

THE COLLABORATION
OF
NICCOLÒ TEGLIACCI
AND
LUCA DI TOMMÈ

BY
SHERWOOD A. FEHM, JR.

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The economic and religious revivals which occurred in various parts of Italy during the late Middle Ages brought with them a surge of church building and decoration. Unlike the typically collective and frequently anonymous productions of the *chantiers* and *ateliers* north of the Alps which were often passed over by contemporary chroniclers of the period, artistic creativity in Italy during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries documents the emergence of distinct "schools" and personalities. Nowhere is this phenomenon more apparent than in Tuscany where individual artists achieved sufficient notoriety to appear in the writings of their contemporaries. For example, Dante refers to the fame of the Florentine artist Giotto, and Petrarch speaks warmly of his Sienese painter friend Simone Martini.

Information regarding specific artists is, however, often lacking or fragmentary. Our principal source for this period, *The Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects* by Giorgio Vasari, was written more than two hundred years after Giotto's death. It provides something of what is now regarded as established fact often interspersed with folk tales and rumor.

In spite of the enormous losses over the centuries, a large number of paintings survived from the Dugento and Trecento. Many of these are from Central Italy, and a relatively small number actually bear the signature of the artist who painted them. The only categorizations or attributions possible for the majority of the works of art from this period are those based solely on observations of stylistic characteristics. Such judgments are, obviously, often subject to much disagreement among scholars, and frequently the discovery of a new picture, document or signature may dramatically alter or revise the critical view of a particular painter.

In Florence, Giotto's art clearly dominates painting well after his death. Taddeo Gaddi and Maso di Banco, his pupils, ex-

tended the ideas they had originally learned in his shop, and such second generation Florentine artists as Agnolo Gaddi and Cennino Cennini perpetuated Giotto's artistic notions and techniques. To Cennino, in fact, we are indebted for a "recipe" book which provides some glimpse into a craftsman's workshop.

In contrast, four important artists were at work in Siena in the first half of the 1300's. Duccio's renowned *Maestà* was the most complete catalogue of the Christological scenes yet done on panel. Its scenes of delicately constructed and exquisitely colored figures against a brightly burnished gold ground represent the summation of Byzantine influence in Italy. Simone Martini worked both on panel and plaster, introducing into his works elements borrowed from Northern Europe. A predilection for Gothic linearity and elegance pervades his pictures. Ambrogio and Pietro Lorenzetti shared an interest in perspective and each had his own individuality, though it seems they sometimes collaborated, as was frequently the case with large commissions during this period. However, their particular collaboration is relatively uncommon for the period as it appears to have been the cooperation of two equals, rather than the more usual master-pupil relationship.

Among the artists of the generation succeeding Simone, Duccio and the Lorenzetti, were the lesser known Niccolò Tegliacci and Luca di Tommè. Tegliacci, known to have been active during the 1340's and 1350's, was undoubtedly the older of the two. So far as it is known, he restricted himself to panel painting and manuscript illumination. His rather stiff, wooden, frontal compositions are very reminiscent of Simone Martini, from whom he acquired a taste for elegant decoration. Luca di Tommè, who is last recorded in 1390, owes a debt to both Simone and Pietro Lorenzetti as evidenced by his earlier works in which he combines the former's elegance with the latter's interest in perspective.

Several works have been attributed to Luca by one authority and to Niccolò by another. The connections between the two were not considered until the discovery of both signatures on the framing of a large altar in the Siena Pinacoteca Nazionale. This

find generated much controversy in the critical literature and has tended to elevate opinions of Niccolò's artistic stature. The predella for the altar was recently recognized, further heightening interest in this work.

This problem of joint authorship in a medieval workshop is investigated here, an attempt is made to determine which artist was responsible for the overall design of the altar, and arguments supporting attributions for each individual panel within the work are presented.

I. BACKGROUND

One of the largest, most important altarpieces made in Siena during the third quarter of the fourteenth century is a polyptych representing the *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints John the Baptist, Thomas, Benedict, and Stephen* (Figs. 1, 17, 19-25, 27). This painting had been attributed to various artists until 1932.¹ In that year Cesare Brandi published an inscription found on the decorative molding beneath the *Virgin and Child*: NICCHOLAUS SER SOCCII ET LUCAS TOMAS DE SENIS HOC HOPOS PINSERU(N)T ANNI MCCCLXII.² This double signature proved beyond a doubt that the altarpiece was the joint work of Niccolò Tegliacci and Luca di Tommè. In 1958, Federico Zeri identified four panels representing scenes from the life of Saint Thomas (in the collection of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, Figs. 22-25) and a *Crucifixion* (in the Vatican, Fig. 27) as the original predella.³ Subsequent scholarship has generally accepted this reconstruction.⁴

The original location and history of the altar prior to its arrival in the Siena Pinacoteca Nazionale are unknown;⁵ the first record of the polyptych is in that museum's 1842 catalogues. The altar's dimensions (180 x 270 cm. or 70 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 106 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.) make it one of the largest produced in Siena during the fourteenth century, even without a predella; and it seems likely that the original location of an altar of such magnitude would have been the cathedral or one of the major churches of the city.

The polyptych was disassembled during the nineteenth century, but for a variety of compositional and iconographic reasons

the current arrangement of the panels is, in all probability, the original one. The figures to the left of the Virgin and Child are united by a common horizon. John the Baptist, who looks at the viewer while pointing with his right hand towards the center of the composition, occupies the end panel. Less active in stance, Thomas provides a transition from the animation of the Baptist to the stasis of the central group; also Thomas's important role in the predella would place him next to and to the right of the Virgin and Child. A similar rhythm occurs to the right of the central group. Saint Stephen, like the Baptist, looks out at the viewer while the accent of his body leans to the next panel. Here Saint Benedict's turned head and glance guide the viewer to the Virgin and Child. Alternative arrangements of the side panels would deprive the composition of its typically Sienese rhythm and closure.

The predella consists of four scenes from the life of Saint Thomas, one below each of the four lateral saints, and the *Crucifixion* below the *Virgin and Child*. The scenes from Thomas's early career occur to the left of the *Crucifixion* and follow in sequence from left to right. Saint Thomas's upward glance in the second panel from the left draws the viewer's attention to his image in the panel above. The importance of Saint Thomas is further, if indirectly, reinforced by the silhouetted hand of the centurion in the central predella panel. This gesture forms a diagonal by which the viewer is directed to Christ crucified, then upwards to the figure of Saint Thomas. Later scenes from the life, including the martyrdom, occupy the two panels to the right of the *Crucifixion*. In summary, the present arrangement of the predella and major panels (as reconstructed by Zeri) conforms to the iconographic emphasis of the polyptych and provides a compositionally sound sequence of panels.

The respective importance of Niccolò and Luca in the execution of the altarpiece has been the subject of controversy since Brandi's publication of the inscription. Stressing Niccolò's contribution, Brandi argued that Luca's share was limited to some of the detail work, the grinding and working up of pigments, and possibly to the execution of the Baptist panel.⁶ Subsequent critics

of the altarpiece have accepted Luca's authorship of the Baptist but have differed in their assessments of his further contribution. For Zeri, who adopted Brandi's position without modification, the style of the predella posed a difficult problem. To avoid detracting from Niccolò's dominant role in the conception of the altar, Zeri maintained that Luca executed the predella scenes after Niccolò's designs.⁷ Zeri cited a mediocre *Annunciation* in a private Parisian collection as an index of Luca's ability (Fig. 2).⁸ Millard Meiss, however, has convincingly characterized the same *Annunciation* as an inferior product of Luca's later workshop and has pointed to the 1366 *Crucifixion* or the 1370 Rieti polypptych as a true register of Luca's artistic merit (Fig. 3).⁹ He concluded from these paintings "that Luca's share in the predella of the altarpiece of 1362 and in the panels related to it was larger than Zeri contended."¹⁰

I have not found in the Archivio dell'Opera del Duomo or the Archivio di Stato in Siena any documents for the 1362 altar or any which would shed light on the relationship of the two artists. From other sources we can surmise that Luca was younger than Niccolò. Tegliacci died in 1362 while Luca's name appeared regularly in documents until 1390. In 1356, Luca's name appeared for the first time among the rolls of the recently created painters guild in Siena.¹¹ Niccolò, on the other hand, received a payment from the Sienese commune in 1339.¹² It is curious that Niccolò was not enrolled in the Sienese guild in 1356 but only in 1363. From this we may surmise that the bulk of Niccolò's commissions was executed outside Siena during the years directly after 1356, as the guild's statutes clearly prohibit unenrolled artists from practicing their skill in that city. (This may have been the period when much of his work in San Gimignano was done.) Further, this strengthens the case for Luca's importance in their 1362 commission as he *was* a guild member.

An examination of some of Niccolò's and Luca's earlier, separate works and a comparison of them with the 1362 altarpiece are the substance of the following discussion. My aim is to define, as exactly as possible, Luca's role in the conception and execution of the altarpiece. In my opinion, analysis of the available evi-

dence provides ample proof that Luca was at least an equal partner in the jointly signed work.

II. Tegliacci's EARLIER WORK

An illumination in the Archivio di Stato, Siena, is undoubtedly one of Tegliacci's earliest works (Fig. 4).¹³ In style it is exceptional, but certain details are found again in parts of the collaborative work of 1362 and in a number of other works which have subsequently been attributed to him. The seated Virgin, positioned frontally and vertically within a mandorla, is borne aloft by a crowded, flanking band of angels. These are arranged in sloping, symmetrical ranks of little depth. Characteristic of all the figures, but particularly of the Virgin, are the very closely set eyes whose lower lids are formed by absolutely straight lines. Tightly drawn, looping curls frame the rounded faces. The mouths are uniformly thin and expressionless. The flesh of the angular, squat bodies lacks definition, and the awkwardness of the figures and the artist's difficulty in making them fit easily into their surrounding space suggest the work of a painter not yet sure of his forms. The overall feeling created by the image is one of a rigidly controlled, two-dimensional, geometric pattern, more reminiscent of late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century compositions than of the experiments with depth and perspective carried out by the Lorenzetti in the 1330's and 1340's.¹⁴

A dismembered polyptych, now in the Pinacoteca Civica in San Gimignano and formerly in the church of Monteoliveto near San Gimignano, is among the earliest of Tegliacci's surviving works on panel (Figs. 5-7, 18).¹⁵ *The Assumption of the Virgin* is depicted in the central panel (Fig. 6); she is flanked by Saints Thomas, Benedict, Catherine of Alexandria and Bartholomew (Figs. 18, 7). As in the illumination in Siena, the seated Virgin is represented frontally with the attendant angels in sloping ranks bearing the mandorla upwards. The same rounded faces with closely set eyes and tightly looping curls occur, but the figures surrounding the Virgin and the Virgin herself appear less cramped than in the manuscript version of the scene, due to the elimination of the outermost band of accompanying angels. As

a result, the composition is less forced. There is also an advance towards realism in figure style. Saint Catherine, who flanks the Virgin, is characteristic of Niccolò's figure style (Fig. 7). Although her limbs appear overly short and her torso not clearly defined, her rounded face, eyes and curls, and the brush strokes give the figure a feeling of controlled intensity. The handling of the heavy cloak is awkward, but technical clumsiness is not present to the same extent as in some of the figures in the Siena miniature. Here Tegliacci seems to have become surer of himself and to have better understood the use of space than in the miniature.

A number of other works can be attributed to Niccolò and dated in the 1350's. In a *Madonna and Child with Two Angels and Two Saints* in Siena, the compressed rectangular format with angels flanking the Virgin is reminiscent of earlier compositions (Fig. 8).¹⁶ Again, Mary is depicted frontally, but here she is positioned to the left of the composition's central axis in order to provide space for the added Child. The tall, angular angels, with their elongated necks and pointed chins, gaze intently at the Virgin and Child. The hint of movement towards the central group is restrained by the arms of the throne. The composition is balanced, or weighed down, by two saints who kneel in the foreground; their truncated forms seem an afterthought to prevent the Virgin, throne, and angels from leaning back into the background. Their presence in front of the throne and the angels behind create a depth which Tegliacci had not used previously. For the first time his oval composition recedes from the picture plane as opposed to being parallel to it.

A fragment representing *The Virgin and Child with Two Angels*, formerly in the Hyland Collection, Greenwich, Connecticut, and now in The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California, must have been one of Niccolò's largest commissions (Fig. 9).¹⁷ Although considerably cropped, its dimensions are still substantial. From what remains one may deduce that the Virgin was depicted enthroned, full length, with the Christ Child standing in her lap. Two, and originally perhaps more, angels gaze at her from behind the sumptuously covered throne. The luxury of the cloth of honor complements the intricately worked undergar-

ments and halos of the two central figures. Though characteristically frontal, the Virgin's pose is varied somewhat, which frees it from the rigidity of the earlier examples. Her left arm holds the Child, while her torso, inclining slightly away from Him and to her right, balances His figure. The Child's head tilts gracefully toward her as He looks out at the viewer. The line of the Virgin's mantle gently framing her face must have extended down to her right shoulder and continued across her lap to His feet. This line, which would have encircled and set off the Child, is present in the Siena picture and in the 1362 altar; but the pose, borrowed from Simone Martini's *Maestà* of 1315, has a balance which is in contrast to the awkwardness of that of the Siena pictures.¹⁸ The figures relate to each other within a space which is not crowded, and, in spite of obvious repainting, it is clear that Tegliacci rendered his figures plastically and with confidence. The picture is one of his most harmonious compositions.

Another early *Virgin and Child* by Niccolò, now in the Uffizi, was originally situated in the church of Sant'Antonio in Bosco, Poggibonsi, near San Gimignano (Fig. 10).¹⁹ Although trimmed along the top and bottom, the picture is in otherwise excellent condition. The standing Virgin, who is shown supporting her Child, was probably initially three-quarter length. The delicate pattern of her dress is matched by His shirt, and both figures are silhouetted against a gold background, accentuated only by the patterning of halos and frame tracery. As in the Getty picture, the figures relate easily to each other; she gently turns her head down towards Christ while He fondles a pomegranate, looking away as though preoccupied with events to come. The linear rhythm of her crossed hands is echoed by His hands. His left foot, upturned like one of Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Christs,²⁰ slips easily under her arm. Its simplicity and fluid grace mark Niccolò as a mature artist in full command of form and space and make this compositionally a most successful picture.

In another, hitherto unknown panel in a Milanese private collection, Niccolò presents the Virgin and Child against a cloth of honor and a gold background (Fig. 11).²¹ The picture has been cut moderately on all sides, but the proportions of the figures

and configuration of punchwork and molding suggest that the Virgin, with her Child, was depicted seated at three-quarter length without auxiliary figures. In this version, Niccolò has arranged the Virgin in a less than frontal pose so that her left arm clearly reaches behind the Child sitting on her left knee. Her head inclines very slightly towards Him, and their hands touch as she holds a pomegranate and cherries for Him while He gazes up towards her. The gentle meandering line of the hem of her cloak is subtly balanced by the taut and controlled folds of the Child's mantle. Anatomical features are carefully and three-dimensionally modelled. As in the Uffizi panel, which must date from the same period, the elimination of an elaborately articulated throne and angels has made the composition less cramped and thus more monumental.

These pictures mark Niccolò's development of figural and compositional forms during the 1350's. Throughout the series from the Siena to the Uffizi panels his compositions become more simplified, his figures more plastically rendered. His Virgins, with one possible exception, remain frontal, but they are related to the Child with increasing success.²² He eliminates secondary figures and thereby avoids spatial crowding. The resultant compositions display the Virgin and Child silhouetted against either sumptuous or stark backgrounds.

The earlier paintings of Simone Martini are Niccolò's major artistic source, and he borrows rather freely from them. The Child's pose in the Getty picture is one example; his predilection for rich stuffs and elaborate ornamentation is another. Niccolò's sense of space also seems related to that of Simone, although this factor may just as well have its origins in the work of Ambrogio Lorenzetti. Certainly Ambrogio's more imaginative depictions of the Christ Child appealed to him, at least in his later pictures, as evidenced by the Uffizi *Virgin and Child*.

From this Tegliacci emerges as an intense but conservative artist of some consequence who was active primarily in San Gimignano and Siena throughout the 1350's.²³ His style emanates from that of Simone Martini, and his rather static and frontal compositions reflect earlier works of the late thirteenth and early

fourteenth centuries. The 1362 Siena altar owes much to these earlier works, and from them it is possible to ascertain more clearly Niccolò's exact role in the jointly signed polyptych of 1362.

III. LUCA DI TOMMÈ'S EARLIER WORKS

Nine works which with some assurance can be attributed to Luca di Tommè survive from the period before 1362; I will discuss five.²⁴ With one exception, all of these works are small in format and reveal the hand of a talented artist in the process of development. A miniature quality exists in the figures of this period which sets them apart from the large, robust forms characterizing Luca's later work.²⁵ The influence of Pietro Lorenzetti's modes of composition and style is distinguishable in all the pictures of this early group.²⁶

One of Luca's earliest works is a panel in Los Angeles representing the *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints Louis of Toulouse and Michael* (Fig. 12).²⁷ The Virgin is seated on a stepped throne backed with a delicately punched gold cloth of honor. The Child is seated on her left, His feet resting in her lap and His attention centered on a pomegranate which He holds in His right hand. The figures themselves are statically rendered, but in their gestures and expressions one finds considerable subtle animation. The Child's slightly ambiguous gesture—is He presenting the fruit or simply holding it?—is one factor in a narrative more complex than any found in Niccolò.

The two full-length saints flank the throne. Saint Louis turns toward the Virgin and Child; his crown rests on the floor before him. Saint Michael in armor, with his sword in his right hand and his left hand resting on his shield, stands triumphant on the carcass of the dragon. He looks directly out from the picture plane. The two angels, who differ slightly in the tilting of their heads and crossing of their arms, gaze at the Madonna and Child from a location behind that of the saints in the foreground and parallel to the sides of the throne. In the roundel at the center of the punched framework which makes up the upper register of the painting, *Christ Blessing* is depicted.

Another of Luca's early works is the panel in the Lindenau Museum in Altenburg (Fig. 28).²⁸ Several aspects of this composition are remarkable. The Virgin and the Evangelist are seated on the ground, and on each the leg nearest the frontal plane extends to the base of the cross. Behind these figures, symmetrical rock formations provide a dark ground for the silhouettes of the halos.²⁹ The lateral figures in the foreground form a "U" shape which is echoed by the separation and curvature of the rocks. Silhouetted against the gold background, the Crucified Christ rises out of the fissure in the rocks to fill the upper zone of the composition. The yellow of the Evangelist's cloak and the deep blue of the Virgin's mantle are set off against the dark brown ground. All the colors, in turn, are played off against the green of the painted quatrefoil which is built up in a series of half tones and shaded to create a sense of perspective.

The tone of the Altenburg panel is passive and contemplative. Neither the Virgin nor the Evangelist looks at the Crucified Christ; rather both seem to reflect abstractly on an event distant in time and space. The frame serves as a barrier which blocks the viewer from the scene. He cannot participate in the action for a number of reasons: 1) the two lateral figures are partially obscured and do not gesture out of the picture plane; 2) none of the figures look out from the composition; and 3) no area in the shallow space is available into which the viewer may pass.

This passive, self-contained mood represents a dramatic change in the way this scene had been traditionally depicted in Siena. There are representations during the 1330's and 1340's, particularly those of the Lorenzetti, which allow the viewer to pass easily into a scene and participate in the action.³⁰ The exclusion of the viewer by means of the frame and the use of the frame to mark off a limited, flat space are devices which Luca is to use again and again. The series of predella panels for the jointly signed altarpiece in Siena and the predella in the Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, for example, represent further developments of these ideas.³¹

A representation of the *Flagellation* in Amsterdam reveals other aspects of Luca's developing ability (Fig. 26).³² In a shallow

but well defined space he places a complex, interwoven group composed of figures which are more fully developed and substantial than any in his previous works. Christ is placed before a column at the center of the scene, thus dividing it into two balanced halves. His tormentors on both sides touch Him and by doing so unite the composition. The sharp, pointing gesture of Pilate, with his arm extended towards Christ, dramatically emphasizes a horizontal movement which is continued by the tormentor on Christ's right, then echoed by the arches above the figures, the moldings, and the series of loops formed by the border of the sagging tapestry on the wall behind. Christ's body turns to the tormentor on His right, but His glance is directed to the tormentor about to strike Him on His left. The tormentor on His right imitates this *contrapposto* by moving towards Christ while glancing back towards Pilate. These gestures initiate a staccato movement and considerable animation within the interconnected groups which pivot around Christ and the central column.

Luca continues to experiment with the presentation of figures in a defined area. His ability to further define space and gesture occurs in a panel representing the *Madonna and Child with Saints John the Baptist and Catherine* in Polesden Lacey (Fig. 13).³³ The work is similar to the small panel in Los Angeles discussed previously. End figures of a tight, controlled composition, the Baptist and Catherine turn to the Virgin and stand so close that they overlap a part of her cloak. The not quite matching stances and gestures provide an animation reminiscent of the Lorenzetti. The space behind the throne is extremely shallow because the angels, who carry the cloth of honor, neither recede into space nor stand on the back of the throne; instead they seem suspended in mid-air. In order to see the Virgin and Child, the uppermost angel must lean forward and bow its head. The function of this gesture, as well as those of the Baptist and Catherine, is to draw the viewer to the central group. Here the Child, in the act of standing on His mother's lap while still supported by her left hand, tugs at the hem of her mantle. Despite the static nature of the figures, the details and gestures provide an air of liveliness

which causes the eye to circulate throughout this exquisite small panel.

In a remarkably well preserved *Crucifixion* now in San Francisco, which was originally the central panel of a predella (Fig. 14),³⁴ Luca demonstrates his developing mastery of placing figures in space. There is a consistency in his compositional formula. As in the Amsterdam panel, the picture is divided by a central image (here the Crucified Christ) which is its focal point. The cohesively knit groups of figures are placed flanking the cross. They are interwoven by their placement within the composition, by the repetition of the patterns of the meandering hem lines of their garments, and by the counterpoint of strong, vibrant color. As in the Altenburg picture, the lateral figures are silhouetted against the brown cliffs behind. (Here, however, the rocks are more detailed.)

Luca manages to avoid the monotony of crowds by the individualization of certain figures. The two men deep in conversation in the extreme right foreground are played off against the two women who exchange sorrowful glances at the left. As in the Amsterdam panel, and as one later sees in the Balcarres picture, these paired auxiliary figures have been placed at the outer limits of the rectangular composition in order to maintain the integrity of its space. Their asymmetrical placement in each of the groups with reference to the forward picture plane helps to avoid a wearisome uniformity. Finally, the animation and juxtaposition of the figures quickens the pace of the narrative and invites the viewer into a space more credible than any Niccolò created.

These five paintings cannot be attributed to Luca with absolute assurance, for there is no documentary evidence which connects them to him. However, they all share qualities which justify placement within Luca's *oeuvre* before his collaboration with Niccolò. Before 1362 his surviving works are, with one exception, small in format, and they share a miniature-like animation and use of detail which are absent in his later works. After 1366, the year he painted his important *Crucifixion* now in Pisa, his forms become increasingly ambitious in scale. Eventually,

during the 1370's and 1380's his figures gradually become flatter and larger within the picture frame and begin to press against it. The Rieti and Cáscina polyptychs (from the 1370's) clearly illustrate the later stages of this progression.

In this series of early works, Luca already demonstrates an ability to depict figures convincingly. The figures of the Crucified Christ in both the San Francisco and Altenburg panels are anatomically accurate, and the saints in the foreground of the Los Angeles panel and the prominent figures flanking the cross of the San Francisco panel reveal a successful handling of clothed figures. The *Flagellation* in Amsterdam is a summation of his ability. Both clothed and nude figures are represented. Two of them, Christ and one of His tormentors, are remarkable for their *contrapposto* which Luca uses here for the first time. The complexity of these figures is never attempted in any of Tegliacci's pictures.

In addition, Luca's early panels reveal an intelligent understanding of pictorial organization. Compositions are arranged in shallow, box-like settings. In both the Los Angeles and the Polesden Lacey pictures, the viewer's eye is drawn back into space by the foreground figures and the base of the throne. Then the gold background, the cloth of honor covering the throne, and the angels standing behind the throne firmly stop the receding movement. The San Francisco and Altenburg panels show a similar use of perspective in narrative scenes. By means of a high horizon line action is localized in the foreground. Figures are silhouetted against rock formations which rise abruptly behind them. In the Amsterdam *Flagellation* the architectural setting performs the same function. Such manipulation of perspective occurs only in the first phase of Luca's career; after 1370 the artist loses interest in the three-dimensional rendering of space.

Luca uses the frame, either painted or real, in a highly imaginative way as a pictorial element, as is dramatically illustrated in his works at Polesden Lacey, Amsterdam and Altenburg. In these pictures the figures seem to be partly covered over or cut by the frame, implying that the figures and some of the action are continuing behind the frame. In the Polesden Lacey picture the fig-

ures of the flanking saints in the foreground are partially covered. A break in the painted frame in the Amsterdam picture helps focus the viewer's attention on Christ, and in the Altenburg panel the painted frame serves as a diaphragm behind which one views the scene. In contrast, Niccolò conceives of his frames as simple boundaries intended to contain his figures in space, a conception clearly discernible in his Siena and Milan panels.

Color, line, figural grouping, and architecture are modulated subtly in order to tie Luca's compositions together. The alternation of color and linear pattern creates a solidity which makes his narrative scenes convincing and interesting. This care in rendering gives a poignancy to his early panel that is often absent from the later work and from the work of his older contemporaries. Asymmetrical placement of figures adds to the rhythm of these early pictures and increases their narrative intensity. St. Louis of Toulouse turns toward the Virgin and Child in the Los Angeles panel while Michael looks directly out at the viewer. In the San Francisco *Crucifixion*, groups of figures with very different postures are placed around the cross. Some figures are back of it, some are brought forward, and some are cut by the edge of the composition. Luca also uses this technique to enliven some of his later, larger and more formal commissions.

The motifs frequently used by Luca's Sienese contemporaries appear also in his work but often in a modified and sometimes more dramatic form. For example, the Child's gesture, which appears so often in contemporary versions of the figure, is intentionally ambiguous in the Los Angeles panel. The writhing Christ before the column, another figure typical of the period, is exaggerated in the Amsterdam work far beyond the standard pose. On the other hand, Niccolò simply incorporates into his work motifs used by Ambrogio Lorenzetti and Simone Martini, while adding little or nothing of himself to them.

Throughout the panels by Luca discussed here, the strong influence of Pietro Lorenzetti is evident. A panel representing a *Madonna and Child* in Baltimore has been attributed to Pietro and is surely from his ambience; it was a source for the Los Angeles and Polesden Lacey pictures. Luca borrowed from the older

artist not only the general scheme, but also the gestures and the modelling of drapery for his figures. The well modelled, substantial quality of these figures also depends on Pietro. Niccolò's figures, which derive from the more conservative tradition of Simone and the Dugento, are frequently clumsy in comparison.

IV. THE 1362 ALTARPIECE

Although the style of the four saints in the altarpiece appears to be quite homogeneous, only three of the four seem to be Niccolò's work (Figs. 19, 21). The figures of Thomas, Benedict and Stephen all exhibit the same method of handling as the two lateral figures by the artist in the San Gimignano polyptych, especially that of Saint Catherine. The bulky, rather static figures are essentially frontal, though Stephen and Benedict, like the San Gimignano Benedict, are depicted almost at three-quarters. In fact the Siena Benedict seems to be a mirror image of his San Gimignano counterpart (Figs. 18, 19). The heads are oval; the eyes have the straight lower lid; the mouths are tight, narrow and pursed. The inclination of Stephen's head echoes that of Catherine's.

Though not evident from black and white photographs, Niccolò's preference for the clear, light, almost pastel colors he consistently employs in his miniatures and in the San Gimignano polyptych appears also in these three figures as well as in the *Madonna and Child*. The colors of the Baptist panel, however, are deeper, more intense, and almost muddy (Fig. 20). His flesh is dark and somewhat obscure, his hair is tousled and askew, and his face more deeply lined than the faces of the other figures. Both the musculature of his arm, which is carefully articulated, and his large, awkward feet with their curiously high instep display a concern for anatomy that is foreign to Niccolò's figures. Indeed, Niccolò avoids depicting feet; he prefers to show the base of his figures enveloped in folds of drapery. But this exceptional figure of John is reminiscent of the Baptist figure in Luca's Polesden Lacey picture. The proportions of the figure and their gestures are very similar (Fig. 13). In both pictures, the cloak is drawn up and gathered over the left arm while the left hand

holds the banderol. And, though on a smaller scale, the same remarkable feet appear in the earlier panel.

One wonders whether Luca had a hand in the design of Thomas as well (Fig. 21). Thomas's voluminous, heavy drapery is atypical of Niccolò's work and has a greater affinity to Luca's treatment of Saint Louis of Toulouse (Fig. 12) in his Los Angeles panel, or Saint Peter (Fig. 3) in the Rieti polyptych. (Admittedly, Peter, from the Rieti polyptych, is eight years later.)

There are also other details in the Thomas panel which have more in common with Luca's general handling of figures in space. The horizon is especially noticeable in these two left-hand figures (John and Thomas) where more of it appears than in the other two lateral panels. And further, unlike the feet of Benedict and Stephen, not only are Thomas's feet partially shown but, like John's, the toes of his right foot overlap the painted frame, heightening its illusionistic quality. This play upon the picture plane and space is a common factor in Luca's art.

The central image poses a similar problem (Fig. 17). There seems little doubt that Niccolò painted the picture, but the question of its design is open. All of Niccolò surviving Madonnas are depicted in absolute frontality as they gaze intently at the viewer. Only in his Uffizi panel does the Madonna incline her head ever so slightly towards the Child. Only in the Getty picture does her torso tip away from the Child to balance His figure, and only in the Siena picture is there a gesture which even approximates that of the Virgin's right shoulder, arm, and hand seen in the 1362 altar. All these Madonnas are set in a cramped space of little depth. Ordinarily the composition is parallel to the picture plane and does not recede into space. Further, in his later works, Niccolò abandons, with increasing success, the use of auxiliary figures flanking the Madonna and Child.

In the 1362 altar the Madonna sits with the Child standing in her lap—a motif clearly based on Simone's *Maestà* of 1315. He looks out at the viewer with His right hand raised in blessing and His left hand holding a banderol. His left foot forward, He seems to be on the verge of taking a step but is restrained by His mother, whose head is deeply inclined towards Him as she sits leaning

back and away from Him. The line of her mantle and cloak is carried by her right forearm and hand as she reaches for His feet. The coming together of the drapery at this point continues this line around behind the Child and up her left shoulder. Although both figures are silhouetted against the elegant cloth of honor, this circular line helps to dramatically emphasize the Child's independence.

The spatial qualities of the central panel have no parallels in Niccolò's previous compositions; the depth of the picture is unlike that of any of his. Conversely, the type of recession that appears is typical of Luca's early experiments with space. The throne is mounted on a base, the steps of which drop back in three-dimensional perspective; and the elaborate arms and molding recede into the background. The attendant angels are not cramped or restrained by the arms of the throne but stand gracefully around and behind it. They are smaller than the two principal figures, and, in fact, the two in back are made smaller in scale than those in the foreground. The result is an effective space which drops back unobtrusively around and behind the central group, complementing and accentuating it. The central figures are parallel to the forward picture plane, but the throne and angels move back into space on an inclined oval form which suggests a half-mandorla.

Such compositional skill is simply foreign to Niccolò's pictures. His only attempt at the representation of figures in articulated depth is in his early, relatively unsuccessful work in Siena. His most mature works, when they contain attendant figures, present them in overcrowded layers parallel to the plane of the picture. However, both Luca's Polesden Lacey and Los Angeles compositions contain all the spatial variables of the 1362 altar, except the receding arms.

The attitude and gesture of the Madonna provide an additional clue to authorship of the design. This mode of depicting the Virgin's inclined head had been used by Luca previously and, indeed, it becomes a hallmark of all his subsequent representations of that subject.³⁵ More important, however, is the smooth, flowing gesture of the Virgin's shoulders, arms, and hands, par-

ticularly as she reaches for the Child with her right palm upturned, or supports the Child's foot placed in it. An early work from his shop, a *Madonna and Child Enthroned* presently in a Florentine private collection, had already utilized an almost identical gesture (Fig. 16).³⁶ One should also note the strikingly similar tilts of heads in the two compositions.

This controlled animation is generally typical of Luca, and from this evidence it would seem that Luca might well have designed the central panel. In earlier works he had successfully dealt with problems of both placement and the rational interrelationship of figures in space. None of Niccolò's previous pictures suggest that he had these abilities or that he could have created a composition such as the central panel of the 1362 altar without help. Although the figures display Niccolò's color and modelling, in my opinion Niccolò followed Luca's design for the spatial arrangement and central group of this panel.³⁷

V. THE PREDELLA PANELS

Further evidence of Luca's overall responsibility in the work is seen in the predella series. Berenson's initial attribution of the predella panels to Luca has been generally accepted.³⁸ The validity of this attribution is confirmed by the style of the figures with their dark complexions and deep, vibrant colors. They are deeply emotive, active figures playing their parts in an imaginative, dynamic, if sometimes awkward, way. These figures do not appear to be Tegliacciesque but rather seem to be characteristic of Luca. Zeri demonstrated that the Thomas scenes would have flanked the *Crucifixion* and developed from left to right (breaking, of course, in the center) in the following way (details of the story not represented by the artist are parenthetically inserted):³⁹

- 1) *Christ orders Thomas to go and convert India and presents him to an envoy of Gundoferus, the king of India* (Fig. 22). (This envoy has been sent to Cesarea to find an architect for the building of a palace.)
- 2) *On his way to India, Thomas comes to a city where a king is celebrating his daughter's wedding. Seeing that the saint would not touch any food (he sat looking up to heaven in prayer), the butler strikes him on the cheek. Soon after,*

as the butler goes to fetch water at the well, a lion comes and mauls him and dogs tear his flesh, one of them bringing his hand into the hall (Fig. 23). (Thomas arrives in India, meets King Gundoferus and is given a purse by him in order to construct a palace. The king departs and Thomas distributes the money to the poor.) 3) *The king's brother, Gad, dies, his body is brought to the apostle in prison, and he is raised from the dead by Thomas.* (He tells his brother of the palace he has seen in heaven which, in Saint Thomas's words, can be bought by the price of faith and by the alms of the rich.) *Seeing this miracle, the king has Thomas released.* (The saint was interned for giving away in alms the treasure that was to be used for the building of the king's palace.) *The king is baptized* (Fig. 24). (Thomas performs several miracles and preaches to the natives, instructing them in Christian virtues. He is imprisoned by Carisius who has the saint's feet burned with hot irons.) 4) *Idols fall at the saint's bidding and a pagan priest stabs him with a dagger* (Fig. 25).⁴⁰

In addition to their style, the design of the predella series helps to confirm Luca's exclusive authorship of them. The curved molding of the five quatrefoils containing the scenes complements the curved, arched frame of the saints and Virgin above. Unlike Niccolò's pictures, their frame does not constrict the figures; rather, it becomes a vital part of the composition. The trilobed molding serves as a window drawing the viewer into the scene which apparently opens out behind it. Figures and architecture slip easily back into space beyond the lobes and angles. This device was familiar to Luca, for he had utilized it before in the *Flagellation* in Amsterdam and in one of his very earliest works, the *Altenburg Crucifixion*.

As in these earlier panels, the horizon line is kept high in order to keep the viewer's focus at or above the middle of the picture. The principal figures in the life of Thomas series appear silhouetted against dark backgrounds. This device achieves two things: the figures, which are represented full length, are made more monumental despite the limited or shallow space; and the dark ground reinforces the limited space and so brings the scene forward to the viewer. The panel depicting the servant slapping

Thomas at the king's banquet is a good example and is comparable to the earlier *Flagellation*. Both incidents take place in shallow rectangular halls whose curtained backdrops set off the figures. The horizon lines are well above the center median, and in both pictures the looping movement of the gold border of the backdrop helps draw together and unify the lateral spread of the figures. In each case the principal figure, who is about to be struck from the right, is set just off center to the right. A balance is struck by the intermediate figures who peer back from the central character to the closing one at the left. They are balanced by a tightly knit group in the right rear.

A further observation of the two panels points out another compositional device favored by Luca. Ordinarily he tends to make three closed groupings in scenes containing many figures. In the *Crucifixion* in San Francisco or the *Flagellation* in Amsterdam, for example, the artist had already employed these elements. The figures glance at and frequently turn toward each other. Usually they are interrelated by a dramatic gesture such as the king pointing, the soldier laying the whip on Christ, the servant striking Thomas, or the pagan priest arguing with the king. Further, the groups are brought together and united by a single color which is repeated within the garments of the figures in two, or sometimes all three, groups.

A comparison of the Vatican *Crucifixion* with that in Altenburg shows yet another similarity between one of Luca's earlier works and the 1362 predella series. The attitude and position of the Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist in the earlier picture are repeated virtually without any change. The two figures sit at the base of the Crucifix against the same "U"-shaped background of hills. The Virgin draws up her left leg, resting her left elbow on it, and presses her cheek into her left hand; her right hand is draped loosely over her right leg. John looks up in profile. He grasps his right leg with both hands knitted together, his outstretched left leg paralleling the frame in both pictures. The crosses are similar even to the detail of the footrest, although the Christs differ. The later figure is more contorted in death, and his flesh tones have stronger shadow and contrast.

As already noted in examination of the central panel, Luca, unlike Niccolò, frequently uses painted architecture in order to create unity within a composition. The Amsterdam *Flagellation*, the Balcarres *Slapping of Saint Thomas* or, more clearly, the Balcarres *Stabbing of Saint Thomas* are cases in point. He adopted the notion of using architecture in this manner from the later works of Pietro and Ambrogio Lorenzetti, a further example of how much Luca was indebted to these two artists not only for the style and posture of his figures but also for the way in which he tied his compositions together.⁴¹

This detailed examination of several of Niccolò's and Luca's earlier works with reference to the 1362 altar has been necessary in order to establish not only who painted what sections of it but also to determine who designed it. Based on the evidence, it is clear that Luca executed the predella for the altar following his *own* plans. Further it seems probable that he, and not Niccolò, designed the central panel of the *Madonna and Child*. He certainly designed and painted the figure of Saint John the Baptist and perhaps had a hand in the execution of the Thomas panel. Niccolò alone painted the figures of Benedict, Stephen and those of the central panel (the latter perhaps with Luca's assistance).

If these observations are correct, then Luca's share in the design and execution of the 1362 altarpiece would have been much greater than has been previously thought.

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NOTES

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1. The polyptych was first attributed to Luca di Tommè by F. Mason Perkins, "Some Sieneſe Pictures in American Collections," *Art in America*, VIII, 1920, 287f. The attribution was followed by R. van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting, The Sieneſe School of the Fourteenth Century*, The Hague, 1924, II, 469f., and B. Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance*, Oxford, 1932, 313. Before 1920 the altar had been given to the school of Simone Martini or more specifically to Lippo Memmi: C. Pini, *Catalogo delle tavole dell'antica scuola senese riordinato nel corrente anno 1842*, Siena, 1842, 6, (school of Simone Martini); G. Milanesi, *Catalogo della galleria dell'Institute de Belle Arti di Siena*, Siena, 1852, 19 (follower of Lippo Memmi); E. Jacobsen, *Das Trecento in der Gemälde galerie zu Siena*, Strassburg, 1907, 31f. (follower of Lippo Memmi and Simone Martini, possibly Lippo Vanni); J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle, (ed. L. Douglas) *A History of Painting in Italy: Umbria, Florence and Siena from the Second to the Sixteenth Century*, London, 1908, III, 78n1 and 89n3 (unknown); and B. Berenson, *The Central Italian Painters*, 2nd ed., London, 1909, 142 (Bartolo di Fredi).

2. C. Brandi, "Niccolò di Ser Sozzo Tegliacci," *L'Arte*, II, 1932, 223f.

3. F. Zeri, "Sul problema di Nicolò di Ser Sozzo Tegliacci e Luca di Tommè," *Paragone*, IX, 1958, 105, 3f. Previously the Crawford panels had been given to Luca di Tommè by Berenson (*Italian Pictures*, 313) and G. Kaftal (*Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting*, Florence, 1952, 969 and 975f.). The Vatican panel had been an accepted work of Lorenzo Monaco until Berenson (*Italian Pictures*, 313) attributed it to Luca. Berenson did not, however, connect the Vatican panel with those in the Crawford collection.

The titles of the four Thomas scenes as first identified by Kaftal are given above in the text. Each of the Balcarres panels measures 31.3 cm. sq. (12 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.). The Vatican *Crucifix* measures 32.1 x 56.2 cm. (12 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 22 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.).

4. M. Meiss, "Notes on Three Linked Sieneſe Styles," *The Art Bulletin*, XLV, 1963, 47f.; S. Fehm, "Notes on the Exhibition of Sieneſe Paintings from Dutch Collections," *Burlington Magazine*, CXI, 1969, 574. H. W. van Os, *Sieneſe Paintings in Holland* (exhibition catalogue), Groningen, 1969, cat. no. 22; and *Marias Demut und Verherrlichung in der sienesischen Malerei 1300-1450*, 's Gravenhage, 1969,

60f. rejects Zeri's reconstruction. Van Os contends that the predella series formed the base of a polyptych by Luca in Cáscina, near Pisa, which he would date between 1362 and 1366. The predella panels seem to me stylistically incompatible with the Cáscina polyptych, which can be dated some fifteen years later. Finally, the present width of the five predella panels precludes any connection as the Cáscina polyptych is considerably narrower than the Vatican and Balcarres pictures.

The five predella panels would have undoubtedly been somewhat wider than they appear in their present state. Further, the pattern of the framing which separates the panels in the upper zone would have been continued below. For these reasons I have chosen to leave a series of blanks separating each of the predella panels in the reconstruction drawing.

The altar also would have been crowned by pinnacles. Although I have no trace of them, I have indicated them by a series of broken lines in Fig. 1. For the dimensions of these pinnacles I have followed the proportions of Luca's more intact altar from 1367 (illustrated in Berenson, *Italian Pictures*, pl. 364). The central pinnacle of this altar has been replaced by a half-length figure of Saint Bartholomew. Originally the central pinnacle would have contained a figure of Christ Blessing; elsewhere I will discuss this picture which was formerly in Cologne before World War II.

5. Pini, *Catalogo*, 6.
6. Brandi, "Niccolò Tegliacci," 234f.
7. Zeri, "Sul problema," 8f.
8. Zeri, "Sul problema," 5f.
9. Meiss, "Three Linked Styles," 48. The Pisa *Crucifixion* is illustrated in van Marle, *Sieneese School*, Fig. 304.
10. Meiss, "Three Linked Styles," 48.
11. G. Milanesi, *Documenti per la storia dell'arte senese*, Siena, 1854, I, 27f. and also S. Fehm, "Notes on the Statues of the Sieneese Painters Guild," *The Art Bulletin*, LIV, 1972, 198f.
12. G. Cecchini (review of M. Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death*, Princeton, 1951) in *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria*, LX, 1953, 12, 277-279.
13. Brandi, "Niccolò Tegliacci," 223. The *Caleffo del Assunta*, named after Niccolò's signed representation of the *Assumption of the Virgin*, is a manuscript preserved in the Archivio di Stato, Siena. It is made up of copies of important Sieneese documents such as papal bulls and imperial privileges, etc., dating from 813 to 1336. Niccolò's illumination, which appears on folio 8 recto, is the only one in the manuscript and is signed but not dated. An inscription of the verso of folio 8 states that the job of compilation and copying was finished in 1336. There is no reference in this inscription to the miniature. Meiss (*Black Death*, 169) argues that none of the physical evidence presented by the manuscript itself nor the style of the miniature would preclude its later date. I have recently examined the manuscript and subscribe to Meiss's suggestion that the *Assumption* could have been done some ten years or so later.
14. For example, see Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *Presentation in the Temple*, Florence, Uffizi, illustrated in Meiss, *Black Death*, Fig. 14; or Pietro Lorenzetti's *Birth of the Virgin*, Siena, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, illustrated in B. Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance, Central Italian and Northern Schools*, London, 1968, II, pl. 89.

15. The polyptych was first published by Brandi ("Niccolò Tegliacci," 234) as one of Niccolò's early works. This attribution has been followed subsequently. Berenson (*Italian Pictures*, 313) gave the work to Luca di Tommè. I date the work in the early part of the 1350's.

The participation of a distinctive member of Niccolò's shop is evident in this work and I plan to deal with him elsewhere (together with other problems related to Niccolò). To his assistant, rather than to Niccolò, I attribute the flat, exaggerated figures of Saints Thomas and Bartholomew in this altar. The hand of this same painter appears again in a series of three lateral panels from a dismembered altar. Depicted are Saint John the Baptist, first published by Zeri ("Sul problema," 10) as an early work by Tegliacci, and two others heretofore unpublished. The other two are a *Saint Peter* panel which recently passed into the Courtauld Institute Galleries (as part of the Gambier-Perry Bequest, inventory number 114) and a *Saint Catherine* which was reported to be in a New York private collection in 1930. The present whereabouts of this later panel is unknown. Everett Fahy in a personal communication kindly informs me that both he and M. Michel Laclotte have independently connected the *Peter* and *Baptist* panels.

16. The panel was first published by Berenson (*Italian Pictures*, 313) as a Luca. Brandi ("Niccolò Tegliacci," 235) gives the picture to Niccolò. I find no evidence which would cause one to accept F. Mason Perkins's suggestion that the picture was done by Niccolò with Luca's assistance ("Niccolò di Ser Sozzo Tegliacci," U. Thieme and F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Kunstler*, 1938, XXXI, 501f.).

17. The fragment measures 85.8 x 67.5 cm. (33¾ x 26½ in.). It was first published by Berenson (*Italian Pictures*, 1932, 313) with an attribution to Luca. Perkins ("Niccolò Tegliacci," 502) gives the picture to Niccolò. Again, I disagree with his suggestion that Luca participated in this work.

18. Illustrated in Berenson, *Italian Pictures*, 1968, II, pl. 121. This iconographic type of the frontal Blessing Christ standing on the Virgin's knee was, most likely, Simone's invention. It is repeated several times in the next few decades. See also Dorothy C. Shorr, *The Christ Child in Devotional Images*, New York, 1954, 26-29.

19. The panel was first published in F. Brogi, *Inventario generale degli oggetti d'arte della provincia di Siena* (compiled 1862-65), Siena, 1897, 422, as in the manner of Lippo Memmi. Brandi ("Niccolò Tegliacci," 235) attributes the work to Tegliacci and his attribution has been generally accepted.

20. See, for example, Ambrogio's *Madonna and Child with Saints Nicholas and Proculus*, Florence, Uffizi, (nos. 9411, 8731 and 8732). Illustrated in Berenson, *Italian Pictures*, 1968, II, pl. 95.

21. Professor Carlo Volpe of Bologna very kindly brought this picture to my attention.

22. The exception is a *Madonna and Child* in the Kress Collection and now in Tucson, Arizona. (It is illustrated in Meiss, *Black Death*, Fig. 120. Meiss, p. 169, was the first to recognize this work as Niccolò's and his attribution has been generally followed.) Previously it had been given to Luca by Berenson and Perkins (manuscript opinions. Samuel H. Kress Foundation, New York). This panel seems to me to reflect Luca's influence on Tegliacci, as Meiss has already suggested.

The enthroned Virgin and Child gaze at each other while pairs of slightly over-size angels and cherubim look on. The large throne with its substantial vertical members isolates and confines the central group. Niccolò draws from his own repertoire for the dark silhouette of her cloak which is shown against the cloth of honor.

This device, which he had previously employed in his Getty and Siena panels, is designed to relate the principal figures more effectively. For the first time, Niccolò uses the same tilt of the Virgin's head which Luca employs so frequently; however, he has misunderstood his model. As a result the smooth, continuous linear spatial harmony of the central group is altered and the balanced frontality of his earlier pictures is lost.

23. This discussion is not intended as a complete survey of Niccolò's panel paintings. I include only those which are important with regard to the 1362 altar. Recently, two panels have been attributed to Tegliacci by M. Bucci, "Proposte per Niccolò di Ser Sozzo Tegliacci," *Paragone*, XVI, 1965, 181, 51f. These attributions, in my opinion, are incorrect. Both representations depict the *Madonna and Child*, and both are found in the environs of Pisa. One was in the church of the Carità until quite recently and now is in the Istituto Riuniti di Ricovero; the other is at Gello di Palaia. (Previously this latter picture had been given by E. Carli, *Pitture pisana del Trecento*, Milan, 1961, 20, to Luca di Tommè.)

Undoubtedly both panels are by the same author, and both are reminiscent of Siense painting of the 1340's and 1350's—especially the art of Tegliacci. Bucci offers the similarities between the Tegliacci panel in the Uffizi and the panel in Gello di Palaia as proof of Niccolò's authorship of the Pisan works. The respective postures of the Madonna and Child, particularly the incline and turn of their heads and the upturn of the Child's foot, are similar. However, the characteristically symmetric, oval head is absent in the Pisan panels. Instead, the facial features are set off center, in fact, lopsided. Further, the lower eyelids of Niccolò's figures are consistently shaded throughout his *oeuvre*. He never allows the Virgin's veil to become diaphanous and cover over flesh tones, but he is concerned with the more subtle possibilities of the gentle undulation and interplay of the lines of the hair, veil, and hem of the Madonna's cloak. In addition, the inscription of letters or words within the decorative halo of a figure is not a common Siense trait. Finally, the lack of three-dimensionality and understanding of Siense models indicates that these paintings are not Niccolò's. Instead they are the modest efforts of a Pisan who had come into contact with Tegliacci's works.

24. I am preparing a full-length study of Luca di Tommè's career and works. Other pictures which can be dated from this early period are as follows: New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Crucified Christ with the Virgin, Saints John the Evangelist, Francis and Christ Blessing*, (verso) *Crucified Christ with Saints Paul, Michael, Peter and Louis of Toulouse*; San Diego, California, The Timkin Art Gallery, *Crucifixion with the Trinity, Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Mocking of Christ, and Deposition*; San Francisco, California, M. H. de Young Museum, *Crucifixion*; Montepulciano, Museo Civico, *Crucifixion*; and Basel, Robert von Hirsch Collection, *Crucifixion*.

25. For examples of Luca's disproportionate use of figures see his polyptych in Cáscina, Oratorio of San Giovanni, environs of Pisa, illustrated in van Os, *Marias Demut*, pl. 6, and his polyptych in Perugia, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, no. 947, illustrated in F. Santi, *Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria*, Rome, 1968, 52, Fig. 10.

26. Pietro's influence on Luca was first noted in several articles by F. Mason Perkins during the first two decades of this century. This influence has also been noticed by R. van Marle, *Siense Schools*, 466; C. Brandi, *La Regia Pinacoteca di Siena*, Rome, 1933, 158; and more recently by F. Shapley, *Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection, Italian Schools XIII-XV Century*, London, 1966, 59.

27. This picture was first published by Meiss ("Three Linked Styles," 47) as one of Luca's earliest works.

28. The panel was first published in F. Becker, *Herzoglich Sachsen-Altenburgisches Museum (Lindenau-Stiftung)*, Altenburg, 1898. It was first connected to an associate of Luca by Meiss (*Black Death*, 34n84). More recently Meiss ("Three Linked Styles," 47f.) attributes the panel to Luca's early period of activity. I have been unable to locate any other panels which may be connected with this one.

29. The placement of the Virgin and Evangelist before two hills or rocks and seated at the base of the cross became an increasingly popular compositional motif in central Italian painting in the last half of the fourteenth century. At the beginning of the fifteenth century the pair of seated figures is set back from the forward picture plane and diminished in scale in relation to the Christ figures. See, for example, the panel from the circle of Lorenzo Monaco in the Yale University Art Gallery, no. 1871.24. Illustrated in C. Seymour, *Early Italian Paintings*, New Haven, 1970, 162.

30. For example, compare any of the scenes by Pietro in the fresco cycle in the left transept of the lower church at San Francesco, Assisi, or his *Nativity of the Virgin* in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena. Illustrated in Berenson, *Italian Pictures*, 1968, II, pls. 80 and 89; also van Marle, *Sienese School*, Figs. 234-238.

31. The predella in New Haven is illustrated in Seymour, *Early Italian Paintings*, Fig. 54.

32. The panel was first published in *Italiaansche Kunst in Nederlandsch Bezit* (exhibition catalogue), Amsterdam, 1934, no. 134, as Agnolo Gaddi. It was first recognized as a Luca by M. Meiss in 1952 (manuscript opinion, Frick Art Reference Library, New York).

33. The panel comes from the collection of Prince André Gagarin and is supposed to have been exhibited in St. Petersburg in 1909. It appears in the 1955 handbook of the National Trust House at Polesden Lacey, no. 22, as Luca di Tommè. Berenson (*Italian Pictures*, 1968, I, 225) repeats this opinion.

34. This panel was first published by B. Berenson ("Quadri senza casa," *Dedalo*, XI, 1930, 274f.) with an attribution to Luca which has been generally followed. Meiss ("Three Linked Styles," 48) connected the *Crucifixion* with an *Adoration of the Magi* in the Robert von Hirsch collection in Basel.

35. Other examples are as follows: New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 41.100.34; Siena, Pinacoteca Nazionale, no. 586; Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, no. 32.22; Siena, Church of the Bruco; Ponce, Puerto Rico, Museo de Arte de Ponce, no. 64.0270; a panel recently on the art market in Florence (Florence, Palazzo Strozzi, *Mostra Mercato Internazionale dell'Antiquariato*, September 20—October 19, 1969, 425 ill.); and finally a very damaged panel which is connected somehow to both Niccolò and Luca, and which has on occasion been attributed to each of them, in the Brooklyn Museum, no. 34.841.

36. I wish to thank Mr. A. Grassi of Florence who kindly called this work to my attention. The panel has been damaged and is somewhat repainted so that an exact attribution is difficult. The handling of the faces and the attenuated proportions of the figures seem to be unlike Luca's style, but the design seems to me to have originated in his shop. The panel has an interesting iconography in that the Christ as the Man of Sorrows is juxtaposed over the Madonna and Child—a rare combination of elements for the period.

37. Meiss ("Three Linked Styles," 47) accepts Luca's authorship of the Baptist and feels that he had an important role in the design of the whole altar.

38. B. Berenson, *Pitture Italiane del Rinascimento*, Spoleto, 1936, 269. A. Francia (*Pinacoteca Vaticana*, Milan, 1960, pl. 92) follows the traditional attribution of the

Vatican authorities and gives the picture to Lorenzo Monaco. M. Rotili (*La miniatura gotica in Italia*, Naples, 1968/69, II, 16) attributes the panel to Niccolò and dates it at the same time as the *Caleffo dell'Assunta* (which he would date 1336).

39. Zeri, "Sul problema," 4f.

40. Kaftal (*Tuscan Painting*, 969f.) presents the legend and its hagiographic sources. Thomas is frequently depicted in Tuscan painting of the fourteenth century as a doubting figure. He is shown thrusting his hand in Christ's side or catching the Virgin's girdle in scenes of her Assumption. However, his separate presentation as a martyr in a panel in a polyptych or during his mission to India are rare. Three such representations are known to me. They are all Sieneese and can be dated around the third quarter of the fourteenth century. They are: 1) Niccolò's San Gimignano polyptych; 2) Luca and Niccolò's 1362 altar in the Siena Pinacoteca Nazionale; and 3) Luca's San Cascina polyptych.

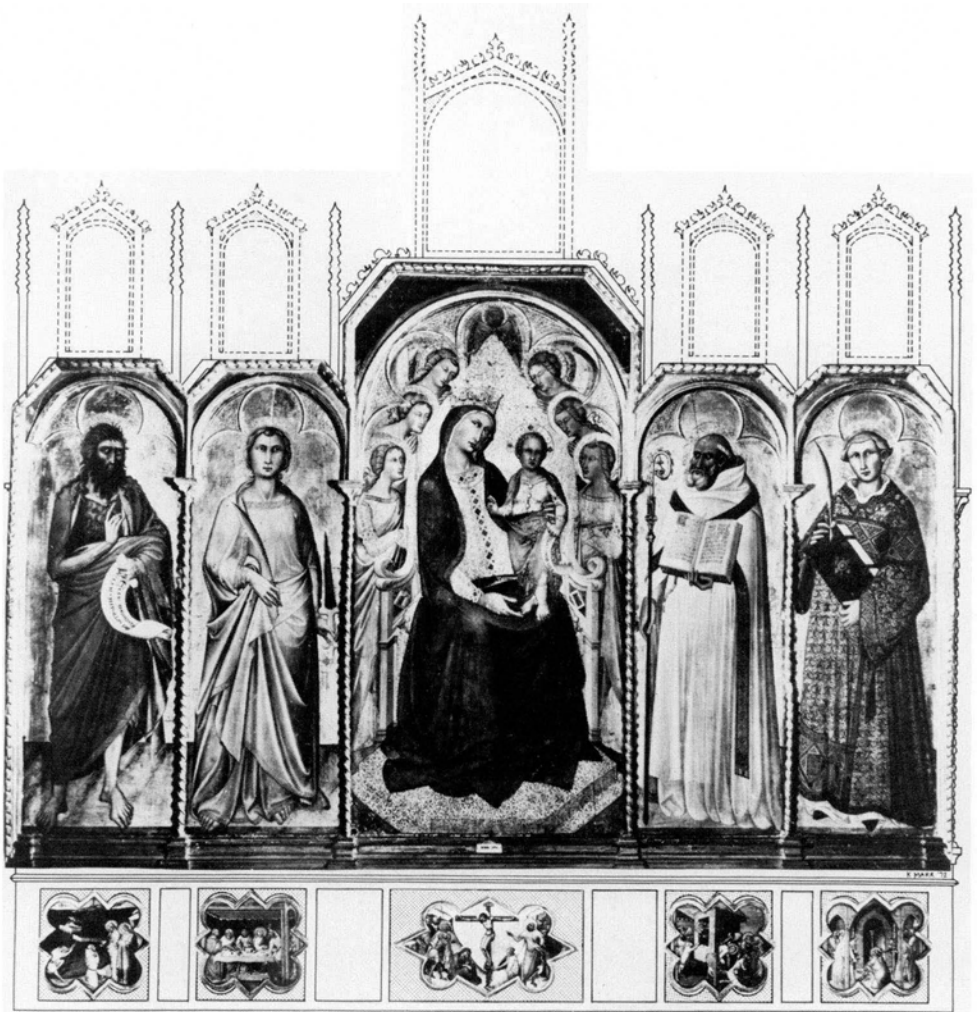
Thomas's sudden popularity in Siena as a martyr figure may be linked to the Franciscans. First, their ill-fated mission to Morocco which ended in the death of the seven brothers had been celebrated in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's fresco in the church of San Francesco in Siena. Further, in 1322, a Sieneese Franciscan suffered a similar fate to Thomas's in India. See H. W. van Os, *Marias Demut*, 63n84; and also E. Borsook, *Ambrogio Lorenzetti*, Florence, 1966, 27f.

41. For example, see Ambrogio's *Presentation in the Temple*, Florence, Uffizi; or Pietro's *Birth of the Virgin*, Siena, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo. Illustrated in Berenson, *Italian Pictures*, II, 1968, pls. 96 and 89.

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ILLUSTRATIONS



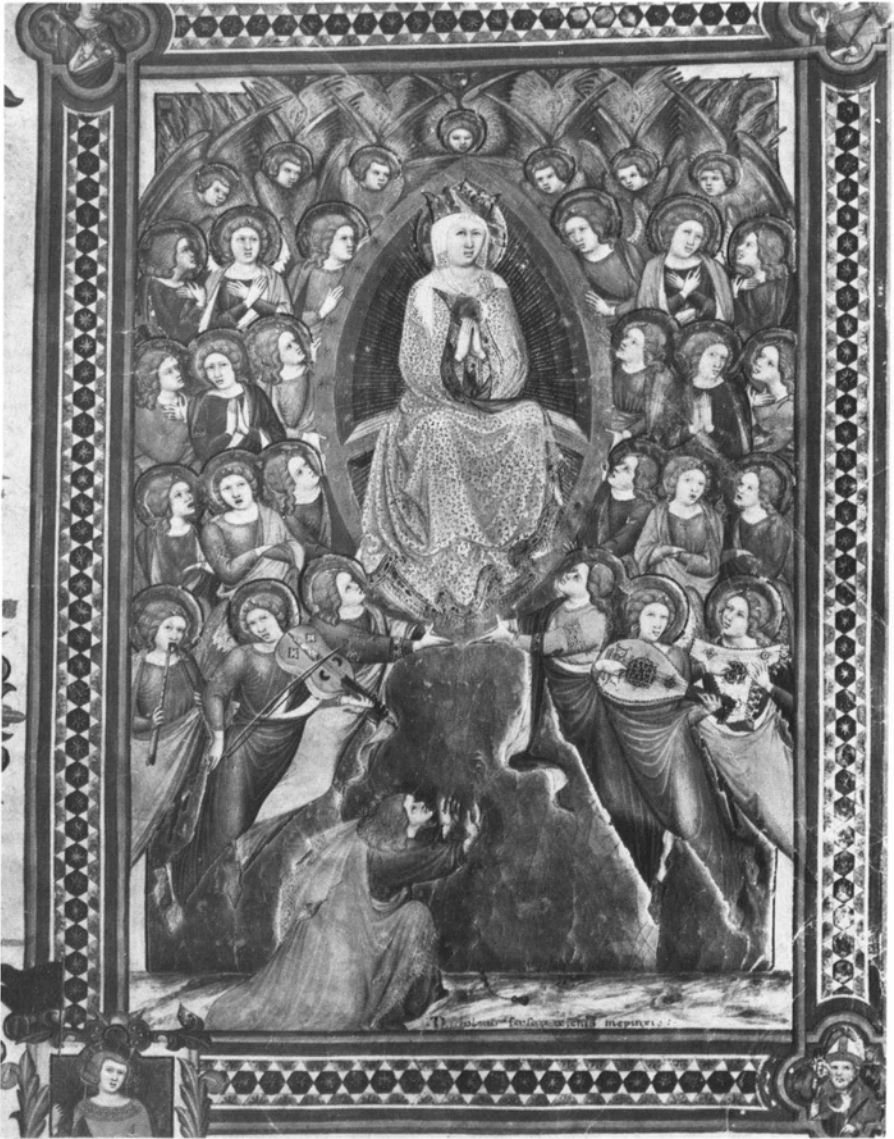
1. NICCOLÒ Tegliacci and LUCA DI TOMMÈ: *Polyptych*.
Siena, Pinacoteca; Vatican, Pinacoteca; and Balcarres, Earl of
Crawford and Balcarres.



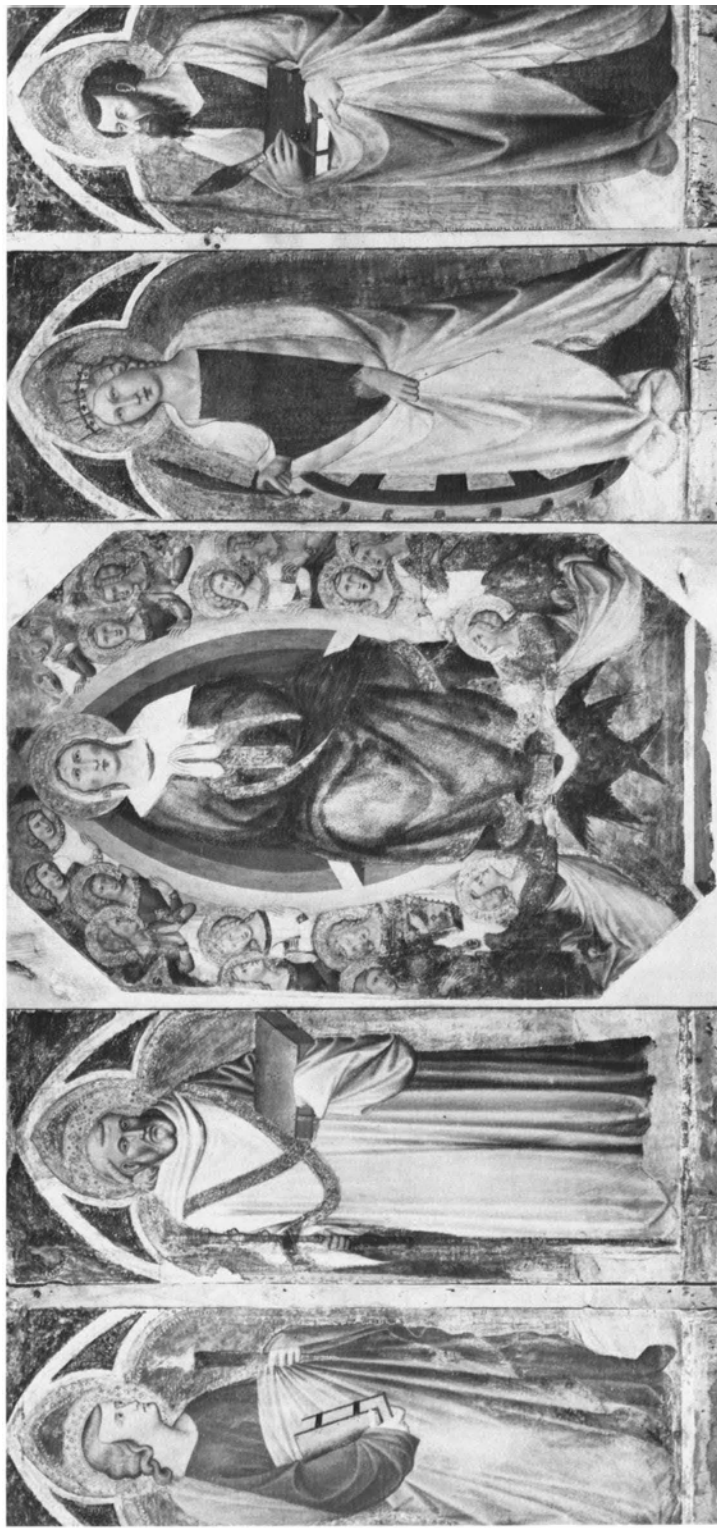
2. LUCA DI TOMMÈ: *Annunciation*.
Paris, Private Collection.



3. LUCA DI TOMMÈ: *Madonna and Child with Saints*.
Rieti, Museo Civico.



4. NICCOLÒ TEGLIACCI: *Assumption of the Virgin*.
Siena, Archivio di Stato.



5. NICCOLÒ TEGLIACCI: *Assumption of the Virgin with Saints.*
San Gimignano, Pinacoteca.



6. Detail of Fig. 5.



7. Detail of Fig. 5.



8. NICCOLÒ TEGLIACCI: *Madonna and Child with Saints*.
Siena, Museo della Società Esecutori di Pie Disposizioni.



9. NICCOLÒ TEGLIACCI: *Madonna and Child*.
Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum.



10. NICCOLÒ TEGLIACCI: *Madonna and Child*. Florence, Uffizi.



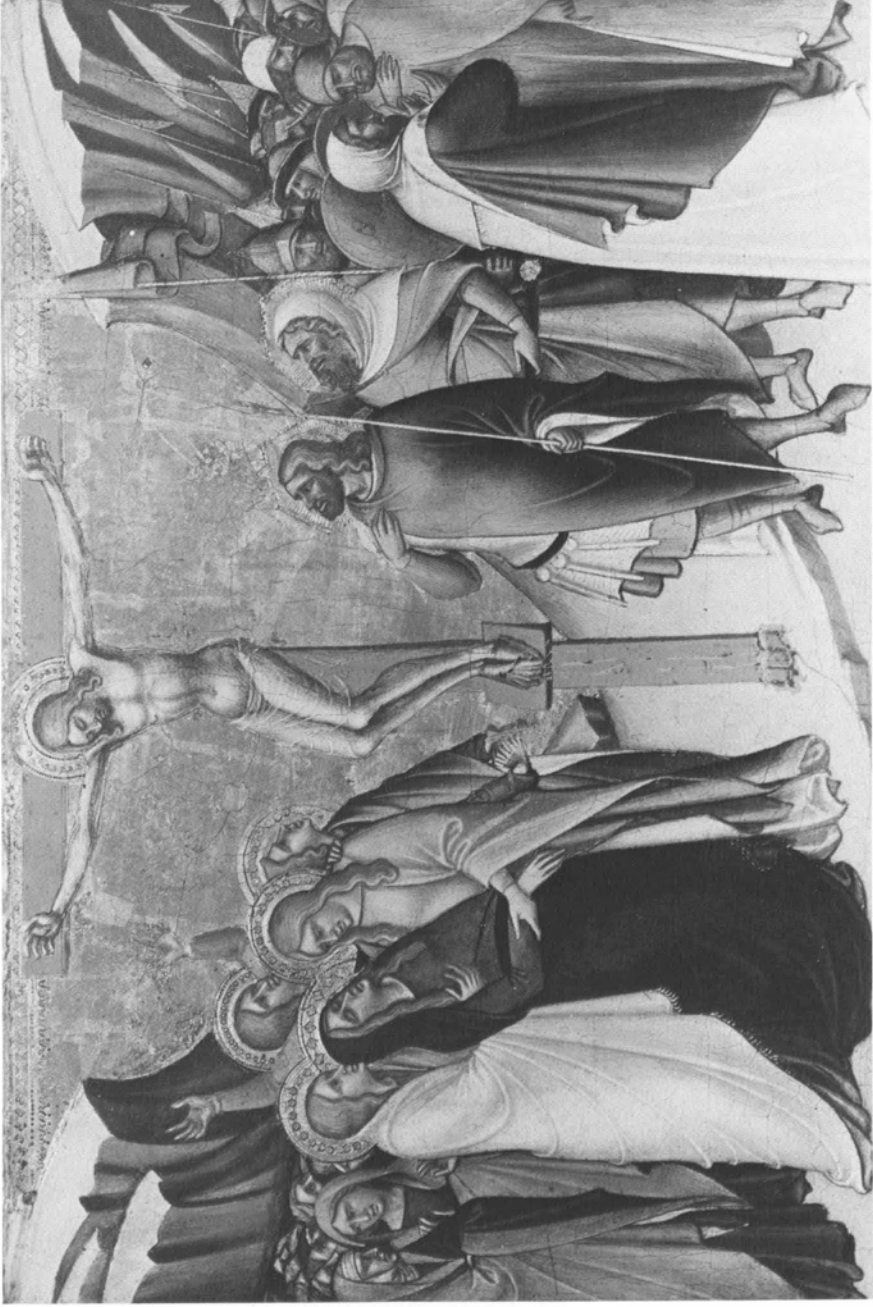
11. NICCOLÒ TEGLIACCI: *Madonna and Child*. Milan, Private Collection.



12. LUCA DI TOMMÈ: *Madonna and Child with Saints*. Los Angeles County Museum of Art.



13. LUCA DI TOMMÈ: *Madonna and Child with Saints*. Polesden Lacey, The National Trust.



14. LUCA DI TOMMÈ: *Crucifixion*.
San Francisco, M. H. De Young Museum.



15. PIETRO LORENZETTI: *Madonna and Child with Saints*.
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery.



16. LUCA DI TOMMÈ: *Madonna and Child with Saints*.
Florence, Private Collection.



17. Detail of Fig. 1: LUCA DI TOMMÈ and NICCOLÒ
TEGLIACCI: *Madonna and Child*. Siena, Pinacoteca.



18. Detail of Fig. 5: NICCOLÒ TEGLIACCI: *Sts. Thomas and Benedict*. San Gimignano, Pinacoteca.



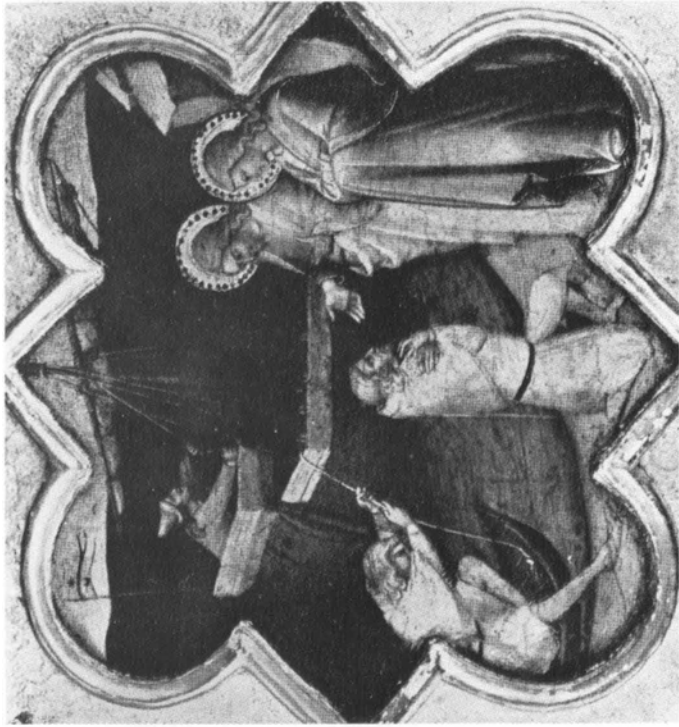
19. Detail of Fig. 1: NICCOLÒ TEGLIACCI: *St. Benedict*. Siena, Pinacoteca.



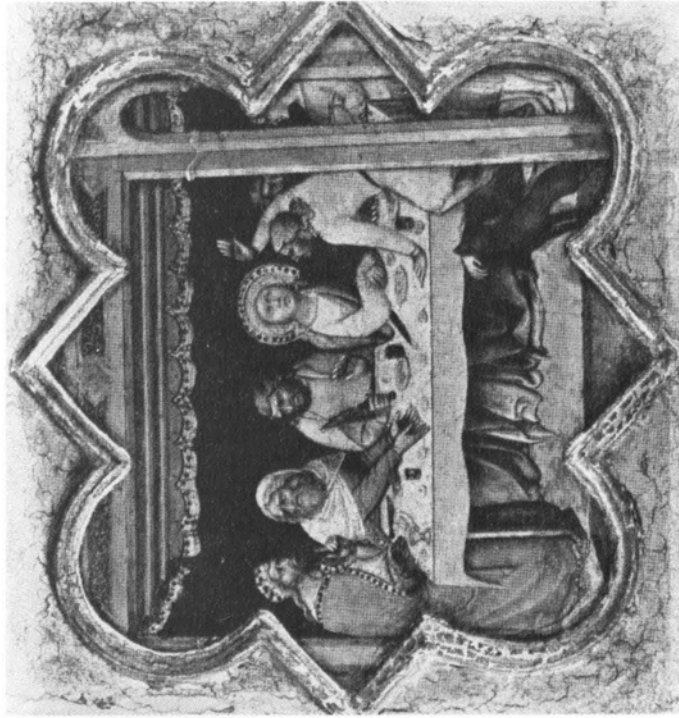
20. Detail of Fig. 1: LUCA DI TOMMÈ: *St. John the Baptist*. Siena, Pinacoteca.



21. Detail of Fig. 1: LUCA DI TOM-
MÈ and NICCOLÒ TEGLIACCI:
St. Thomas. Siena, Pinacoteca.



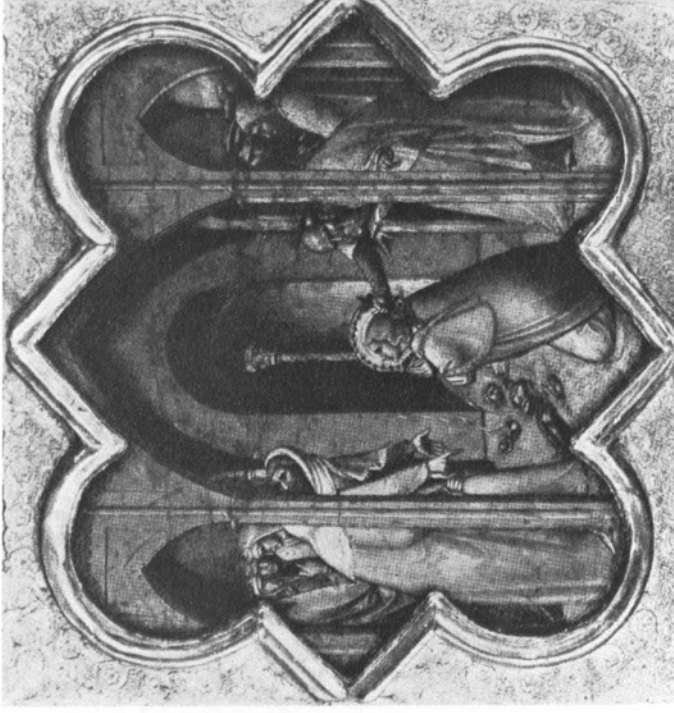
22. Detail of Fig. 1: LUCA DI TOMMÈ: *Scene from Life of St. Thomas*. Balcarres, Earl of Crawford and Balcarres.



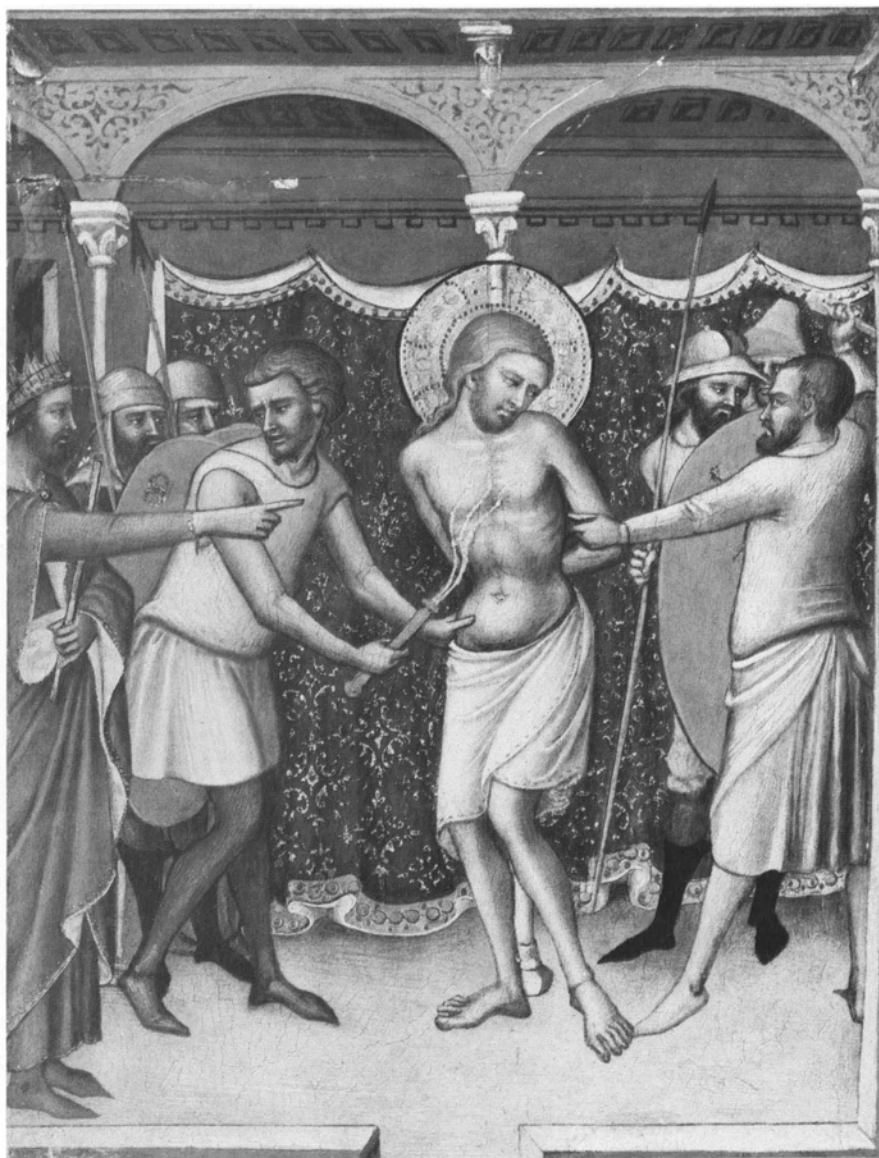
23. Detail of Fig. 1: LUCA DI TOMMÈ: *Scene from Life of St. Thomas*. Balcarres, Earl of Crawford and Balcarres.



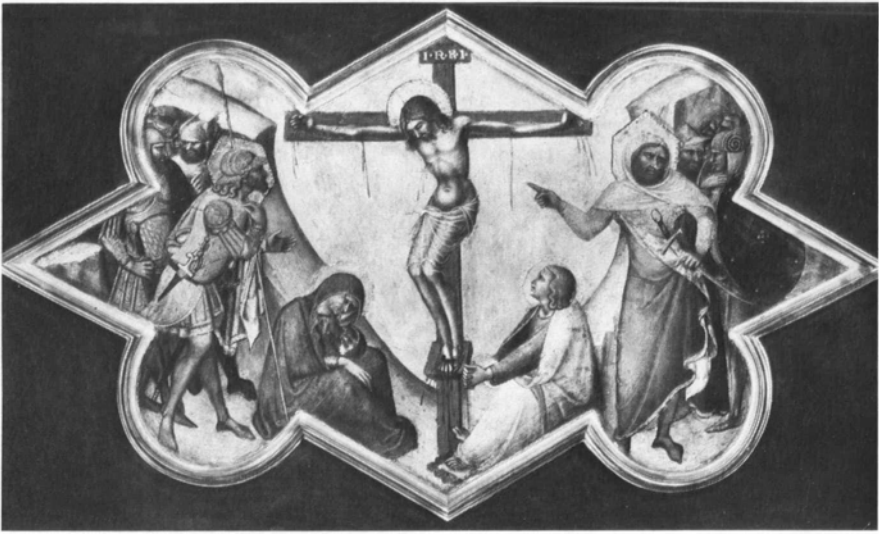
24. Detail of Fig. 1: LUCA DI TOMMÈ: Scene from *Life of St. Thomas*. Balcarres, Earl of Crawford and Balcarres.



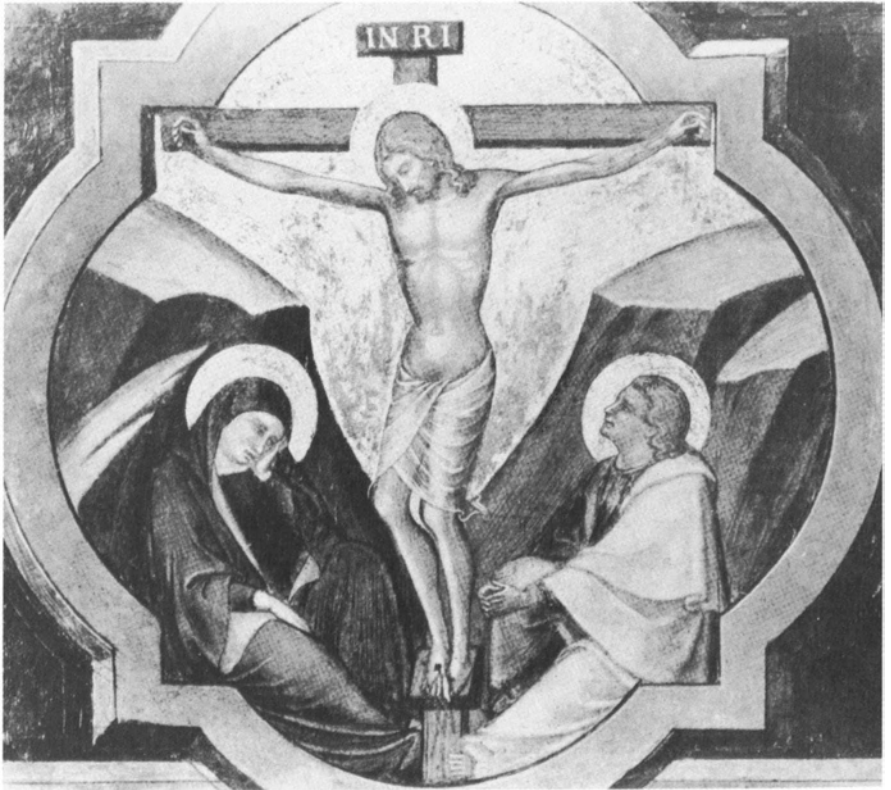
25. Detail of Fig. 1: LUCA DI TOMMÈ: Scene from *Life of St. Thomas*. Balcarres, Earl of Crawford and Balcarres.



26. LUCA DI TOMMÈ: *Flagellation*.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.



27. Detail of Fig. 1: LUCA DI TOMMÈ: *Crucifixion*.
Vatican, Pinacoteca.



28. LUCA DI TOMMÈ: *Crucifixion*.
Altenburg, Lindenau Museum.

