

A CASE OF REATTRIBUTION AND POTENTIAL COLLABORATION: THE MADONNA AND CHILD ALTAR PANEL FORMERLY ATTRIBUTED TO [FOLLOWER OF] PIETRO LORENZETTI

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Author's Note

Abbreviations used for Armstrong Browning Library Curatorial Files are ABL Curatorial Files.

Baylor panel refers to the Kress Collection *Madonna and Child with Christ's Blessing* housed in Baylor University's Armstrong Browning Library.

INTRODUCTION

This research assists in reattributing the *Madonna and Child with Christ Blessing* altar panel in the Armstrong Browning Library at Baylor University (Fig. 1). This work has been traditionally attributed to the Sieneese master, Pietro Lorenzetti, or a subsequent follower. My argument is based on previous connoisseur opinions, research conducted by Baylor student Nathaniel Eberlein in 2015, as well as my investigation into comparative works, artist biographies, and repeated motifs by mechanical

tools called *punches*.¹ Based on substantial stylistic and typological parallels, a case is made for a new attribution to the Sienese painters and followers of the Lorenzetti, Niccolò di ser Sozzo and Luca di Tommé, with a proposed date range of 1350–1362.

The following research has been completed as the main element of an upper-level art history seminar on connoisseurship taught by Dr. Heidi J. Hornik-Parsons, chair of the Art and Art History department and professor of Italian Renaissance and Baroque Art History. The project was intended to allow students to complete independent scholarly research using the ABL curatorial files. As the project evolved, I decided to continue to investigate the Baylor panel as a subject of study in my honors thesis. The research conducted here forms the preliminary stage of my thesis project, which seeks to reassess the origins and artistic identity of the complete altarpiece.

INTRODUCTION TO THE PAINTING

The Curatorial Files

Attributions given to the *Madonna and Child* make the distinction that the painting was completed by a figure working within the Sienese tradition, yet abstain from making the attribution to a specific artist. Several scholars, including Bernard Berenson, Giuseppe Fiocco, and Raimond van Marle, assign the piece to the School of the Lorenzetti in handwritten statements on the back of photographs in the ABL curatorial files.² Most notably, in a letter written to a count in May 1928, Roberto Longhi designates the work as being created by an “intermediary personality between the first followers of Duccio and Pietro Lorenzetti,” situating it within the Sienese school around 1340–50.³ Adolfo Venturi describes it as the work of a master “who sharpens, refines the forms of the Lorenzetti.”⁴ Mason Perkins concurs with Venturi’s opinion, referring to it as an anonymous Sienese piece, influenced by Pietro Lorenzetti from the second half of the fourteenth century.⁵ More distantly

¹ Nathaniel Eberlein, “A Case for the Attribution behind the “Madonna and Child” (Connoisseurship seminar paper, Baylor University, 2015), ABL Curatorial Files.

² ABL Curatorial Files, Bernard Berenson (signed), signed photograph, *Madonna and Child* by School of Lorenzetti, Sienese, about 1340–50. “School of Lorenzetti... gut?;” Giuseppe Fiocco (signed), Signed photograph, *Madonna and Child* by School of Lorenzetti, Sienese, about 1340–50. “Very fine painting by School of Lorenzetti;” Raimond van Marle (signed), Signed photograph, *Madonna and Child* by School of Lorenzetti, Sienese, about 1340/50. “A beautiful picture by a Sienese master who strongly feels the influence of the Lorenzetti, but who is yet unidentified.”

³ ABL Curatorial Files, Roberto Longhi (signed), handwritten letter, *Madonna and Child* by School of Lorenzetti, Sienese, about 1340–50, dated May 1928, Rome. Translation by Heidi J. Hornik, Baylor University, 23 January 2015: “... one might easily be led to associate this work with the intermediary personality between the first followers of Duccio and Pietro Lorenzetti, who, on account of his historical position has been provisionally given by Berenson the temporary name of Ugolino Lorenzetti. ...lead us to suspend a definite decision and attribute this noteworthy painting to the Sienese school, towards 1340-50.”

⁴ ABL Curatorial Files, Adolfo Venturi (signed), signed photograph, *Madonna and Child* by School of Lorenzetti, Sienese, about 1340–50. “Work of a master who sharpens, refines the forms of the Lorenzetti.”

⁵ ABL Curatorial Files, F. F. Mason Perkins (signed), Signed photograph, *Madonna and Child* by School of Lorenzetti, Sienese, about 1340–50. “Anonymous Sienese, influenced by Pietro Lorenzetti, second half of XIV cty...”

related attributions were made, such as Dorothy C. Shorr's designation within *The Christ Child in Devotional Images* that the painting was completed by a follower of the Lorenzetti.⁶ Additionally, William Suida points to "Ugolino Lorenzetti," a pseudonym representing a collection of several Sienese works that bear the influence of Ugolino de Nerio and Pietro Lorenzetti.⁷ All attributions note the strong influence of Pietro Lorenzetti, yet do not formally proclaim him as the creator.

Secondary Source Material

The attribution of the work has also been the subject of secondary literature. According to the Samuel H. Kress Catalog, the painting shows "strong reminiscences of the Simone Martini and Lippo Memmi tradition," with a follower of the Lorenzetti as an identified artist.⁸ An entry in *The Baylor Line* magazine describes the work as "one of the most valuable paintings" in the Kress Collection group at Baylor.⁹ It attributes the panel to "Pietro Lorenzetti or a follower in the Sienese school 1280–1348." Roberts' *Corpus of Early Italian Paintings* makes the painting's designation to the Sienese school in the fourteenth century and also claims that the panel belonged to an altarpiece, "most probably a triptych."¹⁰ Finally, the loan exhibition catalog from the Kress Collection traveling exhibition (1932–1935) attributes the work to the "School of Lorenzetti" with a date range of 1306–1348.¹¹

Past Student Opinion

Baylor student Nathaniel Eberlein's scholarly contribution to the ABL curatorial files in 2015 dealt mostly with identifying the punches present on the surface of the panel. Punches were created by hitting a mallet against a metal tool with a motif engraved on the other end (Fig. 2). Their purpose was to decorate the panel with impressions into the gold background typically found in altar panels of the period. Art historians Mojmir Frinta and Erling Skaug dedicated their work to cataloging the appearance and variety of punches present on late medieval Florentine and Sienese panel paintings. Though their conclusions about the nature of the diffusion of punch tools differ, their classifications

⁶ Dorothy C. Shorr, *The Christ Child in Devotional Images in Italy* (New York: George Wittenborn Inc., 1957), 57.

⁷ ABL Curatorial Files, William Suida (signed), signed photograph, *Madonna and Child* by School of Lorenzetti, Sienese, about 1340–50, dated August 1935, Florence. Translation by Heidi J. Hornik, Baylor University, 23 January 2015: "This fine Sienese Madonna near to the art of Pietro Lorenzetti belongs to the group of pictures ascribed to the unidentified artist bearing the pseudonym of Ugolino Lorenzetti."

⁸ Fern Rusk Shapley, *Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection: Italian Schools* (London: Phaidon P. for the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, 1966), 52.

⁹ *The Baylor Line Magazine*, "Old Paintings Find a New Home at Baylor." January–February 1962, 3.

¹⁰ Perri Lee Roberts, *Corpus of Early Italian Paintings in North American Public Collections* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia, 2009), 760.

¹¹ ABL Curatorial Files, In Loan Exhibition- Ist and And Catalogues - Atlanta, Ga., Oct. 1932 through Charlotte, N.C. June 1935.

for punches proved to be far more illuminating. Eberlein communicated via email with Erling Skaug and asked for his help in attributing the punches to those found in his catalog. These identifications, which will be discussed in a subsequent section, led Eberlein to conclude his 2015 paper with a reattribution of the piece to the workshop of Pietro Lorenzetti, as the term *follower* seemed unrepresentative of the probable artist.¹²

However, Eberlein's research took on a slightly different tone when he reexamined the piece again in his 2017 honors thesis. He communicated again with Skaug in a new email thread to examine the punches further. According to Skaug's examination, he did not have matches in his catalog for many of the punches present in the piece, but noted some similarities to the punches found in works by mid-century artists Bartolommeo Bulgarini and Niccolò di Tomasso.¹³ Additionally, he seemed to agree that the figural type of the Madonna and Child figures present in the painting were Lorenzettian in nature, although his observance of the working of gold leaf seemed more common in works by late fourteenth-century artists.¹⁴ Furthermore, Eberlein concluded that the *Madonna and Child* could be "a post-plague Trecento work imitating an older painterly style."¹⁵

Iconography of the Painting

Conducting a visual analysis of the painting is essential when making informed comparisons with other securely attributed works. In the main image, Mary stands in a three-quarter view with the baby Jesus in her arms. Mary looks directly at the viewer with a solemn expression on her lips. The slender quality of each figure can be noted. The mantle of the Madonna is adorned with two stars, one on the right shoulder and the other in front of her veil, though the latter is slightly less apparent due to aging and debris. The stars signify her identity as the Stella Maris, a mistranslation of her Hebrew name, "Miryam."¹⁶ She was known as the "star of the sea," and served to lead the Church to Christ as a star would guide a ship home.¹⁷ She is robed in blue, colors signifying purity and royalty, but due to age, the paint has turned a grayish hue. To theorize about the pigment present in the paint, it is likely that azurite, a basic copper carbonate, was used to paint the Madonna's mantle.¹⁸ When azurite is

¹² Eberlein, "A Case for the Attribution behind the *Madonna and Child*," 19.

¹³ Nathaniel Eberlein, "Art Object and Holy Image: The Attribution and Contextualization of the Madonna and Child by a Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti" (Honors thesis, Baylor University, 2017), 74, ABL Curatorial Files, Appendix B.

¹⁴ Eberlein, "Art Object and Holy Image," 74.

¹⁵ Eberlein "Art Object and Holy Image," 58.

¹⁶ Brian K. Reynolds, *Gateway to Heaven* (Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 2012), 133.

¹⁷ Reynolds, *Gateway to Heaven*, 133.

¹⁸ Cathleen Hoeniger, "The Identification of Blue Pigments in Early Sienese Paintings by Color Infrared Photography," *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation* 30, no. 2 (1991): 115–124, JAIC Online, <https://cool.culturalheritage.org/jaic/articles/jaic30-02-001.html>.

ground too finely, the product will eventually turn gray.¹⁹ This less expensive blue pigment was found in works by Duccio and his followers beginning around 1285.²⁰ Another blue pigment otherwise used in Sienese panel painting is ultramarine, a costly indigo made of vegetable dye.²¹ Although used widely in the works of Guido da Siena and his circle from around 1260 to 1280, it has been documented as being used only in the most expensive and significant projects in the fourteenth century.²² A documented period in mid-fifteenth-century Florence notes ultramarine as costing 10 to 15 times more than azurite.²³ Due to its cheaper cost, the appearance of azurite pigment in works throughout the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was perhaps more common than that of ultramarine. The painting's conservation report from 1985 confirms that the work is executed in egg tempera over a white gesso ground.²⁴ This identification of a painting technique typical of the Sienese school, along with the evidence of the pigments from above, can assist in placing the date of the painting before the end of the fourteenth century.

Above the pointed arch, an adult Christ stands in a half view with one hand holding the Bible and another forming an attitude of blessing. His right hand makes the peace gesture in which the thumb touches the ring finger, symbolizing the Incarnation and the Trinity. The two fingers of the hand that touch together signify the two natures in Christ (Incarnation, the union of human and divine), while the other three fingers pointing upward signify the Holy Trinity (Father, Son, and Holy Spirit).²⁵ He is robed in blue and red, colors which again refer to the dual sense of humanity and divinity. Curiously, an undated photograph in the ABL curatorial files depicts the Christ figure with His eyes open (Fig. 3). This photograph is authentic, and not a falsification, although all other images of the work (online and in the ABL files) depict Christ with his eyes closed. As there is no way of being certain about when the change was made with the documentation available, only theorization about the reasoning behind a restorer's decision to close the adult Christ's eyes can occur.

Background

Growing out of the Byzantine tradition, Sienese art was characterized by its naturalistic and monumental images. Due to the occupation of Constantinople by western Europeans from 1204 to

¹⁹ Hoeniger, 115–124.

²⁰ Hoeniger, 115–124.

²¹ Hoeniger, 115–124.

²² Hoeniger, 115–124.

²³ Hoeniger, 115–124.

²⁴ ABL Curatorial Files, Examination Report, Baylor University Libraries, 12 February 1985.

²⁵ Jaroslav Pelikan, *Jesus through the Centuries; Mary through the Centuries* (History Book Club, 2005), 93.

1261, Byzantine art forms made their way into the character of Italian art.²⁶ There seemed to be a summoning of Greek artists to Florence by the government “for no other purpose than the revival of painting,” as Giorgio Vasari noted.²⁷ Artists such as Cimabue of Florence and Giotto di Bondone blended classicism and Gothic naturalism in a manner unique to the Greek workshop training they had received.²⁸ Nearby in the bustling city center of Siena, a military rival with Florence, Duccio di Buoninsegna directed another influential workshop.²⁹ A victory against Florence in 1260 caused the Virgin Mary to be formally considered as the city’s protector and patron.³⁰ Because of a new acknowledgement of Marian devotion in the city, many works depicting the Virgin as the main subject were commissioned for cathedrals throughout Siena.³¹

An understanding of the artists present during the Trecento is necessary to attribute the altar panel. Duccio di Buoninsegna, the founder of the Sienese school, was active from 1278 to his death in 1319.³² Known for his works on wood panel painted in egg tempera, Duccio began to divest from the sharp lines characteristic of Byzantine art. He used an inviting color palette and softened modeling to render the figure’s hands, faces, and feet. His documented followers included Segna di Bonaventura, Bartolomeo Bulgarini, Ugolino di Nerio, Simone Martini, Lorenzetti brothers, and others.³³ However, the notable works of Pietro Lorenzetti led scholars to recognize him outside of the realm of a “follower.” Pietro was active from 1305 to 1348 when he died, presumably of plague, between ages 60 and 65.³⁴ His brother, Ambrogio Lorenzetti, active from 1319 to 1348, was taught by Pietro and was likely influenced by Giovanni Pisano and Giotto.³⁵ Together, the brothers founded the Lorenzetti School in the first half of the fourteenth century in Siena. Works in the Lorenzetti tradition possess a “deeply devotional character, classic dignity of expression, impressive composition, and rich, warm coloring.”³⁶

²⁶ Penelope J.E. Davies et. al, *Janson’s History of Art. Janson’s History of Art: The Western Tradition*, 8th ed. (Boston: Pearson, 2010), 449.

²⁷ Davies, 449.

²⁸ Davies, 449–450.

²⁹ Davies, 454.

³⁰ Davies, 453.

³¹ Davies, 453–4.

³² Duccio (di Buoninsegna), Oxford Art Online, *Benezit Dictionary of Artists*, 12 June 2023. <https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T023857>.

³³ Duccio (di Buoninsegna), Oxford Art Online.

³⁴ Pietro Lorenzetti, Oxford Art Online, *Benezit Dictionary of Artists*, 28 April 2015. <https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00111629>.

³⁵ ABL. Curatorial File. Loan Exhibition - 1st and 2nd Catalogs.

³⁶ ABL. Curatorial File. Loan Exhibition - 1st and 2nd Catalogs.

After the Black Plague had significantly decimated the population of painters working in Siena, a basis for a “corporate mentality” soon formed, culminating in the Post-1350 Collaboration.³⁷ Historical documentation provides a record of the collaborative craft practices that flourished due to an “explosion in patronage” near the end of the thirteenth century.³⁸ Outbreaks of the Black Death ran through medieval cities, devastating populations of artists. Therefore, collaboration was “essential to satisfy a high demand,” requiring the pooling of shared resources and labor.³⁹ Defined by art historian Benjamin David, collaborative relationships during this period are called *compagnia*. These alliances often took various forms, such as assistantships, and flexible or formal working relationships between artists of equal or lesser status.⁴⁰ Some completed artworks were signed by multiple parties; however, other artists working collaboratively did not sign their names because they did not expect viewers to notice a difference in their hands.⁴¹

A flexible *compagnia* alliance between the plague outbreaks of 1348 and 1363 may have created the *Madonna and Child*.⁴² Judith Steinhoff’s identification places the group after the deaths of Pietro Lorenzetti and other prominent artists in 1348, caused by the Black Death. After Sienese artists from the first half of the fourteenth century passed away, it seems that the remaining members united under Bartolommeo Bulgarini.⁴³ Steinhoff suggests, given the overlap in punches and the compositional similarities, that “Bulgarini’s shop may have been the physical location of much of the joint activity,” perhaps due to its size or location.⁴⁴ In 1354 or 1354, Niccolò di ser Sozzo seemingly affiliated with Buglarini and then with Luca di Tommé.⁴⁵ Niccolò and Luca formed a close partnership, most evidenced by their 1362 collaborative polyptych in the Pinacoteca Nazionale (Fig. 4). The altarpiece, depicting the *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Sts. John the Baptist, Thomas, Benedict, and Stephen*, was one of the largest altarpieces made in Siena during the third quarter of the fourteenth century. An inscription was found on the decorative molding beneath the Virgin and Child in 1932:

NICCHOLAUS SER SOCCII ET LUCAS TOMAS DE SENIS HOC HOPOS PINSERU(N)T

³⁷ Hayden B.J. Maginnis, *The World of the Early Sienese Painter* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2003), 91.

³⁸ Benjamin David, “Past and Present in Sienese Painting: 1350–1550,” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, no. 40 (2001): 83–85. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20167539>.

³⁹ David, 83–85.

⁴⁰ David, 83–85.

⁴¹ David, 83–85.

⁴² Judith Steinhoff, “Artistic working relationships after the Black Death,” *Renaissance Studies* 14, no. 1 (2008): 9. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/229594507_Artistic_working_relationships_after_the_Black_Death_a_Sienese_compagnia_c_1350-1363f.

⁴³ Steinhoff, “Artistic working relationships after the Black Death,” 9.

⁴⁴ Steinhoff, “Artistic working relationships after the Black Death,” 9.

⁴⁵ Steinhoff, “Artistic working relationships after the Black Death,” 9.

ANNI MCCCCLXII.⁴⁶ This discovery proved undoubtedly that the piece had been created by two artists, although its creator had previously been thought to be an individual.⁴⁷

The work of two artists from Bulgarini's compagnia alliance, Niccolò di ser Sozzo (Tegliacci) and Luca di Tommé, are most comparable stylistically to the *Madonna and Child* altar painting. Succeeding the notable Sienese masters Duccio, Simone Martini, and the Lorenzetti, Niccolò di ser Sozzo and Luca di Tommé continued to render figures in a Ducciesque manner similar to their predecessors. The first known document referring to the career of the older artist, Niccolò, is from 1348, the year of the Lorenzetti brothers' death.⁴⁸ He likely trained in Lorenzettian shops due to the presence of similar punches in his panel painting. Tegliacci enrolled in the Sienese painters' guild in 1363 but then died later that year, most likely of the plague.⁴⁹ Luca, however, is recorded as a member of the painters' guild in 1356.⁵⁰ More than fifty works are attributed to him, unlike Niccolò's much smaller oeuvre.⁵¹ Both artists' figural types are linked to Simone Martini and Pietro Lorenzetti as their compositions reflect a refined sense of movement, frontal compositions, and figures grounded in naturalistic proportions. Many works by Niccolò and Luca have been attributed to each other by various authorities, as the connections between these artists were not considered until the discovery of the signatures on the 1362 polyptych.⁵²

COMPARATIVE VISUAL SOURCES

Duccio di Buoninsegna

As founder of the Sienese school, Duccio's works established an artistic foundation that other painters would follow. As evidenced by his renowned *Maèsta* polyptych, Duccio's Virgin often does not smile and looks quite melancholy (Fig. 5). It depicts the Madonna turned slightly to her left with the Christ Child resting distantly on her knee. However, similarities in the languid quality of the subjects can be noted in both the *Maèsta* and Baylor panels, specifically regarding the elongated fingers of the Madonna. The feet of the Christ Child are also completed similarly across both works. The

⁴⁶ Sherman A. Fehm, *The Collaboration of Niccolò Tegliacci and Luca di Tommé* (Los Angeles: Anderson, Ritchie & Simon, 1973), 7. <https://www.getty.edu/publications/resources/virtuallibrary/0892360593.pdf>.

⁴⁷ Fehm, *The Collaboration of Niccolò Tegliacci and Luca di Tommé*, 7.

⁴⁸ Erling Skaug, "Notes on the Chronology of Ambrogio Lorenzetti," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 20 (1976): 314.

⁴⁹ Valerie Wainwright, "Niccolò di ser Sozzo," *Grove Art Online* (2003), accessed 31 Oct. 2024. <https://www-oxfordartonline-com.ezproxy.baylor.edu/groveart/view/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.001.0001/oao-9781884446054-e-7000062314>.

⁵⁰ Carola Hicks, "Luca di Tommé," *Grove Art Online*, (2003), accessed 31 Oct. 2024. <https://www.oxfordartonline.com/groveart/view/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.001.0001/oao-9781884446054-e-7000052266>.

⁵¹ Hicks, "Luca di Tommé."

⁵² Fehm, *The Collaboration of Niccolò Tegliacci and Luca di Tommé*, 6.

same can be said of the hands and feet present in Duccio's *Madonna and Child with Six Angels* in the National Gallery in Perugia (Fig. 6). Also in this work, a layer of green underpainting and the slender depiction of the Madonna's face mirrors the Baylor panel. The Kunst Museum *Madonna and Child* renders a child touching His face closely to the Madonna as He wraps his arm around the back of her neck, encircling her in an embrace (Fig. 7). Like the Baylor panel, the Kunst *Madonna* provides an appropriate example of Dorothy C. Shorr's Christ Child *Type 8: He Presses His Cheek To The Virgin's Face And Caresses Her Chin*. The pose is of "provincial Byzantine, possibly of Balkan" origin which then led into the Southern Renaissance in Italy.⁵³

Pietro and Ambrogio Lorenzetti

Possibly the most significant work Pietro Lorenzetti created was the *Pieve Altarpiece*, also called the *Arezzo Polyptych*, a monumental structure created for the church of Santa Maria della Pieve in 1320 (Fig. 8). The connection between Madonna and Christ Child is amplified by their gaze toward each other. The brightly patterned mantel that Mary wears is much more playful than what is typically depicted in his other paintings, showcasing the artist's range of ability to work with color. The creation of the piece is well-documented, making it an excellent baseline by which to assign comparisons. Likewise, other secure attributions for Pietro exist. The National Gallery of Art triptych depicting the Madonna and Child with Sts. Mary Magdalene and Catherine, created in 1340, bears the signature "[PETRUS] L[A]URENTII DE SENIS [ME] PI[N]XIT [ANNO] D[OMI]NI MCCCX...I" (Fig. 9). The inscription, which translates to "Pietro Lorenzetti painted me in 1340" allows a definitive statement to be made about the piece's authorship. Despite the overall compositional likeness and the facial resemblance of the Madonna, the Christ Child differs almost entirely from the Baylor panel. Full faces and realistically depicted hands and feet are qualities consistently established by Pietro that are unlike those found in the Baylor panel.

Works by Ambrogio Lorenzetti depart further from the figural type of the Madonna and the Child found in the Baylor panel. His *Virgin and Child* at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston depicts a facially rounded Madonna with upturned eyes looking toward an unusually styled child (Fig. 10). Although providing another expression of Shorr's *Type 8*, there are minimal similarities to be found between it and the Baylor panel. Ambrogio's *Madonna of Milk*, found in the Oratory of San Bernardino, also showcases the figures in an intimate setting, this time with the Madonna in the act of feeding her Child (Fig. 11). The painting, which departs almost completely from rigid Byzantine frontalism, is notable for its depiction of a caring relationship between mother and son. In the panel, the upturned eyes of the Madonna gaze down at her Child, who looks out, almost uncomfortably, to the viewer.

⁵³ Dorothy C. Shorr, *The Christ Child in Devotional Images in Italy During the XIV Century* (New York: George Wittenborn Inc., 1954). <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015015253928&seq=70>.

Niccolò di ser Sozzo (Tegliacci)

In the investigation of artists behind the creation of the Baylor panel, the works of Niccolò di ser Sozzo (Tegliacci) (b?, doc. 1348–d. 1363) should be carefully considered. The Getty *Madonna and Child* echoes the facial modeling and shading found in the Baylor panel (Fig. 12). The figures in the Getty painting are fully frontal, but if their faces were turned in profile, they would closely resemble the near-set eyes, thin nose, and closed mouth expression of the Baylor panel. The child figure is also quite similar, especially with regard to the rendering of the hair. A *Madonna and Child* found at the University of Arizona, also in the Kress Collection, offers a close match of the Christ Child found in the Baylor panel (Fig. 13). The waved golden locks of hair and the full face chart a resemblance. Only the positioning of the Child on His mother's lap and the patterned garment He wears differ.

Luca di Tommé

A look at the oeuvre of Luca di Tommé (fl. 1356–89) also provides a substantial comparison. The altarpiece depicting St. Anne with the Virgin and Child and Saints at the Pinacoteca Nazionale offers a glimpse at the artist's ability to finely detail female facial features and elongated limbs (Fig. 14). In close likeness to the Madonna in Baylor's panel, the female faces are modeled carefully with regard to the soft shape of eyes, nose, and close-mouthed expression. Of closest comparability is the left-most panel showcasing Saint Catherine of Alexandria. Luca's *Assumption of the Virgin* at Yale showcases similar subject matter to Baylor's panel with respect to the Christ figure at the pinnacle (Fig. 15). The detail of the Virgin's face proves to bear a close resemblance to the ABL panel's Madonna, although frontal. Finally, a *Christ's Blessing* in the Kress Collection at the North Carolina Museum of Art depicts the same subject matter as that of the figure in the point of the Baylor panel (Fig. 16). Similar facial modeling is found across both paintings, especially in regard to the pre-restoration open-eyed Christ image in the curatorial file (Fig. 3). Christ holds His hand in the blessing sign and repetitive fabric draping and coloring is found in both panels.

Potential Companion Panels

During the beginning stages of my research, I discovered Trinity College's *Saint John the Baptist* by a Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti in my search of the Kress Collection database (Fig. 17). Along with various information, the page also contained a link to a 2020 essay by Annika Finne, a student at the Institute of Fine Arts Conservation Center, NYU.⁵⁴ Along with being struck by the almost identical carpentry to that of the Baylor panel present in the molding of the arch, the panel's

⁵⁴ Annika Finne, "Trinity College's Saint John the Baptist by Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti," Kress Sponsored Research at the Institute for Fine Arts, NYU Conservation Center, https://bmmweb.blob.core.windows.net/kressmedia/media/kpc/media/resources/student%20papers/finne_trinity-baptist-essay.pdf.

figural type seemed to fit into a category all its own. Additionally, the panel shared the compositional similarities of the main figure and another smaller figure in the pinnacle with the Baylor panel. Finne's essay also identified a companion *Saint Peter* panel at the Courtauld Institute in London, an attribution first made by Erling Skaug in 1976 (Fig. 18).⁵⁵ This panel was formally attributed to Niccolò di ser Sozzo (Tegliacci) in its Artstor entry. Finne, along with making stylistic comparisons, discussed the treatment the panel received in 2011 by painting conservators Sophie Scully, Dianne Dwyer Modestini, and Nica Gutman Rieppi, noting its unusual paint layering technique.⁵⁶ She identifies several methods for future inquiry, explaining that X-radiography and photographs of the back and side edges of the Trinity and Courtauld panels could more securely reveal their relationship to each other.⁵⁷

A few issues complicate the case made for attribution. The Courtauld panel is slightly shorter than the Trinity panel, but this margin of difference is explained by the presence of the gabled, or cut-off, top.⁵⁸ Additionally, a comparison of the punches present on the Baylor, Trinity, and Courtauld panels has yet to be made. A *Saint Catherine* panel could potentially fit into the reconstructed polyptych grouping, but it is currently in a private collection (Fig. 19). Sold in 2001, the last images of the panel are found on Artnet's database and in the Frederico Zeri photo archive. However, due to the lack of information about the *Saint Catherine* panel, discussion of its similarity to the other panels will be suspended for the present moment.

To begin to present a case for the proposed altarpiece panels, a comparable sense of elongation is found in the faces, hands, and bodies of each figure. Although there are some differences concerning the wood molding, the same upper arch is reflected throughout each panel. Additionally, at the pinnacle point of each panel, the figure is holding a book, a repeated motif. The most promising among the evidence to support their designation together is their measurements. The Trinity (42 3/4 x 17 in.) and Courtauld (41 7/50 x 17 11/25 in.) panels are close in dimension, with only minimal differences in size, likely due to the trimming of each. When digitally placed together to scale, the center panel is slightly larger than the two, a feature typical of altarpiece construction (Fig. 20). The ABL panel (53 x 24 1/2 in.) is around 11 inches taller than both side panels, a reasonable margin of difference for a center panel. The saints in both panels are full-length, while the Madonna is three-quarter length; this arrangement can be found in other polyptychs. The convention of painting saints in full-length was still new in the mid-Trecento. Pietro Lorenzetti's altarpiece for the church of San Niccolò del Carmine, painted in 1329, has been cited as the earliest example of full-length flanking

⁵⁵ Skaug, "Notes on the Chronology of Ambrogio Lorenzetti," 314.

⁵⁶ Finne, "Trinity College's Saint John the Baptist by Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti," 8–9.

⁵⁷ Finne, "Trinity College's Saint John the Baptist by Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti," 9.

⁵⁸ Finne, "Trinity College's Saint John the Baptist by Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti," 3.

saints, one being a *John the Baptist* in the Norton Simon Museum (Fig. 21).⁵⁹ It is less common, but not impossible for this arrangement to appear, making the association of the three panels together possible.

As a collaborative work by Niccolò and Luca, the figures in the polyptych depicting the Virgin and Child with Saints in the Pinacoteca Nazionale should also be examined for the connection they could have to the proposed reconstruction of the Baylor, Trinity, and Courtauld panels (Fig. 20). Though the creator of each saint figure is sometimes disputed among scholars, most agree that three of the four saints (Thomas, Benedict, and Stephen) seem to be characteristic of Niccolò's work.⁶⁰ The Baptist panel, however, is closely reminiscent of Luca's *St. John the Baptist* found at the Getty (Fig. 22).

TECHNICAL EVIDENCE

Goals for Identification

Following the discovery of a potential attribution to Niccolò and Luca, it seemed necessary to reassess the judgments made about the punches present on the surface of the ABL panel. Punch marks can often be difficult to discern, with errors in measurements, the execution of tooling, and surface distortion acting as main components for variability. My goal for the reidentification of punches was to focus on the unique markings (flowers, diamonds, clover motifs) and avoid identifying the circle or dot shapes, which can be easily mistaken for each other. Like Eberlein, I have utilized the punch mark catalogs of art historians Mojmir Frinta and Erling Skaug to identify the punches present on the Baylor panel. I am also supplementing the few images I have of the punches with drawings by a student, Patrick Millegan, who drew the shape of each punch in detail.

Re-Identification of Punch Marks

My reassessment of the punch marks found on the Baylor panel provides supporting evidence for the reattribution of the painting to Niccolò and Luca. It is my opinion that errors were made in the initial identification of the punches. Skaug provides a key for reading his charts at the beginning of the section titled "Workshops in the order of Chapters 5-10, Volume I." He notes that he includes "life-size drawings on top of the page," referring to the top of his dispersion charts.⁶¹ Furthermore, Skaug also notes at the bottom of a table in his 1976 article that the "drawings of the punch marks are in

⁵⁹ Henk van Os, *Sienese Altarpieces, 1215–1460: Form, Content, Function* (Groningen: Bouma's Boekhuis, 1984), 91.

⁶⁰ Fehm, *The Collaboration of Niccolò Tegliacci and Luca di Tommè*, 20.

⁶¹ Erling S. Skaug, *Punch Marks from Giotto to Fra Angelico: Attribution, Chronology, and Workshop Relationships in Tuscan Panel Painting; with Particular Consideration to Florence, c. 1300–1430*, vol. 2 (Oslo: IIC-Nordic Group, 1994).

life-size.”⁶² The photographs that Skaug includes in his work are usually magnified to some degree while his drawings stay in a consistent 1:1 ratio.

Beginning with the oblong punch measuring 11mm by 7mm, Frinta’s catalog has an entry for punch EE7 unique to the Baylor panel where he identifies the punch as Sienese (Fig. 23). Skaug’s email with Eberlein identifies his no. 28 tracing to Bartolommeo Bulgarini as a close resemblance but not an exact type, as it is missing the two enclosed dots (Fig. 23). Upon my identification, the diamond punch (2 mm by 4 mm) looked closest to Skaug’s nos. 48 or 49, referring to either Niccolò di Segna or Ugolino di Nerio but the small size of the punch makes it difficult to discern (Fig. 24).

Concerning the small six-petal flower (5 mm across), no. 447 (Niccolò di Tommaso) or nos. 516–521 (Niccolò di ser Sozzo, Luca di Tommé, Lorenzetti brothers, etc.) are possible depending on the type of impression made on the panel (Fig. 25). The large six-petal flower within the halo of the Madonna (15 mm across) reflects nos. 547 (Luca di Tommé) and 609 (Bartolommeo Bulgarini passed to Niccolò di ser Sozzo) in Skaug’s catalog (Fig. 26). Finally, the seven-petal flower present in the adult Christ’s halo (5 mm across) narrows the identification further. As the only seven-petal flower listed in Skaug’s catalog, no. 623 traces its lineage to Bulgarini and Niccolò (Fig. 27). The flower is extremely small, but if indeed it has seven petals, the identification is most illuminating. Eberlein’s supposition that the Baylor panel could be a “post-plague Trecento work imitating an older painterly style” ties in well with the post-1348 typological parallels identified in connection to my attribution.⁶³

CONCLUSION

After the research I have conducted thus far, a case can be made for the reattribution of the Baylor *Madonna and Child* altar panel to Niccolò di ser Sozzo and Luca di Tommé. The attribution is stylistically supported with comparisons and typologically supported by punch mark identification. Skaug noted post-1350 typological parallels in punchwork in email correspondence with Eberlein, and my re-identification of punches supports the thesis of attribution. Additionally, a case can be made for a date range of 1350 to 1362 for Baylor’s panel. Niccolò’s career is documented from 1348 to 1363, while Luca flourished from 1356 to 1389. If the two collaborated on the proposed altarpiece, this range would be most appropriate as the date of the signed polyptych in 1362 and Niccolò’s death in 1363 provide the absolute latest date that is possible.

A more solid attribution requires future investigation. Particularly, the punches could be examined by removing the panel from its location on the wall to make a more definitive decision about each of their types. Details from the Trinity panel reveal floral punches that could match those of the Baylor panel (Fig. 28). However, the measurements of the Trinity panel punches are not currently

⁶² Skaug, “Notes on the Chronology of Ambrogio Lorenzetti,” 310.

⁶³ Eberlein, “Art Object and Holy Image,” 55.

available. Any information about the punches on the Courtauld panel would also prove to be elucidating.

IMAGES

Figure 1: [Follower of] Pietro Lorenzetti.
Madonna and Child. Fourteenth century.
Egg and tempera on panel. 53 in x 24.5 in.
Armstrong Browning Library, Baylor University.
Photo Credit: Bob Smith.

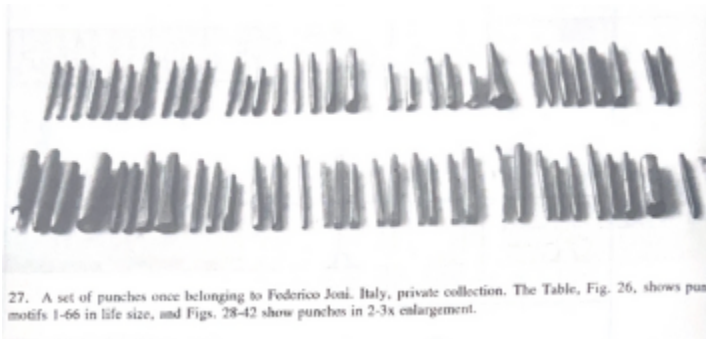


Figure 2: Surviving punches of
Federico Joni, excerpt from Erling Skaug's
Punch Marks from Giotto to Fra Angelico:
Volume 1.



Figure 3: Undated photograph and corresponding detail in the ABL curatorial file depicting the adult Christ's eyes as open.



Figure 4: Luca di Tommé and Niccolò di ser Sozzo. *Virgin and Child with Saints*. 1362. Tempera on panel. Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena.
Photo Credit: Web Gallery of Art.

Figure 5: Duccio di Buoninsegna. Detail from *Maestà*. 1308–1311. Tempera on panel. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena. Photo Credit: Smarthistory.



Figure 6: Duccio di Buoninsegna. *Madonna and Child with Six Angels*. 1300–1305. Tempera on panel. Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia. Photo Credit: Web Gallery of Art.



Figure 7: Duccio di Buoninsegna. *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Six Angels*. 1319. Tempera on panel. Kunst Museum. Photo Credit: Artstor.

Figure 8: Pietro Lorenzetti. Detail from *Arezzo Polyptych*. 1320. Tempera on panel. Santa Maria della Pieve in Arezzo, Italy. Photo Credit: Wikipedia.





Figure 9: Pietro Lorenzetti. *Madonna and Child with the Blessing Christ, and Saints Mary Magdalene and Catherine of Alexandria with Angels*. 1340. Tempera on panel transferred to canvas. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. Photo Credit: National Gallery of Art.



Figure 10: Ambrogio Lorenzetti. *Virgin and Child*. Late 1330s–early 1340s. Tempera on panel. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Photo Credit: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Figure 11: Ambrogio Lorenzetti. *Madonna of Milk*. Circa 1325–1348. Tempera on panel. Siena, Oratory of San Bernardino and Diocesan Sacred Art Museum. Photo Credit: Google Arts and Culture.



Figure 12: Niccolò di ser Sozzo. *Madonna and Child with Two Angels*. 1350. Tempera on panel. The J. Paul Getty Museum at the Getty Center. Photo Credit: Getty Museum.



Figure 13: Niccolò di ser Sozzo. Madonna and Child with Angels. Circa 1360. Tempera on wood. University of Arizona Museum of Art, Kress Collection. Photo Credit: University of Arizona.



Figure 14: Luca di Tommé. Altarpiece: S. Anne with the Virgin and Child, main image (above) and Saint Catherine of Alexandria detail (below). 1367. Tempera on panel. Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena. Photo Credit: Web Gallery of Art.





Figure 15: Luca di Tommé. Detail from *The Assumption of the Virgin*. 1362. Tempera and gold on panel. Yale University Art Gallery. Photo Credit: Yale University.

Figure 16: Luca di Tommé. *Christ Blessing*. Circa 1362–1365. Tempera on wood panel. North Carolina Museum of Art, Kress Collection. Photo Credit: North Carolina Museum of Art.





Figure 17: Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti (possibly Tegliacci). *Saint John the Baptist*. Before 1362. Tempera and gold on panel. 42.75 x 17 in. Trinity College, Hartford, CT. Kress Collection. Photo Credit: Artstor.



Figure 18: Niccolò di ser Sozzo. *Saint Peter*. 1329–1331. Tempera on panel. 41.14 x 17.44 in. The Courtauld Gallery, London. Photo Credit: Artstor.



Figure 19: Niccolò di ser Sozzo Tegliacci (attr.), *St. Catherine of Alexandria*. Circa 1350–1363. 44 x 14.48 in. Unknown private collection (last sold May 16, 2001). Photo Credit: (left) artnet.com and (right) Federico Zeri photo archive no. 6834.

Figure 20: The author's altarpiece reconstruction. Image to scale.



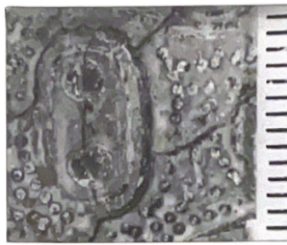


Figure 21: Pietro Lorenzetti. *Saint John the Baptist*. 1329. Tempera on panel. Norton Simon Museum. Photo Credit: Norton Simon Museum.



Figure 22: Luca di Tommè. *Saint John the Baptist*. Late fourteenth century. Tempera on panel. The J. Paul Getty Museum at the Getty Center. Photo Credit: Getty Museum.

FRINTA IDENTIFICATION:



EE7 7x12 SIENESE. Mad., Waco, Baylor Univ., K157

SKAUG IDENTIFICATION:



MILLEGAN DRAWING:

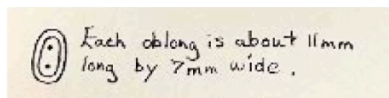
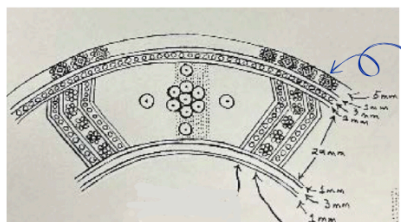


Figure 24: Oblong punch in its position in the Madonna's halo.

SKAUG IDENTIFICATION:

48			Niccolò di Segna [see Ugolino di Nerio]
49			Ugolino di Nerio
50			Taddeo Gaddi (Below 2 s)
51			Bartolomeo Bulgarini

PLACEMENT IN HALO:



MILLEGAN DRAWING:

The inside diamond is about 2mm on a side.
The outside diamond is about 4mm on a side.
This particular design was worn quite badly. The small circles are a speculation on my part, but there is something similar.

Figure 25: The diamond punch identification from Skaug and corresponding drawings by Millegan.

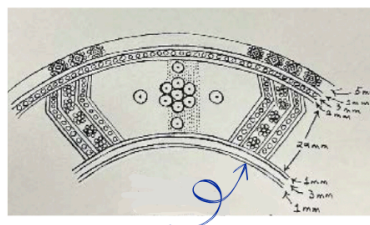
SKAUG EMAIL EXCHANGE:

447			Niccolò di Tommaso
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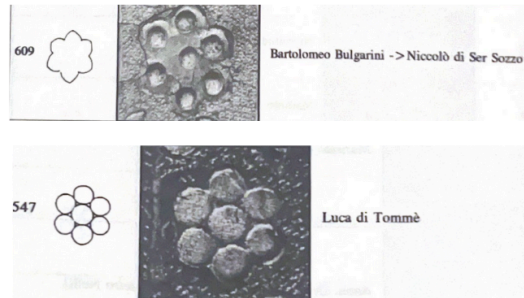
SKAUG IDENTIFICATION:

516			Niccolò di Ser Sozzo/Luca di Tommè
517			Nardo di Cione
518			Andrea Bonaiuti
519			Pietro Lorenzetti -> Ambrogio Lorenzetti
520			Jacopo del Casentino ----> The "Post-1348 Problem (Master of San Polo; Corsi-Barberino Master)"
521			Niccolò di Ser Sozzo/Luca di Tommè - Bartolomeo Bulgarini?

MILLEGAN DRAWING:



SKAUG IDENTIFICATION:



MILLEGAN DRAWING:

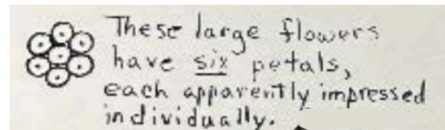
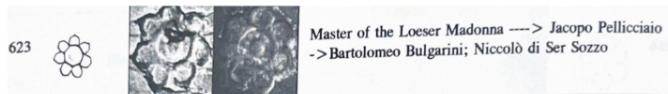


Figure 27: The large six-petal flower punch identification from Skaug, and corresponding drawing by Millegan.

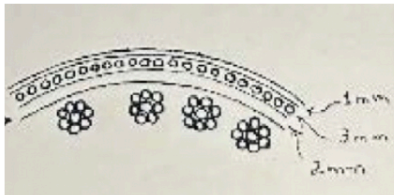


Figure 28: Six-petal flower punch with its position in the Christ Child's halo.
Photo Credit: Nathaniel Eberlein.

SKAUG IDENTIFICATION:



PLACEMENT IN HALO:



MILLEGAN DRAWING:

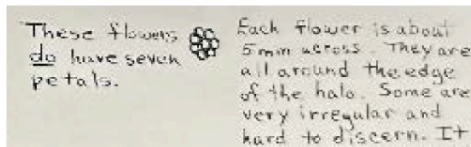


Figure 29: The seven-petal flower punch identification from Skaug, and corresponding drawing by Millegan.

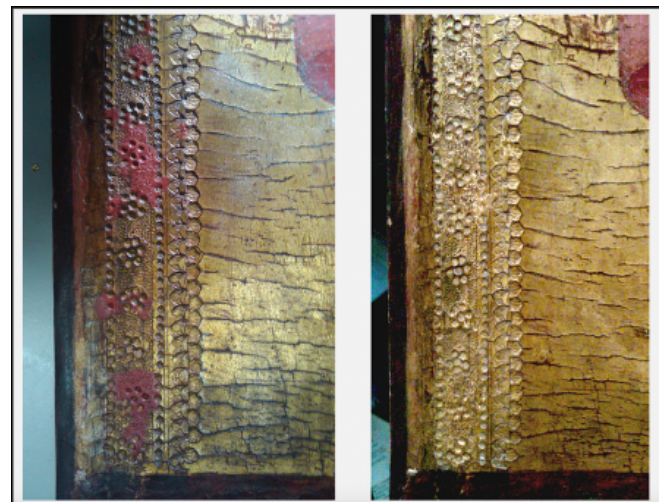
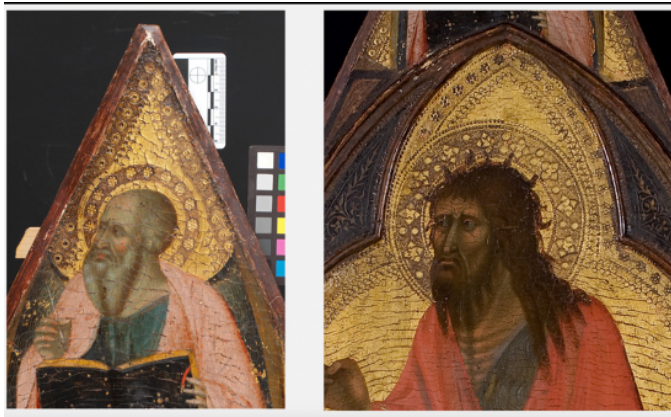


Figure 30: Detail of punch marks from Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti. *Saint John the Baptist*. Before 1362. 42.75 x 17 in. Tempera and gold on panel. Trinity College, Hartford, CT. Kress Collection. Photo Credit: Trinity College.

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