SS. Dominic and Bartholomew, and each of the wings contains two scenes from the life of St. Aurea.

The decorative details of this triptych are richer and more carefully executed than in any of Lippo's other works. Comparing this painting of 1358 with the miniatures which he painted thirteen years earlier, a certain difference may be noted: the figures are more graceful, the expressions softer and more impressive, and the possibility that this change may be due to the influence of Simone Martini's works cannot be excluded. It is, however, manifest only in the central panel; the small figures in the wings are not so graceful and are rather hard in outline. Nevertheless, the influence of Ambrogio Lorenzetti is still predominant.

Strongly resembling the Roman triptych is a panel, perhaps part of a larger picture, in the Gallery of Le Mans (2). The Virgin is depicted full-face, with the Child seated on her knee, holding a bird; two angels look over the back of the throne. The types are identical with those of the work above-mentioned, and the two pictures must have been executed about the same time.

Two frescoes offer us examples of Lippo Vanni's art during the transitional period, before Simone's influence prevailed over Lorenzetti's; one is in the chapel of the Seminary, close to the church of S. Francesco at Siena (3), the other is in a room on the ground floor of the City Hall of San Gimignano. The first, which, before the discovery of the Roman triptych was attributed to

(1) *F. M. Perkins*, *Alcuni dipinti di Lippo Vanni*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1910, p. 39, is, on the contrary, of opinion that the artist reveals himself here as a faithful disciple of Lippo Memmi's.

(2) *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1914, p. 98.



Fig. 300. Lippo Vanni, Virgin and Saints. Seminary, Siena.

Photo Brogi.

Pietro Lorenzetti ⁽¹⁾ or Luca di Tommè ⁽²⁾, is a false polyptych: that is to say, an imitation in fresco of a composite altar-piece. In the centre, the Virgin holds a somewhat excited Child on her knee; to the right, in separate divisions, are SS. Catherine and

⁽¹⁾ *Venturi*, Storia dell' Arte, V, p. 741.

⁽²⁾ *Jacobsen*, Sienesische Meister des Trecento in der Gemäldegalerie zu Siena, Strasbourg, 1907, p. 97. *B. Berenson*, Rassegna d'Arte, 1917, p. 97 and *De Nicola* all point out the connection between this fresco and the paintings of Luca.



Fig. 301. Lippo Vanni, Madonna. Pinacoteca, Perugia.

Photo Andersor.

Antony, and to the left SS. Francis and John the Baptist. The dead Saviour between the Virgin and St. John, and the heads and shoulders of the four Evangelists are depicted in the predella, while on the terminals we see the half-length figure of the Saviour in the centre and at the sides a Pope, a cardinal and two bishops.

It is above all in the delicacy and certainty of execution, the marked elegance of form and the soft melancholy of expression that the artist betrays Simone's influence; in his personal types and especially in the round shape of the head, he has been inspired by Lorenzetti's models.

Only on comparing this fresco with that at San Gimignano do we see how far De Nicola's attribution of the latter to Lippo is justified (1). Owing to a rather extensive repainting the fresco has lost much of its original aspect; in spite of this, however, I cannot see that the question of its authorship is doubtful. Beside the Virgin, who is seated on a throne, holding the Child Jesus standing on her knee, are placed the holy bishops Geminien and Augustin.

A delightful panel in the Gallery of Perugia (fig. 301) is certainly from the hand of this master. It is probably a product of Lippo's second manner, when Simone's influence was beginning to increase; nevertheless this work differs slightly from those, which we have just considered and owing to certain details — chiefly of technique — which are reminiscent of the Lorenzetti, I think we should attribute this panel to the beginning of the artist's second manner. The Madonna is shown in half-length, clasping in her arms the Child, Who tenderly presses His face against His Mother's (2).

Showing a closer connection with the fragmentary fresco of 1372 in S. Domenico, is a reliquary triptych in the Vatican Gallery (fig. 302) (3), in which St. Dominic is shown between St. Peter the Martyr and St. Thomas Aquinas. The three finely-executed little figures display only a few details of form and proportion

(1) *De Nicola*, Rassegna d'Arte, 1919, p. 98.

(2) *B. Berenson*, Due nuovi dipinti di Lippo Vanni, Rassegna d'Arte, 1917, p. 100. is right in seeing a certain resemblance between the Madonna at Perugia and some of Taddeo Gaddi's works, but this I think is only an accidental coincidence.

(3) *Berenson*, op. cit.

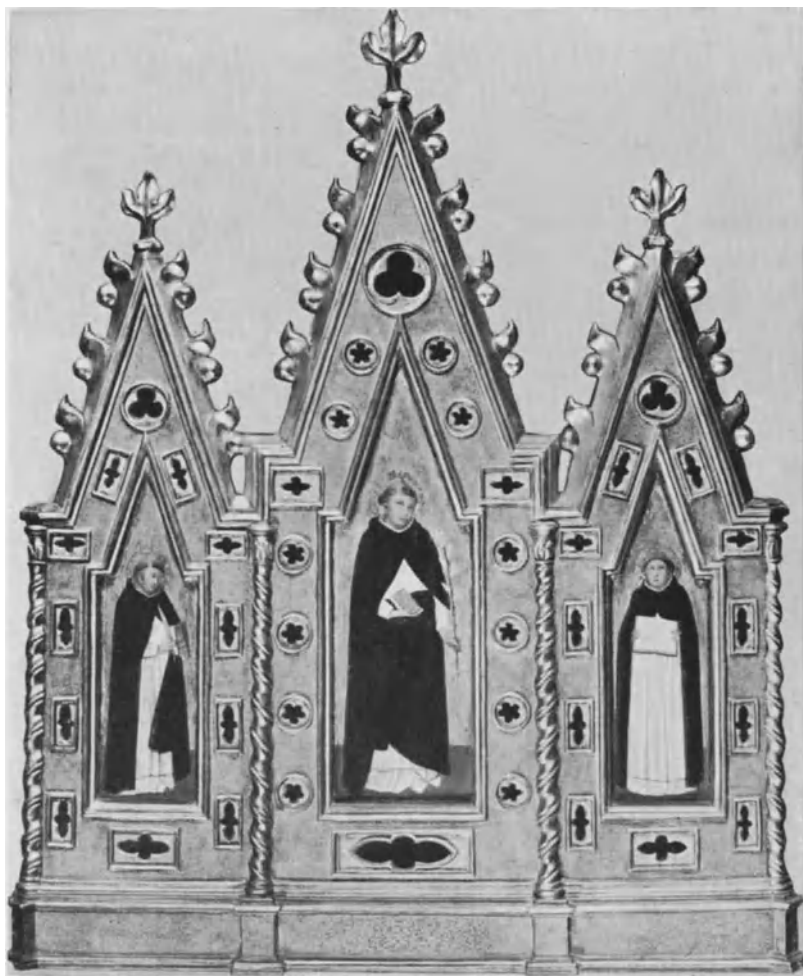


Fig. 302. Lippo Vanni, Triptych. Vatican Gallery, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

which could remind us of the Lorenzetti's art; the technique and above all the spirit belong to that of Simone. The face of St. Thomas especially, with his eyes turned heavenward, is clearly due to the same inspiration as certain saints executed by the great master himself and by his brother, Donato, in the Lower Church of Assisi.

The Lorenzetti types are more evident in some of the figures

of a small triptych in the Walters Collection at Baltimore (¹), but at the same time others remind us of Simone's, or rather of Lippo Memmi's manner, more vividly than any other work of our painter's; thus, for example, the grace and feeling of the beautiful central Madonna are inspired entirely by Simone. The Child standing on His Mother's knee is not so beautiful. The saints at the side of the throne are St. John the Baptist and again St. Aurea, another figure very reminiscent of Simone's art; two male saints are depicted in the wings, and above each is one of the figures of the Annunciation, of which the Madonna, however, seems almost a work of Pietro Lorenzetti's own hand.

This triptych may have been made for the church dedicated to St. Aurea, which then existed in Rome, and, if we take it for granted that the influence of Simone gradually increased, we must place this work toward the end of Lippo's career.

We possess two works of the year 1372: one the fresco of the Battle of Val di Chiana (1363) in the Sala del Mappamondo, the other a remnant of an Annunciation in the cloister of S. Domenico.

The first (fig. 303) (²) is a work full of life and movement, expressed, however, in rather a vulgar manner, of which there is no trace in Simone's paintings. Soldiers on foot and horseback rush at each other in fury. The painting, which is in grisaille, is not especially pleasing, and seems to have been rather hastily executed. An isolated figure of St. Paul, seated and holding his sword, reveals the name of the artist, and at the same time betrays the fact that Lippo was very much under the influence of the school of Simone Martini.

The other fresco, under which there was once an inscription, is now preserved along with some other fragments in the machine-room of the School of Arts and Crafts. There is nothing left but the heads of the Virgin and the angel: still, it is very evident that the predominant influence is Simone's, as regards the execution no less than the feeling expressed.

I know of no other works which can be ascribed to Lippo Vanni, but those with which we have dealt suffice to give us a fairly clear idea of his artistic career.

(¹) *Berenson*, op. cit.

(²) *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1909, p. 49, attributes it to Luca di Tommè.

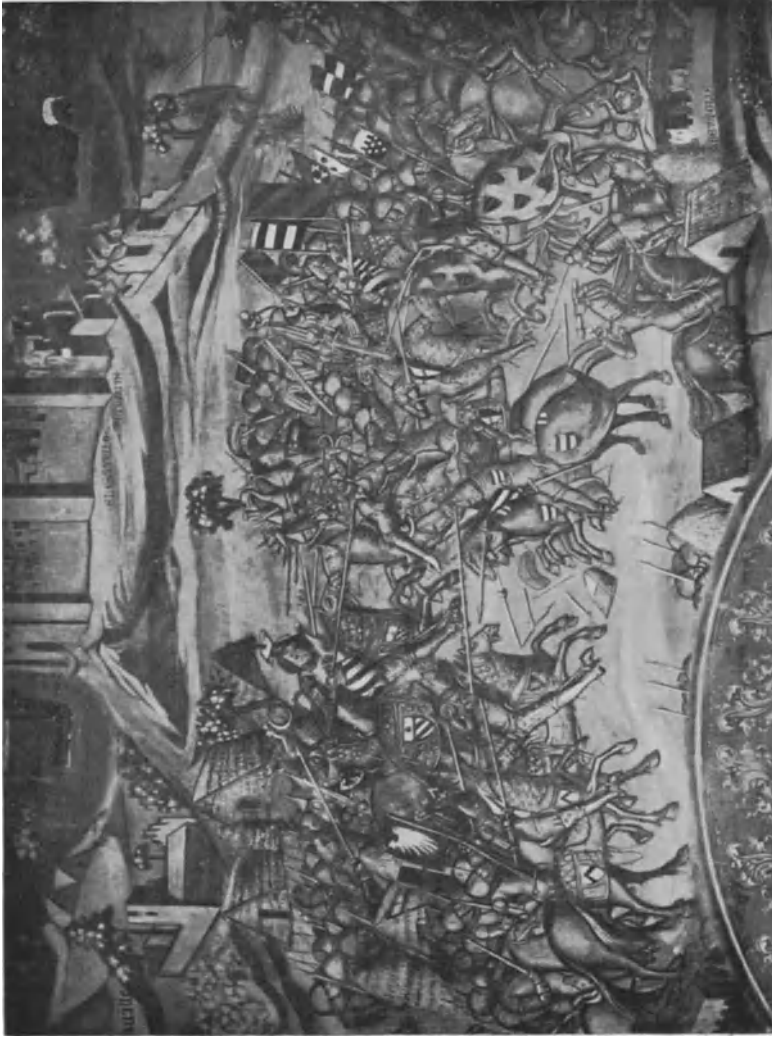


Fig. 303. Lippo Vanni, the Battle of Val di Chiana, 1372. Palazzo Pubblico, Siena. Photo Lombardi.

Lippo Vanni, who always remained a rather second-rate artist, began his career (1341—45) as a miniaturist of the school of Lorenzetti, and his first works, the miniatures of 1345 at Siena, reveal him as such. Down to the year 1358 there seems to have been no change, but between that date and 1372 the gradually increasing influence of Simone Martini, may be noted, although

reminiscences of his first master persist throughout his artistic lifetime (1).

LUCA DI TOMMÈ (2).

Luca di Tommè di Nuto is mentioned for the first time in 1355 as a member of the painters' guild (3). Two years later we find him, with Cristoforo di Stefano, restoring a Madonna above the door of the Siena Cathedral. In the years 1366, 1367 and 1370, he painted and dated three works which we still possess; they are a Crucifixion in the Gallery of Pisa, a polyptych in the Accademia of Siena, and an altar-piece in the Gallery of Rieti in Umbria.

In 1373 he was a member of the city government and during that year painted a picture commemorating the victory of the Sienese over the troops of the Condottiere Cappelucci, in which St. Paul was represented as the person instrumental in bringing about the victory. This picture may have had many points in common with Lippo Vanni's fresco in the Sala del Mappamondo, which depicted the same historical event, and the same saint. Two years later Luca was again a member of the city council; he was then living in the S. Pellegrino quarter and had married Miglia del fu Giacomino. In 1379 he was again elected councillor; in 1388—1389 he was appointed member of the Cathedral committee (4) and during this last year he received eight florins as his share of the hundred and thirty florins paid to Bartolo di

(1) This theory is the same as that expounded by Signor De Nicola in his article in the *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1919, to which I have referred on several occasions, but Mr. Perkins holds the contrary opinion, and believes that Lippo Vanni started as a pupil of Lippo Memmi's. (*Art in America*, 1920, p. 278). For paintings wrongly attributed to this artist see my book on Simone Martini, p. 141. In this list I now include the Madonna and the lateral figures in the Blumenthal and Lehman collections. A manuscript description of Siena of 1625, in the library of that city, mentions a Madonna with four saints in the church of Sta. Croce, signed "*Lippus Vannis M.CCCXXX*" (*Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, p. 89, note 3), and some years ago there was a panel representing St. Paul and signed by Lippo Vanni in the collection of the Marchese Bartolini-Salimbeni-Vivai in Florence.

(2) *R. van Marle*, Simone Martini, p. 141.

(3) *Milanesi*, Doc. Sen., I, p. 28 and in his Vasari ed., I, p. 651.

(4) *Milanesi*, Doc. Sen., I, p. 354.

Fredi and his son Andrea, for an altar-piece, which the shoemakers' guild had ordered for the Cathedral (1).

Delle Valle's information (2) that Luca's name, with the date 1392, appeared on a Madonna in the church of S. Francesco at Siena, is unfounded (3), and Vasari's statement that Luca's master was Barna da Siena wants confirmation. Cavalcaselle has accepted the attribution to Luca of the decoration in the chapel of the Dragoni family in S. Domenico, Arezzo, of which he saw three of the four Evangelists originally adorning the vault. An altar-piece mentioned by Vasari has long since disappeared.

At the beginning of his career, Luca was probably active in Orvieto, for not only do we find mention of him there in 1374 (4), but he left in Ugolino di Prete Ilario a direct disciple.

Mr. Perkins' recent researches as to Luca di Tommè (5), and above all his judicious attribution to this painter of the large polyptych in the Gallery of Siena (no. 51) (6), which is still catalogued there as a work of Lippo Memmi's, but which many critics, Mr. Perkins and myself included (7), regarded as a painting by Bartolo di Fredi, have largely modified our conception of this artist.

The classification of Luca's works in chronological order is rather a problem. It is true that we have three dated works, but all three were executed within a period of four years, 1366—1370, and therefore can offer but little indication as to the artist's evolution. It is not that these paintings strongly resemble one another, on the contrary, they show that Luca's artistic development followed the same course as Lippo Vanni's; for the first, the Crucifixion at Pisa shows us the artist as much more strongly influenced by Pietro Lorenzetti than the last — the polyptych of Rieti — which is a work obviously inspired by Simone Martini.

The panel at Pisa (fig. 304) (8) is of a simple composition, but is

(1) *Milanesi*, Doc. Sen., I, p. 28 and II, p. 36.

(2) Lett. Sen., II, p. 119.

(3) *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, III, p. 86.

(4) *Fumi*, La Catedrale di Orvieto, Rome, 1892, p. 389.

(5) *F. M. Perkins*, Tre dipinti inediti di Luca di Tommè, Rassegna d'Arte Senese, 1908, p. 79; Ancora uno dipinto di L. di T., idem, 1909, p. 80; Ancora dei dipinti di L. di T., idem, p. 83.

(6) *F. M. Perkins*, Art in America, 1920, p. 287.

(7) *R. van Marle*, op. cit., p. 151.

(8) *E. Lavagnino*, L'Arte, 1923, p. 40.

rather curious, on account of the manner in which the painter has expressed the idea of the Trinity. From above, where the head and shoulders of the Eternal are visible, the dove descends toward the Crucified, beside Whom stand the Virgin and St. John. On the lower border of the picture we read: "*Lukas Tome de Senis pinxit hoc . . . s MCCCLXVI*". The execution is rather coarse; the proportions, the types, the round shape of the heads, and the dramatic realism of the figures show a close connection with the art of the Lorenzetti, but in no way recall Simone's manner.

Can it be that here again, as



Fig. 304. Luca di Tommè, the Crucifixion, 1366.

Gallery, Pisa.

Photo Brogi.

was the case with Lippo Vanni, we can trace Luca's artistic evolution by the gradually increasing preponderance of Simone over Lorenzetti, whose adherent he originally was? It seems quite possible, but Luca's development is not so easily followed, because the alteration in his style is not very marked. That work of his which shows the closest connection with Lorenzetti is the Pisan Crucifixion; all his other productions are based on



Fig. 305. Luca di Tommè, Polyptych, 1367. Accademia, Siena.

Photo Alinari.

Lorenzetti's art, with which, however, the influence of Simone Martini is mingled in varying proportions.

In the large polyptych of 1367, in the Gallery of Siena (no. 109), originally in the Capuchin Monastery at San Quirico (fig. 305), the centre is occupied by the figure of St. Anna, on whose knee is seated the Virgin, holding the Infant Christ; to the left are St. Catherine and the Baptist, to the right St. Antony Abbot and another saint, while in the pinnacles the busts of the four Evangelists fill the side panels, and in the centre we find the bust of

St. Bartholomew⁽¹⁾. Among all these figures only those of the Virgin and the Christ-Child can be called pleasing, and they are certainly those most influenced by Simone. The figure of St. Anna is not without a certain majesty, but all the others, although differing from the figures of the Pisan panel, cannot be regarded as greatly their superior. This picture again confirms the intermingling of the two styles which at this stage are both equally evident.

The polyptych bears the inscription: "*Lucas Thome de Senis pinxit hoc opus MCCCLXVII*".

The polyptych at Rieti (fig. 306) was at one time in the church of S. Domenico, and was seen there by Cavalcaselle, but it has since been transported to the city Gallery⁽²⁾. The figures are life-size, and represent, in the centre, the Virgin Mary with the Child standing on her knee; on her left SS. Peter and Dominic and to the right SS. Paul and Peter the Martyr. At the foot of the picture the signature runs: "*Luca Thome de Seni pinxit hoc opus MCCCLXX*". Simone's influence is plainly manifest in this work, and is most marked in the images of the two Apostles, which, although less Gothic in appearance, strongly resemble the representations of these two saints depicted by Andrea Vanni in the panel now in the Museum of Boston. The outlines are rather hard, but the colours are rich and delicate, revealing another side of the artist's talents. The imitation tallow-topped ornaments preserved in this picture are very remarkable.

We have documentary evidence of Luca's artistic activity at least eleven years before his first dated picture, and eight years later than the completion of the altar-piece of 1370, and although during that time certain changes took place in his manner of painting, it is nevertheless a difficult and ticklish task to catalogue his pictures in their chronological order.

Mr. Perkins thinks that the large polyptych in the Gallery of Siena (fig. 307) is a youthful work, and I think he is justified in this opinion. The minuteness of the execution, together with the unskilfulness and, above all, the hardness of the drawing, especially in the folds of the draperies, combined with certain of the

⁽¹⁾ *Cavalcaselle* thinks that this figure is by another artist and probably replaces a bust of the Saviour.

⁽²⁾ *U. Gnoli*, La quadreria civica di Rieti, Bolletino d'Arte del Ministero della Pubbl. Istr., 1911, p. 325.



Fig. 306. Luca di Tommè, Polyptych, 1370. Gallery, Rieti.

Photo Minist. del Pubbl. Istr.

artist's usual peculiarities, reveal the hand of a good pupil, but one lacking in experience. On the central panel is represented the crowned Virgin holding the Child upright on her knee, with



Fig. 307. Luca di Tommè, central Panel of a Polyptych. Accademia, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

six angels and a seraph around the throne. To the left we see the Baptism and a martyr-saint, holding a dagger; to the right SS. Bernard and Stephen. It would be difficult to say that these figures were actually inspired by Lorenzetti, although the types, the piercing gaze of the eyes, and the hardness of line approximate them rather to the art of this master than to Simone's, from whose school only the grace of the central figures and the decorative detail seem to have been borrowed.

Showing a closer connection with Lorenzetti's manner is an enthroned Madonna in the Blumenthal collection, New York (¹). It is especially the appearance of the Virgin, with the spherical conformation of the head, that betrays this affinity. In this same manner Luca executed two other panels, which until recently were in a private collection in Italy, but which now, I believe, have been acquired by Mr. Platt of Englewood, N. J. One of them, which strongly resembles the altar-piece in Siena, is only part of a larger picture which has been cut at the level of the Virgin's knees. She is seated on a throne, holding the Infant Jesus, Who is depicted eating cherries; two angels at the sides support the pointed back of the throne, which is encircled by a mandorla (fig. 308). It seems to me quite possible that this is the oldest work of Luca's that we now possess; the rather heavy proportions differ slightly from those of any of his other works. The other picture shows us a three-quarter length figure of the Virgin (fig. 309); the Child, Whom she carries within her left arm, is holding a little bird. The faces are not comely, but the outlines and proportions resemble those of the Madonna in the Blumenthal collection, except that here the forms are even rounder.

To this group we should add the large polyptych of 1366 in the Accademia of Siena, but that of Rieti, four years later, shows certain points of difference. In this second manner of Luca di Tommè's the increasing influence of Simone is manifested in the more marked grace of form, the sweetness of expression and the refined drawing of the features.

It is possible that between the polyptych of 1366 and that of 1370 Luca executed a panel of the Virgin now in the Fitzwilliam

(¹) *F. M. Perkins*, in his article already quoted in *Art in America*.

Museum, Cambridge (England, fig. 310). The Madonna is enthroned, and is holding the half-naked Child upright on her knee, while four angels look over the back of the throne, the triangular form of which is rather unusual, but identical with that in the



Fig. 308. Luca di Tommè, Madonna. Platt Collection, Englewood, U.S.A.
Photo Reali.

picture of the Platt collection. Type and proportions here remind us of earlier works, but the appearance of the Child, as well as the Gothic lines of the drapery, have much in common with the picture at Rieti, while the softer expression seems due to the influence of Simone. It is not improbable that when Luca went to Rieti he visited other cities in that region, especially since we find



Fig. 309. Luca di Tommè, Madonna. Platt Collection, Englewood, N. J.
Photo Reali.



Fig. 310. Luca di Tommè, Madonna. Fitzwilliam Museum,
Cambridge.

Photo Mansell.

two other Madonna's from his hand in Umbria and one in The Marches. This last one, which is found in the Cathedral of Mercatello, shows most resemblance to the altar-piece at Rieti. It is one of Luca's most pleasing productions, chiefly on account of its marked grace of outline. The representations of the Child Christ in these two pictures are strikingly alike, even as Professor L. Venturi remarks, in technical details such as the chiaroscuro⁽¹⁾. This panel too has had the lower portion cut away; originally it must have been part of a polyptych, for the same church contains a panel of St. Antony Abbot which doubtless belonged to the same altar-piece.

Of Luca's other two works in the province of Umbria, one is preserved in the sacristy of S. Niccolo at Foligno (²). Again the artist has painted a throne with a pointed back and four angels looking over the top; the panel, however, has been diminished in size, its edges having been cut away. The Virgin resembles those in the pictures of Rieti and Mercatello, but the type of the Child is different; He is more developed and less serene. The drapery expresses both movement and relief.

The second picture was discovered at Forsivo, a little village in the mountains in the region of Norcia, where I saw it disintegrated some years ago; it has since been re-united and now hangs in the Gallery of Spoleto. The five panels show the half-length figures of the Virgin, the Baptist, SS. Peter and Paul and Apollinarius, and the terminals the Lord, SS. Catherine, Antony Abbot, Leonard and a female saint. The images in the wings are greatly superior to those of the central portion, which has suffered a great deal of damage, and which contains, into the bargain, the ugliest of Luca's Madonnas. The Child belongs to the same type as that observed in the pictures at Rieti and Mercatello. At the foot of the panel remains the fragmentary signature: ". . . cas Tho . . .". The saints on the side panels are fairly graceful and in some cases their features betray the increasing influence of Simone.

A somewhat similar polyptych must once have contained a panel showing a half-length figure of the Baptist, which some time ago was in the collection in the castle of Vincigliata near

(¹) *L. Venturi*, *A traverso Le Marche*, *L'Arte*, 1915, p. 10.

(²) *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1908, p. 79.

Florence (fig. 311). The figure of St. John is very like that of the Precursor in the altar-piece of For-sivo, and is framed in the same fashion; here, however, two angels' heads are depicted in the spandrels and a bust of St. Lucy in the apex.

The St. John of Vincigliata is less hard in execution than the St. John from the Umbrian village, and for that reason may be a product of what is probably the artist's last phase, when he must have been living in Siena; for it is in and around this city that we find a certain number of works of this period.

The Gallery of Montalcino possesses a beautiful, rather more than half-length figure of the Virgin holding the Child, Who fondles His Mother's face (fig. 312). This picture, in which all the colour, except that of the faces and the hands, has disappeared, retains perceptible traces of a sweetness and tenderness of feeling such as we have not yet seen in any of Luca's



Fig. 311. Luca di Tommè, St. John the Baptist. Previously in the Vincigliata Castle, Florence. Photo Reali.



Fig. 312. Luca di Tommè, Madonna. Gallery, Montalcino.

Photo Istit. Arti Grafiche.

works (1). Nevertheless, on comparing it with the panels at Foligno and Mercatello, we shall agree that no doubt can be felt regarding the accuracy of this attribution.

In the church of S. Francesco at Lucignano there is an important polyptych(2). The central figure is again the enthroned Virgin, on whose knee stands the Child holding a little bird. To the left are St. John, and St. George, who bears a model of the city; to the right are St. Peter and St. Catherine. On the central terminals we see the Saviour adored by two angels, and at the sides saints and the two figures of the Annunciation. Although Simone's influence is evident in this work, some of the figures are lacking in grace and beauty. Here we more especially note the death-like colour of the faces, which gives an unpleasant appearance to many of this master's works.

The charm and grace of Simone's art are seen to better advantage in another polyptych in the Accademia of Siena (no. 586), at the foot of which the remains of an inscription run thus: — "*L . . . cus Thomé D is Hoc Hopus*" (3). The picture was originally in the "alle Folfe" monastery, outside the Pispini gate. The Virgin and Child of the central panel are just as charming as those of the Montalcino picture. To the left and the right are the Baptist and the holy Pope Gregory the Great. These three figures are all half-length, but those of St. Francis and a holy bishop on the panels to the extreme right and left are depicted full-length. The pinnacles contain the Saviour, St. Peter, St. Paul and two Evangelists.

The same gallery still possesses a triptych (no. 594), a pleasing but somewhat dilapidated picture, representing the mystic marriage of St. Catherine, and SS. Bartholomew and Blaise (4). In beauty of expression and a rather Gothic elegance, the artist has again drawn inspiration from Simone's art.

But the picture in which Luca most closely approaches and

(1) *F. M. Perkins*, Rassegna d'Arte Senese, 1908, p. 74. *F. Bargali-Petrucci*, Pienza, Montalcino, etc., Bergamo, 1911, p. 146, reproduces this picture as a work of the school of Barna.

(2) *F. M. Perkins*, Rassegna d'Arte Senese, 1909, p. 83.

(3) *E. Modigliani*, Un polittico di L. di T. recuperato da Siena, Rassegna d'Arte, 1906, p. 104. *A. Franchi*, Rassegna d'Arte Senese, 1906, p. 111.

(4) *F. M. Perkins*, op. cit.

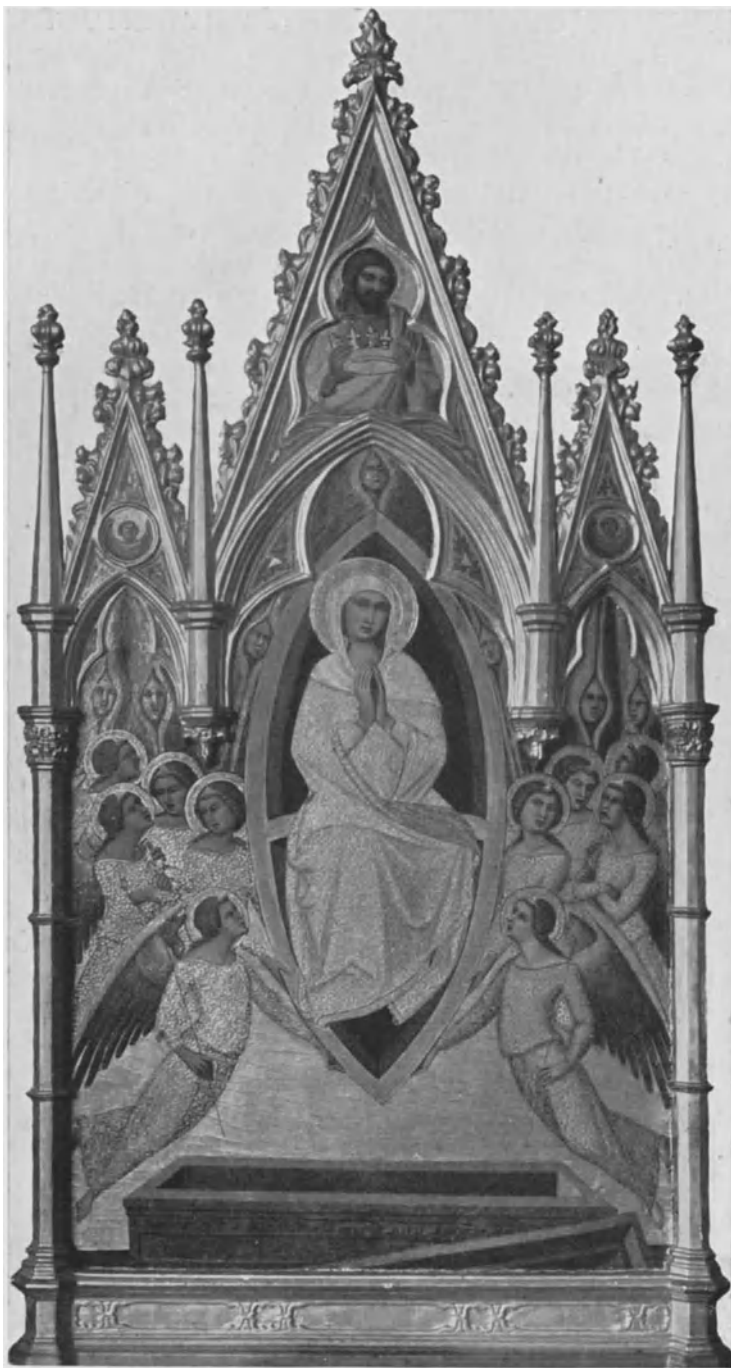


Fig. 313. Luca di Tommè, the Assumption. Jarves Collection, Yale University, U. S. A.

almost imitates Simone's manner is a Madonna, considerably repainted, and disfigured by the numerous silver medals with which it is decorated, in the church of the Contrada del Bruco at Siena. The figure of the Virgin is depicted with the physical grace and plaintive melancholy peculiar to Simone, whose depth of expression, however Luca seems powerless to reproduce. The Child Jesus, Who is holding a little bird, also bears a striking resemblance to the Infant Saviours of the master (¹).

I think that we may ascribe to this last phase of Luca's, his masterpiece, the Assumption of the Virgin, in the Jarves collection of Yale University (fig. 313) (²). My placing this panel so late in Luca's career may, on first sight, seem rather astonishing, so numerous are the elements which belong to Lorenzetti's art; moreover, the round shape of the heads is more characteristic of works which we have ascribed to an earlier date. But the grace of the angels supporting and surrounding the mandorla which encircles the Madonna, and the gentle sweetness of their facial expression, force me to assign this panel to a period in which Simone's influence was strongly felt. It is for this reason, although not with absolute certainty, that I class this picture as one of Luca's later works.

A picture whose attribution gives rise to a good deal of difficulty is a small triptych in the Gallery of Perugia (fig. 314). It was frequently attributed to Bartolo di Fredi, but since Mr. Perkins has pointed out that the large polyptych of Siena is by Luca, it seems not impossible to me that this panel should be by the same hand. The chief subject of this picture is the marriage of St. Catherine. Again we see the triangular-shaped back of the Virgin's throne and the four adoring angels appearing behind it. Although the figures are more attenuated, the type of the Virgin does not essentially differ from that represented in Luca's works. As a pendant to St. Catherine we have the figure of St. Ansanus, while in the wings are depicted St. Mary Magdalene and another female saint, holding a book and a lily. The topmost central terminal

(¹) *Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1908, p. 81.

(²) *Perkins*, *Alcuni dipinti italiani in America*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1909, p. 145, *Sirén*, *Catalogue of the Jarves Collection*, p. 37. Messrs *Perkins* and *Berenson* previously attributed this picture to Bartolo di Fredi.

shows the Saviour in benediction, while at the sides are the two figures of the Annunciation.

Luca di Tommè was a painter who followed the two great artistic traditions with which the previous generation had provided



Fig. 314. Manner of Luca di Tommè, Triptych. Pinacoteca, Perugia.

Photo Anderson.

him; the influence of the Lorenzetti — and, judging from the Pisan Crucifixion, more especially that of Pietro — that of Simone Martini. From the former he borrowed the types, proportions, and the robust draughtsmanship which, with Luca's somewhat heavy brushwork, developed into hardness. He gradually appropriated the beauty and charm of Simone's art, with its depth of expression and the fine drawing of the features. None the less, however,

the manner in which he interpreted his borrowed elements is full of individuality, for his works have quite an unmistakeable appearance of their own⁽¹⁾.

BARTOLO DI MAESTRO FREDI ⁽²⁾.

Bartolo di Maestro Fredi was born probably about 1330⁽³⁾. He was the son of a painter of the name of Fredi and seems to have been the founder of the noble family Bartoli Battilori. We have already mentioned that in 1353 he shared a workshop with Andrea Vanni. In 1357 he married Bartolommeo di Cecco and settled a hundred golden florins on her⁽⁴⁾. He had several children⁽⁵⁾, amongst them Andrea di Bartolo, a painter whom we shall consider later on, but not Taddeo di Bartolo, whom Vasari mentions as the son of Bartolo di Fredi.

If we are to believe Vasari, the series of frescoes from the Old Testament in the Collegiata of San Gimignano were painted in 1356, for he cites the following inscription: "*A. Dom. MCCCCLVI Bartolus Magister Fredi de Senis me pinxit*", but taking into

(1) Cavalcaselle mentions a Madonna belonging to Luca's school, which in his day was to be found in a hotel in Arezzo, and a Crucifixion resembling Luca's, in the church of S. Spirito at Siena. I have been informed that another panel of Luca's has just been discovered in the region of Spoleto. A much repainted Madonna in the sacristy of S. Francesco, Pienza, must be the work of a follower of Luca's. Some remains of frescoes — the Saviour on the Cross, the Virgin and Child, with saints — in a niche to the right of the door of S. Agostino at San Gimignano — seems to me to be also the work of a pupil. Mr. *Langton Douglas* (op. cit., loc. cit.) also attributed to Luca a Madonna in the Horne collection, Florence, which I am unable to trace. I have already said, in mentioning Lippo Vanni that I believe him and not Luca to be the author of the battle scene of 1372 in the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena.

(2) *I. Vavasour Elder*, Su certi dipinti poco conosciuti di B. di M. F., Rassegna d'Arte Senese, 1908, p. 89. *P. Schubring*, in Thieme Becker's Künstler Lexikon, IV, p. 558. *R. van Marle*, op. cit., p. 147.

(3) *Milanesi*, Doc. Sen., II, p. 36, gives most of the documentary evidence.

(4) *Borghesi e Banchi*, Nuovi documenti, p. 27.

(5) He loses two in 1363, another in 1374, and a daughter in 1396. *Idem*, pp. 27—28.

consideration Vasari's inaccuracy and the fact that Bartolo was at San Gimignano between the years 1362 and 1366, it may also be that it was during this period that the cycle was executed.

In 1361 he was certainly at Siena, for in that year he made some frescoes in the Council room. That he was at San Gimignano during the following years is proved by a letter, without any date, which he wrote to the authorities of Siena, warning them against the concentration of marauding troops on the frontiers. This he must have witnessed himself and we know that it took place in 1362⁽¹⁾. We have further evidence of his presence in San Gimignano in the year 1366, for he painted, in the public square, a monk of the order of St. Augustine, and one of Monte Olivieto, with an inscription which informs us that the painting was made to commemorate the peace-making, effected after a long feud, between the two monasteries⁽²⁾. In 1367 he had returned to Siena and seems to have been greatly in request as an artist, for we find him transferring one of his orders to his colleague, Francesco Vannucci⁽³⁾. The following year he enters into an agreement with the painter, Jacopo di Mino del Pellicciaio, concerning the decoration of the vaults and arches of the chapel of St. Ansano in the Cathedral⁽⁴⁾.

In 1372 Bartolo for the first time became a member of the municipal government; he was also elected in 1381, 1382 and 1401. In 1374 he received six golden florins and thirty-eight sous for a painting in the chapel of the stone-masons' guild in the Cathedral, and in 1376 he bought a house⁽⁵⁾. Dating from 1380 we find several threatening letters written from Siena to Volterra, seeking to obtain, from the Bishop of this town, payment for certain frescoes which Bartolo had executed in the Cathedral. After an unfavourable reply, the city concludes by selling a house, so that the painter may be paid what is owing to him⁽⁶⁾. In 1381 an ex-senator of Siena commissioned him to decorate a large shield

⁽¹⁾ *Gaye*, Carteggio, I, p. 70 *Milanesi*. Doc. Sen., I p. 260.

⁽²⁾ *Pecori*, Storia di San Gimignano, p. 189 (*Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, III, p. 122). *Milanesi*. Doc. Sen., II, p. 38.

⁽³⁾ *Borghesi e Banchi*, op. cit., loc. cit.

⁽⁴⁾ *Milanesi*, op. cit., I, p. 263.

⁽⁵⁾ *Borghese e Banchi*, op. cit., p. 28.

⁽⁶⁾ *Milanesi*. Doc. Sen., I, p. 285 et seq. *Borghese e Banchi*, loc. cit.

and banner with the coat of arms of the city. In 1382 Bartolo painted an altar-piece for the church of S. Francesco, at Montalcino, and of this considerable portions are preserved in the City museum. He was paid, for the entire work, 170 golden florins⁽¹⁾, and one of the extant panels — the Descent from the Cross — bears the signature: “. . . . *lus magistri fredī de senis me pinxit anno domini MCCCLXXXII*”.

Six years later he painted another altar-piece for the same church; of this some of the panels are now in the Accademia of Siena and others in the Gallery of Montalcino, where we find a Coronation of the Virgin signed: “*Bartholus magistri fredī di senis me pinxit anno D ni MCCCLXXXVIII*”.

In 1389 Bartolo was working in collaboration with his son Andrea and also with Luca di Tommè, as was mentioned in the previous chapter, but the latter received only eight florins of the hundred and thirty that the shoemakers paid for the altar-piece of their chapel in the Cathedral⁽²⁾.

Of other works, which documentary evidence tells us were ordered from Bartolo, no trace remains. These were an altar-piece for the monastery of Monte Olivieto in 1390 and in 1392 a panel of St. Peter for the Cathedral.

The following year Bartolo, with two other painters, was commissioned to repaint the “Mappamondo”, that, of course, from which a room in the Palazzo Pubblico takes its name. A few days later he and his two colleagues were paid for decorating the façade of the palace. The last of Bartolo's works of which we have any mention is dated 1397, when he painted a figure (sculptured?) of St. Victor in the choir of the Cathedral. Ten years later he made his will, leaving everything to his son Andrea, who must have been the only surviving child. During these ten years we know that he witnessed a will⁽³⁾, but we find no mention of his artistic activities⁽⁴⁾.

For a long period almost all the anonymous Siennese paintings of the second half of the 14th century were ascribed to Bartolo de Fredi, so that at one time the list of his works, authentic and

⁽¹⁾ *Borghesi e Banchi*, loc. cit.

⁽²⁾ *Milanesi*, II, p. 33, note 1 and p. 34, note 1. *Borghesi e Banchi*, loc. cit.

⁽³⁾ *Borghesi e Banchi*, loc. cit.

⁽⁴⁾ *Borghesi e Banchi*, loc. cit.

hypothetical, was extremely long (¹). He was, it is true, a very prolific artist, and a considerable number of his works have come down to us; but many of those formerly believed to be his are now proved to be the work of contemporary artists.

Even if the series of frescoes illustrating the Old Testament at San Gimignano (²) was executed a few years later than 1356, it still remains the artist's earliest work, and must have been executed when he was fairly young, because, as we have just seen, his death did not occur until fifty years later.

The entire decoration originally comprised thirty-five scenes; there were seven different divisions, each composed of four rectangular frescoes in two tiers, and a lunette; but the sixth and seventh divisions have now almost entirely disappeared, for the organ has been built over one and the entrance to an adjoining chapel traverses the other.

The scenes represented in the lunettes are the Creation of Adam and Eve, and Adam and Eve in Paradise. Then follow representations of Original Sin, the story of Cain and Abel, some scenes from the legends of Noah and the Ark, Abraham, and the division of Canaan, and events in the life of Joseph. On the lower tier the history of Joseph is continued, and here we find also some incidents from the story of Moses, and that of the people of Israel (figs. 315 and 316), including the Crossing of the Red Sea and the history of Job. Beyond the lateral entrance there is a figure of the dead Saviour surrounded by the instruments of the Passion.

As in most works of such importance, it is probable that the master, here too, was to a certain extent assisted, but that he executed only one fresco, as Mr. Berenson believes, seems to me highly improbable. Moreover, the repainted condition in which they have survived prevents us from forming any very definite conclusions but I think the hand of Bartolo can be recognized in all the frescoes.

These paintings are executed in the painter's least pleasing manner. The figures are hard of outline and lacking in charm;

(¹) In the 1909 edition of his *Central Italian Painters*, Mr. *Berenson* attributes more than ninety works to Bartolo di Fredi, but many of these he now ascribes to other painters.

(²) *N. Baldoria*, *Monumenti artistici in San Gimignano*, Arch. Stor. dell' Arte, 1894, p. 41.



Fig. 315. Bartolo di Fredi, Old Testament Scene. Collegiata, San Gimignano.
Photo Lombardi.

the heads are large and the movements angular and unnatural. If we had to judge Bartolo by the mural paintings in San Gimignano, we should have to class him with insignificant provincial artists. But, as I said before, the painter must have been young at the time of their execution, although not quite a beginner, since in 1353 he already had a workshop.

On the same occasion Bartolo must have painted the three frescoes in the church at San Luchese near Poggibonsi, a few miles from San Gimignano (¹). The fresco on the left wall shows



Fig. 316. Bartolo di Fredi, Old Testament scene. Collegiata, San Gimignano.

Photo Lombardi.

St. Nicholas throwing his presents through the window of the house in which the three sisters whom he wishes to save from dishonour are sleeping, while the father is seen opening the door. Opposite this is the crucifixion of St. Andrew, who is also shown against an architectural background, before his judge. A niche

(¹) *P. Vavasour Elder*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1903, p. 89.

above this last fresco is decorated with a considerably restored wall-painting imitating a triptych; it shows the Virgin between SS. Antony Abbot and Christopher, with the Saviour and the two figures of the Annunciation on the terminals, while on the intrados of the niche are depicted St. Bartholomew and a holy deacon ⁽¹⁾. The frescoes here seem slightly superior to those at San Gimignano, but they so evidently possess the same characteristics that I think we are right in ascribing them to the same early stage of the artist's career.

Amongst Bartolo's panel paintings, there is only one, a Massacre of the Innocents (in the d'Hendecourt collection, Paris), which can be considered a product of this early period ⁽²⁾. The drawing is just as unskilful, but what makes this picture much more pleasing is the extreme minuteness of execution as well as its richness of decoration.

It was, I think, soon after this that Bartolo's hardness of line acquired that Gothic conventionality which we notice in several of his works, and which seems to mask his errors of drawing and proportion; and although the heads are always too large, his other defects disappear in the marked mannerism of his style.

A very typical work of this phase is a Presentation in the Temple in the Louvre (no. 1131, fig. 317) ⁽³⁾ in which the master has followed the composition of Ambrogio Lorenzetti's version of this subject in the Uffizi.

The most important product of this group is the large panel of the Adoration of the Magi in the Accademia of Siena (no. 104, fig. 318). The three Eastern Kings, followed by a large assembly, in which St. Joseph apparently figures — a most unusual detail — kneel before the Virgin and Child, who are seated under a baldachin. Close behind the group of figures a servant is seen, holding three horses. In the distance and separated from the foreground by large mountains of absurd and conventional form, the Journey of the Wise Men is represented in a minutely detailed fashion; but here again forms and attitudes are anything but na-

⁽¹⁾ The frescoes near the left transept and the altar-piece are not by Bartolo di Fredi, nor do they show any connection with his style of painting.

⁽²⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1914, p. 97.

⁽³⁾ *A. Venturi*, *Storia dell'Arte*, V, p. 740, attributes it to Barna da Siena.

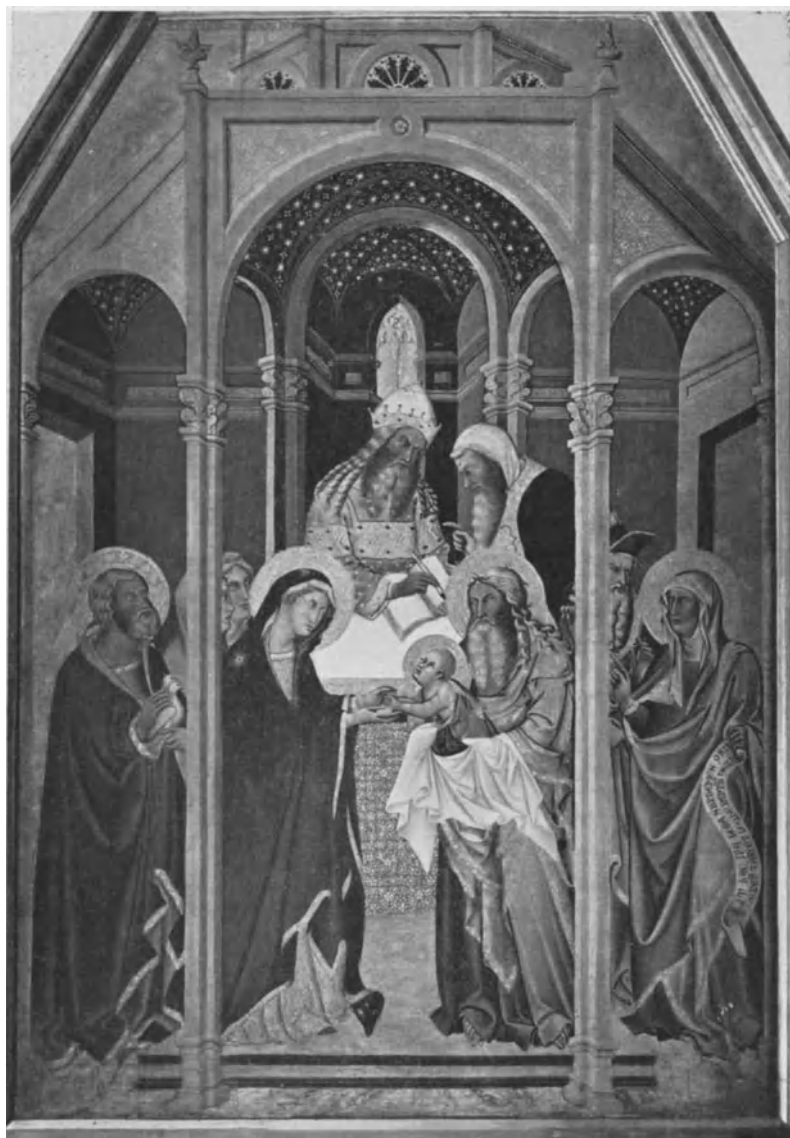


Fig. 317. Bartolo di Fredi, the Presentation in the Temple. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Alinari,

tural. The whole picture is full of mannerism, but it is this mannerism which mitigates our judgment of the ugly faces and impossible horses which are to be found in the principal group.



Fig. 318. Bartolo di Fredi, the Adoration of the Magi. Accademia, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

Bartolo has left us yet another Adoration of the Magi; it is a fairly small picture and from its shape one would judge that it was originally one of the terminals of a polyptych. The composition is simpler, but the types and attitudes of the chief figures are the same as in the previous picture. Here too we find the Journey of the Wise Men in the background but the drawing of this passage is inferior as well as its decorative effect. This panel, whose pro-



Fig. 319. Bartolo di Fredi, Madonna. Previously in the Corsi Collection, Florence.

venance is unknown to me, once belonged to Mr. Rudolph Chillingworth (¹).

Of rather hard outline but charming linear effect is a Madonna enthroned with the Child, Who carries a little bird, while above are two small figures of prophets, which I once saw in the house of Signor Corsi in Florence (fig. 319). I do not know where this picture is at the present day. It formed the central part of a polypych, one of whose lateral panels represented St. Antony Abbot.

Another product of this manner is a picture of the Coronation of the Virgin in the Siena Gallery (no. 580), in which the Saviour and the Madonna are seated on the same bench, behind which five angels are depicted. The faces are rather ugly and of a florid complexion, but again the decorative effect is good.

The hardness of line and conventionality of type are less disagreeably evident in two important altar-pieces, one of which is to be found in the Gallery of Perugia and the other in the Boston Museum. The former, which has been recently restored, shows, in the centre, the Virgin enthroned, with the Child, and in each of the lateral panels a male and a female saint and a little angelic musician kneeling. Each of the three panels has three gables, but of the figures depicted in these gables one can only distinguish an angel in one and a cherub in another. Besides a difference in the drawing and composition, we see here the clear but soft colours which differ somewhat from those hitherto employed, for they have been hard and clashing.

The altar-piece in the Boston Fine Arts Museum (fig. 320) is in form and proportion very similar to that at Perugia. In the centre we see the Death and Assumption of the Virgin; at the sides SS. Nicholas, Peter, Lawrence and John the Evangelist, and above them four prophets, while on the terminals are medallions representing the Saviour and two angels.

On account of the less wooden quality of the drawing, I think these works must date from the intermediate period between the master's first manner and that of the dated work of 1382. At the beginning of this same period, he probable painted the rather blackened picture which now adorns the second altar to the right

(¹) The Chillingworth collection was sold at Lucerne in September 1922, when this picture passed into other hands.

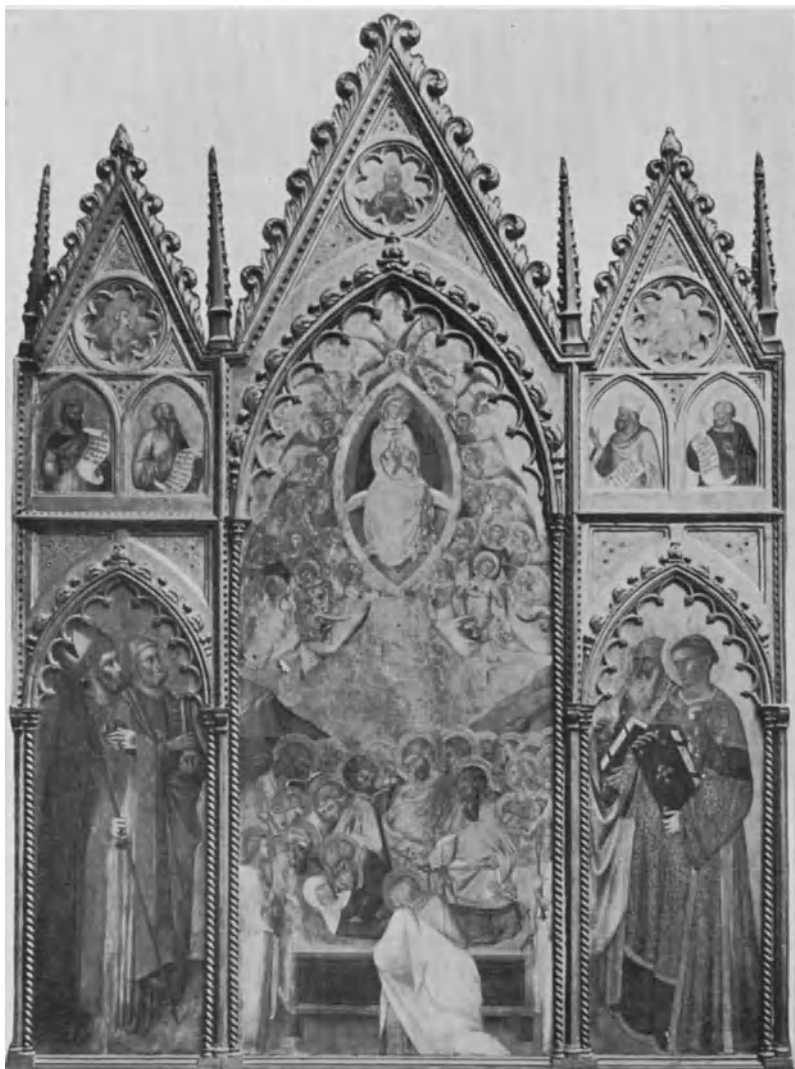


Fig. 320 Bartolo di Fredi, the Death and Assumption of the Virgin and Saints. Fine arts Museum, Boston.

in the Prepositura of Torrita⁽¹⁾. The principal panel shows the Nativity, the scene being an open shed, in front of which the shepherds are kneeling; at the sides are SS. Antony Abbot and Augustine.

⁽¹⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1907, p. 75.

Of the altar-piece, dated 1382, which is now preserved in the Town Hall of Montalcino, the various parts represent the Deposition, the Baptism of Christ, two scenes from the legend of St. Philip of Montalcino (1), and the figures of SS. Paul, Francis, Antony of Padua and Peter (2), all cut at the level of the knees. The master expended but little care on these figures: the attitudes are stiff and ungraceful. In the faces he has tried to imitate the tragic expression of the Lorenzetti's heads, but the rigid lines with which he attempts to produce them, result only in disfiguration.

It should be noted that, contrary to the statement made by Cavalcaselle, we do not find here the usual Sienese composition of the Descent from the Cross, but a picture which, with the group of soldiers on the right, the angels hovering around the Cross, and the Magdalene kneeling at its foot, was clearly inspired by representations of the Crucifixion, and this, as far as I know, is the unique example of such a composition after the 12th century.

Although this is one of Bartolo's poorest productions, it nevertheless has its importance as a link with the master's next manner, which seems to me the best, and of which the finest example is the Coronation of the Virgin of 1388.

I feel strongly inclined to class amongst the products of the first half of Bartolo's career a work now in the Museum of Berlin, although I must admit that it cannot be associated with any special work of this period. The upper part of the panel shows the Annunciation and the predella six half-length figures of saints in two groups (no. 1142) (3). The somewhat clumsy drawing of this work does not exclude very perceptible traces of Simone Martini's influence. The model followed, was obviously Simone's beautiful Annunciation of 1333.

The Coronation of the Virgin of 1388 (fig. 321) in the Town Hall of Montalcino, and the other panels which belonged to this altar-piece, are much more beautiful than the artist's productions

(1) St. Philip curing the sick and his ascension to heaven. Cavalcaselle mentions five scenes from the life of St. Philip, represented on three panels.

(2) *F. Bargagli-Petrucci*, Pienza, Montalcino, etc., p. 153.

(3) *O. Siren*, *L'Arte*, IX, 1906, p. 333. We have already classified the panel of the Madonna seated on the ground nursing the Child, here also attributed to Bartolo, with the works of Donato, the brother of Simone Martini.

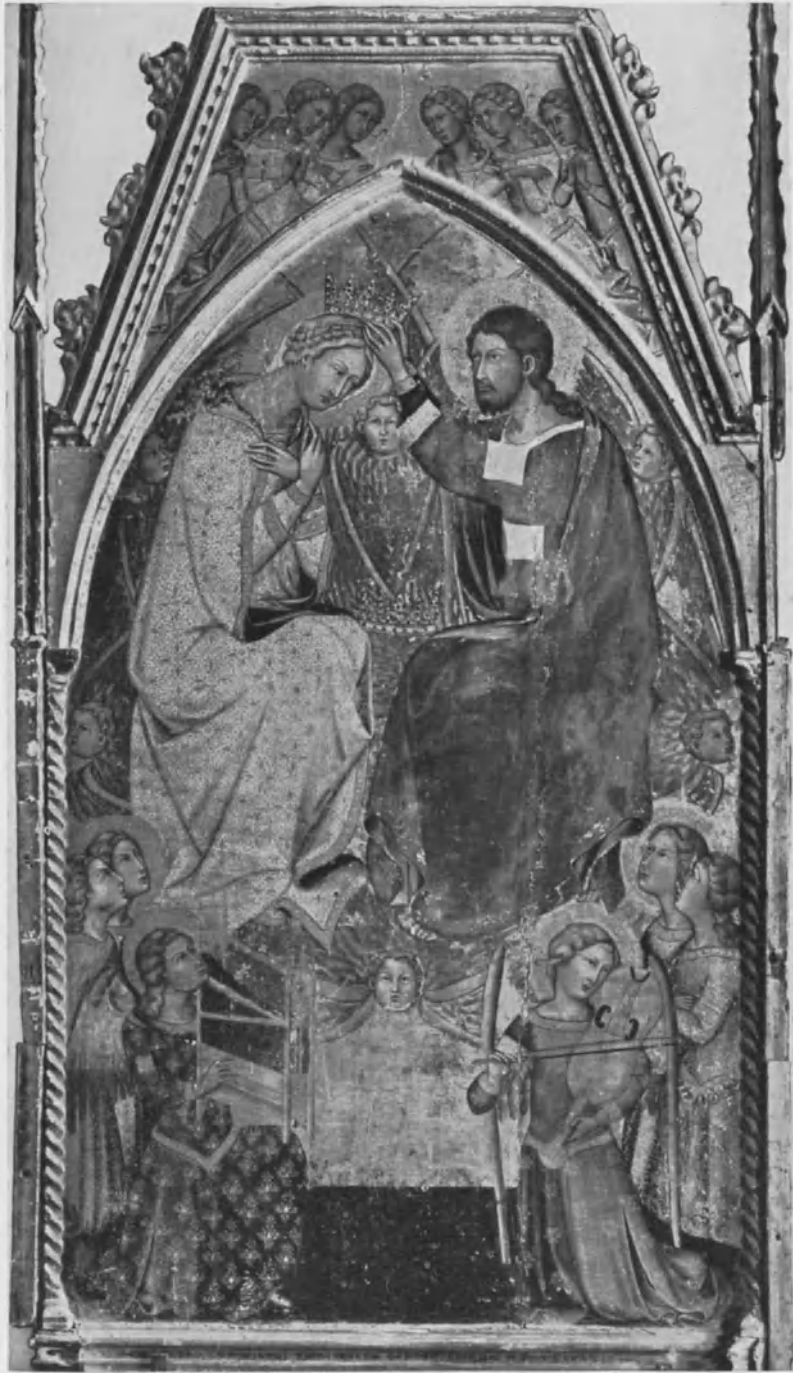


Fig. 321. Bartolo di Fredi, the Coronation of the Virgin, 1388. Gallery, Montalcino.

Photo Brogi.



Fig. 322. Bartolo di Fredi, Scenes from the Life of the Virgin. Accademia, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

of six years earlier. The linear rigidity of the earlier paintings no longer shocks the eye; on the contrary, the figures are extremely graceful, and the noble, regular features display a sweet and



Fig. 323. Detail of fig. 322.

Photo Lombardi.

tender expression. These characteristics are very evident in the angels surrounding the principal figures. Amongst the different pieces in the Accademia of Siena, we find two pilasters of the frame adorned with figures of saints (nos. 97 and 102), a part of the predella showing Joachim chased from the Temple, the Descent from the Cross, and the Nativity of the Virgin (no. 99); two of the lateral panels, each containing two scenes from the life of the Virgin, they are the Wedding of Mary and Joseph, the Virgin returning to the house of her parents, her farewell to the Apostles, her Death (no. 100, figs. 322 and 323) and lastly the Assumption (no. 101, fig. 324).

In the grace, the truth of emotion, and the facial types and expressions, which are very different from those of his previous work, we notice undeniable traces of the influence of Simone Martini, or rather of those artists who, even at this late date, were still faithfully following the manner of the great Sieneſe painter.

Two panels of a predella (no. 98) and an entire predella composed of five panels (no. 103), both in the Gallery of Siena, are executed very much in the same manner as the polyptych of 1388; the former might be of slightly earlier date. The scenes represented on the latter are incidents from the life of St. John, the Adoration of the Magi, and a miracle performed by St. Lucy.

A half-length figure of St. Lucy in the Blumenthal collection, New York ⁽¹⁾, is a product of the same period; so too is a half-length figure of the Madonna with the Child in the church of S. Agostino at Montalcino (fig. 325). This latter is of rather unusual appearance, but it seems too beautiful a picture to be classed as a school work ⁽²⁾.

The same artistic ideals, intermingled, however, with certain technical details more reminiscent of the works of the first manner, are observed in the frescoes on the walls of the chapel to the right of the choir of S. Agostino at San Gimignano ⁽³⁾. Unfortunately only some fragments remain of a decoration which must once have completely covered the walls of this chapel. The Nati-

⁽¹⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1910, p. 71.

⁽²⁾ As I have classed it in my book on Simone Martini, p. 155. *Bargagli Petrucci*, op. cit., p. 155.

⁽³⁾ *J. Baldoria*, op. cit.



Fig. 324. Bartolo di Fredi, the Assumption. Accademia, Siena.

Photo Lombardi.

vity of the Virgin (fig. 326) and her Death are still clearly visible. The former is quite well preserved and offers us an example of an incident staged indoors. St. Anna, reclining on her decorated



Fig. 325. Bartolo di Fredi, Madonna. S. Agostino, Montalcino.

Photo Istit. Arti Grafiche.

bed, which is fitted into a niche in the wall, is seen washing her hands; a woman standing in the doorway is about to enter with gifts for the happy mother, while two other women, seated on the floor, have just bathed the Child. In an adjoining room the birth of his Child is announced to Joachim, who is seated beside another old man. Of the fresco of the Madonna's death, we can distinguish the Virgin lying on a bier surrounded by numerous

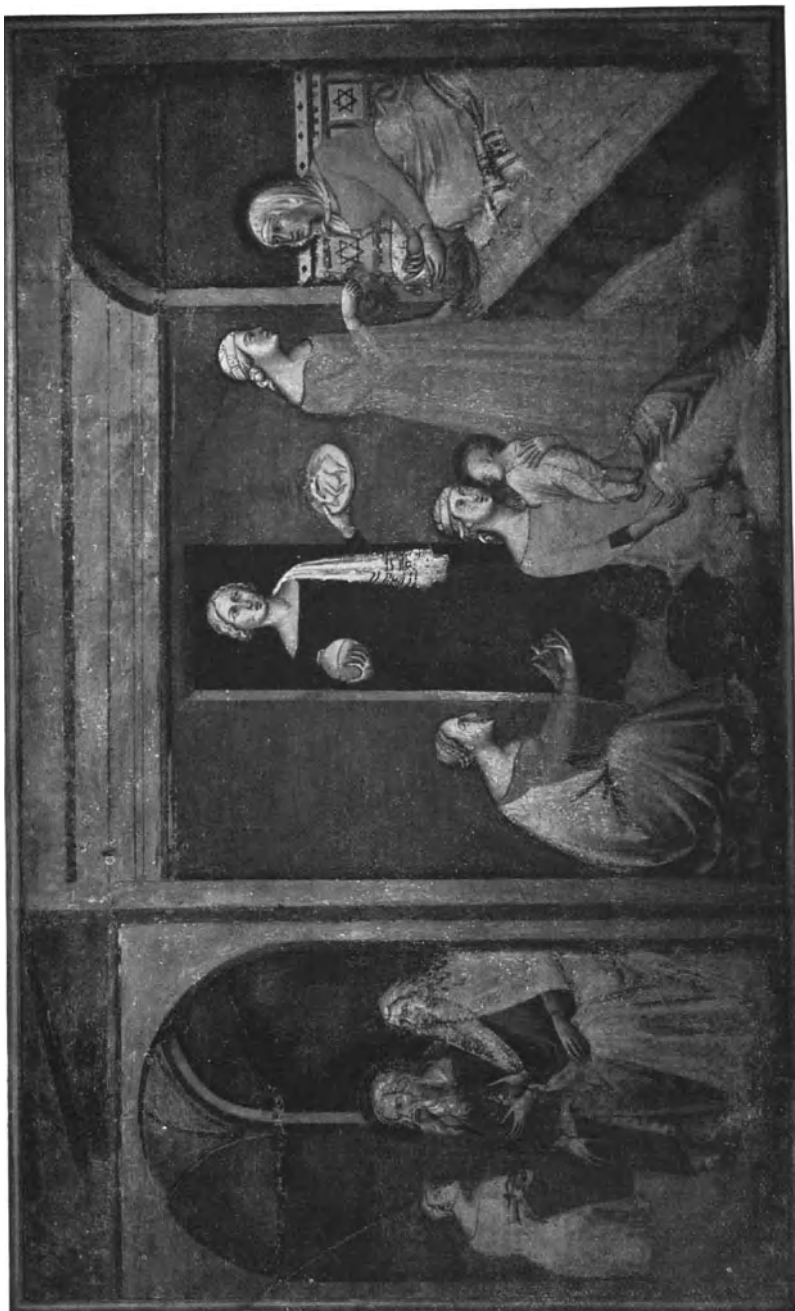


Fig. 326. Bartolo di Fredi, the Nativity of the Virgin. S. Agostino, San Gimignano.

Photo Brogi.

figures of Apostles and angels, while in the centre the Saviour holds an image of His Mother's soul. It is especially the faces of this group that strongly resemble some of the faces in the Coronation of 1388, and thus confirm the hypothesis that the period of their production was by no means that of the series of Old Testament scenes in the Collegiata of this same city.

No trace of the hard outline and disagreeable linear effect remains in the work of what I believe to be Bartolo's last phase, in which type and expression betray the increasing predominance of Simone's art. The finest of these is a Virgin and Child — cut through at the level of the knees — in S. Antonio in Bosco (Colle Val d'Elsa) ⁽¹⁾. The expression of the Virgin, whose contours are more rounded than in any of Bartolo's works with which we have dealt as yet, is full of sweetness, but that of the Child Jesus, Who is shown grasping a pomegranate, is sad and apprehensive. The decorative details of this panel are very rich and executed with great care. The picture as a whole somehow differs from Bartolo's other works; so much so that some may find it even difficult to recognize the master's hand.

Belonging to the same group, but probably slightly earlier in date, is a panel of the Assumption of the Virgin in the church of Sta. Maria Assunta at Monte Olivieto near San Gimignano ⁽²⁾.

The picture is rather damaged, but the large, robust Virgin shows a certain resemblance to that of S. Antonio in Bosco; the surrounding angels are drawn in a harder and more schematic manner. In all probability the Assumption originally formed part of a polyptych, to which also belonged four panels in the sacristy, representing SS. Bartholomew, Catherine of Alexandria, Bernard Tolomei (?) and St. John the Evangelist.

The number of Bartolo di Fredi's works is too great for us to deal with them all in detail, but those we have mentioned above suffice to give us some idea of the artistic development of this rather singular painter.

He is often classed merely as an adherent of the school of the

⁽¹⁾ *I. Vavasour Elder*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1909, p. 161. A short time ago this picture was stolen, but was recovered a little later. *Bolletino d'Arte del Ministero della Pubbl. Istr.*, 1921, p. 44.

⁽²⁾ *I. Vavasour Elder*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1908, p. 92.

Lorenzetti, but this is a theory with which I am not able wholly to agree, although his earliest works possess certain characteristics which seem to justify this classification. Notwithstanding the hardness of outline and the lack of skill which distorts the features and results in the production of dislocated frames and unsymmetrical faces, the attitudes express a passionate absorption in the event represented.

All this appears to have been borrowed from the Lorenzetti brothers, and above all from Pietro. The attenuated forms of his early works, however, resemble rather those of Barna da Siena, while it was not until 1388, when he executed the Montalcino altar-piece, that the aesthetic principles of Simone's art would seem to have inspired him.

As is the case with other artists, it has sometimes been believed that Bartolo was most strongly influenced by Simone at the beginning of his career; but I am of a different opinion. It was through artists like Bartolo di Fredi, Lippo Vanni, and to a certain extent Luca di Tommè that the art of Simone was transmitted to the following generation of painters, which included in its ranks Andrea di Bartolo, Martino di Bartolommeo and Taddeo di Bartolo; and in all of these painters the elements borrowed from Simone seem to have increased in importance toward the end of their careers.

In comparing the frescoes of the Old Testament at San Gimignano with the Madonna of S. Antonio al Bosco, or the Assumption of Monte Olivieto near San Gimignano, it is obvious that we have before us products of two periods or phases, one very distant from the other, of the artist's career, and as there is no doubt that the frescoes of San Gimignano are youthful productions, it follows logically that the two panels mentioned are fairly late works. This is further confirmed by what I have just said regarding the influence of Simone Martini (¹).

(¹) Lists of Bartolo di Fredi's works will be found in *B. Berenson*, the *Central Italian Painters*, 2nd ed., pp. 139—143, and in *Langton Douglas*'s notes on *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, III, p. 126. It is useless to discuss all these attributions, especially as Mr. Berenson has since retracted many of them. I have mentioned several false attributions in my book on Simone Martini, p. 154, where I assigned to Bartolo di Fredi the large polyptych in the Gallery of Siena, which I now agree with Mr. Perkins in

There are a certain number of works by Bartolo di Fredi's followers which show that his school was fairly extensive and was not without its good points.

By the hand of a contemporary rather than that of a pupil, yet showing a strong resemblance to Bartolo's work, are the frescoes in the tower of the palace at San Gimignano, illustrating marriage and conjugal life (fig. 327). The artist shows a closer relation to Lippo Memmi than did Bartolo di Fredi (¹).

A direct follower of Bartolo's, and one who closely and successfully imitated his master, was the painter of the frescoes in the left transept of the church of S. Francesco at Lucignano. Although they are in a rather ruinous condition, we can still distinguish, in the lunette, St. Francis receiving the stigmata; lower down, St. Christopher, the enthroned Virgin surrounded by six angels, a knight kneeling at her feet, and a figure of St. George on horseback, slaying the dragon. Above the second altar, on the right

ascribing to Luca di Tommè; the small triptych in the Perugia Gallery which I am inclined likewise to attribute to Luca di Tommè; and an Annunciation in the Gallery of Budapest, which I now believe should be ascribed to Niccolò di Buonacorsi. Some of Bartolo di Fredi's works which deserve mention are: *Cusona* (Siena), a signed Madonna; *Lucignano*, Museum, signed triptych, Madonna and two SS. John (Bolletino d'Arte del Ministero della Pubbl. Istr. 1923, p. 527) once belonging to Signor C. Galassi (no. 18 of Room XXX of the Exhibition of Sieneſe Art held in 1904); *Montalcino*, Gallery, Tobias and the angel; *Philadelphia*, Johnson collection, SS Andrew and Thomas Aquinas (Berenſon, Collection of Paintings etc., nos. 96-97); *Pienza*, Gallery, Madonna "della Misericordia", (1362?) (Bargagli Petrucci, op. cit., pp. 66-67); *Pisa*, Gallery, III, 41-42, 45-46, predella panels with scenes from the life of St. Galganus (Perkins. Rasseſna d'Arte Senese, 1907, p. 75); *Rome*, Corsini Gallery, Madonna (De Nicola, op. cit.); Stroganoff coll., Ascension (A. Muñoz, Pièces de choix de la coll. Strog., II, Rome, 1911, pl. II); *San Gimignano*, detached fresco of some female figures (Perkins, op. cit.) *Siena*, Gallery, no. 106. St. Antony and St. Onuphrius (an unpleasing work); no. 110, the four Evangelists (probably a youthful work); Mr. Berenſon mentions as being in the gallery of the hospital (28-30) a Madonna between two saints; *Zara* (Dalmatia), Monastery of Sta. Maria, a Crucifix with the Saviour, the Virgin, St. John and a crowned saint at the four extremities. (The existence of this work has been kindly communicated to me by Dr. De Nicola).

(¹) *R. Pantini*, San Gimignano, p. 74. These frescoes have also been attributed to the school of Duccio or Ugolino, Bolletino d'Arte del. Minist. della Pubbl. Istr., 1921-22, p. 485.



Fig 327. School of Bartolo di Fredi, a Scene from the Illustrations of conjugal Life. Palazzo Pubblico, San Gimignano.

Photo Istit. Arti Grafiche.

wall of the nave, we notice a representation of the Triumph of Death; the symbolic figure, riding past two beggars, is approaching two young men. This fresco might be by the same hand as the decoration of the transept. Amongst the numerous fragments of mural painting which are seen throughout the church, there are some which might also be ascribed to the same artist.

In the church of S. Simeone at Rocca di Castiglione d'Orcia we find on the wall to the left of the entrance a Madonna della Misericordia, and below this a Baptism of Christ and some fragments of other frescoes. These we owe to a rather unskilful artist who drew his inspiration from Bartolo di Fredi.



Fig. 328. School of Bartolo di Fredi, the Adoration of the Shepherds, and the Archangel Michael. S. Michele, Paganico.

Photo Moscioni.

At Pienza, in the abs of S. Francesco, there are some paintings, illustrating the legend of the saint, which have been attributed to Bartolo di Fredi, but which seem to me the work of a distant follower.

A closer adherent of Bartolo's was the artist who executed some frescoes in the church of S. Michele at Paganico (fig. 328) in the region of Grosseto; they have even been ascribed to

Bartolo himself ⁽¹⁾. The vault is adorned with the four figures of the Evangelists and the walls with a representation of the Nativity, three scenes from the legend of St. Michael, the Adoration of the Magi, and on a lower level St. Michael weighing the souls of the Good and the Wicked, while beside a window are the two figures of the Annunciation. This painter follows Bartolo's last manner and reveals in his works a close familiarity with his master's art.

The choir of S. Giovanni Battista at Campagnatico contains some frescoes by a less skilful pupil; the paintings are rather vulgar and the brushwork heavy ⁽²⁾. Here again we find the four Evangelists in the vault, while on each of the walls two scenes from the life of the Virgin are depicted ⁽³⁾.

GIACOMO DI MINO DEL PELLICIAIO ⁽⁴⁾.

A considerable number of documents exist concerning Giacomo di Mino del Pellicciaio, also called Jacopa di frate Mino or "del fu Neri chiamato Farinata" but very few of his works have come down to us.

In 1342 his name appears for the first time in the signature of a Madonna which is still to be found at Sarteano. In 1344 he

⁽¹⁾ *B. Berenson*, Tesori artistici in un villaggio dilapidato della provincia di Grosseto, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1905, p. 102. *C. A. Nicolosi*, Il litorale Maremmano, p. 73. *G. Chierici*, Paganico, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1922, p. 21.

⁽²⁾ *C. A. Nicolosi*, op. cit., p. 61.

⁽³⁾ The following are some other school works: *Chianciano*, Collegiata, Madonna, on the altar on the left of the choir (attributed to Bartolo di Fredi by *Roths*, op. cit., p. 23); *Massa Martima*, Cathedral, frescoes, amongst them an important Adoration of the Magi; *Milan*, Brera Gallery, polyptych, Coronation of the Virgin and four saints (*Malaguzzi-Valeri*, Un quadro di Bartolo di Fredi in Brera, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1907, p. 191); *Montalcino*, Gallery, four small figures of saints; *Newhaven* (U.S.A.), Jarves collection, Yale University, St. Martin dividing his coat with the beggar (attributed by *Mr. Sirén*, *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 35, and other writers, to *Simone Martini*; previously *Mr. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1905, ascribed it to the school of Bartolo di Fredi, which seems to me more accurate); *Siena*, Gallery, no. 96, a knight arrested by soldiers; no. 105, an Annunciation; no. 170, SS. Margaret, Scholastica and Lawrence, (*Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1908, p. 55).

⁽⁴⁾ *R. van Marle*, op. cit., p. 156.

married Caterina di Cecco di Tura and later Margherita di Angelo di Tuccio and had several children ⁽¹⁾. Between 1354 and 1355 he executed some frescoes in the hospital of Siena ⁽²⁾. That same year we find him enrolled in the painter's guild; his name also appears in another (undated) list and again in 1368 ⁽³⁾. He takes an active part in the government of the town in 1361, 1377 and 1379; in 1362 he is appointed a member of the committee which controls the distribution of salt. The polyptych in the Accademia of Siena, originally belonging to the church of Fonte-Branda, is dated 1363, and in the will of Francesco di Guglielmaccio Petroni we have evidence that in the following year he executed the Madonna "del Belvedere" in the Servi church at Siena. In 1366 he was paid for work done in the Cathedral ⁽⁴⁾ and, as we have already seen, in 1367 he collaborated with Bartolo di Fredi in decorating the chapel of S. Ansano in the same building ⁽⁵⁾. Like many other Sienese painters, he too illuminated some of the book-covers in the Biccherna (1369). In 1372 he painted an altarpiece for the church of the monastery at Passignano ⁽⁶⁾ and in the following year we find him estimating the value of a picture by Luca di Tommè ⁽⁷⁾. After a lapse of nine years he is mentioned as having executed a "disegnamento che die a l'uopera della facciata di San Giovanni" which might very well be the still existing plan for the facade of the baptistery.

"Jacomo di frate Mino" is the first name inscribed on the roll of painters of Siena which, according to Milanesi begins in 1389 ⁽⁸⁾. The exact date of his death is not recorded, but we know for certain that it took place before 1396.

Of this artist, concerning whom we have so many documentary records, we possess only three authentic works while only one other can, with any certainty, be attributed to him.

⁽¹⁾ This document as well as most of the others will be found in *Milanesi*, Doc. Sen., I, p. 271—72.

⁽²⁾ Document found by Mr. *Langton Douglas*, *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, II, p. 90, note 6.

⁽³⁾ *Manzoni*, op. cit., pp. 109, 110, 113. *Milanesi*, op. cit., p. 50.

⁽⁴⁾ *Milanesi*, op. cit., p. 31.

⁽⁵⁾ *Milanesi*, p. 260.

⁽⁶⁾ *Milanesi*, p. 269.

⁽⁷⁾ *Milanesi*, p. 28.

⁽⁸⁾ *Milanesi*, p. 40.

The Madonna of 1342 is preserved in the church of SS. Martino e Vittorio at Sarteano, a small town near Chiusi (1). It shows a certain amount of difference and is inferior to the master's other works (2). The Virgin is represented carrying on her arm the Child Jesus, Who is playing rather carelessly with a little bird. Type and technique reveal Lorenzetti's influence on the painter, who, however, has interpreted his master's art in a vulgar and inartistic manner, the image of the Madonna verging on caricature.

The work which has been ascribed to Mino del Pellicciaio is found in the same town, in the church of S. Francesco (3).

It no doubt dates from the same period as the previous picture, for Lorenzetti's influence is just as predominant; the execution, however, is greatly superior. This picture shows us the half-length figure of the Virgin between the two SS. John. Above the central panel we see the Annunciation and angels and above the wings some small figures of saints. All the figures are considerably repainted.

The altar-piece of 1362, which was transferred from the church of Fonte-Branda to the Gallery of Siena (no. 145), is also lacking in refinement (fig. 329). In the centre is represented the Child, seated on His Mother's knee, placing a crown on the head of St. Catherine, who kneels at the feet of the Madonna. The three other saints depicted on the central panel are Lucy, Agnes and the Magdalene, while above, on either side, are three heads of angels. On the extreme left and right are seen St. Antony Abbot and the archangel Gabriel and in the pinnacles the Saviour and four saints. Below we read the signature: "*Jacobus Mini de Senis pinxit Anno Domini MCCCLXII, Tempori Presbiteri Mathei Rectoris Sancti Antoni.*"

The rudeness of execution strikes us in the colours and the drawing of some of the details; for example, the feet of the arch-

(1) *Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1904, p. 147.

(2) *Jacobsen*, *op. cit.*, p. 55, even believes that this is not a work of Mino's and consequently that the signature is false. Actually the signature is thoroughly genuine, and the picture is without doubt from the hand of Mino del Pellicciaio.

(3) *F. M. Perkins*, *Un' opera sconosciuta di G. di M. del P.*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1909, p. 81.

angel. The influence of Lorenzetti is less evident. In some of the faces, especially those of the Virgin and St. Agnes, there is something which reminds us of Simone Martini, while certain of the forms are reminiscent of the art of Luca di Tommè.



Fig. 329. Giacomo da Mino del Pellicciaio, the Coronation of St. Catherine and Saints, 1362. Accademia, Siena.

Photo Lombardi.

Lastly, the Madonna in the Servi church is a beautiful picture, refined in execution as well as in expression, and displaying an extraordinary richness of decorative detail (fig. 330). The enthroned Virgin holds, in both hands, the Infant Christ, Who is bestowing a blessing; from either side, an adoring angel looks down

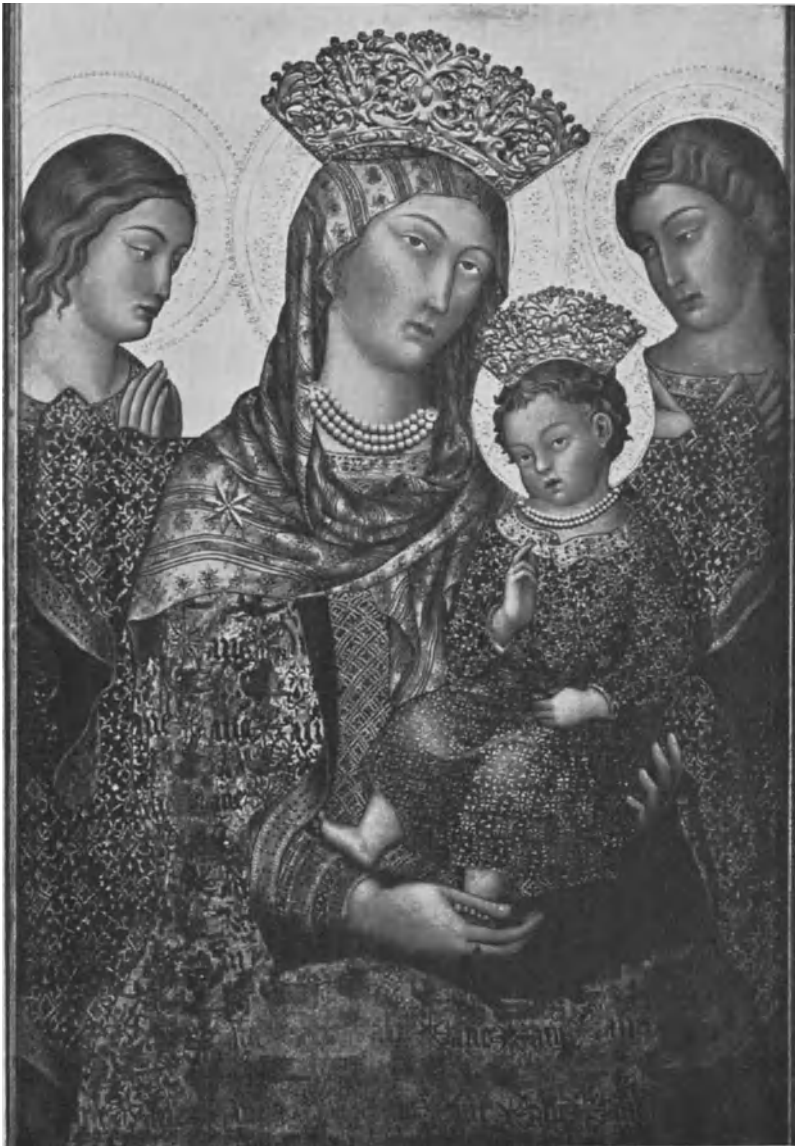


Fig. 330. Giacomo da Mino del Pellicciaio, *Madonna and Angels*, 1364.
Servi Church, Siena.

Photo Brogi.

on the principal figures. Although the artist has not succeeded in producing Simone's depth of feeling, the features are nevertheless beautiful and gentle in expression. It is beyond doubt that

Giacomo was the author of this picture, in which, however, he shows himself to be influenced far more by Simone than by Lorenzetti. Consequently we may add his name to the list of artists who began as adherents of Lorenzetti, but who, toward the end of their careers, were inspired rather by the art of Simone Martini.

The only other work which might possibly be attributed to Giacomo is the Madonna called "Sta. Maria della Pace" in the church of S. Giovannino in Pantaneo. It is sometimes ascribed to Andrea Vanni⁽¹⁾, but the style of the painting bears a closer resemblance to that of our artist. However, in its present repainted condition it is difficult to say whether it is by his own hand or by that of a follower⁽²⁾.

BARTOLOMMEO BOLGARINI⁽³⁾.

Vasari mentions Bartolommeo Bologhini amongst the pupils of Pietro Lorenzetti. Ugurgieri calls him Bolghini, but his real name was Bolgarini, and by this we find him mentioned in various documents.

He is one of the first artists of this period for he is mentioned as early as 1345⁽⁴⁾, when he is paid nine florins for painting a cover for a panel (?) in the Sala dei Nove⁽⁵⁾. In a Pistoian record of 1347—50 he is spoken of as one of the best of the Siense painters. In 1353 he illuminates some of the book-covers of the Biccherna, and in 1362 he and two of his colleagues receive payment for fixing a picture in its place. In the same year he is made a member of the city government. His wife's name is Madonna Bartolommea. In 1363 his name appears on the roll of painters,

⁽¹⁾ Mr. *Langton Douglas, Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, III, p. 131, note 3, assigns it to Fei.

⁽²⁾ *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, III, p. 121, note 1, mention a Madonna in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (no. 1100, but not exhibited), executed in the manner of Giacomo di Mino.

⁽³⁾ Bolletino della Societa filologica Romana, 1904, p. 11. *De Nicola*, in Thieme Becker, *Künstler-Lexikon*, II, p. 567.

⁽⁴⁾ *Milanesi* in his annotations on *Vasari*, I, p. 477, informs us that he painted book-covers for the Biccherna in 1337, but in his *Documenti per la Storia dell' Arte Senesi*, he does not mention this fact.

⁽⁵⁾ For the greater part these data are to be found in *Milanesi, Doc. Sen.*, I, p. 49—50.

and in 1369 he is employed at the court of the Popes in Rome, where he is known as Bartolommeo de Senis⁽¹⁾. In 1373 he painted a picture for the church of the hospital, which is signed: "*Frater Bartholomeus dni Bulgarini de Senis me pinxit tempore dni galgani rectoris hospitalis sce Marie a dni MCCCLXXIII*". The first word of this inscription can be explained by the fact that the painter was a hospital brother. It was from a sketch by Bolgarini that the portrait of Pietro Lorenzetti with which the first edition of Vasari is illustrated, was executed⁽²⁾. The Aretin biographer informs us that he saw an altar-piece by Bolgarini in the S. Silvestro chapel of the church of Sta. Croce, Florence⁽³⁾. Bartolommeo Bolgarini died in 1378. Cavalcaselle, in telling us that not a single work of Bolgarini's had come down to us, was evidently unaware of the existence of the triptych in the church of S. Francesco, Tivoli, part of which was found in Sta. Maria Maggiore. The Madonna is represented on the centre panel, and on the wings, which are decorated on both sides, the two figures of the Annunciation are depicted on the front and SS. Francis and Louis of Toulouse on the back. At the foot of the centre panel the name "*Bartolomeus de Senis*" is inscribed, and below the figures of the Annunciation we again find the name of the artist with the word "*pinxit*"⁽⁴⁾.

Of the close tie which, according to Vasari, united Bartolommeo Bolgarini and Pietro Lorenzetti we can find no trace in these panels. They are obviously the work of a minor painter whose motionless and inanimate figures possess a certain charm in their graceful proportions and almost elegant conventionalism. The spirit of the artist was about a hundred years behind his times.

NICCOLO DI BUONACCORSO.

Niccolo di Buonaccorso is a charming little master of the second half of the 14th century, concerning whom we possess a

(1) *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, II, p. 187 note 2.

(2) *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, III, p. 154.

(3) *Vasari-Milanesi*, I, p. 478.

(4) *A. Rossi*, *Opera d'arte a Tivoli*, L'Arte, 1904, p. 19. *The Same*, Tivoli, Bergamo, 1908, pp. 115—122.

certain number of documents. Only one of his signed pictures has come down to us, but it enables us to attribute several anonymous paintings to the same artist.

Niccolo was in all probability the son of Buonaccorso di Pace, a painter who married Maddalena di Cecco di Nuccio in 1348, and made his will in 1362, while he was "Capitano del Popolo" (1). Niccolo must have been the son of a former marriage, since his name is found on a roll of painters, probably of the year 1356 (2). In 1372 and 1377 he is a member of the city government, and in 1381 is made the gonfalonier of his quarter, which is that of S. Martino. He is remunerated for the decoration of the chapel "della Tavola" in 1376; in 1385 he is again mentioned, and in 1387 he signs a work which has been lost only recently. In May 1388 he was buried in the cloister of S. Domenico at Siena (3).

The only dated work that we find mentioned, was preserved in the church of Sta. Margarita near Costa al Pino just outside the Porta S. Marco of Siena. It comprised two panels of a polyptych and represented the Virgin and St. Margaret, but the figures were both in very bad condition and to a large extent repainted. Milanesi even claims that the lateral figure was originally one of St. Lawrence. These pictures have disappeared from the above church (4). At the foot of the panel of the Virgin was the signature: "*Nicholaus Bonachursi me pinxit A. Dni MCCCLXXXVII*".

The extent signed picture, which represents the Marriage of the Virgin, is to be found in the National Gallery, London, (no. 1109, fig. 331). Two other panels, which I think must have belonged to the same series, are a Presentation in the Temple, which comes from the hospital of Sta. Maria Nuova, Florence, and which, before the Florentine Museums were re-arranged, hung in the Uffizi (no. 14), and an Assumption which was once in the Sciarra collection, but is now I believe in the possession of M. d'

(1) *Milanesi*, Doc. Sen., I, p. 50.

(2) *Manzoni*, op. cit., p. 109.

(3) *Milanesi*, Doc. Sen., I, p. 31—32.

(4) At Costa al Pino there is only a villa which is called Sta Margarita, and in the chapel of this villa there were once some pictures, which, many years ago, were given to the Misericordia. Many writers, however, continue to mention the work of Buonaccorso as still existing there.



Fig. 331. Niccolò di Buonaccorso, the Marriage of the Virgin. National Gallery, London.

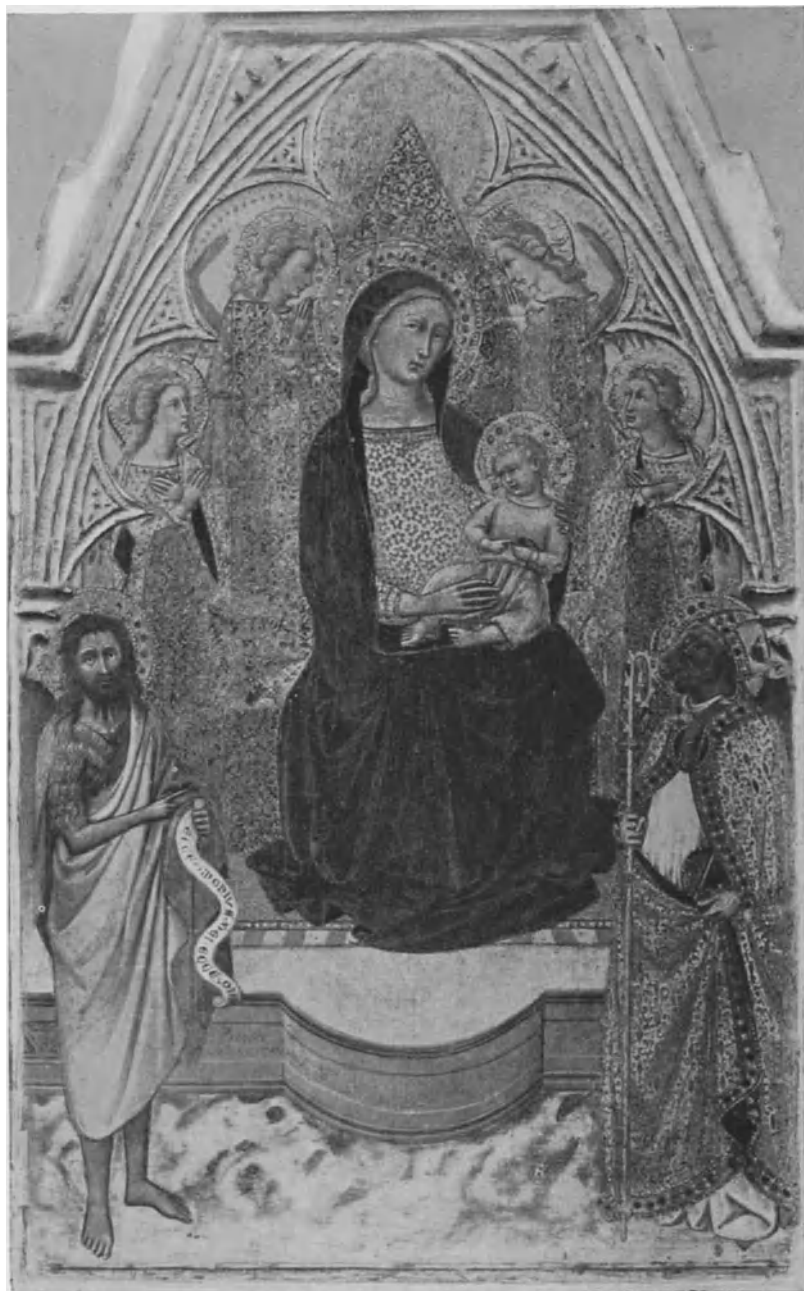


Fig. 332. Niccolo di Buonaccorso, Madonna and Saints. Museum, Boston.

Hendecourt, Paris⁽¹⁾. The picture in the National Gallery is signed: "*Nicholaus Bonachursi De Senis me pinxit.*"

In studying the works which can be ascribed to this artist we can recognize two very different manners. That to which the three works already mentioned belong, seems to have been executed in the painter's second manner. Paintings of this phase exhibit softer outlines, more graceful attitudes, and more beauty of facial expression than in earlier productions. I think we may still include amongst the later works a triptych centre in the Boston Museum, representing the enthroned Virgin attended by the Baptist, a holy Bishop, and four angels, of whom little more than their heads is visible behind the back of the throne (fig. 332)⁽²⁾; a panel in the Gallery of Siena (no. 121), showing the Virgin nursing the Child with three saints on either side and a Crucifixion above⁽³⁾, and perhaps also a figure of St. John in the Gallery of Pisa (no. 6).

What I believe to be Niccolo's more youthful manner is exemplified in an Annunciation on two panels in the Bandini Museum, Fiesole (fig. 333)⁽⁴⁾, where the artist has modelled his figures on those of Simone's Annunciation in the Uffizi. A very similar composition, also depicted on two panels, is no. 51 in the Museum of Budapest (fig. 334), which is sometimes attributed to Bartolo di Fredi⁽⁵⁾, but also to the school of Lippo Memmi, and even to Simone Martini⁽⁶⁾.

To a transitional period between the earlier and the later manner I think we can ascribe a small panel in the Gallery of Perugia (fig. 335). It represents Christ crucified between two angels, with the Virgin and St. John seated on the ground and an adoring monk kneeling at the foot of the Cross.

In this case we cannot say that the evolution of the artist follows the course of many of those already considered, in whom the influence of Lorenzetti gives way to that of Simone; but these

(1) *F. M. Perkins*, Rassegna d'Arte, 1914, p. 98.

(2) *F. M. Perkins*, Rassegna d'Arte Senese, 1920, p. 117.

(3) An attribution made by Mr. *Perkins*, loc. cit.

(4) *F. M. Perkins*, Rassegna d'Arte, 1918, p. 105.

(5) Amongst others by myself: Simone Martini, p. 151, also by *Suida*, who announced it as a work by Bartolo di Fredi, L'Arte, 1907, p. 180.

(6) *Von Terey*, Die Gemäldegalerie in Budapest, p. 23.



Fig. 333. Nicolo di Buonaccorso, the Annunciation. Bandini Museum, Fiesole.

Photo Reali.

two movements are none the less those on which this little painter has based his art; and this is manifest even at the beginning of his career. However, the vigorous drawing, the slightly angular forms of the earlier works are more reminiscent of the art of



Fig. 334. Niccolo di Buonaccorso, the Annunciation. Museum, Budapest.

Photo Hanfstaengl.

the Lorenzetti; on the other hand, the Gothic outlines in the figures of the angels of the two Annunciations and the beauty of form, as well as the type of the Crucified on the panel at Perugia are all elements borrowed from Simone's art. Again, the more robust figures, the round heads, the minute detail in the drawing of the features in the panels of Siena, Boston and Florence, the



Fig. 335. Niccolo di Buonaccorso, the Crucifixion. Pinacoteca, Perugia.

Photo Minist. del. Publ. Istr.

face of the Virgin in the Perugia Crucifixion, in which the expression of grief is so realistic, and the backgrounds of fanciful architecture, have all been directly inspired by the art of Ambrogio

Lorenzetti. Certain of his works, especially some of the earlier ones, show a good deal of likeness to those of Bartolo di Fredi; others are more reminiscent of the works of Fei and his group of adherents. Niccolo di Buonaccorso was not a great artist, but his ingenuous little pictures, executed with so much diligence and care for detail, possess an unquestionable charm (1).

FRANCESCO DI VANNUCCI (2).

The name of Francesco di Vannucci appears on the first roll of Sienese painters, but we know too that in 1361 he received payment for certain works executed at Montalcino at the expense of the city of Siena, and that in 1362 he is paid 15 sous for a certain work in the Opera del Duomo. He is, of course, the Francesco Vannucci to whom Bartolo di Fredi, in 1367, transfers the order for a picture (3). In 1388 he receives 16 sous for a panel and he must have painted some half-length figures in the Duomo, since they are quoted as a model for Taddeo di Bartolo (4). On this last occasion, it is true, he is called "il Chiancianese", which would indicate that his native town was Chianciano; but Milanese is of the opinion that the document concerns another person.

We have only one signed work by Francesco di Vannucci, it is a little processional panel, painted back and front in the Berlin Museum (no. 1062 b, fig. 336); on one side it shows the Crucified

(1) Mr. Perkins, in his above-quoted articles, still attributes to Niccolo di Buonaccorso nos. 66 and 222 in the Gallery of Siena, a Madonna and angels and a Madonna between four saints; a panel of Christ on the Cross between the Virgin and St. John in the city Museum of Ravenna and an Assumption in the Lehman collection, New York. Rather closely resembling Buonaccorso's manner is a triptych in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne (no. 525); in the centre the Virgin, fondly embracing the Child, is enthroned, with four attendant saints, of whom the Baptist and St. Bartholomew can be recognized. In the upper portion of the wings we see the two figures of the Annunciation, not unlike those of the Budapest panel, and beneath them St. Peter and St. Paul.

(2) *Thieme Becker*, Künstler-Lexikon, XII, p. 311.

(3) *Borghese e Banchi*, Nuovi Documenti, p. 27.

(4) *Milanese*, Doc. Sen., I, pp. 33, 35 and 313.



Fig. 336. Francesco di Vannucci, the Crucifixion. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.

Photo Hanfstaengl.

between the Virgin and St. John and two devotees; on the left a holy bishop and on the right a Franciscan monk, both kneeling; the words with which they invoke Christ are inscribed on the picture. The signature below runs: "*Francischuo di Vannucio de Senis pinxit hoc opus*". The painting on the other side is less well preserved; it represents the Virgin enthroned with an adoring monk at her feet between St. Francis (?) and a female saint (1).

The types of this master's figures seem to be modelled on Simone's or rather on Lippo's. The movements and expressions however are very vivacious, but the proportions are not especially graceful. Similar Crucifixions are found in the collection of the late Mr. Johnson of Philadelphia (2), and in that — now scattered — of Herr von Kaufmann of Berlin; both are justly ascribed to Francesco di Vannucci. I know of no other works from the hand of this master.

PAOLO DI GIOVANNI FEI (3).

Concerning Paolo di Giovanni Fei, which is probably an abbreviated form of Federici, we have a certain number of documents but only two authentic works of which but one is dated.

His name is inscribed in the second roll of painters of Siena, but in 1372 he was already a member of the city government so that it is hardly likely that he was born later than 1342 (4). There once existed in the church of S. Maurice a picture signed: "*Paulus Johannes de Senis pinxit A D MCCCCLXXXI*"; a few lines which Dante dedicated to the Virgin were inscribed on this panel, and prove that the subject of the painting was the Madonna (5).

(1) *Bode*, Jahrbuch des Preus. Kunstsamml., VI, p. LIX.

(2) *B. Berenson*, Catalogue of a Collection of Italian Pictures.

(3) The following articles on Fei have appeared: *F. M. Perkins*, The Burlington Magazine, August, 1903, *B. Berenson*, idem, Nov. 1903, *Langton Douglas*, Nineteenth Century and after, Nov. 1904. See also *L. Douglas* in *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, III, p. 131, note 3.

(4) *Milanesi*, Doc. Sen., I, p. 37.

(5) *Langton Douglas* in *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, III, p. 130, note 1, and p. 131, note 3, identifies this Madonna with that by Andrea Vanni in the church of S. Spirito, Siena.

On the altar of the Accarigi in S. Domenico there was another picture with the signature and date: "*Paulus Johannes Fei MCCCLXXXVII*", and I do not think that it is impossible that the Madonna which we find there to-day, is the picture in question.

In 1395 Fei is at work in or for the Cathedral, where he paints a St. Paul in the choir, a St. Ansanus on a tabernacle, and still another minor work; in 1397 he is paid for yet further paintings. We find that in 1398, 1399 and 1400 he painted images of SS. Peter, Paul, Boniface and Savinus. During the last of these years he worked in the Cathedral, in the chapel of S. Antonio, and in 1403 in the choir. That same year he was employed to gild the bronze wolf in the Piazza del Duomo. In 1408 he worked in the chapel of the Passion, and in 1409 executed the figures of SS. Peter and Paul for Sta. Maria della Scala; these paintings are still to be found in the gallery of the hospital, to which, however, the public is nowadays practically refused admittance (¹). The last mention which we can find of this painter is dated 1410, when he painted four saints in the chapel called "dei Maestri".

The two authentic works by Fei are the polyptych in the Accademia of Siena (no. 300) signed "*Paulus Jovann*", and the figures of SS. Peter and Paul in the hospital gallery, and which, as Mr. Langton Douglas has demonstrated, must be those referred to in the document of 1409.

The signed picture is in a much damaged condition. It was brought to the gallery from the church of St. Andreino near "le Serre di Rapolano".

The Virgin is here represented enthroned between SS. Andrew and John the Baptist on the one hand and St. Francis and the archangel Gabriel on the other. Three small figures of saints adorn each of the pilasters; on the one side they are SS. Augustine, Bartholomew and James, and on the other St. Agnes, with two other female saints. These small figures are very characteristic, and help us to recognize the work of a rather late phase of the artist's activity.

In the chronological classification of Fei's works I think we should place this production toward the end of his career, since

(¹) v. Mr. Langton Douglas' article in the Nineteenth Century and after.



Fig. 337. Paolo di Giovanni Fei, the Nativity of the Virgin and Saints.
Accademia, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

in it we note the decadence of what I believe to be his second manner, in which the influence of Bartolo di Fredi is very evident.

More typical of this second period, and the most important of the painter's surviving works is a panel representing the Nativity of the Virgin in the Gallery of Siena (no. 116, fig. 337). In the lateral panels we see SS. James and Catherine on the left, and SS. Bartholomew and Elizabeth of Hungary on the right; of the

figures in the medallions above, only the central one and those adjacent to it are now visible.

It is very clear that the model which Fei followed was the painting of the same subject, which Pietro Lorenzetti executed in 1342 and which is now in the Opera del Duomo. Although rendered in a somewhat unskilful manner, we find a similar attempt to produce an effect of perspective, while the group of the boy announcing the news to Joachim is copied from Pietro's panel. The most important feature in the style of this painting is the rather over-charged Gothicism of the drapery, especially that of the lateral figures, and in this Fei's art differs greatly from Bartolo di Fredi's, from whom, however, he seems to have borrowed the proportions and types of his figures.

In exactly the same manner are executed three important figures of saints, SS. James, John the Baptist and another saint holding a stick, in the Gallery of Siena (no. 126).

Showing a fairly close connection as to style, although of a much higher standard of work, is the charming Madonna in the church of S. Domenico, which perhaps may be identified with the picture which the artist painted for this church in 1387 (fig. 338). This panel is probably of a slightly earlier date than the two in the Gallery of Siena. The sweetly melancholy expression of the Madonna and the sad, serious face of the Child remind us of Simone's work.

If we admit that the period during which Fei executed the two pictures in the Gallery of Siena (nos. 116 and 126) was that during which the influence of Bartolo di Fredi induced a certain mannerism, then there is a little group of works which, although they differ in some respects, seem to be free of this defect, and on this account may be assigned to a slightly earlier stage in the artist's career.

The best and most important of these works is a triptych in the Minutolo chapel of the Cathedral in Naples⁽¹⁾. In the centre is depicted the Crucifixion, which the artist has conceived in rather a mystical spirit, for the Eternal supports the Crucified, and a dove symbolizes the Holy Ghost; above a pelican is depicted,

⁽¹⁾ This picture is mentioned by *Rosini*, *Storia della Pittura Italiana*, II, p. 155, and reproduced by *d'Agincourt*, *Histoire de l'art par les monuments: Peinture*, pl. CXXXIV.



Fig. 338. Paolo di Giovanni Fei, Madonna. S. Domenico, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

feeding its young in the traditional manner. A mandorla surrounded by cherubim frames this group; beneath it the Virgin and St. John stand mourning on either side, while the Magdalene grasps the foot of the Cross. Each of the wings is adorned with two figures of saints and above them the medallion of a prophet; in the apices are depicted the Redeemer in the centre and on either side the angel and the Virgin of the Annunciation. Although it is true that the graceful forms in this triptych are in no way conventional, we may none the less discover, in the appearance of the Eternal and St. Catherine(?), in the left wing, those elements which later developed into mannerisms and which, even here, reveal the master's knowledge of Bartolo di Fredi's art.

The charming triptych of the Assumption of the Virgin in the Chigi Zondadari collection in Siena⁽¹⁾ may, I think, be ascribed to a slightly earlier moment of this phase. Above, the Virgin is supported by two angels, and surrounded by eight others, who hover in mid-air, playing on musical instruments. St. Thomas, kneeling, raises his arms toward the Madonna and below the Apostles, grouped around the tomb, discover the miracle. The ground over which the Virgin has passed is covered with flowers. Above two medallions enclose the half-length figures of the Annunciation. This painting differs from the master's works in the fineness of its execution, but it is also remarkable for the movement and nervous excitement which the figures display; the expressions and gestures of the Apostles, especially of St. Thomas, are full of life.

Amongst the earliest works of this artist we must class the beautiful Madonna which adorns the fourth altar on the left in the Cathedral of Siena (fig. 339) ⁽²⁾. The Virgin is here represented sitting on the ground nursing the Child. The Gothic line of the drapery is well rendered, and the influence of Simone is clearly visible in the type and facial expression of the Virgin.

A Madonna, not unlike the previous one, but of a slightly later date, is in the possession of Mr. Loeser, Florence ⁽³⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1914, p. 99.

⁽²⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1907, p. 80. *Langton Douglas* in *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, III, p. 136, note, attributes it to Andrea di Bartolo.

⁽³⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, loc. cit.



Fig. 339. Paolo di Giovanni Fei, Madonna. Cathedral, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

The finest of this group, and a panel directly inspired by Simone, is a little triptych in the Gallery of Siena (no. 154). In the centre the Virgin is seen attended by two saints and two angels, while the wings show SS. Christopher and Bartholomew, with the two figures of the Annunciation above.

There are still some pictures by Fei which I think date from this early period. The most important of these is a polyptych in the church of S. Bernardino, beyond the Porta Camollia of Siena (1). The enthroned Virgin is depicted in the centre and on each of the four lateral panels are two saints kneeling in prayer. The pinnacles are adorned with a figure of the Saviour and four busts of angels. In spite of the richness of decorative detail, the execution of this picture is coarser and the forms lack grace. The types of the Virgin and of the Child remind us of those in the Cathedral, but the Gothic effect of the drapery is even more overdone.

A Madonna somewhat similar in type, but executed with the technical fineness of the Assumption in the Chigi Zondadari collection, is to be found in the Chigi Saracini collection in Siena (fig. 340). The Virgin nursing the Child is seated on a throne, behind the back of which nine angels are visible, while two male and two female saints stand on either hand. A curious iconographical detail, and one found only in the allegory which Ambrogio Lorenzetti executed at Monte Siepi, is the reclining figure of Eve on a lower level; in a tree close by is depicted the Serpent. This representation will also be found in some of the productions of Fei's Orvietan adherents. In this work we see, for the first time, the platform separated from the throne, which reappears in other paintings of this master. The angelic figures are here especially beautiful; the saints resemble those of the polyptych in S. Bernardino, but the folds of their garments do not show the same Gothic line. This absence of the Gothic note strikes us also in a little triptych in the Gallery of Siena (no. 183, fig. 341), in which four saints stand beside the Virgin's throne behind which three beautiful angels are seen. Two other saints are depicted on each of the lateral panels, and above either pair a figure of the Annunciation. Over the central panel is a small representation of

(1) Reprod. in *C. Ricci*, *Il Palazzo Pubblico di Siena e la Mostra d'antica arte Senese*, Bergamo, 1904, fig. 39.

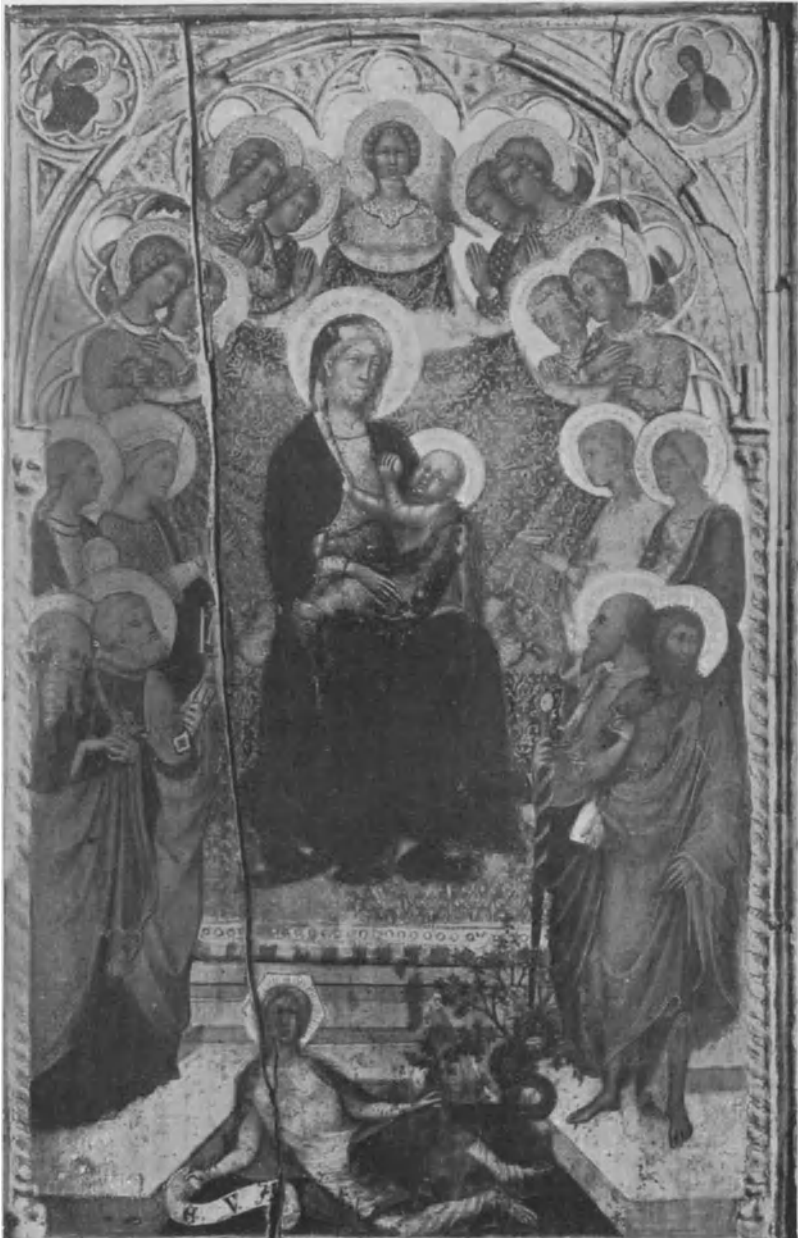


Fig. 340. Paolo di Giovanni Fei, Madonna, Saints and Angels.

Chigi Saracini Collection, Siena.

Photo Lombardi.

the Crucifixion, in which the Virgin and St. John are seated on the ground below the Cross. It is a fine little picture, exact in drawing and execution; while the types and feelings portrayed still show some relation to the art of Simone Martini.



Fig. 341. Paolo di Giovanni Fei, Triptych, Accademia, Siena.

Photo Alinari.

There is no trace of this influence in some of Fei's other pictures, which for this very reason, I think, we may ascribe to the last years of the master's activity. It is true that they have few points in common with the two pictures in the Gallery of Siena, which I ascribed to a later date than the works of the previous group and which, therefore, must be the outcome of an intermediate stage.

I believe it was towards the end of his life that Fei and his pupils painted a large number of triptychs and other little pictures used for private devotions, as Daddi a century before did in Florence.



Fig. 342. Paolo di Giovanni Fei, Triptych. Vatican Gallery, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

The hardness of outline which characterizes his last works is evident in the following two triptychs, which show a strong resemblance. They are one in the Vatican (no. 16, fig. 342) and another in the Gardner collection, Boston; the latter, as far as I know, has never before been attributed to Fei. The panel in the

Vatican is the more beautiful. Both show in the centre the Crucified, attended by two flying angels, the Virgin, and St. John, with Mary Magdalene grasping the foot of the Cross. On each of the



Fig. 343. Paolo di Giovanni Fei, Diptych. Accademia, Siena.

Photo Lombardi.

wings are depicted two saints, and above the figures of the Annunciation, which in the Vatican picture are only half-length, whereas Mrs. Gardner's panel shows them full-length, while in the centre is seen a medallion of the Saviour.

A diptych in the Gallery of Siena (no. 146, fig. 343) might as

regards quality be classed between these two triptychs. On the panel to the left the Virgin is seated on a throne, with peculiar separate base, attended by two saints and two angels; on the other is represented the Crucifixion, with the Virgin fainting in the arms of two faithful companions, Mary Magdalene kneeling beneath the Cross and St. John standing on the right. In the apex of each panel we again see a half-length figure of the Annunciation ⁽¹⁾.

The artistic temperament and aspirations of Paolo di Giovanni Fei force us to class him with Niccolo di Buonaccorso and Francesco Vannucci. He is one of those minor masters who excelled in the production of small pictures, which they executed with great pains and technical perfection, the result being generally charming. Paolo, however, was more skilful than the other two painters, with whom I have just classed him, for his Madonnas in the Duomo and S. Domenico are finer in quality than anything that the others were capable of producing.

⁽¹⁾ Lists of works attributed to Fei will be found in *B. Berenson*, *Central Italian Painters*, p. 165, and *Langton Douglas* notes on *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, III, p. 131; without discussing these lists of works, some of which are unknown to me, I shall just mention those paintings which I believe to be by Fei. *Altenburg*, Lindenau Museum, no. 51, Madonna, and saints (early work); *Bergamo*, Gallery, no. 406, triptych, Madonna with four saints and three angels in the centre and two saints in each wing (this may even be only a production of his workshop); *Frankfort on Main*, Städelches Kunstinstitut, no. 1470, triptych, Madonna with four saints; two saints and one of the figures of the Annunciation being displayed in each of the wings; *The Hague*, Museum Meerman van Westreenen, Madonna between the Baptist and St. Stephen, (very Gothic, showing much influence of Simone; *London*, Wallace collection, no. 550, Madonna between two saints; *Rome*, Pasini collection, triptych, Madonna and saints; *Siena*, Gallery, no. 137, triptych, marriage of St. Catherine, surrounded by three saints and two angels with two saints in each wing (early work); no. 141, centre of a triptych, Virgin with two saints and two angels (fairly early); no. 159, centre of a triptych, Madonna with four saints and angels and above a Crucifixion (intermediate stage); no. 181, centre of a triptych, Virgin, six saints and two angels and two adoring angels below (repainted, also intermediate stage); nos. 303, 322, the Baptist and St. Michael with the figures of the Annunciation (late); no. 385, centre of a triptych, Madonna, four saints and two angels (fairly late); no. 142, Marriage of St. Catherine, a saint and two angels (doubtful).

At the beginning of his career Fei was fairly independent of other artists, whether his predecessors or his contemporaries. He adopted, however, Simone's Gothicism, which he interpreted in a heavy and overcharged manner. The type of his gentle, dreamy Madonnas he borrowed from the same artist whose style he most closely approaches in the sweet sad Madonna of S. Domenico.

The influence of Bartolo di Fredi is apparent only in productions of the second manner, especially in the signed panel, and it is perhaps even more marked in the Nativity of the Virgin, in the Gallery of Siena, where we note the large heads and rather dislocated forms of Fei's prolific contemporary. Some writers have tried to demonstrate the influence of Andrea Vanni, but this is much less evident. There is, none the less, in the rigidity of certain of the figures in some of the triptychs executed toward the end of his life — for example, in the left wing of that in the Gardner collection — something of Andrea's art at the time when it manifests this peculiar trait. There is no trace of a direct influence of either of the Lorenzetti.

Paolo di Giovanni Fei had a great number of pupils, one or two of whom were quite commendable. One of the finest works of his adherents is a picture on three panels in the Siena Gallery (fig. 344). The middle one shows the mystic wedding of St. Catherine with the Virgin and Child as central figures; three other saints and four angels are grouped around the throne, above the back of which two seraphim are visible. On the left lateral panel two scenes are depicted; above, we see the Lord praying in the Garden of Olives and below the Flagellation, while on the right is a representation of the Crucifixion with large groups of people beneath the Cross. The trefoil ornaments in the apices contain in the centre the angel of the Annunciation, on the right the Virgin and on the left the Saviour. The design and execution of this little picture are finer than in the majority of Fei's own works. The colours are warmer and display considerable variety.

To another of Fei's pupils, whose paintings can be recognized by the more robust figures and the rounder shape of the faces, we may attribute a panel representing the Assumption of the Virgin in the church of Sta. Maria at Bettona, a little town near

Perugia (figs. 345 and 346) ⁽¹⁾, and panels which, in the Opera del Duomo of Siena, show on one side different incidents from the history of the Cross (fig. 347) and on the other half-length figures of angels. In the Opera del Duomo they are attributed to Pietro Lorenzetti. That we owe these two works to the same hand has



Fig. 344. School of Fei, Triptych. Accademia, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

been pointed out to me by Dr. De Nicola. I think we may still ascribe to the same master a damaged fresco over the first altar to the right in the Carmine church in Siena ⁽²⁾. It represents, in

⁽¹⁾ *I. Vavasour Elder*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1908, p. 89, attributed this picture to the school of Bartolo di Fredi; *B. Berenson*, *Central Italian Painters*, p. 165, previously believed it to be a work by Fei but has since, in *Art in America*, 1908, p. 75, attributed it to Cola Petruccioli. *De Nicola*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1919, p. 100, is of another opinion.

⁽²⁾ *B. Berenson*, loc. cit., attributed it to Fei.



Fig. 345. School of Fei, the Assumption. Sta. Maria, Bettona.

Photo Minist. del. Pubbl. Istr.



Fig. 346. Detail of fig. 345.

Photo Minist. del. Pubbl. Istr.

the centre, the Assumption of the Virgin, surrounded by angelic musicians and seraphim, while beneath St. Thomas receiving the holy girdle and two other saints, kneeling, are seen. It should be noted that although the rather harsh colours and large, stiff



Fig. 347. Master of the Assumption of Bettona, Scene from the Legend of the Cross. Opera del Duomo, Siena. Photo Lombardi.

figures differentiate these works from Simone's art, there are many details in the architecture which relate this painter to the great master and especially to the manner in which he executed the small scenes of the panel of the Blessed Agostino Novello.

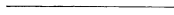
The number of other works in which Fei's influence is manifest is too great for us to deal with them in detail. They may be

divided into two groups, one consisting of those works which we may take to have been executed in his immediate surroundings⁽¹⁾, while the other comprises those productions in which Fei's influence is more indirectly felt⁽²⁾. One of Fei's most faithful follow-

⁽¹⁾ Paintings which I think should be considered productions of Fei's "bottega" are: — *Cologne*, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, no. 512, enthroned Virgin with the Child, attended by two male and two female saints; in the centre below a small dog (?) and a small horse; above in a medallion, the figure of a prophet (more after Fei's late manner); *Florence*, Loeser collection, triptych, Madonna with two saints and six angels, two saints in each wing, the Saviour and two half-length figures of the Annunciation above (published as a work of Cola de Petruccioli's by B. Berenson, *Art in America*, 1918, p. 69); *Rome*, Vatican Gallery, no. 48, Madonna sitting on the ground swathing the Child (the artist has followed Fei's early manner) which is catalogued as belonging to the school of the Marches; *Siena*, S. Bartolommeo in the Contrada dell' Istrice, Madonna between four saints, two saints at the sides, and ten medallions with different figures. De Nicola, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1919, p. 101, has published it as a work by Cola di Petruccioli, *reprod. in Ricci, Palazzo Pubblico di Siena etc.*, fig. 63 as a work of the school of Taddeo di Bartolo); *Siena*, Gallery, no. 221, two wings of a triptych, each containing two saints and a figure of the Annunciation.

⁽²⁾ The following I regard as school works:— *Cambridge* (England), Fitzwilliam Museum, no. 558, Crucifixion with the Virgin, St. John, two angels and a pelican, with a saint in a medallion above, catalogued as a work of Cecharelli's; *Cambridge* (U. S. A.), Fogg Art Museum, triptych, Virgin nursing the Child, surrounded by four saints, a saint in each wing and above the main panel the Saviour and two figures of the Annunciation; *Certaldo*, church of SS. Michele e Giacomo, the Virgin on a Gothic throne between two saints and an adorer towards whom approach two serpents; *Florence*: there are in private hands several apparently repainted half-length figures of the Virgin, resembling Fei's Madonna in the church of the hospital at Siena. *Idem*, owned privately, small triptych, Virgin seated on a throne with a separate base, surrounded by four saints and five angels, two saints in each of the wings, above the Crucifixion, between the Virgin and St. John seated on the ground and the Annunciation; *London*, Victoria and Albert Museum, small St. Stephen; *New York*, Lehman coll., diptych, Madonna and Crucifixion, quite near Fei; *Siena*, Gallery, no. 182, centre of a triptych, the Madonna between four saints, with the Crucifixion above; nos. 194 and 196, triptych, Madonna with two saints, two angels and the Crucifixion; it is entirely repainted and might even be by Fei himself; *Torrita*, Prepositura, first altar to the left, a large triptych, the Crucifixion, St. Andrew and holy bishop (coarsely executed); *Vienna*, Lichtenstein collection, Madonna on a throne with separated base, between four saints and two angels (attributed

ers was Cola Petruccioli of Orvieto, who seems to have worked only in Umbria. I think it therefore better to discuss this artist with the Umbrian painters of the 14th century.



to Cola di Petruccioli by *B. Berenson*, *Art in America*, 1918, p. 69). I fail to see the connection between Fei's works and a Madonna in the Siena Gallery, which is hesitatingly attributed to him by *A. Franchi*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1907, p. 8.

CHAPTER VII.

MINOR MASTERS OF THE END OF THE XIV CENTURY.

The painters who flourished at the end of the 14th century and whose activity extended even into the first years of the 15th, offer us the proof of the persistence of Simone Martini's influence. Duccio's models had long since been forgotten, and the Lorenzetti's abandoned after two generations, but artists like Taddeo Bartolo, Andrea di Bartolo and Martino di Bartolommeo reproduced, in a slightly modernized form, the figures of Simone Martini. All three were very productive artists, but rather monotonous and lacking in inspiration. None of them attained the spiritual grace of Simone's art, which they followed in a rather commonplace manner. It is obvious that the tradition was handed down to them by artists of the previous generation, such as Andrea Vanni or Bartolo di Fredi, who themselves were only adherents of Simone's art, but not the master's contemporaries. One would say, however, that the artists of the end of the 14th century also worked directly from Simone's paintings, and this is extremely likely in a city which at that period must have been full of the great master's productions.

TADDEO DI BARTOLO.

Taddeo di Bartolo might have been born about 1362 or 1363, for we know that his father, Bartolo di Maestro Mino⁽¹⁾, a barber, married Francesca di Cino in 1361. On the other hand, from a contract of 1386, in which he binds himself to paint 78 figures, we know that in that year he had not yet attained his majority: that is to say, he had not yet reached the age of twenty-five⁽²⁾. Ugurieri informs us that he died in 1422 at the age of 59.

⁽¹⁾ *Vasari*, whose chapter on Taddeo di Bartolo is more accurate than many of his biographies, nevertheless informs us that he was the son of Bartolo di Fredi.

⁽²⁾ *Milanesi*, Doc. Sen., I, p. 313.

His name was inscribed on the roll of Sienese painters probably shortly after 1389, when he must already have been well-known for in that year he is elected a member of the Cathedral Council⁽¹⁾. Baldinucci tells us that in 1389 Taddeo made an altar-piece for S. Paolo a Collegarli near S. Miniato al Tedesco. In 1393 Taddeo was in Genoa, where he contracted with Cattaneo Spinola for the execution of an altar-piece for the church of S. Luca⁽²⁾. It was probably then that he married, for in his will his wife is mentioned as "Simona del Quondam Antonio di Monte" of Genoa. Five years later the artist's life is threatened by a certain Pietro d'Alba of Genoa⁽³⁾. In 1393 he is back again in his native country; at least it is in this year that he executes the extant frescoes in the Collegiata of San Gimignano. Two years later he is found in Pisa, where he painted an altar-piece for the Sardi and Campigli chapel in the church of S. Francesco; Da Morona found it still there⁽⁴⁾, but it has since disappeared.

In 1397 he decorated the same chapel, now the sacristy, with frescoes which for hundreds of years were hidden under a coat of whitewash. In 1397 he must have returned to Liguria for in the Baptistery of Triora, in the province of Porta Maurizio, we find a picture signed and dated from that year, and, as we saw, the following year he had a quarrel with a Genoese. The altar-piece, now in the Museum of Grenoble, although it shows the date 1390, seems to have been executed in 1395, for the Casassi family of Pisa⁽⁵⁾. It was originally in the church of S. Paolo-all-Orto of this city, and was afterwards in the Louvre.

Vasari quotes yet other works which Taddeo executed in Pisa, amongst them frescoes of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, in which the image of the priest was the portrait of a

(1) *Borghesi e Banchi*, Nuovi documenti, p. 60

(2) *S. Varni*, Appunti artistici sopra Levanti, Genova, 1870, p. 144.

(3) *S. Varni*. op. cit., p. 51.

(4) *Da Morona*, Pisa illustrata, III, p. 60, also *Della Valle*, Lettere Senese. The picture represented the Virgin between SS. Francis, Antony of Padua and Gerard and was signed "*Thadeus Bartholi de Senis pinxit hoc Anno MCCCXCV*". *Vasari*, II, p. 37, reports the date to have been 1394. This picture afterwards belonged to the Supino family of Pisa and was transported to Vienna.

(5) *Tanfani-Centofani*, Notizie di artisti tratti dai documenti pisane, Pisa, 1897, p. 473, informs us that this picture was in 1812 taken to Paris.

member of the "Opera" that ordered the decoration, and the Coronation of the Virgin, above the chapel of the Madonna, in the Campo Santo. Vasari informs us that Taddeo went to Perugia in 1398, but the works which we find there date from the year 1403. In 1400 he was active at Montieri ⁽¹⁾ and it was in that same year that he signed the Madonna between SS. John the Baptist and Andrew painted for the "Compagnia di Sta. Caterina della Notte", which is still in the hospital of Siena. In 1401 he received the order to make certain paintings in the chapel of S. Antonio in the Cathedral, others on the wall above the sacristy ⁽²⁾ and some figures in the choir ⁽³⁾, as well as a predella for the altar-piece in the chapel of the Palazzo Pubblico ⁽⁴⁾.

The panel at Montepulciano dates from this same year. In the Gallery of Perugia we find two works by Taddeo, both dated 1403; one is a representation of the Descent of the Holy Ghost, and comes from the church of S. Agostino; the other is an altar-piece which was made for S. Francesco.

The following year he returned to Perugia ⁽⁵⁾. While in Siena he made some frescoes in the Cathedral ⁽⁶⁾, a panel of the Nativity for the Servi church, where it is still to be seen, and was given the post of executor of the "gabelle" ⁽⁷⁾.

In 1405 Taddeo executed four frescoes behind the altar of the Cathedral and decorated two doors of the organ ⁽⁸⁾. During the following years he made a design for one of the windows of the Cathedral in which the Assumption figured, and was entrusted with the first part of the decoration of the chapel in the Palazzo Pubblico; the most important representations were scenes from the life of the Virgin, allegorical figures, the Evangelists, the Church Doctors, busts and figures of saints, and the city coat of arms. The authorities asked him to acquit himself of this work with the least possible delay, and did not even allow him to leave

⁽¹⁾ *A. Liberati*, Un nuovo documento su Taddeo di Bartolo, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1921, p. 24.

⁽²⁾ *Milanesi*, *Doc. Sen.*, II, p. 5 and 6.

⁽³⁾ *Milanesi*, p. 7.

⁽⁴⁾ *Milanesi*, p. 108.

⁽⁵⁾ *Milanesi*, *Doc. Sen.*, II, p. 104.

⁽⁶⁾ *Milanesi*, II, pp. 7 and 15. *Borghese e Banchi*, *op. cit.*, p. 70, note.

⁽⁷⁾ *Milanesi*, *op. cit.*, II, p. 108.

⁽⁸⁾ *Milanesi*, II, p. 8.

the chapel. It was completed in three months⁽¹⁾, but at the beginning of 1408 he added a figure of St. Christopher⁽²⁾.

His name, with the date 1409, is found on a panel of the Annunciation with SS. Cosme and Damian in the Gallery of Siena (no. 131).

Early in 1411 Taddeo was employed by the society of St. Francis at Volterra, where he executed certain paintings, but in spite of the persistent demands made by the city of Siena, the artist was not paid⁽³⁾. That same year he contracted with the city of Siena to paint the façade above the entrance to the Consistory. In 1412 he became a member of the city council, and again in 1416 and 1420. In 1418 he was "Capitano del Popolo" for the S. Salvatore quarter⁽⁴⁾.

During this period we find little evidence of his artistic activity except that in 1413 he finished the decoration of the chapel in the Palazzo Pubblico⁽⁵⁾, depicting, on the wall opposite the altar, well-known moral figures from classical antiquity. This subject was chosen to inspire the councillors, who had to pass that way to gain access to the Court of Justice; an inscription encourages them to follow the example of the ancient moralists. In all these frescoes we find traces of other and less skilful artists, a testimony to the amount of assistance which Taddeo received.

In 1414 Taddeo painted some frescoes in a small room between the consistory and the chapel⁽⁶⁾, and two years later it was decided that he should decorate the Porta San Viene or Pispini⁽⁷⁾. During that same year his advice was taken concerning the fountain "del Campo", which was executed by Jacopo della Quercia⁽⁸⁾, and shortly before his death, he was entrusted with the decoration of the Porta Nuova or Romana⁽⁹⁾.

The last dated work which has come down to us, is a Madonna of 1418 in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, U. S. A. Despite

⁽¹⁾ *Milanesi*, II, pp. 28 and 29.

⁽²⁾ *Milanesi*, II, p. 28.

⁽³⁾ *Milanesi*, op. cit., pp. 49—50. *Borghese e Banchi*, op. cit., p. 69.

⁽⁴⁾ *Borghese e Banchi*, op. cit., p. 70.

⁽⁵⁾ *Milanesi*, Doc. Sen., pp. 29—30.

⁽⁶⁾ *Borghese e Banchi*, op. cit., p. 70.

⁽⁷⁾ *Douglas*, note 2 in *Cr. and Caval.*, III, p. 154.

⁽⁸⁾ *Milanesi*, op. cit., II, p. 101.

⁽⁹⁾ *Milanesi*, II, p. 244. *L. Douglas*, loc. cit.

Vasari we find no trace of Taddeo's activities at Monte Oliveto, Arezzo, or Padua, in which last city he is supposed to have worked for Francesco Carrara (1).

Taddeo died in 1422, and as he had no offspring, he left his possessions to his adopted son, Gregorio di Cecco, with a pension for his wife (2).

Throughout Taddeo's career we may note but little change in his style of painting, and although different manners may be noted, the development is very gradual. The first dated work of which we know is the series of frescoes in the Collegiata of San Gimignano, which he executed in 1393.

These paintings adorn the entrance wall and the upper part of the walls of the nave near the entrance. The central representation is one of the Last Judgment: the Saviour is seen surrounded by cherubim, with angels holding the Passion instruments and one, announcing the Resurrection, blowing on a trumpet. At the sides are depicted the Virgin and St. John, kneeling; lower down are Moses and Elisha, and a row of seated Apostles. The lateral scenes portray Paradise, in which the Saviour and the Virgin are enthroned, while angels and saints form semicircles around them, and Hell, with all the Dantesque elements that are usually found in such scenes. On one of the columns to the left is the signature: "*Thadeus Bartholi de Senis pinxit hanc capellam MCCCXCIII*" (3).

Of all Taddeo's works this is the most inferior; parts of it are extremely archaic, and the Last Judgment, as already stated, has even been identified as the painting that Memmo di Filipuccio, the father of Lippo Memmi, executed in this church in 1305 (4).

Of this there can be no question. The hardness in the drawing and the schematic faces are features which we find in Taddeo's later works, but in a rather less marked degree.

This primitive quality is found in two other productions of

(1) *Cr. and Caval.*, III, p. 151, erroneously attribute the late Giottesque frescoes in the apse of the Arena chapel to Taddeo or his followers Conf. *Vasari-Milanesi*, II, p. 35.

(2) *Milanesi*, op. cit., II, pp. 107 and 108.

(3) The accuracy of this date has been doubted, but it seems none the less to be correct.

(4) *J. Carlyle Graham*, *Una scuola d'arte a San Gimignano del Trecento*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1909, p. 39.

this artist, both Crucifixions with many figures. The first of these is found in the Louvre (no. 1622) and shows St. Francis kneeling at the foot of the Cross. The types in this panel are more characteristic of the artist than those in the second Crucifixion, now in the Wallraf Richartz Museum, Cologne (no. 524), in which the flat, stiff figures may even be the work of a pupil, painted at a slightly later date.

That Taddeo was inspired by Simone in painting the altarpiece of 1395, originally in S. Paolo, and now in the Museum of Grenoble, is very evident. The enthroned Virgin is surrounded by the red wings of seraphim — a detail repeated on several occasions by this artist — and the Child Jesus, standing on His Mother's knee, plays with a little bird. In the lateral panels are depicted the figures of SS. Paul, Gerard, Andrew and Nicholas, while in the medallions above SS. Gregory and Louis of Toulouse. Below the central panel the signature reads: "*Thadeus Bartoli di Senis pinxit hoc opus MCCCLXXX*"; but as I said before, the exact date is 1395.

The softness of expression and the delicacy of draughtsmanship which the artist doubtless owes to Simone Martini are still more plainly manifest in a Madonna now in the Gallery of Budapest (no. 29) ⁽¹⁾, in which we again see the wings of seraphim on either side of the Virgin. The Gothic quality of line is here more marked and more closely resembles that which we see in Simone's work than in any of this master's other works. A very archaic element is the manner in which the Virgin's robe is woven with gold.

The frescoes which Taddeo executed in 1397 in the Sardi chapel, now the sacristy, of the church of S. Francesco, Pisa, are inferior in quality to those already considered. This work was ordered by Donna Daluccia de Sardo, whose name is found on a pillar opposite the artist's signature, which runs: "*Tadeus Bartoli de Senis pinxit hoc opus Anno Dni 1397.*" The principal scenes illustrate the Virgin's Farewell to the Apostles, and her Death, Funeral and Assumption. Besides these scenes, we also find here the two separate figures of the Annunciation, the Baptist, and St. Andrew, on either side of the altar, and St. Francis in a

⁽¹⁾ In the catalogue and by *Suida* (L'Arte, 1907, p. 183) this picture is ascribed to Barnaba da Modena, no doubt on account of the texture of the Virgin's dress.

medallion over the door. The vault is adorned by the figures of the Evangelists and the Fathers of the Church, while in the entrance arch are the half-length figures of SS. Clare, Catherine, Apollonia, Agnes, Lucy, and another, which is difficult to identify.

The spirit in which these frescoes are executed is very different from that of the Madonnas of Grenoble and Budapest; in them the artist reveals a well-developed sense of dramatic values and of realism which are quite unrelated to Simone's art, being borrowed rather from the Lorenzetti, to whose style of painting, however, these frescoes show no other resemblance. The draperies are to some extent reminiscent of Simone, but are broader and fuller, giving the figures a more robust but rather coarse appearance and making them at times even vulgar and unbeautiful. But the animation of movement and expression is quite unusual, and certainly worthy of remark, although it makes of Taddeo a popular painter.

The same may be said of the picture of the Baptism of Christ in the Baptistery of Triora in Liguria. It is a panel displaying but little inspiration, showing the Saviour in the water the Baptist and three angels. The inscription runs: "*Tadeus de Senis pinxit hoc opus MCCCLXXXVII*" (1). It was probably about this time, that Taddeo executed a panel, now in the Gallery of Pisa, showing on one side St. Donnino, enthroned, with a group of kneeling monks, their heads covered with their cowls, and on the other the adoring donor, who is being attacked from behind by a large wolf or dog. This is, no doubt, a votive picture, which the donor had painted after St. Donnino saved him from the animal's assault. On the back of the panel, the Crucifixion is depicted. Although technically finer than the frescoes in S. Francesco — especially in respect of the draperies, which show a feeling for plastic beauty — the figures on this panel reveal none of that traditional grace which was Simone's legacy to art, and which we found in this master's previous works.

Comparing the altar-piece of 1401 at Montepulciano with those of 1403 in the Gallery of Perugia, or the two pictures, which he executed in the course of the latter year, we see at once that Taddeo was given to painting simultaneously two different styles.

(1) *L. Venturi, Nicola da Voltri, L'Arte, 1918, p. 269.*

The first of these pictures still occupies its original position — the altar of the Cathedral of Montepulciano (fig. 348). It is a monumental polyptych, the central panel of which shows the Assumption of the Virgin, who is borne heavenwards by angels, while below the Apostles bend over the empty tomb. In each of the two lateral panels are ten figures of saints, who raise their eyes in adoration toward the central figure. The three terminals contain the Coronation of the Virgin and the Angel and Madonna of the Annunciation. Three small figures of saints adorn each of the four pilasters of the frame. The predella comprises twenty-one scenes arranged in two rows ⁽¹⁾, beginning with the story of the Book of Genesis and ending with the Descent into Hell and the Pilgrims on the road to Emmaus. In this picture, although the forms are less primitive, we are struck by the same hard, archaic line as that which we shall note in the frescoes of San Gimignano. The faces and the general scheme remind us of Bartolo di Fredi; the colours are dim and unpleasing, and are lacking in gradation. The signature reads: “*Tadeo di Bartolo da Siena dipinse questa opera al tempo di Messere MCCCCI.*”

The finest of Taddeo's works in the Gallery of Perugia is the altar-piece from S. Francesco; its original form was curious and unusual, but was dismantled many years ago. It was shaped like a box, open above and below, the front of which was formed by that panel in which the Madonna is the central figure, the back by that which shows St. Francis in the middle, and the ends by panels containing the figures of SS. Paul and Peter. The crowned Virgin is seated on a throne, which is once more flanked by the red wings of seraphim, the Child seated on His Mother's knee is playing in an abstracted fashion with a little bird; four angelic musicians are grouped around the throne, while the traces of two more are just visible. The figures in the lateral panels are the Magdalene, St. John the Baptist, St. John the Evangelist and St. Catherine of Alexandria (fig. 349). The other large panel shows us St. Francis displaying his stigmata, surrounded by cherubim and treading on the personifications of Luxury, Pride and Greed; the lateral figures are here SS. Augustine, Antony of Padua, Louis of Toulouse and Herculanus, the patron saint of Perugia.

(1) Only the upper row is visible in the illustration.



Fig. 348. Taddeo di Bartolo, Altar-piece, 1401. Cathedral, Montepulciano.
 Photo Alinari.

The panels of SS. Peter and Paul, which formed the ends of the box, are much damaged, and more apparently of inferior quality; they were possibly left to an assistant. The other parts, on the contrary, may be ranked amongst the best productions of this artist. It is chiefly in feeling and the choice of types, that Taddeo is faithful to the tradition created by Simone; the sweetness of the Virgin's expression is borrowed from the same source, but the abnormally thick-set figures detract from the spirituality of

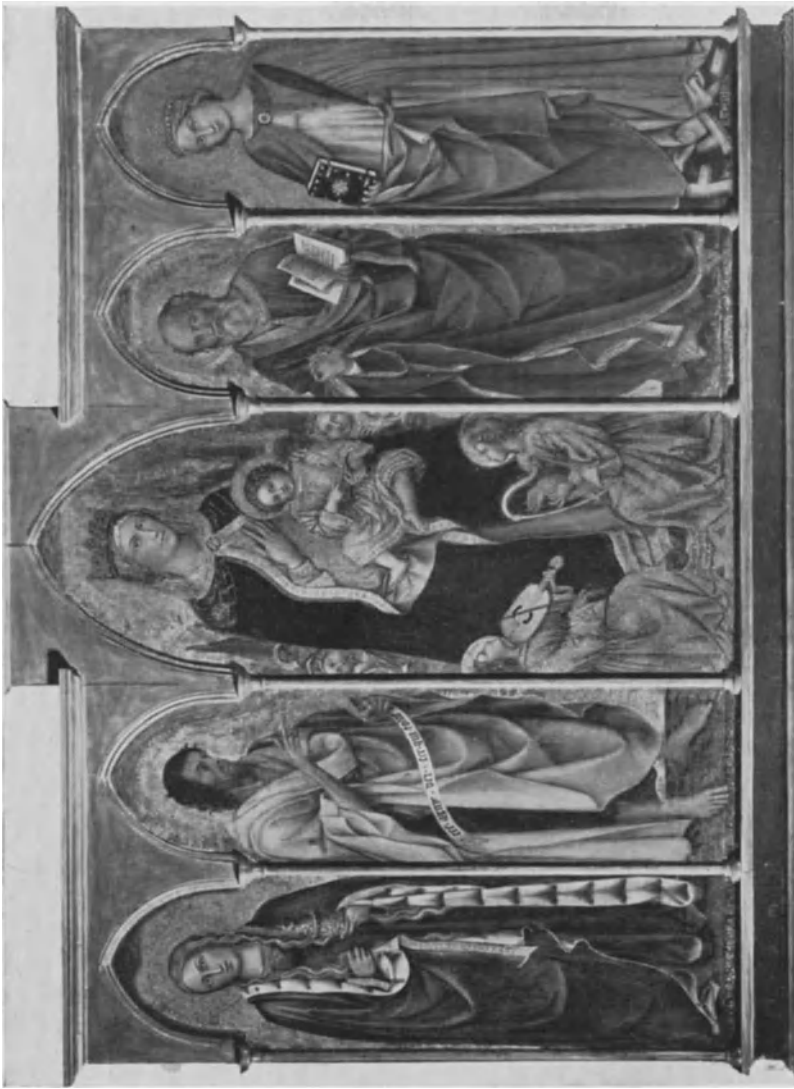


Fig. 349. Taddeo di Bartolo, Altar panels, 1403. Pinacoteca, Perugia.

Photo Anderson.

his work. Plasticity is more marked than elegance, and although the heavy fabrics hang in rather cumbersome folds, they none the less model the forms beneath them. The manner in which the garments of the Baptist are draped is very characteristic of this stage in Taddeo's career. Great care has been paid to decorative

detail. The following signature is found beneath the Virgin's feet: "*Thadeus Bartholi de Senis pinxit hoc opus MCCCCIIP*".

There are two other panels of the Madonna from the hand of Taddeo which bear a close resemblance to the Virgin of this altar-piece. The lowermost portion of each has been cut away. One of them is found in the Museum of Nancy (fig. 350); it shows a false signature of Duccio, which is very absurd in a work so characteristic of Taddeo di Bartolo. I saw the other some years ago in an art-dealer's shop in Paris, it was the finest and most spiritual of this little group of Madonnas.

More or less after this manner, are three panels of an important polyptych, representing the Madonna of Humility (seated on the ground), the Baptist, St. Andrew, and small figures of saints forming the predella, now in the Zichy Museum, Budapest. Could this be part of the altar-piece, once in the Sardi-Campigli chapel in Strancesco, Pisa (1359), which, as I have previously mentioned was sold to Vienna?

Compared with the beautiful altar-piece from S. Francesco, Taddeo's other work in the Gallery of Perugia seems very inferior. This picture, which was made for the church of S. Agostino, shows the Virgin in the midst of the Apostles, on whose heads descend tongues of fire (Pentecost). Here the figures are coarse and ungainly, the colours hard and discordant; in short it is a work which might be classified as a production of his pupils, were it not for the signature: "*Thadeus Bartoli de Senis pinxit hoc opus fecit fieri Angelella Petri pro anima Johannis Filli Anno Domini MCCCCIIP*".

There is another Madonna of the Annunciation, also in this Gallery, painted in much the same style.

The period during which Taddeo painted the polyptych of Perugia must assuredly have been his best. The marked modelling of the faces and the pronounced plastic effect of the heavy drapery is found in certain other works, which, for this reason, may be regarded as approximately of the same date.

A beautiful figure of St. John the Baptist, very like that in the polyptych of 1403, but superior in execution, is still to be found at Ginestreto⁽¹⁾. It is no doubt a panel of a polyptych, as are four

⁽¹⁾ C. Ricci, Il Palazzo Pubblico di Siena etc., fig. 58. Perkins, in Rassegna d'Arte, Oct. 1904. The picture is signed: "*Tadeus de Senis me pinxit*".



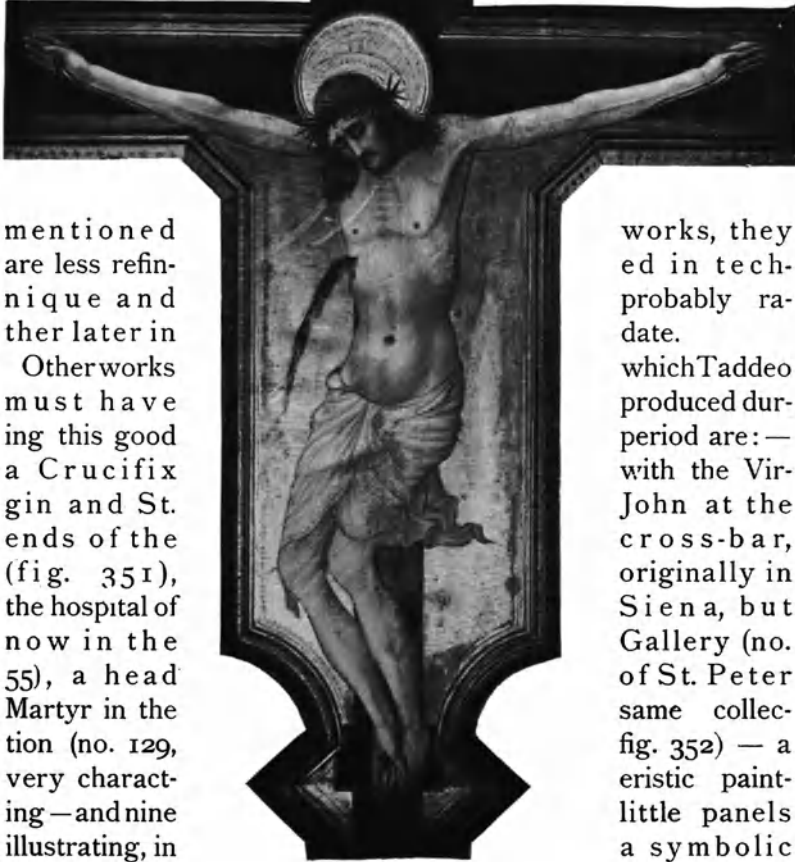
Fig. 350. Taddeo di Bartolo, Madonna. Museum, Nancy.

Photo Pulloz.

other figures of saints in the Platt collection, Englewood (¹). They

represent the Augustine (?), Catherine of and, although the same style

Baptist, SS. James, and Alexandria, executed in as the above



mentioned are less refined and then later in

Other works must have had this good a Crucifix in and St. ends of the (fig. 351), the hospital of now in the 55), a head Martyr in the tion (no. 129, very charactering — and nine illustrating, in

works, they ed in tech- probably ra- date.

which Taddeo produced dur- period are: — with the Vir- John at the cross-bar, originally in Siena, but Gallery (no. of St. Peter same collec- fig. 352) — a eristic paint- little panels a symbolic

way, the chief the Christian are now in the Duomo. Ori-

Fig. 351. Taddeo di Bartolo, detail of a Crucifix. Accademia, Siena.

Photo Lombardi.

were twelve; six other panels, in the same Museum, each

points of creed. They Opera del

ginally there

(¹) *Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1908, p. 8.



Fig. 352. Taddeo di Bartolo, St. Peter Martyr. Accademia, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

one representing an Apostle and an angel very probably belong to the same series. Of the subsequent years of Taddeo's career we have several dated works.

Beneath the Nativity in the Servi church (fig. 353), we read the inscription and date: "*Taddeus Bartoli de Senis pinxit hoc opus Anno Dni MCCCCIIII*". The event is depicted as taking place in a grotto, in which the Virgin and St. Joseph on the one side, and the two shepherds on the other, are adoring the new-born



Fig. 353. Taddeo di Bartolo, the Nativity, 1404. Servi Church, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

Child, Who lies swathed in the manger. Hovering overhead are five figures of angels, and above the mountain flies the angelic messenger announcing the glad tidings to the shepherds. This is a beautiful picture and finely executed, but the faces betray the difficulty experienced by the artist in endeavouring to depict appropriate expressions: the grimacing features of the shepherd kneeling in the foreground, for instance, is the result of the artist's attempt to portray the emotion of gladness.

The first part of the decoration of the chapel in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena, dates from the year 1406. The plan of the decoration is almost the same as that of the Sardi chapel in S. Francesco, Pisa. In lunettes on the walls we see the Virgin's Farewell to the Apostles and her Death, in which she is surrounded by angels and Apostles, while the Saviour appears to carry her soul away. Beneath the former is represented the Funeral of the Virgin (fig. 354): the procession, which has just emerged from the gates of a city, which fills the background, is intercepted by the Jews, who are immediately and miraculously punished. On the other wall is depicted the Resurrection of the Virgin, who is raised from her tomb by the Saviour, instead of by angels, who, in this instance, follow the Redeemer. A great many people surround the coffin, which is seen amidst a rocky landscape, in which, far in the distance we notice a city.

Each quarter of the vault is adorned by two isolated figures of ancient divinities (fig. 355), and the lunettes by the Early Fathers inspired by the Evangelists, the Annunciation and two allegorical female figures. Here too, as in the chapel at Pisa, the chief quality of the paintings lies in the great animation of the figures. The four frescoes relating to the Death of the Virgin are full of action and movement; but once again we are struck, if in a less degree than at Pisa, by their lack of refinement. The drapery shows the same characteristics as the polyptych of 1403, but here it is treated in a hasty and much less careful manner. There can be no doubt that an important part of these paintings was left to the master's assistants; the isolated figures seem to have been executed entirely by his pupils, probably after sketches furnished by the master.

The enormous St. Christopher of 1407 is in no way superior to the rest, but the proportions are very exact. On one of the



Fig. 354. Taddeo di Bartolo, the Funeral of the Virgin, 1406.

Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

capitals the decoration is signed: "*Taddeus Bartoli de Senis pinxit istam capellam MCCCXVII cum figura sancti xphori et cum ister aliis figuris 1414*".

That the artist was an excellent draughtsman is proved by a pen drawing of Gregory XII (1406—1409) in the register of the archives, which has rightly been attributed to Taddeo (fig. 356). It is a finely drawn figure with no trace of that heavy conventionality which often characterizes Taddeo's later work.



Fig. 355. Taddeo di Bartolo, Jupiter and Mars. Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.

Photo Lombardi.

A work in which the fine forms of 1403 appear under a somewhat modified aspect is the Annunciation of 1409 in the Gallery of Siena (fig. 357). The clumsiness is increased by the extreme proximity of the two principal figures, and the figure of the Saviour surrounded by cherubim, above the angel's head, occupies too large an area. SS. Cosme and Damien, are depicted on the



Fig. 356. Taddeo di Bartolo, Pope Gregory XII. Archives, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

lateral panels, with busts of St. James and the archangel Gabriel on the terminals. Over the Annunciation there is a representation of the Death of the Virgin, above which the terminal shows an image of the Trinity. The panel is executed with much refinement and care, but an impression of heaviness, Taddeo's principal defect, which we find in all his works, strikes us disagreeably.



Fig. 357. Taddeo di Bartolo, Polyptych, 1409. Accademia, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

Below the inscription runs: “. *vola fece fare Mariano di Paolo de Rosso artholi de Senis pinxit hoc opus Anno Dni Mille quattrocento Nove*”.

The heaviness of outline and of form, and the lifelessness so typical of this period, are to be noted in two polyptychs, now in the Gallery of San Gimignano, which are doubtless of about the same date. That lack of grace or beauty, a decided feature of the works of this phase, is very noticeable in one of the panels in question, in which we see above the half-length figures of the Virgin and SS. Nicholas of Bari, Christopher and John the Evangelist, accompanied by a holy bishop (St. Geminianus?), those of the Saviour, St. Peter, the Angel and Virgin of the Annunciation, and St. Paul. The fineness of execution especially of the decorative details, is worthy of all praise. The types of the Madonna and the Child are not unlike those which we shall presently see on the panel of 1418. At the base of the central panel the work is signed: “*Thadeus Bartholi de Senis pinxit hoc opus*”. In the other polyptych (no. 9, fig. 358), which is not signed, the peculiarities of this stage of development are less marked, owing to the fact that the greater part of the picture is filled with diminutive figures. The central part of this altar-piece shows us the holy bishop St. Geminianus, blessing and holding a model of the town on his knee. The whole picture is typical of this rather later manner of Taddeo's. On either side we see four scenes from the life of the saint, all minutely executed and abounding in decorative detail.

The works which Taddeo produced in 1411, 1413 and 1418 are all inferior to that of 1409 and the panels at San Gimignano. The artist continues to follow the same models, but from now onwards his execution is uninspired and there is no attempt to produce refined and graceful effects.

The polyptych of 1411 (fig. 359) is now in the Gallery of Volterra; it comes from the church of St. Ottaviano outside the town, and for many years was hung in the Cathedral. In the centre we see the Virgin enthroned, holding the Child on her knee; to the left is St. Octavius (originally this was a representation of St. Antony, but the name has been changed and the model of a town added), and the Baptist; to the right the archangel Michael and St. Francis. Above each pair of lateral figures a bust of a

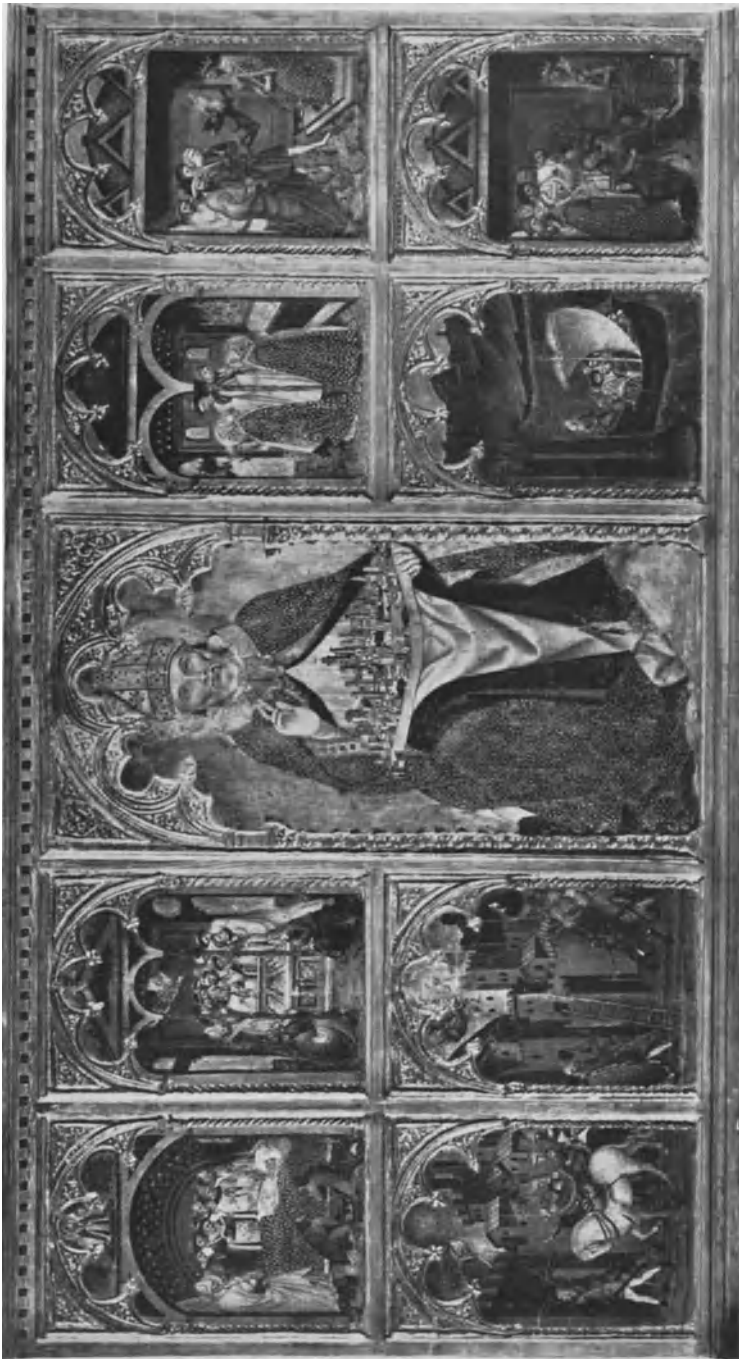


Fig. 358. Taddeo di Bartolo, the St. Gimignano Altar-piece. Gallery San Gimignano.

Photo Brogi.

saint is depicted in a decorative medallion. On the terminals are the half-length figures of the Saviour and those of the Annunciation. The pilasters are adorned, each with two figures of



Fig. 359. Taddeo di Bartolo, Polyptych, 1411. Gallery, Volterra.

Photo Alinari.

saint and a coat of arms while the socles, which form the extremities of the predella, show each a half-length figure of a saint. Of the five panels which compose the predella, that on the extreme left is modern; each of the others illustrates an incident from the life of one of the saints shown above. Among Taddeo's

later works this is not one of the least pleasing; there is of course the usual hardness and heaviness of design, but the painting has been executed with great care. Below the signature runs: "*Taddeus Bartoli de Senis pinxit hoc anno Domini MCCCCXI*".

Strongly resembling the central figure of this polyptych, and no doubt a contemporary work, is the half-length figure of the Virgin with the Child which adorns the first altar to the right in the church of S. Agostino a Colle di Val d'Elsa.

In 1413 Taddeo continued the decoration of the chapel in the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena, covering with rudely executed and uncomely figures the wall opposite the altar and the archway. We find here Scipio Africanus, Furius Dentatus, Marcus Curius Dentatus, Scipio Nasica, Cato and Cicero. Above the first three figures is a personification of Magnanimity and over the second three a symbolical representation of Justice. These images are draped in antique costumes and are divided one from another by a decorative border. In the space between the two groups the image of a child is depicted.

A panel in the Fogg Art Museum (no. 21) which is signed: "*Tadeus de Senis pinxit hoc opus 1418*," shows some resemblance to the beautiful Madonnas at Perugia and Nancy (¹). The Virgin is seated on an invisible throne which is surrounded by the wings of seraphim; on her knee she holds the Child Jesus, Who is playing with a little bird; angels, carrying a long scroll of music, are depicted at her feet. Although the painting has been executed with a good deal of care, the proportions of the Virgin and of the Child are extremely ungainly, though the types are those depicted during the artist's best period, both figures are stodgy and without any trace of grace or beauty.

Toward the end of his life Taddeo must also have executed the predella panels in the Vatican Gallery (nos. 7 and 8), repre-

(¹) Fogg Art Museum, Collection of Mediaeval and Renaissance Paintings, p. 114. *Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1908, p. 8. *Breck*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1909, p. 169. In the oratory of St. Antony at Volterra there was once an altar-piece of 1418, but the signature seems to have been slightly different: "*Taddeus Bartoli de Senis hoc opus pinxit*". Moreover, *Vasari-Milanesi*, II, p. 38 note 1, mentions only saints as the subject of this picture.

senting the Death and Resurrection of the Virgin, the latter showing the same curious iconography as the fresco in the chapel of the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena; an Annunciation in the Collegiata of Asciano; and a tabernacle with the figure of St. Eustace in the Biringucci Institute, Siena (1).

I shall not continue here the enumeration of Taddeo's works, which are very abundant (2).

The artistic personality of Taddeo di Bartolo is easily established. He is a distant but direct descendant of Simone Martini's from whom he borrowed his types, certain peculiarities of form, the softness of expression and sometimes even the facial beauty

(1) *C. Ricci*, Il Palazzo Pubblico etc., fig. 57 and *Rossi*, Rassegna d'Arte Senese, 1915, p. 43, both attribute it to Taddeo's school, but I think it is really a work from the master's own hand.

(2) A list of his works is given by *B. Berenson*, Central Italian Painters, p. 225, who enumerates over eighty productions. *Perkins*, Rassegna d'Arte, 1908, p. 8. *Cr. and Cavalc.*, ed *Langton Douglas*, p. 153. *Idem*, ed. *Hutton*, II, p. 123. It would be useless to discuss the attribution to Taddeo of all these works, some of which are unknown to me, I still ascribe the following pictures to this artist, and in many instances I am not the first to do so: *Altenburg*, Lindenau Museum, no. 62, Madonna with seraphim; *Badia di Isola* (district of Siena), fresco, Madonna with saints and angels; *Copenhagen*, Thorwaldsen Museum, three scenes from the history of the Passion and two saints; *Dresden*, Gallery, no. 30, Madonna cut through, leaving only the upper half; *Göttingen*, University Museum, no. 216, the Trinity (?); *Le Puy*, Museum, no. 194, Madonna, (*Berenson*, *Revue Archéol.*, 4th series VII, 1906, p. 236); *Nantes*, Museum, no. 306, praying Madonna; *Palermo*, Chiaramonte Bordonaro collection, St. Lucy (?); *Paris*, Louvre, no. 1625, SS. Peter and Paul (possibly an early work of Taddeo's); *Petroia* (prov. of Siena), SS. Pietro e Paolo, Madonna; *Philadelphia*, Johnson collection, Madonna with SS. James and John the Baptist, Madonna and angels; *Pisa*, S. Michele in Borgo, Madonna, four saints and angels; Schiff coll., Madonna resembling the one in Perugia (*Lavagnino*, *L'Arte*, 1923, p. 79); *Siena*, Sta. Catarina delle Notte, triptych of 1400 (Dami, Siena, p. 25); S. Francesco, left wall of the nave, Visitation (*idem*, p. 32); S. Gherardo, St. Louis (*idem*, p. 33), Gallery, no. 127, Adoration of the Magi; no. 132, the Nativity, two predella panels; no. 128, triptych, Madonna and saints with the Crucifixion above, two saints and the Annunciation in the wings; no. 130, St. Agnes; no. 135, St. Matthew (two finely executed and beautiful figures); no. 134, the Martyrdom of SS. Cosme and Damien, a predella panel; no. 162, stigmatization of Francis; *Volterra*, Gallery, no. 24, SS. Nicholas and Peter (signed work, late, but finely executed, (*C. Ricci*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1905, p. 24); no. 20, oval panel, enthroned Madonna with red seraph wings (a clumsy late work).

as well as the refined execution and love of decorative detail. It may be that in the marked modelling of the faces of certain pictures the artist was influenced by the Lorenzetti.

What is wanting in Taddeo's pictures is the mystic inspiration as well as the spiritual idealism of his forerunner; on account of the absence of these features his Madonnas can only be looked upon as sweet, pretty images but rather boring and without any religious sentiment. Besides this, Taddeo's brushwork is very heavy and from the very beginning his figures are often broad and awkward; these faults become more marked as he advances in age and even deform his later works.

The link between Taddeo and the older generation of artists must certainly have been, before all other, Bartolo di Fredi, whose influence is specially noticeable in the altar-piece of 1401 at Montepulciano; in his attempt to produce regular but conventional features the influence of Giacomo di Mino del Pellicciaio is evident, but it is more than probable that in many instances his models were inspired by Simone's own. There can be no doubt that it is to Taddeo that we owe the persistence of this beautiful art, which, however, he deprived of all its idealism. Nevertheless, it is because of this continuance that we find reminiscences of Simone's art in the works of painters, who came under his influence, such as Andrea di Bartolo, Martino di Bartolommeo, and some anonymous masters (¹).

(¹) The following are some of Taddeo's school works: *Siena*, S. Pellegrino, the Blessed Andrea Gallerani (Dami, Siena, p. 38); Spedale della Scala, Infermeria de S. Galgano, Crucifixion; Sala degli Uomini, Lord and St. John (idem p. 57); a fresco discovered in the monastery of the Capuchins (Rassegna d'Arte Senese, 1908, p. 102); *Volterra*, S. Agostino, a triptych, Virgin and saints, dated 1408; Gallery, without number, half-length figure of the Virgin between those of St. Ansanus and a holy monk, holding a model of the town; *Idem*, large polyptych, enthroned Virgin, with two angels and two saints on either side; L. Serra, in his guide to the Pinacoteca of Pesaro, attributes to the manner of Taddeo a series of scenes from the Life of Christ in that Gallery, which I, concurring with G. Vaccai, Pesaro, Bergamo, 1909, p. 111, would rather ascribe to the Tuscan school. Some drawings in the chronicle of the twenty-four generals of the Franciscan order in the Library at Assisi are also attributed to Taddeo di Bartolo (M. H. Bernath, *Due disegni di Taddeo Bartoli etc.*, Rassegna d'Arte Senese, 1909, p. 78), but they are productions of another hand and of later date.

GREGORIO DI CECCO DI LUCA (1).

From the hand of Gregorio di Cecco di Luca, the adopted son of Taddeo di Bartolo, we have only one work, dated 1423, but as we find mention of him from 1389 onwards, and as his art is only a continuation of Taddeo's, with whom he collaborated, I think it best to place him with the Sienese artists of the end of the 14th century.

We find him inscribed in 1389 in the roll of Sienese painters as *Giorgio di Checho di Lucca*, but, as Milanese and others have pointed out, this must be a mistake, since in three other documents — one of them Taddeo's will — and two signatures he is called Gregorio.

In 1418 he is paid for decorating some book-covers for the Biccherna (2). An altar-piece once in the chapel of the Marescotti in the church of S. Agostino, showed the signature "*Taddeus et Gregorius de Senis pinxerunt MCCCCXX*" and must have been a product of their combined labours (3). In 1421 we find his name amongst those who signed a document concerning the construction of the church and loggia of S. Paolo (4). The following year he inherited from his adopted father, and in 1423 he signed the only picture we now possess "*Gregorius de Senis pinxit hoc anni Domini MCCCCXXIII*" (fig. 360).

This panel, which originally hung in a room near the sacristy of the Cathedral, has since been transferred to the Opera del Duomo. It represented the Madonna with St. Blasius and another saint in the lateral panels. The Virgin is shown sitting on the ground, nursing the Child Jesus; around her are grouped six angelic musicians; above her head are the heads of three cherubim, while higher still is the dove of the Holy Ghost. The type and attitude of the Child seem to have been copied from Ambrogio Lorenzetti's panel in the Seminary of Siena, but the figure of the Virgin reveals the artist as a faithful pupil of Taddeo di Bartolo's. One might even say that the form and the features of the Madonna are finer than in Taddeo's works, especially in those which he executed toward the end of his life. This, as well as

(1) *Thieme-Becker*, Künstler-Lexikon, XIV, p. 579.

(2) *Milanese*, Doc. Sen., I, p. 47.

(3) *Idem*.

(4) *Borghese e Banchi*, Nuovi Documenti, p. 90.



Fig. 360. Gregorio di Cecco di Luca, Madonna, 1423.
Opera del Duomo, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

certain peculiarities of the drapery, suggest that besides following the style of his adopted father, Gregorio looked to the masterpieces of the first half of the 14th century, for inspiration. He still shows us fabrics shot with threads of gold, and I believe he is the last Italian painter to do so; but his adopted father provided him with an example of this in the Madonna of Nancy.

On the whole the painting has a great deal of charm, and the artist has followed the early 14th century Sienese masters in much of the beautiful decorative detail.

I know no other work that can be attributed to Gregorio di Cecco di Luca.

ANDREA DI BARTOLO ⁽¹⁾ AND GIORGIO DI ANDREA DI BARTOLO.

A short time ago Dr. De Nicola, in his usual concise and perspicuous manner, published in a few pages all that is known concerning Andrea di Bartolo, together with a very complete list of this master's works, to which nothing need be added.

The following facts are known concerning the life of this artist ⁽²⁾. He was the son of Bartolo di Maestro Fredi, with whom, as we have already seen, he painted, in 1389, an altar-piece for the shoemakers' altar in the Cathedral ⁽³⁾. We find his name and the date 1397 on a panel on the Malavolte altar in S. Domenico. In 1405 Andrea is paid for a work in the St. Victor chapel of the Cathedral, and in 1409 he becomes a member of the Council. During this year he buys an estate ⁽⁴⁾, and the following year paints a window for the Cathedral ⁽⁵⁾ and receives some of the money still owing to his father for work done at Ravacciano ⁽⁶⁾. In 1411

⁽¹⁾ *G. de Nicola*, in Thieme Becker, *Künstler-Lexikon*, I, p. 449. *The Same*, Andrea di Bartolo, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1921, p. 12. *Langton Douglas*, appendix to chap. II of *Cr. and Cavalc.*, III, p. 134. *G. Milanesi*, *Sulla Storia dell' arte Toscana, scritti vari*, Siena, 1873, p. 48.

⁽²⁾ The greater part of these are found in *Milanesi*, *Doc. Sen.*, I, pp. 41—42.

⁽³⁾ *Milanesi*, II, p. 36.

⁽⁴⁾ This document was found by De Nicola.

⁽⁵⁾ *Lusini*, *Il Duomo di Siena*, Siena, 1911, p. 343, note 204.

⁽⁶⁾ Document found by De Nicola.

he is appointed one of the administrators (regolatore), but is not again mentioned until 1417 when he buys a house in the S. Antonio quarter (1). The following year he pays the sum of money which his father had bequeathed to the hospital (2) and in 1419 has to estimate the value of a painting in the consistory (3). In 1422 he is made an official of the Mercanzia and in 1424 one of the four officials of the Biccherna. During the year 1425 he first buys a workshop in the Tolomei contrada (4) and then some land at Sta. Maria a Tressa (5). He died on the 3rd of June 1428.

Some writers have attempted to identify Andrea di Bartolo with the architect of the same name who worked at Avignon in 1413, but since we find the painter active at Siena in that year, the hypothesis is hardly feasible.

None of the documentary evidence concerns an extant work, while the three signed paintings are not dated (6).

The great point which helps us in making a chronological list of this artist's works is that he started his career under his father's direction, and the works in which Bartolo di Fredi's manner is most marked must be the earliest. At a later stage our artist came more and more under Taddeo di Bartolo's influence, to such an extent indeed that four figures of saints in the Monastery of the Osservanza, just outside the city of Siena, have always been attributed to Taddeo until quite recently, when Dr. De Nicola, and I think rightly, claimed them as a work of Andrea's. This painting bears the date 1413, and as Andrea's career covered the years between 1389 and 1428 we find that Taddeo's predominance became operative only after a certain lapse of time, for his influence here seems more or less at its outset, at least it is more marked in other and later works.

Andrea most closely approached his father's manner when he executed the predella panel now in the Gallery of the Vatican (no. 10); it has frequently been attributed to Bartolo di Fredi, but

(1) Document found by De Nicola.

(2) Idem.

(3) *Borghese e Banchi*, Nuovi Documenti, p. 112.

(4) Another document which De Nicola discovered.

(5) Idem.

(6) One of these belongs to Mr. Wildenstein, New-York and is unknown to me.

is without doubt by Andrea, to whom Signor De Nicola has recently assigned it. This little picture shows us Joachim with the shepherds, and the angel announcing to him the birth of the Virgin. The uncertain design and somewhat incoherent composition point to its being a youthful work.

A beautiful picture in which Bartolo di Fredi's influence is still very evident, is the Assumption which was once the property of Count Castraccane of Fano, but passed into the Yerkes collection of New-York, and now belongs to the Whitney collection in the same city⁽¹⁾. The composition is very characteristic of the Siense art of the 14th century; we find it twice amongst the works of Bartolo di Fredi, and in two other pictures, one of which is the Assumption at Bettona, by a pupil of Fei's. The Virgin, with hands clasped as if in prayer, faces the spectator; she is surrounded by seraphim and angels, while below St. Thomas receives the girdle. An adorer kneels on either side in the foreground and between them we read: "*Andreas de Bartholi Magistri Fredi de Senis pinxit. Hoc opus fecit fieri Domina honesta uxor Dom. Ser Palamides de Urbino pro Animabus dicti viri sui p. Matthei filii eorum*"⁽²⁾.

The entire picture is an imitation of Bartolo di Fredi's art. Not only are the compositions and the types the same as those in Bartolo's panel of this subject in the Gallery of Siena but the forms and expressions are borrowed from those productions which Bartolo executed prior to his last phase.

The next little group of works shows less affinity with the father's manner but we can nevertheless discover many points of contact. The finest of these is a panel now in the Stoclet collection, Brussels, representing St. Michael in a complete suit of armour holding a lance and trampling the dragon under foot⁽³⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Förster, Zahn's Jahrb. f. Kunstwiss., VI, p. 138. B. Berenson, *Le pitture italiane nella raccolta Yerkes*, Rassegna d'Arte, 1906, p. 35. This picture does not belong to the Metropolitan Museum as one might understand from Mr. Berenson's article.

⁽²⁾ Messrs. Berenson, Langton Douglas and De Nicola give very different versions of this inscription. As I do not know the original, I follow the one given by the last authority.

⁽³⁾ Proclaimed as a work of Andrea's by Mr. Perkins, Rassegna d'Arte, 1914, p. 100, but with much hesitation, for which I see no reason.

It is a picture very rich in decorative detail and certainly the most characteristic of Andrea's works that has come down to us.

Once it has been established that the above picture is really by the hand of this master, we may also ascribe to him the head of an archangel — a fragment of a picture — which in the Gallery of Siena (no. 63), is ascribed to Ambrogio Lorenzetti.

In the Platt collection, Englewood (New Jersey), there is a beautiful Madonna of the same period. The Virgin is enthroned and holds the Child standing on her knee (1). It is a work in which the tradition of Simone, that which Andrea inherited from his father, is plainly visible.

There can be little doubt that two panels of St. Antony Abbot and St. Dorothy belonging to the author, and one of St. Savinus, which some years ago was for sale in Paris, formed part of the same polyptych as the Madonna in the Platt collection.

A triptych in the collection of Mr. Frank L. Babbott, New-York, representing the Madonna in the centre, two saints in the wings, and the Saviour and the figures of the Annunciation above, is certainly also a production of Andrea di Bartolo (2).

It was probably executed at a slightly later date, for certain features in it betray a knowledge of Taddeo di Bartolo's works.

It appears likely, which besides is only logical, that it was after his father's death in 1410 that Andrea's close connection with Taddeo di Bartolo, who was no doubt at that time the most outstanding artist at Siena, started.

As I said before Taddeo's influence is very marked in the four figures of saints, SS. John the Baptist, Francis, Peter and John the Evangelist with the half-length figures of SS. James, Clare, Lawrence and Paul in the terminals in the church of the Osservanza outside Siena (fig. 361). I do not, however, agree that this influence is sufficiently strong to justify the usual attribution to Taddeo himself instead of to Andrea as Dr. De Nicola has recently proposed. The date is found at the end of a long inscription, giving the donor's name, visible below the feet of the Baptist, the shape of whose face is very typical of our artist.

(1) *Perkins*, Rassegna d'Arte Senese, 1908, p. 84. *The Same*, Rassegna d'Arte, 1911, p. 3.

(2) *Perkins*, Art in America, 1920, p. 292.



Fig. 361. Andrea di Bartolo, Saints. Osservanza, near Siena.

Photo Brogi.

The figures are all beautiful, even majestic; the Gothic draping of St. Peter's robe is very effective; the faces are expressive and the features show minute technical smoothness. In the habit of St. Francis we have another late example of a material threaded with gold, which, as we have seen, is probably an outcome of Taddeo's influence.

The massive forms of Taddeo's art are also very obvious in a triptych to be seen in the Siena Gallery (no. 219), where it is attributed to Martino di Bartolommeo. It represents the Virgin with the Child between SS. James and Philip. The treatment of the drapery strongly resembles Taddeo's, while the lack of life and expression of these otherwise imposing figures is even more



Fig. 362. Andrea di Bartolo, Madonna and Saints. Accademia, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

marked than in Taddeo's own work. The figure of the Madonna in its general outlines seems to be copied from the image of the Virgin in Taddeo's polyptych at Volterra.

In another picture — a polyptych — in the same Gallery (no. 220, fig. 362), and officially attributed to Martino di Bartolommeo, the artist follows Taddeo still more faithfully. Here the Virgin, whose beautiful face is not lacking in expression, holds the rather strange-looking Babe in both hands; at her feet



Fig. 363. Andrea di Bartolo, the Coronation of the Virgin. Franchetti Collection, Venice.

Photo Anderson.

kneel two angelic musicians. To the left we see SS. Stephen and John the Evangelist and to the right SS. Dorothy and Jerome. The figure of the female saint might easily be taken for a work of Taddeo's.

Mr. Platt possesses two other panels by Andrea; they represent St. Galganus and a holy bishop, and at first sight might pass for the work of Taddeo, to whose figures the resemblance is very strong. They are certainly the best of the artist's productions assignable to this period, and are very finely executed. The image of the saintly warrior reminds us of some of Bartolo di Fredi's paintings.

In some of Andrea's other works Taddeo's faults are exaggerated to such an extent that the paintings are distinctly disagreeable in appearance. To a transitional stage between these and the previous works I think we may ascribe a picture of the Coronation of the Virgin, with two angelic musicians beneath, in the Franchetti collection, Venice (fig. 363); a picture which, I believe, is intended for the Ca'd' Oro Museum. Here the connection with his father's art is very slight, and the heavy expressionless figures show a much closer resemblance to those produced by Taddeo.

The same may be said of a Madonna and Child from the church of S. Pietro a Ovile, now preserved in the priest's house (fig. 364). From the few remaining lines which are all that is left to indicate the folds of the Virgin's dress, we may discern the original amplitude of proportion; the head is also too large and so are the features, especially the eyes. The Child is clumsy and unattractive.

Of a somewhat higher quality, but still showing the uncouthness characteristic of Taddeo's works, are four panels in the left transept of SS. Pietro e Paolo, Buonconvento; two of them represent the Angel and the Virgin of the Annunciation, both still modelled on Simone's figures, while the other two are the Magdalene and St. Antony Abbot. Beneath the two first panels we read the signature: "*Andreas Bartoli Magistri Fredi de Senis*"⁽¹⁾.

In addition to Taddeo's rather clumsy proportions we also find

(1) *Langton Douglas, The Nineteenth Century*, loc. cit.



Fig. 364. Andrea di Bartolo, Madonna. S. Pietro in Ovile, Siena.

PHOTO AUNARI.

here types which are not actually ugly, but lacking in any inspiration, spirituality and mysticism⁽¹⁾.

Andrea di Bartolo, like Taddeo, was a painter full of diligence but entirely lacking in inspiration. His works are always praiseworthy and sometimes they even possess a genuine charm, but we can seldom go into ecstasies over them. These works were of advantage to Italian art, in that they were instrumental in handing down that excellent technique, including methods of preparation no less than style of execution, which for more than a hundred years had been the possession of the Sienese masters.

We can by no means call Andrea an independent or individual artist. Starting his career as a disciple of his father's he became, soon after the latter's death, just as close an adherent of Taddeo di Bartolo, who was not only the most prominent of the Sienese artists of that period, but was also that one who had preserved certain traces of Bartolo di Fredi's art, for which reason Andrea doubtless found it easier to work with him⁽²⁾.

(1) I agree with Dr. De Nicola in attributing also the following works to Andrea: *Berlin*, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, no. 1095, triptych, Madonna, the Crucifixion and Annunciation; *London*, Chillingworth collection (sold at Lucerne in 1922), Madonna; *New York*, Metropolitan Museum, Crucifixion (R. Offner, *Art in America*, 1919, p. 152); *Rome*, for sale, Madonna; *Siena*, Gallery, no. 155, four half-length figures of saints; no. 133, triptych, the Nativity and the Resurrection, with two saints in each wing. Other works which I do not know but which Dr. De Nicola ascribes to the same artist are: *Baltimore*, Walters collection, triptych, Madonna with saints; idem, Madonna between the four Evangelists and four angels; idem, the Massacre of the Innocents, *Brussels*, Stoclet collection, Crucifixion, the story of the Passion, and legends of saints; *Esztergom* (Hungary), Archiepiscopal Museum, Joachim leaving the city (?); *Florence*, Finaly collection, Madonna; Angeli collection, Madonna; *Milan*, Chiesa collection, Madonna; *New-York*, Wildenstein collection, Madonna (signed); *Paris*, Canessa collection, Madonna; *Rome*, Jandolo collection, half-length figure of a saint; *Vienna*, Lanskoronsky collection, Nativity. I do not agree with Dr. De Nicola in ascribing to Andrea the Last Supper and the Coronation of the Virgin in the Gallery of Bologna (nos. 119 and 233). On the other hand, four half-length figures in the Cluny Museum, Paris (nos. 1669-1672) may be from his own hand. A Madonna and Child in the Blumenthal collection, New York seems to be by a pupil (*Perkins*, *Art in America*, Dec. 1920).

(2) In order to complete the bibliography, I may mention; *Annales Archéologiques*, XXV, pp. 277, 279, 282; and *G. Grigioni*, *Rassegna Bibliografica dell'Arte Italiana*, XII, 1909, p. 176.

Giorgio di Andrea di Bartolo ⁽¹⁾ must certainly have been the son of our artist. He is inscribed in the roll of Sienese painters which, was first drawn up in 1389 ⁽²⁾; he then appears in a document drafted in 1412, at Citta di Castello, in which he contracts to execute, together with Giacomo di Ser Michele of that city, an altar-piece for the deacons of S. Florido, for which the collaborators received thirty-five golden florins and a certain quantity of wine ⁽³⁾. This picture consisted of a figure of the Virgin between those of SS. Floridus and Amarizius. In a room behind the sacristy of the Cathedral of Citta di Castello, we find, amongst some other paintings, one which represents the Virgin in a lowly seat, nursing the Child, and another depicting St. Floridus. Both panels are very worm-eaten and the painting is in a sad condition. Dr. Salmi has already pointed out that these must be two of the three pictures executed by Giorgio di Andrea and Giacomo di Ser Michele, attributing the Madonna to the former, and, with some uncertainty, the figure of the saint to the latter ⁽⁴⁾. Undoubtedly this Madonna is more closely related to Andrea di Bartolo's manner, but the son, Giorgio, seems to have been even a more indifferent artist, this particular work having all the appearance of a provincial production.

MARTINO DI BARTOLOMMEO ⁽⁵⁾.

Martino di Bartolommeo appears for the first time in 1389 in the roll of the guild of Sienese painters ⁽⁶⁾. He was the son of a goldsmith called Bartolommeo di Biagio ⁽⁷⁾, and not of Bartolommeo Bolgarini, as has sometimes been supposed. From 1396 until 1405 he worked at Pisa. In the first of these years he signed the still extant frescoes in the church of S. Giovanni of Cascina,

⁽¹⁾ *U. Gnoli*, in Thieme Becker, *Künstler-Lexikon*, XIV, p. 82

⁽²⁾ *Milanesi*, Doc. Sen., I, p. 46.

⁽³⁾ Documenti inediti dell'Arte Toscana, Buonarroti, Ser. II', vol. II, p. 37

⁽⁴⁾ *M. Salmi*, Dipinti del quattrocento a Citta di Castello, Bollet. d. R. Deput. di Stor. Patr. per l'Umbria, XXIV, fasc. I-III.

⁽⁵⁾ *Vasari—Milanesi*, I, p. 477, note 2. *C. Lupi*, In Arte antica Senese, I, Siena, 1904, pp. 387 and 414.

⁽⁶⁾ *Milanesi*, Doc., Sen., I, p. 45.

⁽⁷⁾ *Milanesi*, op cit., II, p. 31.

near the city, which originally belonged to the knights of Jerusalem. In 1402 he, together with Giovanni di Piero di Napoli, who had a workshop in the S. Felice quarter of Pisa, undertook the execution of an altar-piece for the hospital of Sta. Chiara, for which he was paid in instalments from 1402 until 1404 (1). This picture still exists, as well as another altar-piece which he painted in 1403 for the Foundling Hospital, and a representation of the marriage of St. Catherine dated 1404, all now preserved in the Gallery of Pisa. During 1404 he also frescoed thirty figures in the church of Sta. Chiara (2).

Martino did not leave Pisa in 1404, as Cavalcaselle informs us, since in 1405 he was charged with the execution of a picture for a newly built chapel in S. Lorenzo, as well as with the decoration of the arch and vault of the said chapel (3). Nevertheless in April 1405 he is back in Siena, since there is question of his being lent a small sum of money at the request of the "operaio" of the Cathedral (4). After this date he is frequently mentioned in Sienese documents. In 1405 he decorated the chapel of S. Crescenzo in the Cathedral, and in 1406 the chapels of S. Savino and S. Niccolo in the same building (5). In 1407 the city authorities ask him to give his opinion of the frescoes which Taddeo di Bartolo had painted in the chapel of the Palazzo Pubblico (6), and he himself decorates four vaults in the Cathedral. That same year he collaborates with Spinello Aretino in the execution of some frescoes in the Sala di Balia, for which work he is remunerated the following year (7). A piece of information which perhaps helps us to judge the relations existing between Martino and his contemporary, Taddeo, is that in 1412 the former was fined for having libelled Taddeo, who, at that moment, was a member of the council (8). In 1415 we find Martino working in the chapel of the

(1) *Milanesi*, op. cit., II, pp. 8—12. *Bonaini*, Notizie inedite intorno etc. a Francesco Traini, p. 48

(2) *Bonaini*, op. cit., loc. cit.

(3) *J. B. Supino*, Arte Pisano, Firenze, 1904, p. 299.

(4) *Borghese e Banchi*, Nuovi Documenti, p. 111.

(5) This document, as well as most of the others, is found in *Milanesi*, Doc. Sen., II, pp. 30—34.

(6) *Milanesi*, Doc. Sen., II, p. 28.

(7) *Borghese e Banchi*, loc. cit.

(8) *Borghese e Banchi*, loc. cit.

crucifix, in the Cathedral⁽¹⁾. Two years later a son is born to him⁽²⁾, and about this time he becomes a member of the government and is re-elected in 1422 and 1432. In 1419 he, along with other artists, is working in the Consistory⁽³⁾, and in 1420 he is made castellan of Monte Agutolo. During this same year he executes some figures in the council chamber⁽⁴⁾ and leaves unfinished the painting of the clock in the tower overhanging the piazza.

In May 1434 Martino made his will, mentioning, at the end, his son, Sebastian, a monk at Monte Oliveto⁽⁵⁾. He must have died shortly afterwards, for no further reference is found concerning him.

The large series of frescoes, part in grisaille and part in colour, in the church of Cascina, which is now used as a store, is considerably damaged⁽⁶⁾. This decoration originally consisted of a row of scenes from the Old Testament, some frescoes illustrating the Gospels, a row of saints with the Madonna enthroned in their midst, each figure being separated by an arcade from the next, a Crucifixion over the door and in the lunettes enormous allegorical figures of the virtues. These paintings are ugly and coarsely executed, and the characteristics of the Sienese school are only faintly visible; almost any small local artist might have done as well. The peculiar hardness of outline and certain types, however, may be noted in other works by the same master. Below the Crucifixion we can still see part of the signature, which must have run, when perfect: "*Hoc opus fieri fecit Bartolus de Palmeriis De Cascina Anno Domini MCCCLXXXVIII. Martinus Bartholomei De Senis pinsit totum opus istius ecclesie santi Joannis Baptiste*"⁽⁷⁾.

Although the paintings on panel which Martino executed while at Pisa are superior to these frescoes, they are nevertheless not quite worthy of the Sienese school. The polyptych (fig. 365)

(1) *Milanesi*, Doc. Sen., I, p. 44.

(2) *Borghese e Banchi*, loc. cit.

(3) *Borghese e Banchi*, loc. cit.

(4) *Borghese e Banchi*, loc. cit.

(5) *Borghese e Banchi*, p. 104.

(6) The best preserved are described by *Bonaini*, op. cit., p. 53.

(7) *Vasari ed. Milanesi*, I, p. 478; *Milanesi*, Doc. Sen., II, p. 12; *Bonaini*, op. cit., p. 53, does not give the inscription correctly.

which he executed for the hospital of Sta. Chiara is not a pleasing work. The enthroned Virgin with the Child is depicted in the centre, with SS. Augustine, John the Baptist, John the Evangelist and Clare in the lateral panels. On either side, above these figures, a medallion contains the bust of an Evangelist (¹). Cavalcaselle informs us that in his day the central pinnacle contained a repre-



Fig. 365. Martino di Bartolommeo, Madonna and saints, 1402—1404.
Gallery, Pisa.

Photo Minist. del. Pubbl. Istr.

sentation of the Trinity. This we find stipulated in the contract, as well as the two figures of the Annunciation at the sides, and in the predella the Twelve Apostles, eight prophets, and two seraphim, all of which have disappeared.

This picture shows too many points in common with the frescoes of Cascina for us to admit, with Cavalcaselle, that Martino

(¹) These figures do not form pinnacles and consequently do not replace, as Cavalcaselle believed, the angel and Madonna of the Annunciation which are mentioned in the contract.

was entrusted only with the ornamental details. The same peculiar defects which characterized the mural paintings of 1397 and the Pisan panels are again found here. The chief faults are a marked hardness of line, a rigidity of form and a total absence of life, grace, and expression. We cannot, however, accuse him of a lack of refinement in execution; the throne with the little figures of angels is even very beautiful.

The polyptych (fig. 366) which Martino executed in 1403 for the Spedale dei Trovatelli, shows, in the centre, a half-length



Fig. 366. Martino di Bartolommeo, Madonna and Saints, 1403. Gallery, Pisa.

Photo Minist. del. Pubbl. Istr.

figure of the Virgin with the Child, and, at the sides, SS. Anthony Abbot, Bartholomew, John the Baptist and a female saint holding a lighted torch ⁽¹⁾; while busts of the Saviour and of SS. Catherine, James Major, Peter and Lucy are seen in the pinnacles. The general appearance of the figures of this panel is less unpleasing; the two to the right even possess a certain amount of Sienese charm; the outlines are softer and the faces possess some expression. Da Morrone goes as far as to praise this work ⁽²⁾. However, the image of the Virgin, and more especially that of the Child,

⁽¹⁾ Not St. Dorothy as both *Milanesi*, Doc. Sen., II, p. 12, and *Cavalcaselle*, III, p. 156, note 4, assure us.

⁽²⁾ *Pisa illustrata*, 2nd ed., III, Livorno, 1812, p. 254.

are far from beautiful, their chief defect being their air of vulgarity. The inscription was repainted in the 17th century but it is very probable that the one which we read there now is a facsimile of the original. It runs: "*Hoc opus fieri fecit Antonius di S. Cassiano. Martinus de Senis pinxit A. D. MCCCIII*".

The marriage of St. Catherine (1404) is not signed, but there can be no doubt that it is the work of this artist, whose inadequacies are so characteristic. The Virgin, seated on a throne without any back, holds the Child with one hand; with the other she grasps the hand of St. Catherine, on whose finger the Child passes the ring. Below her kneels the small figure of a devotee, not so expressionless as the larger figures, which greatly resemble those of the previous polyptych. Beneath them we can read the remains of an inscription which originally must have been a rhyming couplet: "*..... CCCCIII Aprile fuil mese. Preghiamo Dio per chi fa la spese*".

Cavalcaselle also mentions a mutilated panel of the Virgin in the church of S. Domenico, Pisa.

On his return to Siena, Martino produced works of a much better quality. As was the case with Andrea di Bartolo, it is once again Taddeo di Bartolo who inspires this mediocre painter to execute quite pleasing pictures. In the Sala di Balìa, where he was working in 1407, his part was limited to the decoration of the ceiling, which he adorned with sixteen allegorical half-length figures of the Virtues; these female personifications are executed with more spirit and are more animated and graceful than any we have hitherto seen by this artist. Not only do they produce an excellent decorative effect; but they are also full of life and movement, qualities entirely absent in his previous works.

Three figures of a polyptych (fig. 367) are to be found in one of the rooms of the Palazzo Pubblico. They represent the Magdalene, St. Stephen and St. Antony Abbot, with the Virgin and two angels in the pinnacles; they are gracefully outlined and more animated and inspired than those of Taddeo di Bartolo, under whose influence our artist was then working. Cavalcaselle reports that this painting once bore the signature: "*MCCCCVIII Martinus Bartolommei De Senis pinxit*"⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ This inscription may have been painted on the frame, for that which now surrounds the panels seems fairly modern.



Fig. 367. Martino di Bartolommeo, three Saints, 1408.

Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.

Photo Minist. del. Pubbl. Istr.

Four similar panels executed in the same manner, were once to be seen at Orvieto, but I have since heard that they have been sold to a collector in Boston. The chief figures were those of SS. Antony Abbot, Stephen, James Major, and Ansanus, beneath



Fig. 368. Martino di Bartolommeo, the Saviour. The Author's Collection.
Photo Reali.

whose representation was at one time inscribed the name of St. Paul; the pinnacles showed heads and shoulders of the Baptist, the Angel and the Virgin of the Annunciation, and lastly St. Nicholas. Again, they were fine figures, amply draped, and with beautiful heads, there was — especially in that of St. Ansanus — but little trace of the master's Pisan manner.

A panel owned by the author, representing the Saviour in benediction (fig. 368), shows more resemblance to the works



Fig. 369. Martino di Bartolommeo, Polyptych. Accademia, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

of this period than to those of the Pisan phase. The serious gentle figure is not unlike Simone's types, transformed, however, by the art of Taddeo di Bartolo. Three fine polyptych panels — half-length figures of the Madonna and two saints — which I saw a short time ago in private hands in London, are executed in this same manner.

The Gallery of Siena possesses a polyptych (no. 160) ⁽¹⁾ by Martino, of which the enthroned Virgin, holding the Child on her knee, forms the central figure, those in the lateral panels being SS. John the Evangelist, Lawrence, Ansanus and Augustine (fig. 369). In the central figures there is still manifest a little of

⁽¹⁾ I have already classified nos. 219 and 220, which in the Gallery are attributed to Martino, as among the works of Andrea di Bartolo.

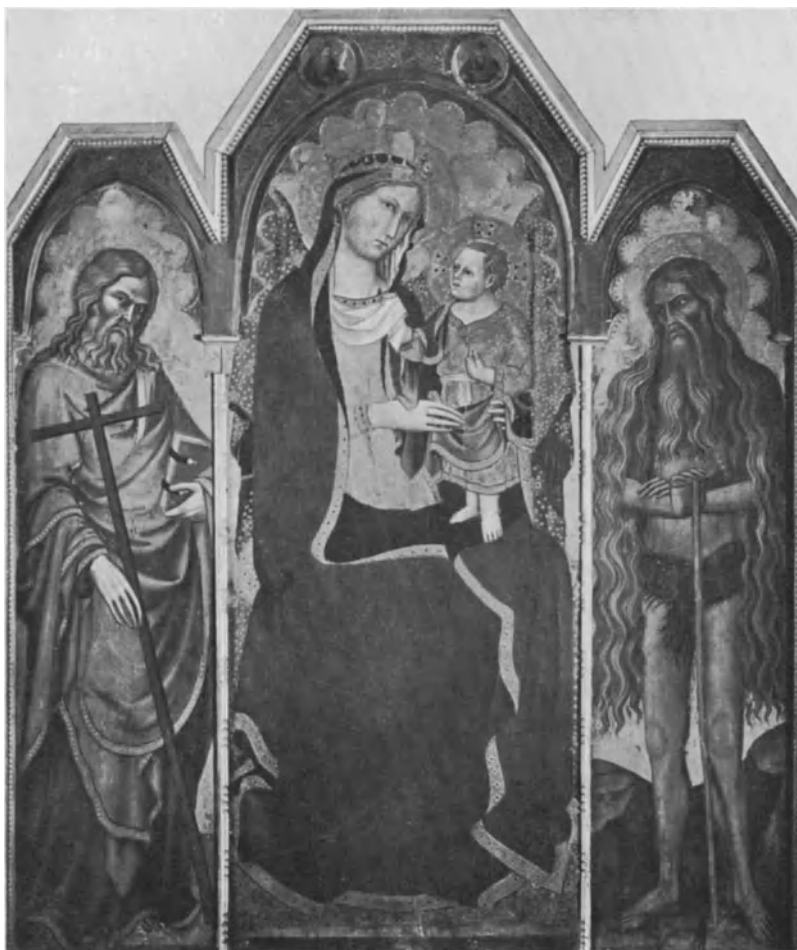


Fig. 370. Martino di Bartolommeo, Madonna and Saints. Accademia, Siena.

Photo Alinari.

that vulgarity which was so displeasing in some of the Pisan productions, but the improvement under Taddeo's influence is very obvious, especially in the large and placid saints in the wings, which, however, are less beautiful than those in the polyptych of 1408.

The figures of the four Evangelists (no. 120), which are also attributed to him, are of little importance, although apparently the work of his hand. I myself am inclined to believe that yet

another painting in this Gallery is by Martino. This is a large triptych, showing the Virgin between SS. Andrew and Onuphrius (no. 140, fig. 370). The execution is somewhat different, the central figures betraying the influence of Taddeo di Bartolo as plainly as that of an older tradition.

We have not many works by Martino di Bartolommeo ⁽¹⁾. He was the last of the painters of the great Sienese school of the 14th century, and carried it on, for a certain number of years, into the 15th. Like the greater number of the painters of this period he possessed neither inspiration nor a sense of the mystical: the two great qualities which lent so much charm to the products of a previous generation, though these were often inferior in technique. The technical methods of the Sienese masters of this epoch were excellent and their pictures are always beautiful, though lifeless and uninspired. It is true that many of their productions are reminiscent of the art of Simone Martini, but the spiritual grace of the great master was transformed by Taddeo di Bartolo into the art of the commonplace and satisfied, and it was this worthy but uninspired artist who dominated the Sienese art of the Trecento toward the end of its existence ⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, III, p. 157, mention a figure of the Madonna formerly in the possession of Signor Bonichi, at Asciano.

⁽²⁾ In his *Documenti dell' arte Senese*, II, p. 68—69, *Milanesi* mentions as working in 1413—1415, a sculptor of the name of Nanni di Jacopo da Siena, whom we might be tempted to identify with a *Nannes Jachopi* who signed a large picture of the Madonna which was previously included in the Sterbini collection. As the painting is by no means characteristic of the Sienese school, it seems to me more probable that this is the production of another Nanni di Jacopo, also a sculptor, and working in Siena at this period, but a native of Lucca, in which city this picture is much more likely to have originated.

APPENDIX.

THE SIENESE MINIATURISTS (1).

Although miniature painting does not really form part of our subject, it, none the less, approaches it too closely to be wholly ignored, especially in relation to the Sieneese school, of which so many panels seem to display a technique almost identical with that of the miniature.

Bologna alone surpasses Siena in the number of miniatures produced. Even Florence, whose output of miniatures was fairly large during the 15th century, seems to have employed Sieneese miniaturists during the Trecento. Not long ago I saw in a bookseller's an official ledger of the city of Florence, of about the year 1330, illuminated with beautiful miniatures in the manner of Simone Martini.

The diverse currents of Sieneese art are all represented in this branch of painting.

Several miniatures of the 14th century are preserved in the Piccolomini Library in the Cathedral of Siena. One of the manuscripts contains some illuminations which are an interesting manifestation of the transformation of the Byzantine manner of the 13th century into that of the 14th. Amongst them we find an important representation of the Ascension adorning the letter M., with medallions of the Annunciation and two angels in the corners (fig. 371).

It is very doubtful whether Duccio himself ever practised this art (2), and Ducciesque miniatures are very rare; nevertheless, the Piccolomini Library contains several that bear traces of this master's influence. One, illustrating the three Maries at the empty Sepulchre,

(1) *A. Venturi*, *Storia dell'Arte Italiana*, V, p. 1032. *D'Ancona*, *Le miniature alla Mostra Senese d'Arte Antica*, *L'Arte*, 1904, p. 377.

(2) *Wulff*, in *Zur Stilbildung de. Trecento Malerei*, takes the documents which refer to the painting of book covers for references to miniature painting, though there is really no reason for doing so.

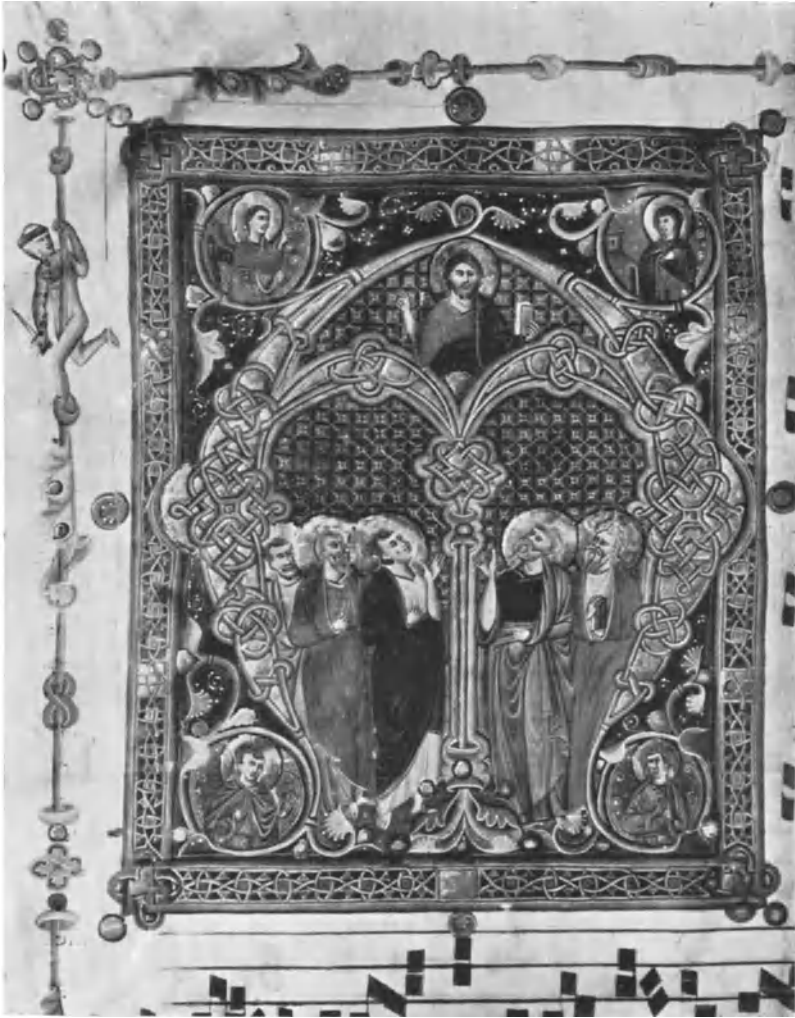


Fig. 371. The Ascension, a Sieneſe Miniature circa 1300.

Cathedral Library, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

before which the Roman ſoldiers lie ſleeping (fig. 372), ſhows a rather leſs refined ſenſe of form, but in another, the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt (fig. 373), we may diſcern certain types, eſpecially ſome of the bearded figures, which ſtrongly reſemble Duccio's, although the painting ſeems to be of later date.

The majority of Sieneſe miniatures, however, belong to the ſchool



Fig. 372. The Maries at the Empty Sepulchre. Siense Miniature of the beginning of the XIV century. Cathedral Library, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

of Simone Martini. We have already seen that in all probability Simone himself embellished the Virgil so cherished by Petrarch, and that one of his most faithful pupils, who accompanied him to Avig-



Fig. 373 The Descent of the Holy Ghost. Siennese Miniature of the beginning of the XIV century. Cathedral Library, Siena. Photo Lombardi.

non, executed the beautiful miniatures in the St. George codex now in the Vatican, which have been ascribed to Simone himself.

The miniatures which most closely approach the art of Simone are those in the codex of Sequenze (G. III. 2) in the Siena City Library (¹). There are five, all by the same artist, who has been rightly de-

(¹) *R. van Marle*, *Simone Martini*, p. 162.



Fig. 374. School of Simone Martini, God the Father, Angels and Saints.

Miniature, Municipal Library, Siena.

Photo Lombardi.

scribed as a pupil of Simone's⁽¹⁾; one of them represents the Eternal attended by four saints and two angels (fig. 374).

(1) *P. Rossi, Simone e Petrarca, Antica Arte Senese, I, Siena, 1904, p. 171.*

A very fine detached miniature of the Annunciation is, in the collection of drawings of the Louvre, attributed to Simone himself (fig. 375), and although I do not think that this is correct, it is certainly the miniature which shows the closest relation to the master's own work.



Fig. 375. School of Simone Martini, the Annunciation. Miniature. Louvre.

Photo Giraudon.

Some other detached miniatures executed in much the same manner now adorn a reliquary in the Gallery of Gubbio (¹). There are six

(¹) *R. van Marle*, *Il reliquiario di S. Francesco della Pinacoteca di Gubbio*, *Rassegna d'Arte Umbra*, 1921, p. 81.



Fig. 376. School of Simone Martini, two Saints. Siense Miniatures. Museum, Gubbio.

Photo Rossi.

small squares attached to the wings of the little tabernacle; on one side we see SS. Francis, Mary Magdalene and Antony of Padua; on the other SS. Clare, John the Apostle (fig. 376) and Louis of Toulouse. Above these a triangle contains a larger figure of the Saviour, Whose expression is even more reminiscent of Simone's art than the other figures.

There exists a little school of miniaturists who, although influenced by Simone Martini, show in their works certain characteristics independent of this master. The central figure of this little group is Niccolo di Ser Sozzo Tegliacci, who is known to us from his signature of the Assumption of the Virgin (fig. 377) adorning a register in the Archives of Siena, which, on account of this illumination, is called the "Caleffa dell' Assunta". As this register, which contains a description of castles and estates belonging to the republic, stops at the year 1332, it is probable that the miniature was executed very shortly after this date, although other facts concerning the artist refer to a later period. He was a member of the municipal government in 1357, 1359 and 1362; he occupied other official positions in 1353 and 1361, and died in 1363 ⁽¹⁾. The signed miniature shows the Virgin in an aureole, carried and surrounded by twenty-four angels; above these are seven cherubim, and below the kneeling figure of St. Thomas. In three of the corners are medallions each containing a bust of a saint; in the fourth, the left-hand lower corner, we find a figure of St. Ansanus; a garland, in which little figures and grotesque faces are depicted, surrounds the painting, at the foot of which we read: "*Nicholaus, Ser Sozzi de Senis me pinxit*". In its technique, depth of feeling, and grace, this beautiful miniature seems to have been inspired by Simone Martini, but the round heads are more characteristic of the Lorenzetti or Lippo Vanni, of whom, however, there is no mention until some ten years later than the probable date of the execution of this work.

Personally, I do not think that any other miniatures by the same hand have come down to us. The paintings which we can most closely associate with this artist are some illuminations in a choir-book in the Siena Library, the most beautiful of which is a representation of the Adoration of the Shepherds (fig. 378) ⁽²⁾. These may be of a slightly

⁽¹⁾ *Milanesi*, Doc. Sen., I, p. 50.

⁽²⁾ The other miniatures will be found enumerated in my book on Simone Martini, p. 160, note 3.



Fig. 377. Niccolo Tegliacci, the Assumption. Miniature. circa 1332.
Archives, Siena.

Photo Brogi.

later date ⁽¹⁾; Simone's influence is more marked, but the elements

⁽¹⁾ They are certainly earlier than the 15th century, to which date they were attributed at the exhibition of Sienese art, which was held in 1904. *D'Ancona*, op. cit., p. 383.

which, in the previous, seemed borrowed from the Lorenzetti, are here entirely absent.

The finest miniatures of Tegliacci's school are preserved in the Collegiata of San Gimignano. There are five volumes in all, two of



Fig. 378. School of Niccolò Tegliacca, the Adoration of the Shepherds. Miniature. Municipal Library, Siena.

Photo Brogi.

which were, until quite recently, still used in the choir, the most beautiful of them is kept in the little museum of this church. Here we find twenty-four miniatures illustrating the Life of Christ (fig. 379), the Assumption of the Virgin and St. Geminian seated in majesty ⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ I have enumerated the subjects in my book on Simone Martini, p. 160, note 4.



Fig. 379. School of Niccolo Tegliacci, the Resurrection. Miniature.
Collegiata, San Gimignano.

Photo Alinari.

The technique, and still more markedly the forms show much in common with Tegliacci's miniature at Siena, but the execution is less fine and for this reason I think we are dealing with the productions of a pupil ⁽¹⁾.

The four other antiphonaries have been illuminated by less skilful

⁽¹⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, *Burlington Magazine*, Sept. 1904, believes them to be by Tegliacci himself. *M. D'Ancona*, *op. cit.*, is of opinion they were executed under his direction.

artists, whose work, although of the same school, can never be confounded with the master's own (1).

There exists a little panel by the artist who executed the twenty-four scenes in the first manuscript; it represents St. Geminian very much as he was depicted in one of the miniatures. This picture was exhibited at the exhibition of Sieneſe art held in London in 1893—94, and at that time belonged to the Street collection (2).

A certain connection with Tegliacci's art may be discerned in the miniatures of three figures of ſaints, included in the volume in the Siena archives which contains the "Statuti del Campaio" of 1361, also in thoſe of an antiphonary in the Library of Siena. In the latter we find illustrations of the Presentation in the Temple (fig. 380), the Reſurrection of the Dead, the Virgin and Child and the Baptism of Chriſt.

Some miniatures adorning a proceſſional croſs, which has recently been ſtolen at Lucignano, have alſo been aſcribed to Tegliacci (3). On either ſide of the croſs were four compartments, containing different ſubjects, while the larger central ſpace ſhowed the Coronation of the Virgin and the Crucifixion.

Although worthy of our admiration they do not reach the level of Tegliacci's *Assumption* in the Siena archives.

That there were ſo many miniaturiſts who followed the manner of Simone Martini is only logical, for his was an art which in its nature and technique very cloſely approached that branch of painting. From the appearance of their panels one would certainly ſay that both Niccolò Buonaccorsi and Francesco Vannucci worked as miniaturiſts. In the Victoria and Albert Muſeum, London, there is a ſmall oblong panel (493—1902) executed in miniature-like technique. One of the ſix figures here repreſented is a copy of Simone's *Mary Magdalene* in the entrance arch of St. Martin's chapel, Aſſiſi.

The Lorenzetti had but one faithful diſciple amongſt the miniaturiſts, and that one was Lippo Vanni, who did, as we ſaw, good work as ſuch from 1341 until 1345. Although moſt of his illuminations reveal him as a follower of the Lorenzetti, there are ſome that force us to compare him with Tegliacci and his ſchool.

(1) *R. van Marle*, op. cit., p. 161, note 2, for liſt.

(2) *I. Vavasour Elder*, *Un quadro sconosciuto di Niccolò Tegliacci*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1910, p. 16.

(3) *Perkins*, op. cit.



Fig. 380. The Presentation in the Temple, Sienese Miniature of the second half of the XIV century. Municipal Library, Siena.

Photo Brogi.

It would be useless to continue the enumeration of miniatures belonging to the Sienese school. I should, however, like to mention the big illuminations of a Latin poem which the city of Prato addressed to King Robert of Naples. The manuscript is preserved in the British Museum (Royal M.S. 6 E IX) and Simone's influence is very evident in the representations of the Saviour, the King, and the personifications of Italy and certain Italian cities (¹).

A series of liturgical books with Sienese miniatures is found in the Gallery of Montepulciano, but from an artistic standpoint they are of little importance. Others, with a great many finer miniatures, are kept in the Library of the Cathedral of Chiusi.

As in painting, so too in this department of the plastic arts, a strong influence emanated from Siena to Pisa, Perugia, and Naples.

(¹) British Museum, Reproductions from illum. Manuscripts, 2nd ed., II, London, 1910, pls. 39-40.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

p. 10 line 11. S. Michele should be Sta. Cecilia. The same correction should be made in the title of fig. 2.

p. 97 note 1. To the list of works of the Ducciesque tradition must still be added: *Le Mans*, Museum, standing figure of St. Agatha carrying tongs and a plate in which her breasts which have been cut off, are placed. The polyptych in the Conservatorio of San Gimignano is attributed to Segna di Buonaventura by Perkins, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1908, p. 7.

pp. 102 and 104 note 1. Several of the panels from Ugolino da Siena's altar-piece which were formerly in private collections have been acquired by the National Gallery. They include: No. 3375, Descent from the Cross; No. 3376 a prophet; No. 3377, two Apostles; No. 3378, two spandrels each decorated with the figure of an angel (all belonging to the Wagner collection); No. 3473, two Apostles (gift of the Earl of Crawford); No. 1188 the Betrayal of Judas; No. 1189, the Calvary.

p. 108. The polyptych terminals in the Cook collection, Richmond, are certainly by Ugolino da Siena and doubtless formed part of the polyptych many panels of which are now in the National Gallery. These terminals show Moses and Aaron in one and the Passion instruments with two angels in the spandrels in the other.

p. 117. The archangel and three saints by Ugolino Lorenzetti in the Gallery of Pisa were published by E. Lavagnino, *L'Arte*, 1923, p. 43, as a work of the Pisan school. The author does not mention Mr. Berenson's attribution of which he was evidently unaware.

p. 121 Simone Martini's panel of St. Louis has recently been transferred to the Gallery of Naples.

p. 156 note 2. *San Gimignano*, Sta. Chiara, Madonna and eight adoring saints, should be erased from the list of works of Segna's school.

p. 225, 6th line from below. Nos. 40 and 41 should read Nos. 48 and 49.

p. 226. The Madonna which I attribute to Donato and mention as belonging to Mr. Langton Douglas has since been acquired by the Strauss collection, New York.

pp. 248—50. The following should be erased from the list of works showing Simone's influence: *Berlin*, late von Kaufmann coll., Madonna of Lippo's school; *Cologne*, Wallraf Richartz Museum, No. 510, enthroned Madonna; *Rome*, Vatican Gallery, No. 2, St. Peter. To the same list should be added: *Budapest*, Gallery, No. 26, half-length figure of St. Laurence (von Terey, op. cit., p. 32); *New York*, Lehman coll., SS. Peter and Mary Magdalene; *Poitiers*, Gallery, No. 107, half-length figure of St. Mark.

p. 274 note 3. Lippo Memmi's Madonna which I include in the late von Kaufmann coll., Berlin, has since been acquired by the A. Lederer coll., Vienna.

pp 275—77. A panel of St. Luke in the A. Lederer collection, Vienna, must have originally formed part of that polyptych by a close follower of Simone Martini's, other parts of which have been mentioned as belonging to Messrs. Lehman and Blumenthal, New York.

p. 292. I have been told that the panels in the Ehrich Galleries, New York, by Barna da Siena representing SS. Catherine and Ansano, have been acquired by the Stockholm Museum.

p 333. *E. T. Dewald*, The Master of the Oville Madonna, *Art Studies*, 1923, expounds, what I think the unacceptable theory, that Pietro Lorenzetti's Madonna in the church of S. Pietro a Oville, is only a work of a follower of the master to whom he also attributes other paintings.

p. 370 note 2. To the list of Pietro Lorenzetti's works should still be added an important enthroned Madonna in the Johnson coll., *Philadelphia* (Berenson, Catalogue, No. 91). To the same note must be added as a work of Pietro's school. *Cambridge*, U.S.A., Fogg Art Museum, No. 18a, a Deposition by a somewhat distant follower; *Siena*, Confraternita della Madonna (church), Last Judgment. The following must be erased from the school works: *Rome*, Vatican Gallery, No. 24, Crucifixion.

p. 373. The title of fig. 249 should be: School of Pietro Lorenzetti etc.

p. 426 note 1, line 8. *Pomposa* should be *Pompana*.

p. 481. To the works of Luca di Tommè might still be added two polyptych panels which, in form and execution, are not unlike those of the Rieti altar-piece; they represent SS. Peter and Paul and will be found in the collection that the parish priest, M. Bossuet (1864--1888) united in the church of St. Louis-en-l'Île, Paris.

p. 568. To the list of Taddeo di Bartolo's works should still be added a half-length figure of the Redeemer, a fragment of his best period, which is preserved in a cupboard in the sacristy of S. Luca, Perugia.

p 584. According to documents published by *Milanesi*, *Doc. Sen*, II, p. 8 etc (see also *Bonaini*, *op. cit.*, p. 43, *Vasari-Milanesi*, I, p. 477², E Bertaux, *Napoli Nobilissima*, VIII, 18,8, p. 1; *M. Salmi*, *L. Arte* 1919, p. 158, Giovanni di Pietro di Napoli was to execute the figures of the polyptych made in 1402—4 (fig. 365).

INDICES

INDICES

An iconographical index, indicating New and Old Testament and hagiographical scenes and other important representations will be found at the end of volume V.

Compound names divided by di, de, del, etc. will be found under the letter of the first name, all the others under that of the second.

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