

DELETIONS FROM THE ŒUVRE OF PIETRO LORENZETTI AND RELATED WORKS BY THE MASTER OF THE BEATA UMILTÀ, MINO PARCIS DA SIENA, AND JACOPO DI MINO DEL PELLICCIAIO *

by *Mojmír S. Frinta*

I. Master of the Beata Umiltà

This study attempts to disentangle part of the maze of attributions surrounding Pietro Lorenzetti and his circle. There is nothing intrinsically new in the suggestion that the paintings attributed to Pietro Lorenzetti were not all actually painted by him. Scholars have already observed that the growing number of works ascribed to Pietro Lorenzetti is not entirely realistic, and attempts have been made to separate the paintings under various *aegides*.¹ The problem of attribution is usually approached by linking paintings through stylistic similarities. This method furnishes valuable indications, but it leads ultimately to an impasse if conclusions are drawn too confidently on a restricted basis and if specific attributions are proposed without reference to other, more objective criteria.

Objective evidence can, however, be derived from a detailed study of the component elements of the tooled decoration in the haloes and the gold backgrounds. From the evaluation of this evidence, two groups of paintings emerge from the works attributed to Pietro and related artists; one group was painted by an associate of Pietro, while the other belongs to a painter outside the Lorenzetti workshop but strongly attracted to the personal style and idiom of the master. After first looking at the known works of Jacopo di Mino, I will propose that the second group originated in the close vicinity of Jacopo, and that it derives, in fact, from the hand of his father. I will argue, furthermore, that this painter, Jacopo's father, was the documented collaborator of Pietro Lorenzetti, Mino Parcis da Siena. In addition, I will attempt to enlarge the œuvre of his presumed son, Jacopo di Mino.

The key works of the first group are two altarpieces, one complete, the other dismembered. The almost complete altarpiece — there may have been figures in the pinnacles — comes from S. Giusto in Siena and is now in the Siena Pinacoteca (No. 50), bearing an attribution to Pietro Lorenzetti, ca. 1335-40. The other work, also attributed to Pietro, is the altarpiece of the *Beata Umiltà* painted for the Vallombrosan order of the Donne di Faenza, now distributed between the Uffizi (No. 8347) and Berlin-Dahlem (No. 1077).²

* I wish to express my appreciation for the support of my research through a grant from the Samuel H. Kress Foundation and a Faculty Fellowship from the Research Foundation of State University of New York. I am indebted to the Harvard University Center for Renaissance Studies at Villa I Tatti and the Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence, for the opportunity to use their photograph collections, and to the directors and officials of numerous museums, churches, and private collections for their permission to make photographic details of the paintings.

¹ E. T. DeWald (Pietro Lorenzetti, Cambridge, Mass., 1930 [in the following cited as: *DeWald*], pp. 29-31) felt that many works ought to be assigned to lesser masters and proposed one such artist and called him the Master of the Dijon Triptych.

² However, not all scholars agreed on that point. *DeWald* (p. 30) was opposed to the attribution. M. Meiss (Nuovi dipinti e vecchi problemi, in: Riv. d'Arte, 30, 1955, pp. 107-145 [p. 125 ff.]) stated that the seven *tondi* which he published as parts of the *Beata Umiltà* altarpiece, are by an assistant who perhaps worked in Pietro's workshop and executed the entire altarpiece. Meiss did not, however, associate the three pinnacles representing the *Evangelists* with the altarpiece because he felt that they were from the hand of Pietro. It was W. Cohn who added them to the altarpiece, resting his reconstruction on an old drawing of the altarpiece from the 1700s on which the pinnacles are visible (Contributo a Pietro Lorenzetti, in: Riv. d'Arte, 34, 1959, pp. 3-17, fig. 7).



1 Master of Beata Umiltà, pinnacles with the Evangelists John, Mark, and Luke from the altarpiece of Beata Umiltà. Florence, Uffizi.

The figure types in the *Beata Umiltà* altarpiece are those of Lorenzetti, especially the Evangelists in the pinnacles (Fig. 1), but there are qualitative and expressive discrepancies. The face of the Beata Umiltà (Fig. 2) is weak and dull, the eyes are set so uncertainly into the volume of her face, that she nearly appears cross-eyed. The whole lacks in the plasticity and expressive power characteristic of Pietro. The figures in the small scenes are more sharply drawn and more schematic than figures of comparable size in Pietro's paintings. The faces appear to be painted in simplified layers of thin, lean paint; in them one misses that rich medium which yields a semitransparency of superimposed layers as well as a certain freedom of brushwork which is typical of Pietro's authentic works.

It is useful to examine in detail the punched decoration of the gold backgrounds found in the haloes and the borders of the panels. A comprehensive study of this type of decoration shows that most masters owned a number of distinctive punching tools, used apparently only in their own workshops.³ The concentric grouping of the punched impressions into symmetrical clusters in the main halo is characteristic of Lorenzetti (Figs. 6, 9, 19, 20). Moreover, six of the "complex" punches⁴ used in the decoration may be safely assumed to be Pietro's, as four of them occur in documented works and two in paintings unanimously accepted as Pietro's (see Table I).

³ I have now some 10,000 negatives of full size details and am preparing a monograph on the subject.

⁴ By this term I mean punching tools with distinctive profiles such as rosettes, stars, leaves, etc. *E. Skaug* (Contributions to Giotto's Workshop, in: *Flor. Mitt.*, 15, 1971, pp. 141-160) uses a corresponding term "motif punch" (p. 146).



2 Master of Beata Umiltà, Beata Umiltà with Beata Margherita, central panel of the altarpiece. Florence, Uffizi.



3 Here attributed to the Master of Beata Umiltà, Christ, central pinnacle of an altarpiece. Private collection.























						
Beata Umiltà, main panel		✓				
Beata Umiltà, pinnacles		✓	✓			
Beata Umiltà, predella						
Castiglione Madonna		✓	✓	✓	✓	
S.Giusto pentaptych, Siena 50	✓		✓	✓		
Crucifixion, Museo Stibbert			✓			✓
Massa Marittima Maestà			✓	✓		
Carmine polyptych of 1329, center	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Carmine, pinnacle, Siena 64	✓		✓			✓
Carmine, pinnacle, Yale	✓		✓			✓
St.Catherine, Siena 579	✓	✓				✓
St.Agnes, Siena 578						
St.Peter, Vatican 163		✓				✓
St.John Baptist, Vatican 166			✓			✓
Crevole triptych of 1332, Siena						
Pistoia Madonna of 1340	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
Nativity of the Virgin, 1342			✓	✓		✓
St.Savinus, London						
Altenburg diptych			✓			✓
Christ before Pilate, Vatican 168						
Crucifixion, Vatican 152			✓			✓
Berenson Standing Madonna						
Dijon triptych			✓	✓		✓
Poldi-Pezzoli Madonna						✓
Campriano Madonna		✓				✓

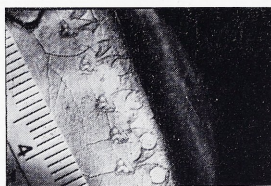
Table I: Concordance of the punch marks of the

															
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Master of Beata Umiltà and Pietro Lorenzetti.



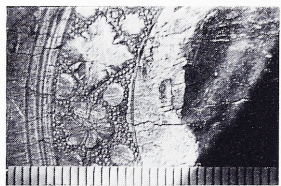
4 Border of the pinnacle with St. John. Uffizi.



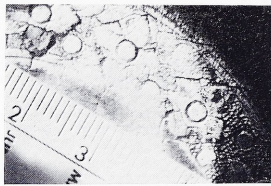
5 Border of the upper level panels with the Apostles. Siena, no. 50.



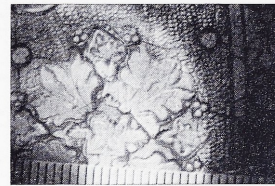
6 Halo of Beata Umiltà. Uffizi.



7 Halo of S. Giovanni Gualberto in the predella of Beata Umiltà. Uffizi.



8 Halo of the Apostle at the top right. Siena, no. 50.



9 Halo of the Virgin. Siena, no. 50.

We must, however, take account of negative evidence, which, at times, suggests new insights. It is noteworthy that four punches used in the *Beata Umiltà* altarpiece do not occur in any of Pietro's documented or generally accepted works. An arcade at the upper edge of the historiated panels and pinnacles is a Lorenzettian feature, but the punches themselves are not. Here the arch punch is Gothic and cusped, whereas Pietro's punch, probably patterned after Simone Martini's distinctive arch, is rounded and double-contoured (Figs. 4, 22).⁵ The other three shapes find either only loosely related counterparts in Pietro's repertory or none at all — namely a hexa-rosette and a tetra-rosette, both with disjoint petals, and a serrated tetra-rosette (Figs. 6, 7, 13).

The early dating of the *Umiltà* altarpiece to 1316, maintained by some writers because of an apocryphal inscription dating from 1841, is untenable in view of the fully developed use of the punching tools. The earliest dated ornament of this type by Pietro Lorenzetti is found in his Carmine polyptych of 1328, while engraved decoration is still used in his Arezzo altarpiece of 1320. Previous researchers (DeWald, Meiss) observed that it was Simone Martini who introduced the concept of profuse stamped decoration with his Pisa polyptych of 1319. It is more plausible to consider 1341, associated with the Beata Margherita, who kneels at the feet of the standing Beata Umiltà on the central panel, as the date of the altarpiece (Fig. 2).

It is desirable to locate the four non-Lorenzettian punches of the *Beata Umiltà* altar in other panels. All four punches, the small arch and the disjoint hexa-rosette, and the two tetra-rosettes,

⁵ In this respect Ambrogio Lorenzetti's arch punch, cusped but semi-circular, seems to be closer (*M. Frinta*, Note on the Punched Decoration of Two Early Painted Panels at the Fogg Art Museum: *St. Dominic* and the *Crucifixion*, in: *Art Bull.*, 53, 1971, pp. 306-309, figs. 6-8). The true model, however, is to be sought among the punch tools of the Martini group shared also in the attributions to Lippo Memmi and Barna.



10 Here attributed to the Master of Beata Umiltà, altarpiece from S. Giusto. Siena, Pinacoteca, no. 50.

appear in the altarpiece from S. Giusto in Siena (Figs. 5, 8-11, 14).⁶ The repertory of punches — both Lorenzettian and non-Lorenzettian — in the S. Giusto altarpiece is extensive, totaling sixteen in all. Four of the punches found in Pietro's documented works, which we saw in the *Beata Umiltà* altarpiece, re-appear in the S. Giusto pentaptych, namely a palmette and a small tre-circle (Fig. 9). Here are found two types of arches: the smaller one is identical with a punch in the *Beata Umiltà* (Figs. 4, 5) and is of a design that becomes widely used in the second half of the century. On the other hand, the larger arch remains an exceptional feature (Fig. 15). I have found impressions of this unusual arch with its distinctive double-lobed inside contour in three other paintings, all stemming from the orbit of the Lorenzetti. These will be discussed subsequently. Three further punch forms in the S. Giusto altarpiece cannot be found in Pietro's paintings, and two of them lead in a strange way far away from his workshop.⁷ The fleur-de-lis and a square with a finely patterned interior are closely copied by Allegretto Nuzi and appear even more unexpectedly in paintings by Jaume Serra (Figs. 17, 19).⁸

⁶ The hexa-rosette occurs in the border and in the center of the punch clusters in the halo of the standing Beata Umiltà as well as in several small haloes in the panels with her story. The same punch was used in the halo of S. Giuliana in the S. Giusto altarpiece. The tetra-rosette occurs around the Virgin's halo in that altarpiece and again in a few haloes in the story of Beata Umiltà. This tetra-rosette as a distinctive shape is unique in Tuscan, and for that matter, in Italian production. The hexa-rosette has its only parallel in Siena in the Angel's haloes in the Rucellai *Madonna*.

⁷ More about this seemingly baffling recurrence will be published elsewhere ("Radiance of the Siennese Decorative Procedures: East, West, and North").

⁸ M. Frinta, Evidence of the Italian Influence on Catalan Panel Painting of the Fourteenth Century, in: *Actas del XXIII Congreso Internacional de Historia del Arte* (Granada, 1973), Granada, 1976, vol. I, pp. 361-371, fig. 11.



11 Detail of the Madonna. Siena, no. 50.

There is a considerable internal variation in quality in the altarpiece from S. Giusto. The pairs of Apostles in the upper level are inferior to most of the larger figures in the lower zone, which, in turn, reveals the kind of inconsistencies that suggest several hands were at work. The best hand painted S. Giusto; his subtle and intricate movement and his engaging and penetrating expression are worthy of the hand of Pietro Lorenzetti. Similarly, the Virgin's tender countenance and the genuinely child-like quality of her Son approach Pietro's art closely. One may compare the Christ Child with that in the *Madonna* from S. Francesco in Pistoia of 1340 (Uffizi). However, the somewhat amorphous softness and less sculpturally conceived volume of the Virgin diminish the Lorenzettian impression of the whole; an analogous instance is found in the *Madonna* in the Johnson Collection in Philadelphia, attributed to Pietro, but most likely also a studio work. In the case of a close collaborator of the master, it can, of course, be expected that he will come very close to the master's personal style. It is true that S. Giuliana, on the left panel, follows Lorenzettian types, but her pose lacks gracefulness, which was, I think, a quality alien to the Master of the Beata Umiltà.⁹ Her face, as well as the unimaginative arrangement of her arms, correspond to those of a Christ (rather than St. James as earlier proposed?) on a pinnacle in a private collection (Fig. 3). I propose tentatively that this panel is the missing

⁹ It seems to me that *DeWald's* characterization of Pietro's one idiom: "The forms are all more fleshy and seem ready to burst the rather tight-fitting garments" (p. 11), probably culled from the observation of the forms in the *Nativity of the Virgin* of 1342, applies more fittingly to the Master of Beata Umiltà (sleeves and hands of S. Giuliana). He might have collaborated on this signed painting.



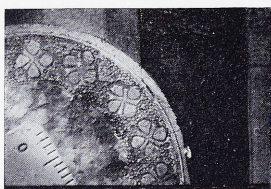
12 Here attributed to the Master of Beata Umiltà, *Madonna*, detail (after a partial removal of overpaint). Castiglione d'Orcia (Siena), S. Maria Maddalena.

pinnacle that was placed above the central Annunciation of the S. Giusto altarpiece.¹⁰ Another possibility for the original collocation of this pinnacle is on top of the panel containing the standing Beata Umiltà, but without knowing the dimensions of the panel, a more exact determination is not possible. The S. Giusto altarpiece may be dated to the years around 1340 as the comparisons with two of Pietro's dated paintings, the *Madonna* from Pistoia and the *Nativity of the Virgin* in Siena, seem to suggest.

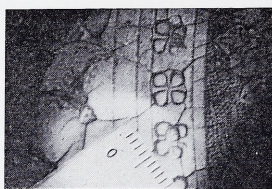
I believe that a Lorenzettian *Madonna* in Castiglione d'Orcia represents a further work of the Master of the Beata Umiltà (Fig. 12).¹¹ My attribution is based on the typological concordance of the Christ Child and the Virgin (insofar as her damaged face permits comparison) with those in the S. Giusto altarpiece (Fig. 11) as well as on the presence of several "key" punch marks, which, we have seen, are distinctive of the Master. First, is the identical use of the rare type of double-cusped arch in the border (Fig. 16), second, the cross-shaped rosette (Figs. 9, 19), and third, the disjoint hexa-rosette (Figs. 6, 20), which I have found, aside from the *Beata*

¹⁰ A. Colasanti, *Due dipinti inediti di Simone Martini e di Pietro Lorenzetti*, in: *Dedalo*, 12, 1932, pp. 659-665. At the photograph collection at I Tatti the panel is recorded as belonging to Senatore Raffaello Bastianelli in Rome.

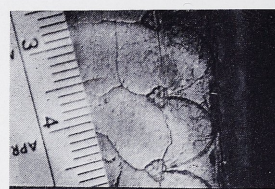
¹¹ Church of S. Maria Maddalena. There is still another *Madonna* in Castiglione d'Orcia (church of S. Stefano) that, however, belongs to the early period of Pietro's activity (*Berenson, Pictures, C. & N. It.*, p. 76).



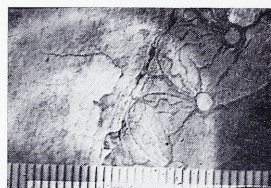
13 Halo of Beata Umiltà. Berlin-Dahlem, no. 1077.



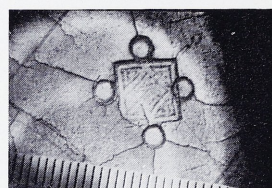
14 Border of the Virgin panel. Siena, no. 50.



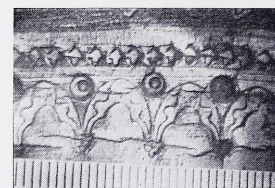
15 Border of the Virgin panel. Siena, no. 50.



16 Border of the Madonna panel. Castiglione d'Orcia.



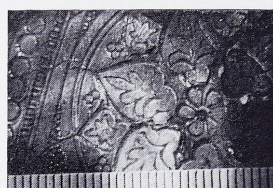
17 Halo of the Christ Child. Siena, no. 50.



18 Border of the Crucifixion panel. Florence, Museo Stibbert.



19 Halo of St. Paul. Siena, no. 50.



20 Halo of the Virgin. Castiglione d'Orcia.

Umiltà, S. Giusto, and Castiglione d'Orcia panels, on only two other panels.¹² To the Master's repertory there also belongs a different hexa-rosette enclosed in a double circle, which is present in the S. Giusto and Castiglione d'Orcia paintings. A reinforcement of the ties with the two altarpieces already discussed is the presence of the Lorenzettian palmette enclosed in a leaf in the halo of the Castiglione d'Orcia *Madonna* (Fig. 6, 20).

Finally, one more painting may be considered to belong to this group, owing chiefly to the evidence of the punch marks inasmuch as the painting is heavily overpainted. It is a *Crucifixion* in the Museo Stibbert in Florence (Fig. 21).¹³ The distinctive double-cusped arch recurs along the border of the panel (Fig. 18). The *Crucifixion* constitutes the single instance in which this distinctive punch mark occurs in conjunction with Pietro's "authenticated" double-contoured arch with a pendant (Fig. 22). The very ambitious character of this "equestrian" Calvary scene certainly points to a major master as the originator of the composition, a composition

¹² It appears in an unpublished fragment of a *Female Saint* at the Fogg Art Museum (no. 1969.34 a), thought to be by Ambrogio Lorenzetti and in a standing *St. John the Baptist* in the Trinity College at Hartford, Conn., attributed to the workshop of Pietro Lorenzetti by F. R. Shapley (Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection, I, Italian Schools XIII-XV Century, London, 1966, p. 53, fig. 134). F. Zeri assigned it to the early *œuvre* of Tegliacci (Sul problema di Niccolò Tegliacci e Luca di Tomè, in: *Paragone*, 9, 1958, no. 105, pp. 3-16 [p. 10]).

¹³ The face on the swooning Virgin may be compared to the sharp-featured faces in the stories of Beata Umiltà.



21 Pietro Lorenzetti and Master of Beata Umiltà (?),
Crucifixion. Florence, Museo Stibbert, no. 10 289.

perhaps developed first in the context of a mural painting. Only when the over-painting is removed, will it be possible to judge whether the painting should perhaps be attributed to Pietro, with the assistance of the Master of the Beata Umiltà.

I should like to suggest that the Beata Umiltà Master may also have collaborated occasionally with Ambrogio Lorenzetti, specifically in the large *Maestà* panel in the Municipal Palace in Massa Marittima.¹⁴ The quality of the figures in the painting is very uneven. This can be readily seen by comparing, for example, the superb figures of the allegories and Angels in the foreground, certainly by Ambrogio, with the Saints and Prophets in the left background, and the head of the Child, and thus the collaboration of several painters may be assumed. St. Paul may be compared with the St. Paul in the altarpiece from S. Giusto (Fig. 10). The punch mark evidence agrees with the proposal that the artist who painted the major part of the S. Giusto altarpiece assisted Ambrogio in the execution of the large *Maestà*. Again, the distinctive double-cusped arch can be found there, this time inside the halo of the Virgin. The majority of the punch tools in the *Maestà* are “documented” as Ambrogio’s, but we find here, quite significantly, two of Pietro’s “documented” tools that were used in the S. Giusto altarpiece, namely the heart-shaped leaf and the smaller size palmette enclosed in the leaf (Figs. 9, 19).

The paintings, or portions thereof, assembled here represent the work of an accomplished painter who followed the style of Pietro Lorenzetti closely. Undoubtedly, he belonged to Pietro’s workshop because, in addition to his own, he used Pietro’s punch tools. Probably, he collaborated with the master as well as with his brother Ambrogio in the latter part of both artists’ careers, that is, during the 1330s and 1340s.¹⁵

II. Jacopo di Mino del Pellicciaio and Mino da Siena

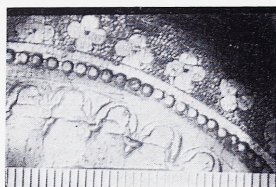
The method I have used in this investigation allows us to group several other works from the circle of Pietro Lorenzetti together with some additional paintings. These may be attributed to a Sienese painter of considerable contemporary renown. This solution has much to recommend it, since it does not create yet another shadowy anonymous painter.

The key works in this second group are constituted again by a complete altarpiece and a dismembered one. The first is in the Siena Pinacoteca, no. 58, where it is attributed to the School of Naddo Ceccarelli. The parts of the second altarpiece are dispersed in five collections, where they are all attributed to Pietro Lorenzetti.

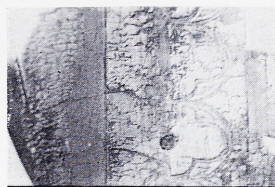
The solution to the problems presented by these paintings first became apparent when I was able to identify several of the punch marks on the altarpieces with those belonging to Jacopo di Mino del Pellicciaio. This painter is documented from 1342, when he signed and dated a *Madonna* panel in Sarteano (Fig. 30), to 1396, when he died. F. Mason Perkins argued the importance of Jacopo di Mino because his name appeared second on the 1355 list of Sienese painters, after Lippo Vanni and before Luca di Tommè. Later, in the *breve* of 1389, his name

¹⁴ *Editor’s note: See the article of E. Skaug in this issue, pp. 301-332, and its fig. 4. Reference to Mr. Skaug’s article has also been added in note 22 below.*

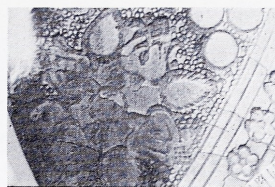
¹⁵ This study does not endeavor to propose other attributions based solely on stylistic similarities and not supported by the objective evidence of the punch marks. Yet one example may be mentioned of an early Lorenzettian triptych from the Kress Collection (K. 277) in Seattle, Wash. (*Shapley, op. cit.*, p. 51, fig. 130). Sts. Peter and Paul may well be compared with those in the altarpiece from S. Giusto, and an evolutionary line may be drawn from the Seattle *Madonna and Child* to the representation in Siena. The decoration of the Seattle triptych still belongs to the engraved type, and if the attribution to the early career of the Master of Beata Umiltà were accepted, it would follow that his decorative procedures underwent an evolution analogous to that of Pietro Lorenzetti.



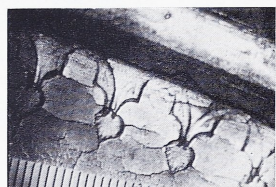
22 Border of the gable of the Crucifixion. Florence, Museo Stibbert.



23 Border of St. John Evangelist. Sarteano, S. Francesco.



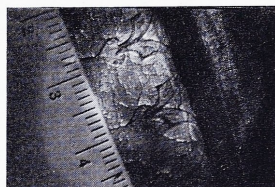
24 Halo of St. John Baptist. Sarteano, S. Francesco.



25 Border of the Loeser Madonna. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio.



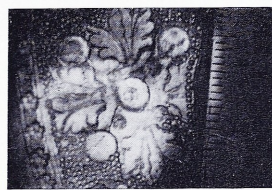
26 Halo of St. John Baptist. Siena, no. 58.



27 Border of St. Catherine. Metropolitan Museum.



28 Halo of St. Catherine. Metropolitan.



29 Halo of St. Francis. Siena, no. 58.

appeared first.¹⁶ In 1354-55 he painted in the Ospedale; in 1366 and again in 1367-68, he worked in the Cathedral; a year later he painted the Biccherna covers, and in 1382 he executed a drawing of the facade of S. Giovanni. Moreover, he held various offices and appraised works of other artists. All these factors indicate the esteem Jacopo enjoyed in Siena.

Jacopo di Mino signed and dated two paintings separated by twenty years. The date on the earlier one, which is in SS. Martino e Vittoria in Sarteano (Fig. 30)¹⁷, is damaged, but most writers agree on the reading, 1342. A second work by Jacopo, a triptych attributed to him by Perkins in 1909 and generally accepted, is in S. Francesco in Sarteano (Fig. 33).¹⁸ His second signed work is a *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine*, dated 1362, painted for S. Antonio Abate in Fontebranda, and today in the Siena Pinacoteca, no. 145 (Fig. 46). A third documented work, a seated *Virgin and Child* called the *Madonna di Belvedere* (or *Belvedere*) in the church of the Servi in Siena must be excluded from our considerations since in its present state it is

¹⁶ F. M. Perkins, Su alcuni dipinti di Giacomo di Mino del Pellicciaio, in: Bull. Senese di Storia Patria, N. S. 1, 1930, pp. 243-267 (p. 254 ff.).

¹⁷ The panel was stolen on February 20, 1971, but recovered the same year in October.

¹⁸ F. M. Perkins, La pittura alla Mostra d'arte antica in Siena, in: Rassegna d'Arte, 4, 1904, pp. 145-153 (p. 147).



30 Jacopo di Mino del Pellicciaio, Madonna, signed and dated 1342. Sarteano (Siena), SS. Martino e Vittoria.

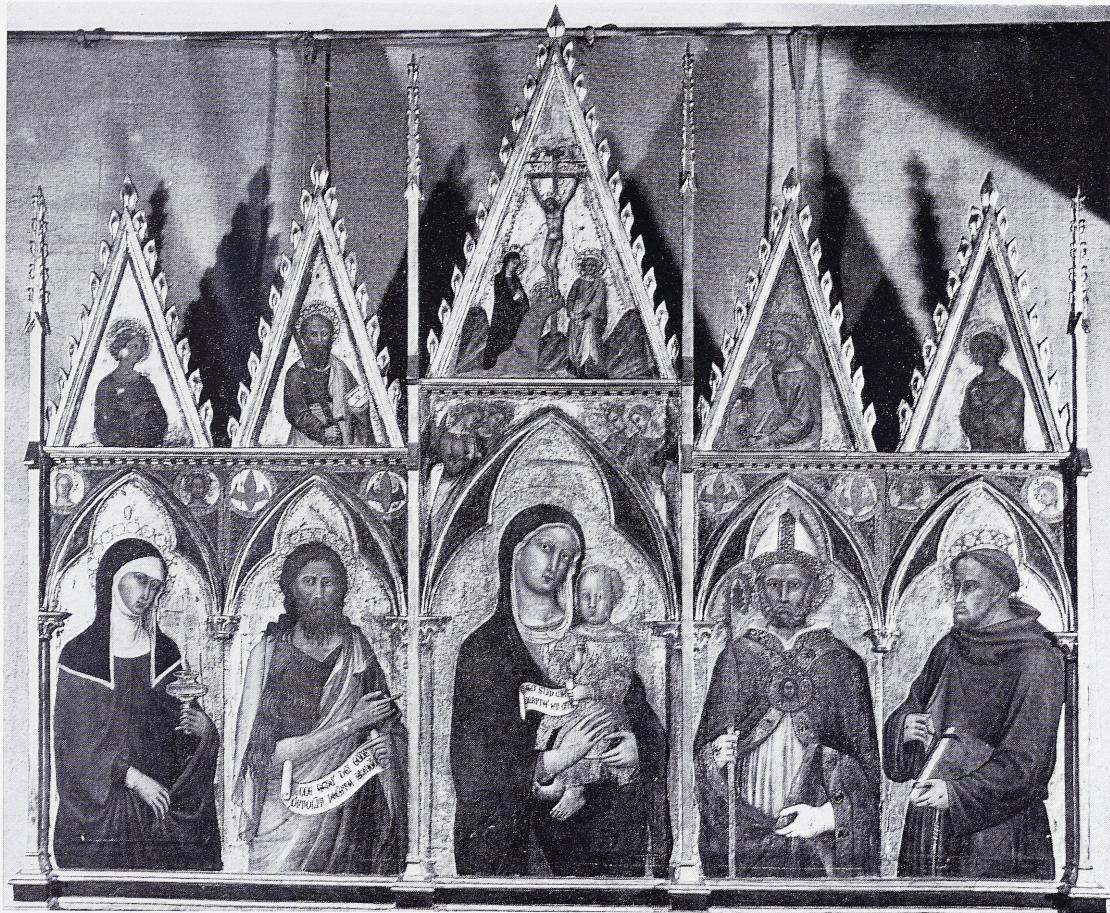


31 Here attributed to Jacopo di Mino, Madonna. Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

a work of Taddeo di Bartolo.¹⁹ The types of the Virgin and the Child conform wholly to those of Taddeo, and the punch work is also characteristically his. The two Angels may possibly reflect the types of Jacopo di Mino, but they were painted by Taddeo, perhaps following Jacopo's underdrawing.

The decoration of the two paintings in Sarteano reveals a nearly identical repertory of punches — five in common — as well as an identical style of patterning the Virgin's halo (Table II).

¹⁹ Perkins, 1930 (see note 16 above). According to a document of 1363 he should have painted this Madonna (*quam facere debet magister Jacobus pictor*) which does not mean that he actually executed the commission.

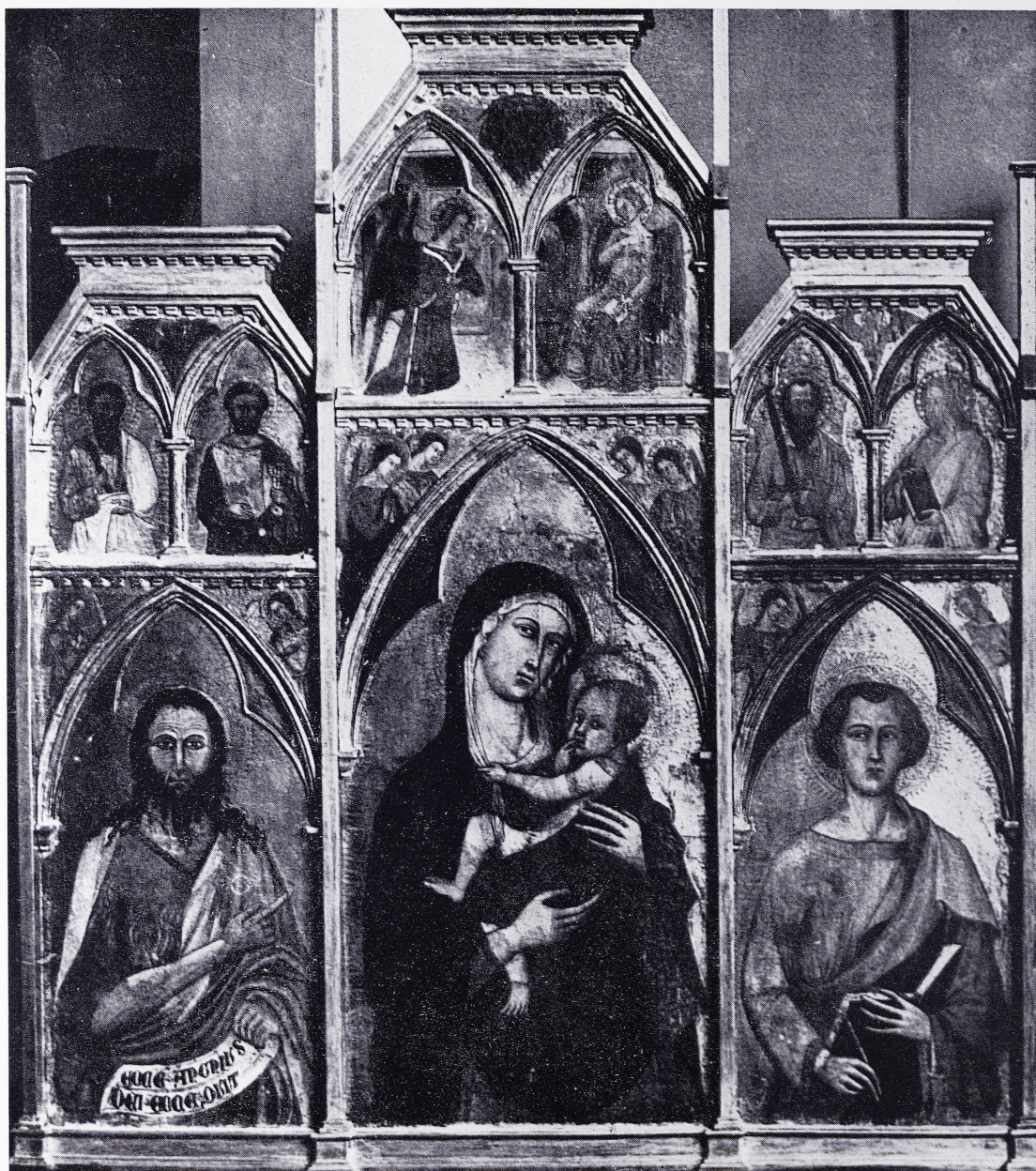


32 Here attributed to Jacopo di Mino, pentaptych. Siena, Pinacoteca, no. 58.

The scroll work repeats early Trecento Sienese types but its punched background, rather than cross-hatched, reveals its remoteness from its models. The borders of the paintings are adorned by an arcade consisting of large double-contour round arches with a small penta-rosette as a pendant (Fig. 23). This arch was also stamped around the haloes. Other punches present in both works are a serrated leaf, a tulip-like flower, and a rosette with seven petals (Figs. 24, 34). In addition, there is in the Child's halo in the signed *Madonna*, a palmette clearly inspired by Pietro Lorenzetti's distinctive tool, whereas the tulip-like flower follows Pietro's floral model more loosely. The punch impressions are clustered in Pietro's characteristic manner.

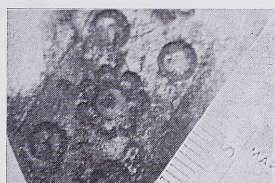
The nucleus of Jacopo's punch repertory in Sarteano shows highly specific forms and provides us with an excellent instrument for comparative study. With this knowledge of Jacopo's early repertory we may seek additional early works of this painter whose art was so obviously related to Pietro Lorenzetti's but who was not a member of his workshop. This is suggested by the fact that several punches are merely imitations of those used by Pietro.

All five punches common to the Sarteano paintings appear in a *Madonna* pentaptych in the Siena Pinacoteca, no. 58, labelled there as School of Naddo Ceccarelli (Fig. 32). This attribution is probably based on a similarity of the faces of the main panel with Naddo's types. The Child belongs in type to the offspring of Martini-Memmi representations (e. g. the Master

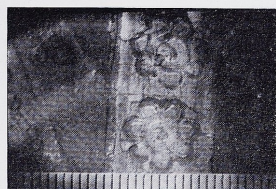


33 Jacopo di Mino del Pellicciaio, triptych. Sarteano (Siena), S. Francesco.

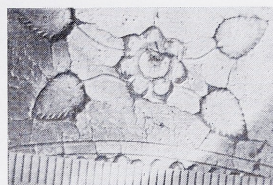
of Palazzo Venezia). On the other hand, the Child of the Sarteano triptych resembles that of the S. Giusto altarpiece, thereby following a Lorenzettian type (Figs. 10, 33). It is noteworthy that in the haloes of St. Francis and St. Clare in Siena no. 58 there are clusters of Pietro's flower punches used as they are in the S. Giusto altarpiece; this usage is an exception in Jacopo's decoration (Figs. 9, 29). The Child in the signed *Madonna* (Sarteano) is crudely drawn and thus not really comparable to Lorenzetti. It is clearly the work of a beginning painter: Jacopo must



34 Hem of the Virgin's mantle. Sarteano, S. Francesco.



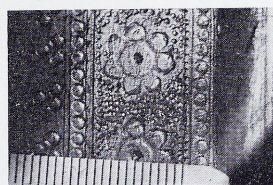
35 Crozier of the bishop. Siena, no. 58.



36 Halo of the Christ Child, Loeser Madonna. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio.



37 Collar of St. Catherine. Metropolitan Museum.



38 Border of the Annunciation. Fiesole, Museo Bandini.

have been very young in 1342 for he died fifty-four years later. This diversity of types in Jacopo's work may perhaps be explained as a manifestation of the lack of strong personal conceptions in a lesser talent, who was consequently quite susceptible to outside influences. Perkins has commented on the stylistic inconsistencies within the work of Jacopo di Mino.²⁰ Although it appears he was not a precocious talent, he must have grown considerably in time as the documents seem to indicate. The Sarteano and Siena 58 altarpieces seem roughly contemporary, whereas the signed *Madonna* appears to be somewhat earlier. All three must belong to the 1340s as they reflect a comparable level of achievement.

It attests to the validity of my comparative method that Luciano Bellosi reached the same conclusion concerning the altarpiece no. 58, as well as for a small *Annunciation* diptych in the Museo Bandini in Fiesole (Fig. 49).²¹ The latter has been ascribed to Niccolò di Buonaccorso (perhaps owing to a similarity in the decorative patterns of the garments), or, alternatively, it has been designated as simply Sienese. The border is adorned with Jacopo's distinctive septua-rosettes used in all the works discussed thus far (Figs. 34-38), and the faces of the Virgin and Angel are comparable to those in the spandrels of the pentaptych no. 58 (Fig. 32). The Angels in the spandrels in Sarteano are also similar, although somewhat more primitive, and thus probably somewhat earlier (Fig. 33).

²⁰ Perkins, *ibid.*, conceded that the pictorial manner of Jacopo is a little irregular in its course unlike that of Luca di Tommè, Bartolo di Fredi or Andrea di Vanni to whom attributions are easier. L. Bellosi in the catalogue "Arte in Valdichiana dal XIII al XVIII secolo", Cortona, Fortezza del Girifalco, 9 agosto-10 ottobre 1970, p. 13 f., remarks on the early crude style "which will acquire only later more noble and solemn expressions".

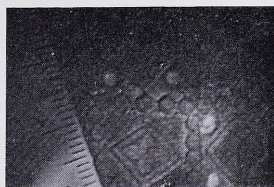
²¹ L. Bellosi, Jacopo di Mino del Pellicciaio, in: *Boll. d'Arte*, 57, 1972, pp. 73-77. I am greatly indebted to the generosity of the then Soprintendente of Siena, Enzo Carli, who facilitated my recording of the impressions in the Pinacoteca in Siena and in other places in the province.



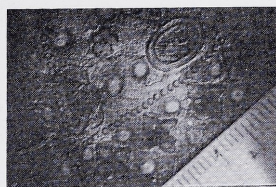
39 Here attributed to Mino Parcis (?), St. John Evangelist (?).
La Spezia, Amedeo Lia collection.

With the basis of our knowledge of Jacopo's early style thus enlarged, we can proceed to consider the surprising occurrence of his distinctive punches on a series of panels from a dispersed altarpiece. The reconstruction of the altarpiece has stretched over a period of many years; its center was formed by a *Madonna* from the Loeser Collection, donated to Florence and now in the Palazzo Vecchio.²² A *St. Catherine* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (13.212) probably was on the right side and a corresponding female Saint (*St. Margaret?*), on the left side. This painting passed with the Perkins Collection from Lastra a Signa to the Franciscan Monastery in Assisi. A male Saint, possibly *St. John the Evangelist*, in the collection of Amedeo Lia in La Spezia (Fig. 39), published by Federico Zeri, was also on the right whereas the fourth Saint is missing. Furthermore there was an upper level of paintings because above the framing arch

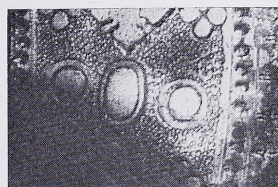
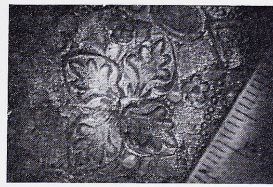
²² See p. 325, fig. 17 in this issue.



40 Bodice of St. Catherine. Metropolitan Museum.



41 and 42 Collar of St. Catherine. Metropolitan Museum.



43 Halo of St. Michael. Siena, no. 145.



44 Halo of St. Catherine. Siena, no. 145.



45 Collar of St. Catherine. Metropolitan Museum.

of St. Catherine is inscribed: STA AGNES. Recently Hayden Maginnis added two pinnacles of a *Martyr Saint* and *St. Anthony Abbot* in the National Gallery in Prague²³.

The absolute coincidence of punch marks, seven of which are known from Sarteano, fully support this reconstruction. The link of this altarpiece with the pentaptych no. 58 in Siena is proved by no fewer than nine common punch shapes, six of which are “documented” by their presence in the Sarteano signed *Madonna* (see Table II on p. 298 f. and Figs. 34-37, 42, 45) In addition to the punch marks from Sarteano and Siena no. 58, there are four more shapes — a lozenge with a quatrefoil inside, a small serrated quatrefoil, a small trefoil, and an oval — (Figs. 40, 42, 43). The last punch is important in the repertory as it is the only that reappears much later in Jacopo’s *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine*, dated 1362 (Figs. 41, 43).²⁴

The quality of these dispersed paintings is superior to the Sarteano, Fiesole, and Siena paintings owing to their stylistic closeness to Pietro Lorenzetti. The four larger panels, indeed, are generally attributed to Pietro himself (only Maginnis calls the pinnacles works of a close associate of Pietro). The punch evidence rules out this attribution, but Jacopo is not a satisfactory name either. The round arch framing the top of the panels suggests an early Trecento altarpiece *per analogiam* with Pietro, who moved in the 1320s from this still Ducciesque design

²³ DeWald linked the Metropolitan Museum *St. Catherine* with the Perkins *St. Margaret* (p. 20) and G. Coor added the Loeser *Madonna* (A Painting of St. Lucy in the Walters Art Gallery and some Closely Related Representations, in: *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* [Baltimore], 18, 1955, pp. 79-91 [p. 81]). The *St. John* was published by F. Zeri, Un “San Giovanni Evangelista” di Pietro Lorenzetti, in: *Festschrift Ulrich Middeldorf*, Berlin, 1968, pp. 42-44, pls. XXV-XXVI. Zeri correctly compares the expression of pathos in St. John with that of Joachim in Pietro Lorenzetti’s *Nativity of the Virgin* in Siena of 1342 and rejects the earlier dating of the panels by DeWald, Venturi, and Volpe. For the pinnacles see H. B. J. Maginnis, Lorenzettian Panels in Prague, in: *Burl. Mag.*, 116, 1974, pp. 98-101.

²⁴ A double circle that appears here and in the Siena altarpiece no. 145, provides no conclusive evidence. Like, of course, all highly general shapes, it is difficult to identify with any degree of certainty.

(Arezzo) to the Gothic arch as a framing device (Carmine). However, this change seems to be characteristic of prominent painters, for instance, Simone Martini, and not necessarily of the whole generation. Some painters, or more precisely perhaps the craftsmen who prepared the panels for the painters, continued using the round arch, especially outside the main Tuscan centers. Despite this and other archaic features such as the draperies drawn with gold lines, the paintings do not produce the impression of early works. The drawing of St. Catherine's hands does not follow the conventions of the first third of the century, nor is the technique of rendering the intricate brocade patterns over gold used in the early Trecento. Furthermore, there is a sweetness, almost dullness in some of the expressions that differs from the intensity of Pietro's countenances. The general closeness to Pietro's work may be explained by the proposal that the painter followed Lorenzetti's models; the Madonna is similar to that in the Warburg triptych at the Washington National Gallery of Art (no. 546), a painting produced in Pietro's workshop, as the punch work shows, by an associate of the master.

The inferences from the punch work in the dispersed pentaptych lead us conclusively to the workshop of Jacopo di Mino. Nonetheless, there are both stylistic and qualitative obstacles to assigning the panels to Jacopo. Is it conceivable, in view of the archaic traits, that we are dealing with works by Jacopo's father? I think that this intriguing possibility can be argued and that the Mino, recorded in 1321 as a collaborator of Pietro Lorenzetti, may have been Jacopo's father.²⁵ The chances are that this Mino was strongly influenced by Pietro and that he fashioned punches reminiscent of Pietro's when he set up his own shop. Young Jacopo, no doubt, worked on his early commissions in his father's shop, and the beautifully designed and fashioned punches discussed above must have been his father's tools.

Instances of father and son using the same set of tools can be pointed to in the cases of Bartolo di Fredi and Andrea di Bartolo, and Taddeo di Bartolo and Gregorio di Cecco. The hypothetical attribution to Jacopo's father offers other advantages as well. A painter of the first generation of the Trecento may still have favored the round arch framing of the top of his panels even in the 1340s. Moreover, in my experience, there is usually a correlation between the quality of the punch work and that of the painting. These two components are out of balance in the Sarteano paintings in which the punch work is decidedly accomplished, while the painting exhibits elements of youthful crudeness. No such discrepancy exists in the dispersed altarpiece. Of course, it is well to remember the indisputable fact that these punches were used in the 1340s by Jacopo di Mino.

Let us, then, proceed to the subsequent productions of Jacopo. Of the seven punches he used in the haloes and borders of his second signed and dated work, the *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* triptych of 1362 in the Siena Pinacoteca, no. 145 (Fig. 46) only two appeared in the earlier paintings. The oval and the circle can be found in the dispersed fragmentary altarpiece with the Loeser *Madonna* as its center, and thus it may be conjectured that Jacopo retained from his father's punch repertory only the less distinctive shapes (Figs. 41, 43). This accords with the thesis, as yet unproven, that certain highly distinctive punches served as subtle marks of individual masters' authorship. The Siena triptych is closer to the dispersed altarpiece

²⁵ *Magister Minus pictor Paris de Senis* was mentioned in a document of Sept. 21, 1321 along with *Magister Petrus pictor Laurentii de Senis* as a collaborator of Pietro on his altarpiece for the Pieve at Arezzo: A. Mariotti, *Modulo di progettazione del polittico di Arezzo di Pietro Lorenzetti*, in: *Critica d'Arte*, 15, N. S., fasc. 100, Dec. 1968, pp. 35-45 (p. 36). — It may well be that this repertory of handsome punches may have been in fact Mino's with whom the young Jacopo shared the tools. The fact that some of them imitate the shapes of Pietro Lorenzetti may perhaps be explained by surmising that Mino made them after he ended his association with Pietro. The Madonna in the Warburg triptych in the National Gallery of Washington by its similarity to the Loeser Madonna invites a hypothesis that it might be Mino's while still Pietro's associate as it bears Lorenzettian punch marks.



46 Jacopo di Mino del Pellicciaio, *Mystical Marriage of St. Catherine*, signed and dated 1362. Siena, Pinacoteca, no. 145.

in terms of the quality than to the earlier paintings, thus pointing to the development of Jacopo's art.

Paradoxically, there is a regression from the early richer decorative apparatus, undoubtedly inspired by Pietro Lorenzetti. It is in this very altarpiece in Siena that one may observe the progressive impoverishment of ornamental technique that characterizes later Trecento painting. The backgrounds of some of the haloes are still rendered in the manner of Lorenzetti,



47 St. Michael, detail of the Mystical Marriage. Siena, no. 145.



48 St. Agnes, detail of the Mystical Marriage. Siena, no. 145.

and Martini, with dense punch work composed of tiny circles (St. Michael, Fig. 47), while other haloes exhibit a simplified tooling of the background with pointed punches (St. Agnes, Fig. 48). Once he was no longer associated with his father and no longer dependent on the great master's models, Jacopo displays a decorative restraint. The early opulent clusters of varied punch marks in the haloes become simpler, and the punches themselves reveal a changed taste. Cusped Gothic arches, grouped by four, replace the Lorenzetti-inspired fancy floral shapes (Figs. 44, 24). Two quatrefoil shapes are complemented by a Lorenzettian tetra-circle (Figs. 55, 53, 22). The customary arcade at the border is omitted, or its effect is diminished, by the use of a small, less striking cusped arch without a pendant. The circumference of some haloes is adorned by another new punch form, a trefoil with a short stem.²⁶

The distinctive punch impressions documented in the signed *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* appear in two more paintings, which therefore may be added to the later output of Jacopo di Mino. Both represent male Saints: one is a fragmentary head of a bearded *Saint* from the collection of Dr. H. D. Gronau in London (Fig. 51), the other, a half-figure of *St. Lawrence*, probably once forming a pinnacle, formerly in the museum in Gotha (Fig. 50).²⁷ The conspi-

²⁶ I found this rare form only in one more instance, namely in a small enthroned *Madonna with Sts. Catherine and John* in the Campana Collection, no. 61, presently in the Louvre (Figs. 51, 53, 54). This picture has been identified merely as Tuscan, and since its style is unlike Jacopo's, the acquisition of this punch by an unknown painter after the death of Jacopo may be hinted at.

²⁷ *Berenson* (Pictures, C. & N. It., p. 128) listed this painting among the works of Paolo di Giovanni Fei.



49 Here attributed to Jacopo di Mino, Annunciation diptych. Fiesole, Museo Bandini.

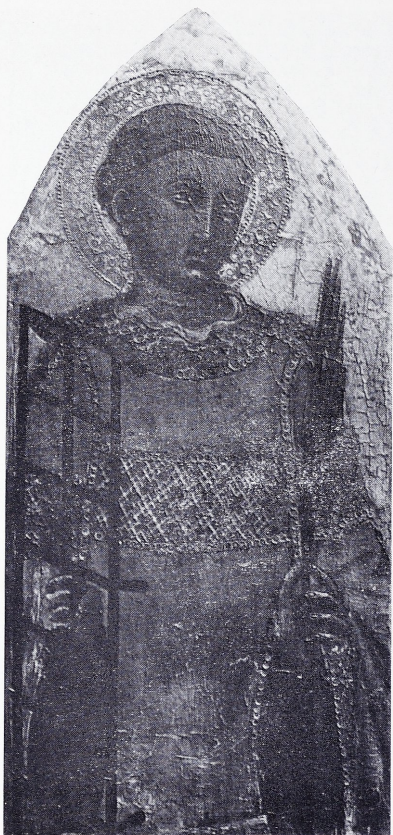
cuously loose brushwork of the head in London recalls the treatment of the *Saint* in La Spezia (Fig. 39). The haloes of both the London and the Gotha *Saints* are analogously ornamented and display four arches clustered around a double circle, and an oval such as we have seen in haloes in the signed *Mystic Marriage* in Siena (Figs. 43, 44).²⁸

I should like to propose yet another attribution to Jacopo, this time on stylistic grounds alone, inasmuch as the original gold ground of the painting seems to have been reworked during a restoration. It is a half-figure *Madonna* from the Kress Collection at Baylor University in Waco, Texas, (Fig. 31), attributed to a follower of Pietro Lorenzetti.²⁹ The Virgin's head is a reversed rendering of the signed 1342 Sarteano *Madonna* (Fig. 30), and chronologically it belongs in the vicinity of the early Sarteano *Madonna*.

The attributions proposed here enrich the outlines of Jacopo's artistic personality, making them more tangible. And they accord with the documents that indicate he was one of the important painters in Siena in the second half of the Trecento.

²⁸ It seems that this arch punch changed hands afterwards because it appeared on the only signed work of Ilario da Viterbo, a lunette-like altarpiece made for the Porziuncola chapel in S. Maria degli Angeli below Assisi.

²⁹ *Shapley* (see note 12 above), p. 52, fig. 133.



50 Here attributed to Jacopo di Mino, St. Lawrence. Formerly Gotha, Museum.



51 Here attributed to Jacopo di Mino, fragment of a Saint. Formerly London, Dr. H. D. Gronau collection.

To complete the investigation it remains to discuss two previous attributions to Jacopo. Let us consider first the punch evidence of a *Coronation* in the Museo Civico in Montepulciano (Fig. 52). Mason Perkins's attribution³⁰ of this large panel has not been widely accepted, and the painting has been attributed variously to Spinello Aretino and Angelo Puccinelli.³¹ The typological similarities between the Virgin in Montepulciano and the St. Catherine in the Siena 1362 triptych and those between the upper-most Angel in the Montepulciano picture and the St. Michael in the Siena work support Perkins's attribution (Figs. 47, 52). Several elements in the punch work also confirm it: the two tetra-rosettes and the tetra-circle known from the *Mystic Marriage* triptych are used here and seem to place the *Coronation* in the later group of paintings (Figs. 43, 55, 56). Technically the painting is an exquisite work, and the punched decoration is extremely rich and meticulously planned and executed. If a progressive diminishing of decorative exuberance is accepted as a feature of Jacopo's evolution, then this panel must be placed before 1362.

³⁰ Perkins, 1930 (see note 16 above), felt that the Montepulciano panel postdates by a few years the Siena *Marriage of St. Catherine*.

³¹ Catalogue of the Cortona exhibition, 1970, p. 14, following the opinion of F. Zeri (Angelo Puccinelli a Siena, in: *Boll. d'Arte*, 49, 1964, pp. 229-235 [p. 229]). Bellosi in his 1972 study returned to Perkins' attribution.



52 Between Jacopo di Mino and “Ugolino Lorenzetti” (Francesco Neri da Volterra?), Coronation. Montepulciano, Museo Civico.

The problem, however, is more complex. Of the sixteen punches in the *Coronation*, five appear in several paintings attributed to the Maestro d'Ovile ("Ugolino Lorenzetti"). They, in addition to other similarities, establish a relationship to his workshop.³² The Angels resemble those in the enthroned *Madonna* no. 80 in Siena by the Maestro d'Ovile, and the multi-cusped arch at the top with floral reliefs in *pastiglia* in the spandrels coincide closely. In the absence of a dating for the *Coronation* and the panels by the Master of Ovile, it is impossible to know which of the two painters originally owned these five punches. Thus, too, one may not postulate for sure the association of the two masters and consequently the contemporaneity of the *Coronation* and such paintings by the Ovile Master as that in S. Pellegrino in Siena or the *Madonnas* in Siena and Cologne (Wallraf-Richartz Museum).

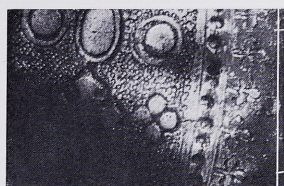
Nonetheless, a further indication of their relationship is furnished by a detailed examination of one striking punch mark, namely the large rounded cusped arch. The punch in the *Coronation* is identical with that found in a few of the Ovile Master's paintings and initially appears identical with Jacopo's punch as well (Figs. 57, 58, 23, 25, 27), but since it is slightly larger, it is not the same punch. Curiously, however, identical punch impressions can be recognized in the unrelated productions of Giovanni da Milano and Jacopo di Cione (Figs. 58-61). The same is true for the complex penta-rosette (Figs. 57, 61). The question then arises as to which of the two painters imitated the punch of the other. Perhaps Jacopo di Mino, or rather his father, Mino, originated the design of the arch punch, as his is "documented" already in 1342, and the painter of the *Coronation*, or a collaborator on the painting (Maestro d'Ovile?), fashioned his own arch tool afterwards. Then, in a baffling way, some of the tools were transferred from the workshop of the Maestro d'Ovile to Florence, just possibly through the intermediary of Giovanni da Milano, who in turn shared them for a time with Jacopo di Cione. I propose that these two painters were associated for some time; witness the S. Remigio *Lamentation* by "Giot-tino" now in the Uffizi.³³

One solution to this puzzling problem may be that the *Coronation* is in part a work of Jacopo di Mino, dating from the time of his hypothetical association with the workshop of the Maestro d'Ovile (Bartolomeo Bulgarini?) at a point in the 1350s. On the basis of his earlier evolution, we may infer that Jacopo, an impressionable and eclectic painter, embraced the style of the Maestro d'Ovile after, successively, those of Lorenzetti and the followers of Simone Martini. Still, it is possible that the *Coronation* is the work of an otherwise unknown collaborator of the Maestro d'Ovile.

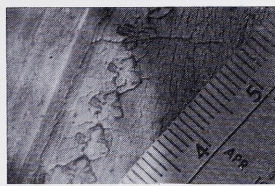
The punch evidence suggests a triangle contact involving the earlier production of Jacopo di Mino (when he was using the punch repertory of his presumable father Mino Parcis as it would be an anomaly for a rather mediocre artist as Jacopo to conceive such an accomplished decoration), a period of Maestro d'Ovile (specifically the triptych of St. Peter from Sestano) and Francesco Neri da Volterra. L. Bellosi in his recent book on the problem of the Campo-

³² It is interesting that *De Wald* attributed the *Coronation* to the Maestro d'Ovile but corrected himself afterwards saying that it was a typographical error. St. Catherine in the latter's *Mystical Marriage* in Siena brings in mind the female types in the *Coronation* and Jacopo's *Mystical Marriage*.

³³ This arch punch appears in the *Lamentation* as well as in the *St. Matthew* triptych by the Cione in the Uffizi, and in Giovanni da Milano's *Madonna* lunette at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (no. 07.200), among others. There are still two more versions of this type of Siennese arch punch, one appearing in two paintings attributed to Andrea Vanni (it is the same in size as the Ovile/Giovanni da Milano punch) while the second, belonging to Taddeo di Bartolo, is the same size as Jacopo di Mino's but differs in the curvature of the interior contour. Jacopo's punch was imitated quite closely by the Maestro d'Ovile (specifically in the smaller of his two punches, e. g. in the *Madonna* no. 80 in Siena, Figs. 62, 23, 25, 27) and appears then in Nardo di Cione's paintings from the 'sixties (*Trinity* triptych at the Accademia, Florence, and *Madonna* triptych in the Opera di S. Croce, both dated 1365) and in further Cionnesque paintings: a *Crucifixion* in the Lehman collection, *Noli me tangere* in the National Gallery in London (no. 3894), *Ecstasy of St. Mary Magdalen* in the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, and the *St. Matthew* altarpiece in the Uffizi (no. 3163).



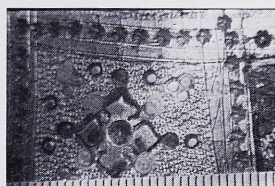
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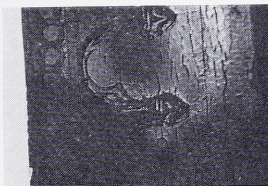
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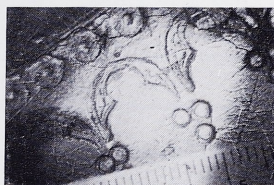
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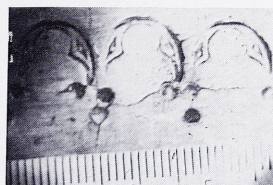
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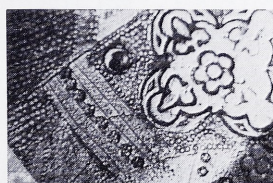
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62

- 53 Halo of St. Michael. Siena, no. 145.
- 54 Border of an Enthroned Madonna with Saints. Paris, Louvre (from Campana collection).
- 55 Halo of St. Anthony Abbot. Siena, no. 145.
- 56 Belt of the third Angel in the Coronation. Montepulciano.
- 57 Pectorale of Christ in the Coronation. Montepulciano.
- 58 Border of St. Paul by Ugolino Lorenzetti. Siena, S. Pellegrino.
- 59 Border of the Madonna lunette by Giovanni da Milano. New York, Metropolitan Museum, no. 07.200.
- 60 Border of the Lamentation by "Giotto". Florence, Uffizi.
- 61 Border of St. Matthew triptych by Jacopo di Cione. Florence, Uffizi.
- 62 Sleeve of the Christ Child of the Madonna with Angels by the Maestro d'Ovile (Ugolino Lorenzetti). Siena, no. 80.









								
Madonna, Sarteano	✓	✓		✓	✓			✓
Triptych, Sarteano	✓	✓		✓	✓			
Pentaptych, Siena 58	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	
Loeser Madonna, Florence	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
St.Catherine, Metropolitan	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
St.John, La Spezia	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	
St.Margaret, Assisi	✓		✓		✓			
Annunciation, Fiesole				✓				
Marriage of St.Catherine, Siena 145								
Gronau Saint, London								
St.Lawrence, ex Gotha								
Coronation, Montepulciano (similar)								
Enthroned Madonna, Campana								

Table II: Concordance of the punch marks of

santo frescoes reproduces two pinnacles of a dismantled *Assumption* altarpiece in the Boston Museum of Fine Art (83.175) and attributes them to Francesco Neri. I concur with this attribution or at least to some extent because it seems to me that two artists were at work on the retable. There is a triple concordance of authenticated punches of Francesco (from his signed *Madonna* in Modena) — the septua-rosette, a double-contoured arch, and a lozenge — with the impressions in Boston. The septua-rosette is that of Mino and then of Jacopo. The Boston altarpiece harbors the same direct references to the atelier of Maestro d'Ovile as does the Montepulciano *Coronation*.³⁴ A number of identical impressions appear in both, including the handsome arch of Maestro d'Ovile (Fig. 57) and a large tetra-lobe. Is it a sign of direct collaboration or merely of temporary borrowing of tools or of their subsequent acquisition? If the last can be substantiated it would provide chronological implications. In any case, it seems to me that, in view of these multiple ties, Francesco Neri must be considered as a candidate for the authorship (or a collaborator) of the Montepulciano *Coronation*.

It remains to clarify the connection of the *Coronation* in Montepulciano with a *Madonna Misericordiae* in the Museo Diocesano in Pienza. Perkins considered both paintings works of Jacopo di Mino.³⁵ The Angels in the Pienza panel recall those in the *Coronation* as well as

³⁴ M. Boskovits, Un'apertura per Francesco Neri da Volterra, in: *Antichità Viva*, 6, 1967, No. 2, pp. 3-11, perceptively considers Siense impact, balancing thus the previously stressed Florentine influence.

³⁵ Berenson (*Pictures*, C. & N. It., p. 30, pl. 407) listed the Pienza *Madonna* as by Bartolo di Fredi.

✓																
✓			✓													✓
✓	✓		✓		✓											
			✓	✓	✓										✓	
✓		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓								
		✓		✓												
		✓														
								✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
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								✓					✓		✓	
									✓	✓	✓					
												✓		✓		

Jacopo di Mino and Mino Parcis (?).

those in Niccolò Tegliacci's signed altarpiece of 1362 in Siena, no. 51. From the punch mark evidence, a relationship to Jacopo's production can be deduced, but only indirectly, by reference to the problematic *Coronation* panel in Montepulciano. A quadrilobe punch was used in both paintings, but this single coincidence of punches cannot be regarded as conclusive. Nor can this weak link be entirely dismissed. One certain conclusion is, however, possible: the Pienza *Madonna Misericordiae*, though commonly assumed to be, is not a work of Bartolo di Fredi, for none of his numerous distinctive punches occur.³⁶ Certain similarities in the figures are perhaps due to the collaboration of Bartolo di Fredi and Jacopo di Mino in 1367-68 on the vault frescoes of a chapel in the Siena Cathedral. Moreover, Jacopo may have had his own assistants; to identify them is a task for the future.³⁷

³⁶ *Berenson* (ibid., p. 322 and pl. 399), on the other hand, listed as Jacopo di Mino's work a portable altarpiece with the *Mystical Marriage of St. Catherine* in Perugia which shows, however, Bartolo di Fredi's distinctive punch impressions. In *F. Santi's* catalogue (Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria. Dipinti, sculture e oggetti d'arte, Rome, 1969, p. 99 f., no. 79) the painting is listed correctly as by Bartolo di Fredi.

³⁷ One of the possibilities may be Paolo di Maestro Neri who worked with Jacopo in the Cathedral of Siena in 1366. One might wonder whether he was related to Francesco Neri whom I introduce in connection with the Montepulciano *Coronation*.

The nature of this study prevents the discussion of mural paintings in the Collegiata at Casole d'Elsa attributed to Jacopo di Mino by *E. Carli* (*Dipinti senesi del contado e della Maremma*, Milan, 1955, pp. 93-96) and of other pertinent frescoes discussed by *Bellosi* (op. cit.).

RIASSUNTO

Il gran numero di opere attualmente attribuite a Pietro Lorenzetti non è molto coerente considerando stile e qualità. Con l'aiuto di un metodo oggettivo, cioè con un'analisi comparativa degli elementi decorativi dei fondi oro, cioè dei punzoni tipici, possono essere eliminati due gruppi di opere dall'opera di Pietro. Il pittore del primo gruppo deve essere stato suo stretto collaboratore, dato che usava alcuni punzoni di Pietro in aggiunta ai propri. Egli può essere chiamato il Maestro della Pala d'Altare della Beata Umiltà (oppure Maestro della Pala di S. Giusto). Allo stesso artista si possono attribuire alcune altre opere. Egli collaborò anche con Ambrogio Lorenzetti, come si può dedurre dal lavoro a punzoni della Maestà a Massa Marittima.

Il secondo gruppo comprende dipinti, frammenti di una pala d'altare, lo stile e la decorazione dei quali sembrano strettamente derivati da Pietro. Alcuni punzoni tipici sono chiaramente imitazioni di quelli di Pietro; si possono riconoscere in due opere a Sarteano di Jacopo di Mino del Pellicciaio. La qualità della pala d'altare smembrata, della quale la Madonna Loeser era la parte centrale, è più alta di quella dei dipinti di Jacopo, ma l'identità delle decorazioni suggerisce l'identificazione del suo pittore con Mino Parcis da Siena, collaboratore documentato di Pietro Lorenzetti; era presumibilmente il padre di Jacopo, che con il figlio divideva i punzoni. Si fanno altre aggiunte all'opera di Jacopo e si indaga sulla possibile attribuzione dell'incoronazione a Montepulciano a Jacopo.

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 From "Dedalo" 12, 1964: Fig. 3.