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**Trecento Panel Painting in Romagna and Marche:
Iconography, Form and Function**

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of Doctor of
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For Grandpa.

List of Illustrations

- Fig. 1** Giuliano da Rimini, *Madonna and Child with saints*.
Tempera on panel, 164 x 300cm, Isabella Gardner Museum, Boston;
in Volpe, A.; *Giotto e i Riminese: Il gotico e l'antico nella pittura di primo Trecento* (2002), p.82.
- Fig. 2** Giovanni Baronzio, *Madonna and Child with scenes from the Life of Christ*.
Tempera on panel, 143 x 221cm, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino, Photo: Jill Farquhar.
- Fig. 3** Giotto (Attributed), *Painted Cross*.
Tempera on panel, 430 x 303cm, Tempio Malatestiano, Rimini; in *Il Trecento Riminese* (1995), p.145.
- Fig. 4** Maestro del Coro di Sant'Agostino, *Painted Cross*.
Tempera on panel, 427 x 335cm, Sant'Agostino, Rimini; in *Il Trecento Riminese* (1995), p.183.
- Fig. 5** Giovanni da Rimini, *Painted Cross*.
Tempera on panel, 300 x 227cm, San Francesco, Mercatello sul Metauro; in Volpe, A.; *Giotto e i Riminese: Il gotico e l'antico nella pittura di primo Trecento* (2002), p.91.
- Fig. 6** Giuliano da Rimini (?), *Painted Cross*.
Tempera on panel, San Francesco, Sassoferrato; in Volpe, A.; *Giotto e i Riminese: Il gotico e l'antico nella pittura di primo Trecento* (2002), p.133.
- Fig. 7** Giovanni Baronzio, *Madonna and Child with Standing Saints*.
Tempera on panel, 103 x 256cm, San Francesco, Mercatello-sul-Metauro, Photo: Jill Farquhar
- Fig. 8** Pietro da Rimini, *The Descent from the Cross*.
Tempera on panel, 19.3 x 21.1cm, Pinacoteca Vaticana, Vatican City; in *Il Trecento Riminese* (1995), p.213.
- Fig. 9** Giovanni Baronzio, *The Crucifixion*.
Tempera on panel, 26.5 x 26.5cm, Pinacoteca Vaticana, Vatican City; in *Il Trecento Riminese* (1995), p.256.
- Fig. 10** Giovanni Baronzio, *Four saints*.
Tempera on panel, 14.7 x 25.5cm, Pinacoteca Vaticana, Vatican City; in *Il Trecento Riminese* (1995), p.256.
- Fig. 11** Pietro da Rimini or the Maestro del Coro di Sant'Agostino, *Diptych with Madonna and Child and other scenes*.
Tempera on panel, 64 x 32cm each, Alte Pinakothek, Munich; in Volpe, A.; *Giotto e i Riminese: Il gotico e l'antico nella pittura di primo Trecento* (2002), p.163.

- Fig. 12** Giovanni Baronzio, *The Betrayal of Christ*.
Tempera on panel, 17.2 x 14.7cm, Accademia Galleries, Venice; in *Il Trecento Riminese* (1995), p.249.
- Fig. 13** Giovanni Baronzio, *Christ before Pilate*.
Tempera on panel, 17.2 x 15cm, Staatliche Museen, Berlin; in *Il Trecento Riminese* (1995), p.253.
- Fig. 14** Giovanni Baronzio, *Pilate washing his hands of Christ's fate*.
Tempera on panel, 17.1 x 14.7cm, Accademia Galleries, Venice; in *Il Trecento Riminese* (1995), p.249.
- Fig. 15** Giovanni Baronzio, *The Ascent to the Cross*.
Tempera on panel, 16.8 x 14.8cm, Accademia Galleries, Venice; in *Il Trecento Riminese* (1995), p.250.
- Fig. 16** Giovanni Baronzio, *The Crucifixion*.
Tempera on panel, 16.9 x 14.8cm, Accademia Galleries, Venice; in *Il Trecento Riminese* (1995), p.250.
- Fig. 17** Giovanni Baronzio, *The Descent from the Cross*.
Tempera on panel, 16.9 x 14.8cm, Accademia Galleries, Venice; in *Il Trecento Riminese* (1995), p.251.
- Fig. 18** Giovanni Baronzio, *The Descent into Limbo*.
Tempera on panel, 17.2 x 14.9cm, Staatliche Museen, Berlin; in *Il Trecento Riminese* (1995), p.254.
- Fig. 19** Giovanni Baronzio, *The Resurrection*.
Tempera on panel, 17.2 x 14.7cm, Staatliche Museen, Berlin; in *Il Trecento Riminese* (1995), p.254.
- Fig. 20** Giovanni Baronzio, *The Ascension of Christ*.
Tempera on panel, 17 x 15cm, Staatliche Museen, Berlin; in *Il Trecento Riminese* (1995), p.255.
- Fig. 21** Giovanni Baronzio, *The Last Judgement*.
Tempera on panel, 17.3 x 14.9cm, Accademia Galleries, Venice; in *Il Trecento Riminese* (1995), p.251.
- Fig. 22** Giovanni Baronzio, *Pentecost*.
Tempera on panel, 17 x 14.7cm, Staatliche Museen, Berlin; in *Il Trecento Riminese* (1995), p.255.
- Fig. 23** Giotto, *Painted Cross*.
Tempera on panel, 578 x 406 cm, Santa Maria Novella, Florence; in Bellosi, L.; *Giotto: The Complete Works* (1981), p.7.
- Fig. 24** Giotto, *Painted Cross*.
Tempera on panel, 223 x 164cm, Museo Civico, Padua; in Spiazzi, A. M.; *The Scrovegni Chapel in Padua* (1993), p.51.
- Fig. 25** Neri da Rimini, *Initial, foglio of an antiphonary*.
Cini Collection, Venice; in *Giotto e i Riminese: Il gotico e l'antico nella pittura di primo Trecento* (2002), p.25.

- Fig. 26** Giotto, *Scenes from the Life of Christ*.
Tempera on panel, Various Locations; in Davies, M. And Gordon, D.; *Catalogue of the Earlier Italian Schools* (1988).
- Fig. 27** Giovanni Baronzio, *Nativity/Adoration of the Magi*.
Tempera on panel, 45.5 x 27.8cm, Courtauld Institute Galleries, London; in *Il Trecento Riminese* (1995), p.247.
- Fig. 28** Maestro del Coro degli Scrovegni, *Madonna and Child with scenes from the Life of Christ*.
Tempera on panel, 56 x 85cm, Pinacoteca Comunale, Ravenna; in *Il Trecento Riminese* (1995), p.167.
- Fig. 29** Giovanni Baronzio, *Scenes from the Passion of Christ*.
Tempera on panel, 70 x 110cm, Private Collection; in *Il Trecento Riminese* (1995), p.261.
- Fig. 30** Giovanni Baronzio, *Scenes from the Passion of Christ*.
Tempera on panel, 70 x 110cm, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Rome; in *Il Trecento Riminese* (1995), p.260.
- Fig. 31** Maestro di Verucchio, *Nativity*.
57.8 x 59.4 Lowe Art Gallery, Miami; in Davies, M. And Gordon, D.; *Il Trecento Riminese* (1995), p.227.
- Fig. 32** Maestro di Verucchio, *The Vision of the Blessed Clare*.
55.9 x 61 National Gallery, London; in Davies, M. And Gordon, D.; *Il Trecento Riminese* (1995), p.229.
- Fig. 33** Maestro di Verucchio, *Triptych with Nativity, The Crucifixion and The Vision of the Blessed Clare*.
Museo Fesch, Ajaccio; in Davies, M. And Gordon, D.; *Catalogue of the Earlier Italian Schools* (1988).
- Fig. 34** Giuliano da Rimini, *The Coronation of the Virgin, Scenes from the Passion of Christ and Standing Saints*.
Tempera on panel, 205.5 x 190.5cm, Museo Civico, Rimini; in *Il Trecento Riminese* (1995), p.187.
- Fig. 35** Giovanni da Rimini?, *Madonna and Child with saints*.
Tempera on panel, 92 x 106cm, Correr Museum, Venice; in *Il Trecento Riminese* (1995), p.34.
- Fig. 36** Giovanni Baronzio, *Scenes from the Life of Christ, The Coronation of the Virgin and Standing Saints*.
Tempera on panel, 66.7 x 38.1cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; in *Il Trecento Riminese* (1995), p.273.
- Fig. 37** Giovanni Baronzio, *Panel with the Crucifixion, The Entombment, The Descent into Limbo and standing saints*.
Tempera on panel, 51 x 35cm, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna; in *Il Trecento Riminese* (1995), p.263.

- Fig. 38** Giovanni da Rimini, *Panel with scenes from the Life of Christ*.
Tempera on panel, 52.5 x 34.5cm, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Rome; in *Il Trecento Riminese* (1995), p.175.
- Fig. 39** Giovanni da Rimini, *Panel with Coronation of the Virgin and scenes from the lives of the Saints*.
Tempera on panel, 52.5 x 34.5cm, Collection of the Duke of Northumberland, Alnwick Castle; in *Il Trecento Riminese* (1995), p.175.
- Fig. 40** Giovanni Baronzio, *Scenes from the Life of Christ and the Life of Colomba*.
Tempera on panel, Brera, Milan (except The Deposition which is in an unknown location); in *Il Trecento Riminese* (1995), p.270.
- Fig. 41** Maestro di Verucchio, *Cini Madonna Altarpiece (reconstruction by Benati)*.
Tempera on panel, 128 x 86 ; in *Il Trecento Riminese* (1995), p.238.
- Fig. 42** Anon, *Nativity*.
Mosaic, Monastery Church of Hosios Lukas; in Talbot-Rice, D.; *The Art of the Byzantine Era* (1963), p.94.
- Fig. 43** Pietro da Rimini, *Diptych with Crucifixion and Dormition*.
Tempera on panel, 63.3 x 32.5 cm each, Kunsthalle, Hamburg; in *Il Trecento Riminese* (1995), p.110.
- Fig. 44** Giovanni Baronzio, *Crucifixion*.
Tempera on panel, 45 x 26.5cm, Private Collection; in *Il Trecento Riminese* (1995), p.259.
- Fig. 45** Pietro Lorenzetti, *Crucifixion*.
Fresco, Lower Church of San Francesco, Assisi; in Giandomenico, N.; *Art and History of Assisi* (1995), p.26.
- Fig. 46** Paolo Veneziano, *Santa Chiara Altarpiece*.
Tempera on panel, 167 x 285 cm, Accademia Galleries, Venice; in White, J.; *Art and Architecture in Italy 1250 - 1400* (1993), p.435.
- Fig. 47** Giotto (Attributed), *Redeemer*.
Tempera on panel, Unknown location; in *Giotto e i Riminese: Il gotico e l'antico nella pittura di primo Trecento* (2002), p.24.
- Fig. 48** Giotto, *The Last Judgement*.
Fresco, The Scrovegni Chapel, Padua; in Spiazzi, A. M.; *The Scrovegni Chapel in Padua* (1993), p.41.
- Fig. 49** Pietro da Rimini, *The Presentation in the Temple*.
Tempera on panel, 18.5 x 20.3cm, Staatliche Museen, Berlin; in *Il Trecento Riminese* (1995), p.201.
- Fig. 50** K. Christiansen, *Reconstruction of the St. John the Baptist Altarpiece*, in *Il Trecento Riminese* (1995), p.268.

- Fig. 51** Giotto, *The Expulsion of the Merchants from the Temple*.
Fresco, The Scrovegni Chapel, Padua; in Spiazzi, A. M.; *The Scrovegni Chapel in Padua* (1993), p.25.
- Fig. 52** Duccio, *Maesta (Reconstruction of front section)*.
Tempera on panel, Museo del Opera del Duomo, Siena (Main section); in White, J.; *Art and Architecture in Italy 1250 - 1400* (1993), p.292.
- Fig. 53** Giovanni da Rimini, *Painted Cross*.
Tempera on panel, 230 x 160cm, San Lorenzo, Talamello; in *// Trecento Riminese* (1995), p.169.
- Fig. 54** Giovanni da Rimini, *Painted Cross*.
Tempera on panel, 185 x 179cm, Museo Civico, Rimini; in *// Trecento Riminese* (1995), p.177.
- Fig. 55** Giovanni da Rimini, *Painted Cross*.
Tempera on panel, 160 x 130cm, Instituut Collectie Nederland, Rijswijk; in Volpe, A.; *Giotto e i Riminese: Il gotico e l'antico nella pittura di primo Trecento* (2002), p.99.
- Fig. 56** Pietro da Rimini?, *Painted Cross*.
Tempera on panel, 255 x 189cm, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino; in Volpe, C.; *La Pittura Riminese del Trecento* (1963), fig.75.
- Fig. 57** Pietro da Rimini, *Painted Cross*.
Tempera on panel, 406 x 241cm, Cathedral, Urbania; in Volpe, C.; *La Pittura Riminese del Trecento* (1963), fig.81.
- Fig. 58** Maestro del Refettorio di Pomposa?, *Painted Cross*.
Tempera on panel, 287 x 240cm, Collegiata, Sant'Arcangelo di Romagna; in Volpe, C.; *La Pittura Riminese del Trecento* (1963), fig.128.
- Fig. 59** Maestro di Verucchio, *Painted Cross*.
Tempera on panel, San Francesco, Bagnacavallo; in Volpe, C.; *La Pittura Riminese del Trecento* (1963), fig.164.
- Fig. 60** Maestro di Verucchio, *Painted Cross*.
Tempera on panel, 400 x 240cm, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino; in Volpe, C.; *La Pittura Riminese del Trecento* (1963), fig.165.
- Fig. 61** Workshop of Maestro di Verucchio, *Painted Cross*.
Tempera on panel, 304 x 240cm, Collegiata, Verucchio; in Volpe, C.; *La Pittura Riminese del Trecento* (1963), fig.174.
- Fig. 62** Maestro dell'Incoronazione di Urbino, *Painted Cross*.
Tempera on panel, 232 x 183cm, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino; in Volpe, C.; *La Pittura Riminese del Trecento* (1963), fig.295.

- Fig. 63** Anon, *Painted Cross*.
Tempera on panel, 180 x 100cm, Rocca, Sassocorvaro; in Volpe, A.; *Giotto e i Riminesi: Il gotico e l'antico nella pittura di primo Trecento* (2002), p.148.
- Fig. 64** St Cecilia Master, *Altarpiece of St. Cecilia*.
Tempera on panel, 85 x 181 cm, Uffizi Galleries, Florence; in Smart, A.; *The Dawn of Italian Painting* (1978), fig. 29.
- Fig. 65** Charles Hope, *Plan of the Tempio Malatestiano*
in Hope, C.; "The early history of the Tempio Malatestiano," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 55 (1992), p.54.
- Fig. 66** Maestro di Verucchio, *Crucifixion*.
Tempera on panel, 55 x 31cm, Musee des Beaux-Arts, Strasbourg; in *Il Trecento Riminese* (1995), p.245.
- Fig. 67** Maestro di Verucchio, *Crucifixion*.
Tempera on panel, 20 x 12.7, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; in Volpe, C.; *La Pittura Riminese del Trecento* (1963), fig.169.
- Fig. 68** Maestro di Verucchio, *Crucifixion and Virgin Annunciate*.
Tempera on panel, 44 x 20cm, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino; in *Il Trecento Riminese* (1995), p.225.
- Fig. 69** Giovanni da Rimini, *Madonna and Child with standing saints*.
Tempera on panel, 50 x 35cm, Pinacoteca Civica, Faenza; in *Il Trecento Riminese* (1995), p.171.
- Fig. 70** Giovanni Baronzio, *Crucifixion, Adoration of the Magi and standing saints*.
Tempera on panel, 57.3 x 31cm, Liechtenstein Collection, Vaduz; in Volpe, C.; *La Pittura Riminese del Trecento* (1963), fig.213.
- Fig. 71** Maestro di Verucchio, *Panel with saints*.
Tempera on panel, 44.5 x 31cm, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia; in *Il Trecento Riminese* (1995), p.233.
- Fig. 72** Anon, *Scenes from the Lives of Christ and the Virgin*.
Mosaic on panel, Museo del'Opera del Duomo, Florence; in Talbot-Rice, D.; *The Art of the Byzantine Era* (1963), p.237.
- Fig. 73** Anon, *Diptych with Scenes from the Life of Christ*.
Carved ivory, 22.5 x 11.5cm, The Hermitage, St. Petersburg; in Evans, H. And Wixom, W.D. (eds.); *The Glory of Byzantine; Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843 - 1261* (1997), p.145.
- Fig. 74** Anon, *Scenes depicting the Feasts of the Church*.
Carved ivory, Various locations; in Evans, H. And Wixom, W.D. (eds.); *The Glory of Byzantine; Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843 - 1261* (1997), p.148.

- Fig. 75** Anon, *Wing of diptych with Crucifixion and Deposition*.
Carved ivory, 22.9 x 11.9cm, Kestner Museum, Hanover; in Evans, H. And Wixom, W.D. (eds.); *The Glory of Byzantine; Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843 - 1261* (1997), p.146.
- Fig. 76** Anon, *Wing of diptych with Noli me Tangere and The Anastasis*.
Carved ivory, 22.5 x 11.5cm, The Hermitage, St. Petersburg; in Evans, H. And Wixom, W.D. (eds.); *The Glory of Byzantine; Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843 - 1261* (1997), p.147.
- Fig. 77** Anon, *Icon with Hetoimasia and four saints*.
Carved steatite, Louvre, Paris; in Evans, H. And Wixom, W.D. (eds.); *The Glory of Byzantine; Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843 - 1261* (1997), p.157.

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the panel paintings produced in the Riminese context in the first half of the Trecento. These altarpieces, crosses and devotional panels have been widely dispersed, fragmented and decontextualised over the centuries, and this study reunites the panels and investigates the unusual iconographical traits and distinctive formats employed.

The introduction looks at previous discussions of the panels and at the available documentary evidence. It also discusses the historical context in which the panels were produced.

The first chapter re-examines the relationship of Giotto to Rimini and to the Riminese painters by investigating the nature of Giotto's work in Rimini, at the beginning of the Trecento, and how this work influenced local panel painting in the following decades.

The second chapter investigates the surviving visual evidence and analyses the forms of iconography, and the types of visual language, utilised by the Riminese painters. The chapter also investigates, in detail, specific images employed by the painters. It reveals that the narrative image was predominant, whereas iconic imagery tended to be subordinated, and highlights the dual impact of Byzantine and modern Italian iconography.

The third chapter investigates the group of extant painted crosses from the area around Rimini and proposes that the Franciscan Order was instrumental in the popularity of the painted cross in the region.

The fourth chapter discusses the extant altarpieces and attempts to contextualise these fragmented works. It investigates the development of the

Riminese altarpiece, from dossal to polyptych, with particular reference to the unusual formats employed in the structures

The final chapter investigates the Riminese devotional panels and links the iconographies with the female mystics of the early Trecento, as well as the Franciscan Spirituals of the Marches. The impact of Adriatic trade on the devotional panels is discussed in terms of the powerful influence of imports from Byzantium, such as mosaic and ivory icons.

Contents

<u>List of Illustrations</u>	i
<u>Acknowledgements</u>	viii
<u>Abstract</u>	ix
<u>Introduction</u>	1
<u>Chapter 1 – Giotto and Rimini</u>	30
<u>Chapter 2 – The Riminese Panels: Assessing the Visual Evidence</u>	53
The available evidence	53
Non-narrative imagery in the Riminese Panels	57
The use of the narrative	63
Conclusions	83
<u>Chapter 3 – The Painted Crosses</u>	85
The Surviving Riminese Painted Crosses	85
Giotto, the Franciscans and the Riminese Crosses	94
Form and Setting: Altarpieces, Crosses and Fresco Decoration	96
<u>Chapter 4 – The Altarpieces</u>	100
The Boston Dossal	101
The Ravenna Panel	107
The Beata Chiara Triptychs	110
Baronzio's Passion Altarpiece	116
The Coronation Triptych	118

The Correr Triptych	124
The Maestro di Verucchio's Madonna Altarpiece	126
Baronzio's Baptist Altarpiece	130
The Santa Colomba Panels	134
The Urbino Polyptych	137
The Mercatello Polyptych	140
Conclusions	142
<u>Chapter 5 – Devotional Imagery in Romagna and Marche</u>	153
Riminese Devotional Imagery and the Mendicant Orders	156
Narrative Imagery and Iconic Imagery in the Riminese Panels	162
Experiencing the Passion of Christ: The Riminese Panels, the Golden Legend and the <i>Meditationes Vitae Christi</i>	166
The Franciscan Spirituals and Joachim of Fiore	182
The Devotional Panel and the Importance of the 'Archetype'	188
Conclusions	198
<u>Conclusions</u>	203
<u>Appendix I – Catalogue of the Riminese Panels under discussion</u>	210
<u>Appendix II – Distribution of the Saints in Riminese Panel Painting</u>	220
<u>Bibliography</u>	228
<u>Illustrations</u>	245

Introduction

The group of panels surviving from the first half of the fourteenth century in the area around Rimini are striking for a number of reasons. Although the panels are widely scattered, and the altarpieces fragmented, a number of features are evident. These include a remarkable uniformity in their content, a frequency of unique iconographical traits, and the distinctive shape and format of the panels.

Historically the paintings of the Riminese "school" have attracted attention through their stylistic closeness to Giotto, (Giotto is recorded as having worked in the city sometime in the early fourteenth century), and their relative uniformity. This has led to a fascination amongst scholars with the definition of the Riminese School in relation to the Florentine master, and with the resolution of issues of attribution (difficult in respect to such a stylistically homogenous output of imagery). In addition, the monumental frescoed works have generally received greater attention than the more problematic smaller works on panel. For these reasons the unusual and distinctive features of the Riminese panels have been regularly ignored. The purpose of this study, then, is to investigate these features of the Riminese panels by relating them to their original functions and contexts, a task which has been largely neglected.

At this point it is necessary to delineate the boundaries of this discussion. The study will focus on the period roughly between the beginning of the Trecento, and the middle of the century, as it was within this timescale that we can recognise a unified output from the Riminese painters. After this period, we can no longer observe the stylistic and iconographical distinctiveness mentioned above, and other centres in the area appear to become more prominent in terms of their artistic output. How much this is due to the impact of the Black Death is debatable but, as in other areas of Italy, the middle of the century appears to have been a watershed in terms of artistic production.

Geographically the parameters are more difficult to define as the painters associated with Rimini appear to have worked as far a field as Friuli, Verona and

Padua in the north, and Fermo in the south. This area encompasses Romagna as well as modern Marche and eastern Umbria, and is thus very large area, extending well beyond the *contado* of the city of Rimini. This widespread activity of the Riminese painters cannot be purely explained in terms of the domination of the Malatesta family over the region in the early Trecento, but perhaps, as we will see, to the mechanisms of Mendicant patronage in the province.

My definition of the “Riminese panels” would therefore be “those panels produced in the region on the broad periphery of the city of Rimini within the period of 50 years or so between c. 1300 – 1350 and which conform to distinct formal, stylistic and iconographical characteristics”. This definition can perhaps be further clarified at the end of the study, when these characteristics have been fully discussed. A full list of the panels included in this study can be found in Appendix I.

Before looking at previous work on the Riminese painters, and thus at what work needs to be done, a brief summary of the historical and geographical context in which the panels were produced is appropriate.

Rimini began its history as a Roman town, Ariminum, positioned at the end of the Via Flaminia and the Via Emilia on the Adriatic coast, at the mouth of the Marecchia and towards the southern edge of modern Romagna.¹

By the late Duecento Rimini was, as typical of central and northern Italian towns at this period, a commune; however by the later Middle Ages the city’s history had become intertwined with the fate of its dominant families, in particular the infamous Malatesta.²

¹ Remnants of its Roman past still survived prominently in the Middle Ages. Towards the southern edge of the medieval city stood, and still stands the Arch of Augustus, and to the eastern edge are the remains of the Roman amphitheatre.

² Romagna itself, seems to have been particularly prone to the rise of *signorie* and by the latter decades of the thirteenth century many of the communes were falling under the power of these

For Rimini the early fourteenth century was, despite a time of great expansion, a period of turbulence. The late thirteenth century had seen the rise of the Guelf Malatesta family to prominence, finally resolving the power struggle with the major Ghibelline families, in particular the Parcitade, in their own favour.³ Like many of the emergent *signorie* of thirteenth and fourteenth century Italy their rise was characterised first by monopolisation of the *podesteria* and then by control of this post and the commune itself. By the 1320s and 1330s the commune, although still existing in name, was subordinated to the whims of the Malatesta.⁴ After this the family concentrated on expanding their territories - with varying success. Their encroachment on the Romagna and the Marche of Ancona was, at times checked, by bouts of resistance and insurrection on the part of the other communes, feudal lords and the agents of the Pope.⁵

Papal involvement is a complex issue in the history of Rimini. Although traditionally Guelf and strong in their support of papal and anti-imperial campaigns, the Malatesta's ambitions on areas of Romagna and the Marche of Ancona naturally brought them into conflict with papal authority.⁶ Both Romagna and the Marches were

despotic rulers. See: Jones P.J.; *The Malatesta of Rimini and the Papal State*, Cambridge, 1974, p.11. For a detailed discussion of the *signorie* of Romagna see: Lerner, J.; *The Lords of Romagna*, New York, 1965. For a more general account of the rise of the *signorie* in this period see: Waley, D.; *The Italian City Republics*, London, 1988.

³ In 1295 the Parcitade fled the city of Rimini. See Jones, pp. 37 – 41.

⁴ By a similar assumption and then control of the *podesteria*, the Malatesta spread their power into the neighbouring communes of Romagna and northern Marche. See Jones, p. 41, and Lerner, p.37.

⁵ The Malatesta's ambitions were held in check by neighbouring rulers such as the Montefeltri and Ordelauffi families of Forli (both Ghibelline in affiliation), and the Polenta of Ravenna. However after the Malatesta defeat of Guido da Montefeltro in 1322, Ghibelline revolt against the Malatesta in Romagna was almost totally suppressed. In other cases communes, such as Cesena, managed to hold out against the control of local *signorie*. See Jones, pp.48 – 52, and Lerner, pp.34 – 37.

⁶ A papal inquest in Ancona in 1343 confirmed suspicions of an unhealthy collusion between local church officials and the ruling families in Romagna; a collusion which was naturally

traditionally papal territory and the threat to this along with the growing power and connections of the Riminese *signorie* eventually led to a successful papal counter-attack which ended in 1355 when the Malatesta, robbed of most of their properties except Rimini and its *contado*, submitted to the Pope and agreed to become papal vicars, ruling on his behalf.⁷ This however did not put an end to the Malatesta's ambitions and they soon set about consolidating and expanding their territory, this time with papal approval.

The foremost figure in the rise of the Malatesta family, in the late thirteenth century and the early fourteenth century, was Malatesta da Verucchio (d.1311 or 1312). It was under the sway of this Lord that the family finally achieved ascendancy over the other prominent families in the city. Malatesta married twice, his first marriage resulting in three sons the second of whom, Giovanni, married the ill-fated Francesca da Polenta immortalised by Dante by her depiction alongside her lover Paolo, Giovanni's younger brother, in the *Inferno*.⁸ Malatesta's second marriage, to Margherita de' Palterieri da Monselice, resulted in two children; a daughter Maddalene, and a son, Pandolfo who was later to become the head of the Malatesta family. Malatesta da Verucchio is notable for his patronage of the mendicant orders in the city. He provided funds for the Augustinian Hermits so that they could hold a general chapter of the Order in the city in the early years of the century, but he seems to have been particularly fond of the Franciscan Order to whom he left substantial sums in his will, and in whose church he chose to be buried:

He testified to his affection for the Order of St. Francis and his bequests

perceived as a threat to papal authority. Hence in 1353 Cardinal Egidio Albornoz was appointed as "reformer pacis" and given powers to address problems of misgovernment in the Romagna city-states. See Jones, pp. 45-46.

⁷ Jones, p.63.

⁸ Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy*, (Trans. by Sisson, C.H.), Oxford, 1993, Canto V, 73 – 142.

to religious houses were liberal. He provided for the holding in Rimini of a General Chapter by the Franciscans, as had been several times requested, and he gave instructions that he should be buried in a Franciscan Church, clothed in the habit of a Tertiary.⁹

The early fourteenth century was also characterised by internal friction within the Malatesta family itself, most markedly between the cousins Ferrantino Malatesta, son of Malatesta's oldest son Malatestino dal'Occhio, and Malatesta di Pandolfo, the son of Pandolfo, which culminated in 1334 when Malatesta captured Ferrantino, his son and his grandson, later having the latter two put to death and exiling the former.¹⁰

In economic terms Rimini's medieval status developed around 1000 when, following a flood, the River Marecchia, which bordered the city to the north, changed its course forming a new port.¹¹ This development led to an expansion both in terms of economy and population, the port allowing Rimini to become a significant, but small, trading post on the Adriatic coast. This development was aided by Rimini's position at the end of two of the prominent Roman roads which further enhanced its situation as a centre of trade.¹² In this guise Rimini was heavily reliant on Venetian trade and this is indicated by the fact that all ships docking at the port, with the exception of the Venetian ships, had to pay a tax or duty known as the *fondatico*. Trading links with the eastern side of the Adriatic were strong and in the thirteenth century the port agreed a commercial contract with Ragusa (modern Dubrovnik).

In terms of industry, the region was largely agricultural and very successful in its

⁹ Jones, p.36.

¹⁰ Jones, p.60.

¹¹ Gobbi G, Sica P; *La Città nella storia Italia - Rimini*, Rome 1982, p.42.

¹² The Via Emilia ran from Rimini, through Bologna to Piacenza and connected Rimini directly with other Romagnole cities such as Faenza, Forli and Cesena. The Via Flaminia ran directly from Rome to Rimini and entered the city at the *Arco di Augusto*.

consistent production of basic commodities such as grain, oil and other basic agricultural products. (Larner points out that in the years of famine in Italy, Romagna still managed to export grain to Florence.)¹³ Another important export was salt, vital as a preservative of meat and fish, produced on the salt flats around the small town of Cervia on the Adriatic coast north of Rimini. Besides this however, there were no significant established industries in the region, and this is paralleled by a lack of large scale urban development: the towns and cities of Romagna, and northern Marche were generally small and modest in population.¹⁴ The economic emphasis on agricultural production made possession of a large, fertile and adequately populated *contado* particularly important for the economic health of the Romagnol city-states.

Perhaps more important for this study, is the socio-religious history of the region in the first half of the Trecento. Within this picture the position and development of the Mendicant Orders in the province, is perhaps the most significant.

The role of the Mendicant orders, and in particular, the Franciscans, as patrons of the visual arts in Trecento Italy has been the subject of several recent studies, most notably by Joanna Cannon and Louise Bourdua.¹⁵ In the context of Rimini, an

¹³ Larner, p. 9. Within the Trecento these famines are recorded in 1329 and 1372.

¹⁴ Rimini's population in 1511 has been estimated to be as low as 5000. Larner, p.10.

¹⁵ On the Franciscans see: Bourdua, L.; *Aspects of Franciscan Patronage*, PhD thesis, Warwick, 1991 eadem, "The 13th and 14th Century Italian Mendicant Orders and Art," in *Economia e Arte secc. XIII-XVIII*. Atti della "Trentatresima Settimana di Studi" 30 aprile – 4 maggio 2001, Istituto internazionale di storia economica "F. Datini" Prato, ed. S. Cavaciocchi, Florence, 2002, pp. 473 – 488, and most recently, Bourdua, L.; *The Franciscans and Art Patronage in Late Medieval Italy*, Cambridge, 2004.

For the Dominicans: Cannon, J.; *Dominican Patronage of the Arts in Central Italy: The Provincia Romana c.1220-c.1320*, Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1980 and eadem, "Simone Martini, the Dominicans and the Early Sienese Polyptych," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 45 (1982), pp.69-93.

For the Carmelites see: Cannon, J.; 'Pietro Lorenzetti and the History of the Carmelite Order', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 50 (1987), .pp.18-28.

investigation of the Trecento churches and their decoration, is hampered by the widespread destruction of the monuments themselves, as well as much of the associated documentation. Outside of the city, however, many of the Mendicant churches survive, some substantially retaining their Duecento or Trecento form and/or fabric, although, as elsewhere in Italy, many have been rebuilt over the subsequent centuries.

The arrival of the Franciscans in the Romagna coincides with the earliest expansion of the Order in the first half of the Duecento. In Rimini itself, the Franciscans appear to have been present, in some form, before 1228, and in Ravenna possibly even earlier, by 1218.¹⁶ They are recorded in Faenza by 1231, and in Forlì and Cesena by 1250.¹⁷

In the Marches the earliest records of the presence of the order are in 1234 (Fabriano) and 1237 (Ascoli).¹⁸ The houses at Jesi, Fano, Macerata, Mercatello and Fermo are all documented, along with others, before the middle of the century, and at Casteldurante (Urbania) and Sassoferrato by the 1290s.¹⁹

The pattern of settlement appears to have been similar to elsewhere in Italy, in that the friars, at first, were usually given the use of an existing convent, and only later erected their own purpose-built churches and convents. The rapid expansion of the order is testified to by the records of widespread church building in the Marches in the

For a discussion of the role of the Mendicants in altarpiece design in the context of Trecento Siena: Cannon, J.; "The Creation, Meaning and Audience of the Early Siennese Altarpiece: Evidence from the Friars," from Borsook, E., Superbi Gioffredi, F. (eds.); *Italian Altarpieces 1250-1550; Function and Design*, Oxford, 1994.

¹⁶ *Guida alla documentazione francescana in Emilia-Romagna. (1. Romagna)*. Padua, 1989-99, pp. xviii – xix.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Del Fuoco, M.G.; "La Provincia francescana delle Marche: insediamenti francescani, realtà cittadina e organizzazione territoriale (secoli XIII - XIV)," in Pellegrini, L.; and Paciocco, R.; (eds.); *I francescani nelle Marche. Secoli XIII-XVI*, Cinisello Balsamo, 2000, pp. 24 – 37, (p.25).

¹⁹ Del Fuoco, pp. 25 – 27.

1240s, and then later, between the 1280s and the early Trecento.²⁰ These records correspond to patterns elsewhere in Italy, in which the friars, due to both increasing numbers and available funds, rebuilt their convents and churches on an increasingly large scale.

In Rimini itself the friars were first given the use of the existing convent of Santa Maria in Trivio, on the site of the later church of San Francesco (now the Tempio Malatestiano), towards the southern edge of the city. The female branch of the Franciscan Order was also an early arrival in the city and Moorman records that a house of Clares were established at Santa Maria di Mirasole (outside the city walls) by 1253.²¹ A second house of Clares was founded around 1306, and a third by 1426.²² Of the other orders, the Dominicans and Augustinians appear to have been present in the city by the middle of the Duecento, at the churches of San Cataldo and Sant'Agostino to the east and west sides of the city respectively.²³ The Servites arrived much later, probably in the first half of the Trecento.²⁴

In terms of artistic patronage, as we will see, a large proportion of the Riminese panels appear to be connected with the Franciscan Order, either through a provenance within a Franciscan house, through a confraternity or other lay organisation associated with the Franciscans, or through an iconography which appears to reflect specifically Franciscan ideologies.

The mechanisms of Franciscan patronage, have been a matter of debate amongst art historians, some of whom argue for a direct and organised strategy of visual propaganda on the part of the friars, while others emphasise the role of lay patrons and lay religious organisations in the patronage of art destined for the

²⁰ Ibid

²¹ Moorman, J. R. H.; *Medieval Franciscan Houses*, New York, 1983, p.410.

²² Ibid.

²³ Gobbi and Sica, p.72. San Cataldo was founded in 1254, on land given by the commune, and the first church was completed in 1278.

²⁴ Ibid.

Franciscan churches.²⁵ In the instances discussed in this study, I have found that the widespread decontextualisation of the works discussed makes generalisations difficult, if not impossible, and the mechanisms of patronage can rarely be described with certainty. However, the role of lay piety appears to be particularly important. As we will see, a large proportion of the objects to be discussed can be interpreted through an understanding of certain modes of religious thought, propagated in part, by the Franciscans, but taken up on a broader level by the laity.

The role of the Mendicants, and particularly the Franciscans, in developing lay participation in public and private devotional practices, has already been established.²⁶ In fact, the period between 1250 and 1350 saw a huge rise in lay participation in urban religious life. This took place through the development of the tertiary orders associated with the Mendicants, and through the lay confraternities.²⁷ Banker's in depth study of this phenomenon in reference to the specific case of San Sepolcro in Umbria demonstrates how integral these patterns of lay participation were in urban society in the Trecento.²⁸ There is no reason to suspect that urban society in Romagna and

²⁵ Blume, in his study of 1983, put forward the theory that there was a systematic approach to church decoration on the part of the Franciscans, and suggests that drawings of the Francis Legend, in the Motherhouse at Assisi, were disseminated amongst the houses in Italy in order to regulate and propagate "correct" imagery of the life of Francis. Blume, D, *Wandmalerei als Ordenspropaganda. Bildprogramme im Chorbereich franziskanischer Konvente Italiens bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Worms, 1983.

²⁶ See Bourdua, 1991 and Henk van Os, *The Art of Devotion 1300 – 1500*, Princeton, 1994.

²⁷ The tertiary orders were lay religious orders connected to the mendicants. Members took a vow and were obligated to live a prescribed lifestyle, but they were not full members of the order, and usually (except in the case of some female tertiaries) remained in their own homes and retained their place within urban society. The lay religious confraternities were organisations designed for certain charitable or devotional purposes (such as the veneration of a particular saint or mystery, or ministering to the poor or sick). They were sometimes autonomous, but frequently were associated with a religious order, most notably the Franciscans.

²⁸ Banker, J; *Death in the Community: Memorialization and Contraternities in an Italian Commune in the late Middle Ages*, Georgia, 1988. For a further discussion of the lay religious

Northern Marche, was any different in this respect. If anything, the distribution of certain types of devotional imagery allow us to suspect a greater level of lay participation than was usual.

One important aspect of the religious history in the region, is the presence, in the late Duecento and early Trecento, in Marche, of groups of dissident friars, the Spirituals, as they came to be known. These Franciscan friars were opposed to the perceived laxity of the mainstream (or conventual) branch of the Order, in respect to the observance of poverty and the acquisition of communal property. The impact of the Spiritual movement will be discussed in depth later, but it is important to point out at this stage, that in respect to the popularity of the Spirituals' stance, Marche was unusual amongst the Italian provinces.

The study of Riminese panel painting has been affected by various factors which have made their interpretation a more difficult and cautious task. To begin with, Rimini, has to a greater degree than most Italian towns, lost much of its architectural heritage both to rebuilding and to the last war when Rimini was heavily bombed.²⁹ Many of its major medieval and pre-medieval churches have been rebuilt or completely destroyed. Two of the major medieval mendicant churches of the city no longer exist. San Francesco was completely rebuilt as the Tempio Malatestiano in the fifteenth century and the Dominican Church, San Cataldo, was suppressed in the nineteenth century, and later demolished after damage sustained during the war, along with the complex which surrounded it.³⁰ Of all the medieval churches of the Mendicant Orders in the city itself only Sant'Agostino, the Augustinian church survives, and this church

organisations in the late Middle Ages see: Henderson, J.; *Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence*, London, 1994.

²⁹ Between 1st November 1943 and the end of September 1944 Rimini was subjected to heavy aerial bombardment which caused widespread destruction and levelled large areas of the medieval city centre.

³⁰ Gobbi and Sica, p.72.

has been substantially altered. The nave has been totally rebuilt leaving only the medieval rectangular choir and the campanile with its frescoed chapel below.³¹ In addition, S. Colomba, the old cathedral, existing in some form since the early Christian period, was demolished in the early nineteenth century. The appearance of this church in the fourteenth century is unclear and only the lower levels of the campanile now survive. The works of art that these churches contained have been widely dispersed, mostly in fragments, to museums and collections throughout Europe and America, and their reconstruction is hampered by an almost total lack of documentation and by the destruction of their original settings.

Few altarpieces from Rimini and its surrounding area have survived whole and in their entirety, examples being the large work by Giuliano da Rimini, now in the Gardner Museum in Boston (fig. 1), and the much smaller polyptych in Urbino signed by Giovanni Baronzio (fig.2). Even fewer altarpieces remain *in situ*, the only notable example being the altarpiece by Giovanni Baronzio in the Church of San Francesco in the small town of Mercatello sul Metauro.

Of the painted crosses produced by the Riminese painters in the early fourteenth century, we have been slightly more fortunate. Their format makes them less prone to being split into fragments, (although a number have lost their terminal panels), and their rate of survival seems relatively better than the altarpieces. In addition, some still remain in the churches for which they were designed, even when the churches themselves have been altered beyond recognition from their Trecento arrangements. In Rimini alone, the Trecento crosses still remain in the Tempio Malatestiano, formerly San Francesco (fig. 3) and in Sant'Agostino (fig. 4). Outside Rimini various crosses remain *in situ*, notably in the Franciscan churches in Mercatello sul Metauro (fig. 5) and Sassoferrato (fig. 6).

³¹ The church received substantial damage in the earthquake of 1916, however, it was the restoration work after this event which revealed the Trecento frescoes in the choir and campanile chapel. *Emilia Romagna*, Touring Club Italiano, Milan, 1998, p.566.

In addition to this we have a large number of smaller, devotional panels produced in the areas around Rimini in the early Trecento. Like the altarpieces, many of these are now divided up and spread throughout collections in Europe and North America. Unlike the altarpieces, however, it is often comparatively easy to reconstruct the original appearance of these panels through their relative simplicity of form. Like the painted crosses, a large number of these smaller panels have come down to us, but, due to their nature and their portability (which has facilitated their export) it is often near impossible to associate these panels with their original context.

Within the Riminese "School" there is a surprising uniformity of style and content throughout the output of the various painters. This is true of both the frescoes and the panels produced, and has led to extreme difficulty in identifying the individual works of specific painters. This problem is exacerbated by the scarcity of signed or dated works, and by the lack of accompanying documentation.

A small number of surviving inscriptions, signatures and documents have, however provided us with the names of five individual painters.³² The earliest of the surviving signed works is the dossal now in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston of 1307 (fig.1), which bears the following inscription in the upper border:

ANNO DNI MLLO CCC SETTIMO IULIANUS PICTOR DE ARIMINO FECIT
HOC OPUS TEMPORE DNI CLEMENTIS PP. QUINTI³³

³² The recent studies by Delucca, of the surviving archival documentation on some of the Riminese painters has provided us with much useful information, see: Delucca, O.; *I pittori riminese del Trecento nelle carte d'archivio*, Rimini, 1992 and Delucca, O.; *Artisti a Rimini fra gotico e Rinascimento. Rassegna di fonti archivistiche*, Perugia, 1997.

³³ Benati, D. (ed.); *Il Trecento Riminese: Maestri e botteghe tra Romagna e Marche*, Milan, 1995, p.289. The date of this dossal has proved important due to the derivation of the figure of St. Francis from the frescoed image of his Stigmatisation in the St. Francis Legend in the Upper Church at Assisi, as indicated by White in 1956. The dated dossal has therefore provided us with a *terminus ante quem* for the cycle (or at least that portion of it). Stubblebine questioned

This painter, Giuliano da Rimini, is also mentioned in the inscription recorded on the lost polyptych for the church of the Eremitani in Padua:

ANNO DOMINI MCCCXXIII MENSE IUNII HOC OPUS FECIT FIERI FRATER
NICOLAUS DE SANTA CECILIA ET FACTUM FUIT PER MANUS IULIANI [ET]
PETRUCII DE ARIMINO³⁴

The second painter mentioned in this inscription as “Petrucci de Arimino” is possibly the same Pietro da Rimini to whom a number of fresco cycles of the Riminese school have now been ascribed. It is most likely these two painters who also executed the extremely damaged frescoes from the Eremitani complex, now preserved in the Museo Civico in the same city. For Pietro we only have one other signed (but undated) work: the painted cross in Urbania.

A third named painter is Giovanni da Rimini, who signed the base of the painted cross still hanging in the church of San Francesco in Mercatello:

IOHANNES PICTOR FECIT HOC OPUS FRATRI TOBALDI M.L.M.CCCVIII (or
MCCCXIII).³⁵

this when he suggested that the inscription on the dossal was commemorative in nature, and that, in fact, the dossal is much later. He justifies this argument by suggesting that the inscription on the later polyptych by Baronzio from Macerata Feltria is also inaccurate in that the “QTO” which follows the roman numerals of the date refers to Pope Clement V rather than the fifth year of the decade. White has since pointed out that this interpretation is unjustified as the Boston dossal itself provides a precedent for this particular method of presenting a date wherein the final digit is written out (SETTIMO). See: White, J.; “The Date of the Legend of St. Francis at Assisi,” *Burlington Magazine*, 1956, pp.344 – 351, Stubblebine, J. H.; *Assisi and the Rise of Vernacular Art*, Plymouth, 1986, and White’s review of Stubblebine’s book in *Burlington Magazine*, 1986, pp.828 – 830.

³⁴ *Il Trecento Riminese*, pp. 288-289.

³⁵ The inscription is damaged and the date can be read either as 1309 or 1314.

Although no other signed works survive by this painter Delucca has uncovered various documents which appear to relate to Giovanni dating from 1292 onwards.³⁶

Francesco da Rimini, perhaps the most elusive of all five of the named painters, is mentioned only once in surviving documentation, in a contract, relating to property, dated to the 2nd of January 1333.³⁷ In addition to this a transcription of an inscription (HOPUS FRANCISCI ARIMINENSIS) from the fresco cycle depicting the life of Saint Francis in the church of San Francesco in Bologna was recorded in the eighteenth century by Marcello Oretti.³⁸

Finally, a polyptych now in the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche in Urbino, but formerly from the church of San Francesco in Macerata Feltria (fig.2), includes the following inscription:

ANNO DOMINI MILLESIMO CCC XL QUINTO TEMPORE CLEMENTIS PAPE
OC OPUS FECIT JOHANNES BARONTIUS DE ARIMINO.³⁹

Naturally perhaps, this last painter has frequently been associated or confused with the Giovanni da Rimini already mentioned.⁴⁰ The painters though, have now been accepted as two separate individuals working at the extremes of the period in question; Giovanni in the first decade of the century and Baronzio in the fourth and fifth decades.

In addition to these names discussion of the Riminese painters has been

³⁶ Delucca, O.; *I pittori riminese del Trecento nelle carte d'archivio*, Rimini, 1992. The documents generally relate to rent and property rather than to the activities of Giovanni and also mention two brothers; Zangolus and Giuliano (perhaps the same Giuliano who signed the Boston Dossal) both of whom were also painters.

³⁷ Benati, 1995, p. 288.

³⁸ *Il Trecento Riminese*, p.288.

³⁹ *Il Trecento Riminese*, p. 288.

⁴⁰ This problem partly arose due to a false inscription on the Mercatello cross which ascribed it to Giovanni Baronzio and to the much later date of 1345.

littered with various anonymous painters usually labelled by their association with specific works; the Maestro dell'Incoronazione di Urbino, the Maestro di Verucchio, the Maestro del Coro degli Scrovegni and the Maestro di San Pietro in Sylvis to name but a few prominent examples. As will be seen, the catalogues of these painters have sometimes been successfully associated with, or subsumed within, the catalogues of the named painters. On the other hand a large proportion of the works under discussion remain attached to these anonymous masters.

The study of the Riminese painters, both in terms of the panels and the frescoes produced has been characterised, perhaps understandably, by exhaustive attempts to attribute surviving works to specific painters. This is, as has already been mentioned, a difficult task given the closeness of the majority of existing works in terms of both style and often content. In addition, the fact that some painters, Giuliano and Pietro being the prime examples, appear to have occasionally worked in close collaboration, further blurs the boundaries necessary for secure attribution.⁴¹ In particular the styles of Giovanni and Giuliano, two members of the first generation of Riminese painters in the Trecento, appear close enough to defy distinction, and this has led to a constant shifting of their catalogues, as works have been subsequently ascribed to one or the other painter, or sometimes both.⁴²

It is now necessary to look to earlier discussions of the Riminese painters in order to see how these problems have been dealt with, and to gauge what work still needs to be done.

⁴¹ As mentioned above, the two painters were mentioned together in the inscription on the lost altarpiece for the church of the Eremitani in Padua dated to 1324.

⁴² The documentation relating to Giovanni mentions a Giuliano as one of his brothers, also a painter. See: Delucca, O.; *I pittori riminese del Trecento nelle carte d'archivio*, Rimini, 1992. It is therefore very likely, particularly as both Giovanni and Giuliano appear have worked towards the beginning of the period in question, that this Giuliano is the same as that painter who signed the Boston Dossal and whose work is stylistically close to Giovanni.

One of the problems encountered in early studies of the Riminese painters is the need felt by some scholars to discuss the painters solely in terms of their relationship with Giotto. This aspect is probably inevitable, due to the frequent and obvious borrowing of motifs from Giotto on the part of several of the Riminese painters and the fact that Giotto not only worked in Padua, close to the Eremitani, but also worked in the church of San Francesco in Rimini (now the Tempio Malatestiano). The stylistic affinity of the Riminese painters with the Florentine master certainly cannot be overlooked but the association of the Riminese painters with Giotto has frequently led to discussion of their works as merely derivative products of the "Giottesque school".

One of the earliest discussions of the Riminese painters as a group appears in Crowe and Cavalcaselle's surveys of Italian painting written in the first decade of the twentieth century. It is interesting that the painters are not discussed in the volume associated with the painters of Umbrian and North Italian School (although they are mentioned in passing), but in the volume dedicated to "Giotto and the Giottesques".⁴³ The inclusion of the Riminese painters in this volume dictates the way in which the painters are discussed: in terms of reliance on Giotto, and in qualitative terms against the works of the Florentine. We find, for example, Pietro "a hitherto unknown artist", described as displaying a "low Giottesque style," and Giuliano is given the credit of reducing "the second rate manner of Petrus to a third rate manner of his own"⁴⁴.

Only these two painters are discussed in the volume and the emphasis is very much on the style of the two painters. The signature left by Pietro on the painted cross at Urbania is mentioned and its style likened to that seen in two groups of frescoes:

⁴³ In the third volume of the histories the Riminese painters are mentioned in a discussion of the Bolognese painters of the fourteenth century, see: Crowe, J.A. and Cavalcaselle, G.B.; *A History of Painting in Italy: Vol III – The Sienese, Umbrian, and North Italian Schools*, London, 1908, p.190. It is in the second volume that the painters are discussed in more depth; Crowe, J.A. and Cavalcaselle, G.B.; *A History of Painting in Italy; Umbria, Florence and Siena, Vol II: Giotto and the Giottesques*, London, 1903 pp.151-154.

⁴⁴ Crowe and Cavalcaselle, 1903, pp.151-154.

those in the chapter-house at Pomposa and those in the (now destroyed) church of Santa Maria in Porto Fuori, near Ravenna.⁴⁵ The frescoes at Pomposa, previously ascribed by Frederici to Giotto himself,⁴⁶ are again discussed predominantly in terms of their qualitative relationship to the works of that painter:

The heads in the Last Supper are deficient in drawing. The staring eyes, broken draperies, and feeble red shadows are disagreeable, but the style is that of Petrus of Rimini, which though far below the perfection of Giotto, is evidently that of a student, perhaps an assistant of the Florentine master.⁴⁷

On the other hand, the linking of the two groups of frescoes with Pietro is perceptive, and both are still now generally included within his catalogue.

In Berenson's lists compiled between 1897 and 1907, all five of the named Riminese painters make their appearance. Berenson was however reluctant to ascribe the majority of the extant works to specific painters. As Vertova notes in her introduction to the 1967 edition of the lists:

I remember Berenson's scepticism when he talked about the efforts of grouping those exquisite panels and attractive frescoes under the names of definite "masters". He did accept the distinction between Giovanni da Rimini and Giovanni Baronzio da Rimini, but maintained that it was a hopeless task to identify personalities when they merge to such a degree

⁴⁵ Crowe and Cavalcaselle, 1903 pp.151-153. The Benedictine Monastery at Pomposa was founded in the seventh or eighth century; it contains numerous frescoes from the fourteenth century including those in the choir and nave of the present church, and in the chapter house and refectory of the monastery complex. The church of Santa Maria in Porto Fuori was located four miles outside Ravenna. The church was completely destroyed by bombing in 1944 and the Trecento frescoes in the choir are now recorded only in photographs.

⁴⁶ Frederici, V.; *Rerum Pomposiensium Historia*, I, Rome, 1781, p.286.

⁴⁷ Crowe and Cavalcaselle, 1903, p.153.

into the choral style of a closely-knit production.⁴⁸

For Giuliano Berenson lists only the Boston Dossal and likewise for Francesco he mentions only the work which is known to have been signed; the fresco cycle in the Church of San Francesco in Bologna.⁴⁹ His list for Giovanni da Rimini is more extensive and includes the Mercatello cross along with two further painted crosses in Rimini and Utrecht (now in Rijswijk) and a diptych split between Rome and Alnwick.⁵⁰ For Pietro, the frescoes from the Eremitani complex are included, along with the signed crucifix in Urbania, also mentioned by Cavalcaselle, and a detached fresco of St. Francis from the church of S. Niccolo in Jesi.⁵¹ Finally, for Baronzio, the signed polyptych in Urbino is mentioned along with the *Coronation of the Virgin* panel in the Hurd Collection in New Haven, and the polyptych in the church of San Francesco in Mercatello (fig. 7).⁵²

Naturally, Berenson's lists are concerned primarily with attribution and there is no discussion of the context of the works discussed. His astute reluctance to ascribe other works to the five painters, is however, not a characteristic of most later discussions of the Riminese painters.

⁴⁸ Luisa Vertova in: Berenson, B.; *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance: Central Italian and North Italian Schools*, Vol I, London, 1967, p.x.

⁴⁹ Berenson, B.; *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance: Central Italian and North Italian Schools*, Vol I, London, 1967, p.362 – 363, and Blume, D., "Ordenskonkurrenz und Bildpolitik", in Belting, H. and Blume, D. (eds.); *Malerei und Stadtkultur in der Dantezeit: die Argumentation der Bilder*, Munich, 1989, pp.149 – 170. This church of San Francesco in Bologna was founded in the 13th century although it was subsequently substantially altered, see *Emilia Romagna*, Touring Club Italiano, Milan, 1998, p. 140, and, White, J.; *Art and Architecture in Italy 1250 – 1400*, Penguin, 1993, pp. 25 – 27. It is unusual for a Franciscan church in that it has an ambulatory with radiating chapels. The frescos associated with Francesco da Rimini were preserved in the refectory but have now been placed in the nave of the present church. They depict scenes from the lives of Christ and Saint Francis and are extremely damaged.

⁵⁰ Berenson 1967, p.363.

⁵¹ Berenson 1967, p.363.

⁵² Berenson 1967, p.363.

Van Marle's *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, published in several volumes in 1924 goes much further than either Cavalcaselle or Berenson.⁵³ His discussion of the Riminese painters is far more detailed than either of his predecessors and yet he is unusual in his linking of their style primarily with that of Pietro Cavallini rather than Giotto.

Van Marle immediately divides up the Riminese paintings into several groups. The first of these, consisting only of panels rather than frescoes, consists of twelve individual works which he does not ascribe to any particular painters but associates together under the label of "The Cavallinesque Riminese School".⁵⁴ He justifies this grouping by listing their shared characteristics:

Some of the characteristics that enable us to group these pictures together are as follows: the subject matter which almost invariably illustrates the Saviour's life; the unusually small size of the panel on which several scenes are united as in Byzantine icons; the design leaves and flowers which adorns the gold background; the technique suitable for miniature painting, the gilt woven textures and a predilection for the representation of the Last Judgement though it is a subject more suited to works of larger dimensions.⁵⁵

His observations of the characteristics of these panels certainly hold true, yet these are characteristics which appear throughout the first half of the fourteenth century, not only in the first phase. The works which Van Marle groups together here are almost all small devotional panels, and their closeness is not due solely to stylistic affinity but a similarity of scale and function. In fact, many the works which he includes are now accepted to have belonged to painters working throughout the period in

⁵³ Van Marle, R.; *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, The Hague, 1924. It is the fourth volume which concerns us here.

⁵⁴ Van Marle, 1924, p.279.

⁵⁵ Van Marle, 1924, p.279.

question; Giovanni da Rimini, Francesco da Rimini, and Giovanni Baronzio.

Van Marle splits the paintings he believes are later than this first group into two separate groups:

One, in which Giuliano, Baronzio and Pietro da Rimini may be included, created a more or less individual art, while the other produced works which belong to the same style and show but little change from the painting of the early group of the Riminese school.⁵⁶

In the latter of these groups he includes the *Descent from the Cross* panel in the Vatican (fig. 8) and the *Crucifixion* panel and panel with four standing saints in the same location (figs. 9 & 10).⁵⁷ These are again, all small-scale panels, probably with a devotional function.

In the former group he includes Giuliano's Boston Dossal (fig.1) as well as Baronzio's polyptychs from Macerata Feltria (fig.2) and Mercatello (fig.7).⁵⁸ In addition he includes a number of fresco cycles; the frescoes at Pomposa, the frescoes in the churches of Sant'Agostino in Rimini, San Francesco and Santa Chiara in Ravenna and San Pietro in Sylvis in Bagnacavallo as well as the immense cycle in the capellone of San Nicola in Tolentino.⁵⁹ What is immediately clear about these works is that all are

⁵⁶ Van Marle;1924, p.294.

⁵⁷ Van Marle;1924, p.294. The *Descent from the Cross* panel is now generally attributed to Pietro da Rimini

⁵⁸ Van Marle;1924, pp.300 – 328. The Mercatello Polyptych he attributes to a follower of Baronzio.

⁵⁹ Van Marle;1924, p.300 – 330.

Three groups of frescoes survive from the church of Sant'Agostino in Rimini. They were revealed in 1916 in restoration works following the disastrous earthquake. One of these, the Last Judgement fresco originally above the entrance to the choir, is now preserved in the Museo Civico in Rimini. The other two groups of frescoes still survive in the church, in the choir itself and in the chapel beneath the campanile. All three appear to belong to the first half of the

on a much larger scale than those he associates with the other two groups; three large altarpieces and a number of fresco cycles are included. The disparity in style, dictated by such differing scale (and often technique), is not acknowledged by Van Marle, and like his first grouping of paintings, those he discusses as belonging to this group actually appear to have been executed throughout the first half of the fourteenth century.

What is particularly interesting here is that Van Marle associates the fresco cycles at Santa Chiara, San Francesco and Santa Maria in Porto Fuori in Ravenna and San Nicola in Tolentino with Giovanni Baronzio.⁶⁰ In addition, he associates the

fourteenth century although their precise chronological relationship and authorship is still unclear.

In Ravenna frescoes survive belonging to the Riminese painters from the churches of San Francesco and Santa Chiara. In the former, one group of frescoes still survives, albeit heavily damaged, in the Polenta Chapel to the left of the nave while fragments of frescoes from a destroyed chapel survive in another chapel on the left hand side of the nave. The frescoes from the church of Santa Chiara, depicting scenes from the life of Christ and other subjects, have been removed from the choir which they originally decorated and are now preserved in the Museo della Città in Ravenna. For a detailed discussion of the Santa Chiara frescoes and an account of their restoration see: Emiliani, A., Montanari, G. And Pasini, P.G.; *Gli Affreschi Trecenteschi da Santa Chiara in Ravenna: Un grande ciclo di Pietro da Rimini restaurato*, Ravenna, 1995.

The Church of San Pietro in Sylvis is located in the small town of Bagnacavallo, between Ravenna and Imola. It contains the remains of a fresco cycle in the raised choir depicting the Enthroned Christ surrounded by symbols of the Evangelists and standing saints. In the register below this we find the twelve apostles, painted in full length, and a central Crucifixion scene. The frescoes are interesting iconographically as they appear influenced by Roman Petrine imagery. See Volpe, C.; *La Pittura Riminese del Trecento*, Milan, 1965, p. 21 – 23.

The fresco cycle surviving in the *capellone* of the Church of San Nicola in Tolentino is almost certainly one of the most monumental and well-preserved surviving cycles associated with the Riminese School. The cycle represents images from the lives of Christ, the Virgin and San Nicola da Tolentino. For a discussion of this cycle see: Gardner, J.; "The Cappellone di San Nicola at Tolentino: Some functions of a fourteenth-century fresco cycle," in Tronzo, W. (ed.); *Italian Church Decoration of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: Functions forms and regional traditions*, Baltimore, 1989, pp.101 – 117.

⁶⁰ Van Marle;1924, pp. 300 – 330. The Tolentino frescoes he ascribes to a follower of Baronzio.

Bagnacavallo frescoes with Giuliano da Rimini.⁶¹ All of these fresco cycles had, even before Van Marle's time, been more usually associated with Pietro da Rimini. Van Marle's characterisation of Baronzio and his reluctance to ascribe these works to Pietro, is very unusual.

As in his discussion of the smaller panels, Van Marle is particularly keen to emphasise the role of the influence of Cavallini. In respect to Giuliano he states:

I would like to lay particular stress on the fact that his painting, as too that of the entire school of Rimini, does not originate from Giotto's art but descends directly from Cavallini's, though interpreted in a modern spirit.⁶²

Again, Van Marle's insistence on a minor role for Giotto in the development of Riminese painting, is very unusual. However his removal of Giotto from the equation does not allow him to interpret the images independently; instead Cavallini is inserted instead, and the school is discussed as a Cavallini derivative, rather than a derivative of Giotto.

As a whole Van Marle's assessment of the Riminese school is rather eccentric compared with the studies which preceded him and those which followed after. His inclination towards grouping the paintings and the painters into distinct phases is in direct conflict with Berenson's belief that this was a futile task. Van Marle's groupings do display distinct characteristics but these are dictated by their common scale and function, rather than subtle distinctions in style. In actuality, all three groups discussed include works we now know come from opposite ends of the period in question. For these reasons neither a chronological or stylistic basis for the groupings can be justified.

Toesca's *Il Trecento* of 1927 includes another relatively comprehensive

⁶¹ Van Marle;1924, pp. 310 – 312.

⁶² Van Marle;1924, pp. 312 – 313

discussion of the Riminese painters.⁶³ Like Van Marle he detects an early phase amongst the extant works. The works Toesca ascribes to this early phase are the diptych split between Rome and Alnwick, two panels in Munich (fig. 11) and a group of associated panels from museums in Berlin, Venice and Rome (figs. 12 – 21) Only the later group are given to a specific painter: Giovanni Baronzio.⁶⁴ Like Van Marle then Toesca's "early phase" of Riminese painting is exemplified by small devotional panels rather than larger scale works. Like Van Marle, Toesca also detects the influence of Cavallini in these early works although he is by no means as dismissive of Giotto's impact:

Gli esempi di Giotto, assai più che quelli del Cavallini, stanno alle origini della scuola riminese.⁶⁵

Like previous writers Toesca is mainly concerned with stylistic analysis with a view to successfully associating specific works with specific painters. His conclusions are however very distinct from those of Van Marle and he is less eager to construct a structured stylistic development for the period.

Giuliano da Rimini is discussed in relation to the Boston dossal but not in relation to any other paintings although Toesca detects his influence on other works produced by the Riminese painters. His attributions to Pietro are more standard than Van Marle's. He accepts Pietro's authorship of the frescoes in the church of Santa Maria in Porto Fuori in Ravenna, and detects a similar style in the frescoes in the Church of Santa Chiara in the same town and in San Pietro in Sylvis in Bagnacavallo.⁶⁶

⁶³ Toesca, P.; *Il Trecento*, Turin, 1927.

⁶⁴ Toesca, 1927, pp.719 – 720. The Rome/Alnwick diptych is now accepted as belonging to Giovanni da Rimini while the Munich panels have been associated with Pietro da Rimini, or with the painter of the frescoes in the choir of Sant'Agostino in Rimini.

⁶⁵ Toesca, 1927, pp.724 - 726.

⁶⁶ Toesca, 1927, p.720.

Baronzio is discussed not only in terms of his signed polyptych from Macerata Feltria and the panels split between Rome, Venice and Berlin, but also because of a perceived stylistic affinity in the frescoes at Tolentino and the polyptych in the church of San Francesco in Mercatello (fig.7).⁶⁷

The pattern in all of the studies discussed above is clear. All are concerned primarily with attribution on the basis of style. Such discussion is no doubt essential in such preliminary discussions of the "school" and yet the lack of interest in the content of the paintings, never mind their context and function, is striking. Although scholars such as Van Marle are astute in distinguishing the iconographical peculiarities of many of the paintings, these observations are taken no further and are simply utilised as markers of identity.

In the light of the renewed interest in the iconographical interpretation of paintings, in the wake of the studies of Warburg, and later Panofsky, it is perhaps surprising that discussion of the Riminese works in the later twentieth century remains almost entirely focused on issues of attribution. In addition, most of the discussions of the Riminese works have been concerned with the large scale fresco cycles such as those at Tolentino and Sant'Agostino in Rimini.⁶⁸ The panels, in this respect, have been largely ignored.

There are however, exceptions to this. In the course of the course of the

⁶⁷ Toesca, 1927, pp. 727 – 731,

⁶⁸ Recent studies on the frescoes include Corbara's discussions of the frescoes at Tolentino and San Francesco in Bologna: Corbara, A; "Il Cappellone di San Nicola a Tolentino," *Romagna Arte e Storia* 12, 1984, pp.85-93, and Corbara, A; "Il ciclo francescano di Francesco da Rimini," *Romagna Arte e Storia* 12, 1984, pp.5-62, Boskovits' paper on the Tolentino frescoes: Boskovits, M; "La nascita di un ciclo di affreschi del Trecento: La decorazione del Cappellone di San Nicola a Tolentino," *Arte Cristiana* LXXVII, 1989, pp.3-26., and Tambini's discussion of the Last Judgement fresco at Sant'Agostino in Rimini: Tambini, A; "L'affresco del Giudizio di Sant'Agostino," *Romagna Arte e Storia* 35, 1992, pp.41-56.

twentieth century a number of exhibitions have been held dedicated to the Trecento painters of Rimini. One of the earliest of these took place in Rimini in 1936 and stirred up a new interest in the group of painters. Later exhibitions include that dedicated to gothic painting in Bologna, and the 1995 exhibition in Rimini.⁶⁹ For obvious reasons the exhibits at these exhibitions had to be portable and for this reason it is the panels which played the major part in all three. In fact these three exhibitions, and their accompanying publications, have done much to highlight the problems raised by the Riminese panels and have acted as a catalyst for their discussion. This discussion has obviously been facilitated by the bringing together of panels which have been, more normally, widely dispersed and fragmented.

Some studies on individual panels have been published in the last fifty years, but interpretative essays which discuss the panels as a whole or in terms of their function or context are rare.⁷⁰ Boskovits' study of the Riminese school published in

For a discussion of the restoration of the frescoes from the Church of Santa Chiara in Ravenna see: Emiliani et al., 1995.

⁶⁹ For the 1936 exhibition see the catalogue by Brandi: Brandi C; *La Pittura Riminese dl Trecento*, Exhibition Catalogue, Rimini, 1936. The 1990 exhibition dedicated to Bolognese painting was accompanied by the following publication including both a catalogue of the paintings and essays on related topics: D'Amico, R., Grandi, R., Massimo, M.; *Francesco da Rimini e gli esordi del gotico bolognese*, Bologna, 1990. The 1995 exhibition in Rimini was accompanied by one of the most comprehensive publications ever dedicated to Riminese painting again incorporating essays and a catalogue of exhibited works: Benati, 1995.

⁷⁰ Notable examples include Zeri's study of the Deposition panel in the Vatican Museums, now attributed to Pietro da Rimini: Zeri, F.; "Una 'Deposizione' di scuola riminese", in *Paragone*, 99, 1958, pp.46 - 54, Tambini's discussion of the painted cross in the Art Museum at Princeton University: Tambini, A; "Una Croce Riminese," *Paragone* 357, 1979, pp.41-47, and Dillian Gordon's study of the issues surrounding the panel depicting the vision of the Blessed Clare of Rimini in the National Gallery in London: Gordon, D; "The Vision of the Blessed Clare of Rimini," *Apollo* 124, 1986, pp.150-153. More recently de Marchi published a study on another painted cross associated with the riminese painters: de Marchi, A; "Un "Crocifisso" riminese inedito," *Paragone* XLIV 515-517, 1993, pp.82-87.

1993 is one of the few studies to attempt to contextualise any of the extant panels.⁷¹ However this discussion is generally limited to the works associated with Giovanni and Giuliano da Rimini and, as in previous studies, focuses on stylistic analysis as a means of distinguishing the works of the two painters.

Other than these works the two major publications of the twentieth century dealing solely with the Riminese painters of the early Trecento are Volpe's *La Pittura Riminese del Trecento* published in 1965 and the catalogue for the 1995 exhibition of panels in Rimini, *Il Trecento Riminese: Maestri e botteghe tra Romagna e Marche*.⁷²

The first of these follows the generally pattern of scholarship in the field of the Riminese panels. Volpe's discussion is mostly concerned with distinguishing between the works of the various masters at work in Rimini in the first half of the fourteenth century, and in particular, with associating the works of the various anonymous masters with the named painters.⁷³

His attributions are unsurprising; the Santa Chiara frescoes in Ravenna are given to Pietro, while he is more cautious with the Tolentino, the Bagnacavallo, and the Santa Maria in Porto Fuori frescoes which he associates with the style of Pietro but does not define them as secure works.⁷⁴ For the other frescoes cycles he is more cautious still, following Berenson in his reluctance to distinguish between some of the earlier frescoes such as those in the choir and campanile chapel in Sant'Agostino in Rimini and the Last Judgement fresco removed from the same church and now in the

⁷¹ Boskovits, M; "Per la storia della pittura tra Romagna e le Marche ai primi del'300," *Arte Cristiana* LXXXI, 1993, pp.95-114.

⁷² Volpe, 1965.

Benati, 1995.

⁷³ The book is, in fact, composed of a series of sections, each dedicated to a single Riminese painter and concerned with discussing the body of works which can be stylistically associated with that name.

⁷⁴ Volpe, pp. 21 – 29 & 43 – 48.

Museo Civico.⁷⁵

Unlike both Van Marle and Toesca, Volpe does not fall into the trap of categorising the paintings stylistically without regard for their different scales and functions. He is perceptive, in that he is able to connect certain of the smaller panels to Baronzio and thereby attach them chronologically to the later decades of the period rather than assuming that the superficially similar traits of the smaller panels are a symptom of belonging to an early phase of development.⁷⁶

With Volpe it first becomes possible to build up a picture of the various characteristics which can be associated with the different painters, yet many retain their anonymous status. For example a number of significant groups of paintings become grouped under the names of the *Maestro di Verucchio*, the *Maestro della Coronazione d'Urbino* and the so-called *Pseudo-Baronzio*.⁷⁷

Il Trecento Riminese, published to coincide with the exhibition of panels in 1995, is not the work of a single scholar but instead a catalogue of the included works along with a number of thematic essays by various writers. These essays are extremely useful as they focus on more than simply issues of style and attribution, even though these still play a prominent role. The panels are discussed with reference to the particular historical situation in Rimini at the beginning of the fourteenth century, as well as the role of the wealthy and powerful families such as the Polenta in Ravenna, and the Malatesta in Rimini, who played a significant role in the funding of the churches to which many of the works belong.⁷⁸ The cursory nature of some studies appears

⁷⁵ Volpe, pp. 18 – 21 & 31 – 35.

⁷⁶ Volpe, pp. 41 –43.

⁷⁷ For Volpe this last grouping represents a body of works which are similar to the works of Baronzio but probably too late to be by the same painter: see Volpe, p. 43. While the grouping under the former two names are still recognised notably by Benati and other in *Il Trecento Riminese* (although the *Maestro di Verucchio* has become closely associated with Francesco da Rimini), the latter's catalogue has been re-integrated with that of Baronzio himself.

⁷⁸ Turchini's essay focuses on the patronage of the Malatesta family: Turchini, A.; "La Famiglia Malatesta e la Città di Rimini fra Duecento e Trecento," pp. 58 – 71, while Medica concentrates

almost a necessity due to the lack of surviving documentation and the destruction of so many of the settings.

The panels in particular, mostly removed from their original context, are difficult to reintegrate into these discussions of the political and social situation in the area and none of the essays focuses on the problems of the panels in particular either in terms of the smaller devotional panels or the larger altarpieces. While the catalogue entries, in particular, are useful in their frequent attempts to contextualise the works, the fragmented nature of the publication does not allow for a full and analytical study of the contexts and functions of the panels as a whole. Nor is it possible in this sort of context to discuss, as a whole, why the Riminese panels have, in their entirety, such unusual traits in both their formats and iconography.

These are the aspects then which are in desperate need of further investigation in this study. The aim here therefore, is to attempt to contextualise the surviving panels, to look at them both individually and as a group, in order to investigate their particular characteristics, and to place them back within their historical framework. The function, format and contexts of the panels then, will be the focal points.

The first chapter will set the scene by looking at the issues raised by Giotto's presence in the city. It will investigate the nature of work which may have been executed in San Francesco in Rimini by the Florentine master as a preliminary to discussing the impact of this work in later chapters.

The second chapter deals with the great variety of imagery current in Rimini in the early Trecento in order to assess the available evidence before a more detailed analysis of specific objects in subsequent chapter. This will form a preliminary stage of the study of the Riminese panels, designed to identify the problems raised by the imagery itself, before beginning to approach the panels as functional objects. The

on the Polenta family of Ravenna and their patronage of Pietro da Rimini: Medica, M.; "Pietro da Rimini a la Ravenna dei da Polenta", pp.94 – 111.

chapter is also intended to assess what types of imagery were being employed by the Riminese painters in relation to the imagery common elsewhere in Italy at the same period.

The third, fourth and fifth chapters will be detailed studies of the three main groups of extant panels; the painted crosses, the altarpieces and the devotional panels. These three groups will be examined separately in order to assess their specific functions within the Riminese context. The chapters will, where possible, attempt to re-associate these works with the specific context in which they were produced and look at the relationships between the content, setting and function.

Chapter 1 - Giotto and Rimini

Before beginning an analysis of the Riminese panels it is important to set the scene by examining the issues surrounding Giotto's recorded presence in the city of Rimini. The traditional association of the Riminese panels with the work of Giotto (and indeed their conflation) necessitates a closer investigation of the relationship of Giotto to Rimini, and the work he may have carried out there.

The presence of Giotto in Rimini is attested to by various commentators and historians of varying periods and varying reliability. The resulting body of information is therefore vague and, at times, conflicting.

The first account of Giotto's presence in the city is supplied by the chronicler Riccobaldo Ferrarese who states that there were works executed by him in the churches of the Franciscans in Assisi, Rimini, and Padua, and in the church of the Arena in Padua¹. This account appears to date to 1312 or 1313 and certainly no later than 1319 and serves as a *terminus ante quem* for Giotto's activity at Rimini.²

Vasari's descriptions of Giotto's activity are perhaps the most wordy but also, perhaps, the most unreliable. Vasari ascribed many works to Giotto's hand which had previously been unmentioned and were soon removed once again from his catalogue. A good example, relevant to Rimini is Vasari's description of a fresco cycle in the cloister of San Francesco at Rimini which he ascribes to Giotto.

Fece ancora nel chiostro di detto luogo, all'incontro della facciata della chiesa, in fresco, l'istoria della Beata Michellina; che fu una delle più belle ed

¹ 'Zotus pictor eximius Florentinus agnoscitur ; qualis in arte fuerit testantur opera facta per eum in ecclesiis Minorum Assisii, Arimini, Padue, ac per ea que pinxit palatio Communis Padue et in ecclesia Arene Padue'. Riccobaldi Ferrariensis, *Compilatio Chronologica*, ed.A.T.Hankey, *Fonti per la Storia dell'Italia Medievale, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores 4*, Rome 2000 pp.218 -219.

² Davies, M. & Gordon, D.; *Catalogue of the Early Italian Schools before 1400*, London, 1988, pp. 32 – 34.

eccellenti cose che Giotto facesse giammai, per le molte e belle conziderazioni che egli ebbe nel lavoria.³

In fact, as Maginnis has pointed out, this fresco could not have been executed by Giotto as Michellina did not die (and could therefore not have been beatified) until 1356.⁴ For this reason it is necessary to treat Vasari's comments on Giotto's activity in Rimini with extreme caution. Moreover his comments on the patronage of Giotto by the Malatesta family are imprecise and rather puzzling.

Finita quest'opera, [at Gaeta] non potendo cio negare al signor Malatesta, prima si trattenne per servizio di lui alcuni giorni in Roma, e di poi se n'andò a Rimini, della qual città era il detto Malatesta signore; e lì, nella chiesa di San Francesco, fece moltissime pitture: le quali poi da Gismondo, figliuolo di Pandolfo Malatesti, che rifece tutta la detta chiesa di nuovo, furono gettate per terra e rovinate.⁵

The inference here seems to be that at least some of the works ascribed to Giotto in San Francesco at Rimini were integral to the fabric of the building, suggesting they were fresco cycles such as those cited by Vasari in the cloister. The comments however, do not rule out, by any means, the presence of painted panels by the artist such as an altarpiece or painted cross.

In addition, Vasari mentions another project carried out by Giotto whilst in Rimini, an image of Saint Thomas Aquinas *che legge a' suoi Frati*, outside of the door

³ Vasari, G.; *Le Opere di Giorgio Vasari: Le vite de piu eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, (Tomo 1), (edited by Milanesi, G.), Florence, 1906, p.392. Only the Florentine art historian Filippo Baldinucci (1625 – 1695) echoes Vasari's attribution of these frescoes to Giotto. See: Maginnis, H. B. J.; *Painting in the Age of Giotto; a Historical Re-evaluation*, Pennsylvania, 1997, pp.82.

⁴ Maginnis, p.82.

⁵ Vasari, p.392.

of the Dominican church of San Cataldo, apparently executed for a Florentine prior then at the convent.⁶ This work, along with the convent to which it belonged, no longer survives and it is therefore impossible to verify Vasari's remarks.

The length of time Giotto is supposed to have remained in Rimini is not commented on and so this can give us no idea of extent of any programme he may have executed. On the other hand Vasari clearly states that Giotto painted *moltissime pitture* in the church of San Francesco indicating that he believed Giotto to be responsible for a large extent of the interior decoration.⁷

This statement, even allowing for Vasari's notorious unreliability, must be qualified further. The works of the Riminese artists of the first half of the Trecento have, it seems at various periods, been confused by commentators with works of Giotto himself. Vasari himself ascribes a work by the Riminese school in San Francesco in Ravenna to Giotto and notably in the 19th and early 20th century works of the Riminese artists were occasionally exported as works of the Florentine master.⁸ It is therefore very possible that works existing in the church of San Francesco by the Riminese School could have been confused with works of Giotto at an early point in their history.

For these reasons Vasari's account is unhelpful in an assessment of the extent of Giotto's activity in Rimini. Riccobaldo's more basic comments, with their historical proximity to the period in question are far more likely to be reliable, written most probably within two decades of Giotto's supposed visit.

The physical evidence is sparse. The church of San Francesco in Rimini was, of course, largely rebuilt as the Tempio Malatestiano in the middle of the fifteenth century by Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta (1417 – 1468). This rebuilding enclosed

⁶ *Finiti i lavori di quel signore [Malatesta], fece, pregato da un priore fiorentino che allora era in San Cataldo d'Arimini, fuor della porta della chiesa, un San Tommaso d'Aquino che legge a' suoi Frati.* Vasari, pp. 393 - 394.

⁷ Vasari, p.392.

parts of the earlier church although certainly little evidence of the decoration of the earlier church can be established.⁹

An idea of the form and scale of the church of San Francesco would be a useful tool in assessing which types of decoration may have been present. Various excavations have revealed foundations relating to earlier building campaigns on the site. The original arrangement of the east-end is difficult to establish. Fragments of foundations three eastern chapels have been discovered beneath the nave of the present church; all three are rectangular in plan, the central one being wider and deeper than the others and this arrangement does seem to reflect early Franciscan plans in its simplicity and austerity.¹⁰ The situation is complicated by the more recent discovery of the foundations of a semi-circular apse further to the east of these chapels however this structure is likely to have belonged to the earlier church on the site (Santa Maria in Trivio), the apse reflecting the Byzantine origins of that building (fig. 65).

Our knowledge of the church of San Francesco is enhanced dramatically due to the fact that Alberti's Tempio did not simply replace the older building, but instead encased it, retaining large sections of the existing fabric in the new structure.

As Hope has indicated, the current ground plan of the Tempio is related to that of the earlier church.¹¹ Fabric from San Francesco survives in several of the chapels on the right of the nave, indicating that some of these chapels were in an identical position. The chapel nearest the high altar, that dedicated to St. Jerome, appears to

⁸ Vasari, p.388.

⁹ For an analysis of the early buildings on the site see: Hope, C., "The early history of the Tempio Malatestiano," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 55, (1992), pp.51-154. San Francesco itself was built on the site of an earlier church, Santa Maria in Trivio which appears to have been given for the use of the Franciscans on their arrival in Rimini. Hope reports that some fresco painting from the Trecento church seems to have survived on the underside of a Gothic arch in the Chapel of St. Jerome.

¹⁰ Hope, p.55

¹¹ Hope, pp. 53 - 56

have been the same size in both San Francesco and the Tempio.¹² The pattern of surviving fabric also suggests that the right hand exterior wall of San Francesco was located on the line of the interior wall of these right hand chapels in the present church.¹³ The present entrance wall is also, substantially, a survival from the older church. The central axis of the older church was slightly to the right of the present axis, as was demonstrated by the round window, revealed within the fabric of the facade after the Allied bombing raids of 1943 -44.¹⁴

Assuming that the foundations of the rectangular chapels represent the pre-Tempio arrangement of the church then these survivals suggest two possible basic floor plans for San Francesco.¹⁵ Either the church was originally rectangular in plan (without transepts), or the current Chapel of St. Jerome represents the right transept (rather than a flanking chapel) which reflected an analogous structure on the opposite side of the church. Either way we are looking at a relatively small and basic space, approximately 40 metres in length, and therefore substantially smaller than the current structure.

It is now necessary to turn to the most obvious piece of evidence remaining at the Tempio Malatestiano, the painted cross which still hangs in the modern apse at the east-end of the church (fig.3).¹⁶ The cross, which has generally been attributed to Giotto or to his shop throughout its history, is no longer complete; it has been shorn at

¹² Hope, p.53

¹³ Hope, p.56

¹⁴ Hope, p.56. The window was 12.83 metres from the ground and 52 centimetres right of the current axis of the church.

¹⁵ These basic floor plans, would however, by the fourteenth century have been disrupted and augmented by additional chapels. For the chapels endowed in the Trecento see: Campana, A; "Per la storia delle capelle Trecentesche della Chiesa Malatestiana di S. Francesco," *Studi Romagnoli* II, 1951, pp.17-37.

¹⁶ The apse of the Tempio Malatestiano was rebuilt following its destruction during the bombing campaigns of the second World War.

all four ends ridding the present structure of the usual lateral imagery.¹⁷ Presumably, this would have consisted, to the left and right, of busts of the Madonna and Saint John the Evangelist, and at the top, the Redeemer. (It is unclear what, if anything, may have been depicted at the lowest end of the vertical axis.) The Redeemer panel formerly in the Jekyll Collection in London has been associated with this cross (fig.47).¹⁸

In terms of style there is no doubt that the Tempio cross relates strongly to other works by Giotto, most particularly, of course, other painted crosses associated with the master. Three of these are worth considering in this context: those painted for Santa Maria Novella in Florence (fig. 23), the Scrovegni Chapel (fig. 24), and the Ognissanti, Florence. The former two are securely associated with the name of Giotto while the latter is more problematic. All three however, offer useful clues to the nature of the Tempio example.

The first of the crosses, that from Santa Maria Novella, has been associated with the first years of the Trecento and is formally quite distinct from the latter two examples in that it retains the rectangular terminal panels, which were superseded in the Riminese example.¹⁹ The Santa Maria Novella cross is, however, set apart from its Duecento predecessors by the realistic depiction of Christ's body, hanging weightily from the cross. As Ciatti has pointed out, the recent restoration of the cross has revealed that it was structurally altered to accommodate this change:

¹⁷ In its present form the cross has the following dimensions: 430 x 303cm. The surface is damaged in several areas notably around the feet and where the end panels have been removed. A large section of the paint is missing in the area below the feet. The condition is otherwise reasonably good. The panel was restored by O. Nonfarmale in 1955-1958.

¹⁸ I have been unable to establish the present location of this panel. Its earlier presence in London [in the Jekyll Collection] was noted by Zeri in 1957. Zeri, F; "Due appunti su Giotto," *Paragone*, 85, (1957) pp.75-87.

¹⁹ The cross, still located at Santa Maria Novella, has recently been restored and studies carried out during this process have been collected in *Il restauro della croce di Giotto*, Milan, 1995. See also: Ciatti, M.; "The Typology, Meaning and Use of some Panel Paintings from the Duecento and Trecento.," in Schmidt, V.M. (ed.); *Italian panel painting of the Duecento and Trecento*, Washington, D.C., 2002, pp. 15 - 29.

This masterpiece also revealed aspects of great interest (...) These are connected with some modifications introduced by Giotto into the structure of the support once this had already been constructed, for the purpose of adapting it to new demands. The first is the extension of the central board at the bottom by adding two new pieces, which even go against the grain (...) and the cutting and rearrangement of the rear crossbeams. This modification of its structure served to lengthen the work, rendered necessary by the more naturalistic figure of Christ, this breaking the traditional scheme of the figure inscribable in an equilateral triangle, that had dominated the crosses by Coppo and Cimabue.²⁰

This realistic depiction of Christ's body was to be continued, albeit in a less exaggerated manner in the crosses at Rimini, Padua and the Ognissanti, although their structure and profiles are very different.

The crosses from the Scrovegni Chapel and the Ognissanti have an unusual and elaborate silhouette, enhanced by the barbed quatrefoils of the terminal panels, and the "lobes" added around the central section. In the Riminese cross similar "lobes" are present, and this indicates that cross originally had a similar outline. This is confirmed by the shape of the detached Redeemer panel which, like the other examples, is based on the barbed quatrefoil. Moreover, the Scrovegni and Ognissanti crosses appear to be elaborations of the Riminese cross. The latter lacks the additional lobes, present at the level of Christ's knees, which are present in the former two. This suggests that the Scrovegni and Ognissanti crosses are later elaborations of the Riminese cross, which was therefore the first to be executed.

It is the Scrovegni Cross however, which forms the closest parallel to the Tempio example. Although on a much smaller scale, the Scrovegni cross is remarkably similar especially in the way that the anatomy is defined by strong light and shade

²⁰ Ciatti, p.17. For a more detailed analysis of the structure of the cross see: Castelli et al. "Tecnica artistica, stato di conservazione e restauro della Croce in rapporto con alter opere di Giotto. Il supporto ligneo," in *Il restauro della croce di Giotto*, Milan, 1995, pp. 247 – 271.

(fig.11). The construction of the torso is particularly close, including the strong central line of shade and the slight elongation of the proportions. In the Scrovegni cross, this elongation is offset by the structure of the cross as a whole, which, due to the large terminal panels, visually compresses the elongation of the torso and limbs. In the Riminese cross these terminal panels are missing resulting in the more obvious "distortion" of the proportions.²¹ Also analogous is the diaphanous loincloth which is arranged almost identically in both crosses.

On the other hand, between the crosses there are small but significant differences in the execution. The emphatic, yet detailed rendering of the muscles of Christ's torso is somewhat weaker in the Riminese cross, and the rib cage and pectoral muscles are picked out in a more linear, and perhaps, less accomplished fashion. The result is a level of stylisation absent in the figures at Padua.

A plausible explanation for this is that the Riminese cross relied heavily or entirely on the participation of assistants for its completion. We know that Giotto worked at various times in his career with a large workshop, and in fact many of the works signed by him appear to be entirely workshop projects. It seems therefore highly likely that the stylisation of the anatomy is due to a less skilled interpretation of Giotto's design by assistants working, either in collaboration with the master, or within his own workshop.

Another issue which needs to be addressed is that of location. The Tempio cross immediately presents a problem of scale: even in its diminished state it measures 430cm by 303cm, and is therefore an extremely large panel for a church of the size of San Francesco. By comparison Giotto's painted cross for the church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence is comparatively larger at 578cm by 406cm, but was designed for a church over three times the length of the Riminese church.²² Likewise Cimabue's cross

²¹ In actual fact the elongation of the limbs and torso are more pronounced in the Scrovegni cross than in the Riminese example.

²² For details of this cross see note 19 above.

for Santa Croce in Florence measures a comparable 448cm by 390cm, and yet was situated in a church which was almost 140 metres in length.²³ The cross can however, be likened to that in the nearby Augustinian church of Sant'Agostino which, in a similarly damaged state, measures 427cm by 335cm (fig.4).²⁴ The church of Sant'Agostino, has been substantially altered since the medieval period, but its ground plan still reflects the layout of the Trecento church, and it can be seen that both Riminese churches were similar in layout and scale (both had three rectangular chapels at the east end). The Sant'Agostino cross however, does not offer a straightforward parallel to the Tempio cross, as it was obviously heavily influenced by the former. This influence may extend to scale as well as style and format, particularly as houses of rival mendicants were prone to competition in such matters, and this would suggest that the scale of the Tempio cross dictated the scale of the latter. By comparison to the Florentine crosses then, the Tempio cross is on an exceptionally large scale for a church of the size of San Francesco and this raises the question of where it was accommodated within the church.

The original placing of the painted crosses of the Duecento and Trecento is still much debated: few examples remain *in situ*, and many were designed for churches which have now changed substantially. It seems certain however, that the majority would have been situated in a prominent position either above a rood screen or *tramezzo*, or sited within the choir, suspended above or behind the high altar.

²³ This cross predates the present church of Santa Croce and was therefore presumably designed for a church substantially smaller than the present one. However, this earlier church is unlikely to have been on as small a scale as San Francesco in Rimini, and it is interesting that the cross was not immediately superseded by another larger cross when the church was rebuilt. This suggests that its scale was seen as appropriate, or that it was moved to another location within the church where its size was more fitting. The cross was gravely damaged in the 1966 flood, although has since been restored and is now located in the Museo dell'Opera di Santa Croce, Florence.

²⁴ This cross, which will be discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 3, is strongly reliant on the Tempio cross and has also lost its terminal panels. See p.86.

Marcia Hall's investigation of the *tramezzo* of Santa Croce in Florence indicates that Cimabue's cross was placed above the substantial structure which straddled the nave.

The rood would have been at the centre looking out towards the layman's church, either mounted on the rood screen itself as shown in the Assisi fresco [The Crib at Greccio], or suspended from the ceiling by chains. The great size of the ill-fated Cimabue Crucifix suggests that it would have been suited to such an installation, although it must have been commissioned for some other position.²⁵

At Santa Maria Novella, the position of the painted cross is less clear. However, the trapezoidal foot strongly suggests that the cross was designed to stand upon a surface, rather than be suspended from the ceiling, and the only reasonable site for this would have been upon a substantial rood screen, such as that reconstructed by Hall for the Trecento church.²⁶ Likewise, the Scrovegni Cross, with its similar trapezoidal foot, probably stood above a screen or similar structure, within the chapel.²⁷ This idea is

²⁵ Hall, M.B.; 'The 'Tramezzo' in Santa Croce, Florence, reconstructed', *Art Bulletin* 56 (1974), pp. 325 - 341, (p.333). The cross by Cimabue, however, could not have been designed for the *tramezzo* as the present church was only begun in 1295, whilst the cross can be dated to c.1290.

²⁶ Hall, M.B.; 'The 'Ponte' in S. Maria Novella : the problem of the Rood screen in Italy', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37 (1974), pp. 157 - 173. Bellosi, however, asserts that the cross was suspended from the ceiling, in the vicinity of the high altar. See: Bellosi, L.; "The Function of the Rucellai Madonna in the Church of Santa Maria Novella," in Schmidt, V.M. (ed.); *Italian panel painting of the Duecento and Trecento*, Washington, D.C., 2002, pp. 147 - 159, (p. 153). As Ciatti has indicated, the Santa Maria Novella cross is the earliest known example of a painted cross with a trapezoidal foot. See: Ciatti, 2002, pp. 15 - 29., (p. 18).

²⁷ There have been differing suggestions about the location of this screen within the chapel. Moschetti has suggested that the cross sat above a screen separating the eastern choir chapel from the main body of the whole chapel. See Moschetti, A.; "La distutta iconostasi della Capella Scrovegni," in *Atti e Memorie della R. Accademia di Scienze, Lettere ed Arte in Padova*, XXXIX (1922-23), p.177. Prosdocimi later hypothesised that the cross sat on an "iconostasis" running across the centre of the main body of the chapel. See Prosdocimi, A.; "Sul Croce di Giotto della

supported by the fact that the rear side is painted and was therefore clearly intended to be visible.

These examples suggest that the Tempio cross was located in a similar position within San Francesco, and indeed the foundations of a structure possibly representing a rood screen (or combination of rood screen and choir screen) has been located half-way along the present nave of the church.²⁸ Pasini, in his reconstruction of the Trecento interior of Sant'Agostino, places the painted cross above a screen straddling the nave, even though, like the Tempio cross, the Sant'Agostino cross appears to have been exceptionally large for such a visibly accessible location.²⁹

The alternative possibility: that the cross was located within the choir, suspended by chains from the ceiling, seems more likely for reasons of scale but is problematic from other aspects. Firstly there is the issue of the duplication of imagery. As we will see, it is possible that the high altarpiece of San Francesco had a central Crucifixion scene. If the cross was located within the choir, it would then be seen directly above the parallel image below, a seemingly superfluous duplication of iconography. In addition, it appears that the cross was, at some stage in its history, within close reach of human contact. There is substantial and localised damage to Christ's feet, suggesting a case of "pious vandalism" as discussed (with reference to

Capella degli Scrovegni. Primitiva collocazione e restauri," *Bollettino del Museo Civico di Padova*, XLV (1956), pp. 65 – 66. For a recent discussion of these hypotheses see Banzato, D.; "La Croce di Giotto dei Musei Civici di Padova. Ipotesi di collocazione originaria e precedenti restauri," in Banzato, D. (ed.); *La croce di Giotto. Il restauro*, Milan, 1995, pp. 26 – 40.

²⁸ See Hope's plan of the Tempio Malatestiano: Hope, p.54. Hall has demonstrated that in both Santa Maria Novella and Santa Croce, the rood screens (or tramezzi) and the choir screens (which sectioned off the area around the high altar), were separate and distinct structures. The smaller scale of San Francesco in Rimini suggests that perhaps the structure located in the nave could have been a combination of rood and choir screen, although more investigation is needed on this topic. See Hall, 1974(a) and Hall, 1974(b).

²⁹ Pasini, P.G. (ed.); *Medioevo Fantastico e Cortese: Arte a Rimini fra Comune e Signoria*, Rimini, 1998, p. 48.

other crosses) by Mognetti.³⁰ If this damage occurred while the cross was in its original location at San Francesco, then a position above the choir is not feasible. However, it is just possible that, given the scale of the church, a painted cross resting on a screen may have been accessible to the laity. Alternatively, had the tramezzo in San Francesco been of a similar type to those in Santa Maria Novella and Santa Croce in Florence, and permitted the friars access to a raised platform above the nave, the damage could have been caused by the friars themselves who would have had very close access to the cross.

The evidence seems to suggest then, that despite its scale, the Tempio cross was originally located above the screen in the nave of San Francesco. In such a position it must have appeared extremely imposing, and it is therefore unsurprising perhaps that it exerted such an influence on the painted crosses of Rimini and the surrounding areas. Not only do the majority of crosses by the Riminese artists follow closely both its style and structure, but the high proportion surviving in the area suggests that the painted wooden cross, as a piece of church furniture, had become extremely popular. These crosses will, however, be discussed in greater depth in a later chapter.

The cross in the Tempio Malatestiano is not signed and its date is uncertain. Conti and Canova have both suggested that the figures of Christ, the Virgin and the Evangelist, in a miniature signed and dated by Neri da Rimini to 1300 (fig. 25), are derived from the figures on the *termini* of the painted cross.³¹ This theory suggests that

³⁰ Mognetti has discussed the instance of localised damage to a cross in the Petit Palais in Avignon. In this case the damage is almost identical to that in the Tempio Cross. See: Mognetti, E.; "Marks of Devotion: Case Study of a Crucifix by Lorenzo di Bicci," in Schmidt, V.M. (ed.); *Italian panel painting of the Duecento and Trecento*, Washington, D.C., 2002, pp. 354 - 369.

³¹ See Conti, A, *La Miniatura Bolognese. Scuole e botteghe, 1270 -1340*, Bologna, 1981, p. 96, and Canova, G.M.; "La miniatura degli ordini mendicanti nell'arco adriatico all'inizio del Trecento", in *Arte e spiritualità nell'ordine agostiniano*, Atti del Convegno, Tolentino 1992, (pp. 165 - 184), p.166. The appearance of the Virgin and John the Evangelist are assumed to be reflected in the numerous Riminese crosses influenced by Giotto's example. For more recent discussion

the cross must have been painted before 1300. If correct this would place the date of Giotto's visit to Rimini between his activity in Rome before the turn of the century, and his execution of the frescoes in the Scrovegni Chapel. This is also firmly within the period of Rimini's domination by Malatesta di Verucchio and shortly after the Malatesta family's final suppression of their rivals for control of the city, the Parcitade, in 1295. It is questionable, however, whether the similarities between the miniature and the Redeemer from the Tempio cross are great enough to make 1300 a secure *terminus ante quem* for the latter. Giovanni da Rimini's signed and dated cross in the church of San Francesco in Mercatello sul Metauro (fig.5), signed and dated to 1309 (or 1314, the inscription is damaged), is more obviously in debt to the Tempio example.³² It therefore provides a more convincing *terminus ante quem* for the Tempio Cross.

There is another work which has been associated with Giotto's visit to Rimini. This is represented by the group of seven panels now scattered over several locations including the National Gallery in London (fig. 26). The panel in London represents *The Pentecost* and is probably the last in the sequence of seven.³³ The rest of the sequence consists of the *Nativity/Adoration of the Magi* (New York, Metropolitan Museum), the *Presentation in the Temple* (Boston, Isabella Gardner Museum), the *Last Supper* and the *Crucifixion* (both in Munich, Alte Pinakothek), the *Entombment* (Settignano, I Tatti, Berenson Collection) and the *Descent into Limbo* (also in Munich, Alte Pinakothek).³⁴

of the dating of the Tempio cross see: Volpe, A.; *Giotto e i Riminesi*, Milan, 2002, pp. 21 - 28. For the miniatures of Neri da Rimini see: Emiliani, A. et al.; *Neri da Rimini: Il Trecento riminese tra pittura e scrittura*, Milan 1995. The miniature is to be found in the Cini Foundation in Venice (inv. 2030).

³² This cross is still housed in the Franciscan church in Mercatello. The cross is discussed fully in Chapter 3.

³³ The painted surface panel 45.5 x 44cm.

³⁴ For a detailed technical analysis of the Pentecost panel and discussion of the relationship of all seven panels see Bomford et al., *Art in the Making: Italian Painting Before 1400*, National

The panels are of similar size except the *Last Supper* which has been planed down at both the upper and lower edges. X-radiographs have revealed that all were cut from the same piece of wood and that no panels appear to be missing from the sequence. In addition to this the panels all share the unusual feature of having the gold leaf of the gilded areas laid down onto "terre verde", or green earth, rather than red bole which was far more usual.³⁵ All of these features confirm that the panels belonged to a single structure. Their arrangement was for a while a matter of debate however technical evidence now suggests that the panels were originally arranged horizontally in a single row. This is indicated by the positions of the batons which would once have supported the structure and by the gesso lip on the left edge of the *Nativity* and right edge of the *Pentecost* implying that they were originally the outer two panels of the sequence.³⁶ The original structure therefore would have been reasonably low and wide (at least 320cm) and would have resembled a dossal rather than a polyptych proper.

The presence of St. Francis at the foot of the cross in the *Crucifixion* and the use of Christological narratives allows the assumption that the panels once resided in a Franciscan church but otherwise the provenance is unclear. Gordon discusses two theories as to the original location of the panels³⁷. The first of these, first suggested by

Gallery, London, 1989 pp.64-71. The Pentecost panel is also discussed by Dillian Gordon in; Davies, M. & Gordon, D., *Catalogue of the Early Italian Schools before 1400*, National Gallery, London, 1988, and in; Gordon, D., "A dossal by Giotto and his workshop: some problems of attribution, provenance and patronage," *Burlington Magazine* 131, (1989), pp.524-531.

³⁵ Bomford et al., 1989, p.69.

³⁶ Bomford et al., 1989, pp.66-68. Bonsanti cites a letter of 1807 which appears to mention the Giotto panels although here the total number is described as twelve, incorporating, in addition to the Passion scenes, scenes from the life of the Virgin. If we can take this description at face value, then it appears that the original dossal may have been arranged over two registers, one incorporating scenes of the life of the Virgin and Christological narratives. This also raises the possibility of a missing central iconic panel. Such a reconstruction, however, partially contradicts the technical evidence, and the question is also raised about the whereabouts of the missing five narrative panels. Bonsanti, G, in Tartuferi, A. (ed.): *Giotto. Bilancio critico di sessant'anni di studi e ricerche*, Florence, 2000, pp. 174 – 177.

³⁷ Gordon, 1989, pp.528-531.

Davies, associates the panels with those mentioned by Vasari as being brought to Arezzo from San Sepolcro in 1327 and which he described as “a panel by Giotto’s hand containing small figures which later fell to pieces.”³⁸ The second theory, which Gordon proposes, is that the panels originally belonged to the church of San Francesco in Rimini.³⁹

Gordon supports this theory by discussing various elements which tie both the iconography and the format of the dossal to the area around Rimini.⁴⁰ The most obvious of these is the low format of the structure itself and its content; a sequence of Christological narratives. These are unusual features in the context of Tuscan panels within Giotto’s period of activity but are a characteristic of several Riminese panels.

The other elements are predominantly iconographical. Gordon points out that the conflation of the *Nativity* and the *Adoration of the Magi* occurs in several instances within the body of Riminese panel painting.⁴¹ A notable example would be the panel by Giovanni Baronzio now in the Courtauld Institute Galleries in London where several events are included such as the bathing of the Christ child and the Annunciation to the shepherds as well as the arrival of the Magi (fig. 27).⁴² The swooning Madonna of the Munich *Crucifixion* is, Gordon has observed, also a common trait of the Riminese Crucifixion scenes and, in particular, the way the Madonna is supported under the shoulders by her female companions is repeated in various instances around Rimini.⁴³ Finally, the inclusion of the scene of the *Descent into Limbo* is significant as this is by no means a common scene in the early years of the Trecento, however it is also a

³⁸ Vasari, 1991, p.30. See Davies, 1961, p.231, and notes 2 and 4.

³⁹ Gordon; 1989, pp.528-531.

⁴⁰ Gordon; 1989, pp.528-531.

⁴¹ Gordon, 1989, p.528.

⁴² See Chapter 2, n.30

⁴³ See for example the *Crucifixion* panel in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Strasbourg (55 x 31cm) attributed to the Maestro di Verucchio and that in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection in Madrid by Giovanni Baronzio.

scene which is repeated several times in the extant body of Riminese painting, usually, as in the dossal discussed, as part of a sequence of Christological narratives.⁴⁴

The second of the two theories is, I think, far more persuasive and yet hardly conclusive. However there are several other characteristics, so far overlooked, which connect the panel to the "Riminese School" of the early Trecento.

First of all, the central *Crucifixion* scene of the dossal has other affinities with Riminese versions of the same scene. The composition itself is relatively simple, consisting of Christ's cross, flanked on the left hand side (Christ's right) by the Holy Women and the swooning Madonna, and on the right hand side by St. John the Evangelist. Behind St. John we see a figure characterised as Jewish (rather than a Roman) and behind him another male figure, only just visible. In addition there are the three kneeling figures around the foot of the cross; St. Francis himself and the two donors.

This basic composition is an elaboration of the basic Byzantine Crucifixion, in its simplest form, which consists simply of Christ flanked by the Madonna and St John. The scene retains the simplicity and symmetry of this format yet enhances the "temporal" and narrative qualities of the scene by the introduction of extra characters and activity. As we will see, in Tuscan painting St. John was far more frequently placed to the left of Christ (our left) amongst the group of Christ's followers rather than to the

⁴⁴ Gordon, 1989, p.528. The identity of the two donors is a problematic issue. It is possible that the two donor figures beneath the cross in the Munich *Crucifixion* represent Malatesta di Verucchio (d.1312) and either his sister Imiglia, with whom he asked to be buried in her tomb in San Francesco, or his third wife Margherita. However, Oertel, in 1961 noted that the male donor was dressed as a deacon while the female donor was dressed as a nun. Davies later stated that neither figure was wearing religious dress. A close look at the scene reveals that the male donor does indeed appear to be wearing the dress of a deacon, and is tonsured. The female donor, on the other hand, is not wearing the dress of a female religious. If the male figure is in clerical garb then he cannot be identified with Malatesta di Verucchio. See: Oertel, R.; *The Munich Pinakothek: Italian Painting from the Trecento to the End of the Renaissance*, Munich, 1961, p.11 and Davies, 1961, p.32.

right, the area reserved for those unable to recognise Christ's divinity or "the unseeing mass". In this example however and the majority of Riminese *Crucifixion* scenes St. John remains in his position opposite the Madonna on the right side of the cross.

This is not to say however, that this feature of Riminese *Crucifixion* scenes derives from the Munich panel but rather that Riminese iconographical tradition remained tied to Byzantine prototypes long superseded in Tuscan painting, a situation which is unsurprising due to Rimini's position as a port on the Adriatic with trading links with Venice and Dalmatia. In this sense the Munich *Crucifixion* may follow an existing Riminese tradition rather than actually setting it.⁴⁵

On the other hand there are at least three Riminese scenes which appear to be directly reliant on the Munich *Crucifixion*. The first of these belongs to the panel now in the Pinacoteca Comunale in Ravenna and attributed to the so called *Maestro del Coro degli Scrovegni* (fig. 28). The panel consists of a central Madonna and Child flanked by four scenes of Christ's life.⁴⁶ As his title suggests the painter of this panel was strongly influenced by Giotto's frescoes at the Scrovegni Chapel yet, while the scenes of the *Nativity* and the *Adoration of the Magi* are essentially copies of the versions in the chapel, it is not the frescoed *Crucifixion* which he uses as a source. Instead the image is far closer to the Munich version. The composition is identical with the exception that the kneeling figures around the cross are omitted (St. Francis is represented elsewhere on the Ravenna panel) and the robed male figure behind St. John is substituted for the figure of St. Anthony of Padua.

⁴⁵ This idea is supported by the *Crucifixion* panel in the Pinacoteca Civica, Faenza (35 x 28cm) dating from the last few decades of the thirteenth century and which has a similar composition although the figures are constructed differently. Interestingly, the figure behind St. John in this example is St. Peter.

⁴⁶ Panel measures 56 x 85cm. This panel was obviously Franciscan in origin as both St. Francis and St. Louis of Toulouse are represented in small scale beneath the throne of the Virgin. This is in addition to the figure of Anthony of Padua who appears within the *Crucifixion* scene. The other three scenes consist of the *Nativity*, the *Adoration of the Magi* and the *Resurrection*. For further details see Chapter 4, pp. 107 – 109.

This pattern is repeated in the panel by Giovanni da Rimini in Rome⁴⁷ (fig.38) and on the tiny panel by Baronzio in Venice where the figure behind St. John is now characterised as the Centurion (fig.16).⁴⁸ In this latter example the figure of St. John is clearly reliant on the analogous figure in the Munich *Crucifixion*.

It is noteworthy that all three of these examples occur as one image within in a sequence of Christological narratives. Like the panels attributed to Giotto, the former two skip straight from scenes of Christ's infancy to his Passion.

Gordon has already pointed out that the drinking figure in the scene of the *Last Supper* in Munich is repeated by Pietro da Rimini in the *Wedding at Cana* fresco in the *Capellone* of San Nicola in Tolentino.⁴⁹ This figure is repeated again in a *Last Supper* of Giovanni Baronzio (fig.29), an image which appears at least partly indebted to the Munich version in other ways, notably the visibility of the bench to the right of the table, and the attempt to construct both a convincing "room" setting and spatially coherent arrangement of the occupants around the table. (The construction of the bench with seated apostles at the front of the picture space is a device used by Giotto both in the Scrovegni Chapel and in the Munich *Last Supper* although Baronzio has eschewed Giotto's asymmetrical placement of Christ.)

Another feature which the Riminese artists seem to have adopted is derived from the *Descent into Limbo* panel also in Munich. In this panel Christ's robe is distinctively coloured. These pale robes with gold striation are repeated at least twice

⁴⁷ The panel which includes five other scenes of Christ's life is located in the *Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica*, Rome. (Dimensions: 52.5 x 34.5cm.)

⁴⁸ Located in the *Gallerie dell'Accademia*, Venice (16.9 x 14.8cm). The panel belongs to a group of 12 Christological narratives now spread over three locations. Six belong to the *Accademia*, five to the *Staatliche Museen*, Berlin and the last to a private collection in Rome. In the Venice *Crucifixion* the figure of Christ is particularly close to that of the painted cross of the Tempio Malatestiano.

⁴⁹ Gordon; 1989, p.528.

by Riminese artists most strikingly by Giovanni da Rimini in the panel, discussed above, in Rome (fig.38).⁵⁰

Perhaps the most convincing argument for a provenance of San Francesco in Rimini is provided by the polyptych signed and dated by Giovanni Baronzio to 1345, now located in the *Galleria Nazionale delle Marche* in Urbino (fig.2).⁵¹ This polyptych is highly unusual in its combination of narrative scenes, standing saints and a Madonna and Child all within the main register. Above this register the structure is completed by gables containing half-length saints, the Virgin and angel of the *Annunciation* and a central *Crucifixion*. The polyptych originally belonged to the refectory of the Franciscan house in Macerata Feltria, and this location is attested to by the presence of St. Francis and of St. Louis of Toulouse.⁵² Again the four narratives begin with episodes from the infancy of Christ before skipping immediately to the Passion. It is the second of these scenes, that of the *Presentation of Christ in the Temple*, which is important here as the five figures depicted are directly taken from the *Presentation* in Boston. The similarity extends not only to the poses but also to the arrangement of the robes of the adult figures and to the general coloration. The main difference is in the setting and this can be explained in terms of the format; in the Boston version the picture field is almost square allowing the tall ciborium to be included between the figures. In the low rectangular format of Baronzio's image the setting is instead suggested by an architectural backdrop intended to represent the Temple interior.

The closeness of the figures in this scene implies that Baronzio must have been familiar with the Boston *Presentation* and thus with the Giottesque dossal.

Finally, the physical structure of the dossal seems to follow the Riminese tradition in the presentation of panels and altarpieces. Technical evidence has shown

⁵⁰ See also the Baronzio's *Descent into Limbo* on a panel (fig.37) in the *Pinacoteca Nazionale* in Bologna (51 x 35cm).

⁵¹ For full details see Chapter 4, pp. 137 – 139.

⁵² Volpe; 1965, p.82.

that the seven scenes do not seem to have been divided from one another by internal framing elements but were divided by incised lines, which are still visible in the *Presentation*, and probably gold or patterned bands.⁵³ This lack of internal articulation is typical of Rimini where, as we have seen, narrative scenes are most likely to be divided by gold or patterned bands which do not project forward of the picture surfaces. Baronzio's altarpiece divided between a private collection and the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica in Rome (figs. 29 & 30) is a good example of this as are the two triptychs of the Beata Chiara which will be discussed later (figs. 31-33).⁵⁴ Even when the Riminese artists adopt a more typically Tuscan, gabled structure the internal divisions often remain discrete, such as in Baronzio's Macerata Feltria polyptych.

The above observations, along with those of Gordon, strongly support the theory that the panels divided between Settignano, Munich, New York, London and Boston, were indeed designed for the Church of San Francesco in Rimini. There seems little doubt that several of the Riminese painters active in the first half of the Trecento were familiar with the panels, and the content, iconography and structure of the "dossal" all fit in with the artistic tradition current in Rimini and its surrounding areas at this period.

If this is the case then several problems still remain. Firstly, what was the function of the group of panels? If they did indeed form an altarpiece, was this for the high altar of the church or for a side chapel? Alternatively did they form part of a funerary monument as Gordon has suggested?⁵⁵ If the donor figures can be identified, as has been suggested, with Malatesta di Verucchio (d. 1312) and either his sister Imiglia, or his wife, Margherita, then this would perhaps support the interpretation that

⁵³ Bomford D et al.; 1989, p.67.

⁵⁴ For the Baronzio altarpiece see Chapter 4, pp. 116 - 118. The images are here arranged in two registers whereas the panels of the dossal must have been arranged in a single register. For the Beata Chiara Triptychs see Chapter 4, pp. 110 - 116.

⁵⁵ Gordon; 1989, p.530.

the panels belonged to a funerary chapel.⁵⁶ On the other hand, the width of the seven reconstructed panels (at least 320cm) suggests that it could have formed a high altarpiece rather than that of a lateral chapel.⁵⁷

This latter theory is supported by the presence of gesso and paint on the rear side of several of the panels.⁵⁸ This paint, which seems to be original, imitates a porphyry surface and indicates that the panels were almost certainly visible, to some degree, from the rear. This would almost certainly not be the case if the panels were part of wall monument, or if they belonged to a side chapel. The small scale of the eastern chapels (the central chapel is only around four metres wide), as well as the polychromy on their reverse, indicates that the altarpiece would have been set forward of the eastern chapels, in the centre of the choir.

A further problem raised by the panels is that of attribution and of their relationship to the other work ascribed to Giotto in San Francesco; the painted cross. From the quality of the panels and the proximity in style to the Scrovegni Chapel frescoes, it seems unlikely that Giotto did not have some role in their production. Various scholars have noted differing areas of quality in the panels suggesting that perhaps Giotto was responsible for the design and the some of the painting of the panels, but that large areas were left to assistants. The influence that both the painted cross and the dossal appear to have held over subsequent painting in Rimini, and the strongly derivative nature of the Riminese painted crosses in particular, raises the question of whether the Riminese painters were themselves involved with the early fourteenth century programme of decoration at San Francesco. If we can clearly see workshop participation in both the dossal and the cross, could this participation been partly represented by local Riminese painters drafted into the workshop on a temporary

⁵⁶ See note 43, above.

⁵⁷ For the chapels endowed in the Trecento see: Campana, 1951.

⁵⁸ Bomford D et al; 1989, p.67.

basis? This is particularly likely if the project at Rimini was as large as Vasari suggested, and perhaps also incorporated fresco decoration.⁵⁹

The dating of Giotto's work in Rimini remains an issue. If we assume that the altarpiece and painted cross belong to the same project, which seems likely as none of the sources suggest more than one visit by Giotto, then we need to place this project in relation to Giotto's other work around the first decades of the Trecento. As discussed above, the Tempio cross appears to predate the Scrovegni Chapel cross, and was certainly painted before 1309 (or 1314), the date of the signed Mercatello cross. If we disregard Conti and Canova's tenuous suggestion of a pre-1300 date for the Tempio Cross then there are two possibilities: either the panels were painted just before the Scrovegni project, or shortly after it. Suggestions by scholars that the narrative panels date to around the period of the Peruzzi frescoes, seem to me to be based in little substance, although perhaps the only way to resolve this problem of dating is by a future technical analysis of the painted cross in the Tempio. The dossal panels have several distinct characteristics in terms of the materials and techniques used in their execution: the use of *terre verde* beneath the gilding being the most obvious. If the same techniques or materials can be detected in the Tempio cross than this would imply that both of the works were probably executed by the same workshop at around the same time and that *both* must pre-date the Mercatello cross.

Giotto's project in Rimini then, must have been executed between 1300 and 1314, either before or shortly after the Scrovegni Chapel project, with an earlier date the more likely. It probably consisted of a dossal with narrative scenes for the high altar and a large painted cross for the screen across the nave.

The extent and nature of any fresco decoration can no longer be established, although some clues as to its possible appearance will be discussed in Chapter 3.

⁵⁹ If we accept an early date for Giotto's presence in Rimini, then collaboration with local

The project was most likely executed with extensive workshop participation, and the close relationship of the panels to those of the Riminese painters suggests that local painters may have been drafted into the workshop on a temporary basis.

As we will see, the panels in San Francesco were to be very influential on painting in the area, and it is now time to turn to the Riminese panels themselves, in order to assess the basic visual evidence, before moving on to a closer investigation of individual objects.

Chapter 2 – The Riminese Panels: Assessing the Visual Evidence

In my approach to this chapter I have found it is necessary to treat the works primarily as images before treating them as contextualised objects. While this approach is limited, it is a necessary preliminary in this case because of the decontextualisation of many of the works involved in the study.

As discussed in the introduction the distribution of the works, their fragmentation and the destruction of their settings and records of provenance is extremely problematic. Thus the vague links which connect these works to their origin are insufficient alone to provide a framework in which we can interpret them. If we can introduce ourselves to the body of works as a whole, as a series of images (both iconographically and stylistically) we can later look at those works with a clearer provenance in order to shed light on those which currently lack a defined context.

Of course it is impossible to totally divorce iconography from context for the purpose of this study, and it is necessary to touch on those factors in this chapter before moving on to a more detailed analysis in subsequent sections.

During the course of this chapter I shall examine the types of image used by the painters in question, and their relative scales and numerical distribution. I also hope to establish patterns of iconographical influence and norm, and finally to investigate certain iconographical peculiarities in a more detailed fashion.

The Available Evidence

The first task is to establish what type of evidence is available. In this case it consists of a widely scattered selection of individual panels, several complete or near complete altarpieces, and a relatively large proportion of painted crosses.¹

¹ This chapter is a discussion of the 113 objects listed in Appendix I. For a full list of the panels and their distribution please refer to this appendix.

The largest part of the body of works without doubt consists of smaller panels, mostly detached from their framing elements and frequently scattered widely. Although a reasonable proportion of the Riminese works remain in the galleries and collections of Romagna and Marche, a substantial number are found in collections throughout Italy and many others abroad. A significant proportion of these have only recently been re-associated by scholars with the Riminese School.

Many of the detached panels can be confidently associated with each other and assigned to the same original structure even if they still remain geographically distant, although in the majority of cases the lack of framing elements (destroyed when the works were dismantled) and the question of missing extra panels means that reconstructions are both difficult and highly contentious. Even in those groups of panels that can be reconstructed with relative confidence we often have little evidence to suggest an original location. As already mentioned this is aggravated by widespread destruction of monuments during both a series of earthquakes and, particularly in Rimini, wartime bombing.²

Of altarpieces still in their entirety there are only five, exemplified by the altarpiece in the Galleria Nazionale in Urbino by Giovanni Baronzio (fig.2), the larger altarpiece formerly at Carlton Towers (fig. 34).³ Obviously, neither of these are in their original location, but both can be associated with a setting, the former securely and the latter theoretically, and in addition there is a small series of works which can be associated with specific settings. Most notable perhaps are the two works in the small church of San Francesco in Mercatello; a crucifix signed and dated by Giovanni da

² As noted in the Introduction, the Augustinian Church of Sant'Agostino was substantially damaged in the earthquake of 1916. See: Sica, A. & Grazia, G, 1982 and *Emilia Romagna*, Touring Club Italiano. Milan, 1998.

³ For Baronzio's Urbino Polyptych and the Boston Dossal see Chapter 4, pp. 137 - 140 and pp. 101 - 107 respectively.

Rimini (fig.5) and an altarpiece by Giovanni Baronzio, also signed and dated (fig.7).⁴ Both works, although at least thirty years apart in execution, were almost certainly originally designed for the church in which they can still be found. The fact that this is a Franciscan house is not at all surprising, as Boskovits has already pointed out a seemingly disproportionate amount of the surviving works of the Riminese artists appear to have had a Franciscan origin.⁵ This is not to say that all of these works can be safely assigned a provenance but that the iconography employed is often emphatically Franciscan. Of the other works a majority can be associated with the other mendicant orders. This is a phenomenon which will be investigated further later.

In addition to the individual panels and remaining altarpieces, the other large section of evidence is the body of surviving painted crosses. Compared to the other evidence, a much larger proportion of the crosses are still *in situ*, or at least in another location within the church they were designed for. Examples are the cross at Mercatello mentioned above and in Rimini itself, the cross now hanging in the nave of the Augustinian church (fig. 4) and that in the Tempio Malatestiano itself both discussed in the previous chapter (fig. 3).⁶

Of the surviving individual panels the subject matter is diverse but not, perhaps, distributed as would be expected. For example, although half-length or even standing saints are relatively common at this stage in Tuscan and in central Italian panel painting, they are comparatively sparse within the body of recognised Riminese

The other altarpieces, also discussed in Chapter 4, are the triptych in the Museo Correr in Venice (pp. 124 - 126), the small altarpiece now in the Pinacoteca Comunale in Ravenna (pp. 107 - 110), and Baronzio's polyptych in Mercatello (pp.140 - 142).

⁴ For Giovanni's cross see Chapter 3, p. 87.

⁵ Boskovits, M; "Per la storia della pittura tra Romagna e le Marche ai primi del'300," *Arte Cristiana* LXXXI, 1993, p.95.

⁶ These crosses will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

panels.⁷ Both the Mercatello altarpiece and the Coronation Triptych formerly at Carlton Towers (fig. 34) incorporate standing saints, as does the Boston Dossal by Giuliano da Rimini (fig.1), but apart from these near complete works few panels depicting either saints, in full or half length, as the main subject can be found. It is surprising that while so many individual panels survive hardly any depict saints. Instead, the predominant types of panel which survive are either small devotional panels, which tend to follow certain idiosyncrasies in terms of subject matter, and individual narrative scenes, once part of larger sequences within an altarpiece. It may be that there are more extant panels representing saints which have avoided the attention of art historians due to the emphasis on the narrative panel as a typical and recognisable product of the "Riminese School".

Among both the devotional panels and the fragments of larger altarpieces the narrative scene and narrative sequence is certainly the most commonly employed visual language of the Riminese painters. And amongst these scenes where we might expect to find a reasonable proportion of hagiographical histories we find instead an overwhelming emphasis on Christological scenes.

⁷ In the early fourteenth century the Sieneese painters appear to have used the half-length format almost exclusively, from the early polyptychs of Duccio at the beginning of the century (e.g. the so-called Polyptych No. 28 in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena of 1300-05) to later, more monumental examples such as Simone Martini's Santa Caterina polyptych (Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa, 1319) and Ugolino's high altarpiece for Santa Croce in Florence (various locations, c.1325). (An obvious exception is Pietro Lorenzetti's Carmelite Altarpiece of c.1329, which incorporates full length figures.) Florentine painters, on the other hand, have a tendency to employ the full-length format. Examples include Pacino di Bonaguida's Polyptych in the Academia Gallery in Florence, (centre: 136 x 78cm, sides: 136 x 31cm, inv. no. 8568, the date is unclear as the inscription is now incomplete, SIMON PRESBYTER S. FLORENTII FECIT PINGI HOC OPUS A PACINO BONAGUIDE ANNO DOMINI MCCCX...) and Bernardo Daddi's Polyptych of San Pancrazio (ca. 1336-38, approx. 218 x 305cm, Uffizi Gallery, Florence). As will

Non-narrative imagery in the Riminese panels

To temporarily leave aside the issue of the use of the narrative, it is first necessary to look at the depiction of saints in the Riminese panels. As noted above, the image of the standing or half-length saint is not as widespread as might be expected and this form of image seems to have remained secondary to the narrative. Few individual panels depicting standing saints survive to suggest the original existence of a greater number of hagiographical altarpieces, whereas numerous individual narratives survive.

Nevertheless there are still a significant number of works incorporating the full or half-length saint. Some instances survive where standing saints flank a central iconic scene within an altarpiece or dossal. These include, most notably, the Mercatello altarpiece by Giovanni Baronzio (fig.7), but also in the Correr Triptych (fig. 35) and Giuliano da Rimini's Boston Dossal (fig.1). In other cases the standing saint is found in combination with the narrative within an altarpiece. In both the Coronation Triptych and Baronzio's altarpiece now in the Galleria Nazionale in Urbino (fig.2), the result of this combination is highly unusual and involves an innovative composition of the structure as a whole. In smaller panels and diptychs saints are again interspersed with other scenes, most notably Christological narratives such as in the panels by Baronzio in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (fig. 36) and the Pinacoteca in Bologna (fig. 37).⁸

When saints do appear (with the exception of those in the gables of Baronzio's Urbino Altarpiece which are half-length) they are almost exclusively full-length representations. As in the Urbino Altarpiece, and in Giuliano's Boston Dossal the

be seen, it is the full-length format which is almost exclusively employed by the Riminese painters in the instances when they do include saints in their altarpieces.

⁸ This panel, in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Bologna (inv. 309) and measures 51 by 35cm. See; Volpe, pp. 43 & 83, and *Il Trecento Riminese*, pp.262 – 262 (cat.no. 49). The panel in the Metropolitan Museum measures 66.7 by 38.1cm and probably belongs to the fifth decade of the fourteenth century. (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. 09.103)

figures are not always on individual panels or separated by framing elements. Instead they may be separated by fictive architectural elements or simply by painted bands. In both of the above cases the position of the saints is not alluded to in the structure or outline of the work.

In the smaller panels we can see a similar lack of compositional emphasis on the positions of the saints. In these cases the standing saints are frequently allocated small rectangular sections of the panel surface which may be occupied by up to four or five figures. In Baronzio's panel of scenes from the life of Christ in the Metropolitan Museum (fig.36), the surface is divided into eight equal parts, six of which contain narratives of Christ's life, one a Coronation of the Virgin and the other, four standing saints.⁹ Typically the saints are not divided by painted bands, but represented as occupying the same space and occasionally interacting with one another. Finally, in the diptych by Giovanni da Rimini, divided between Rome and Alnwick (figs. 38 & 39), we find an arrangement whereby various saints are depicted, not as static iconic images, but within a single narrative scene taken from their life.¹⁰

A full account of the distribution of the saints in the Riminese panels appears in Appendix II, but can be summarised here in the following table. Here the first column represents the number of appearances of each saint in a strictly non-narrative context, that is, as a full or half-length standing saint. The second set of figures represents the overall number of occurrences of the saint, including those where the saint is shown in a single narrative scene (either from his or her own life, such as Francis receiving the Stigmata, or in another contextualised setting, such as Francis kneeling below the

⁹ See note 8 above.

¹⁰ These hagiographical scenes include *The Dispute of St. Catherine of Alexandria*, *The Apotheosis of St. Augustine*, and *The Stigmatisation of St. Francis*. The panel in Rome (Galleria Nazionale d'Arte, inv. 1441), representing one half of a diptych of which the other half is in Alnwick, in the collection of the Duke of Northumberland (inv. 648), measures 52.5 by 34.5cm and is much earlier, probably from the first decade of the fourteenth century. Further discussion of these panels can be found in Chapter 5.

cross). Representations of saints as part of a narrative sequence depicting their own life have not been included.¹¹ Saints which appear only once, or who are not clearly identifiable are not included in the table.¹²

Table 1 – The Distribution of Saints in Riminese Panel Painting

Saint	Distribution of standing saints	Overall distribution of saints
Francis	10	16
Clare	8	8
John the Baptist	6	8
Catherine of Alexandria	6	7
Louis of Toulouse	5	5
John the Evangelist	3	3
Peter	3	3
Mary Magdalen	2	3
Agnes	2	2
Paul	2	2
Michael	2	2
Augustine	1	3
Anthony of Padua	1	2
Blessed Clare of Rimini	0	2

¹¹ By this I mean that any images of saints from a narrative sequence representing two or more episodes from the saint's life are omitted. This is to avoid any distortion of the figures by inclusion of numerous representations of a saint within a single project.

¹² See Appendix II for a full description of the criteria used for the inclusion of saints in this table.

There is little difference in the patterns of distribution between the smaller (devotional panels) and the altarpieces, with the exception of Catherine of Alexandria who appears proportionally more popular in the former.¹³

Unfortunately, the lack of documentation connecting the images to a donor or patron does not allow us to assess how many of the saints were name-saints of the commissioners or their families.

One thing of note is the highly visible presence of the Franciscan saints (Francis, Clare, Louis of Toulouse and Anthony of Padua). This immediately suggests that a high proportion of the surviving panels may be associated with the order. By contrast Dominican saints and saints from other mendicant orders are scarce, Dominic himself appearing only once.

In addition, other saints whose cult existed within the Franciscan Order can be associated with many of the same panels.

Schwartz has already pointed out the existence of the cult of St. Mary Magdalen within the order.

The cult of the Magdalen was compatible with the ideals of the Franciscans in its preoccupation with penitence and the few surviving sermons (...) from the early days of the order frequently allude to the Magdalen as a paradigm of penitence.¹⁴

In addition, an association of the order's founder Francis with the Magdalen is alluded to visually in the exchange of the former for the latter at the foot of the cross in images such as painted cross in the Church of Santa Chiara in Assisi, and, later, the

¹³ Although the saints appear in differing contexts. See the discussion of Francis below.

Crucifixion by Cimabue in the Upper Church of San Francesco at Assisi.¹⁵ The emphasis here is on the meditative nature of Francis' devotion, the specific subject and depth of which made his stigmatisation possible. In this subsequently much imitated example Francis becomes an example of piety and meditation but also, through the juxtaposition of his own wounds with those of Christ, an *alter christus*.

The motif is one repeatedly imitated in Riminese painting, in fact, in a significant number both the Magdalen and Francis are shown beneath the cross as if the Riminese painters were reluctant to exclude one of the two from this position.¹⁶ The result is that in these cases the two saints become closely visually associated.

In addition to this, as Schwartz has indicated, Francis and the Magdalen are often visually paired within groups of saints on panels and altarpieces.¹⁷ This is certainly the case in several Riminese panels, but the allusion is most explicit in the Boston Dossal by Giuliano da Rimini (fig.1). Here the saints appear in the upper left and right sections of the panel and are immediately set apart from the other saints by their location within a specific setting. Whereas the others are set against a blank background, the Magdalen and Francis are both placed in rocky landscapes.¹⁸ In addition, rather than presented as static standing saints, the two are represented in the

¹⁴ Schwartz, L; "Patronage and Franciscan iconography in the Magdalen Chapel at Assisi," *Burlington Magazine* 133, 1991, pp.32-36, (p.32).

¹⁵ The image of Francis on the Santa Chiara Cross is the earliest surviving example of the saint in this position at the foot of the cross, dating from around 1260. For a discussion of this iconography see: Lunghi, E; "Francis of Assisi in Prayer before the Crucifix in the Accounts of the First Biographers," in Schmidt, V.M. (ed.); *Italian panel painting of the Duecento and Trecento*, Washington, D.C., 2002, pp. 341 – 353.

¹⁶ Examples of this can be seen in the *Crucifixion* panel in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (see: Volpe pp. 36 – 37, Cat. 52) and the panel depicting the *Crucifixion and Saints* in the Pinacoteca Vaticana (inv. no. 54, see: Volpe, p. 43, cat. 83). The dimensions of the panels are 20 x 12.7cm and 40 x 24cm respectively.

¹⁷ Schwartz, p. 33.

¹⁸ Although part of the reason for this is that both images are derived from existing frescoes at Assisi.

midst of one of the crucial events of their lives; Francis receiving the stigmata and the Magdalen in communion with the angels.

The setting in particular seems to be of importance. The significance of this is reinforced in the panel by Pietro da Rimini where the saints appear juxtaposed against a similar rocky backdrop (fig.11).¹⁹ The backdrop is centred upon the figure of Francis, who is in the act of receiving the stigmata, but runs behind the adjacent figures, the Magdalen and the Baptist. In this case the composition groups the three saints, quite categorically, by their setting and their attire.

This is not the only case where the Baptist and Francis are associated. In both the Pietro da Rimini panel above and another by Giovanni da Rimini (fig.39) the two saints are visually connected. Francis, in the act of receiving the stigmata is immediately adjacent to the Baptist who is turned towards him as he hold his cartouche with the words "*Ecce Agnus Dei*". In a third panel, we again find Francis and the Baptist juxtaposed, although here Francis is not receiving the stigmata but is instead in a standing pose (fig.10).²⁰

The full implications of the direct association of Francis, the Magdalen and the Baptist will be considered later, it is enough here to note that certain saints appear frequently in conjunction in the Riminese panels and that this affects their individual and joint significance.

In terms of focal imagery, the altarpieces, and fragments of altarpieces, which survive, almost exclusively include the Madonna and Child. Exceptions include the *Coronation of the Virgin* which forms the central panel of the Coronation Triptych and

¹⁹ This panel is one of a pair now in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich (inv. No. 838). Both panels measure 64 by 32cm. For further details see Volpe, p.34, cat. no. 44.

²⁰ This panel, depicting four saints (14.7 x 25.5cm), is in the Pinacoteca Vaticana (inv. no. 44, see Volpe, p.39 cat. no. 72) and was probably accompanied by a Crucifixion scene (inv. no. 52, see Volpe, p.39 cat. no. 71) in the same collection (26.5 x 26.5).

the *Christ in Pietà* by Baronzio in the *Petit Palais* at Avignon.²¹ In addition, a *Coronation of the Virgin* panel from the Riminese context survives in Yale University Art Gallery.²² Presumably the latter formed the central panel of a polyptych, or possibly a triptych such as the Carlton Towers example.

The popularity of the Madonna and Child is, in itself, unsurprising if we compare these altarpieces with those produced in, for example, contemporary Siena. The difference here is that we are looking at full-length (seated) representations rather than half-length figures.

A useful comparison here, is that of Venice where the full-length (enthroned) Madonna and Child is far more common than the half-length version, and where the Coronation also becomes popular around the middle of the century. It is worth noting that full-length standing saints are equally usual in the Venetian context and that there is an obvious formal link between these two aspects. An altarpiece which incorporates a central, full-length standing, or enthroned, figure will usually include full length saints for reasons of continuity and scale. In Siena, where a more intimate half-length Madonna and Child became popular in the early decades of the Trecento, half-length accompanying saints would be the chosen format for the same reasons. It appears that in Venice and Rimini, a continuing preference for the more hierarchical image of the enthroned Madonna and Child or Coronation of the Virgin, leads to a necessary parallel in the inclusion of full-length saints.

The use of the Narrative

We can now turn to the narrative image, the more typical product of the Riminese workshops. These narrative images, so widespread amongst the surviving

²¹ The dimensions of the panel are 47 by 32cm (Petit Palais, Avignon, inv. 20251). Two small bishop saints are included in the upper corners.

²² The panel measures 93.7 x 58.8cm (Yale University Art Gallery, inv. 1959.15.14).

works of the Riminese painters, usually fall into one of two groups.²³ They either survive as an individual panel (although obviously one of a series) stripped of its framing elements and associated panels or as one section of a small scale panel, more or less complete, incorporating either a narrative sequence or a mixture of narratives with other types of image. A good example of the former is *The Descent from the Cross* by Pietro da Rimini in the *Pinacoteca Vaticana* (fig.8) whilst the panel by Giovanni da Rimini in the *Galleria Nazionale d'Arte* in Rome which depicts scenes from the life of Christ, provides a typical example of the latter type (fig.38).²⁴

Of the individual scenes, that is those no longer attached to the structure they once belonged to, varying scales are evident. Of the larger examples many seem to have belonged to reasonably large altarpieces whilst the smaller ones may well have belonged to a structure similar to the panel by Giovanni mentioned above or, possibly, to a *predella*.²⁵

As already mentioned, a significant proportion of the separate panels have now been, with reasonable security, assigned to groups of panels from the same structure, often now ascribed with more or less confidence, to a painter or workshop. How these panels may have been assembled is an issue which will be dealt with in the later chapters, but here we can investigate the types of iconography involved.

Of the groups of associated panels, two distinct groups are sequences of scenes from the lives of saints. These two, both associated with Giovanni Baronzio, depict the lives of John the Baptist (fig.50) and of a female saint probably identifiable

²³ With the exception of those narratives which still survive as part of an altarpiece, notably those on the Coronation Triptych and Baronzio's Urbino Polyptych.

²⁴ The panel in the Pinacoteca Vaticana (inv.40167) measures 19.3 by 21.1cm and can be dated stylistically to the fourth decade of the century. For the Rome and Alnwick panels see above, note 10.

²⁵ However the *predella* does not seem to be a regular feature of the Riminese altarpiece, and there are certainly no surviving examples.

with Santa Columba, the titular saint of the old cathedral of Rimini (fig. 40).²⁶ Another, smaller group of panels, is Marian in iconography (figs 41).²⁷ The other panels, whether associated with a group or not, are almost exclusively Christological.

Amongst these Christological scenes there is, as will be seen, both a remarkable uniformity amongst scenes of the same subject matter, but also a distinct iconographical peculiarity. The distribution of the scenes is also distinctive. At first glance there appears to be a relatively wide selection of the usual scenes of Christ's infancy and Passion, but at closer inspection certain images are surprisingly popular. A closer look at the distribution of the different scenes reveals a distinct pattern. The most popular scene is the Crucifixion which appears eight times (and is almost certainly a missing scene in one of the other groups).²⁸ Of the other scenes which are the most popular *The Betrayal*, *Lamentation* and *Resurrection* are not unexpected, however when we look at the most popular scenes as a whole we can see that the majority of them, *The Descent from the Cross*, *The Lamentation*, *The Descent into Limbo* and *The Resurrection* are *post-mortem* scenes. In fact out of a total of 66 surviving scenes of the life of Christ, excluding *The Crucifixion*, 31 are *post-mortem*. In addition, and most unusually for panel sequences, *The Last Judgement* appears no less than four times. Thus in the Riminese narrative sequence, the events after Christ's death are usually dealt with far more comprehensively than the scenes of his infancy or passion.

We cannot exclude the possibility, of course, that some of the groups of panels have missing elements. For example, the group of twelve panels by Giovanni Baronzio distributed between the Accademia Gallery in Venice, the Staatliche Museen in Berlin and a private collection in Rome (figs. 12 - 22) survive without significant indication of

²⁶ See Chapter 4, pp. 134 - 136.

²⁷ This is the group of panels associated with the Cini Madonna. For further discussion see Chapter 4, pp. 126 – 130.

²⁸ The altarpiece represented by Baronzio's Passion narratives (see Chapter 4 pp. 116 - 118) almost certainly included a central Crucifixion, now lost.

their original arrangement (although there have been various theories).²⁹ On the other hand some of the groups represent entire, more or less intact altarpieces or *favole* such as Giovanni da Rimini's diptych divided between Rome and Alnwick and all of the groups represent cases where we are certain that the majority of panels are represented.³⁰ Interestingly, amongst those panels which survive without their associated groups, the most popular scenes noted above are those which occur with the greatest frequency, reinforcing the implied distribution of scenes noted above.

Having looked at the types of evidence available it is now necessary to look in greater depth at specific scenes, in order to establish the types of visual and iconographical languages employed by the Riminese painters, and from where and whom we can detect influences and quotations. For this purpose I have deliberately concentrated on images of which we have several examples, in an attempt to clarify patterns and traditions. In this case most of the images on which we shall concentrate are Christological narratives as these are the commonest surviving type.

The Nativity/Adoration of the Magi

One of the most distinctive scenes in Riminese painting is the Nativity. In fact, in the extant Riminese panels the Nativity is more usually a conflation of the Nativity and

²⁹ For further discussion of these panels and their original arrangement see chapter 4. Six of the panels survive in the Accademia Gallery in Venice (inv. 559); *The Betrayal of Christ* (17.2 x 14.7cm), *Pilate washes his hands* (17.1 x 14.7cm), *The Ascent of the Cross* (16.8 x 14.8cm), *the Crucifixion* (16.9 x 14.8), *the Descent from the Cross* (16.9 x 14.8cm) and *The Last Judgement* (17.3 x 14.9cm). See Volpe, pp. 42,48, cat. no. 96. Five are preserved in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin (inv. 1110); *Christ before Pilate* (17.2 x 15cm), *The Resurrection* (17.2 x 14.7cm), *Christ in Limbo* (17.2 x 14.9cm), *The Ascension* (17 x 15cm) and *Pentecost* (17 x 14.7cm). See Volpe, pp. 42,48, cat. no. 97. The remaining panel, in a private collection in Rome represents the *Entombment*.

³⁰ See note 10 above.

scene of the Adoration of the Magi. Three of the most uniform examples are that attributed to Baronzio in the Courtauld Institute (fig.27), along with the examples in the Lowe Art Gallery, Miami (fig.31) and the Musée Fesch in Ajaccio (fig.33).³¹ The latter two have been for some time attributed to the Maestro di Verucchio who has recently been associated with the person of Francesco da Rimini.³²

Straight away it becomes obvious that these examples are conflations of the Nativity and Adoration. The pose of the Virgin, presence of the ox and ass and, in the Courtauld version, the bathing of the Christ child are all typical elements of the Nativity, however here the three Magi are a major additional presence. Other features common to all three are the layered compositions and distinctive rocky backdrop. All three compositions are remarkably similar suggesting either a common model, or a general familiarity of other Riminese versions of the scene.

The interesting feature of these Nativities is the distinctive reference both to Byzantine versions and to "Italian" giottesque models. The mat on which the Virgin reclines and the swathing of her body in her garments are typical of Byzantine examples of the scene. In the two versions associated with Francesco da Rimini the painter has adopted the eastern feature of angels peering over the background crags, and has exaggerated it to the point of caricature. The most distinctly Byzantine feature however, is the inclusion of the cave, obligatory in eastern versions as it houses the Virgin. In the case of the Riminese examples this element has become diminutive, housing only the ox and ass, and is present in combination with the gabled stable of recent western tradition. The gabled structure, which provides shelter for the Virgin in Giotto's version of the scene in the Scrovegni Chapel, has here become set back in depth, acting as a frame for the Virgin rather than as an encompassing structure. The

³¹ The panel in the Courtauld, formerly in the Parry Collection at Higham Court, Gloucester (inv. No. 117), measures 45.5 by 27.8cm (see *Il Trecento Riminese* pp.246 – 247, Cat. no. 43). For the versions of the scene in Miami and Ajaccio see Chapter 4, pp.110 - 116.

³² See Chapter 4, n.24 for the point on the Maestro di Verucchio and Francesco da Rimini.

inclusion of both the Byzantine cave and Western stable, with an associated stripping of their function, suggests that their presence is a direct reference to specific prototypes. In an additional two Nativities, that in Ravenna by the *Maestro del Coro della Cappella Scrovegni* (fig.28) and that by Giovanni da Rimini in *the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte* in Rome (fig.38), the combination of gabled stable and cave are again employed although here the scenes are "pure" Nativities without the inclusion of the Magi.³³

The Nativity in Giovanni's panel is perhaps the most strongly byzantinizing of the Riminese scenes. One of six scenes depicted on a small panel (one half of a diptych) the version includes a Madonna completely contained within the outline of the crag beneath which she sits over which peer a group of angels, in a example very close to such eastern versions as that in the Church of Christ in Chora in Istanbul.³⁴ The addition of the melancholic Joseph and the bathing of the Christ child are common to both.

Most telling perhaps is the separate scene in the upper right hand corner depicting the Annunciation to the Shepherds. This event, although also found in western versions, is found in this position most exclusively in Byzantine examples. This element also appears in the same position in the Courtauld version by Baronzio and it is these two examples, which illustrate most clearly the Riminese reliance on Byzantine nativities for their own versions of the scene. In addition, the inclusion of the Annunciation to the Shepherds along with the Adoration of the Magi, is very rare in

³³ For further details on the Ravenna panel see Chapter 4, pp. 107 – 110.

³⁴ The mosaic of the nativity (c. 1318 - 25) is in the outer narthex of the Church of Christ in Chora (Kariye Djami) in Istanbul is typical of Byzantine versions of the scene. For the Kariye Djami see: Underwood, P.A.; *The Kariye Djami*, London, 1975. Another example would be the Hosios Lukas Nativity (see below, note 34).

western versions of the scene but found in Byzantine examples such as that in the Monastery Church of Hosios Lukas near Delphi (fig. 42).³⁵

By contrast the Nativity and the Adoration in the Ravenna panel have a more specific model. They are clearly reliant upon Giotto's frescoes in the Scrovegni Chapel.³⁶ In the Nativity the gabled stable becomes here a coherent structure sheltering the Virgin and the shepherds have moved to the foreground in line with those in the Paduan fresco. The Adoration and Nativity have become iconographically and spatially distinct scenes, as they are in the Scrovegni Chapel. In Giovanni Baronzio's Urbino polyptych the Adoration seems to be again derived from the Scrovegni chapel version of the same scene. In both of these cases, however, it must be noted that the diminutive cave of Byzantine origin is still present, a feature which is conspicuously absent in Giotto's version.

Although the eclecticism of the Riminese Nativities can seem a little awkward they testify to a strong and distinct duality of influence. The esteem held for certain types of model is strongly evident. While the painters quote from diverse sources, they do so in most cases with relative consistency, producing results which are emphatically Riminese.³⁷

³⁵ Monastery Church of Hosios Lukas, Greece (c.1000). For a reproduction of this mosaic see: Talbot-Rice, D.; *The Art of the Byzantine Era*, London 1963, p.94.

³⁶ This is not surprising as the panel is generally ascribed to the *Maestro del Coro della Cappella Scrovegni*, a title which indicates that the painter was probably familiar with Giotto's works in the chapel.

³⁷ These aspects of the Riminese panels will be discussed in reference to both the altarpieces and the devotional imagery in Chapters 4 and 5 respectively.

The Descent into Limbo

Another scene both common and consistent within the body of surviving works is the Descent into Limbo (or Harrowing of Hell).³⁸ In all surviving examples Christ is shown centrally, standing on the doors of Hell and reaching out to pull the kneeling figure of Adam from the entrance.³⁹ The mouth of Hell is presented as a cave opening in a rocky hillside which occupies the right hand side of each composition. Other figures are clustered in the mouth of the cave and behind Christ are several two or three standing figures: their crowns indicating they represent the Old Testament kings.

As in the Nativity, the scene incorporates separate elements from both Byzantine and recent Italian versions of the same event. The realistic setting, providing a tangible and coherent environment for the figures, and the sense of left to right narrative clearly owes much to Italian examples.⁴⁰ The cave entrance to Hell is also a western feature, and it is this feature which provides the narrative focus which contrasts with the symmetrical compositions of eastern examples, which are generally static and hierarchical in nature. In recent Italian examples however Christ is almost always placed at the extreme left of the composition and the souls still within the mouth of Hell. The centralised Christ and the presence of the group of figures behind him are typical of the Byzantine *Anastasis* where the occupants of Hell are dispersed on either

³⁸ For a full discussion of the image of the Anastasis and its origins see: Kartsonis, A.; *Anastasis: The Making of an Image*, Princeton, 1986.

³⁹ These examples are found on the following panels: Giovanni da Rimini's panel in the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte in Rome (fig.38) and Giovanni Baronzio's panels in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin (fig.18), the Passion panels in the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica in Rome (fig.30), in the Galleria Nazionale in Bologna (fig.37), and in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (fig.36).

⁴⁰ A good example of this clear narrative treatment is Duccio's version on the rear of the Maestà. (1309 – 1311, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena)

side of their Saviour.⁴¹ Here, the rocky backdrop, if present, functions to enhance the symmetry of the scene and emphasise the central position of Christ.⁴²

Another distinctly Byzantine element is evident on a close inspection of the pose of Christ and Adam. In three of the five examples Christ is seen to grasp Adams wrist from above as if to physically pull him out of the cave mouth. This gesture belongs in the eastern *Anastasis* where Christ is generally positioned above Adam and actively pulling him from the entrance to Hell. In the Riminese scenes the effect of upward motion on the body of Adam is more pronounced than in western examples where Adam's pose is closer to that of a supplicant.

In these examples again, the duality of influence is distinct, yet here the result is visually more integrated than in the Nativities. In the cases of both scenes however the dual elements are used in a specific way. The painters although incorporating Byzantine elements eschew the strict hierarchical flavour of Byzantine models and instead opt for a more "human" narrative treatment in the tradition of Giotto, and more fitting for the situation of the images within narrative sequences. The relative simplicity of the Byzantine versions are however retained, as is necessary, due to the small scale of many of the images.

The Crucifixion

Where there is a substantial proportion of Christological narratives it is logical that the scene of *The Crucifixion* will occur more frequently than usual. This is certainly the case amongst the surviving Riminese panels where the image rivals the popularity of the Madonna and Child.

⁴¹ Kartsonis, 1986, pp. 204 – 226.

⁴² This symmetrical backdrop is common to almost all Byzantine *Anastasis* images. Kartsonis has pointed out that the rocky backdrop (which appears in the eleventh century) has a specific significance. It stands 'as evidence of the rending of the earth, and the uncovering of the foundation of the world which took place while Christ lay buried.' Kartsonis, 1986, p.208.

The surviving panels generally fall into two groups. The first type, which is also the simpler, is strongly reliant upon Byzantine and Byzantine-Italian tradition. The best examples of this type are found on the Ravenna panel by the Maestro del Coro degli Scrovegni (fig.28), that on the Rome half of the diptych by Giovanni da Rimini (fig.38) and that amongst the group of panels by Baronzio in the Accademia in Venice (fig.16). The prototype for these Crucifixion images is of Byzantine origin, elaborated so as to include the Holy Women and the figure behind the Evangelist, who appears to be interchangeable in the Riminese panels.⁴³ Even after these elaborations the static nature and ambiguous setting leads to the same hierarchical flavour and timelessness of the Byzantine version.

The second and more common type is far more elaborate: a fully developed narrative version of the Crucifixion. In these versions the Crucifixion is interpreted as a historical event and this interpretation is emphasised by the inclusion of a spatially legible environment and specified setting defined by the usual rocky crags beneath and behind the protagonists. This type of scene is that least prone to abbreviation by the Riminese painters. As many incidents as possible seem to have been included; the swooning Madonna, Longinus, the Centurion, Stephaton and the kneeling Magdalen appear obligatory. In addition, in the example by Pietro da Rimini in Hamburg (fig. 43), the dice-players, the dead rising from their graves and, most unusually, the tearing of

⁴³ In the Ravenna panel for example, it is the figure of St. Anthony of Padua who stands behind the Evangelist while in Baronzio's small panel in the Accademia in Venice, it is the Centurion who is featured. These additions change the emphasis of the Crucifixion; it becomes a narrative image. These images are particularly close to versions of the scene found in Serbia, and produced in the thirteenth century. The mural of the *Crucifixion* in the Church of the Resurrection at Zica (between 1219 and 1230), for example, is extremely close to the Riminese examples discussed above, as is the example in the Church of Nemanja, Studenica (c.1208). For both examples see: Talbot-Rice, D.; *Byzantine Painting: The Last Phase*, London, 1968, pp. 46 – 47.

the curtain of the Holy of Holies are included.⁴⁴ Along with these is the odd and rather superfluous figure of the attendant with his head through the ladder. This example, one half of a small diptych, seems an attempt to exhaust the iconographical significance of the scene without compromising its narrative nature. This is no longer an image designed solely to incite devotion and meditation on the sacrifice of Christ, but a complex conglomeration of allegories of individual and mass salvation. Particularly interesting is the figure of the central dice-player who raises his arms to throw the dice and whose gesture echoes the pose of Christ directly above. This motif is repeated, albeit altered, in Baronzio's Crucifixion panel in a private collection (fig. 44). This is an interesting motif; the placement of the dice-players directly beneath the cross is, prior to this, more commonly found in early Christian and Byzantine versions of *The Crucifixion*.⁴⁵ It is rarely found in western painting before the example at San Gimignano (which is later than the Riminese panels in question).⁴⁶ Another prominent example is that on the *Maestà* of Duccio's workshop for the *Duomo* of Massa Marittima.⁴⁷ It has been stated that, in both this example and that of Giovanni Baronzio, the dice-players were added later. This seems very implausible, due to the large amount of space left in the foreground of both examples. In the Siena *Maestà*,

⁴⁴ This panel represents one half of a diptych, in which the other half, also in the Kunsthalle in Hamburg (inv. No. 756 – 757), depicts the Dormition of the Virgin. Both panels measure 63.3 by 32.5 cm. See Volpe, cat no. 29.

⁴⁵ The motif of the dice-players at the foot of the cross appears in very early examples of the Crucifixion scene such as that in the Rabbula Gospel (c.586, Biblioteca Laurentiana, Florence). It later reappears in monumental versions such as the late twelfth century mosaic in the west vault of the Basilica of San Marco, Venice. See: Demus, O.; *The Mosaic Decoration of San Marco, Venice*, London, 1988, p. 72.

⁴⁶ See note 48 below.

⁴⁷ This altarpiece (168 x 107cm), now drastically shorn down and damaged, was a contractual copy of Duccio's Siena *Maestà* probably painted sometime around c.1317 –18. It is still housed in the Cathedral of San Cerbone in Massa Marittima, for which it was designed. Of the narratives on the rear, only the *Crucifixion* and the *Denial of Peter/Betrayal* below, survive. See: Stubblebine, J.H.; *Duccio di Buoninsegna and his School*, Princeton, 1979, pp. 71 – 74.

which was the model for that at Massa Marittima, the Crucifixion scene, (which does not include the dice-players), has far less space in the foreground.

In these complex Crucifixions by the Riminese painters, the mob of characters is strongly differentiated, unlike earlier and contemporary examples such as that of Duccio's *Maestà*.⁴⁸ Through their complexity they first anticipate and then echo such monumental versions as that of Pietro Lorenzetti at Assisi (fig. 45) and at San Gimignano.⁴⁹ Yet, unlike these contemporary and later versions, most of the figures have iconographical significance and are rarely incidental.

Another element, which sets aside the Riminese versions from the Umbrian and Tuscan narrative type of Crucifixion, is that they are mostly confined to panels whereas the majority of Tuscan versions, for example, are frescoed. The Crucifixion panel, in Florence and Siena before the mid-fourteenth century is still a reasonably sparse occurrence by comparison to the distribution amongst the Riminese panels. In addition, the frescoed Crucifixion scenes by the Riminese artists are rarely of the complex narrative type and more commonly simple "iconic" types. It appears that the position of many of the Riminese Crucifixion panels on narrative altarpieces has catalysed an emphasis on the scene as a historic event. The placing of the scene within a sequence, seems to have enforced a narrative interpretation on the painters.

Although the narrative version of the Crucifixion is an emphatic move away from Byzantine tradition, several elements betray a residual respect on the part of the Riminese painters for the symmetry of the Byzantine prototype. For example, St. John the Evangelist is most usually placed to the left of Christ (our right). This is a hangover from the simplest type of Byzantine image, where the Madonna and John flank Christ on the left and right, whereas in contemporary and later "western" versions the left side

⁴⁸ The Crucifixion is from the rear of the *Maestà* (100.2 – 101.4 x 75.7 – 76cm, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena)

⁴⁹ Pietro Lorenzetti, *The Crucifixion*, Assisi, San Francesco, Lower Church (c.1320 – 30). and Barna da Siena (?), *The Crucifixion*, San Gimignano, Collegiata (c.1350). Images of both can be found in Smart, A.; *The Dawn of Italian Painting*, Oxford, 1978, figs. 121, 122 & 134.

of Christ is reserved for the “unseeing mass”, the unenlightened Jews and Gentiles, and St. John becomes more closely associated with the Holy Women on the right of Christ.⁵⁰ In the groups of dice-players mentioned in the two panels above, the painters have restored these figures to their original early Christian and Byzantine position directly below the foot of the cross.

In the Crucifixion, as in the other scenes discussed the Riminese versions show a remarkable uniformity. Not only the inclusion of specific figures, but their location and pose has become formulaic. Longinus, for example, is exclusively shown on horseback to the extreme left of the scene and is usually depicted as blind. The Centurion, common both in the complex and simple types of Crucifixion, is always to the right, and normally turns to a figure behind him, illustrating the fact that he speaks. Stephaton, is the most interesting: the attendant who offers Christ the sponge soaked with vinegar. He is frequently placed against the picture plane with his back to the viewer as he peers upward to Christ. The motif appears in various panels as well as Giuliano da Rimini's fresco at Jesi. This feature, both bold and highly unorthodox, also appears in the Santa Chiara Altarpiece by Paolo Veneziano, painted for a Franciscan nunnery in Venice (fig. 46), suggesting perhaps a common model, most probably from the east; Stephaton and Longinus were frequent inclusions in the Byzantine Crucifixion.⁵¹

⁵⁰ This division of the followers of Christ and those who do not “see” his divinity is typical of many Italian representations of the Crucifixion in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In Duccio's version on the Maestà, the unbelievers are, for the most part, located to the right of the scene (to Christ's left) while the Holy women and St. John the Evangelist are located to the left of the scene (Christ's right).

⁵¹ Paolo da Venezia, *Santa Chiara Polyptych*, Accademia Galleries, Venice. The polyptych was constructed and painted for the church of Santa Chiara in Venice. The date is uncertain but the polyptych was probably carried out towards the end of the first half of the century. For further details see Pallucchini, R.; *La Pittura Veneziana del Trecento*, 1964 pp. 45 – 48, Muraro, M.; *Paolo da Venezia*, London, 1969, pp.147 – 148 and Gardner, J.; “Nuns and Altarpieces: Agendas for Research,” *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, 30 (1995), pp.27 – 57.

In both the complex and simple versions we can see the reliance of the images on their Byzantine predecessors, yet there is a distinctive move towards elaboration and contextualisation, the results of which are images which are narrative in nature.

The Last Judgement

The Last Judgment is an image which is both complex and dogmatic in nature, and is therefore most frequently found in monumental form, either in fresco or mosaic.⁵² In Italy, of course, it most frequently appears on the interior west wall of the church or chapel. The iconographical and visual complexity of the scene is less suited for panel painting, yet among the surviving Riminese panels there are at least four examples.⁵³ Additionally, all are small in scale belonging originally (or still belonging) to devotional or diminutive panels rather than large or medium scale altarpieces.

All four are remarkable similar in their composition, which, for obvious reasons, has been reduced to its bare essentials. In all Christ is shown seated within a mandorla and flanked by the Madonna and the Baptist who are turned towards him in their roles as intercessors. Flanking them are the Apostles and beneath, in their usual positions, are the damned and the elect. These are of course the basic elements of the standard Last Judgment scene, and in these instances form the image in its entirety, bar a few details which vary from scene to scene.

Three of the four surviving images are very close indeed, to a point where it must be suggested that either a common model existed, or that drawings were

⁵² For the Last Judgement see: Baschet, J.; *Les justices de l'au-delà: les représentations de l'enfer en France et en Italie (XIe-Xve siècle)*, Rome, 1993 and Elliot, J.; *The Last Judgement Scene in Central Italian Painting c. 1266 – 1343: The impact of Guelf Politics, Papal Power and Angevin Iconography*, PhD Thesis, Warwick, 2000.

⁵³ These four known examples are Baronzio's panels in the Accademia in Venice (fig.21), and in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (fig.36), Pietro da Rimini's panel in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich (fig.11) and Giovanni da Rimini's panel in the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte in Rome (fig.38).

circulated between workshops. These three are Giovanni da Rimini's version in Rome (fig.38), and those attributed to Baronzio in Venice (fig.21) and in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (fig.36).⁵⁴ In all three the Madonna, Baptist and Apostles are seated, as if enthroned, and the former are emphasised by their turning towards Christ and their imploring gestures. Beneath Christ angels sound the Last Trump (in the two Baronzio examples they emerge from beneath Christ's mandorla, while in the Rome panel they are positioned above the damned and raise their eyes to Christ). The most unusual feature is the angel, which appears directly below Christ in the Venice and Rome panels. This distinctive element seems to be peculiar to Rimini.

The angel, depicted in half-length, carries a cloth stretched between its arms and holds a cross in its right hand. In the Accademia version the angel also grasps items in its left hand, and although the scale of the work makes these difficult to make out, they appear to be the rod and scourge of Christ's Passion. In Byzantine Last Judgements and Pietro Cavallini's version in the Church of Santa Cecilia in Rome, the *Hetoimasia* carrying the instruments of Christ's Passion is in this same position, directly below Christ, while in Giotto's version in the Scrovegni Chapel this feature is replaced by two angels supporting a large cross, in the tradition of Northern portal sculpture (fig. 48).⁵⁵ This area then, is reserved for allusions to Christ's sacrifice and legitimacy as judge. In Byzantine scenes the *Hetoimasia* is usually flanked by two angels and draped with a cloth. The angel of the Riminese panels appears to be therefore, an ingenious short-hand device which retains and extends the visual simplicity of the eastern

⁵⁴ If there was a common model belonging to the Riminese context it no longer exists; the frescoed Last Judgment in Sant'Agostino in Rimini is very different in conception to the versions on panel.

⁵⁵ The Last Judgement in Santa Cecilia is located in the traditional position, on the interior west wall of the church. Only on horizontal section of the fresco survives along with small fragments of the Old and New Testament cycles from the same programme, which originally decorated the walls of the nave. The programme was probably carried out in the last decade of the Duecento. (For further information see: Baschet, 1993, and Tomei, A.; *Pietro Cavallini*, Milan, 2000.)

Hetoimasia while evoking the cross bearing angels deployed in the Italian versions. Thus, while losing some of the iconographical significance of the *Hetoimasia*, the Riminese angel evokes a more realistic presence and, as we have seen in other images, the Riminese tended to play down the symbolic and hierarchical elements in favour of a more narrative and naturalistic effect. For this reason the addition of the traditional *Hetoimasia* would have been incongruous, but the western host of angels too bulky and complex for the small scale. This feature shows how the Riminese artists were prepared to combine and reinterpret traditional elements in order to suit the scale and style of their images.

The fourth, so far unmentioned scene, that attributed to Pietro da Rimini (or alternatively the *Maestro del Coro di Sant'Agostino*) in Munich (fig.11), is more complex. The basic elements are the same, (except that the Madonna, Baptist and Apostles are standing), yet there are new additions. Two angels flank Christ, one of whom holds a trumpet while the other has been allocated the task of rolling up the scroll of the heavens. The river of fire emanates from beneath Christ's feet to consume the damned below, and to their left we see one of the dead rising from his open grave. These are all elements absent in the other versions. The most distinctive element is the row of bust-length figures which appears above the judged. Including popes, royalty, friars and bishops, this element may represent the host of saints and elect, such as that represented in Giotto's version, and in fact this seems to be the only explanation, although none of them have haloes. Beneath them is a row of flags bearing insignia, now mostly illegible, although one appears to be a *fleur-de-lis*.

The iconography of these scenes appears to be predominantly western; Christ is shown displaying all five wounds of the Crucifixion and the *Hetoimasia* is absent, replaced by the angel mentioned above.

What is unusual is the presence of a relatively high number of Last Judgments amongst the Riminese panels. As mentioned, all four are small in scale and in addition they all appear as one of a sequence of Christological narratives. Their inclusion is

therefore problematic and rather incongruous, as the representation of a future symbolic event, rather than an actual “historical” occurrence which can be presented as a narrative. There are few parallel examples of this inclusion of the Last Judgment in a panel sequence, but an exception can be found in the uppermost register of Paolo da Venezia’s polyptych for the Church of Santa Chiara in Venice (fig.46).⁵⁶ In this example the scene is placed opposite that of the *Pentecost* and forms the final scene of a sequence of narratives running from the *Nativity* through the Passion, the Resurrection and through narratives from the lives of Francis and Clare. It functions as the “full stop” at the end of this extensive chronological sequence, emphasizing the actions of the two Franciscan saints as part of the continuing story of God’s plan and as successors to Apostolic tradition.⁵⁷ The “full stop” function also seems true of the Riminese panels, the image terminating the narrative sequence with an iconographical and visual finality while extending the significance of the previous scenes by implication. Where the narrative sequence finds a home on the painted panel, as it does in Rimini, then the inclusion of this final scene is perhaps as inevitable as is its inclusion on the west wall of the Scrovegni Chapel, a completion of the Christological programme. As we will see in Chapter Five, the use of the Last Judgement scene also raises questions about the impact of the Franciscan Spiritual movement, and in particular, the influence of the writings of Joachim of Fiore.

⁵⁶ See note 50 for Santa Chiara Polyptych.

⁵⁷ It is interesting that in this polyptych that the Last Judgement is included in this position, in the uppermost register at the end of a series of narratives of the lives of Clare and Francis. This arrangement specifically emphasises the roles of the two Franciscan saints in the “divine plan” and allows the events of their lives to be read as a continuation of the biblical events depicted in the lower registers which is finally terminated with the Last Judgement scene at the far left. In addition there is a typological parallel drawn between the images of the two saints and the Christological narratives below as for example, in the placement of the scene depicting St Francis renouncing his earthly father above the scene of *The Baptism of Christ*.

Space and setting in the Riminese Narratives

An investigation of the iconographical content and composition of the scenes has revealed a combination of influences. A look at the treatment of space and use of fictive architecture and landscape settings is now necessary.

The small scale of many panels leaves little space or necessity for all but the most summary suggestions of landscape or architectural articulation. However, in the larger scenes various types of articulation are employed in order to evoke setting. The most common type is the ubiquitous rocky landscape denoting a rural exterior. In addition, architectural elements are used in a variety of ways, rarely to construct encompassing environments, but instead to suggest setting or to highlight protagonists. This is certainly the case in Baronzio's Passion altarpiece (figs.29 & 30) where the throne is used in the trial scene to emphasize the positions of Annas and Caiaphas and in the subsequent scene, which consists of the *Flagellation* and *Mocking* the background buildings are used to frame Christ.⁵⁸ In the latter scene, particularly, there is no attempt to make the buildings solid or to define them in space, they are merely compositional devices. In Pietro da Rimini's Berlin panel of *The Presentation in the Temple* the architectural structure at the rear of the scene appears to represent simultaneously both the exterior and interior of the Temple (fig. 49).⁵⁹ Its purpose is, therefore, to identify location rather than to attempt to recreate a spatially cogent interior.

In style, the architectural elements tend towards a reflection of contemporary tastes, incorporating gothic and Cosmatesque elements also typical, not only of the fresco cycles at Assisi and the Scrovegni Chapel, but also the San Francesco dossal by Giotto. In fact the painters seem to have borrowed elements directly from these

⁵⁸ For full details of this altarpiece see Chapter 4, pp. 116 - 118

⁵⁹ Pietro da Rimini, *The Presentation in the Temple*, Staatliche Museen, Berlin (inv. 1116). The panel measures 18.5 by 20.3cm.

narrative sequences, and reproduced them liberally in their panels. The balcony used by Giotto at Padua and his followers in the Lower Church at Assisi for the scene of *The Massacre of the Innocents* seems to have appealed particularly to Baronzio, who uses similar structures in several of his panels, such as the trial scenes in the group of panels divided between Berlin and Venice. As well as these instances, adaptations from both Assisi and Padua are not uncommon. Giovanni da Rimini quotes the scene of *The Trial by Fire* from the St. Francis Legend for his throne in the scene from the life of St. Catherine of Alexandria in his panel at Alnwick. The structure of the Temple in Baronzio's Baptist altarpiece (fig. 50) is reliant upon the structure in *The Expulsion of the Merchants from the Temple*, in the Scrovegni Chapel (fig. 51), and in the same group of panels the upper architectural elements in *The Birth of the Baptist* are derived from those in the scene of *The Massacre of the Innocents* from the Lower Church at Assisi. Most striking is the use of the structure representing the upper room in Baronzio's *Pentecost* from the panel in New York (fig.36), where the building and, in fact, the whole scene is no less than a copy of that of the equivalent scene in the Scrovegni Chapel.⁶⁰

In the three panel groups where architectural elements play a prominent role a pattern emerges in which the typical articulation appears rather jumbled, top-heavy and ambiguous.⁶¹ The idea seems to be to present a cityscape with echoes of prestigious contemporary fresco cycles, but the painters are either unconcerned with, or unable to produce, a spatially or architecturally coherent result. In the few cases where this result is achieved, it is by quoting directly from Padua or by paraphrasing Assisian/Paduan elements to suggest a similar environment.

⁶⁰ *Il Trecento Riminese*, p.272.

⁶¹ Of these three groups of panels, two are associated with Giovanni Baronzio; the Santa Colomba narratives and the St. John the Baptist panels. The other group has been attributed to the Maestro di Verucchio and includes narratives from the life of the Virgin. All three groups are discussed fully in Chapter 4.

The top-heavy architecture with prominent balconies and jettied storeys are in feel much closer to the frescoes in the Upper Church at Assisi, e.g. the scenes of *St. Francis Honoured by a Simple Man* and *The Renouncing of Worldly goods*. The result is never as simple and economical as Giotto's use of architecture in the Scrovegni Chapel.

In the Riminese panels space is usually ill defined. Depth is alluded to in the exterior scenes by setting the figures upon several layers of rocky ground rising towards the rear of the scene. The frame/border and picture plane are rarely acknowledged, exceptions being those direct quotations from Giotto such as Baronzio's *Pentecost* mentioned above, and also several panels belonging to a Marian altarpiece attributed to Francesco da Rimini (fig.41).⁶² These latter scenes, while containing the most complex and unorthodox architectural environments so far encountered, contain a row of columns defining the facade of the buildings forming a barrier behind which the events are confined. Even here, however, the columns are represented as if set slightly back from the picture plane, and some structural elements project forward of them. The use of columns defining the picture plane is not a conspicuous feature of either the frescoes at Assisi or in the Scrovegni Chapel, but is used frequently by Duccio in his narrative panels belonging to the *Maestà* of Siena Cathedral (fig. 52). Whether this is Francesco's model or not is unclear but, as we will see his adoption of Gothic traits, his colouration and emphasis on decoration and pattern, reveal his knowledge of and respect for, contemporary Siennese painting.⁶³

The influence of the fresco cycles at Assisi and the Scrovegni Chapel is strong throughout Riminese panel painting but fluctuates according to the type, scale and author of the panels involved.

⁶² This altarpiece is discussed in further depth in Chapter 4, pp.126 - 130

⁶³ For further discussion of this issue see Chapter 4, pp.126 - 130

In Baronzio's panel in the Metropolitan Museum three of the six Christological scenes are directly reliant on the Scrovegni Chapel versions of the same image.⁶⁴ The other three, *The Deposition*, *The Descent into Limbo* and *The Last Judgement*, do not have a suitable parallel in the Chapel. In *The Deposition* the painter has followed a by then standard iconography, while in *The Descent into Limbo* he has assimilated Byzantine and modern Italian elements. The Last Judgment, as has been seen, is a condensed version of the western version.

On the other hand, the panel in Rome executed by Giovanni da Rimini, is much closer to Byzantine models in its style, content and coloration. Yet even here echoes of the frescoes in the Scrovegni Chapel creep into such motifs as the pose of Joseph in the *Nativity*.

Pietro da Rimini and Giovanni Baronzio in particular seem to have embraced the qualities of the Giotto of the Scrovegni Chapel. In their narratives we encounter the same sense of visual clarity and joy in narration. Baronzio's colouration, in particular, includes an abundance of pale blues and pinks more typical of fresco than panel painting. Other painters such as Francesco and Giovanni da Rimini appear more receptive to the more decorative aspects of the Gothic style as exemplified by the Siennese painters of the same period and employ the warm colour schemes typical of both Byzantine and Siennese painting.

Conclusions

In the above analysis of the available evidence various traits and patterns have been discerned.

Firstly, the most commonly surviving product of the Riminese school has been shown to be, not the image of the standing or half-length saint, but the narrative.

⁶⁴ See above, note 8.

Amongst these narratives, the predominant type of image is that depicting the life of Christ and more precisely, the *post-mortem* events of Christ's life.

A second aspect is the prominence of Franciscan saints and iconography, a topic which will be discussed more fully in subsequent chapters.

In terms of stylistic and iconographical influence, a strong duality has been detected. Although the Riminese painters are clearly indebted to Giotto and to other contemporary visual sources, they are not slavish imitators. The influence of Byzantine imagery and iconography makes the Riminese panels very distinctive, and we have seen how they are able to adopt and adapt images to suit the needs of small scale narrative sequences.

Several important questions have been raised that need to be addressed. First of all, the unusual predominance of the Christological narrative needs an explanation, as does the distinctive organisation of the individual panels. Finally, the remarkable closeness of some specific scenes needs to be further investigated. By turning now to the specific panels, and working towards their contextualisation, we can hope to shed light upon these issues.

Chapter 3 - The Painted Crosses

Perhaps the most obvious legacy of Giotto's presence in Rimini is the body of surviving painted crosses, spread across Romagna and Northern Marche, which are directly reliant on the cross in the Tempio Malatestiano. As mentioned in Chapter One the number of these extant crosses is large enough to suggest that they were an extremely common form of church furnishing in the area at this period. Their survival rate in the area around Rimini seems significantly high. The reasons for this are unclear, but the presence of Giotto's example in the major Franciscan church in the city may partly explain the popularity, especially when we consider that some of the best examples are found in the Franciscan churches in the area.

This group of crosses, with their shared characteristics, begin to emerge towards the end of the first decade of the Trecento. The similarity, both in style and format, between the individual examples is striking. They are characterised by a reliance upon the anatomy and position of Christ's body in Giotto's examples, in particular the construction of the torso and rib cage and in the arrangement of the loin cloth, and by the frequent use of the barbed quatrefoil (or the related eight-pointed star) for the terminal sections.

The Surviving Riminese Painted Crosses

There are fourteen painted crosses that need to be considered here.¹ They are in varying states of preservation, and yet, unlike other types of panel produced in Rimini,

¹ I have included those extant crosses which stylistically and formally are close enough to be considered "Riminese". For this reason I have not included the three surviving crosses by the so-called Maestro di Montefiore, included in the 1995 catalogue, which anyway appear to fall outside of the period we are dealing with. See *Il Trecento Riminese*, pp. 278 - 279. I have also

they have generally remained close to their place of their origin, and several are still in the churches for which they were designed.

1. Rimini, Sant'Agostino.²

This very damaged cross still survives in the Augustinian Church in Rimini (fig.4). It has now lost all of its terminal panels, and the main body of the cross has been shorn down at both sides. As discussed previously, even in its currently diminished state, it is on a relatively large scale.³ The large scale, as well as its format and style, connect it closely to the Tempio cross, which appears to have been very similar in format. The structure of Christ's torso and the arrangement of the loincloth are stylised versions of the same sections on the Tempio Cross. There is also a parallel elongation of the torso itself.

The original location of the cross is most likely to have been upon a rood or choir screen, and this is where Pasini depicts the cross in his reconstruction of the Trecento interior of Sant'Agostino.⁴

Carlo Volpe associated this cross with the painter of the frescoes of the Last Judgement in the same church, whom he labelled the Maestro dell'Arengo.⁵ More recently, Alessandro Volpe has suggested the possibility that the painter may be "Zangolo", the brother of Giovanni and Giuliano da Rimini, who is also documented as a painter.⁶

omitted here the fragmentary cross formerly in the Metropolitan Museum in New York. The ruinous nature of this example makes a useful analysis impossible. See Volpe, C.; cat. no. 62.

² 433 x 335cm. For further discussion of the cross see: Volpe, C.; pp. 19 - 20. cat. no. 20, Il Trecento Riminese, cat. no. 15 and Volpe., A., pp. 74 - 82.

³ See Chapter 1, p. 38.

⁴ Pasini, P.G. (ed.); *Medioevo Fantastico e Cortese: Arte a Rimini fra Comune e Signoria*, Rimini, 1998, p. 48. See Chapter 1, pp. 37 – 41 for a fuller discussion of the locations of the Trecento crosses.

⁵ Volpe, C., pp. 19 - 20

⁶ 300 x 227cm. Volpe, A., pp. 74 - 82.

2. Mercatello sul Metauro, San Francesco.⁷

This cross, another of the few still in the church for which they were designed, is particularly well preserved (fig.5). The cross is, in addition, signed and dated by the painter Giovanni da Rimini.⁸ This information has been particularly useful to scholars due to the paucity of such documentation amongst the surviving works of the Riminese painters. The date is, however, problematic, as the inscription has been damaged and could therefore be interpreted either as 1309 or 1314. This problem has been a topic of some discussion, and is important here as the date also represents a *terminus ante quem* for the Tempio cross, as discussed in Chapter One. Benati and Campana prefer the earlier date, while Alessandro Volpe argues for the later date, suggesting that the cross has Gothic characteristics which make a date of 1309 unlikely.⁹

The cross is on a more modest scale than that of the Tempio and Sant'Agostino, as befits its location in the small Franciscan church in Mercatello, a town located in the hills to the south west of Urbino.¹⁰ Its present location within the church is upon a beam separating the nave from the *cappella maggiore*, and it is possible that it has always occupied a similar position, although perhaps on a more substantial structure. The cross is to be seen in conjunction with the high altarpiece attributed to

⁷ For further discussion of the cross see: Volpe, C.; pp. 13 - 17. cat. no. 31, *Il Trecento Riminese*, p. 30, and Volpe., A., pp. 88 - 100.

⁸ In my judgement the damaged inscription at the base of the cross reads: IOH(ANN)ES PICTOR FECIT HOC OP(U)S / FR(ATRIS) TOBALDI M(ILLESIMO) CCC(X?V?)IIII. Volpe's transcription (see Volpe, A., p.98) is as follows: IOH(ANN)ES PICTOR FECIT HOC OP(U)S FR(ATIS) TOBALDI M(ILLESIMO) CCCXIII[!].

⁹ Benati, D.; *Disegno del Trecento riminese*, in *Il Trecento Riminese*, pp. 29 - 57. Campana, A, *La Data della Croce di Mercatello e due note sui codici miniati riminesi*, in Emiliani, A. et al.; *Neri da Rimini: Il Trecento riminese tra pittura e scrittura*, Milan 1995, pp. 211 - 217. Volpe, A., p. 98. Carlo Volpe does not prefer either date, see: Volpe, C., pp.13 - 17, cat. no. 13.

¹⁰ For a discussion of the history of the convent at Mercatello see: Leonardi, C.; 'I francescani e la pittura riminese nelle Marche', *Notizie di Palazzo Albani*, 16 (1988), pp. 25-34, (p. 30 - 31).

Giovanni Baronzio (fig.7), although this was painted much later than the cross itself (probably in the 1340s).¹¹

3. Talamello, San Lorenzo.¹²

Although now hanging in the Church of San Lorenzo in Talamello, this cross was originally located in the Augustinian church in Poggiolo (fig. 53).¹³ It is another cross associated with the name of Giovanni da Rimini, primarily due to the stylistic similarities with the signed Mercatello cross. The cross is in a reasonable condition and has recently been restored.

Although stylistically close to both the Tempio and Mercatello crosses, the format of the cross is very different: it does not employ the elaborate outline of the majority of Riminese crosses, and instead the rectangular terminal panels recall the painted crosses of the Duecento. Carlo Volpe likens the structure of the cross to the examples in San Felice and Santa Maria Novella in Florence (fig.23), but nevertheless suggests a date of c.1310 - 1315.¹⁴ Alessandro Volpe, on the other hand, prefers an earlier date on the basis of the less developed form and structure of the cross, placing it in the years around 1300.¹⁵

4. Rimini, Museo Civico.¹⁶

This cross, also associated with Giovanni da Rimini, was formerly in the collection of the Marchese Aduato Diotallevi, and is now housed in the Museo Civico (fig. 54). Its original location is unknown although the small scale (close to that of the Scrovegni

¹¹ This altarpiece will be discussed in greater depth in the following chapter, pp . 140 – 142.

¹² 230 x 160cm. For further discussion of the cross see: Volpe, C.; pp. 16 - 17. cat. no. 14, *Il Trecento Riminese*, pp. 168-169, cat. no. 11, and Volpe., A., pp. 88 - 100.

¹³ Volpe, C., cat. no. 14.

¹⁴ Volpe, C.; pp. 16 - 17.

¹⁵ *Il Trecento Riminese*, p. 168, Volpe., A., pp. 88 - 100.

Cross) suggests a modest church or chapel. Its design is extremely close to that of the Mercatello Cross, although the terminal panels are proportionally larger. Alessandro Volpe has proposed that this cross is earlier than the Mercatello cross and suggests a date of c. 1305.¹⁷

5. Rijswijk, Instituut Collectie Nederlands.¹⁸

Formerly in the Museo Arcivescovile in Utrecht, this is the last of the four extant crosses associated with Giovanni da Rimini, and is the most altered of this group (fig. 55). As Carlo Volpe has pointed out, the terminal panels are missing and the cross has been badly restored, leaving little of the original paintwork. It can still be seen, however, that the form of the figure of Christ is very similar to those in the other crosses by Giovanni, and ultimately reliant on the Tempio cross. The original location of this cross is unknown, although again it is on a relatively modest scale and this probably reflects its original setting.

6. Sassoferrato, San Francesco.¹⁹

Although assigned by Carlo Volpe to the anonymous Maestro del Coro di Sant'Agostino, this cross has more recently been attributed to Giuliano da Rimini, Giovanni's brother, by Benati and Alessandro Volpe (fig.6).²⁰

In design, the cross is visibly similar to those by Giovanni, although the shape of the terminal panels is quite distinct, being based on the eight-pointed star rather than the barbed quatrefoil.

¹⁶ 185 x 179cm. For further discussion of the cross see: Volpe, C.; pp. 13 - 17. cat. no. 15, Volpe., A., pp. 88 - 100.

¹⁷ *Il Trecento Riminese*, p. 176.

¹⁸ 160 x 130cm. For further discussion of the cross see: Volpe, C.; pp. 13 - 17. cat. no. 17, *Il Trecento Riminese*, pp. 176-177, cat. no. 15, and Volpe., A., pp. 88 - 100.

¹⁹ Scale unknown. For further discussion of the cross see: Volpe, C.; p. 34, cat. no. 45, *Il Trecento Riminese*, p.35, and Volpe., A., pp. 128 - 136.

As with the Mercatello cross, this panel is still in the Franciscan church for which it was designed, and can here be seen alongside frescoes by the Fabrianese "school".²¹

7. Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche.²²

Another cross which utilises the eight-pointed star for its terminal panels, this example was attributed by Carlo Volpe to the Maestro di San Pietro in Sylvis (a master later associated with Pietro da Rimini). Although structurally intact, the painted surface is in a poor state of preservation, and the figure of St. John the Evangelist, has been almost totally obliterated (fig. 56). Although clearly based on the Tempio cross there is a marked stylisation of form, most obviously in the torso of Christ.

8. Urbania, Cathedral.²³

This is another cross which has been associated with Pietro da Rimini, and also utilises the eight-pointed star (fig. 57). We have more information on the provenance of this cross which has been linked to the Franciscan house in the town of Urbania (formerly Castel Durante). However, the information is conflicting, Carlo Volpe states that the cross was originally situated in the Chiesa dei Morti (or of the Confraternita di San Giovanni Decollato) in Urbania, the same church in which the Boston Dossal was situated (fig.1). On the other hand Leonardi clearly states that both the cross and the dossal were originally located in the Church of San Francesco, adjacent to the Chiesa dei Morti.²⁴ Its large scale suggests it was located in a substantial building, making a provenance of San Francesco more likely. Whichever the case, the cross would have

²⁰ Il Trecento Riminese, p.35, and Volpe., A., pp. 128 - 136.

²¹The 13th and 14th century church is in the town of Sassoferrato to the north of Fabriano in Marche

²² 255 x 189cm. For further discussion of the cross see: Volpe, C.; pp. 22 - 23, cat. no. 22.

²³ 406 x 241cm. For further discussion of the cross see: Volpe, C.; pp. 23 - 26, cat. no. 24.

²⁴ Leonardi, pp. 31 – 32.

been associated with the Franciscan house, as the two churches were originally part of the same complex.

An inscription has been recorded on the base of the cross which Carlo Volpe records as PETRUS DE ARIMINO FECIT H....²⁵ A slightly earlier publication, however, states that the cross is signed and *dated* to 1309, a detail which now appears to be obliterated.²⁶

The stylisation of the figure of Christ is, in this cross, more pronounced than in the previous example. In particular, the pose of the figure is awkward, notably the position of the head which is uncomfortably forced to the left.

9. Sant'Arcangelo di Romagna, Collegiata.²⁷

Carlo Volpe has ascribed this cross to the Maestro del Refettorio di Pomposa, (although I feel that the solidly constructed figures in the refectory at Pomposa are far removed from the awkward figure of Christ in the cross under discussion).²⁸ The panel has a more pronounced stylisation than in any of the previous examples, although the basic format remains the same (fig. 58). As in the Tempio and Giovanni da Rimini crosses, the barbed quatrefoil forms the basis for the terminal panels.

No information about the provenance of this panel survives although Volpe records a fragmentary inscription: CA... NOLUS TE... IS SI.²⁹

²⁵ Volpe, C., cat. no. 24.

²⁶ *Marche*, Touring Club Italiano, Milan, 1962, p. 171.

²⁷ 287 x 240cm. For further discussion of the cross see: Volpe, C.; p. 31, cat. no. 41.

Sant'Arcangelo is just to the north-east of the city of Rimini itself.

²⁸ Volpe, C.; p. 31

²⁹ Volpe, C. cat. no. 41

10. Bagnacavallo, San Francesco.³⁰

This, much altered panel is now located in the first chapel on the right, in the church of San Francesco in Bagnacavallo (fig. 59). The cross has been cut down at both sides, has lost its terminal panels and has been substantially repainted. Its present appearance therefore, gives us little clue to its original format, although the pattern already established suggests that the form of the terminal panels would have been based on the barbed quatrefoil or eight-pointed star. Carlo Volpe attributes the cross to the Maestro di Verucchio.³¹

11. Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche.³²

As with the previous cross, this panel has been linked by Carlo Volpe to the Maestro di Verucchio (fig. 60).³³ This panel is, however, far better preserved, retaining its terminal panels (in the form of barbed quatrefoils) and original format, although the figure of John the Evangelist, in the left hand terminal, is very damaged.

Our knowledge of the provenance is, once again, limited. Volpe states that the cross was found in the *antico Ospedale di Urbino*, in 1915, although this by no means has to reflect its original location.³⁴ Again, the cross is of substantial size, suggesting the original setting would have been equally substantial.

³⁰ Scale unknown. For further discussion of the cross see: Volpe, C.; p. 36 - 37, cat. no. 50. Bagnacavallo is located in Romagna, between Imola and Ravenna.

³¹ Volpe, C.; p. 36 - 37.

³² Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Inv. 661. 400 x 310cm. See: Volpe, C.; p. 36 - 37, cat. no. 51.

³³ Volpe, C.; p. 36 - 37.

³⁴ Volpe, C. cat. no. 51.

12. Verucchio, Collegiata dei SS. Martino e Francesco d'Assisi.³⁵

Now located above the altar in the left hand aisle of the Collegiata, this cross is unique amongst the extant Riminese crosses in that it has a fourth terminal panel (at the base), depicting the Magdalen kneeling at the foot of the cross (fig. 61).³⁶ This base section is, like the other three terminal panels, based on the eight-pointed star, although the lower edge is flat, suggesting that the cross was always designed to rest upon a solid structure. In all respects other than the base panel, this cross is typical of the Riminese crosses already discussed, and is very similar in style to the crosses associated with the Maestro di Verucchio, although the weak execution led Volpe to suggest that this was wholly a workshop product.³⁷

13. Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche.³⁸

This is an interesting cross in that, while it shares many characteristics with the other examples, it also differs in several respects (fig. 62). The basic imagery, and the use of the barbed quatrefoil shape for the terminal panels, are not unusual, however the form of the cross is distinct in its elongation (it does not have defined aprons), and its additional imagery. The latter includes the image of the pelican feeding its young below the figure of the Redeemer, the representation of Adam's skull beneath the cross, and the inclusion, at the level of Christ's feet., of roundels containing busts of the four Evangelists.

The cross is generally attributed to the so-called Maestro dell'Incoronazione di Urbino, named after the Coronation triptych in the same gallery.³⁹

³⁵ 304 x 240cm. See: Volpe, C.; pp, 36, 38, cat. no. 58. Verucchio is in Romagna, to the north of San Marino.

³⁶ Carlo Volpe mis-identifies this figure as a *Madonna Orante*, see: Volpe, C., cat. no. 58.

³⁷ Volpe, C., cat. no. 58.

³⁸ 232 x 183cm. See: Volpe, C.; p. 36 - 37, cat. no. 51.

³⁹ See note 47 below.

Leonardi indicates that the cross was originally located in the Church of San Francesco in Rovereto in Saltara, an early Franciscan house, rebuilt in the fifteenth century.⁴⁰

14. Sassocorvaro, Museo della Rocca.⁴¹

The extremely poor condition of this painted cross makes a useful analysis extremely difficult (fig.63). The cross has been cut down on all sides, and only sections of the painted surface remain. Despite this, the quality of the painting is still apparent, as is the stylistic closeness to the Riminese crosses discussed above, particularly those by Giovanni and Giuliano da Rimini.

The cross is modest in scale in its present state, although it would have been substantially larger when still united with its terminal sections.

Although its original location is not documented, the cross may well have belonged to the Franciscan convent in the town. The convent was destroyed during the war, and this may partly explain the cross's ruinous state.

Giotto, the Franciscans and the Riminese Crosses

In the above survey of the extant crosses, we have seen how close the form and style of these panels can be. This similarity suggests a common model, which I have already suggested is represented by the Tempio cross executed by Giotto (fig.3). This assumption raises issues which need to be addressed.

Firstly, as the Giotto's Tempio and Scrovegni Chapel crosses (fig.24) are extremely close, it could be argued that either could have acted as the main model for the Riminese examples, particularly as so many of the panels of the Riminese painters

⁴⁰ Leonardi, C., p.29. Saltara is a small town in the diocese of Fano, Marche.

demonstrate their author's familiarity with the Scrovegni frescoes. However the main model for the Riminese crosses does appear to be that of the Tempio. There are a variety of reasons for suggesting this.

On a purely visual level, there is a closer relationship between the Tempio cross and its Riminese counterparts. Taking as examples the well preserved crosses by Giovanni da Rimini in Mercatello (fig.5) and the Museo Civico, Rimini (fig.54), that by Pietro da Rimini in Urbania (fig.57), and that associated with Giuliano in Sassoferrato (fig.6) we can see that there are four characteristics common to the Riminese crosses and to the Tempio example.

Firstly, all of the Riminese examples omit the lobes included at the level of Christ's knees in the Paduan cross. Secondly, in the Tempio cross Christ's head is placed far off centre and covering his right shoulder. This is also true of the examples by the Riminese artists, but in the Paduan cross Christ's head is more central and His right shoulder clearly visible. Thirdly, in the surviving Redeemer panels of the Tempio and Riminese crosses, Christ is given a closed outline, the raised right hand contained by the body. This is a characteristic shared by nearly all of the extant Riminese crosses, though in the Paduan crucifix the right arm is raised above Christ's shoulder breaking the outline and creating a quite different impression. Finally, the torso of the figure of Christ has a tendency, in the Riminese panels, towards the same stylisation of form found in the Tempio cross, but absent in the Paduan example.

Another reason to suggest that the Tempio cross was the main model for the Riminese examples is its prominent location within the major Franciscan church of the city. A large proportion of the crosses which imitate the Tempio cross belong to the mendicant orders and specifically the Franciscan Order. Of the eight crosses for which we have relevant information, five are of secure Franciscan provenance, while another (the Sassocorvaro cross) can be tentatively linked with the Order. This is a very high

⁴¹ 180 x 100cm. See: Volpe, C.; p.179, cat. no. 61, and Volpe., A., p.148.

proportion and suggests that the Riminese painted cross was essentially a Franciscan product.

The role of the mendicants in the spread of particular artistic traditions has been closely studied in the context of Tuscan art and there is good reason to suspect that the Franciscans of the areas around Rimini were likewise instrumental in the widespread adoption of the painted crosses with these distinctive characteristics.⁴²

The other cross which is remarkable in its slavish reproduction of the Tempio cross is that which still hangs in the Church of Sant'Agostino, the church of the Augustinian Order in Rimini (fig.4). This cross is also extremely close in scale to the Tempio cross and has also lost its terminal panels. The commission of this cross, designed for a "rival" mendicant house in close proximity to San Francesco and of relative scale, can perhaps be interpreted as an attempt to compete with the prominent works commissioned for the Franciscan church.

Form and setting: altarpieces, crosses and fresco decoration.

The popularity of this form of painted cross, with the decoratively shaped terminals, requires further explanation. It may be that the form became particularly widespread as a result of the way in which the cross interacted visually with other elements of decoration in a church or chapel.

One of the aspects of the cross from the Scrovegni Chapel which is striking, is the degree to which it appears to have been designed with the surrounding fresco decoration in mind (fig.24). The shape of the terminal panels containing the busts of the Madonna, the Evangelist and the Redeemer complement perfectly the frescoed busts

⁴² The cross in the Scrovegni Chapel, on the other hand was part of a palatial foundation, and not originally connected to a mendicant order.

of saints and apostles around the chapel, each contained within their own barbed quatrefoil "frames".

The barbed quatrefoil is a common form employed within surviving Trecento fresco decoration in the region, as is the eight pointed star, and these are the two shapes which are utilised in the Riminese painted crosses.⁴³ This style of cross may, therefore, have become popular due to its display alongside, or within, existing or contemporary fresco programmes.

As discussed earlier, the Tempio cross appears to predate that of the Scrovegni Chapel. If this is indeed the case, and this type of cross was originally inspired by the need to complement fresco decoration, then this raises the strong possibility that frescoes (either by Giotto's workshop or otherwise) with similar forms existed in the Franciscan Church in Rimini.

The same desire to harmonise different elements of church decoration may explain the unusual design of several of the Riminese panels and altarpieces of the same period. A good example of these is the altarpiece by Giovanni Baronzio in the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche in Urbino (fig.2). The upper Crucifixion panel of this altarpiece has an unusual shape which incorporates lobes which protrude from the gable. This is a highly distinctive feature which occurs frequently within the body of Riminese panels. This lobed gable is more usually restricted to the centre of the structure, as in this altarpiece and that by Giuliano da Rimini formerly at Carlton

⁴³ Pasini, in his reconstruction of the Trecento church of Sant'Agostino, provides the cross of that church with barbed quatrefoils, a likely solution due to the artists otherwise slavish imitation of Giotto. See: Pasini, P.G. (ed.); *Medioevo Fantastico e Cortese: Arte a Rimini fra Comune e Signoria*, Rimini, 1998, p.41. However other crosses equally, though perhaps less skilfully, indebted to the example of Giotto, have been completed with star shaped terminals. Due to the prominence of the eight-point star motif in the frescoes of the church it is very probable that this latter arrangement represents the correct solution. The cross would in likelihood have stood above the choir screen, and would have been viewed by the laity gathered in the nave against the backdrop of the Last Judgement frescoes above the choir arch.

Towers, Norfolk (fig.34).⁴⁴ In addition to this there are several individual panels surviving which appear to have belonged to larger structures. As these are almost exclusively Crucifixion scenes it appears that they probably formed the central gables of altarpieces. (In both the altarpieces mentioned above the Crucifixion scenes occupies the central gable.) Good examples of these detached Crucifixion scenes are those by the *Maestro di Verucchio* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Strasbourg (fig.66), and that by the *Maestro dell'Incoronazione di Urbino* in the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche in Urbino.⁴⁵ The most emphatic use of the motif occurs in Giovanni Baronzio's altarpiece for the Church of San Francesco in Mercatello sul Metauro, where the lobed gable is repeated all the way along the altarpiece, creating a pleasing rhythmic effect (fig.7).⁴⁶

The appearance of the lobed gable can be explained in terms of the need to complement existing or contemporary decoration in the churches for which they were designed. The lobed gable is visually associated with the barbed quatrefoil, which is used to articulate both Riminese fresco painting and painted crosses. Gables in this shape are unique to Rimini at this period and seem to be found throughout the same areas where the Giottesque crosses are distributed.

In addition to this, of the five panels/altarpieces mentioned above, three are associated with Franciscan churches. The panel by Giovanni Baronzio in the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche was originally located in the Franciscan convent in Macerata Feltria, and that by the same painter in Mercatello is still located in the Franciscan church of that town. The *Crucifixion* panel by the *Maestro dell'Incoronazione di Urbino*, which was originally part of the Coronation Triptych in the same gallery, has been

⁴⁴ For the triptych see: Chapter 4, pp.118 – 124.

⁴⁵ The former of these panels measures 55 x 31cm and the latter 80 x 60cm. For the Urbino panel see Volpe, C., p. 50, cat. no. 104 and *Il Trecento Riminese*, p.274, cat. no. 55. The Strasbourg panel will be discussed in Chapter 5, n.18.

⁴⁶ The altarpiece is still located in this church for which it was designed. (103 x 256cm). See: Chapter 4, pp. 140 – 142.

associated with the Franciscan house of San Francesco in Rovereto near Saltara.⁴⁷ The original location of the other two is unknown.

The Franciscan context of the panels raises the probability that they were generally viewed together with Giottesque painted crosses. This was certainly the case with Baronzio's polyptych in Mercatello which still sits alongside Giovanni da Rimini's painted cross of 1309 in the same Franciscan church (fig.5). The polyptych was painted over thirty years after the cross, which would have been already present in the church when the polyptych was commissioned and it echoes its lobed shape.

Likewise, the Coronation triptych by the Maestro dell'Incoronazione della Vergine, would have been alongside the painted cross by the same painter, in the Franciscan church near Saltara (fig.62). The two may even have formed part of the same project of decoration.

The contextualisation of these crosses has allowed us to shed light upon the unusual format, yet remarkable uniformity of style and content, shared by the painted crosses produced in the region.⁴⁸ It has revealed the importance of Giotto's example in Rimini on the painted crosses of the region, and the probable significance of the Franciscans in the transmission of visual forms throughout the same area. This investigation can now be taken further by turning to the more complex task of analysing the surviving altarpieces produced in the same region.

⁴⁷ The Crucifixion panel probably formed the upper section of the Coronation Triptych. The former was donated to the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche in 1926 by the Municipio di Saltara, and its Franciscan iconography suggests its most likely origin was the Church of San Francesco in Rovereto, near Saltara. See Volpe, C., p. 50, cat. no. 104 and *Il Trecento Riminese*, p.274.

⁴⁸ This uniformity of style and content discussed here refers to the "lobed" format of the crosses and their heavy stylistic reliance on the on the Tempio example. The uniformity of these particular characteristics is peculiar to this region at this date.

Chapter 4 - The Altarpieces

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss individually the altarpieces and groups of larger panels (specifically those which may have originally formed altarpieces rather than smaller devotional panels). This discussion, as it emphasises the format and iconography of the Riminese altarpiece as a generic object, is restricted almost entirely to those structures which are either intact or where a substantial enough proportion survives to allow, at least, a tentative reconstruction of the whole. The exception to this rule is the group of *Santa Colomba* narratives and their associated panels which have been included due to the importance of their likely original location.

In the first section of the chapter the altarpieces will be discussed individually and in turn, focusing on specific issues of format, provenance and iconographical function. Style, while not the central subject of this chapter is never the less still relevant and will be discussed, although not in depth. The panels are discussed in chronological order, (as far as this can be ascertained, as issues of dating with respect to the majority of panels are by no means resolved).

In the second section of the chapter I intend to draw together the information from the first section and to discuss, as a whole, the development and functions of the Riminese altarpiece.

As previously mentioned the number of intact Riminese altarpieces is very small and even fewer have certain provenance (only one is still, to my knowledge, *in situ*).¹ There are in addition, however, a number of groups of panels which can be attributed, with reasonable certainty, to the same original structure and these have also been included. Even including these latter groups there are only twelve groups of panels

¹ This is the Mercatello Polyptych by Giovanni Baronzio in the church of San Francesco in Mercatello sul Metauro which is discussed in detail later in the chapter, pp. 140 – 142.

which are to be discussed. On the other hand the unusual nature of many of these groups presents a large number of issues and iconographical problems which need to be addressed.

The Boston Dossal

The dossal now housed in the Isabella Gardner Museum in Boston is significant for several reasons (fig.1).² As noted previously, the derivation of several of its aspects from fresco cycles at San Francesco at Assisi have provided a *terminus ante quem* for the latter, but in addition the dossal is significant as the earliest surviving Riminese panel which is signed and dated (to 1307).³ The inscription along the upper border supplies this information and reads:

ANNO DNI MLLO CCC SETTIMO JULIANUS PICTOR DE ARIMINO
FECIT OCH (sic) OPUS TEMPORE DNI CLEMENTIS PAPE QUINTI

The panel was originally located in the town of Urbania known, in the period under discussion, as Castel Durante. The panel appears to have been associated with the Franciscans of the town, as indicated by its iconography. Volpe states that the panel belonged to the chapel of the *Confraternità di San Giovanni decollato*, also known as *della morte* due to its close proximity to the cemetery of the Franciscan complex to

² For further discussion see: Volpe, 1965, pp. 10 – 12, cat. no. 1, Leonardi, C.; "Per una storia delle opere perdute, emigrate, conservate in Urbania del '300 riminese," in *Notizie da Palazzo Albani*, 16, (1988), pp.84 – 96, (p.90), and Volpe, A., pp. 82 – 85.

³ Saints Francis, Mary Magdalen and Clare are derived from the frescoed figures in the private chapels in the Lower Church – the Cappella San Nicola (right transept) and the Cappella della Maddalena (off right nave wall). See White, J.; "The Date of the Legend of St. Francis at Assisi," *Burlington Magazine* 98 (1956) pp.344 – 351.

which it belonged.⁴ Leonardi, on the other hand, indicates that the dossal, along with the monumental painted cross by Pietro da Rimini, was located within the Franciscan church itself.⁵ The association with a confraternity is made obvious through the inclusion of the portraits at the foot of the Virgin's throne.⁶ This suggests that the dossal was originally located on an altar maintained by the confraternity, either within the main Franciscan church, or, as Volpe states, within the chapel near the cemetery.⁷

The most striking feature of the panel is the scale. The dossal is extremely large, measuring three metres in width and over a metre and a half in height, and is therefore unusually large for an panel designed for a chapel.⁸

The borrowings from Assisi are direct and undisguised. The figure of the St. Clare is derived from the same figure in the Orsini Chapel of the Lower Church of San Francesco while the figure of St. Francis receiving the stigmata is reliant on that in the Upper Church.⁹ Another element taken from Assisi is the twisted columns which divide the saints (similar to the columns which divide the scenes of the Life of St. Francis in the Upper Church). In addition, the arrangement by which the figures appear to stand behind a colonnade of trefoil arches seems to have been influenced by Cimabue's angels in the fictive "gallery" in the south transept of the Upper Church. Along with the stylistic affinity with the frescoes of the upper church, evident in the sense of bulk and solidity of the figures, and the use of Cosmatesque detail on the throne and columns,

⁴ Volpe, C., cat. no. 24. The damaged inscription on the lower border of the dossal appears to refer to the confraternity as patrons of the altarpiece.

⁵ Leonardi, C.; "I francescani e la pittura riminese nelle Marche," in *Notizie da Palazzo Albani*, 16, (1988), pp. 25 – 34, (pp. 31 – 32).

⁶ In this case the members of the organisation all appear to be female, and thus the group is correctly a consorority rather than a confraternity.

⁷ The frequent and early association of lay confraternities with the Franciscan Order is well documented. For a discussion of these confraternities in respect to artistic patronage see: Bourdua, L.; *Aspects of Franciscan Patronage*, PhD thesis, Warwick, 1991.

⁸ The precise measurements are 164cm x 300cm. Although the panel has a format consistent with an antependium, the height precludes this relationship with the altar.

⁹ See White; 1956, p.344, and Meiss, M.; *Giotto and Assisi*, New York, 1960. p.3.

the dossal makes a strongly Assisian statement. In a sense this is not surprising for a dossal associated with the Franciscan Order. The adoption of a visual language derived from Assisi, an element that will recur in the development of the Riminese school, is a testament both to the prestige of the model and to the painter's (or patron's) ability to recognise the usefulness of adopting a modern idiom. In this particular case the borrowing of elements is unusual in that that the framework of twisted columns at Assisi is applied to a frescoed narrative sequence whereas in the dossal a similar framework is used to separate the individual iconic elements. This illustrates the fact that the borrowings from Assisi are eclectic and synthetic in nature.

At first glance the dossal seems relatively formulaic, we are familiar with the arrangement of standing saints beneath arches. The date of this dossal is important, however, as it antecedes rather than copies the earliest Tuscan polyptychs which incorporate this element. This is not to say that this altarpiece anticipates the later Tuscan polyptychs or that it influenced them, instead the chosen format seems to have been dictated by the desire to emulate the decorations at Assisi. Unfortunately it is not possible to determine whether other similar dossals existed in a similar format.

The centrepiece of the dossal, the Madonna enthroned, is formally related to the Madonnas of the Tuscan Duecento such as those of Guido da Siena and Coppo di Marcovaldo and later those of Duccio, and they seem to share a common Byzantine heritage. Yet whilst the idea and basic forms are related to this Byzantine heritage, the execution and stylistic treatment is Assisian in its monumental solidity. While the pose and head-dress of the Virgin reflect the Byzantine and Duecento Madonna panels, the deep folds of cloth across the lap and the naturalistic "weight" of the cloth is wholly modern and can be compared to those of the central figure of the Santa Cecilia Altarpiece in the Uffizi, by one of the painters thought to be responsible for the St Francis Legend (fig. 64).¹⁰ In fact this Santa Cecilia Altarpiece is extremely close in

¹⁰ This painter, still known only as the Santa Cecilia Master, is generally considered to be the author of a proportion of the scenes of the life of Francis in the Upper Church at Assisi. The

conception to the latter. The pose and bulk of the central saint is reminiscent of the Madonna of the dossal. In addition the low dossal form and Cosmati detail are common to both.¹¹

In many ways the Santa Cecilia Altarpiece is very traditional, it follows the pattern of hagiographical dossals of the Duecento in which full-length saints are flanked by scenes of their lives. The Boston Dossal differs in its employment of the standing saints to either side of the Madonna. The traditional narratives are exchanged for eight saints arranged in two tiers under their Assisian colonnades. As in the Santa Cecilia Altarpiece there is no attempt to introduce separate framing elements. The arches under which the saints stand are entirely fictive and no gables or arches disrupt the rectangular outline of the dossal.

Another comparison can be made with the dossal in the church of Santa Maria, in the town of Cesi, Umbria. This dossal, executed by the painter known simply as the Master of Cesi, includes an inscription with the date of 1308, making it almost contemporary with the Boston Dossal. The format and iconography are extremely close: the central, enthroned Madonna and Child are flanked by two superimposed rows of standing saints (although here they are not separated by the colonnades) and the plain, unbroken rectangular format is similar.¹²

dossal in the Uffizi measures 85 by 181cm and is therefore considerably smaller than the Boston Dossal. For further details on the Santa Cecilia Master see Stubblebine, J.; "A New Chronology for the Santa Cecilia Master," in *A Tribute to Lotte Brand Philip*, New York 1982, pp. 205 – 216.

¹¹ The dating of the Santa Cecilia Dossal is uncertain. Stubblebine (see above) places the altarpiece in the fourth decade of the fourteenth century (along with the scenes painted by the same master for the St. Francis Legend in the Upper Church of San Francesco at Assisi). Other scholars such as Offner gave the dossal a much earlier date, in the first decade of the fourteenth century and thus close to the date of the Boston Dossal itself. See Offner, R.; *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting*, sec.III, V.1 (1931), pp. 94 – 113.

¹² The major difference between the two dossals is that of scale: the Cesi dossal is much smaller than the Boston Dossal at 105 by 156cm. Interestingly, both dossals appear to have had female donors: the Cesi dossal includes the diminutive figure of the donor at the foot of the

The adoption of the Assisian elements in the Boston Dossal, derived from fresco and architectural features, on a panel painting has led to a rather incoherent whole. The use of space in particular is inconsistent. The idea of two superimposed colonnades has created visual problems which are not solved or even addressed by the designer. This problem is further emphasised by the placing of two of the saints (Francis and the Magdalen) within a rocky landscape which terminates at the flanking columns, denying the continuity of space behind the colonnades. In this sense there is an obvious discrepancy between the use of the colonnades as a fictive architectural feature existing in the same space as the standing saints and the use of the columns as a dividing element between individual images.

The awkward nature of the architectural elements is especially noticeable at the extremes of the colonnades where the painter seems to have been unsure of how to terminate the structures and how to relate them to the throne of the Madonna at the centre of the composition. The painter has attempted to mask the problem in the upper fields of the central image by obscuring the edge of the colonnades with the two censing angels. In the lower half of the scene however, the spatial discrepancies are undisguised. The throne appears to project in front of the colonnades at the seat level and yet the figures around the foot of the throne are depicted as if behind the same colonnades.

Iconographically, the Boston Dossal appears significant in the history of Riminese painting in its apparent avoidance of narrative scenes. This, however, is not strictly true as the representations of both Francis and the Magdalen are set within a narrative context (in both cases an episode of divine visitation during a period of self-

Madonna's throne. Dressed as a matron she is identified in the inscription as a *Domina Elena*.

For a discussion of this dossal see: Todini, F; *La Pittura Umbra dal Duecento al Primo Cinquecento* (I), Milan, 1989, p. 114. For patronage see: King, C.; *Renaissance Women Patrons: Wives and Widows in Italy c. 1300 – 1550*, Manchester 1998, pp. 139 – 140.

enforced penitence and contemplation in the wilderness). As discussed in the second chapter, this is one of several examples in Riminese painting of the equation of the two saints, an association which is later extended to include the Baptist.¹³ The emphasis here is on the importance of the meditative life and the value of poverty as well as providing instances of supernatural intervention.

The wholly female group of confraternity (or rather consorority) members explains the prominence of the female saints Lucy, Catherine and Agnes as well as that of Clare, the female representative of the Franciscan Order. The prominent position of the Baptist would be suitable for an organisation dedicated to *Giovanni decollato*, and the position of his namesake, the Evangelist, complements his presence to the right of the Virgin

The Madonna herself recalls the image of the *Madonna della Misericordia* with the diminutive figures beneath the throne while the figure of the Christ-Child remains distant and adult in appearance, clearly retaining the ancient significance of the fully formed deity rather than reflecting the, soon to emerge, emphasis on his humanity developed in the Tuscan image of the Christ-Child in the following decades.¹⁴

The iconographical functions of the image are simple yet divergent. Extolling examples of feminine virtue and piety is a primary function as is the example of contemplation and penitence. The central and overwhelming emphasis is, however, on the role of the Virgin as protectress and intercessor, legitimised through her unique virginal maternity. There is not, however, the same unified sense of iconographical function which characterises many Siense altarpieces of the following decades.

¹³ See Chapter 2 pp.61 – 62. This issue will also be addressed in terms of devotional imagery in Chapter 5.

¹⁴ This is an aspect which emerges in Siena with the Madonnas of Duccio such as that in Perugia, where the Christ child is represented as an infant (Duccio, *Perugia Madonna*, c.1300 – 1305, 98.5 x 63.5cm, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia), later taken further by painters such as Pietro and Ambrogio Lorenzetti in images where the relationship between the Madonna

As a whole the Boston Dossal is unusual within the body of Riminese panel painting. The emphasis on hagiographical and iconic imagery was to become the exception rather than the rule. However, in several respects, as will be seen, the dossal forms a significant precedent for future altarpieces in the region, both on a stylistic and on an iconographical level. Certainly, in adopting a "modern" visual language the Boston Dossal follows a pattern which seems to have become unavoidable for the Riminese painters of the following decades. What differs is the methods by which this language was assimilated into Riminese tradition. In the Boston Dossal it is the imagery itself rather than the structure which reflects modern sensibilities. The format is relatively traditional. This is a pattern which will recur in later Riminese altarpieces where, although the style and content owe much to the imagery at Assisi and to Giotto, the actual format and structure of the altarpieces remains either idiosyncratic, or conservative in the extreme.

The Ravenna Panel

Another panel which can be associated with the Franciscan Order is the panel in the Pinacoteca Comunale in Ravenna (fig.28).¹⁵ The inclusion of three Franciscan saints, and the kneeling Clare, indicate quite clearly, that the altarpiece must have belonged to or was associated with a female Franciscan house. In this case however the exact provenance is not known.

and Child is the focal sentiment (e.g. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Madonna del Latte*, mid 1320s, San Francesco, Siena).

¹⁵ The panel measures 56 x 85 cm. This scale indicates the panel was probably destined for a small side altar in a church of the order or perhaps from in altar elsewhere in the friary. Although superficially close to an antependium, the format and small scale of the panel seem to suggest that this location is unlikely. (Pinacoteca Comunale in Ravenna, inv. 104). For more information see *Il Trecento Riminese*, pp. 166 – 167.

The panel is reasonably conservative in many aspects, yet was likely to have been painted after 1317 due to the presence of Louis of Toulouse to the right of the throne.¹⁶ In addition to this saint, Francis is included in the opposite position to the left of the throne and a third Franciscan saint, Anthony of Padua, is included within one of the lateral narratives.¹⁷

The name of the painter to which this panel has been ascribed, the *Maestro del Coro degli Scrovegni*, clearly associates him with the family chapel in Padua and thus we should expect him to be very familiar with Giotto's frescoes in this chapel.¹⁸ This is borne out by examination of several aspects of the painting, most specifically two of the narratives, which turn out to be close copies of Giotto's Scrovegni Chapel versions.

One distinctly archaic aspect is the format of the altarpiece. The rectangular outline is not broken by gables and, as in the Boston Dossal, there are no separate framing elements. Here, as noted in previous chapters, the Riminese tradition of dividing the scenes by patterned and gilded bands is employed¹⁹. Neither the rectangular form nor the two-dimensional quality of the structure is compromised.

¹⁶ This is not a secure *terminus post quem*, as potential saints do occasionally appear on altarpieces before their canonisation. A pertinent example is the inclusion of Thomas Aquinas, before his canonisation, on the predella of the Santa Caterina Altarpiece by Simone Martini in Pisa (Museo di San Matteo).

¹⁷ A partial inscription in red paint remains above the head of the saint. Its is very damaged and only the letters "NTON" can be made out.

¹⁸ Salmi and Pallucchini both associated the painter of this panel with the author of the frescoes of the life of the Virgin in the choir of the Scrovegni Chapel. See; Salmi, M.; "La Scuola di Rimini", I, in *Rivista del R. Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, III, pp.249 – 250, and Pallucchini, R.; *La Pittura Veneziana del Trecento*, 1964. Other works ascribed to the same painter include the triptych in the Frick Art Museum in Pittsburgh.

¹⁹ There may be elements missing. There are no gilded bands around the exterior of the panel suggesting that there are missing exterior framing elements. These would probably, judging by similar panels, have been simple bands, decorated with patterned gilding. There is no indication either in the format or iconography that there are any panels missing from the altarpiece.

The resemblance to the Boston Dossal does not end here. Stylistic affinities also exist. The stylistic values are rooted in the ideas of spatial clarity and solid form, and as in the Boston Dossal, the coloration is clearly in debt to fresco painting.

Whilst the most obvious influence on Giuliano's dossal is the early decorative programme in the Upper Church of San Francesco in Assisi, the main influence here seems to have been Giotto's narratives in the Scrovegni Chapel. Yet the clear emulation of these frescoes in the case of both panels indicates that both sets of patrons were aware of, and keen to exploit, existing prestigious models.

The flatness of the Ravenna Panel and the lack of external articulation in some ways heightens the visual similarities between the narratives and Giotto's frescoes in the Scrovegni chapel. Whether this is intentional or not is difficult to assess, yet certainly had the altarpiece been broken up by internal framing elements, or disrupted by the inclusion of gables or pinnacles, this impression would have been lost.

As in the Boston Dossal, the throne on which the Madonna is seated is clearly Cosmatesque in conception and therefore differs markedly from those of the Coronation and Correr triptychs. The use of Cosmatesque furniture and architecture is also an obvious feature of the fresco cycles at Assisi and Padua. (Of course, the other common factor in both the Boston Dossal and the Ravenna Panel is their Franciscan heritage.)

The subject matter of the panel is simple; the central Madonna is flanked by four Christological narratives. On the left are the two scenes closest to Giotto's narratives in Padua, *The Nativity* and *The Adoration of the Magi*, and on the right are *The Crucifixion* and *The Resurrection*. Below the throne are the two Franciscan saints, Francis and Louis of Toulouse, as well as the tiny kneeling figure of the female donor, a Poor Clare.²⁰ Finally *The Annunciation* is included in small scale in the corners of the central scene above the throne.

²⁰ The diminutive figure is unusually dressed, wearing an outer garment with horizontal stripes alternating between reddish-brown (although the pigment may have substantially darkened) and

Several aspects of the iconography are worthy of note. Firstly, the jump from scenes of Christ's infancy to those of his Passion is striking yet typical of several of the narrative sequences on Riminese panels. Secondly, the Crucifixion scene included in the upper right hand corner seems particularly close to that on Giotto's dossal.

The iconographical whole is far more coherent than in many of the panels which will be discussed later, in that the idea of salvation through Christ's Incarnation and his sacrifice is made implicit and all aspects of the iconography contribute to this reading. The mystery of the Incarnation, the primary subject of the altarpiece is evoked not only by the central Madonna and Child but also by the Annunciation and two Infancy scenes. The sacrifice made possible by the Incarnation and the final triumph over death are the themes of the narratives of the right-hand side of the panel. Even the standing saints, retaining their traditional diminutive scale in comparison to the Madonna, do not disrupt the clarity of the reading of the altarpiece and certainly, in no way dictate the form of the panel.

The Beata Chiara Triptychs

The next two altarpieces need to be discussed together due to the level of similarity between the two. The first of these is represented by the triptych in the *Museo Fesch* in Ajaccio (fig.33). This consists of three rectangular panels depicting, from the left, *The Nativity/Adoration of the Magi*, *The Crucifixion* and the unusual scene of *The Vision of the Beata Chiara* (or Blessed Clare).²¹

yellowish-gold. The face is characterised as old, lined and thin. The stripes identify the figure as a member of the female Franciscan Order, the Poor Clares. For a discussion of the dress of the Clares in the fourteenth century see: Warr, C.; "The Striped Mantle of the Poor Clares: Image and Text in the Later Middle Ages," *Arte Cristiana* LXXXVI (1998), pp. 415 – 430.

²¹ Museo Fesch, Ajaccio (inv. 176). The panels measure respectively 49 by 45cm, 49 by 52cm and 49 by 45cm. See Zeri, F.; "The Triptychs of the Beata Chiara of Rimini," *Burlington Magazine* XCII (1950), pp. 247 – 251, Volpe, 1965, pp. 36 – 38, cat.no. 59, Gordon, D; "The

The second altarpiece is represented by the Nativity/Adoration panel in the Lowe Art Gallery in Miami (fig.31), and the panel depicting *The Vision of the Beata Chiara* in the National Gallery in London (fig.32).²² These two panels are so similar to the corresponding Ajaccio panels that it is clear that one set must be a copy of the other. There is a significant variation however: a description of the panels, written in the eighteenth century, states that the missing central panel of the second triptych, was in fact different to that of the Ajaccio triptych and depicted the Madonna and Child with the Magdalen.²³

The two sets of panels have been most usually attributed to the same painter (or workshop), known simply as the *Maestro della Beata Chiara di Rimini*. This painter, however, has been recently associated with the Maestro di Verucchio, who himself has been associated with the name of Francesco da Rimini.²⁴ The question of the authorship of the panels is however unlikely to be resolved due to lack of documentation of Francesco's works and to the lack of panel painting securely attributed to him.

Vision of the Blessed Clare of Rimini," *Apollo* 124, 1986, pp.150-153, Bomford, D., Dunkerton, J., Gordon, G. and Ashok, R.; *Art in the Making: Italian Painting Before 1400*, National Gallery, London, 1989, p.150, and *Il Trecento Riminese*, pp. 226 – 229.

²² The panel depicting *The Nativity and The Adoration* measures 57.8cm by 59.4cm (Lowe Art Gallery, Miami, inv. 61.18; Kress 1084). The panel depicting *The Vision of the Beata Chiara* measures 55.9cm by 61cm (National Gallery of Art, London, inv. 6503). The National Gallery panel was formerly in the Ashburnham Collection at Ashburnham Place. See *Il Trecento Riminese*, pp.226 – 229.

²³ *Summarium super dubio Ariminen. Canonizatorius servae Dei Clarae viduae de Agolantibus*, Rome, 1784, p. 90.

²⁴ The group of works attributed to the Maestro di Verucchio were first associated with Francesco da Rimini by Salmi in 1931 and more recently by Boskovits. See: Salmi, M.; "Francesco da Rimini" in *Bollettino d'Arte*, XXVI pp. 249 – 262, Boskovits, M; "Le chiese degli Ordini Mendicanti e la pittura ai primi del'300 tra Romagna e le Marche," in *Arte e spiritualità nell'ordine agostiniano*, Atti del Convegno, Tolentino 1992, pp.125 – 132.(p.130) and Boskovits, 1993, pp.108, nn.20.

The format of the two triptychs is very simple. They comprise three separate panels and formed low rectangular altarpieces. Gordon has noted that the scenes were divided by “a flat decorative band rather than an applied moulding,” and this fits the pattern seen in various Riminese altarpieces and the Giotto dossal.²⁵ The Fesch altarpiece appears to have been the smaller of the two by around 40cm.²⁶

The relative dates of the two triptychs are uncertain. Gordon indicates that the iconography of the Fesch *Nativity/Adoration* appears more archaic than that in Miami, being derived from the Nativity scene in the Upper Church of San Francesco in Assisi, whilst the latter appears to have been influenced by that in the Lower Church by a follower of Giotto.²⁷ This suggests that the London/Miami version was an updating (and upgrading) of the Fesch version, and is slightly later.

The most striking areas of the two triptychs are the scenes of *The Vision of the Blessed Clare of Rimini*, a highly unusual image generally restricted to the area around Rimini where the cult of the Blessed Clare was centred.

The Blessed Clare was born into the Angolanti family of Rimini around 1262. In her mid thirties, during her second marriage, she seems to have underwent some kind of religious experience and became a fervent penitent. After her husband died she dedicated her life to prayer, penitence and extreme poverty. Sources on her life associate her with the Franciscan Tertiary Order, however, whether or not this is accurate is unclear although her form of devotion does seem inspired by the Franciscan mode of piety.²⁸ She is also associated with the founding of the convent of

²⁵ Bomford, D. et al., 1989, p.150.

²⁶ The three panels of the Fesch altarpiece measure (from left to right) 49cm by 45cm, 49cm by 52cm and 49cm by 45cm. They are therefore substantially smaller than the corresponding panels on the other version.

²⁷ Bomford D. et al, 1989, p.150. By this Gordon is referring specifically to the poses of the Virgin and the Christ Child, in particular to the way in which the child rests upright on his mother's lap, in order to receive the gifts of the Magi, in the Miami scene.

²⁸ For lives of the Beata Chiara di Rimini see; Garampi; *Memorie ecclesiastiche appartenenti all'istoria e al culto della B. Chiara di Rimini*, Rome, 1755, Bonucci; *Istoria della vita della Beata*

Santa Maria Annunziata, of the second Franciscan Order (later rededicated as Santa Maria degli Angeli) although this may, very likely, be based in myth.

The issue of the Blessed Clare's association with the Franciscans is complicated further by her dress, which differs substantially in the two panels. In the Fesch panel she is shown in a brown habit under a cloak whereas in the National Gallery version she is depicted in a chequered white and brown habit. Gordon has discussed the dress of the Beata:

"The exact nature of the habits worn by groups on the periphery of the main Orders is confused and not always clear. It seems almost certain however, that in the National Gallery panel the Blessed Clare is shown in the chequered habit sometimes worn by lay penitents and other lay religious.(...) In the Fesch altarpiece she is wearing a brown habit much like that of a Franciscan Friar, covered by a white veil and white full-length cloak. In appearance it much resembles that of the third order."²⁹

Both panels therefore associate Clare with the Franciscan, but the Fesch panel is more emphatic in this emphasis.

The different dress in the two panels supports the idea, recently reiterated by de Marchi, that the two triptychs were designed for the same convent, where one was located within the church, and the other within *clausura*.³⁰ Garampi noted in 1755 that both panels were at this time visible in the Clarisse church of Santa Maria degli Angeli

Chiara degli Angolanti, Rome, 1718, and more recently Dalarun, J.; "Lapsus Linguae", *La legende de Claire de Rimini*, SISMELE, Biblioteca di Medioevo Latino 6, Spoleto, 1994.

²⁹ Gordon, 1986, p.151. Professor David d'Avray has pointed out that Beata Margarita of Cortona, a Franciscan Tertiary, is shown in the same habit as that worn in the Fesch version in a late 13th century altarpiece (Gordon, 1986, p153, nn.25). For a thorough discussion of the iconography of Beata Margarita of Cortona see: Cannon, J. and Vauchez, A; *Margherita da Cortona and the Lorenzetti*, Pennsylvania University Press, 1999.

³⁰ de Marchi, A in *Il Trecento Riminese*, p. 228.

in Rimini and that the Fesch version was sited in the nun's parlour, while the second version was situated within the church itself.³¹ This situation would explain both the varying sizes of the triptychs, the distinct iconography, and the differing dress of the Beata. The Fesch version, the smaller of the two triptychs, would have been designed as a devotional image for an audience of Clares within *clausura* (thus the Beata is closely visually associated with the Order), while the larger triptych was designed for an altar visible to the laity, within the main church (thus the Beata is dressed as a lay religious). In this situation, the central image in the Fesch version, *The Crucifixion with St. Francis*, forms a focus for devotion and contemplation, utilising Francis as exemplar.

Another question arises from the Nativity scenes in the two panels. The unusual iconography of these scenes is discussed in the first chapter, but one notable feature is the inclusion of two kneeling male saints in the foreground of both panels. The foremost of these, represented as mature and white-haired is almost certainly identifiable as Saint Joseph who is conspicuously absent in the rest of the scene. The identity of the other saint is less obvious. He is dressed as a deacon and Gordon as

³¹ Garampi; *Memorie ecclesiastiche appartenenti all'istoria e al culto della B. Chiara di Rimini*, Rome, 1755, p. 436. Garampi stated that both were from the *vecchia chiesa*. This has been taken to mean the old church of San Francesco (before its rebuilding as the Tempio Malatestiano) but this is by no means certain. The term may well refer to an older church of the second order rather than that of the first, and the iconography is particularly suited to a female audience.

The term *vecchia chiesa* could refer to an earlier embodiment of the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli, which was founded around 1306, under the name of Santa Maria Annunziata, and probably underwent phases of rebuilding during its history. Even more likely, the term may refer to another, older house of the Clares in the city; Moorman cites how a group of Clares established a small house at Santa Maria di Mirasole (outside the walls of the city) in 1253. Four years later in 1258 the sisters moved to the then Benedictine house of San Marino which took the rule of St. Clare. Moorman, J. R. H.; *Medieval Franciscan Houses*, New York, 1983, p.410. Moorman identifies three medieval houses of the Clares in Rimini. The third is the house of Santa Chiara which was not founded until 1426.

well as de Marchi suggests that it is Saint Stephen, although the usual attributes of the saint, (the rocks which were the instruments of his martyrdom), are absent.³² It is unusual to depict this saint without an attribute and furthermore there is no inscription to identify him, although it is possible that the dedication of the altar or the name of the donor may have made the saint identifiable without specific "labels".

There is another possible identity of this young saint: San Marino. This locally venerated saint was often depicted as a deacon and was obviously closely associated with the region. As early as 756 the *Liber Pontificalis* mentions a *Castelum Sancti Marini* in the current area of San Marino just to the south of Rimini.³³

The saint himself, whose first life was written in the ninth century, was by legend a stonemason or sculptor who worked on the construction of the walls of Rimini under Diocletian around 257AD. He supposedly evangelised Rimini for 12 years.³⁴ He is considered to have been baptised by San Gaudentis.

Due to the association of the saint with the region it is perhaps more likely that he would be represented without distinct identification.³⁵ Furthermore, a church dedicated to San Marino was located in the city of Rimini, a former Benedictine house which had been given over to the Clares from Santa Maria di Mirasole, outside the walls.³⁶ Not only, then, was San Marino a local saint, but one of the houses of the Clares in Rimini was dedicated to the saint. This makes an identification of the deacon saint in the two triptychs as San Marino very possible.

³² Gordon; 1986. pp.150 and de Marchi, A. in *Il Trecento Riminese*, p.226.

³³ *Il Grande Libro dei Santi*, G-M (Vol II) 1998, Turin.

³⁴ For a discussion of the life of the saint see; Dolcini, C; "Ancora ipotesi sulle origini di San Marino", in *Romagna*, 7, (1983).

³⁵ The saint does not appear to have a developed iconography and Kaftal mentions several quite distinct images of Marino. He is, however, usually depicted as a young tonsured deacon. See: Kaftal, G.; *Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting*, Florence, 1952, pp. 675 – 678, and eadem, *The Iconography of the Saints in the Painting of North East Italy*, Florence, 1978, pp. 665 – 668.

³⁶ See note 31 above.

Although raising a number of iconographical and stylistic problems the two triptychs nevertheless represent, in many ways, very typical products of the Riminese school. As already discussed, the format and the design of the triptychs are very similar to those of earlier Riminese panels, including Giotto's dossal.

In iconographical terms, the use of the conflated Nativity and Adoration of the Magi is distinctly Riminese in character. In addition, the central crucifixion scene of the Fesch panel bears a strong resemblance to that of Giotto's dossal, including the addition of the kneeling Francis at the foot of the cross. Moreover, considering these scenes along with those of the Beata Chiara, we appear to be seeing a specifically Franciscan form of Riminese panel.

Baronzio's Passion Altarpiece

Of this altarpiece two separate elements survive in Rome and in a private collection. Both consist of purely narrative images, Christological in nature, arranged in two registers, the panel in the private collection contains six scenes of Christ's Passion, commencing with *The Last Supper* through *The Agony in the Garden*, *The Betrayal*, *The Trial of Christ*, *The Flagellation/Mocking* and *The Way to Calvary* (fig.29).³⁷ The other section, of almost identical size, contains another six Christological scenes, all *post-mortem*; *The Deposition*, *The Lamentation*, *The Descent into Limbo*, *The Resurrection*, *The Ascension* and finally *Pentecost* (fig.30).³⁸

³⁷ This section measures 70cm by 110cm and was formerly in the Corvisieri Collection in Rome where it was once located along with the other half of the panel. See Volpe, C.; p.43, cat. no. 80 and *Il Trecento Riminese*, p. 260.

³⁸ This section is located in the Galleria Nazionale in Rome and measures 71.5cm by 112cm (Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Rome inv. 1657). The individual panels have been rearranged so that they are no longer in narrative sequence. See Volpe, C.; p.43, cat. no. 81 and *Il Trecento Riminese*, p. 260.

The scene of *The Crucifixion* is conspicuously absent from the two sections suggesting that there was once a central panel containing this scene which has now been lost.³⁹ Considering that a substantial section is missing, the original structure must have been large; the two surviving sections alone are 222cm wide in conjunction, and we are therefore probably looking at an original structure of well over two and half metres wide.

Both extant sections are rectangular and the six scenes on each are divided by flat decorated gold bands which also form the external borders of the sections. There is no evidence of separate framing elements. The format, therefore, as we have seen before, is consistent with the general pattern emerging in Riminese narrative altarpieces.

For stylistic reasons the panels are usually attributed to the young Giovanni Baronzio and dated to around c.1330. The panels are usually considered to be later than Baronzio's panel sequence which is split between Venice, Berlin and Rome, also a Christological narrative series although on a much smaller scale (figs. 12 – 22).⁴⁰ I would suggest however, that the altarpiece discussed here is, in fact, the earlier of the two panel groups. Although the influence of Giotto is certainly evident (particularly in the scene of *The Last Supper*) there are also strongly conservative elements. Most notable is the construction of the scenes. The figures are arranged frieze-like across the picture-plane, without receding convincingly into depth. The architectural elements conceived, not as encompassing structures, but as background elements which punctuate the scene and highlight the presence of the foreground figures, a usage more typical of the Duecento. In the panel sequence from Venice and Berlin, however, the individual scenes are constructed far more convincingly with a genuine attempt to represent depth and more effective spatial integration of the figures and their settings.

The iconography, as already stated, consists of a very comprehensive Passion sequence. We can suspect that, unless the central section, which must have

³⁹ On this matter see Volpe, C.; p.43.

⁴⁰ For details of these panels see Chapter 2, n.28.

incorporated a Crucifixion scene, was two tier, then the altarpiece was entirely narrative. This is extremely unusual, especially for an altarpiece of this scale, and is in this respect the first surviving example of its kind in the history of the Riminese altarpiece.

The provenance of the altarpiece is unclear although the prominence of narratives of Christ's Passion could suggest a Franciscan context. The Virgin is relatively prominent within the Christological narratives and Benati specifically notes her presence in the scene of *The Stripping of Christ*; a highly unusual inclusion.⁴¹

The Coronation Triptych

The triptych depicting the Coronation of the Virgin formerly at Carlton Towers in Norfolk was attributed to Giuliano da Rimini, the master of the Boston Dossal by Boskovits (fig.34).⁴² As he pointed out, the haloes of the Madonna and Christ are almost identical to those on the Boston Dossal (fig.1) as well as the painted cross in Sassoferrato attributed to the same painter (fig.6).

This is not necessarily a conclusive argument due to the high probability of close workshop collaboration amongst the Riminese masters. The sharing of designs, as well as tools such as the punches used for rendering halo decoration and related ornamentation, is a strong possibility. It is also unclear to what extent clear divisions can be drawn between the painters and their workshops in the Riminese context. As noted in the Introduction to this study several of the Riminese painters (Pietro and Giuliano being good examples) are known to have worked together on projects, and

⁴¹ *Il Trecento Riminese*, p.260. For images of the stripping of Christ, including a discussion of this example see: Derbes, A.; *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy: Narrative Painting, Franciscan Ideologies and the Levant*, Cambridge, 1996, pp. 138 - 153

⁴² Boskovits, 1992, pp. 127-128. The altarpiece is now in the Museo Civico in Rimini. See also: Boskovits, 1993, pp. 95 – 114, *Il Trecento Riminese*, pp. 186 – 189, and Volpe, 2002, pp. 138 – 144.

Giuliano and Giovanni da Rimini appear to have been brothers.⁴³ It is very possible in the latter case that the two painters may have at least begun their career within the same workshop.

The Coronation triptych is reasonably large (205.5cm x 190.5cm) and straight away presents the viewer with a very different impression from that of the Boston Dossal.⁴⁴ The altarpiece is formally recognisable as “gothic”. Its verticality, the use of gables and its tripartite division are all reminiscent of the emergent gothic altarpiece in Tuscany of the same period. The contrast with the Boston Dossal is striking; the unified rectangular space of the dossal has been totally broken down by the use of separate panels, framing elements and the broken silhouette. The horizontal planks of the Boston Dossal have been replaced by vertical wood panels. On closer inspection, however, there remain many similarities. The standing saints of the Boston Dossal are clearly recognisable as the forerunners of those present here. The difference is that the colonnades are now in relief, part of the structure of the altarpiece, and the trefoil arches have become “cinquefoil”. A different type of illusion is being employed which involves interplay between the solid architectonic framing elements and the painted figures, instead of between two juxtaposed fictive elements.

The lobed arches also dictate the shape of the lateral narratives in the uppermost level, while the central crucifixion loosely reflects the barbed-quatrefoil forms employed by Giotto and his Riminese followers in their painted crosses discussed in the previous chapter. The resulting outline, while superficially reflecting the Tuscan gothic altarpiece is, in reality, highly unusual.

A new feature in the structure is the row of roundels above the standing saints and containing busts of figures and an *Annunciation*. These roundels are a logical solution to the problem of the awkward unused space between the arches of colonnades (a problem which was dealt with inadequately in the Boston Dossal).

⁴³ See Introduction, n. 36.

⁴⁴ The width of the altarpiece corresponds almost exactly to 3 braccia.

Whether their appearance is due to an isolated case of artistic invention or prompted by outside influences is unclear. The same solution had already been employed in Pietro Lorenzetti's Pieve Altarpiece in Arezzo and in the frescoed altarpiece in the Orsini Chapel in the Lower Church at Assisi.

Aside from the format, the Coronation Triptych is also strikingly different in style to the Boston Dossal. The style, while still closely related to that of the dossal, has become highly decorative, with a rich employment of colour and gilding forming a strong contrast to the dossal whose heritage lies in the more restrained palette of fresco. Corresponding to this is a depletion of the plasticity of the forms and a lessening of the illusion of depth and space. The bulky figures and solid forms of the Boston Dossal have given way to a more linear and two-dimensional sense of space and pattern. The influence of the Assisian painters is still strongly evident yet the emphasis is no longer on the illusionistic qualities of space and light. As Tambini writes; *e un giottismo più interessato ai valori trici e decorativi che a quelli plastici e spaziali, come indicano anche le persistenze bizantine.*⁴⁵ Ironically, the Boston Dossal, a totally two-dimensional construction, successfully creates an impression of three-dimensional space which negates the picture plane while the Coronation Triptych, which introduces relief elements, is nevertheless a far "flatter" image in which the two dimensional figures are inextricably associated with the picture surface.

The iconography of the altarpiece consists of the unusual combination of standing, full-length saints and narrative scenes. The arrangement of these is very distinctive. The combination of narrative and saints on an altarpiece only emerged in Tuscany around 1320 with such examples as Pietro Lorenzetti's Pieve Altarpiece in Arezzo which incorporates a central Annunciation scene. At the same time the narrative predella was being developed, as for example in Simone Martini's St. Louis of Toulouse altarpiece, yet in both of these cases the use and positioning of the narratives

⁴⁵ Tambini, A., in *Il Trecento Riminese*, p.188.

in relation to the saints is very different.⁴⁶ In the Coronation Altarpiece the narratives form the uppermost register of structure, above the standing saints and the Coronation itself, and incorporate three Christological scenes. Both are complemented by the roundels containing bust length figures and the Annunciation, above the lower tier.

Although iconographically distinct, the central scene still has a strong relationship with Duecento Madonna panels, through the decorative backdrop of drapery and the angels which support it.

The iconographical whole does not have the clarity of, for example, contemporary Sienese gabled altarpieces; they are not a product of the same models or line of development. Instead the heritage here is closely related to Assisi and to the existing narrative tradition of Rimini.

As will be seen, the explicit reference to Christ's sacrifice through narrative passion scenes and *The Crucifixion* is an inherently Riminese tradition. This is expressed here through the scene of *The Mocking of Christ*, *The Crucifixion* and *The Entombment*. The more abstract image of the Redeemer which early on became usual in Sienese altarpieces, in conjunction with a centralised Madonna and Child, does not appear to be used in the Riminese context. As we are perhaps more used to seeing a juxtaposition of images of Christ's sacrifice and his incarnation, the use of *The Coronation of the Virgin* as the central image is striking and must be explained in terms of the dedication of the church or the altar. The lack of Marian narratives is also notable considering the focus of the iconography. The Coronation is also unusual within the context of Riminese painting where the central image was almost exclusively that of the Madonna and Child.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Simone Martini, *St. Louis of Toulouse Altarpiece*, 1317, Galleria Nazionale, Naples. This is an early example of an Italian altarpiece which includes a *predella*.

⁴⁷ An exception to this must be the altarpiece now represented only by the Coronation of the Virgin panel in the Yale University Art Gallery frequently associated with Giovanni Baronzio. (ca. 1350, 93.7 x 58.8cm).

An explanation of this unusual iconography is perhaps only possible if we can link the altarpiece with an altar. This is difficult as its provenance is by no means certain. Tonini stated that it came from the Dominican church of San Cataldo in Rimini itself, which was suppressed in 1798 and demolished in 1818, but he is the only commentator who notes this and this does not necessarily mean that San Cataldo was the original location.⁴⁸ Moreover, the lack of Dominican saints appears to preclude a provenance in San Cataldo.

Alessandro Volpe, on the other hand, cites a sixteenth-century account of the parish church of San Giorgio in Foro in which the high altarpiece is described as including a Coronation of the Virgin and, at the apex, a Crucifixion.⁴⁹ So distinct is the format of the altarpiece, that is unlikely to be referring to any work other than the Coronation Triptych. This does not necessarily, however, indicate the original setting of the altarpiece, particularly as it does not incorporate an image of St. George, an anomaly if the triptych was sited on the high altar of church dedicated to that saint.

Another possible location is the old cathedral of Santa Colomba (suppressed in 1798 and demolished in 1815). The female martyr to the extreme left of the scene has generally been identified as Saint Catherine but it is also possible that this image may represent Santa Colomba herself.⁵⁰ The similarity to Saint Catherine is due to the similarity of the figure with that of the Saint Catherine on the Boston Dossal (fig.1), however the likeness may have resulted from the fact that Santa Colomba was a saint rarely depicted in Italian painting. The Boston Dossal Catherine may simply have provided a generic model for a female martyr. If the altarpiece was associated with the

⁴⁸ Tonini L.; "Di un dipinto a fresco del secolo XIV trovato di recente in Rimini" in *Atti e memorie delle R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per la provincie di Romagna*, VII pp.171 – 173.

⁴⁹ Volpe, 2002, p. 144.

⁵⁰ Boskovits, 1993, pp.100 & 112, nn.35.

cathedral then it is possible that it was moved to San Cataldo in a later point in its history.⁵¹

The dating of the triptych is problematic. Boskovits suggested a date of 1320 for the altarpiece, however a date this early seems highly unlikely for a number of reasons. Firstly, a date of c.1320 would make the altarpiece one of the first in Italy to include a large, central *Coronation of the Virgin*. One of the other few early examples, that attributed to Paolo da Venezia in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, is dated to 1324.⁵² The combination of full-length standing saints on a polyptych is also extremely rare at this date in Italian painting. A date of 1320 would place the polyptych ten years before Giotto's Bologna polyptych and at least fifteen years before Bernardo Daddi's Polyptych in the Uffizi.⁵³ The possibility of the influence of the former of these, geographically close to Rimini itself, and also the possible influence of Paolo da Venezia, (in particular his polyptych at San Severino Marche), on the structure and format of the triptych must be considered. Even allowing for the formal relationship of the saints and colonnades shared with the Boston Dossal of 1307, a far more realistic date for the Coronation Triptych would be sometime in the 1330s. The rich colouring and decoration of the scenes, and particularly the drapery, has a parallel in the works

⁵¹ As proposed by Tambini in *Il Trecento Riminese*, p. 186. The scale of the altarpiece suggest that it came from a reasonably large church. If the structure can be associated with the cathedral then its location within the building is unclear. As will be seen there are other fourteenth-century altarpieces which can be linked with the Cathedral of Santa Colomba.

⁵² Paolo da Venezia, *The Coronation of the Virgin*, Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington (inv. 1952.5.87).

⁵³ Giotto's Bologna polyptych was designed for the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Bologna. It incorporates four full-length saints and a central Madonna and Child. It can probably be dated to ca. 1330. (147.5 x 218cm, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna, inv. 284). For recent discussions of the polyptych see: Tartuferi, 2000, p. 154. Bernardo Daddi's Polyptych in the Uffizi, now known to have been the high altarpiece of Florence Cathedral, can be dated to ca. 1336-38. See Gardner, J.; "Giotto in America," in Schmidt, V.M. (ed.); *Italian panel painting of the Duecento and Trecento*, Washington, D.C., 2002, pp. 161 - 181.

of the Maestro di Verucchio (such as the Beata Chiara Triptychs) discussed above, produced around the 1330s.

The Correr Triptych

The triptych now preserved in the Correr Museum in Venice (fig.35) bears a strong resemblance to the Coronation Triptych.⁵⁴ On a stylistic level we see the same flatness, an emphasis on decoration and on surface which, as in the Coronation Triptych, is embodied in the richly embroidered robes of the Virgin and the drapery backdrop. As in the Coronation Triptych, the prevailing values are those of colour and sumptuousness while the characteristics of plastic form and naturalistic light, so evident in the Boston Dossal, are once again subordinated. In addition, both triptychs have large and prominent areas of gilding and gold detailing.

The standing saints are set beneath arches which are in relief, in a similar mode to those in the Coronation Triptych, forming part of the structure of the altarpiece and, as in the Boston Dossal, the arches are trefoil. The important difference is that in this triptych, for the first time, the gothic arch is employed, a feature which remained extremely rare in Riminese panel painting right up until the middle of the century.

The format of the triptych is relatively simple; a central enthroned Madonna and Child is flanked by two standing saints, Saint Paul to the right and, to the left, a male saint usually identified as the aged Saint John the Evangelist.⁵⁵ There remains the possibility that there were further saints to either side of the existing pair and that the original structure may have been a polyptych rather than a triptych. There is a certain asymmetry about the extant structure due to the poses of the lateral figures. St. Paul is presented frontally yet St. John is depicted turned inwards towards the Virgin.

⁵⁴ The triptych measures 92 by 106cm and is therefore on a much smaller scale than the Coronation triptych. See Volpe, C.; pp. 19 – 20, cat. no. 19.

⁵⁵ He is identified as such by Carlo Volpe. See: Volpe, C.; cat. no. 19.

In terms of iconography, the main contrast between the two triptychs discussed is the total lack of narrative imagery in the Correr triptych. In this sense the altarpiece is highly unusual in the body of Riminese panel paintings and, in fact, we do not see another similar surviving altarpiece until Giovanni Baronzio's polyptych for the church of San Francesco in Mercatello sul Metauro (fig.7). Indications of the provenance of the panels are limited. The scale suggests that the altarpiece could have been placed on a side altar (depending on whether the structure is complete).

There is little doubt, however that this triptych represents an anomaly amongst the Riminese panels. The combination of the lack of narrative imagery and the use of the gothic arch makes the structure unique amongst all of the altarpieces discussed in this chapter. The influence of the Tuscan altarpiece can perhaps explain the characteristics of this panel, yet this was not an influence which was to have a lasting effect on Riminese panel painting. By this period the region seems to have already established its own traditions which were far more tenacious in their hold on altarpiece design.

Again, both the dating and the attribution of the panel are contentious. Carlo Volpe attributes the triptych to the anonymous Maestro dell'Arengo; the author of the Last Judgement fresco formerly in the church of Sant'Agostino in Rimini, and proposes a date of c.1320.⁵⁶ Boskovits, on the other hand, links the triptych with Giovanni da Rimini and suggests a date within the first decade of the fourteenth century, a few years before the execution of the signed cross at Mercatello.⁵⁷

The very early date suggested by Boskovits seems highly unlikely. Although there are a number of very conservative elements in the triptych, such as the close reliance on Byzantine prototypes for the pose of the Christ child, the format and the use of the gothic arch surely preclude such an early date. With the exception of the Badia Polyptych, associated with Giotto, the use of the trefoil gothic arch is rare in altarpiece

⁵⁶ Volpe, 1965, pp. 19 – 20.

⁵⁷ Boskovits, 1993, p. 97.

design until the 1320s when we see such examples as Giotto's Bologna Polyptych, the Kress Coronation and Simone Martini's polyptychs for the mendicants in Orvieto.⁵⁸ For these reasons it should be suggested that the Correr Triptych belongs to the late 1320s, or more likely the 1330s (due to the numerous affinities with the Coronation Triptych).

The Maestro di Verucchio's Madonna Altarpiece

A group of four panels depicting scenes of the life of the Virgin have been associated with the large panel of the Madonna and Child in the Cini Collection in Venice (fig.41).⁵⁹ The four panels include *The Birth of the Virgin* panel in the Musée des Beaux Arts in Lausanne and *The Annunciation*, *The Presentation* and *The Dormition* panels in the Museu d'Art de Catalunya in Barcelona and have been linked with the Maestro di Verucchio, and hence with the name of Francesco da Rimini.⁶⁰

The four narrative scenes appear to have been arranged two to each side of the central Madonna and Child, and in addition two cusps with angels appear to belong to the same structure. The structure is quite damaged; the upper section of the Madonna panel, in particular, appears to have been mutilated.

⁵⁸ The Badia Polyptych (c.1301, Uffizi Galleries, Florence) is one of the earliest known altarpieces to incorporate the gothic arch. For the Kress Coronation and the Daddi polyptych see notes 39 and 40 above. The polyptych by Simone Martini for the church of San Domenico in Orvieto can be dated to c. 1321 (113 x 257cm, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Orvieto) the similar Boston Polyptych by the same painter is probably of around the same date or slightly later (235 x 405 cm, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston). It was originally designed for the church of the Servites in Orvieto. On the Orvieto altarpieces see Van Os, H.; *Sienese Altarpieces 1215-1460*, I Groningen, 1984, and Martindale, M.; *Simone Martini*, Oxford, 1988.

⁵⁹ For details of the panel see: Volpe, C.; pp. 35 – 36, cat. no. 47 and *Il Trecento Riminese*, pp. 236 – 239.

⁶⁰ For the Barcelona panels see: Volpe, C.; pp. 35 – 36, cat.no. 49. For the Lausanne panels see: Volpe, C.; p. 35, cat. no. 48. For a discussion of the group of panels see *Il Trecento Riminese*, pp. 236 – 239.

There is no trace of the original framing elements but this was, unlike the last altarpieces, certainly not rectangular in format. The form of the Cini Madonna reveals that the altarpiece was either gabled or arched at the upper edges. There are traces of an embossed gold band at the edges of a couple of the narratives, most notably on the right edge of the Lausanne *Birth of the Virgin*, suggesting that although we may be looking at a gabled altarpiece, the internal divisions were solely articulated by the now familiar decorative gold bands rather than by separate framing elements.

The lateral edges of the Cini Madonna include projections which suggest that the panel was originally hinged and Benati's reconstruction, which incorporates the two cusps, indicates that the structure was probably a large hinged triptych (fig.41).⁶¹ This is unique amongst the Riminese panels of this scale, although some of the smaller panels appear to have belonged to hinged diptychs and triptychs.

The style is distinctive and very unlike some of the contemporary altarpieces discussed. What is particularly noticeable is the architectural detail in three of the narrative panels (*The Birth of the Virgin*, *The Annunciation* and *The Presentation*) which is particularly elaborate and top-heavy. Also noticeable is the use of rows of columns running in front of the figures, across the picture plane. This feature is very rare in Riminese narrative painting and also in the works of Giotto, so influential on the Riminese painters. It is, however, a distinctive feature of some Sieneese altarpieces including Duccio's narratives on the Maesta where, in various scenes including *The Annunciation* and *The Presentation* columns define the picture plane. In fact this altarpiece has many traits which can be associated with Sieneese painting in the first half of the fourteenth century. The painter of the altarpiece does appear to have been very familiar with Duccio's Maestà (fig.52), or at least a derivative of it and the central Madonna bears signs of its influence. The pose of the Madonna and the design of the head, robes and right hand are very much in debt to Duccio's version. In addition the

⁶¹ *Il Trecento Riminese*, p.238

throne is designed in a similar fashion to the throne of the Maestà Madonna, solidly constructed in the Cosmatesque manner.

The drapery around the Madonna's head is especially significant as the Madonna is rarely depicted with this form of attire in Riminese altarpieces. Instead she is usually either crowned or wearing a much lighter diaphanous head dress under which her hair is clearly visible, as in Baronzio's Macerata Feltria Polyptych (fig.2) and the Coronation Triptych (fig.34). The use of this type of headwear in the Cini Madonna is perhaps one of the clearest signs of the Sienese influence.

There is another Sienese Madonna which appears even closer to the Cini version. This is the Madonna and Child Enthroned by Pietro Lorenzetti in the Uffizi Galleries in Florence.⁶² The arrangement of the drapery around the head and the fastening of the Madonna's cloak at the neck, as well as the physiognomy of the Christ-child, are very similar in these two images. In addition, the crocketed decoration of the throne is common to both. In the Cini version there appears to be a damaged inscription running along the front of the step in front of the throne. This is a feature common in Sienese imagery and is present in both Duccio's Maestà and the Lorenzetti Madonna. Interestingly, the latter image is, like the Cini Madonna, from a Franciscan context, produced for the Church of San Francesco in Pistoia.

In the scene of *The Birth of the Virgin*, we can perhaps detect another sign of Sienese influence. The tripartite division of the scene, the pose and dress of the figure on the extreme right, and the use of columns running across the picture plane are all elements included in Pietro Lorenzetti's version of the scene for his altarpiece for the east end of Siena Cathedral.⁶³

⁶² Pietro Lorenzetti, *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints*, (145 x 122cm) Uffizi Galleries, Florence. See Volpe, C.; *Pietro Lorenzetti*, Milan, 1989, pp.165 – 169.

⁶³ Pietro Lorenzetti, *The Birth of the Virgin*, (188 x 183cm), Museo dell'Opera dell Duomo, Siena. See Volpe, 1989, pp. 80 – 83.

The coloration of the Madonna panels related to the Cini Madonna are also extremely reminiscent of the warm hues of the Sieneese altarpiece. This warm coloration is also typical of the Beata Chiara triptychs (figs. 31 – 33), also associated with Francesco da Rimini and also distinctly under the influence of Sieneese painting. The coloration is distinct from contemporary panel paintings of other Riminese painters who instead frequently opt for a cooler colour scheme, reminiscent of fresco painting.

The combination of the enthroned Madonna, juxtaposed with scenes of her life is also a feature in common with the Maestà which, after all represents one of very few major early fourteenth century examples of an altarpiece with substantial narrative content in Sieneese or central Italian painting. In fact Sieneese painting offers a number of potential models to a painter commissioned to design a Marian altarpiece.

Even in this Riminese altarpiece, however, so indebted to Sieneese painting, the evidence of the spatial and optical values derived from the fresco cycles at Assisi and Padua is clear. The rational lighting and spatial clarity of the central scene immediately set it apart from Maestà. These qualities, however, are diminished in the first three narratives by the cramped and irrational architectural settings, and completely break down in the final scene, *The Dormition*, in which the figures are arranged in an conservative fashion, rising up the surface of the panel.

The provenance of the altarpiece is certainly Franciscan, due to the presence of the kneeling Clare and Francis at the foot of the throne. De Marchi has suggested that the altarpiece was situated on an altar dedicated to the maternity of the Virgin, however altars of this type are unknown until much later.⁶⁴ Another interesting element of the iconography is the emphasis on the humanity of Christ;

“Il Fanciullo ostenta infatti il seno materno con tutte e due mani e, come mi fa notare F. Zeri, la sua lunga vesta presenta una evidente patta, chiaro richiamo alla sua natura umana. Una così accentuata presenza di segni legati alla

⁶⁴ de Marchi, A in *Il Trecento Riminese*, p.236.

natura umana del Cristo si accorda perfettamente con la possibilità di chiudere l'altare per impedirne la visione."⁶⁵

Boskovits has suggested a date of c.1330 for the altarpiece.⁶⁶ This date, however is problematic as it precludes the influence of either of the two Lorenzetti altarpieces mentioned above. Both of these are signed and dated; the Uffizi Madonna to 1340 and The Birth of the Virgin altarpiece to 1342.⁶⁷ If we accept that the Riminese panels bear the influence of these, or similar, images then this places the altarpiece in the 1340s, much later than Boskovits' suggested date.

Baronzio's St. John the Baptist Altarpiece

This altarpiece is represented by a group of panels depicting the life of St. John the Baptist (fig.50). They are now scattered over several locations but include, in narrative order; *The Annunciation to Zacharias*, *The Birth of the Baptist*, *The Baptist in the Wilderness*, *The Baptist and the Pharisees*, *The Baptism of Christ*, *The Baptist in Prison*, *The Feast of Herod/Beheading of the Baptist* and *The Baptist in Limbo*.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ de Marchi, A in *Il Trecento Riminese*, p.236.

⁶⁶ Boskovits, 1993, pp.166 – 168.

⁶⁷ The Uffizi Madonna has an inscription running beneath the throne: PETRUS LAURENTII DE SENIS ME PINXIT ANNO DOMINI MCCCXL.

The Birth of the Virgin Altarpiece has an inscription running below the central section: PETRUS LAURENTII DE SENIS ME PINXIT MCCCXLII.

⁶⁸ *The Annunciation to Zacharias* was formerly in Bath in the Street Collection. *The Birth of the Baptist* panel (49.1cm by 40.8cm) is located in the National Gallery in Washington (inv. 1147; Kress 1435) and includes the separate episode of *The Circumcision*. *The Baptist in the Wilderness* panel is in the Pinacoteca in the Vatican (inv. 185). *The Baptist and the Pharisees* panel has been substantially cut down and is in the Art Museum in Seattle. *The Baptism of Christ* (49cm by 40.5cm) is in the National Gallery in Washington (inv. 242; Kress 264). *The Baptist in Prison* panel was formerly in the Street Collection in London. *The Feast of Herod/Beheading of the Baptist* is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. *The Baptist*

The panels, for many years, attributed simply to the *Maestro della Vita del Battista* have recently been attributed to Giovanni Baronzio by Boskovits.⁶⁹ Once again, the dating is uncertain but a comparison to other works of Baronzio, and in particular to the Christological altarpiece discussed above, we are certainly looking at a work of the mature painter. The altarpiece, then, probably belongs to the late fourth or fifth decade of the fourteenth century.

For stylistic reasons the panels have been linked to the Madonna and Child panel in the National Gallery in Washington also attributed to Giovanni Baronzio.⁷⁰

The use of architecture in the narrative panels is particularly interesting as there are direct borrowings from both the Lower Church of San Francesco at Assisi and from the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua. As previously mentioned, the architectural elements in the upper section of the scene of *The Birth of the Baptist* are borrowed from the similar elements in the scene of *The Massacre of the Infants* by a follower of Giotto in the Lower Church at Assisi. In addition, the *portici* in the scene of *The Annunciation to Zacharias* are directly copied from Giotto's scene of *The Expulsion of the Merchants from the Temple* in the Scrovegni Chapel (fig.51).

in Limbo panel was formerly in Florence, in the Loeser Collection. See Volpe, C.; pp. 38 – 39, cat.nos. 63 – 70, and *Il Trecento Riminese*, pp. 264 – 269.

⁶⁹ Boskovits, M., *Fruhe Italienische Malerei, Katalog der Gemaldegalerie*, Berlin, 1987, p.15. and Boskovits, 1993, pp.179, nn.68. The style of the narratives, in particular the architectural backdrops and the figure style can be readily likened to other narrative panels attributed to or signed by Baronzio. Most useful in this respect is the signed and dated altarpiece by Baronzio in the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche in Urbino, formerly in the refectory of the Franciscan house in Macerata Feltria.

⁷⁰ This panel measures 100.5 by 48cm (National Gallery of Art, Washington, inv. 711; Kress 1312). The panels were originally linked by Siren to the panel depicting St. John the Baptist in Christ Church library in Cambridge which was attributed to Baronzio. See: Siren, O., "Giuliano, Pietro and Giovanni da Rimini", *Burlington Magazine* XXIX, (1916), pp. 272 – 281, (p.319). In 1924, however, Offner argued that the Baptist panel was probably Florentine in origin rather than Romagnole. Offner went on to link the Baptist panels with the Washington Madonna. See: Offner, R., "A Remarkable Exhibition of Italian Schools of Painting" in *The Arts*, 1924, p.240.

The construction of the individual scenes is also heavily indebted to Giotto's example. We can see, particularly in the scene of *The Annunciation to Zacharias* and in *The Feast of Herod*, how Baronzio strives to integrate the figures with their architectural setting in spatially coherent terms. When comparing this to the same painter's *Passion Altarpiece* we can see a clear development in style under the influence of the fresco cycles at Padua and Assisi. Baronzio's use of architectural elements is still highly flawed and he appears to show little of the same inherent understanding of the construction of depth which is characteristic of Giotto. In the scene of *The Birth of the Baptist* the awkward juxtaposition of the building to the extreme right, with the main architectural element is a good example of this. In addition, the scene of *The Baptist Imprisoned* relies strongly on the more conservative form of composition seen in the *Passion* narratives.

The original format of the altarpiece has been a matter of contention. A recent and convincing reconstruction by Christiansen (1982) places the Washington Madonna in the centre flanked, on either side, by the eight narrative scenes (fig.50).⁷¹ The result is a reasonably large rectangular altarpiece.⁷²

The asymmetrical nature of this arrangement is worthy of note. The narratives are not all of similar size; *The Feast of Herod* is far wider and the scene of *The Baptist in Limbo* much narrower than the rest of the scenes. As the width of the panel depicting *The Feast of Herod* is almost equal to that of the Washington Madonna and wider than any other narrative, this led to the suggestion that the former panel was originally situated beneath the Madonna panel.⁷³ This would have made the altarpiece over a metre and a half high. However, since the *Limbo* scene, in conjunction with the *Feast* scene is approximately the same width as any

⁷¹ Christiansen, K., 'Fourteenth Century-Altarpieces,' *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, XL, 1982, 1, pp.42 – 45.

⁷² The altarpiece would have been approximately 212cm wide and around a metre high.

⁷³ Volpe, 1965, p.38.

other two narrative panels, Christiansen's solution seems more likely. This latter solution also includes all of the known panels without substantial gaps in the structure.

The use of a central Madonna is unusual considering that all of the narratives are concerned with the life of the Baptist. This aspect led Volpe to suggest that the altarpiece was double-sided, with one side containing an icon and narratives of the life of the Baptist while the other side contained the central Madonna flanked by standing saints.⁷⁴ There seems to be very little evidence for this; certainly no candidates for the standing saints survive. Furthermore, there is an iconographical reference to the Baptist in the Washington Madonna panel: the locust held by the Christ-Child, a reference to his cousin's time in the wilderness (and by implication the period of his own life spent in the same environment).⁷⁵

Whatever the arrangement, and Christiansen's seems most likely, the altarpiece was almost certainly rectangular. The surviving panels have gold borders similar to those seen in other Riminese panels, although most have been shorn down at least partially.⁷⁶ An almost identical border can be seen running across the top of the Washington Madonna indicating that this panel has not been trimmed at the upper edge and was always rectangular. These borders also seem to suggest that, once again, the scenes were divided only by these bands with an absence of external framing elements, the panels being held together by vertical and horizontal planks on the rear of the altarpiece. Once again then, we have a

⁷⁴ Volpe, 1965, pp.38 – 39.

⁷⁵ A locust is far more common as a symbol of the Baptist. In this case however it serves a double-purpose: to allude to Christ's own period in the wilderness shortly before the events of the Passion and hence to associate Christ and the Baptist in the centre of an altarpiece with narratives of the Baptist.

⁷⁶ On the panel depicting *The Baptism of Christ*, for example, the lower and right hand borders seem to be intact while only half of the decorated border on the upper and right hand edges remain.

wide dossal-like altarpiece with a high proportion of narrative imagery, and again, the scenes are divided only by decorative gold bands.

The provenance of the altarpiece is unclear. The probable scale of the altarpiece suggests a reasonably large altar. Without documentation on the original locality of the altarpiece, it is unlikely that its original context can be ascertained, although it is probably safe to assume that it sat on an altar dedicated to the Baptist, and due to the scale was possibly a high altarpiece.

The Santa Colomba Panels

Another group of scattered narrative panels have been associated with Giovanni Baronzio (fig.40). These panels are similar in scale and the embossed gilded backgrounds are identical.

Three of the scenes, all located in the Brera in Milan, are scenes of the life of Santa Colomba, a third century female saint who was martyred and buried at Sens. These three scenes depict, in sequence; *Santa Colomba before Emperor Aurelius*, *Santa Colomba saved by a bear* and *The Martyrdom of Santa Colomba*.⁷⁷

The other four scenes in the group depict scenes from the life of Christ and consist of; *The Resurrection* panel in the Jacquemart André Museum in Paris, *The Deposition* now in an unknown location, *The Crucifixion* in the Ingelheim Collection in Friedenthal and *The Ascension* in the Galleria Sabauda in Turin.⁷⁸

There is little doubt that the Colomba panels belonged to the Cathedral of Rimini, dedicated to the same, otherwise obscure female martyr. Brandi first linked

⁷⁷ The panels measure 55cm by 55cm each.

⁷⁸ *The Crucifixion* measures 119cm by 80cm, *The Deposition* is of unknown proportions, *The Resurrection* measures 32 by 35cm but has been severely cut down and *The Ascension* measures 62cm by 55cm. *The Ascension* panel is taller than the other narratives as it still retains its gold border at the lower edge. For a discussion of this group of panels see: Volpe, C.; pp.52 – 53, cat. nos. 110 – 114, and *Il Trecento Riminese*, pp. 270 – 271.

the Christological scenes with the panels and suggested that they formed a single doubled-faced polyptych which formed the high altarpiece of the Duomo.⁷⁹ Zeri, however indicated that the Brera panels may have been too thick to have been part of a double-sided altarpiece and that the altarpiece must have been single sided.⁸⁰ Neither solves the problem of how the larger and oddly shaped crucifixion scene related to the rest of the narratives, although presumably it formed the centre of upper register of the structure.

If the altarpiece was single-sided then the combination of Christological and hagiographical scenes is striking, and the question is raised of how they would have related to one another: a typological relationship arranged over two registers is unknown at this date. Another possibility is that the panels belong to two distinct but related altarpieces which were designed together for the Duomo. This would explain the similarities and identical detailing. This latter solution assumes however, a systematic approach to altar decoration rarely seen before the programme of altar decoration for the east end of the Duomo of Siena in the 1330s and 1340s.⁸¹

On the other hand the Riminese panels could well belong to the 1340s and therefore would be more or less contemporary with the Sienese programme. Records show that money was made available for the decoration of the cathedral

⁷⁹ Brandi, C.; *La Pittura Riminese del Trecento*, Exhibition Catalogue, Rimini 1936, p.231-233.

⁸⁰ Zeri, F.; "Una 'Deposizione' di scuola riminese", in *Paragone*, 99, 1958, pp. 46-54.

⁸¹ During this period the eastern altars of the Duomo in Siena were decorated with four narrative altarpieces dedicated to various Marian subjects. They include Simone Martini's Annunciation Altarpiece in the Uffizi, Florence and Pietro Lorenzetti's Birth of the Virgin Altarpiece in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo in Siena. These altarpieces belonged to a single programme which was designed to decorate four altars dedicated to the patron saints of Siena. For this programme see: Van Os, H.; *Sieneese Altarpieces 1215-1460*, Groningen, 1984 and Norman, D., *Siena and the Virgin: Art and politics in a late medieval city-state*, London, 1999.

of Santa Colomba in the late 1320s and 1330s, and the latter instance could well tie in with the commissioning of the Colomba and Christological narratives.⁸²

If the panels do belong to two separate but complementary altarpieces then presumably, a central larger panel is missing from the Colomba group as well as an unknown number of narratives from each group. No evidence survives of an icona of Santa Colomba which may have been central to the narratives of her life.

As in the other altarpieces associated with Baronzio, the scenes and, in particular, the architecture employed with them, are strongly reliant on the Scrovegni Chapel frescoes. This is especially true of the scene of *Santa Colomba before the Emperor Aurelius* where the architecture is directly derived from the Paduan scene of *The Wedding at Cana*.

What is clear is that the altarpiece or altarpieces consisted of a large proportion of narrative imagery and that therefore we can be relatively sure that that this type of narrative altarpiece was given prominent place in the cathedral of the city.

The Friedenthal Crucifixion is typical of Riminese "gabled" crucifixions in that it is both a central image in the structure of an altarpiece and distinctly "narrative" in its treatment of the subject.

Unlike the crucifixion, the other narratives appear to have been rectangular, and the Crucifixion panel itself, whilst internally retaining a gabled outline, has a rectangular external outline due to the surrounding gilded panelling. The narrative panels, on the evidence of the gold border on the lower edge of the panel depicting *The Ascension*, were divided by the same flat bands as is usual in Riminese panel painting. In this sense the panels appear to represent a type of hybrid altarpiece incorporating elements of the typical dossal-like Riminese altarpiece and the modern, gothic polyptych.

⁸² Turchini, A., "La cattedrale riminese di S. Colomba", *Ravennatensia*, IV, pp.398 –502 (p.446).

The Urbino Polyptych

The polyptych in the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche in Urbino is one of the few signed and dated altarpieces surviving from this period in the area around Rimini (fig.2).⁸³ The information is given in an inscription along the base of the altarpiece:

ANNO DNI MILLO CCCXL QTO TPE CLEMENTIS PP OC OPUS FECIT
IOHANNES BARONTIUS DE ARIMINO

The structure is also the only surviving example of an altarpiece signed by Baronzio.

The altarpiece measures 143cm by 221cm, and according to Volpe originally came from the refectory of *the Convento dei Frati Minori Conventuale* in Macerata Feltria.⁸⁴ The Franciscan provenance is made obvious through the presence of saints Louis of Toulouse and Francis.

The design is highly unusual. The combination of narrative scenes and standing saints is striking and completely different from the arrangement of these components in the Coronation Triptych (fig.34).⁸⁵

⁸³ For further information on the altarpiece see: Lombardi, F.V.; "Due opere di Giovanni Baronzio e Carlo da Camerino da Macerata Feltria a Urbino," in *Il Convento di San Francesco a Macerata Feltria (Atti del convegno di studi 30 agosto 1981)*, Urbania, 1988, pp. 113 – 133, and Volpe, C.; pp. 41 – 43, cat. no. 76.

⁸⁴ Volpe, C.; cat. no. 76. Macerata Feltria is located around twelve miles to the north-west of Urbino and around twenty miles south of Rimini itself

⁸⁵ In the Coronation Triptych the narratives were placed above the standing saints in the gables of the structure whilst in the Urbino altarpiece the narratives flank the central Madonna while the lateral gables contain half-length saints and an Annunciation. In both however, the Crucifixion assumes the upper central position.

On closer inspection, we can see that the panel has a much closer relationship with the panel in Ravenna attributed to the *Maestro del Coro degli Scrovegni*, another work associated with the Franciscans, of which it is essentially a reworking and elaboration (fig.28). The central Madonna and Child are present, as are the Christological narratives arranged above each other to either side of the central image. These narratives, as in the Ravenna panel, are strongly influenced by the Scrovegni Chapel frescoes. In addition, the two Franciscan saints are situated, in similar positions, to either side of the Virgin's throne. The Annunciation, represented in diminutive form above the throne in the Ravenna panel is here present in the two outermost gables.

There are, however, various differences. The gables are the obvious break from the format of the Ravenna panel, allowing the altarpiece to assume the outline of a modern gothic polyptych. Not only do the gables make a concession to modernity, they also allow the crucifixion scene to become centralised and hence emphasised in a way which was impossible in the Ravenna panel. The way in which the gables are made progressively smaller towards the outer edges of the altarpiece shows a sensitivity to the central vertical thrust of the structure.

Another modernisation is the enlarged scale of the two standing saints and the lateral angels. In the Ravenna panel the size of these figures was dictated by a traditional hierarchy of scale discarded in the Urbino panel.

As in the last altarpiece discussed there is a combination of the "horizontal" format more typical of the Riminese altarpiece, and the "vertical" polyptych. While the gabled structure makes concessions to the verticality of the gothic polyptych, the divisions of the main register do not coincide with the gables above, a feature which interrupts the vertical flow substantially. This verticality is further reduced by the strong frame which surrounds the lower section, breaking the vertical thrust and reinforcing the horizontal nature of the lower expanse. In addition, the lower section is subdivided by the decorative, but flat gold bands typical of Riminese

tradition rather than separate framing elements, a feature which allows the section to be visually interpreted as a continuous whole.

Another distinctly Riminese trait is the unusual shape of the central gable. This, as is typical of other gabled panels in the area, is reliant on the barbed quatrefoils deployed in fresco decoration and on the painted crosses of the region.

A noteworthy element is the appearance of half-length saints in the gables, a trait popular in Sienese tradition but so far conspicuously absent from Riminese panel painting.⁸⁶ The upper edge of the Madonna and Child section intrudes upwards into the Crucifixion scene above in a way which can also be observed in Sienese altarpiece design of the early fourteenth century.

Iconographically, the whole is, of course, very similar in content to the Ravenna panel. The major difference is the inclusion of the half-length saints in the gables. The first three of these can be identified as, from left to right, St. Augustine, St. John the Baptist and St Peter.⁸⁷ The fourth panel is very damaged and can no longer be identified.

The four lateral narrative scenes are not identical to those in the Ravenna panel. Here they consist of; *The Adoration of the Magi*, *The Presentation in the Temple*, *The Last Supper* and *The Betrayal of Christ*, but like those on the earlier panel they jump straight from scenes of Christ's infancy to scenes of His Passion. An extra scene is possible due to the centralisation of the Crucifixion, the final event in the narrative sequence.

As in the smaller panel, the scenes are, in part, reliant on the Scrovegni Chapel frescoes. *The Adoration of the Magi* and *The Last Supper* in particular, are derived from the analogous scenes at Padua. *The Presentation*, however, as

⁸⁶ Simone Martini's Orvieto Polyptychs are a good example of this protrusion of the lower register into the gables above. See above, note 58.

⁸⁷ St Augustine is identified as such by both Lombardi and Volpe, although there is no visible confirmation of this. See Volpe, C.; cat.no. 76, and Lombardi, 1988, p. 115.

mentioned in the previous chapter, is a partial copy of the same scene in Giotto's *dossal*.

In short, the Urbino Altarpiece displays characteristics which are uniquely Riminese while at the same time attempting to present the appearance of a modern and "fashionable" object. In addition, the altarpiece displays traits which can be considered not only distinctly Riminese but more specifically Riminese Franciscan.

The Mercatello Polyptych

The high altarpiece of the church of San Francesco in Mercatello sul Metauro is the only Riminese altarpiece which is still *in situ* (fig.7).⁸⁸ Here the altarpiece is seen in conjunction with Giovanni da Rimini's much earlier painted cross (fig.5).

The altarpiece is reasonably large, measuring 103cm by 256cm, and has been dated, on stylistic grounds, to around the same period of the painter's activity as the Santa Colomba and the Urbino altarpieces, and thus to the mid 1340s.⁸⁹

The polyptych is extremely unusual within the body of Riminese painting in that it contains no narrative imagery, a trait which it shares only with the Correr triptych. In fact there are many similarities between the two altarpieces. Both contain full length standing saints flanking a central Madonna and are unusual in Riminese painting in that the individual panels are divided by solid framing elements.

In the case of the Mercatello Altarpiece there are eight saints in total, which are, from left to right: St. Catherine of Alexandria, St. Paul, St. Louis of Toulouse,

⁸⁸ This small town is located in the mountains to the west of Urbino just inside modern Marche. For details of the polyptych see Volpe, C.; p.43, cat.no. 79.

⁸⁹ Volpe, C.; p. 43.

St. Peter, St. John the Evangelist, St. Francis, St. Michael and St. Clare. There is no reason to suggest that this is not the original arrangement of the saints, and all, with the exception of Michael, are usual in the Riminese context.

The structure is more emphatically “gothic” in its conception than any other altarpiece discussed above. All of the panels are clearly differentiated and each is “gabled”. The form of the gable is interesting in that it follows the Riminese pattern of including extruding lobes from the sides of the gables. In this example the form is repeated all the way along the altarpiece rather than being restricted to the central gable as in the Macerata Polyptych and the result is highly rhythmic as well as accentuating the verticality of the altarpiece.

The use of this form may well have been influenced by the presence of the Giovanni da Rimini painted cross in the same church, a cross which includes the barbed-quatrefoil form as its terminal panels.

The whole-hearted acceptance of the polyptych structure for this altarpiece as well as the patron’s rejection of narrative imagery are unique in Riminese terms and yet it must be remembered that the altarpiece is possibly one of the latest surviving examples from the period and that at this stage the polyptych was becoming an “acceptable” universal form for the altarpiece across Italy.

Although the altarpiece is formally closely related to the Coronation and Correr Triptychs, the style is quite distinct. While the former two altarpieces were characterised by an attention to surface and decorative detail with a corresponding lack of spatial clarity or depth, the Mercatello polyptych is more clearly indebted to Giotto’s naturalism and economy. The saints are solidly constructed and the detail sparing. In addition the saints are depicted as if standing in continuous space, which appears as if running behind the picture plane. The central Madonna however reveals alongside this spatial clarity, several distinct characteristics seen in the earlier Madonnas. The angels holding drapery behind the throne are also typical of the Washington Madonna, the Correr Triptych and the Coronation

Triptych. In addition to this the drapery of the Virgin is striated with gold, an archaic feature inherited from the Byzantine Madonnas of the Duecento, which remains a characteristic of Riminese Madonnas up until the middle of the fourteenth century.

Conclusion

From the above discussion we can see that there are two typical forms which the Riminese altarpiece tends to take in the first half of the fourteenth century. These two forms, although distinctive, are not entirely exclusive and tend to overlap.

Examples of the first type would include altarpieces such as the Ravenna Panel (fig.28), the Beata Chiara triptychs (figs.31 – 33) and the St. John the Baptist altarpiece (fig.50). These examples are all dossal like in their format. All are rectangular in shape and tend to lack gables or external framing elements. They are also remarkably flat in construction, without projecting framing elements and with the individual scenes separated only by flat, embossed gold borders. They all incorporate a large proportion of narrative imagery which also tends to be contained within rectangular fields, and they typically display the influence of the fresco cycles in the Lower Church of San Francesco at Assisi and the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua.

Examples of the second type would include the Coronation Triptych (fig.34), the Correr Triptych (fig.35) and Baronzio's Mercatello Polyptych (fig.7). Altarpieces of this type all display distinctly gothic characteristics and are generally gabled. The separate panels tend to be strongly differentiated by the inclusion of external or projecting framing elements. The coloration of these altarpieces tends to be warmer and the style distinctly flatter while the influence of the frescoes at Padua and Assisi is less obvious. The narrative imagery tends in a more minor position with the main (or only) register taken up by full length standing saints.

The latter type of altarpiece seems to appear around the middle of the period in question, in the late 1320s or 1330s with the Correr and Coronation triptychs. The development of this type must certainly be linked with the growing popularity of the polyptych and of gothic elements in Tuscan and Venetian painting in the 1320s.⁹⁰ On the other hand the dossal/rectangular altarpiece continues to survive alongside these polyptychs, in such examples as the Beata Chiara triptychs and the St. John the Baptist Altarpiece, right up until the 1340s and possibly later. A purely developmental explanation for the two types cannot, therefore, be justified.⁹¹

Neither do the types appear to be associated with particular painters. Giovanni Baronzio was probably responsible for both the Mercatello and St. John the Baptist altarpieces while the Maestro da Verucchio has been associated with both the Beata Chiara Triptychs and the Cini Madonna Altarpiece (fig.41).

A possible explanation is that the type was influenced by the location of the altarpiece either in terms of the architectural setting or the type of patron for which the altarpiece was produced.

In addressing the first point, it is extremely difficult to ascertain whether polyptychs tended to belong to gothic churches as so few can be securely linked

⁹⁰ The Gothic altarpiece was to develop later in Venice than in Tuscany, a symptom of Venice's conservatism and its ongoing fascination with the Byzantine "style". The rectangular altarpiece remained popular in Venice, long after it was obsolete in Tuscany, and in this sense Venice forms a parallel to Rimini. Although Gothic traits begin to appear in Venetian panels from the second decade of the Trecento, they are not wholeheartedly embraced in the altarpiece until around the middle of the century. (Although the Santa Chiara Altarpiece by Paolo Veneziano, from the years around 1350, is clearly a polyptych, it is not a truly Gothic structure and is still horizontal in impression.) For Trecento painting in Venice see Pallucchini, R.; *La Pittura Veneziana del Trecento*, 1964, and for Paolo Veneziano: Muraro, M.; *Paolo da Venezia*, London, 1970.

⁹¹ While such developmental models can provide us with a useful starting point for the discussion of the altarpiece in general, they run the risk of overlooking the importance of the very specific contexts and functions of the individual altarpieces.

with a precise location. One of the few which can, is the Mercatello Polyptych (fig.7) which can still be found in the gothic church of San Francesco in that town. This altarpiece was designed for the high altar in the rectangular choir of the church. Other than this example, no Riminese altarpieces appear to be situated in the location for which they were designed.

The “gothic” Coronation polyptych (fig.34) has been associated with either San Cataldo or Santa Colomba in Rimini, and while the former was almost certainly a gothic structure at this period, the form of the latter is by no means clear.⁹²

On the other hand, several of the dossal-like altarpieces seem likely to have come from gothic churches.

The Beata Chiara Triptychs (figs. 31 – 33) were most likely located in the original convent on the site of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Rimini. According to Moorman, this convent was founded in 1306, then under the dedication of Santa Maria Annunziata.⁹³ If this is the case then the church would certainly have been built in the Gothic style, in fact we can assume that most of the altarpieces which can be associated with the Franciscan Order were designed for Gothic churches, except in any rare cases where an older building taken over by the order was still being used.⁹⁴ Despite this a large proportion of the rectangular, horizontal altarpieces can be linked with the friars.

⁹² The church of San Cataldo was rebuilt in the second half of the thirteenth century, being either underway or finished by 1278.

⁹³ Moorman, p. 410.

⁹⁴ The situation in Romagna and Northern Marche appears to be similar to other areas in central Italy in that the rapid expansion of the Mendicant Orders, including the Franciscans, led to the rebuilding of existing churches on larger scale (and the founding of new houses), in the second half of the Duecento and early Trecento. Such churches were therefore almost exclusively built in the prevalent Gothic style. For a discussion of the development of the Order and its churches in the Marche see: Pellegrini, L., and Paciocco, R. (eds.); *I francescani nelle Marche. Secoli XIII-XVI*, Cinisello Balsamo, 2000. For a more general discussion of Franciscan (and Dominican)

The issue of the friars brings us to the question of patronage and its effect on the form of the altarpiece.

As Boskovits has already pointed out, a large proportion of the surviving panels from Romagna and Marche in the Trecento can be associated with the Mendicant Orders and specifically with the Franciscans.⁹⁵ This is certainly true of the altarpieces discussed of which seven can be securely linked with the Friars Minor. The Mercatello Polyptych, the Cini Madonna altarpiece and the two Beata Chiara triptychs were probably designed for Franciscan churches. The Boston Dossal by Giuliano da Rimini was designed for a chapel of a consorority housed within a Franciscan complex (fig.1), the Macerata Feltria panel (fig.2) was located within the refectory of a Franciscan House, and the Ravenna panel is clearly from a house of the Clares (fig.28).⁹⁶ In addition, the iconography of the Passion Altarpiece by Baronzio, strongly suggests a Franciscan origin. Two thirds, therefore, of the extant Riminese altarpieces are likely to be Franciscan.

With the exception of the earliest and latest of these (the Boston Dossal and the Mercatello Polyptych) all display very distinct and similar characteristics. They are composed for the most part of narratives contained within rectangular fields, are without other internal divisions other than the flat gold borders and generally are stylistically, strongly under the influence of Assisi and Giotto.

As mentioned in the discussion above there does appear to be distinctly Riminese Franciscan "type" of altarpiece. The Ravenna and Macerata Feltria altarpieces, in particular, are strongly related iconographically and stylistically.

The prime example of a rectangular dossal-style altarpiece being designed for a Franciscan church in Rimini is the dossal by Giotto for San Francesco

architecture in the period in question see Schenkluhn, W.; *Architektur der Bettelorden. Die Baukunst der Dominikaner und Franziskaner in Europa*, Darmstadt, 2000.

⁹⁵ Boskovits, 1993, p.95.

⁹⁶ A discussion of decorative work in monastic and conventual refectories see: Rigaux, D.; *À la table du Seigneur: l'eucharistie chez les primitifs italiens (1250 – 1497)*, Paris, 1989.

(fig.26).⁹⁷ The presence of a dossal style altarpiece in the major Franciscan church of the city, and one associated with such a prestigious painter, is extremely significant. It is also significant as this altarpiece was certainly designed for a gothic church as San Francesco had been rebuilt in the gothic style towards the end of the thirteenth century.

It would be easy to suggest that the presence of this dossal in the major Franciscan church in the city would explain the prevalence of the type amongst extant Franciscan altarpieces. However, as stated in the previous chapter, the dossal already displays iconographical characteristics which appear to have been a part of Riminese tradition from the Duecento onwards. It therefore seems that the dossal under the influence of the patron, assimilated various Riminese characteristics with the stylistic values of Giotto. While the dossal is certainly not responsible for introducing certain characteristics to the "Riminese School" it is very possible that its commission made these characteristics, along with the more modern stylistic values, a part of Franciscan tradition in the area. The altarpiece was large, in a prominent church and was also associated with a prestigious painter. It would be surprising if its influence had not been felt.

Iconographically, the emphasis on the life and on the Passion of Christ is unsurprising, and certainly the central position of the Crucifixion scene would have suited a Franciscan audience. The prominent position of this type of iconography, in Tuscan art generally reserved for fresco painting, on an altarpiece is significant.⁹⁸ It raises the question of what fresco decorations would be seen in conjunction with the altarpieces.

⁹⁷ Chapter One, pp.42 - 50

⁹⁸ In Tuscan Franciscan churches such as Santa Croce in Florence the narrative imagery is usually located on the wall space of the chapel while iconic imagery is reserved for the altarpiece. A large proportion of the Riminese Franciscan altarpieces contain narrative sequences with little or no iconic imagery, except for that displayed on a predella such as that of Ugolino's High Altarpiece for Santa Croce in Florence.

The later Beata Chiara Triptychs are most clearly under the influence of Giotto's dossal (figs. 31 – 33). This is to be expected in an altarpiece designed for a Franciscan church within the city of Rimini. It shares with Giotto's dossal the low horizontal format, the total reliance on narrative imagery and the centralised Crucifixion. It also repeats the motif of Francis kneeling at the foot of the cross. In addition to this, the central Crucifixion is closely related in composition to that of Giotto's dossal, both including the group of holy women to the left of the cross supporting the swooning Madonna, and the figure of Saint John the Evangelist in his traditional position to the right of the cross.

This composition is also repeated on the Ravenna panel (fig.28), this time in a form even closer to Giotto's dossal, although the kneeling Francis is omitted. In this case the figure standing behind the Evangelist in Giotto's scene is replaced by Saint Anthony of Padua. Like both the dossal and triptychs the Ravenna panel is strictly rectangular in format although this time iconic imagery is included in the form of the enthroned Madonna and Child and the diminutive Franciscan Saints which flank them.

The iconic content is extended further in Baronzio's Macerata Feltria altarpiece (fig.2). This altarpiece as already stated is essentially an expansion of the Ravenna panel both in terms of scale and iconography. The iconic content is increased by the fact that the two Franciscan saints are represented on the same scale as the Madonna and are contained within their own separate fields delineated by the now familiar flat gold bands. In addition to this, the gables contain the four half-length saints between the outermost Annunciation.

The Macerata Feltria altarpiece is in this respect unusual in that it appears to represent a synthesis of two "types" of Riminese altarpiece discussed above. In many ways the altarpiece is typically both Riminese and Franciscan and yet the gabled outline and the inclusion of this proportion of iconic imagery is more typical of the type of altarpiece represented by the Coronation Triptych and the Correr

Triptych. What is also distinctive is that the Crucifixion scene is not of the same type as that represented in Giotto's dossal or its Riminese derivatives. Instead, the scene is of a strongly narrative type generally seen only on Riminese gabled altarpieces or panels, a good example of which can be seen in the Coronation Triptych. The central position of the Crucifixion within the gable above the Madonna and Child allows a more in depth treatment of the subject which would not have been possible had the scene been restricted, as in the Ravenna panel, to one of the lateral rectangular fields. The centralisation also allows this iconographically pivotal scene to be emphasised. The centralisation of the Crucifixion in Giotto's dossal and in the two Beata Chiara triptychs precluded the use of centralised iconic imagery, such as the Madonna and Child, otherwise the most common focal image of the Riminese altarpiece. The gabled altarpiece allows the opportunity to display both iconic imagery and a Crucifixion scene on the central axis.

The assimilation of Gothic forms into a Franciscan altarpiece by Giovanni Baronzio in the Macerata Feltria altarpiece solves the problem introduced by the dossal-like structure, until then the standard Franciscan form. By this time it seems that even the Riminese Franciscans, who had adhered to forms traditional to the area for four decades, were unable to resist incorporating modern gothic elements into the structure of their altarpieces.

Another issue which must be addressed is the high number of panels from the Riminese context which seem to have been commissioned for a female audience. Four of the works under the discussion in this chapter: the Boston Dossal (fig.1), the Ravenna Panel (fig.28) and the two Beata Chiara triptychs (figs. 31 – 33), were all commissioned within a Franciscan context by, or for, women. The Boston Dossal was commissioned by a consorority associated with the Franciscan house in Castel Durante, the Ravenna Panel is clearly from a Clarisse

context, as are the two Beata Chiara Triptychs, commissioned for the Church of Santa Maria degli Angeli.

If the survival of these panels is representative then half or more of the altarpieces from the Franciscan context were commissioned for a female audience. This distribution appears to suggest a large population of female religious in the area under discussion, and such a hypothesis could be supported by Banker's study of the religious structure of society in San Sepolcro in Umbria in the late Duecento and Trecento.⁹⁹ This idea is further supported by our knowledge of Franciscan houses in the city of Rimini in the first half of the Trecento. The only documented male house is that of San Francesco, while there were two houses of the Clares, those at Santa Maria degli Angeli and San Marino.¹⁰⁰

The popularity of the dossal-like altarpiece cannot be explained entirely in terms of Giotto's dossal and the patronage of the Franciscan order, as other Riminese altarpieces of the type exist which were almost certainly not Franciscan in origin. The Santa Colomba altarpiece (along with any accompanying altarpiece) was probably designed for the Duomo in Rimini (fig.40) while the Saint John the Baptist Altarpiece seems to have no connection with the order (fig.50). The Passion Altarpiece by Baronzio (fig.30) may well, on the evidence of the content, have been a Franciscan commission yet there is no other evidence to suggest this. We must therefore look for other reasons why the Riminese altarpieces had such distinct characteristics.

⁹⁹ Banker's research demonstrated that the number of female religious organisations, and the number of female religious, in the period, was far greater than that of their male equivalents. Banker, J.; *Death in the Community: Memorialization and Confraternities in an Italian Commune in the Late Middle Ages*, Georgia, 1988.

¹⁰⁰ For documentation on the Franciscan houses in Rimini see: Moorman, p.410 and Plessi, G. (ed.); *Guida alla documentazione francescana in Emilia Romagna (I – Romagna)*, Padua, 1989 – 99, pp. xviii – xix.

The influence of Giotto and of Assisi is one binding element in most of the altarpieces discussed. The presence of works of Giotto in the city of Rimini would provide a partial explanation for the former. In addition it must be remembered that several of the painters discussed seem to have worked in close proximity to other works of the Florentine Master. Pietro and Giuliano for example worked in the Eremitani complex and church in Padua which are situated next door to the Scrovegni Chapel. It is also possible, as mentioned in the previous chapter, that certain Riminese painters may even have worked alongside Giotto in the programme of decoration for the church of San Francesco on the city.

In terms of Assisian influence, we know that at least Giuliano and Baronzio appear to have been extremely familiar with the frescoes in the Lower Church of San Francesco as both copy certain elements from the frescos in the panel paintings. The seemingly close interrelationship of painter's workshops in Rimini would perhaps explain the employment of related motifs and styles throughout the body of Riminese painting. The Franciscans themselves may also have encouraged the borrowing of motifs and stylistic values from the Motherhouse of their order.

The popularity of the Assisian and Paduan frescos may also have influenced the popularity of the narrative altarpiece in Rimini. The Riminese painters seem to have been particularly at home when using the narrative image or narrative sequence. Part of the reason for this may have been that this genre allowed them to have full use of composition and style borrowed from the fresco cycles.

The more archaic elements of the altarpieces such as the rectangular format and the use of gold bands to divide the scenes seem to have been the result of other influences. As mentioned in the first chapter, many of the iconographical quirks displayed in the Riminese panels are the result of the combination of influences from both the fresco cycles discussed above and from

Byzantium. As an Adriatic port Rimini was a city open to influences from the east, and certainly Byzantine artefacts including icons and other painted objects would have passed through the hands of Riminese merchants.¹⁰¹

The forms and decoration of these icons seems to have had a lasting influence on Riminese painting and it is not surprising that it is the smaller devotional panels which display the most Byzantine characteristics. To a certain degree they may have been designed to emulate the richness and prestige of these objects from the east, so easily imported due to their portability. However, the larger panels and altarpieces do not appear to have been immune to the influence of the east. The rectangular formats and especially the flat gilded internal divisions of many of the altarpieces are strongly reminiscent of their smaller Byzantine relatives. The division of the picture surface into square or rectangular fields by gold bands is a characteristic observable in Byzantine panels of the type which may have been imported into Rimini in the late Duecento and early Trecento. In the late Duecento many of the smaller panels produced by painters such as the Maestro di Faenza appear to be very deliberately emulating Byzantine imports. This is an issue which will be discussed in the next chapter.

The Riminese Madonnas also retain their relationship to their Byzantine forerunners throughout the first half of the Trecento. An obvious symptom of this is the use of gold striation on the robes of the Madonna, a characteristic which is still evident in the very latest Riminese altarpieces such as the Saint John the Baptist Altarpiece (fig.50), The Macerata Feltria Altarpiece (fig.2) and the Mercatello Polyptych (fig.7). It is perhaps typical of the dichotomy which exists in Riminese panel painting that, in the three examples cited, the folds which the striations pick out are actually represented in a highly naturalistic manner at odds with the use of such an archaic detail.

¹⁰¹ This issue will be discussed in greater depth in Chapter 5, pp. 189 – 199.

If we accept the later dates for the Correr (fig.35) and Coronation triptychs (fig.34) as well as the Cini Madonna (fig.41), the development of the altarpiece in Rimini becomes much clearer than previously thought. Although the Riminese painters stayed relatively faithful to traits traditional to the area, dating from the late Duecento and reinforced through the presence of Giotto's dossal at San Francesco, the fashionable polyptych format and gothic elements begin to be accepted towards the late 1320s or 1330s. It is notable, however that at this stage these traits appear to have been adopted only outside of the Franciscan context (neither the Coronation, nor the Correr triptych appears to have had a Franciscan origin). The Franciscan houses in and around Rimini appear to have held tenaciously to their own tradition of altarpiece construction. It is not until the 1340s with the Macerata Feltria and the Mercatello polyptychs that we see these traditions being abandoned by the Franciscans, and even then it is in houses on the periphery of the geographical area being studied.

Chapter 5 – Devotional Imagery in Romagna and Marche

This chapter will deal with the body of smaller panel paintings surviving from the area in the early Trecento. A larger proportion of these we can suspect can fall under the loose definition of “devotional panels”, that is, panels designed for private or domestic devotions rather than for general display on an altar or a public setting. Of course the borderline between the public and private image is by no means clearly defined and in the early years of the Trecento the functions and uses of the “devotional image” in Italy were still in flux. These issues will be dealt with in the first section of the chapter but here it is enough to say that this chapter will deal with those panels whose scale and subject matter leads us to presume that they were designed primarily for private or individual use either by members of the religious communities, clerics or the laity.

While the physical evidence surrounding the body of altarpieces created by the Riminese painters is fragmentary and relatively sparse, the number of smaller panels surviving is comparatively large. While the smaller Riminese panels are no less prone to be split into their component sections than their larger counterparts, the nature of the smaller panels means that their original appearance can usually be deduced where the other sections are now missing.

As is the case with the larger painted panels the smaller panels have become widely dispersed across Italy, Europe and North America. This is also true of panels which almost certainly belong together, such as the two sections of a diptych of which one half is now preserved in the Galleria Nazionale in Rome and the other half in the collection of the Duke of Northumberland in Alnwick Castle in the north of England (figs

38 & 39).¹ Other good examples are the group of twelve small narrative panels, which are now divided between the Academia Gallery in Venice, the Staatliche Museen in Berlin and a private collection in Rome (figs.12 – 22), and the diptych divided between the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche in Urbino (fig. 68) and the Barber Institute in Birmingham.²

Of the surviving panels a large proportion appear to have belonged to diptychs although practically none of these survive intact even when they are still preserved side by side.³ There are also several panels which may have been autonomous such as that in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Bologna (fig.37).⁴ These are in the minority however as the diptych appears to have been the predominant form of devotional image in Rimini.

The form taken by these diptychs can be divided into two types; rectangular (or ungabled) diptychs and gabled diptychs.⁵ The Alnwick/Rome diptych is a good example

¹ This diptych appears to be very early in date, from the first decade of the century and has been attributed to Giovanni da Rimini. The section in the collection in Rome contains six narratives of the life of Christ while the section in Alnwick contains scenes of the lives of various saints and a small scale Coronation of the Virgin. For full details see Chapter 2, n.10.

² Six of these twelve small panels are located in the Academia Gallery, five in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin and one in a Roman private collection. Their original structure is uncertain although it seems likely that they were arranged in two groups of six to form a diptych very similar to that represented by that in Rome and Alnwick. It is possible that the panels may have formed the predella to a larger structure. If this is the case, however, they represented a very early example of such a feature and in an area where the predella is otherwise unknown at this date. For dimensions and full details of these panels see Chapter 2, n. 28.

The diptych split between Urbino and Birmingham is relatively small compared to other extant Riminese diptychs, each wing measuring around 44 by 20cm. On the other hand the diptych is comparatively ornate.

³ The diptych in Hamburg is a good example of this. Although both sections are preserved in the Kunsthalle they are no longer attached. For details of this diptych see Chapter 2, n.43.

⁴ This panel (51 x 35cm.) depicts, as its main subject *The Crucifixion*, flanked by four standing saints (Saints Anthony of Padua, Catherine of Alexandria, Bartholomew and Clare) and below, *The Entombment* and *The Descent into Limbo*. (Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna, inv. 309)

⁵ The two panels in Alte Pinakothek in Munich may represent an exception to this pattern. These are described by Volpe and by Benati as a diptych and yet the format and the similarity to

of the former while the diptych depicting the Dormition of the Virgin and the Crucifixion in Hamburg is a good example of the latter (fig.43).⁶ The rectangular diptychs are generally and unsurprisingly earlier than the gabled panels and are usually comparatively plain with little external decoration or embellishments such as *intaglio*.⁷ The gabled diptychs on the other hand vary greatly in their level of elaboration. The diptych in Hamburg is relatively plain while others, such as that split between Urbino and Birmingham, are much more decorative with an ornate frame and crocketed outline.⁸

other panels suggests that they may rather have been the shutters or doors to a tabernacle structure. See: Volpe, 1965, p.34 and *Il Trecento Riminese*, p.40.

The elongated format is unusual for a diptych and certainly for a diptych in a Riminese context. In addition, both the shape and iconography are strikingly close to the two leaves of a Duecento triptych now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (inv. 41.100.8) associated with the Florentine Magdalen Master. The Central panel (40.6 x 28.3 cm) depicts the *Madonna and Child Enthroned, The Annunciation* and *Two Male Saints*; the left wing (38.1 x 14.3 cm) depicts *Christ in Glory, The Last Supper* and *The Betrayal of Christ*; the right wing (38.1 x 14 cm) contains a *Crucifixion, The Way to Calvary*, and *The Flagellation*.

The presence of the "Wandering Jew" in the scenes of *The Way to Calvary* on both sets of panels is striking. For more information see Garrison, cat.no. 282, and Zeri, F. and Gardner, E., *Italian Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art: The Florentine School*, New York, 1971, pp.4-5.

⁶ The diptych is located in the Kunsthalle in Hamburg. For details see Chapter 2, n.43.

⁷ As in the altarpiece, the general development of the devotional panels in Rimini seems to have been away from the simplest rectangular form towards the more elaborate; the gabled forms and then finally the emergence of gothic forms (although these are never fully realised in Riminese panel painting in the first half of the fourteenth century).

⁸ Occasionally on the smaller panels we see the same lobed silhouette which is employed on structures such as the Mercatello altarpiece. These however, most likely represent centre sections of destroyed altarpieces or other larger structures, rather than individual devotional panels. As discussed in Chapter 3, the driving force for the use of this lobed shape was to harmonise the altarpieces with other decorations such as the painted crosses and fresco. In the private panel the need for this harmonisation is reduced due to the more intimate or domestic settings of the panels (as well as their portability and hence their lack of fixed context) and hence the lobed outline is very rarely employed.

Riminese Devotional Imagery and the Mendicant Orders

The devotional panel, as a functional object, was a relatively new concept in Italy in the early fourteenth century and this is testified to by both a lack of documentation or legislation for this type of object and by a general flexibility in its appearance, content and format. Unlike the altarpiece, which was constrained in its appearance and content by its attachment to the altar, and thus with the legislation surrounding the altar and its titulus, there was little restriction or similar constraints in the design and content of the devotional panel at the beginning of the fourteenth century.⁹ The idea of private prayer and devotion, an inherent part of worship since early Christian times had begun only recently, in the thirteenth century, to enter a phase of renewed interest and development, culminating in the codifications of its practises in the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Understandably then there is a marked difference in the appearance of the devotional panels in different areas of Italy at the same time. There were unifying factors in the development of the devotional panel however, and one of these was the influence of the religious communities. As Van Os indicates:

The use of devotional images presupposes an individual experience of faith. This manifested itself first and foremost in the monasteries and convents, whence it found its way to the lay world due to active propaganda on the part of the conventuals.¹⁰

⁹ For a discussion of the restrictions on the altar and its titulus and their impact on the altarpiece see: Gardner, J.; "Altars, Altarpieces and Art History: Legislation and Usage," in *Italian Altarpieces 1250 – 1550: Function and Design* (ed. by Borsook, E. and Gioffredi, F.), Oxford, 1994, pp.5 –19.

¹⁰ Henk van Os, *The Art of Devotion 1300 – 1500*, (Princeton, 1994) p. 161. There is a distinction, however to be made between the fixed devotional imagery that was possible in a

Of the religious communities, it was the mendicant orders which were the most significant. This importance of the mendicant orders in the development and spread of the devotional image has already been discussed by various scholars.¹¹ The mendicants, exceptional for their close interaction with the laity, were in an ideal situation to influence the spread of a new form of personal devotion and its accompanying imagery to the general public. Not only were they present in the larger towns and cities, but their association with the laity through the institutions of the confraternities and the tertiary orders allowed their particular mode of piety to be effectively transmitted to the larger population.¹²

For this reason it is very common to find that the particular concerns of the mendicant orders, and again the Franciscans seem to have been particularly influential here, are reflected in the imagery of the devotional panel in Italy. This is certainly true of Rimini, and in fact seems truer of Rimini than of most other areas where the devotional panel was developing in this period.

The content of the Riminese panels, again and again, reflects mendicant and especially Franciscan influence. A problem arising in the interpretation of this phenomenon is that it is rarely possible, and this is generally true of Italian devotional panels of this century, to ascertain with reasonable accuracy, for what exact context

convent/monastery environment, and the small scale imagery which was more usual in the domestic context, due to its portability. Presumably an individual friar had little control over the imagery which was provided by the house to which he belonged. This contrasts with domestic devotional imagery which was ultimately controlled by the private patron.

¹¹ Notably Hans Belting in *Likeness and Presence: A history of the Image before the Era of Art*, (Chicago and London, 1994), and Henk van Os, *The Art of Devotion 1300 – 1500*, (Princeton, 1994) pp. 159 –162.

¹² As noted in the introduction, the period between 1250 and 1350 saw a huge rise in lay participation in urban religious life. This took place partly through the development of the tertiary orders associated with the Mendicants, and the lay confraternities (often also associated with the Mendicants). For an in depth discussion of this phenomenon in reference to the specific case of San Sepolcro in Umbria, see: Banker, 1988.

the panels were produced. For example, we do not know what proportion, of the panels were for the use of friars or nuns of the mendicant orders themselves or how many were owned by members of the associated confraternities or the tertiary orders, or which, in fact were produced for other members of the laity.¹³

The most obvious sign of the Franciscan influence on the devotional panel is the predominance of Franciscan saints among those depicted on the panels. Very few devotional panels which include standing saints omit Francis himself, whilst Clare and Louis of Toulouse are also frequently found, with the occasional presence of Anthony of Padua.¹⁴ The saints are usually included in the rectangular fields containing saints which are so peculiar to the Riminese panels. The panel in Faenza (fig. 69) depicting five standing saints includes Clare and Francis, as does one half of the Munich diptych mentioned above (fig.11).¹⁵ In the Vatican a small horizontal panel, which appears to

¹³ The use of devotional imagery by members of the first and second orders of the mendicants is problematic as it is difficult to ascertain to what extent this type of imagery was used by the friars and nuns themselves. Obviously, personal ownership of devotional panels would have been proscribed by the orders dedicated to poverty, but presumably members of the order had the use of devotional imagery whether in the form of panels, manuscripts or frescoed decorations. As Hamburger has pointed out, the Dominican Order actively encouraged the use of private devotional imagery in the thirteenth century, stating that the cells of all the friars should contain images of Christ, the Virgin and Dominic himself. See Hamburger, J.F.; "The Use of Images in the Pastoral Care of Nuns: The Case of Heinrich Suso and the Dominicans," *The Art Bulletin* LXXI/1 (1989), pp.20 – 46. For further discussion of the role of the mendicants in the patronage of the arts see: Cannon, J.; *Dominican Patronage of the Arts in Central Italy: The Provincia Romana c.1220-c.1320*, Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1980, Bourdua, L.; *Aspects of Franciscan Patronage*, PhD thesis, Warwick, 1991, eadem; "The 13th and 14th Century Italian Mendicant Orders and Art," in *Economia e Arte secc. XIII-XVIII*. Atti della "Trentatresima Settimana di Studi" 30 aprile – 4 maggio 2001, Istituto internazionale di storia economica "F. Datini" Prato, ed. S. Cavaciocchi, Florence, 2002, pp. 473 – 488, and, most recently, eadem; *The Franciscans and Art Patronage in Late Medieval Italy*, Cambridge, 2004.

¹⁴ For the distribution of saints in Riminese painting see Appendix II.

¹⁵ The panel now located in the Pinacoteca Civica in Faenza (inv. 134), measures 50 by 35cm and is divided into two horizontal fields, the lower of which contains the standing saints. The upper area contains a Madonna and Child. See *Il Trecento Riminese*, pp.170 – 172. The panel

have belonged beneath a crucifixion panel, includes amongst the four saints depicted Francis and Louis of Toulouse, while a small panel in Vaduz depicts Francis, Clare and Louis of Toulouse among the seven represented (fig. 70).¹⁶ The panel in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Bologna depicts both Clare and Anthony of Padua in lateral fields while Francis himself appears in the central scene of the Crucifixion kneeling below the cross.¹⁷ In all of these cases the saints are located in rectangular fields, usually in a minor position within the overall structure of the panel and usually accompanied by other varying saints.

In addition to the standing saints depicted outside of a specific context, Francis himself is frequently depicted within the Crucifixion scene itself, in a position below the cross and in a similar way to that seen in the larger panels and altarpieces of the Riminese school. This is true of the Bologna panel mentioned above as well as the crucifixion panel in the Musee des Beaux-Arts in Strasbourg (fig. 66) and in a small panel in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (fig. 67).¹⁸ As in the larger Riminese panels the frequency of Francis' presence below the cross may have been influenced by his depiction in this position in Giotto's dorsal, but, as will be discussed in subsequent sections of the chapter, the motif is also particularly suited to the specific function of the devotional panel.¹⁹

is mentioned by Toesca, Volpe and most recently by Boskovits. See: Toesca, p.719, Volpe, 1965, pp.12 – 15, cat.no.10, Boskovits, 1993, p.96, and Volpe, 2002, pp. 110 – 111.

¹⁶ The panel is located in the Liechtenstein Collection in Vaduz and measures 57.3 by 31 cms. It appears to represent one wing of a diptych and like the Urbino/Birmingham diptych is relatively decorative, with an ornate profile, a lobed internal outline and painted decoration that extends on to the frame. See Volpe, 1965, p. 43, cat.no.84.

¹⁷ Refer to note no. 4 for the details of this panel.

¹⁸ The Strasbourg Crucifixion (inv. 208) measures 55 by 31cm and appears to be a fragment of a larger structure in which it was probably the central element of the uppermost register. See Volpe, 1965, cat.no. 53. For the Fitzwilliam panel see Chapter 2, n.15.

¹⁹ The influence of this motif is also, almost certainly, due to its presence in the Crucifixion scene by Cimabue in the south transept of the Upper Church of San Francesco at Assisi (c.1280). This image, prominent in the Motherhouse of the order could hardly fail to be

The importance of the presence of Francis is also highlighted by the fact that he is often depicted receiving the stigmata (as in the Rome/Alnwick diptych and in the Munich panels). Francis's presence in these panels is usually complemented (as mentioned in the first chapter) by other saints who have been contextualised by the inclusion of a landscape or who have been depicted within a narrative event from their own lives.²⁰

Other than the standing saints usually placed in minor positions within the composition, there is relatively little iconic imagery employed in the Riminese devotional panels. Instead the most commonly employed form of imagery is the narrative, most usually the Christological narrative.

This is a feature which was already noted of the larger Riminese panels but if anything the predominance of the narrative is more pronounced in the smaller panels. In addition, the narratives are almost exclusively those of Christ's Passion, with a few scenes of his infancy included in selected panels.²¹ Perhaps the best example of this is represented by the group of twelve panels split between Venice, Rome and Berlin which are exclusively images of Christ's Passion followed by events *post mortem* and concluding with the Last Judgement (figs.12 – 22). The Rome half of the diptych split between Rome and Alnwick is dedicated to Christological narratives beginning with the Nativity and concluding with the Last Judgement (fig.38). The Munich panels, in addition are predominantly devoted to Passion imagery (fig.11) as is the panel already mentioned in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Bologna (fig.37).

influential. On the other hand the probable presence of a version of the same motif, on panel, in the Franciscan church in Rimini itself appears to have had a powerful influence on the adoption of this aspect in Riminese Franciscan panels in the fourteenth century (as was seen in the previous chapter).

²⁰ This is an aspect which will be discussed in greater depth later.

²¹ Rare example of devotional panels in which scenes of Christ's infancy appear are the diptych leaf by Giovanni da Rimini in Rome which includes a Nativity scene and the panel by Baronzio in Vaduz which includes an image of the Adoration of the Magi.

In addition to the frequency of the Passion narratives the occurrence of the Crucifixion scene as an individual or principal image on the panels is surprisingly high. The Bologna panel itself is a good example of this, yet although the scene is certainly the principal image within the composition, it is viewed alongside images of *The Deposition* and *The Descent into Limbo* in addition to the standing saints. Other panels where the Crucifixion scene forms one of the principal fields include the diptych in Hamburg (fig.43) (which also includes the Dormition of the Virgin), the Vaduz panel (fig.70) where it forms the central field complemented above and below by the scene of *The Adoration of the Magi* and more standing saints, and the gabled panel by Giovanni Baronzio in a Private Collection (fig.44).²²

The predominance of narrative imagery of the Passion of Christ further underlines the strong influence of the Franciscan Order which, at Assisi and elsewhere, had demonstrated its fondness of narrative imagery, a form which suited both their ideology and provided obvious visual allusions to the particular type of piety exemplified by Francis himself. As Hills indicates,

Christ had taught in parables, yet narrative had long taken a subordinate place compared to the transcendent symbols of Christian art. The Franciscan movement re-established the value of narrative rich in human incident.²³

²² This panel measures 45 by 26.5 cm. It is notable for the inclusion of the figures casting lots in the lowest section of the scene, a feature which is emphasised by the way in which the figure casting the dice raises his arms in way which echoes Christ's pose directly above him. See // *Trecento Riminese*, p. 258.

²³ Hills, P.; *The Light of Early Italian Painting*, (London, 1987), p.12. For the Franciscans and their use of the narrative see: Gardner, J.; "The Louvre Stigmatization and the problem of the narrative altarpiece," *ZfK* 45 (1982) pp.217 – 247, and, Derbes, A.; *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy: Narrative Painting, Franciscan Ideologies and the Levant*, Cambridge, 1996.

Narrative imagery and iconic imagery in the Riminese Panels

The popularity of the narrative image on the Riminese devotional panel is more unusual when we consider what types of devotional imagery were predominant elsewhere.

In many senses the Byzantine icon was the ancestor of the Italian devotional panels and the imagery first employed in the devotional panels was often indebted to this Byzantine heritage.²⁴ In Rome, in particular, but also in central Italy there were large numbers of icons, Byzantine imports or imitations of them, which had accrued powerful cult status in the devotions of the citizens. The images had developed over time their own histories or “biographies”, legends and in a sense a “cult of personality”. These iconic images obtained a form of autonomous existence, only partially associated with the actual person/s depicted. As pointed out by Belting,

As an evocative depiction of a person, usually in the form of a half-length portrait, the western devotional image often borrowed the prestige of an Eastern

²⁴ The Byzantine icon, due to its portability (and importability) can be considered in some ways the forerunner of the Italian devotional panels. The particular imagery employed as well as the format utilised seems to have heavily influenced the early Italian panels. The availability of imported icons in Italy, decontextualised and often endowed with cult status, may have in fact strongly affected the rise of small scale devotional imagery in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. For a fuller discussion see: Hans Belting in *Likeness and Presence: A history of the Image before the Era of Art*, (Chicago and London, 1994) and the review: Freedberg, D., “Holy Images and other images,” *The Art of Interpreting. Papers in Art History from the Pennsylvania State University XI*, University Park 1995 pp.69-87. This is not to say that Byzantine icons were the only model for the types of devotional imagery developed in late Duecento and Trecento Italy. As Krüger has indicated, in terms of Franciscan imagery, cult objects such as reliquaries and sculptures may also have played a significant role. See: Krüger, K. *Der frühe Bildkult des Franziskus in Italien. Gestalt-und Funktionswandel des Tafelbildes im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1992. As we will see later, there are very specific types of object which appear to have influenced Riminese devotional imagery.

icon as a model that was reported to have acted like a living being and performed a miracle.²⁵

Most of these images were not private devotional panels, but instead sited on the altars or displayed in the churches of the towns and cities. It is not surprising however, that it was a similar form of iconic imagery which came to be adopted for private devotion in both the conventual and domestic setting. The icon, as such, was an ideal forerunner for the private devotional panel, due to its relatively minor scale, portability and autonomous nature.

The iconic panel in this sense is a highly interactive form of imagery. The decontextualised, autonomous nature of the imagery allowed the figures represented to be conceived of as not simply symbolised by but present within the image. An aspect of the semi-independent life of the "public" cult images was carried over to the domestic setting and the image became a focus and receptacle for prayers, devotions and requests for intercession. Not only this but, like the public cult image, the private image is capable of response to these devotions. In short, the image could act for, or interact with the devotee. The significance was relatively simple but immediate, the image represented the active presence of the person represented whilst also retaining a semi-autonomous life of its own.²⁶

This type of iconic devotional imagery was widespread both in Rome and in Tuscany and is represented by the large proportion of Madonna panels which still survive from the beginning of the century, many still retaining the overpowering influence of their Byzantine forerunners.²⁷ In Rimini however, the situation is very different. Here the predominant form of imagery employed on the devotional panels is the narrative. Madonna panels are decidedly rare by comparison to the other areas of

²⁵ Belting, 1994, p. 367.

²⁶ Belting, 1994, p.367.

Italy at the same period and in the examples which exist the impact is usually diluted by the presence of peripheral imagery. A good example of this is the panel in Faenza attributed to Giovanni da Rimini and from the early years of the century (fig.69).²⁸ In this example the primary image is indeed the Madonna and Child, but this image is supplemented by the row of diminutive saints in the horizontal field below the Madonna. Likewise, the enthroned Madonna and Child on the Munich panels is tiny and neither the scale nor the position allow the image to be read as anything other than one of a sequence (the rest consisting entirely of narratives).

In these cases both the sense of presence, and the autarchy of the images, are depleted so that the image cannot function successfully in the same dynamic way as the purely iconic image. The aura of personality which pervaded so many of the imported icons and their domestic derivatives is conspicuously absent in these Riminese panels. The function of the imagery is therefore necessarily quite distinct from that of the iconic devotional panels.

In a sense the predominance of the narrative suggests a more functional relationship between the image and the devotee, but the relationship is also less straightforward.

The narrative panel, by its nature, does not tend to develop the same cult of personality or aura of presence as the iconic image (in the same way that even iconic fresco imagery rarely accrues such an aspect – it is not autonomous and therefore cannot assume its own individual identity). Narrative panels do not perform miracles and they do not interact with the devotee in the same direct way as the iconic panel.²⁹

²⁷ Belting, H.; "Icons and Roman Society in the Twelfth Century," in Tronzo, W.; *Italian Church Decoration in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance*, Bologna, 1989, pp.27 – 42 (pp. 27 – 30).

²⁸ See note no.15 above.

²⁹ For a discussion of the narrative devotional image and its functions and interaction with the viewer see Freedberg's review of Belting's *Likeness and Presence*: Freedberg, D.; "Holy Images and other images," *The Art of Interpreting. Papers in Art History from the Pennsylvania State University XI*, University Park 1995 pp.69-87.

The functions of the narrative panels are numerous. On a most basic level they provided an image of an event which had salvific significance or demonstrated the qualities of the person/persons depicted in a manner to be imitated. One of the primary functions of the large scale narrative (particularly in the context of fresco painting) is not relevant for the private devotional panel. They were not designed to illustrate the lives or actions of the saints or other holy figures for the benefit of the illiterate, as their audience would generally be members of a religious community or members of the upper classes, persons who were generally literate.³⁰

Rather than interacting directly with the viewer as does the iconic panel the narrative forms a different type of aid to devotion; instead of invoking presence the narrative provides a path to the direct experience of God through the contemplation of the life and especially the Passion of Christ.

This exact function of the Riminese devotional panels is reflected in their iconography. The predominance of the Passion scenes indicates a particular focus for the devotee. In addition the remarkable concentration on the details of Christ's sufferings are significant.

It is these events that writings such as the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* written in the middle of the fourteenth century describe in great depth and detail, as an amplification of the gospel accounts of the life of Christ.³¹ As an aid to private devotion the *Meditationes* were extremely important and they also seem to represent a

³⁰ A notable exception to this would be a substantial proportion of the female audience (domestic and conventual) who, at this date, would be much less likely than their male counterparts to be literate.

³¹ The *Meditationes vitae Christi* were written between c.1346 and c.c.1364 by a Franciscan author generally known as the Pseudo-Bonaventura. See Ragusa, I. and Green R.B. *Meditations on the life of Christ. An illustrated manuscript of the Fourteenth Century*, (Princeton, 1961), Stallings-Taney, C.M. (ed.); *Iohannis de Cavlibus Meditaciones Vite Christi, (Corpus Christianorum Cont. Med. 153)*, Turnhout 1997, and Stallings-Taney, C.M.; "The Pseudo-Bonaventure Meditaciones Vite Christi: Opus integrum," *Franciscan Studies*, 55, (1998), pp.253 – 280.

significant parallel to devotional art. This phenomenon will be investigated in relation to the Riminese panels in the next section but is enough to say here that in general the dynamic between the viewer and the image was very different in Rimini to areas where the iconic panel was predominant.

The narrative image, particularly when associated with private (and unregulated devotions) was also a far safer form of image than the representation of the holy persons. Its significance cannot be misunderstood in the same way that the autonomous image of an individual could be. A narrative image can never be “worshipped” in the same way that clerics feared the icon could be and thus the viewer of the narrative devotional panel never risks crossing the line into the domain of idolatry. This is particularly important in the case of devotional imagery; a form of imagery which was, as yet, unregulated and which was utilised by unsupervised individuals amongst the laity.

Experiencing the Passion of Christ – the Riminese panels, *The Golden Legend* and the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*

The reoccurrence of the scenes of Christ's life and Passion within the context of the Riminese panels is remarkable when compared to the iconography of devotional imagery elsewhere in Italy. In addition the narrative qualities of each individual scene are generally enhanced by their inclusion within comprehensive sequences of narratives, each depicting one small moment in Christ's progress to the cross.

The best example of this is the sequence of small narratives, already discussed above, which are divided between Venice, Berlin and Rome (figs 12 – 22). The events of Christ's Passion are narrated in a typically Riminese “storyboard” fashion, almost like a modern cartoon strip; the events are clearly designed to be read as a sequence or progression rather than individual events.

What is also surprising in this example is the level of detail employed in the scenes. Even though they measure only around 16 by 14 centimetres each, the scenes are in no way abbreviated or generic. Instead the level of details and the number of participating characters included is remarkable. In the scene of *Christ before Pilate* there has been no attempt to reduce the composition to its basic elements; instead a host of superfluous characters are included behind and around the principal characters. This cramming of the picture space means that the panel becomes illegible unless viewed in extreme close-up – a further indication that these panels must have been designed for private use in an intimate setting.

The same concentration on details of the biblical events can be witnessed in other Riminese panels. One half of the diptych by the Maestro di Verucchio now in a private collection and dated to c.1320 depicts *The Mocking of Christ* and the scene of *The Way to Calvary* in painstaking detail while the scene of *The Deposition* is given the same treatment in two panels by Pietro da Rimini, which may or may not have been autonomous images (fig.8).³²

It is the Crucifixion scene itself though which occasionally lends itself to the addition of the most intense detail. Pietro da Rimini's depiction of the event on the Hamburg diptych is the most surprising; every conceivable detail and peripheral event is included (fig.43). This even extends to the ripping of the curtain of the Temple (depicted in tiny scale to the front and lower left of the scene) and the raising of the dead from their graves at the instant of Christ's death. The Crucifixion scene included on the Munich panels has a similar, but not quite as extensive, treatment of the scene (fig.11).

³² For the Maestro di Verucchio panel see: Volpe, pp. 34 & 77, *Il Trecento Riminese*, p.222 (Cat. No. 31) and Boskovits, 1993, p.108. The first of the Deposition panels is now held in the Pinacoteca Vaticana and measures only 19.5 by 21.5 cm. See *Il Trecento Riminese*, p.212 (Cat. No. 28). The second, now in the Louvre Museum, Paris, is much larger (44 by 31cm) and was most likely either an autonomous devotional image or possibly one section of a now fragmented altarpiece.

There must have been good reasons on the part of the designers of the panels to include such detail on panels where the scale generally means that legibility is seriously compromised. These reasons relate to the specific devotional functions of the panels in relation to the type of personal devotion encouraged by the Franciscan movement and by writings such as the *Golden Legend*.³³

This specific form of devotion had various aims; to encourage an empathy with Christ, to produce a desire to emulate the acts of his life, and to produce a deeper understanding of the depth and nature of his sacrifice. This method of achieving a path to the direct experience of God through the life of Christ was later codified in the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*. The biblical account of Christ's life, elaborated on in the *Golden Legend*, is here the primary subject and is treated exhaustively and in great detail.³⁴

The detailed and sequential narrative treatment of Christ's Passion in the *Meditationes* is paralleled perfectly in the Riminese panels by the sequential flow of the imagery and by the specific detail included. This manuscript, which was widely circulated in the late fourteenth century was written, most likely, by a Franciscan Friar for the benefit of a member of the female second order.³⁵

The introduction enumerates the reasons why the contemplation of the Passion of Christ is beneficial to the soul.

³³ *The Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine, a member of the Dominican Order, written just after the middle of the thirteenth century elaborates on the details of the lives of Christ, the Virgin and the saints, and was frequently used as primary text in the depiction of the lives of the saints and of Christ himself. Its format is primarily calendrical, biographical and narrative, lending itself well to adaptation as narrative sequences. De Voragine, J.; *The Golden Legend* (Translation by Ryan, W. G.), Princeton, 1993.

³⁴ Ragusa, I. And Green R.B., 1961.

³⁵ *The Meditationes Vitae Christi*, was written in Latin most probably by a fourteenth-century Franciscan named Johannes de Caulibus, but has frequently been associated with Bonaventure or the so-called Pseudo-Bonaventura.

I say first that the continuous contemplation of the life of Jesus Christ fortifies and steadies the intellect against trivial and transient things, as is disclosed in the example of the Blessed Cecilia whose heart was so permeated with the like of Christ that trivial things could not enter.³⁶

The entire manuscript is taken up by the slow and detailed narration of the life of Christ, with particular emphasis on his Passion.

There are few forms of iconic imagery which can complement this type of devotion. Images such as the so-called "Man of Sorrows" form minor exceptions, yet this form of static, autonomous imagery is suited to a different type of private devotional use. Narrative sequences, however, form the ideal complement to such contemplation.

The detail of the narratives in the *Meditationes* is extremely specific and is designed to encourage the reader to experience the actuality of Christ's life.

Here pay diligent attention to the manner of the Crucifixion. The two ladders are set in place, one behind at the right arm, another at the left arm, which the evil doers ascend holding nails and hammers. Another ladder is placed in front of the cross reaching to the place where the feet are to be affixed. Look well now at each thing: the Lord Jesus is compelled to ascend the cross by this small ladder; without rebellion or contradiction He humbly does what they require.³⁷

The image constructed here is extremely similar to the small image of *The Ascent of the Cross* by Giovanni Baronzio in the Academia Gallery in Venice, down to the exact positioning of the ladders around the cross (fig.15).³⁸ The sequence to which

³⁶Ragusa, I. And Green R.B., p.2.

³⁷ Ragusa, I. And Green R.B, p.333.

³⁸ As we will see, the specific theme of *The Ascent of the Cross* appears to have popularised by the Franciscans in the late thirteenth and early sixteenth century. The prominence of the ladders

this panel belongs, already mentioned above, forms a close parallel to the descriptions of the Passion in the *Meditationes* in the attention to the chronological flow of the events, the extreme and highly specific detail and in the careful attention to the actuality of Christ's suffering.

The *Meditationes* were, until recently, considered to have been written around the turn of the fourteenth century (and hence created earlier than the Riminese panels under discussion). It has been generally argued, on this basis, that written versions of this form of devotion were the driving force and, in fact the source, of the detailed Christological narratives (in various media) of the fourteenth century. Stallings-Taney has convincingly argued that the *Meditationes* were in fact written between c.1346 – c.1364, much later than previously believed. If this is the case then it is the visual images of Christ's Passion, embodied in panels such as those common in Rimini which are the earlier symptom of this devotional practice, later codified in the *Meditationes*.³⁹

It is interesting that in the Riminese panels, the narrative treatment of the life of Christ, so clearly anticipates the treatment in the *Meditationes*, and that it is the imagery that seems to form the first evidence of the devotional practises encouraged by the Franciscan and lay religious movements, and it seems that visualisations such as those created in the Riminese panels may have had a powerful influence on the production of the text.

The widespread survival of such narrative devotional imagery in Rimini, at such an early date, seems to suggest that these forms of devotion were particularly widespread, amongst both the mendicants and lay religious, in the region. There could be several reasons for this, the first of which, the impact of the Spiritual Franciscan

in this scene and in the text from the *Meditationes* is significant as it is a specifically Franciscan iconography. Derbes has already discussed the Franciscan identification of the ladder Christ ascends to the cross with Jacob's ladder. Hence the ascent to the cross becomes a spiritual ascent to heaven, and ultimately represents the act which opens the way for a similar "ascent" for the faithful. See Derbes, pp. 156 – 157.

³⁹See: Stallings-Taney, 1997.

movement, will be discussed shortly, but another link could be the experiences of the prominent female mystics of the period.

This form of devotion, focused on intense contemplation of Christ's Passion, can be witnessed in the specific form of religious experience current from the mid thirteenth century and made available to popular culture via the experiences of several female mystics.

The lives and religious experiences of these women are generally reasonably well documented through their own writings or through their biographers. Such figures are exemplified by women such as Angela da Foligno (c.1248 – 1309), Umiltá da Faenza (c.1226 – 1310), Umiliana de Cerchi (1219 – 1246) and later by Catherine of Siena (1347 – 1380).⁴⁰ What is common to these women is their visionary or physical experience of the Passion of Christ.

Petroff has made a study of these women and points out that they frequently had much in common, despite their geographical disparity.⁴¹ Unlike traditional female saints most of these women were tertiaries rather than conventuals and most had previously been married and had had children.

Most of these Italian women were active in the middle of the thirteenth century, all spent major parts of their lives as hermits or recluses, and many were

⁴⁰ These female mystics were associated with various religious orders and organisations; Angela da Foligno was a Franciscan Tertiary, Umiltá da Faenza is attributed with the founding of the female order of the Vallombrosans, Umiliana de Cerchi was associated with the Franciscan Tertiaries and Catherine of Siena was a Dominican Tertiary. Another significant example connected with the Franciscan order, Margherita of Cortona, has been the subject of a study by Cannon and Vauchez. See: Cannon, J. and Vauchez, A; 1999.

⁴¹ Petroff, E. A.; *Body and Soul: Essays on Medieval Women and Mysticism*, (Oxford, 1994). For further discussion of the female mystics see: Goodich, Michael, "The Contours of Female Piety in Later Medieval Hagiography" in *Church History* 50 (1981), pp 20-32; Petroff, E. A. (ed); *Medieval Women's Visionary Literature*, Oxford, 1986 and; Furlong, M.; *Visions and Longings: Medieval Women Mystics*, London, 1996.

associated with groups of pious laywomen, possibly connected in some way with the Franciscan Order.⁴²

In a sense the experiences of these women forms a parallel to the type of devotion encouraged by the Riminese private panels. Their direct experience of Christ was achieved through the intense contemplation of his life and Passion.

Angela da Foligno was a Franciscan tertiary whose devotion to the order was dramatically deepened when her mother, husband and children died in close succession. Her later religious experiences were exemplified by visionary and auditory interactions with the divine:

When I asked God what I could do to please him more, in his pity he appeared to me many times, both while I was sleeping and while I was keeping vigil, crucified on the cross, and he told me I might look on his wounds.⁴³

The most famous episode of her life, narrated in the *Liber de Vere Fidelium Experientia*, the account of her experiences which she dictated to a Franciscan friar, is the dialogue she held with the Holy Spirit whilst on a pilgrimage to Assisi from nearby Spello.

In another section of her writings Angela explicitly states that her contemplations of the Passion of Christ were aided by imagery, and recounts the extreme nature of the experience produced:

⁴² Petroff, E. A, 1994, p.116.

⁴³ From the *Liber de Vere Fidelium Experientia* as published in translation in Petroff, E. A. (ed); *Medieval Women's Visionary Literature*, Oxford, 1986, p.256. For the full text of the *Liber* see: Thier, L. & Calufetti, A. (eds.); *Il Libro della Beata Angela da Foligno*, Grottaferrata, 1985.

And when I saw depicted the Passion of Christ I could hardly endure it, but fever took me and I fell ill. So my companion hid from me pictures of the Passion or tried to hide them.⁴⁴

It is unclear what exact form of imagery may be described here. The image could have been a panel or equally as likely, an image within a manuscript as, in the same section of writings, Angela mentions reading a book of the gospels.

The accounts of the experiences of holy women such as Angela da Foligno would have been familiar to the inhabitants of Rimini and the surrounding area in the early fourteenth century. The form of devotion illustrated by these accounts is particularly accessible to the laity as it is demonstrably practised by figures who, at least to begin with, were not full members of a religious community. (Most of the female mystics were not conventuals but tertiaries, and were generally upper or middle class city dwellers in origin).

Their biographies were often in wide circulation and both Angela da Foligno and especially Umiltá da Faenza were relatively local figures. Like Francis and his contemporaries they represented ideals of spiritual behaviour in a context which was both geographically and temporally proximate. In addition, Rimini itself had, by the first half of the fourteenth century, its own female Beata associated with the same form of religious devotion: Clare of Rimini.

Although less well known than the other Beate mentioned, Clare's biography follows the pattern already established by the other female mystics. She was a member of the urban upper classes, had been married (twice in this case) and was possibly a tertiary (in particular a Franciscan tertiary) and her form of devotion included visionary

⁴⁴ Petroff, E. A., p.259. One of Angela da Foligno's such reactions to visual imagery took place before the stained glass images at Assisi. See Frugoni, C.; *Francesco e l'invenzione delle stimmate*, Turin, 1993, p. 298

experiences.⁴⁵ It is one of these visions, of Christ and the Apostles, which is depicted on the two triptychs associated with Santa Maria degli Angeli in Rimini (figs. 31 – 33), and which were discussed in the previous chapter. A prominent aspect of this vision is the emphasis on the wounds of Christ, which are displayed to Clare.

As it appears the two triptychs were situated one within, and one without, *clausura*, both the cloistered members of the convent of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Rimini and the associated laity had an accessible, visual depiction of the visionary experience of their local Beata. This imagery is important as it emphasises the significance of this form of devotion and develops the iconography of the visionary experience. This is also true of other iconographical traits found on Riminese devotional panels, frequently in combination with the functional narrative imagery. We therefore see on many Riminese panels a combination of imagery designed to aid contemplation of the Passion and life of Christ, together with imagery designed to promote this form of devotion.

A good example of the latter is the inclusion, on many panels, of saints such as the Magdalen, the Baptist and Francis himself. The juxtaposition of these saints was discussed in the second chapter, yet in the devotional panels we can discern another level of significance in the iconography of these saints.⁴⁶

As previously discussed, these saints are frequently contextualised even when other accompanying saints are not. This is the case in the panel by Pietro da Rimini where all three saints are included amongst other saints in the lower field (fig.11). While the background behind the other saints is typically blank, these three saints have been depicted against a rocky backdrop suggesting a wilderness or desert. As previously stated the backdrop is centred upon the figure of Francis, who is in the act of receiving the stigmata, but runs behind the adjacent saints, the Magdalen and the

⁴⁵ For the life of Clare see Chapter 4, pp.110 - 116.

⁴⁶ Chapter 2, pp. 60 – 62.

Baptist. The composition emphasises the three saints and sets them apart quite categorically, by their setting and their attire.

A similar contextualisation occurs in the Alnwick portion of the diptych by Giovanni da Rimini (fig.39). Here it is the Baptist and Francis who are depicted within the same small rectangular field and against the rocky backdrop. In this instance again, Francis is in the act of receiving the stigmata.

This same method of distinguishing Francis and the Magdalen can be observed in the Boston panel (fig.1). Although this panel is not a private devotional image, it is of interest here as a panel commissioned by a confraternity associated with the Franciscan Order. In the panel the two saints are both depicted within the same desert setting and both, unlike the saints which accompany them on the panel, are shown during an event from their lives; Francis receiving the stigmata and the Magdalen communing with the angels.⁴⁷

In the panel in the Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, attributed to the Maestro di Verucchio, the Magdalen and the Baptist are shown in separate fields yet within similar contexts (fig. 71).⁴⁸ The Baptist is shown before a rocky backdrop while the Magdalen is shown being borne aloft by the angels, an episode which is recounted in *The Golden Legend*, and which occurred during her self-imposed period of solitude in the desert:

The Blessed Mary Magdalen, wishing to devote herself to heavenly contemplation, retired to an empty wilderness, and lived there for 30 years in a place made ready by the hands of angels. There were no streams of water, nor the comfort of grass or trees; thus it was made clear that our Redeemer had

⁴⁷ Although it must be remembered in this case that these two images are reliant on the frescoes in the Lower Church at Assisi and this to a degree dictates the way in which they are represented.

⁴⁸ The panel has been dated to around the third or fourth decades of the century and may represent one half of a diptych. Its measurements are 44.5cm by 31 cms (Galleria Nazionale

determined to fill her not with earthly viands but only with the good things of heaven. Every day at the seven canonical hours she was carried aloft by angels and her bodily ears heard the glorious chants of the celestial hosts.⁴⁹

In this guise the Magdalen is the model and exemplar of the female mystics of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the sense that she gave up her worldly life for one of solitude, poverty and penance and she achieved direct experience of the divine through a dedication to the contemplation of Christ.

Petroff, in her study of female visionary experiences, shows that the biographies of the thirteenth-century Italian female mystics often adopt the same format and iconography as the *Vitae Patrum*, a group of writings, widely circulated in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, concerning the lives of the desert fathers.⁵⁰

The biographies of a number of Holy women of thirteenth century Italy are cast in the rhetoric of the desert. They describe a new kind of female vocation narrated in a style that recalls the images and the rhetoric of the *Vitae Patrum*.⁵¹

It is this same rhetoric of the desert and the same ascetic lifestyle which is emphasised by the Riminese images of the Magdalen, the Baptist and of Francis. Not

dell'Umbria, Perugia, inv.68). See; Volpe, pp. 40 & 81, *Il Trecento Riminese* pp. 232 – 233 and Boskovits, 1993, pp.163 – 166.

⁴⁹ De Voragine, J.; *The Golden Legend* (Translation by Ryan, W. G.), Princeton, 1993, p.386.

⁵⁰ The *Vitae Patrum* is the collective name given to a group of eastern monastic writings, generally hagiographical in nature, which were compiled in various combinations and translated into Latin before 500AD. The biographies include those of Mary of Egypt, Anthony, Basil the Great and Simon Stylites as well as three biographies written by St. Jerome of Paul of Thebes, Malchus and Hilarion. Goddard Elliot points out that, in 494, Pope Gelasius gave the term *Vitae Patrum* to the biographies written by Jerome, and that later the whole collection of writings became associated with his name. See: Goddard Elliot, A.; *Roads to Paradise: Reading the Lives of the Early Saints*, London, 1987, pp.11 –13, and Philippart, G.; "Vitae Patrum," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 92 (1974) Brussels, pp.353 – 365.

⁵¹ Petroff, E. A., p.114.

only is the physical setting of the figures within the desert landscape indicative of this interpretation, but there is also an emphasis on the attire of the figures, especially in the case of the Magdalen and the Baptist. The meanness of the clothing adopted by the figures during their sojourn in the wilderness is echoed in the biographies of several of the female visionaries, most significantly in the biography of the local Beata Umiltá of Faenza:

12 years she lived in that cell; bread and water alone; with cooked bitter herbs on solemn feasts, this was her habitual diet. She reached the point of such abstinence that three ounces of bread a day were enough to support her thin body (...). On her bare body she always wore a shirt of horse hair, or pig skin with the bristles turned toward her flesh, wearing this in every event, and time, with only a worn and worthless cowl over it, without any warm leather or woven clothing placed beneath it.⁵²

The parallels being drawn in this text with the lives of the Baptist and the Magdalen in the wilderness, are obvious. The apparent ability of Umiltá to sustain herself on tiny amounts of food forms a direct comparison with the text on the life of the Magdalen in *The Golden Legend*, which specifically states that she needed no nourishment while in the wilderness.

Francis himself, of course, provides the same form of exemplar as the Magdalen in term of his attainment of the direct experience of the divine through contemplation of the Passion. It is in this role that he is included, along with the Magdalen and the Baptist in the desert context within the Riminese devotional panels.

In particular Francis's experience of the divine is significant as he was granted the ultimate privilege of having Christ's wounds imprinted on his own body. This direct

⁵² Petroff, E. A., p. 117. Taken from the biography of Umiltá da Faenza.

physical experience of Christ's wounds was achieved through the intense and continual contemplation of Christ's Passion during a period spent in the solitude of La Verna. This barren and eremitic setting allows parallels to be drawn with the other saints and Beate who underwent visionary experiences.

Francis's achievement of bodily assuming the injuries of Christ was unprecedented and unique in its time.⁵³ It appears as the ultimate stage of the contemplative process encouraged by both the Franciscan movement and employed by the female mystics of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Later, the introduction of the *Meditationes* cites Francis as the specific example to be emulated:

Do you not believe that the Blessed Francis would have attained such abundance of virtue and such illuminated knowledge of the Scriptures and such subtle experience of the deception of the enemy and of vices if not by familiar conversation with and contemplation of his Lord Jesus? With such ardour did he change himself that he became almost one with Him and tried to follow them as completely as possible in all virtues, and when he was finally complete and perfect in Jesus, by the impression of the sacred stigmata he was transformed into him.⁵⁴

⁵³ It was St. Bonaventura, in his *Legenda major* who first developed the theme of Francis as *Alter Christus*, but this was a theme which was developed further in the later hagiographical writings of the Franciscan Order. For discussion of the development and dissemination of the image of Francis the most important works are Blume, D, *Wandmalerei als Ordenspropaganda. Bildprogramme im Chorbereich franziskanischer Konvente Italiens bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Worms, 1983, and more recently Krüger, 1992, and Frugoni, 1993.

Besides the above, for discussions of the issues surrounding the stigmatisation of Francis and its representations see: Vauchez, A.; "Les stigmates de Saint François et leurs détracteurs dans les derniers siècles du moyen âge," *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* 86, (1968), pp. 695 – 725, White, J.; "The Date of the Legend of St. Francis at Assisi," *Burlington Magazine* 98 (1956) pp.344 – 351, Van Os, H.; 'St Francis of Assisi as a Second Christ in Early Italian Painting', *Simiolus* 7 (1974), pp.115-132, and Gardner, J.; "The Louvre Stigmatization and the problem of the narrative altarpiece," *ZfKg* 45 (1982) pp.217 – 247.

In this text the contemplation of Christ is described as one of the essential steps in the path to experiencing the divine, and the physical assumption of Christ's wounds is the ultimate reward of this process.

The physical experience of Christ's Passion is an element that frequently reoccurs in the writings associated with the female visionaries, and imagery appears to have been one of the principal focuses of the contemplative states which produced such experiences. As Van Os states:

It is said of Clare of Montefalco and Angela da Foligno that they more than once experienced the feeling of being nailed to a cross with Christ, and that this usually happened while they were immersed in spiritual exercises before an image of the cross.⁵⁵

In this sense the female mystics can be typologically likened, not only to the Magdalen and the desert fathers but also to Francis himself.

Allusions to the contemplative element of Francis's devotion are not limited to the static images of the saint on the Riminese devotional panels. As already stated, one of the most frequent occurrences of the image of Francis in Riminese panel painting, is at the foot of the cross within the Crucifixion scene. This is true of both large-scale panel painting and devotional imagery, and may have been heavily influenced by the presence of Francis in this position on Giotto's dossal as well as the prominent appearance of this element in the frescoes in the Upper Church at Assisi. In these contexts of course we are not seeing a simple representation of the Crucifixion but a simultaneous representation of the devotions of Francis himself, alongside the

⁵⁴ Ragusa, I. And Green R.B. *Meditations on the life of Christ. An illustrated manuscript of the Fourteenth Century*, (Princeton, 1961), p.3.

⁵⁵ Van Os, H.; *The Art of Devotion 1300 – 1500*, (Princeton, 1994), p.167.

functional narrative image which provides the focus for the viewer. As in the panels which combine static images of Francis and the Magdalen alongside Passion narratives, here we see a combination of functional imagery, which is intended to act as an aid to devotion, alongside abstract imagery, designed to promote the contemplative experience.

It is of little surprise that the Magdalen is also frequently depicted in Riminese Crucifixions at the foot of the cross (sometimes in close proximity to Francis himself). Here the two saints provide visible examples of devotion for the benefit of the viewer. Francis himself provides an intermediary between the contemporary devotee and the spiritual and physical reality of the Crucifixion. In this sense Francis forms the intermediate step in the process towards the divine, a bridge between the modern spectator and actuality of Christ, a situation made possible through his own intense devotion and contemplation of the divine, legitimised through the bestowing of the stigmata.

This concept is made visually apparent in the panel by Baronzio in Bologna (fig.37). Here Francis is set forward of the Crucifixion at the spacious area at the front of the scene forming a spatial and, by implication, spiritual link between the viewer and the scene of the Crucifixion. The role of Francis is here highlighted by the fact that he is depicted with his arms upraised in the position in which he is more usually shown receiving the stigmata.⁵⁶ The image therefore becomes multi-layered; in one sense we are viewing the historical event of the Crucifixion, yet in another we are observing the contemplations of Francis during which he approaches Christ so closely that His

⁵⁶ For details see Chapter 2, n.8. The pose of Francis in this panel, as in all of the extant Riminese images of the Stigmatisation such as that on the diptych in Rome by Giovanni da Rimini and that in Monaco, are identical to the pose of Francis in the fresco in the Upper Church of San Francesco at Assisi. Francis is depicted in a similar role in the small panel of the Crucifixion in the Pinacoteca Vaticana, although here his pose is quite different and he is placed

wounds are imprinted, physically, on his body. Francis forms the spiritual, temporal and visual intermediary in the path of the devotee towards God.

Another significant element of the panel in Bologna is the emphasis on the observers of Christ's Crucifixion, in particular the Magdalen, the Madonna and St. John the Evangelist. All three of these figures here assume the positions most usual in Riminese painting; the Magdalen at the foot of the cross, the Evangelist to the right of the cross and the Madonna fainting into the arms of the Holy women in the group to the left of the cross.

These representations of the Virgin deliberately highlight her suffering alongside her son and were often described as her own "Passion". This attribute of assuming the sufferings of Christ at the Crucifixion was not reserved for the Madonna, and both *The Golden Legend* and the *Meditationes* describe the suffering of the observers of the followers of Christ at the Crucifixion. These figures therefore provide a further repertoire of exemplary behaviour to be emulated by the viewer of the Crucifixion images. They represent another group of figures who assumed the suffering of Christ.

The idea that figures such as St. John and the Madonna suffered with Christ is carried over into the experiences of the female mystics and seems to have been another focus for their contemplations on the Passion:

I fixed my attention on St. John and on the Mother of God, meditating on their grief and praying them to obtain this grace for me, that is, that I might always feel the pain of the Passion, or at least their pain. And they came to me, and for this purpose. This one time St. John gave me so much [of his pain] that it was the greatest suffering I have ever felt. And I was given to understand that St. John

endured so much pain at the Passion and death of Christ and at the pain of the Mother of Christ, that I thought then, and still think, that he was more than martyr.⁵⁷

In this context the experiences of the observers of Christ's Passion, in this case specifically St. John, can act as "conduits" of Christ's suffering to the devotee.

This may be one reason why in Riminese Crucifixion scenes the traditional placement of the Madonna and St. John to the respective left and right of the cross, is retained, rather than dividing the crowd into the followers of Christ, to the left, and the crucifiers and other onlookers to the right of the cross. In the former arrangement it is easier to emphasise the emotional reactions of the followers of Christ to his suffering, as St John and the Holy Women are set apart at the foreground of the scene and the significance of their reaction takes iconographical precedence.

The Franciscan Spirituals and Joachim of Fiore.

The ascetic imagery employed in many of the Riminese devotional panels also finds a parallel in the rhetoric and practices of the Franciscan Spirituals, a group who had a particular stronghold in the Marches and the surrounding area.⁵⁸ The Spirituals emerged within the Franciscan Order in the latter decades of the thirteenth century in response to what they perceived as a move away from the original ideals of the Order

⁵⁷ From the *Liber de Vere Fidelium Experientia* as published in extracts in Petroff, E. A. (ed); *Medieval Women's Visionary Literature*, Oxford, 1986, p.257.

⁵⁸ For a full discussion of the Franciscan Spirituals see Nimmo, D.; *Reform and Division in the Medieval Franciscan Order. From Saint Francis to the Foundation of the Capuchins*, Rome, 1986, and Burr, D.; *The Spiritual Franciscans. From Protest to Persecution in the Century after Saint Francis*, University Park, Pennsylvania, 2001.

For the influence of Joachim of Fiore on the Spirituals see: Lambert, M.; *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation*, Oxford, 1977, 189 – 214, and Reeves, M.; *Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future: A Medieval Study in Historical Thinking*, London, 1976, pp. 29 – 58.

and of Francis himself. The controversy partly hinged around the interpretation of the *usus pauper* which was defined in increasingly lax terms by the Order.⁵⁹ The Spirituals advocated a return to complete poverty and to the lifestyle of their founder, Francis himself. The Conventuals, on the other hand, saw the use of property and the increasingly static and ordered lifestyle of the friars as essential in their role in urban society, and as servants of the Church.

The emergence of the Spirituals was a threat to the stability of the Franciscan Order and the risk of a schism led to the intervention of various Popes, most notably Celestine V (1294) and other church officials. This intervention took various forms; on one extreme Celestine approved the formation of a separate order of the Poor Hermits, under which the Spirituals could live according to their ideals, but this is to be contrasted with the harsh treatment of the Spirituals under his successor Pope Boniface VIII (1294 – 1303).⁶⁰

The accusations of heresy which were levelled at the Spirituals in this period are not without some justification. The group became, to varying degrees, under the influence of the writings and prophecies of Joachim of Fiore (c.1135 – 1202).⁶¹

Joachim's prophecy is a complicated issue but his writings were based partly in the idea that all phases of history are interlinked and interrelated and hence patterns

⁵⁹ Moorman, J.R.H., *A History of the Franciscan Order from its Origins to the Year 1517*, Oxford, 1968, pp.193 – 194.

⁶⁰ Celestine V, released the Spirituals from their allegiance to the Franciscan Order and allowed them to band together under a new order: The Poor Hermits of Pope Celestine, and appointed Peter of Macerata, one of the leaders of the Spirituals of the Marches, as their Minister General. See Moorman, 1968, p.195. Celestine was however, Pope for only five months. In December 1294 he abdicated and was followed by Boniface VIII whose attitude to the Spiritual movement was entirely in opposition to that of his predecessor. The Poor Hermits, who had already fled to Greece, were subjected to a period of extreme censure and oppression, during which time the accusation of heresy was levelled at them and their counterparts in Naples and Provence.

⁶¹ Joachim of Fiore as born in Calabria around 1135. He took the habit at a Benedictine monastery in 1171 but later fell under the influence of St. Bernard and became closely

can be found which link all phases of history. Joachim found complex relationships and typologies between the Old Testament events and those of the New Testament. Although this in itself is not unusual, as the Old Testament was often discussed in terms of a typological herald of the events of the New Testament, Joachim went further in building a very structured model of history which encompassed modern and future "history". This structure was based on the idea of three states, each associated with one of the three persons of the Trinity. The first state; that of God the Father corresponded to the Old Testament events while the second state, that of God the Son, began with the Incarnation. According to Joachim, the third state, that corresponding to God the Holy Spirit, was imminent, but had not yet begun.⁶²

The idea of the three states is derived partly from Augustine's model of the seven ages (corresponding to the seven days of creation, where the seventh day is the Sabbath), and in fact Joachim also incorporates the seven age model structure into his three status model. However, Joachim differed from Augustine in that, for him, this "Sabbath" period fell *before* the Last Judgement and hence before the end of time.⁶³

Joachim's prophecies, and model of history had already proved popular with the young mendicant orders, in particular the Dominicans and the Franciscans. The main reason for this is that Joachim had predicted that the advent of the third status would be preceded by the appearance of two new orders of spiritual men. As Reeves states:

These are essentially transitional, intermediary orders, one of a hermit type to agonise for the Church in tribulation on the mountain top, the other a preaching order to labour in the world.⁶⁴

associated with the Cistercian Order. In 1196 he was given leave to form his own Order of San Giovanni in Fiore. He died in 1202. See: Reeves, 1976, pp. 1 – 5.

⁶² Lambert, 1977, pp. 195.

⁶³ Reeves, 1976, p.8.

⁶⁴ Reeves, 1976, p.13.

The appeal of this prophecy to the two main mendicant orders is immediately obvious. The Franciscans and Dominicans appeared as established orders only decades after Joachim's death, and their identification with the *new spiritual men* was almost unavoidable.

In particular though, the prophecies appealed to the Franciscan Order, and the existing tradition of associating Francis with the advent of the seventh age (and with the apocalyptic angel of the sixth seal) led to a further identification of Francis with the herald of the third status.⁶⁵ As Christ's Incarnation marked the transition from the first to the second status, likewise the life of Francis marked the transition from the second to the third.⁶⁶ This element of Joachim's prophecy neatly fitted the order's growing awareness of Francis as an *Alter Christus*, an awareness which is made visually apparent in the iconography of Francis in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century.⁶⁷

For the Spirituals of the Marches and Provence though, Joachim's writings had a particular resonance. Many of this group specifically identified the spiritual movement with Joachim's *spiritual men*. Their struggle against oppression and their perception of the growing decadence of the Church, and particularly of the Franciscan Order, fitted into the iconography of the prophecies and, in particular, their eschatological nature. For some of the Spirituals, these struggles marked the imminent transition to the third status, of which they were the heralds. For these reasons Joachim's ideas fell on fruitful ground when they were developed by the Spirituals.

The question arises as to whether the spirituals and their concerns had a noticeable impact on visual imagery in Romagna and Marche at this period. We should not expect a movement concerned with extreme poverty to commission expensive

⁶⁵ Reeves, 1976, p.37.

⁶⁶ Reeves, 1976, p.46.

imagery to reflect their concerns, and the more transient nature of the Spirituals' lifestyle was, in any case, not suited to the production of any imagery other than that of an ephemeral nature. On the other hand, the presence of the Spirituals in the Marches and the neighbouring areas may have had an impact on the commissioning classes. The Franciscans themselves, as has been noted, were very influential on the types of devotional imagery produced in this area, and there is no reason to suppose that this influence was entirely restricted to the Conventual branch of the Order.

As Derbes has already pointed out, the scene of *The Stripping of Christ* appears to be very rare, at this date, outside of the area of Emilia, Romagna, Umbria and the Marches.⁶⁸ In these scenes "the emphasis on Christ's stripping in Franciscan Passion cycles can, (...) be read as a visual justification of the vow of poverty."⁶⁹ Derbes goes on to suggest that the popularity of the image in this area could be due to the presence of the Spirituals.⁷⁰ The Spirituals had put great emphasis on the poverty of clothing and one accusation they levelled at the Conventuals was that they allowed a friar the use of two habits rather than one, as advocated by Francis himself.

On the other hand we do not see in the Riminese panels the same emphasis on the poverty of dress that can be recognised in later Observant Franciscan imagery.⁷¹

⁶⁷ For Francis as *Alter Christus* and the development of this iconography see: Van Os, 1974, pp.115-132, and Gardner, 1982, pp.217 – 247. and Goffen, R.; *Spirituality in Conflict: Saint Francis and Giotto's Bardi Chapel*, University Park, 1988.

⁶⁸ The scene was usually included as an extra episode in the scene of the Ascent to the Cross but occasionally appears as an individual scene in its own right. See Derbes, pp. 151-2.

⁶⁹ Derbes, p. 151.

⁷⁰ Derbes, p. 152. The scene appears, for example, in two panels produced in Romagna in the late duecento. Both are one in a sequence of Christological narratives. In both the image appears as instead of the scene of the Ascent of the Cross, and Christ is shown removing his garments as the ladder is laid against the cross. The first of these panels, by the so-called Maestro da Faenza, was formerly located in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Bologna dates from c. 1260 – 1280 and the second, by the Maestro di Forlì, formerly in New York, probably dates from c. 1290 – 1300. See *Il Trecento Riminese*, pp.148 – 154.

⁷¹ For the dress of the differing branches of the Franciscan Order see: Gieben, S. 'Per la storia dell'abito Franceseano', *Collectanea Franceseana* 66 (1996), pp.431-478.

Instead the greater emphasis appears to be on setting: on the rocky wilderness which contextualises saints Francis, the Baptist and the Magdalen, in several of the devotional panels. This iconography of eremiticism is also suited to the outlook of the Spirituels whose imitation of Francis, as well as their oppression, led them to much more eremitical lifestyles than their Conventual counterparts.⁷² The rocky backdrop, of course, refers both to the location of the stigmatization on La Verna and to the wildernesses of the Magdalen's and/or Baptist's periods in solitude, but on another level, it also finds a parallel in the language employed by Joachim to describe his *spiritual men*. As Reeves has stated, the first of the two orders would be 'of a hermit type to agonise for the Church in tribulation on the mountain top.'⁷³ The image of the mountain and mountain top recurs in Joachim's discussion of this first order and it is also a theme which is employed in the *Fioretti*, partly written by a group of spirituels in the Marches in the second half of the Duecento.⁷⁴ This iconography of the hermit in the wilderness suited the ideals of the Spirituels perfectly, and in this way the prophecies of Joachim acted as a justification for the Spirituels' insistence on absolute poverty and a stricter observance of the rule.

Another distinction made by Joachim, between the two orders, was that of the active and contemplative life. While one of the two orders would be active preachers by nature, the second, eremitical order would be contemplative, and further withdrawn from the world.⁷⁵ The role of Francis, the Magdalen and the Baptist as advocates and exemplars of the contemplative life has already been discussed in the previous section,

⁷² For a discussion of the Spirituels in the Marches see: Lambertini, R.; "Spirituali e Fraticelli: le molte anime della dissidenza francescana nelle Marche tra XIII e XV secolo," in Pellegrini, L.; and Paciocco, R.; (eds.); *I francescani nelle Marche. Secoli XIII-XVI*, Cinisello Balsamo, 2000, pp. 38 - 53.

⁷³ Reeves, 1976, p.13.

⁷⁴ For the iconography of the *Fioretti* see, Reeves, pp.35 – 36, and Patch, H.R.; "The Bridge of Judgement in the *Fioretti*," *Speculum*, XXI (1946), pp.343 – 4.

⁷⁵ Reeves, 1976, p.29.

and this is another element in which parallels can be drawn with the ideals of the Franciscan Spirituals.

The eschatological nature of Joachim's prophecies and the belief that the third and final state was imminent, a belief shared with the Spirituals, may in part explain another aspect of the imagery employed in the Riminese devotional panels. As noted previously, the inclusion of the Last Judgement scene in several of the panels, is very unusual. The scene is rarely seen in panel painting in general, and even less so in small scale panel painting, as it is an image more suited to depiction on a monumental scale. The Last Judgement appears, however, four times in the extant devotional panels associated with the Riminese painters. In all of these cases the scene appears amongst narratives of the life of Christ, but significantly, in two cases the image appears in close proximity to images of Francis, the Baptist and/or the Magdalen. In the diptych by Giovanni da Rimini split between Rome and Alnwick the Last Judgement scene appears opposite the image of St. Francis and the Baptist (fig.38 & 39). In this case Francis is receiving the stigmata and both saints are set in the same field against the rocky backdrop. In the two panels in Munich (fig.11), the same juxtaposition occurs; the saints are placed opposite the image of the Last Judgement, although here the Magalen is also included. It is possible that the juxtaposition of these images in both cases has been influenced by the ideals of the Spirituals and that the juxtaposition of Francis, in this eremitical context, with the Last Judgment, is a visual representation of the significance of his Joachimite role as the herald of the third and final status, preceding the Last Judgement itself.⁷⁶

The Devotional Panel and the importance of the "Archetype".

⁷⁶ The visual association of Francis and Christ is here particularly pertinent as, in Joachimite thought, Francis was the herald of the third age, as Christ was of the second.

It has already been mentioned that some of the most important models for the devotional panels elsewhere in Italy were the imported icons from Byzantium which had often accrued both a long history of legends and miracle working, and a semi-autonomous existence of their own.⁷⁷ For these images the history of the image was paramount, and for their Italian derivatives the visual appropriation of this significance was a major element in their success as devotional objects. In this sense the importance, indeed the very holiness, of the image was linked to its authenticity. This authenticity was achieved either through the age of the prototype, through the length of their histories, or through their developed "personality".

Of course these criteria apply only to the iconic image, as already discussed the narrative rarely accrued any of these features and so for Riminese images the issues are very different. Different criteria are important here, criteria which are linked to both function and also to economics and trade, but the issue of the "archetype" is by no means irrelevant.

When we study closely the format, and often the iconography, of the Riminese devotional panels, we can frequently find that the imagery is strongly indebted to various traditions. As discussed in the first chapter, the influence of Byzantine iconography and modes of representation is still very strong in Riminese panel

⁷⁷ The eleventh-century Nikopoiea Icon in the Basilica of San Marco in Venice for example was certainly present in the city from 1204, the date of the fourth Crusade. See Belting, 1994, p.4. In Rome several important icons resided on the altars of the ancient churches. The age of many of these icons is difficult to pin down as they were often repainted and their origins obscured in legend. These icons though frequently took on a life of their own. The icon known as the *Salus Populi Romani*, an image of the Virgin and Child reputedly painted by St. Luke, belonging to the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore, was well before the twelfth century taken in annual procession to "visit" the image of Christ (also attributed to St. Luke) in the Sancta Sanctorum. This demonstrates the treatment of certain famous icons in terms which suggest a semi-independent identity. See Belting, H.; "Icons and Roman Society in the Twelfth Century," in Tronzo, W.; *Italian Church Decoration in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance*, Bologna, 1989, pp.27 – 30.

painting, especially towards the beginning of the century, and more markedly in the smaller devotional paintings than in larger scale altarpieces.

Panels such as the diptych split between Rome and Alnwick (figs.38 & 39) are heavily imbued with Byzantine influence which manifests itself in the coloration, the iconography and the format. Later on, the Byzantine influence becomes weaker yet certain characteristics, such as the use of gold striation on the robes of Christ and the Virgin, persist well after such traits had been superseded in areas such as Tuscany.⁷⁸

In a certain sense the Byzantine imagery is heavily diluted by other influences, yet it appears, that to a certain degree there are certain archetypes, Byzantine in origin, which are utilised by the Riminese painters. These archetypes are, in many ways, significant for very different reasons than the iconic archetypes which influenced iconic devotional imagery in Tuscany and Rome.

There are various traits of the devotional panels (and some of Riminese panels in general) which are highly distinctive, and also remarkably uniform across the surviving examples. Most obvious is the heavy use of the narrative which was discussed in the previous chapter. Alongside this, the breaking up of the picture surface into smaller rectangular fields divided by gold or coloured and decorative bands, is common in a very high proportion of the devotional panels. The inclusion of diminutive standing saints often in groups of two or three, within these rectangular fields, is also striking and unusual.

As mentioned previously, some of these traits are also common to Byzantine painted narrative "icons", there are, however other Byzantine exports which appear to have been even more influential on the devotional panels produced by the Riminese painters.

⁷⁸ Although Duccio and other Sieneese painters still use this gold striation as late as the second decade of the Trecento, we find this trait in Riminese panels as late as 1345 (in Baronzio's signed polyptych in the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche in Urbino from Macerata Feltria).

The diptych split between Rome and Alnwick, one of the earliest surviving devotional panels, is characterised by the typical division into rectangular fields, by the decorative dividing bands and by a warm coloration and iconography which are heavily indebted to Byzantine imagery. Yet the closest object in appearance to this diptych is not represented by any painting but by the small mosaic icon now preserved in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo in Florence (fig.72).⁷⁹ This mosaic is extremely similar in format and in the type of imagery included. Like the Rome section of the diptych, both halves of the mosaic are divided into six smaller rectangular narrative scenes by decorative bands. The scenes are Christological and although the mosaic scenes do not reflect exactly the specific scenes on the diptych, those which are the same are remarkably close in composition.

Mosaic icons are relatively rare items due to their expense and very few true mosaic icons survive until the present day.⁸⁰ As Demus has pointed out, mosaic icons are interesting in that they appear to have been produced mostly over a very limited time, and were generally associated with the Byzantine Imperial court. They were therefore very expensive, rare and luxurious items.⁸¹

The time scale of production appears to be limited to the period between 1260 and 1320, and the example already cited in Florence probably belongs to the latter part

Venice is another area where this use of mordant gilding and shell gold is found persisting into the second half of the century.

⁷⁹ Mosaic diptych, *Scenes from the Life of Christ*, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence (height = 27cm). For a discussion see Lasarev, V.; *Storia della pittura bizantina*, Turin, 1967, p. 368 and figs. 489 – 490, and Evans, H, (ed.), *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261 – 1557)*, New Haven and London, 2004, pp. 219 – 220.

⁸⁰ Many of the so-called autonomous mosaic icons which appear to have survived are actually wall mosaics which have been detached and remounted on panels at some point in their history. They can be distinguished by the materials employed as true mosaic icons are laid not in mortar, but in wax or resin. For a detailed discussion of the genre of the mosaic icon see Demus, O.; "Two Palaeologan Mosaic Icons in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 14, (1960), pp.87 – 119.

⁸¹ Demus, O, (1960), pp. 95-96.

of this period, i.e. the early fourteenth century, and is therefore a near contemporary to the Rome/Alnwick diptych.⁸²

The origin of the mosaic icons is also significant, two of those in Italy, that in Florence and another, surviving in the Museo Civico in Sassoferrato and thus very close to Rimini itself, appear to have been produced for the imperial court.⁸³ Certainly the icon in Sassoferrato contains the emblems of the Palaeologan emperors.⁸⁴

The mosaic in Florence cannot be the exact model for the Rome/Alnwick diptych but the similarity between the two objects suggests that similar objects were familiar to the painter and patron of the diptych. This is not unlikely in the context of Rimini, as a port on the Adriatic where it was closely associated with the Venetian trade routes and with the ports on the eastern side of the Adriatic, in particular with Ragusa. Luxury yet portable items such as mosaic icons would have passed through the Rimini in the course of this Adriatic trade, perhaps on route to Venice, or perhaps through the hands of the Riminese merchants themselves. As well as the example in Sassoferrato, several mosaic icons have found their way to Venice including that of the Madonna Eleousa in the church of Santa Maria della Salute.⁸⁵

Many of these mosaics, as would be expected, depict iconic images of the saints yet a reasonable number, twelve at least Demus indicates, are narrative in nature.⁸⁶ These are generally limited to the scenes of the great feasts of the church, one of the few groups of narrative images permissible on Byzantine icons. It would seem reasonable to assume that the Rome/Alnwick diptych was produced under the

⁸² Demus, O, (1960), pp. 95-96.

⁸³ For further information see Vasiliev, A, A.; "The historical significance of the mosaic of St. Demetrius at Sassoferrato," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 5 (1950), p.31, and Evans, 2004, pp. 231 – 233.

⁸⁴ Vasiliev, A. A., pp.93.

⁸⁵ See Belting, p.195 - 203

⁸⁶ Demus, O.;1960, p. 91.

influence of a Byzantine mosaic icon depicting the twelve feasts of a similar type to that represented by the Florence icon.

Another specific form of Byzantine icon appears to have had an influence on the production of devotional panels in Rimini. Whereas painted icons rarely have the same rigid and divided structure as the Riminese devotional panels and the mosaic icons of the great feasts, the ivory icon also appears to regularly have been constructed in similar fashion.⁸⁷

Again, ivory icons are not restricted to narrative imagery, and in fact icons of the Madonna and Child appear to have been one of the most common forms. On the other hand a large number of ivories survive which depict narrative scenes usually in the form of the great feasts. Like the Riminese devotional panels these are generally divided into sections, with the narratives separated by plain or decorated bands, and usually took the form of diptychs. Like the mosaic icons, and generally unlike the painted icons, ivories were usually designed for private ownership and personal devotion.

The diptych in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg is an excellent example (fig.73). It has been dated to the tenth or eleventh century and measures 26.4cm by 13.3cm for each wing.⁸⁸ The diptych, although rounded at the upper outline, is divided into twelve rectangular compartments each containing a small-scale narrative painting.

Another good example is represented by the four tenth century ivories depicting *The Nativity*, *The Raising of Lazarus*, *The Incredulity of St. Thomas* and *The Koimesis*

⁸⁷ In terms of painted icons, there are exceptions such as that in the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg from the first half of the fourteenth century, which includes the same scenes in the same arrangement as the Florentine example. See: Lasarev, p. 369.

⁸⁸ The Hermitage ivory (22.5 by 11.5cm) dates from the tenth century can be associated with Constantinople. For further discussion of the icon see Evans, H. and Wixom, W. (eds.): *The Glory of Byzantine; Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A.D. 843 - 1261*, (New York, 1997), pp.146 – 148.

split over several locations and which must have belonged to a group of narrative scenes representing the Twelve Feasts (fig.74).⁸⁹

As well as these examples containing many narratives there are also many surviving ivory diptychs which depict two or four narrative scenes, again always from the lives of Christ or the Virgin. The left wing of a diptych in the Kestner Museum in Hanover (fig.75) depicts the Crucifixion and the Deposition while the wing of a diptych in the Hermitage (fig.76) represents Christ and the Marys after the Resurrection, and the Anastasis.⁹⁰ Like the icons of the Twelve Feasts the structure of these icons remains standard; the scenes are divided by simple bands, occasionally with patterning. Traces of gilding remain on the Hanover icon indicating that its appearance was once far more sumptuous than it appears today.

⁸⁹ *The Nativity* panel (11.5 by 10.2 cm) is located in the British Museum, *The Raising of Lazarus* (10.6 by 8.8cm) in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin, *The Incredulity of St. Thomas* (10.6 by 8.8cm) at Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Washington, D.C. and *The Koimesis* panel (10.6 by 8.7cm) is located in The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, Texas. *The Nativity* is interesting as this is another good example of the conflation of the scenes of the Nativity, the Annunciation to the Shepherds and the Bathing of the Christ child, a feature frequently seen in Riminese Nativity scenes. For a full discussion of this group of ivory panels see: Weitzmann, K.; *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (Volume III)*, Dumbarton Oaks, 1972.

⁹⁰ The Hanover ivory (22.9 by 11.9cm) probably dates to the tenth century and originated in Constantinople. For further discussion of the icon see Evans and Wixom, pp.146 – 148. The question must here be raised over the availability of tenth and eleventh century Byzantine icons and related items to the painters of the early Trecento and their patrons. It is difficult to trace the movements of such small portable items, although there are instances of their import during the period under question. The Romanos ivory reliquary, of the tenth century, now in Cortona, was imported into Italy in the thirteenth century. See: Frolow, A.; "La relique de la vraie croix. Recherches sur le developpement d'un culte," *Archives de l'orient chrétien*, 7 (1961), pp. 432 – 433. There is also a steatite icon of the Archangel Gabriel, in the Museo Bardini, of the eleventh or twelfth century, although the date of its arrival in Italy is uncertain. See: Weitzmann, K.; *The Icon. Holy Images: Sixth to Fourteenth Century*, London, 1978, p. 64.

The import of large numbers of precious and cult objects into Venice from Constantinople after 1204 is significant, as is the presence, noted above, of contemporary mosaic icons in Florence and Sassoferrato.

In addition, the Byzantine icons frequently include saints standing together with a rectangular field as witnessed in the Riminese devotional panels. A good example of this is the steatite icon in the Louvre dating from the late tenth century where the upper scene, depicting the *Hetoimasia*, is supplemented by a lower scene containing four standing saints, all within the same field (fig.77).⁹¹ Such a composition can be compared to the early panel by Giovanni da Rimini depicting the Virgin and Child in the upper field and five standing saints the lower field.

The ivory triptych, also in the Louvre, and also from the tenth century is interesting in terms of Riminese painted panels as, not only does it once again contain a scene whereby the Nativity, the Annunciation to the Shepherds and the Bathing of the Christ child are conflated, it also uses the distinctive compositional device of dividing the right hand scene of the Ascension in two with a horizontal band.⁹² This is a device used by Giovanni da Rimini in the Alnwick half of the diptych already discussed, to divide the vertical scene of the Coronation of the Virgin and hence provide space to include the onlooking angels in the lower section.

The similarity of the feast icons in structure to many of the Riminese panels, and the use of compositional and iconographical features current in ivory (and steatite) icons suggests that these items may have played a significant role in the development of the Riminese devotional panels.

Like the mosaic icons, the ivories represent expensive and luxurious items which were highly portable and therefore more readily exportable. Again they are likely to be objects that would have reached or passed through Rimini in the course of Adriatic trade. Like the mosaic icons they generally appear to have been designed with private ownership and devotion in mind.

⁹¹ See Evans and Wixom, p.157. For a broader discussion of steatite icons see: Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, I.; *Byzantine Icons in Steatite*, Vienna, 1985.

⁹² This tiny ivory (12.1 by 20cm) also contains traces of polychromy and gilding. For further information see Evans and Wixom, pp. 152 – 153.

In a certain sense it is these ivory and mosaic icons which can be considered the “archetypes” of the Riminese devotional panels. As the non-narrative icons provided the prestige and history of sanctity which was inherited by the iconic devotional panel in Tuscany and Rome, the creators of many of the Riminese devotional panels sought to inherit certain qualities inherent in the narrative ivories and mosaics. Some of these qualities are exactly those sought in the figural icons; age and hence authority, the association with Byzantium; and a level of functional continuity. The issues are not identical however; the prestige of the icons employed as models for the Riminese painters were important, not merely for their great sanctity, but due to their status as both expensive and sumptuous items. It is the preciousness of the object which is specifically relevant, not simply the significance of the image. Whereas the values the iconic panels inherited from Byzantium were attached to the image, and hence the prototype, of the persons represented, the Riminese devotional panels borrow values associated with the objects they emulate. Put simply, the Riminese panels borrow the prestige of the *object* while the iconic panels borrow the prestige of the *image*.

The actual imagery employed on the Riminese panels, while strongly under the influence of Byzantine composition and iconography, is also heavily indebted to Giotto and to Assisi. The tendency is to use Assisian or Giottesque modes of representation unless they prevent the object being visually associated with the Byzantine objects they emulate, hence the rich coloration, extravagant gilding and gold striation frequently employed even on relatively late devotional panels.

The use of the expensive Byzantine imports as models for the Riminese devotional panels is, as already explained, partly dictated by Rimini’s geographical and economic position as an Adriatic port in close contact with Venetian Adriatic trade. It is hardly surprising that it is the luxurious items which are emulated, in a city where many members of the patron class would have been merchants and hence more acutely aware of the monetary value of the different forms of imported imagery. In a merchant

city directly on the Adriatic trade route it is hardly surprising that the more expensive and rare items are those which become the most prestigious.

It is of no surprise that Venetian panel painting and specifically devotional painting, is far closer in terms of the types of imagery and the formats used, to Riminese painting than say Tuscan painting. Venice, even more heavily in the thrall of Byzantium also employs similar imagery, in particular the narrative sequence, within devotional painting.

Venice also seems to have been a producer of many small diptychs with large proportions of narrative imagery. Typical of these are two examples cited by Garrison, the first of which depicts eight scenes from the life of Christ and the second of which includes seven scenes of the life of Christ and an image of the Madonna and Child between Saints Francis and Clare.⁹³ The first of these is significant as a devotional panel consisting of entirely narrative imagery while the second also includes a Madonna and Child in a small scale within a minor field, in a similar fashion to the iconic imagery employed in such a way on the Riminese panels. In addition both have the trait common to the Riminese panels whereby the scenes jump straight from Christ's infancy to his Passion.

More significantly, Venice appears to have produced its own ivories based on Byzantine models. The example from the twelfth century, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, has a narrative format similar to both the Byzantine ivories discussed above, and the Riminese narrative panels.⁹⁴

⁹³ The first of these panels (38 by 28.5cm) is now in an unknown location. For further information see: Garrison, E. B.; *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting*, (New York, 1976), pp.97 – 98 (cat. no. 240). The second panel (58 by 49 cms) is located in London. See Garrison (cat. no. 247).

⁹⁴ Evans and Wixom, pp.492. For a discussion of the twelfth century Venetian workshop see: Keck, A.; "A group of Italo-Byzantine Ivories," *Art Bulletin*, 12 (1930), pp. 147 – 162.

It appears that the same objects which influenced Riminese panel painting appeared also to have had an influence in other areas on the Adriatic route.

Like Riminese imagery, Venetian devotional imagery is heavily indebted to Byzantium but seems less prone to the influence of Giotto and Assisi, which is clearly visible in the Riminese panels. The proximity of Giotto through his work in Rimini itself seems to have made the use of this visual language inescapable for the Riminese painters. The prestige of modernity seems to have been just as important an issue as the prestige of the ancient.

In a sense, Rimini in the early fourteenth century, and this is most true of small scale panel painting, seems poised between two forces, the pull of antiquity, and the attraction of modernity. Yet the synthesis of the two is convincing.

In larger scale panel painting, where the genre (the altarpiece) is relatively new, the pull of modernity seems to have been more persuasive. The imagery and style of the Riminese altarpieces is far further under the sway of the modern visual language of Giotto than the smaller panels where, although the exact function was relatively new and flexible, the types of available models were distinctive through their Byzantine heritage and the relative conservatism and uniformity.

Again, there is frequently a dichotomy between the models for the imagery employed and the models for the object itself; in devotional painting the models for the imagery frequently borrow from the language of modernity, yet the objects emulated were always Byzantine in origin.

Conclusions

From the above discussion we can summarise various features of the Riminese devotional panels. The relatively high survival rate compared to other areas of Italy and to Riminese altarpiece painting allows enough material to be studied to be able to build

up a picture of the development and specific significance of the Riminese devotional panel.

On a purely superficial level we are able to immediately ascertain that the prevailing form of devotional panel is the diptych and that the characteristics of the diptych appear to develop along fairly conventional lines from the simple rectangular outline towards a tendency towards gabled and more elaborate forms (even though rectangular panels continue to appear right up to the middle of the century). These developments can be explained in terms of the movement away from the influence of Duecento and Byzantine panels and towards the gothicising forms already current in architecture, but more slowly filtering into the sphere of the painted object.⁹⁵

The second obvious feature is the heavy influence of the mendicant orders, specifically the Franciscans, on the iconography of the panels. This manifests itself, most overtly in the frequent inclusion of the Franciscan saints in various guises within the devotional panels, but the prevailing use of the narrative sequence is also symptomatic of the Franciscan influence on the panels. As discussed, this particular aspect is not unsurprising due to the pivotal role the Franciscan movement took in the development and spread of private devotional practises.

The use of narrative imagery and specifically Christological imagery, is one of the most striking features of the Riminese panels, along with the simultaneous subordination of iconic imagery. This characteristic indicates that the function of the

⁹⁵ The slowness in the adoption of gothic forms in Riminese painting is interesting. This can be partly attributed to the fact that many of the churches in which the Riminese painters worked were older churches, untouched by the gothic style. The apse (semi-dome), for example is a common feature in the churches where Riminese works are found, and therefore the frescos or altarpieces were less frequently set against the backdrop of a gothic east end (such as a Santa Croce in Florence for example). Instead churches such as San Pietro in Sylvis in Bagnacavallo, the Abbey at Pomposa, and possibly San Francesco in Rimini itself, were apsidal and without the large gothic windows, rib vaulting and rigidly delineated structure of the new mendicant churches in Tuscany.

Riminese devotional imagery, and its relationship with the viewer, is quite distinct from that of the iconic panels prevalent elsewhere.

This function is inherently bound up with the particular forms of private devotion encouraged by the Franciscan movement (later codified in the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*) and embodied in the experiences of the female mystics of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. This particular form of devotion was characterised by intense contemplation on the life, and specifically the Passion and death, of Christ as advocated in the introduction of the *Meditationes* and exemplified by the particular devotions of the female visionaries.

The sequential imagery, the concentration on specific and in-depth detail, and the overwhelming emphasis on the actuality of Christ's suffering within the Riminese narratives are all paralleled by the text of the *Meditationes* and also *The Golden Legend*. The images therefore provide a visual aid to such devotions.

The ultimate aim of such devotions appears to not only have been to enhance the devotees understanding of Christ's sacrifice and to encourage a pious lifestyle, but to actually approach the experience of the divine through the actuality of Christ's earthly incarnation and, in extreme cases, to actually encounter the divine through the visionary, or even physical experience of Christ's suffering. For this purpose the female mystics and their iconographical "types" as well as Francis himself fulfil the roles of exemplars.

The iconography of the devotional panels then, appears to have combined two functions.

Firstly it provides an important visual parallel and forerunner to devotional texts such as the *Meditationes* in that it supplements and augments the biblical account of Christ's life and provides a visual focus for private contemplations on his sacrifice.

Secondly it provides "examples" of the efficacy of the contemplative experience as a route to holiness. This is done in several ways; by the use of the "wilderness" iconography to draw parallels between the ascetic and visionary experiences of figures

such as St Francis and the Magdalen, and by implication the female mystics whose biographies utilise this iconography; by the use of figures such as the Magdalen and especially Francis, within the context of the Crucifixion image, as spiritual intermediaries between the viewer and the sacred event; and by the emphasis on the “passion” of the observers of Christ’s sacrifice and their power to act as conduits of spirituality as well as examples of the “correct” reaction to the suffering of Christ.

The style of the devotional panels shows a remarkable synthesis of the Byzantine and the Giottesque. The use of the Byzantine prototype in Riminese painting however is very distinct from that of Tuscan or Roman painting of the same period. The figural icon is not generally as influential, and the narrative is, by far, the more popular form of imagery. Rather than Byzantine iconic imagery, it appears that the Byzantine luxury objects were far more influential on the development of the Riminese devotional panel.

In particular, rare and expensive, yet readily portable objects such as mosaic icons and ivory icons appear to have provided the prestige models for the Riminese panels. Their influence can be seen in the formats and in some of the more unusual iconographical traits of the Riminese images.

The use of these luxury objects as models for the devotional panels is symptomatic of Rimini’s position as a port on the Adriatic trades routes, where not only would the patron classes be familiar with such items but they would also be acutely aware of the monetary value and the rarity of the objects. Their prestige then, is as inherently linked with their economic value. The models adopted are significant as “luxury items” rather than simply “sacred images”.

For the imagery employed, however, the language of Giotto and of Assisi is strongly evident amongst the Byzantine characteristics, yet it is never allowed to disrupt the visual association of the panels with the *objects* they emulate. In the Riminese altarpieces the giottesque elements are generally far more evident. Even in the later

devotional panels from around the middle of the century, there are strong stylistic and technical features, which visually associate the panels with their Byzantine heritage.

Conclusion

At the beginning of this study I stated that my definition of the “Riminese panels” would be “those panels produced in the region on the broad periphery of the city of Rimini within the period of 50 years or so between c. 1300 – 1350 and which conform to distinct formal, stylistic and iconographical characteristics”. It was my intent to outline and investigate these characteristics by contextualising the panels, and by re-examining the relationship of Giotto to Rimini and the Riminese painters.

In the course of the study we have seen how Riminese panel painting has been characterised by a widespread employment of narrative imagery, a stylistic reliance on Giotto, and a tendency to employ Byzantine iconography. It has been demonstrated that the unusual form of certain altarpieces and painted crosses can be linked to contemporary fresco decoration, and the continued use of the dossal format can be explained in terms of the patronage of the Franciscan Order and the position of Giotto's dossal on the high altar of San Francesco in Rimini. The distinctive forms observed in the devotional panels has been investigated in light of the emulation of prestigious objects of Byzantine origin: the mosaic and ivory icons.

A significant point is that, while the Riminese panels are stylistically reliant on Giotto, the painters, and their patrons, were never slavish imitators of the Florentine master. The panels frequently demonstrate an adaptation of formal and iconographical characteristics derived from contemporary Italian and Byzantine sources.

This strong duality of influence is an aspect of Riminese painting which needed attention. Many of the panels display simultaneously a reverence for Byzantine modes of representation (for example in the stylization and gilding of the robes of the Madonna and Christ), whilst also displaying heavy influence of the

frescoes at Assisi and Padua. The former can be attributed partly to the position of Rimini as a port on the Adriatic through which many Byzantine artifacts certainly would have passed, presumably including icons and other panels. The proximity of the frescoes in Padua, and the activity of two of the painters Pietro and Giuliano in the Eremitani, and, most importantly, the presence of works of Giotto in Rimini itself, are reasons why the influence of Giotto seems to have been almost overwhelming for the Riminese painters.

The Scrovegni and Assisi frescoes, both considered exceptional in their own time, were without doubt powerfully influential on the Riminese panel painters and their patrons. It is interesting though, that two fresco cycles should have this impact on a body of panel paintings such as these. However, when we take into account the unusual subject matter prevalent amongst the Riminese panels, namely Christological and hagiographical narratives it becomes clear that the fresco cycles would have provided up-to-date and available models. The cycles provide examples of extensive narrative sequences less common in contemporary panel painting. In Tuscan painting of the same period, for example, the narrative scene was relatively rare, emerging towards the middle of the century, yet still generally subordinated to half-length figures and confined to the *predella*. By contrast, in Rimini and its environs the narrative was the predominant component in a large proportion of the altarpieces and devotional panels.

It is also important, however, not to overestimate the influence of these frescoes in Padua and Assisi on the Riminese painters. While *stylistically* Giotto and Assisi appear overwhelming in their impact, the iconography employed is by no means reliant on these "prototypes". As discussed in the second chapter, Byzantine iconography and composition are characteristically prominent in the Riminese narratives as well as in the iconic imagery employed. The extent to which the painters as a whole were able to combine these two modes is striking. The examples

of such scenes as *The Descent into Limbo* and *The Nativity/Adoration of the Magi*, where a Giottesque style is combined with a Byzantine iconography and composition have been discussed in the second chapter. While the success of this fusion varies from subject to subject, the degree of similarity between the same scenes within Riminese panel painting is exceptional. In this sense, the "Riminese School" is not as eclectic as it might first appear. In fact, a strong sense of individual identity and of continuity becomes apparent.

A second important issue which has been dealt with is the patronage of the Franciscan Order in the area around Rimini. The study has demonstrated that the Franciscan Order appears, again and again, to have been an instrumental force in the development of the Riminese panel paintings. Their impact appears in many instances to have been overwhelming.

The most obvious aspect of this impact is the widespread use of iconography which expresses specifically Franciscan concerns. The predominance of the Franciscan saints Clare, Louis of Toulouse and Francis himself is one of the more obvious manifestations of this, and these saints are conspicuous in their presence on a large proportion of the extant panels and altarpieces.

Another element of this influence may also be apparent in the use of narratives as the dominant form of visual language amongst the panels. This predominance of the narrative, and the parallel subjugation of the iconic image, is one of the most striking aspects of Riminese painting and one which immediately forms a dramatic contrast with contemporary Tuscan painting. We have discussed how the Franciscans, at least in the city of Rimini itself, appear to have adopted and favoured the dossal form employed by Giotto in San Francesco itself and then utilised in the Beata Chiara Triptychs, a form which gives primacy to the narrative.

The Franciscans also appear to have been instrumental in the spread of the painted cross, as an element of church decoration, in the first half of the century. The catalyst for this appears, once again to have been the influence of Giotto's cross in San Francesco from around early years of the century. This model is closely followed in subsequent examples, particularly those from a Franciscan context but also in the churches of the other orders, as demonstrated by the structure and format of the cross in Sant'Agostino.

It is in the devotional panels where the impact of Franciscan ideologies can perhaps be most easily detected. The panels reflect a concern for personal devotional practises as popularised by the Order, focussing on the Passion of Christ as a subject for meditation, and on Christ and Francis as exemplars. The function of the devotional panels, under the influence of the Franciscans, remained relatively static throughout the period under discussion and this demonstrates that iconographical innovation was not a necessity. The reason for this seems to be that devotional imagery in Rimini was actually relatively progressive in its content, even from the beginning of the century, and that it anticipated, in visual form, the highly influential *Meditationes*; a work which appears to have encouraged the adoption of similar devotional imagery throughout Italy.

There is also the possibility of the influence of the Spiritual Franciscans present in the Marches and the neighbouring areas in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, on the devotional imagery employed. As was discussed in the last chapter, the asceticism of this movement, and their dedication to the imitation of the Francis, (and hence by implication Christ), finds a parallel with the imagery employed in the representation of Francis, the Baptist and the Magdalen. The allusions to the eremitical lifestyle, the iconography of the mountain top and the specific focus on Francis as *Alter Christus* can all be associated with those aspects

of Joachim of Fiore's prophecies which were adopted and developed by the Spirituals.

It is useful at this point to introduce a comparison in the form of Venice, a city which, like Rimini, was situated on the Adriatic coast and was closely involved with Byzantine trade. We should therefore expect strong similarities in the panel painting produced in both contexts and, while this is the case in some aspects, there are also striking differences.

As in Rimini, there is a tendency in Venetian altarpieces towards the use of the narrative, persisting into the middle of the century with examples such as Paolo Veneziano's *Santa Chiara Polyptych*. The Franciscan context of this polyptych may be important: as we have seen the popularity of the narrative altarpiece in Rimini can be linked to Franciscan patronage. However, the lack of a strong fresco tradition in Venice may also have encouraged the presence of narrative sequences on the altarpiece. This may also explain why painted crosses with the same elaborate forms as are found in Rimini are not found in the Venetian context: there was rarely a need for panels to echo existing fresco decoration.

Further similarities can be observed. As in Rimini, the introduction of true gothic forms in Venetian panel painting is delayed until towards the middle of the century, and there is a similar adoption of warm and rich colour schemes, reminiscent of Byzantine painting and mosaic.

As the dominant force in Adriatic trade and with similar types of Byzantine artefacts passing through the city, we should perhaps expect devotional imagery in Venice to be particularly close to that produced in and around Rimini. Certainly Venetian devotional imagery shares several characteristics with that of Rimini; the use of the narrative is frequent and we also see a similar subdivision of panels (both large and small) into smaller rectangular fields. On the other hand, Venetian

devotional imagery appears much more heavily under the sway of Byzantium, and the influences of Giotto or the Assisi fresco cycles are far less apparent. In addition, iconic devotional imagery is also widespread, whereas in Rimini the narrative devotional panel is the only common form.

There could be various reasons for this but the main one appears to be Venice's old and established relationship with Byzantium, both in terms of economic imports and *spolia*. The prestige of Venice was inherently associated with its relationship with Byzantium, and this was a concept which was propagated visually through means of both architecture and painting. The panels and church furniture (as with most other art forms) produced in the city tended to be conservative and frequently derivative in the extreme, often heavily reliant upon the sacred and luxurious items imported from Byzantium as symbols both of the city's economic wealth and divine justification. In terms of devotional imagery, the widespread utilisation of the iconic panel can be explained in terms of the emulation of iconic images (of Byzantine origin) which had inhabited the churches on the islands for centuries (or at least had been in the legends which sometimes grew around them).

This is not to say that similar iconic imagery could not have existed in the churches in Rimini, and it would perhaps be surprising if it had not. On the other hand Venice's long term and inextricable relationship with Byzantium may have allowed such objects to accrue a status of greater prestige than those present in Rimini, whose relationship with Byzantium was far less central to its own historical and economic identity.

The panel paintings produced in and around Rimini in the first half of the Trecento are recognisable as a distinct and homogeneous group because of a combination of circumstances. On a formal and iconographical basis, the specific geographical and economic position of Rimini, with close links to Byzantium and Venice, is an important factor, as is the close association of the different workshops,

and documented collaboration between painters. The most significant factor, however, appears to have been the Franciscan Order through the impact of Giotto's works for San Francesco, and the spread of visual imagery associated with Franciscan modes of devotion.

Appendix I – Catalogue of the Riminese Panels under discussion

1. Ajaccio, Museo Fesch

Maestro di Verucchio, *Triptych with Nativity, The Crucifixion and The Vision of the Blessed Clare*, Tempera on panel.

2. Alnwick, Collection of the Duke of Northumberland, Alnwick Castle

Giovanni da Rimini, *Panel with Coronation of the Virgin and scenes from the lives of the Saints*, Tempera on panel, (52.5 x 34.5cm).

3. Avignon, Musee du Petit-Palais

Giovanni Baronzio, *Man of Sorrows*, Tempera on panel.

4. Bagnacavallo, San Francesco

Maestro di Verucchio, *Painted Cross*, Tempera on panel.

5. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery

Pietro da Rimini, *The Redeemer, Madonna and John the Evangelist*, Tempera on panel.

6. Barcellona, Museu d'Art de Catalunya

Maestro di Verucchio, *The Annunciation*, Tempera on panel.

7. Barcellona, Museu d'Art de Catalunya

Maestro di Verucchio, *The Presentation of Christ*, Tempera on panel.

8. Barcellona, Museu d'Art de Catalunya

Maestro di Verucchio, *The Dormition*, Tempera on panel.

9. Bath (formerly), Street Collection

Giovanni Baronzio, *The Annunciation to Zacharias*, Tempera on panel.

10. Bath (formerly), Street Collection

Giovanni Baronzio, *The Baptist in Prison*, Tempera on panel.

11. Berlin, Staatliche Museen

Giovanni Baronzio, *Christ before Pilate*, Tempera on panel, (17.2 x 15cm).

12. Berlin, Staatliche Museen

Giovanni Baronzio, *The Resurrection*, Tempera on panel, (17.2 x 14.7cm).

13. Berlin, Staatliche Museen

Giovanni Baronzio, *The Descent into Limbo*, Tempera on panel, (17.2 x 14.9cm).

14. Berlin, Staatliche Museen

Giovanni Baronzio, *The Ascension*, Tempera on panel, (17 x 15cm).

15. Berlin, Staatliche Museen

Giovanni Baronzio, *Pentecost*, Tempera on panel, (17 x 14.7cm).

16. Berlin, Staatliche Museen

Pietro da Rimini, *The Presentation in the Temple*, Tempera on panel, (18.5 x 20.3cm).

17. Berlin, Staatliche Museen

Pietro da Rimini, *The Presentation of Christ*, Tempera on panel, (18.5 x 20.3cm).

18. Berlin, Staatliche Museen

Pietro da Rimini, *The Entombment*, Tempera on panel, (18.6 x 20.2cm).

19. Birmingham, Barber Institute

Maestro di Verucchio, *Wing of Diptych*, Tempera on panel, (44 x 20cm).

20. Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale

Giovanni Baronzio, *Panel with the Crucifixion, The Entombment, The Descent into Limbo and standing saints*, Tempera on panel, (51 x 35cm).

21. Boston, Isabella Gardner Museum

Giuliano da Rimini, *Madonna and Child with saints*, Tempera on panel, (164 x 300cm).

22. Boston, Isabella Gardner Museum

Giotto (Attributed), *The Presentation in the Temple*, Tempera on panel.

23. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

Pietro da Rimini, *Man of Sorrows*, Tempera on panel.

24. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum

Maestro di Verucchio, *Crucifixion*, Tempera on panel, (20 x 12.7.).

25. Cambridge, Christ Church Library

St. John the Baptist, Tempera on panel.

26. Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland

Maestro di Verucchio, *Crucifixion and Noli me tangere*, Tempera on panel, (31 x 20cm).

27. Faenza, Pinacoteca Civica

Giovanni da Rimini, *Madonna and Child with standing saints*, Tempera on panel, (50 x 35cm).

28. Florence, Fondazione Roberto Longhi

Pietro da Rimini, *Madonna and Child with Saints*, Tempera on panel, (43 x 28.5cm).

29. Florence, Museo Stibbert

Maestro di Verucchio, *Madonna and Child with Saints*, Tempera on panel.

30. Florence (formerly), Loeser Collection

Giovanni Baronzio, *The Baptist in Limbo*, Tempera on panel.

31. Griessmandorff, Ingenhiem Collection

Giovanni Baronzio, *The Crucifixion*, Tempera on panel.

32. Hamburg, Kunsthalle

Pietro da Rimini, *Diptych with Crucifixion and Dormition*, Tempera on panel, (63.3 x 32.5 cm each,).

33. Lausanne, Musee Cantonal des Beaux-Arts

Maestro di Verucchio, *The Birth of the Virgin*, Tempera on panel, (46 x 37cm).

34. London, Courtauld Institute Galleries

Giovanni Baronzio, *Nativity/Adoration of the Magi*, Tempera on panel, (45.5 x 27.8cm).

35. London, National Gallery

Maestro di Verucchio, *The Vision of the Blessed Clare*, Tempera on panel.

36. London, National Gallery

Giotto (Attributed), *The Pentecost*, Tempera on panel.

37. London, Private Collection

Maestro di Verucchio, *Madonna and Child*, Tempera on panel, (56.3 x 52cm).

38. Madrid, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection

Pietro da Rimini, *Nativity/Adoration of the Magi*, Tempera on panel.

39. Mercatello sul Metauro, San Francesco,

Giovanni da Rimini, *Painted Cross*, Tempera on panel, (300 x 227cm).

40. Mercatello-sul-Metauro, San Francesco

Giovanni Baronzio, *Madonna and Child with Standing Saints*, Tempera on panel, (103 x 256cm).

41. Miami, Lowe Art Gallery

Maestro di Verucchio, *Nativity*, Tempera on panel.

42. Milan, Brera

Giovanni Baronzio, *Santa Colomba before Emperor Aurelius*, Tempera on panel.

43. Milan, Brera

Giovanni Baronzio, *Santa Colomba saved by a Bear*, Tempera on panel.

44. Milan, Brera

Giovanni Baronzio, *The Martyrdom of Santa Colomba*, Tempera on panel.

45. Montefalco, Museo Comunale di San Francesco

Pietro da Rimini, *Madonna and Child*, Tempera on panel, (22 x 21cm).

46. Montpellier, Musee Fabre

Pietro da Rimini, *The Dormition*, Tempera on panel, (20 x 15cm).

47. Munich, Alte Pinakothek

Pietro da Rimini or the Maestro del Coro di Sant'Agostino, *Diptych with Madonna and Child and other scenes*, Tempera on panel, (64 x 32cm each,).

48. Munich, Alte Pinakothek

Giotto (Attributed), *The Last Supper*, Tempera on panel.

49. Munich, Alte Pinakothek

Giotto (Attributed), *Crucifixion*, Tempera on panel.

50. Munich, Alte Pinakothek

Giotto (Attributed), *The Descent into Limbo*, Tempera on panel.

51. New York, Metropolitan Museum

Giotto (Attributed), *The Nativity with the Epiphany*, Tempera on panel.

52. New York, Metropolitan Museum

Giovanni Baronzio, *The Feast of Herod/Beheading of the Baptist*, Tempera on panel.

53. New York, Metropolitan Museum

Giovanni Baronzio, *Six scenes from the life of Christ with The Coronation of the Virgin and Four Saints*, Tempera on panel, (66.7 x 38.1cm).

54. Paris, Louvre

Pietro da Rimini, *The Descent from the Cross*, Tempera on panel, (44 x 31cm).

55. Perugia, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria

Maestro di Verucchio, *Panel with saints*, Tempera on panel, (44.5 x 31cm).

56. Private Collection,

Giovanni Baronzio, *Scenes from the Passion of Christ*, Tempera on panel, (70 x 110cm).

57. Private Collection,

Maestro di Verucchio, *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints Francis and Claire*, Tempera on panel, (128 x 86cm).

58. Private Collection,

Pietro da Rimini, *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Angels*, Tempera on panel, (86 x 66cm).

59. Private Collection,

Pietro da Rimini, *Madonna and Child*, Tempera on panel, (26.5 x 16.2cm).

60. Private Collection,

Maestro di Verucchio, *Angel Gabriel, The Mocking of Christ, The Way to Calvary*, Tempera on panel, (55 x 26.6cm).

61. Private Collection,

Maestro di Verucchio, *Angel of the Annunciation*, Tempera on panel, (25 x 23cm).

62. Private Collection,

Giovanni Baronzio, *The Crucifixion*, Tempera on panel, (45 x 26.5cm).

63. Ravenna, Pinacoteca Comunale

Maestro del Coro degli Scrovegni, *Madonna and Child with scenes from the Life of Christ*, Tempera on panel, (56 x 85cm).

64. Rijswijk, Instituut Collectie Nederland

Giovanni da Rimini, *Painted Cross*, Tempera on panel, (160 x 130cm).

65. Rimini, Tempio Malatestiano

Giotto (Attributed), *Painted Cross*, Tempera on panel, (430 x 303cm).

66. Rimini, Sant'Agostino

Maestro del Coro di Sant'Agostino, *Painted Cross*, Tempera on panel, (427 x 335cm).

67. Rimini, Museo Civico

Giovanni da Rimini, *Painted Cross*, Tempera on panel, (185 x 179cm).

68. Rimini, Museo Civico

Pietro da Rimini, *The Resurrection*, Tempera on panel, (17.2 x 19.7cm).

69. Rimini, Museo Civico

Giuliano da Rimini, *The Coronation of the Virgin, Scenes from the Passion of Christ and Standing Saints*, Tempera on panel, (205.5 x 190.5cm).

70. Rimini, Museo Civico

Pietro da Rimini, *Noli me tangere*, Tempera on panel, (17.2 x 19.7cm).

71. Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica

Giovanni Baronzio, *Scenes from the Passion of Christ*, Tempera on panel, (70 x 110cm).

72. Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica

Giovanni da Rimini, *Panel with scenes from the Life of Christ*, Tempera on panel, (52.5 x 34.5cm).

73. Rome, Private Collection

Giovanni Baronzio, *The Deposition*, Tempera on panel.

74. Sant'Arcangelo di Romagna, Collegiata

Maestro del Refettorio di Pomposa?, *Painted Cross*, Tempera on panel, (287 x 240cm).

75. Sassocorvaro, Rocca

Anon, *Painted Cross*, Tempera on panel, (180 x 100cm).

76. Sassoferrato, San Francesco

Giuliano da Rimini?, *Painted Cross*, Tempera on panel.

77. Seattle, Art Museum

Giovanni Baronzio, *The Baptist and the Pharisees*, Tempera on panel.

78. Settignano, I Tatti, Berenson Collection

Giotto (Attributed), *The Entombment*, Tempera on panel.

79. Strasbourg, Musee des Beaux-Arts

Maestro di Verucchio, *Crucifixion*, Tempera on panel, (55 x 31cm).

80. Talamello, San Lorenzo

Giovanni da Rimini, *Painted Cross*, Tempera on panel, (230 x 160cm).

81. Turin, Galleria Sabauda

Giovanni Baronzio, *The Ascension*, Tempera on panel, (62 x 55cm).

82. Unknown location,

Giotto (Attributed), *Redeemer*, Tempera on panel.

83. Unknown location,

Giovanni Baronzio, *The Deposition*, Tempera on panel.

84. Unknown location,

Giovanni Baronzio, *The Annuciation to Zaccharia*, Tempera on panel.

85. Urbania, Cathedral

Pietro da Rimini, *Painted Cross*, Tempera on panel.

86. Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche

Maestro di Verucchio, *Crucifixion and Virgin Annunciate*, Tempera on panel, (44 x 20cm).

87. Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche

Giovanni Baronzio, *Madonna and Child with scenes from the Life of Christ*, Tempera on panel, (143 x 221cm).

88. Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche

Maestro dell'Incoronazione di Urbino, *The Coronation of the Virgin and Saints*, Tempera on panel.

89. Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche

Maestro dell'Incoronazione di Urbino, *The Crucifixion*, Tempera on panel, (80 x 60cm).

90. Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche

Maestro dell'Incoronazione di Urbino, *Painted Cross*, Tempera on panel, (232 x 183cm).

91. Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche

Maestro di Verucchio, *Painted Cross*, Tempera on panel, (400 x 240cm).

92. Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche

Pietro da Rimini, *Painted Cross*, Tempera on panel, (255 x 189cm).

93. Vaduz, Liechtenstein Collection

Giovanni Baronzio, *Crucifixion, Adoration of the Magi and standing saints*, Tempera on panel, (57.3 x 31cm).

94. Vatican City, Pinacoteca Vaticana

Giovanni Baronzio, *The Crucifixion*, Tempera on panel, (26.5 x 26.5cm).

95. Vatican City, Pinacoteca Vaticana

Giovanni Baronzio, *Four saints*, Tempera on panel, (14.7 x 25.5cm).

96. Vatican City, Pinacoteca Vaticana

Pietro da Rimini, *The Descent from the Cross*, Tempera on panel, (19.3 x 21.1cm).

97. Vatican City, Pinacoteca Vaticana

Giovanni Baronzio, *The Baptist in the Wilderness*, Tempera on panel.

98. Vatican City, Pinacoteca Vaticana

Pietro da Rimini, *The Crucifixion*, Tempera on panel, (24 x 16.6cm).

99. Vatican City, Pinacoteca Vaticana

Crucifixion with Saints, Tempera on panel, (40 x 24cm).

100. Venice, Correr Museum

Giovanni da Rimini?, *Madonna and Child with saints*, Tempera on panel, (92 x 106cm).

101. Venice, Accademia Gallery

Giovanni Baronzio, *The Betrayal of Christ*, Tempera on panel, (17.2 x 14.7cm).

102. Venice, Accademia Gallery

Giovanni Baronzio, *Pilate washing his hands of Christ's fate*, Tempera on panel, (17.4 x 14.7cm).

103. Venice, Accademia Gallery

Giovanni Baronzio, *The Ascent to the Cross*, Tempera on panel, (16.8 x 14.8cm).

104. Venice, Accademia Gallery

Giovanni Baronzio, *The Crucifixion*, Tempera on panel, (16.9 x 14.8cm).

105. Venice, Accademia Gallery

Giovanni Baronzio, *The Descent from the Cross*, Tempera on panel, (16.9 x 14.8cm).

106. Venice, Accademia Gallery

Giovanni Baronzio, *The Last Judgement*, Tempera on panel, (17.3 x 14.9cm).

107. Venice, Cini Collection

Maestro di Verucchio, *Angel*, Tempera on panel.

108. Venice, Cini Collection

Maestro di Verucchio, *Angel*, Tempera on panel.

109. Verucchio, Collegiata

Workshop of Maestro di Verucchio, *Painted Cross*, Tempera on panel, (304 x 240cm).

110. Washington, National Gallery

Giovanni Baronzio, *The Birth of the Baptist*, Tempera on panel, (49.1 x 40.8cm).

111. Washington, National Gallery

Giovanni Baronzio, *The Baptism of Christ*, Tempera on panel, (49 x 40.5cm).

112. Washington, National Gallery

Giovanni Baronzio, *Madonna and Child Enthroned*, Tempera on panel, (100.5 x 48cm).

113. Yale, Yale University Art Gallery

Anon, *Coronation of the Virgin*, Tempera on panel, (93.7 x 58.8cm).

Appendix II – The Distribution of the Saints in Riminese Panel Painting

The following listing gives details and locations of the images of the saints in Riminese panel painting. It is arranged in alphabetical order by the name of the saint and the location of the panel.

Representations of saints as part of a narrative sequence of two or more episodes from their own life have not been included.

Agnes

Boston, Isabella Gardner Museum

Giuliano da Rimini, *Madonna and Child with saints*, Tempera on panel, (164 x 300cm).

Florence, Fondazione Roberto Longhi

Pietro da Rimini, *Madonna and Child with Saints*, Tempera on panel, (43 x 28.5cm).

Andrew

Rimini, Museo Civico,

The Coronation of the Virgin, Scenes from the Passion of Christ and Standing Saints, Tempera on panel, (205.5 x 190.5cm).

Antony of Padua

Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale

Giovanni Baronzio, *Panel with the Crucifixion, The Entombment, The Descent into Limbo and standing saints*, Tempera on panel, (51 x 35cm).

Ravenna, Pinacoteca Comunale

Maestro del Coro degli Scrovegni, *Madonna and Child with scenes from the Life of Christ*, Tempera on panel, (56 x 85cm).

Augustine

Alnwick, Collection of the Duke of Northumberland, Alnwick Castle

Giovanni da Rimini, *Panel with Coronation of the Virgin and scenes from the lives of the Saints*, Tempera on panel, (52.5 x 34.5cm).

Faenza, Pinacoteca Civica

Giovanni da Rimini, *Madonna and Child with standing saints*, Tempera on panel, (50 x 35cm).

Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche

Giovanni Baronzio, *Madonna and Child with scenes from the Life of Christ*, Tempera on panel, (143 x 221cm).

Bartholomew**Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale**

Giovanni Baronzio, *Panel with the Crucifixion, The Entombment, The Descent into Limbo and standing saints*, Tempera on panel, (51 x 35cm).

Catherine of Alexandria**Alnwick, Collection of the Duke of Northumberland, Alnwick Castle**

Giovanni da Rimini, *Panel with Coronation of the Virgin and scenes from the lives of the Saints*, Tempera on panel, (52.5 x 34.5cm).

Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale

Giovanni Baronzio, *Panel with the Crucifixion, The Entombment, The Descent into Limbo and standing saints*, Tempera on panel, (51 x 35cm).

Boston, Isabella Gardner Museum

Giuliano da Rimini, *Madonna and Child with saints*, Tempera on panel, (164 x 300cm).

Faenza, Pinacoteca Civica

Giovanni da Rimini, *Madonna and Child with standing saints*, Tempera on panel, (50 x 35cm).

Florence, Fondazione Roberto Longhi

Pietro da Rimini, *Madonna and Child with Saints*, Tempera on panel, (43 x 28.5cm).

Florence, Museo Stibbert

Maestro di Verucchio, *Madonna and Child with Saints*, Tempera on panel.

Mercatello sul Metauro, San Francesco

Giovanni Baronzio, *Madonna and Child with Standing Saints*, Tempera on panel, (103 x 256cm).

Christopher**Perugia, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria**

Maestro di Verucchio, *Panel with saints*, Tempera on panel, (44.5 x 31cm).

Clare of Assisi**Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale**

Giovanni Baronzio, *Panel with the Crucifixion, The Entombment, The Descent into Limbo and standing saints*, Tempera on panel, (51 x 35cm).

Boston, Isabella Gardner Museum

Giuliano da Rimini, *Madonna and Child with saints*, Tempera on panel, (164 x 300cm).

Faenza, Pinacoteca Civica

Giovanni da Rimini, *Madonna and Child with standing saints*, Tempera on panel, (50 x 35cm).

Florence, Museo Stibbert

Maestro di Verucchio, *Madonna and Child with Saints*, Tempera on panel.

Mercatello sul Metauro, San Francesco

Giovanni Baronzio, *Madonna and Child with Standing Saints*, Tempera on panel, (103 x 256cm).

Private Collection,

Maestro di Verucchio, *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints Francis and Claire*, Tempera on panel, (128 x 86cm).

Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche

Giovanni Baronzio, *Madonna and Child with scenes from the Life of Christ*, Tempera on panel, (143 x 221cm).

Vaduz, Liechtenstein Collection

Giovanni Baronzio, *Crucifixion, Adoration of the Magi and standing saints*, Tempera on panel, (57.3 x 31cm).

Dominic**Perugia, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria**

Maestro di Verucchio, *Panel with saints*, Tempera on panel, (44.5 x 31cm).

Francis**Ajaccio, Museo Fesch**

Maestro di Verucchio, *Triptych with Nativity, The Crucifixion and The Vision of the Blessed Clare*, Tempera on panel.

Alnwick, Collection of the Duke of Northumberland, Alnwick Castle

Giovanni da Rimini, *Panel with Coronation of the Virgin and scenes from the lives of the Saints*, Tempera on panel, (52.5 x 34.5cm).

Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale

Giovanni Baronzio, *Panel with the Crucifixion, The Entombment, The Descent into Limbo and standing saints*, Tempera on panel, (51 x 35cm).

Boston, Isabella Gardner Museum

Giuliano da Rimini, *Madonna and Child with saints*, Tempera on panel, (164 x 300cm).

Faenza, Pinacoteca Civica

Giovanni da Rimini, *Madonna and Child with standing saints*, Tempera on panel, (50 x 35cm).

Florence, Fondazione Roberto Longhi

Pietro da Rimini, *Madonna and Child with Saints*, Tempera on panel, (43 x 28.5cm).

Florence, Museo Stibbert

Maestro di Verucchio, *Madonna and Child with Saints*, Tempera on panel.

Mercatello sul Metauro, San Francesco

Giovanni Baronzio, *Madonna and Child with Standing Saints*, Tempera on panel, (103 x 256cm).

Munich, Alte Pinakothek

Pietro da Rimini or the Maestro del Coro di Sant'Agostino, *Diptych with Madonna and Child and other scenes*, Tempera on panel, (64 x 32cm each).

Perugia, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria

Maestro di Verucchio, *Panel with saints*, Tempera on panel, (44.5 x 31cm).

Private Collection,

Maestro di Verucchio, *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints Francis and Claire*, Tempera on panel, (128 x 86cm).

Ravenna, Pinacoteca Comunale

Maestro del Coro degli Scrovegni, *Madonna and Child with scenes from the Life of Christ*, Tempera on panel, (56 x 85cm).

Strasbourg, Musee des Beaux-Arts

Maestro di Verucchio, *Crucifixion*, Tempera on panel, (55 x 31cm).

Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche

Giovanni Baronzio, *Madonna and Child with scenes from the Life of Christ*, Tempera on panel, (143 x 221cm).

Vaduz, Liechtenstein Collection

Giovanni Baronzio, *Crucifixion, Adoration of the Magi and standing saints*, Tempera on panel, (57.3 x 31cm).

Vatican City, Pinacoteca Vaticana

Giovanni Baronzio, *Four saints*, Tempera on panel, (14.7 x 25.5cm).

George**Vaduz, Liechtenstein Collection**

Giovanni Baronzio, *Crucifixion, Adoration of the Magi and standing saints*, Tempera on panel, (57.3 x 31cm).

James the Great**Perugia, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria**

Maestro di Verucchio, *Panel with saints*, Tempera on panel, (44.5 x 31cm).

John the Baptist**Alnwick, Collection of the Duke of Northumberland, Alnwick Castle**

Giovanni da Rimini, *Panel with Coronation of the Virgin and scenes from the lives of the Saints*, Tempera on panel, (52.5 x 34.5cm).

Boston, Isabella Gardner Museum

Giuliano da Rimini, *Madonna and Child with saints*, Tempera on panel, (164 x 300cm).

Cambridge, Christ Church Library

St. John the Baptist, Tempera on panel.

Florence, Fondazione Roberto Longhi

Pietro da Rimini, *Madonna and Child with Saints*, Tempera on panel, (43 x 28.5cm).

Munich, Alte Pinakothek

Pietro da Rimini or the Maestro del Coro di Sant'Agostino, *Diptych with Madonna and Child and other scenes*, Tempera on panel, (64 x 32cm each).

Perugia, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria

Maestro di Verucchio, *Panel with saints*, Tempera on panel, (44.5 x 31cm).

Rimini, Museo Civico

The Coronation of the Virgin, Scenes from the Passion of Christ and Standing Saints, Tempera on panel, (205.5 x 190.5cm).

Vatican City, Pinacoteca Vaticana

Giovanni Baronzio, *Four saints*, Tempera on panel, (14.7 x 25.5cm).

John the Evangelist**Boston, Isabella Gardner Museum**

Giuliano da Rimini, *Madonna and Child with saints*, Tempera on panel, (164 x 300cm).

Mercatello sul Metauro, San Francesco

Giovanni Baronzio, *Madonna and Child with Standing Saints*, Tempera on panel, (103 x 256cm).

Rimini, Museo Civico

The Coronation of the Virgin, Scenes from the Passion of Christ and Standing Saints, Tempera on panel, (205.5 x 190.5cm).

Louis of Toulouse**Mercatello sul Metauro, San Francesco**

Giovanni Baronzio, *Madonna and Child with Standing Saints*, Tempera on panel, (103 x 256cm).

Ravenna, Pinacoteca Comunale

Maestro del Coro degli Scrovegni, *Madonna and Child with scenes from the Life of Christ*, Tempera on panel, (56 x 85cm).

Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche

Giovanni Baronzio, *Madonna and Child with scenes from the Life of Christ*, Tempera on panel, (143 x 221cm).

Vaduz, Liechtenstein Collection

Giovanni Baronzio, *Crucifixion, Adoration of the Magi and standing saints*, Tempera on panel, (57.3 x 31cm).

Vatican City, Pinacoteca Vaticana

Giovanni Baronzio, *Four saints*, Tempera on panel, (14.7 x 25.5cm).

Lucy**Boston, Isabella Gardner Museum**

Giuliano da Rimini, *Madonna and Child with saints*, Tempera on panel, (164 x 300cm).

Mary Magdalen**Boston, Isabella Gardner Museum**

Giuliano da Rimini, *Madonna and Child with saints*, Tempera on panel, (164 x 300cm).

Munich, Alte Pinakothek

Pietro da Rimini or the Maestro del Coro di Sant'Agostino, *Diptych with Madonna and Child and other scenes*, Tempera on panel, (64 x 32cm each).

Perugia, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria

Maestro di Verucchio, *Panel with saints*, Tempera on panel, (44.5 x 31cm).

Michael**Faenza, Pinacoteca Civica**

Giovanni da Rimini, *Madonna and Child with standing saints*, Tempera on panel, (50 x 35cm).

Mercatello sul Metauro, San Francesco

Giovanni Baronzio, *Madonna and Child with Standing Saints*, Tempera on panel, (103 x 256cm).

Paul**Mercatello sul Metauro, San Francesco**

Giovanni Baronzio, *Madonna and Child with Standing Saints*, Tempera on panel, (103 x 256cm).

Venice, Correr Museum

Giovanni da Rimini?, *Madonna and Child with saints*, Tempera on panel, (92 x 106cm,)

Peter**Florence, Fondazione Roberto Longhi**

Pietro da Rimini, *Madonna and Child with Saints*, Tempera on panel, (43 x 28.5cm).

Mercatello sul Metauro, San Francesco

Giovanni Baronzio, *Madonna and Child with Standing Saints*, Tempera on panel, (103 x 256cm).

Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche

Giovanni Baronzio, *Madonna and Child with scenes from the Life of Christ*, Tempera on panel, (143 x 221cm).

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