SCIENTIFIC ARTICLE -ORIGINAL SCIENTIFIC PAPER

UDC 75.071.1 Аретино С.

COBISS.SR-ID https://doi.org/10.18485/znms_iu.2022.25.2.4

Received: April 16, 2022 Accepted: May 22, 2022

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SPINELLO ARETINO'S "MADONNA ENTHRONED" FROM THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF SERBIA IN BELGRADE

Abstract: "Madonna Enthroned" by Spinello di Luca, better known as Spinello Aretino, represents one of the most important works dating from the 14th century preserved in the Collection of Foreign Art of the National Museum in Belgrade. Spinello Aretino is considered one of the leading exponents of Giotto's style towards the end of the trecento. In the catalog of Italian painting of the National Museum, it is stated that this work dates from the transition from the 14th to the 15th century, and also that it possesses elements of the Siena painting of that period, when the artist stayed in that town, having been commissioned to paint rooms inside the Palazzo Pubblico.

The aim of this paper is to narrow down the time frame of the creation of the work preserved in the National Museum in Belgrade, and also to determine more precisely the place where the picture was painted, in view of the fact that Spinello Aretino, during the course of his career of many decades, was active in all the major centers of Tuscany. By comparing the work preserved in the National Museum with other works of this artist, and also with works of other artists from the 14th century, it is possible to place it in Florence, in the final decade of the 14th century.

The paper also deals with the problems pertaining to the original intention behind the painting; whether it was intended for private worship or whether it constituted the central part of an altar polyptych of some family chapel in one of the numerous churches in Florence.

Key words: Spinello Aretino, Madonna Enthroned, trecento, painting, Florence.

Introduction

MUSEUM OF SERBIA

Spinello Aretino's "Madonna Enthroned" (Fig. 1) is an egg-tempera painting on a wooden panel that was included in the collection of the National Museum in 1949 on the basis of a decision passed by the Reparation Committee of the FNRY. Its dimensions are 112.5×63.5 cm. In the catalog of the National Museum, it is attributed to Spinello Aretino since it corresponds to his style in the transition from the 14^{th} to the 15^{th} century. The general description mentions both the Sienese style, which is more present in this work according to the catalog, and the Giottesque tradition, as well as similarities with Antonio Veneziano's style. The aim of this paper is, thus, to carefully examine the description from the catalog of the National Museum and try to provide a more precise date of the panel, as well as its original location.

When it comes to the life and work of Spinello di Luca Spinelli, better known as Spinello Aretino, a lot of clarification should be made and research done, since there are still some inconsistencies in his biography and oeuvre. These are mostly due to different information provided by Giorgio Vasari and later research done by art historians, as well as a distinct lack of contemporary sources regarding the artists who worked at the end of the *trecento* and the first decades of the *quattrocento*. For example, Filippo Villani, who wrote *De Origine Civitatis Florentiae et eiusdem Famosi Civibus* (1381/82), does not mention any painter in his work. The same goes for Cino Rinuccini's *Risponsiva* (1397). The main reason for this are the events, both economic and ideological in character, which influenced art during the *trecento*.

In 1366, Nardo di Cione and Taddeo Gaddi died, and two years later Andrea Orcagna's death occurred. Giovanni da Milano, who produced frescoes for the Franciscans in Santa Croce, and Andrea da Firenze, who decorated the charterhouse in Santa Maria Novella for the Dominicans, were no longer mentioned after 1369.³ Hence, the next generation of artists such as Giottino, Giovanni del Biondo, Agnolo Gaddi, Spinello Aretino and Niccolò di Pietro Gerini emerged. "Around the beginning of the last quarter of the century, a 'neo-Giottesque' tendency became established in the rich and diverse Florentine artistic scene... Among the most committed supporters of the 'neo-Giottism' were two great non-Florentine painters, [...] Antonio Veneziano, and Spinello di Luca, known as Spinello Aretino."

The overall painting style of the second half of the *trecento* is often described as a gradual abandonment of the volumetric illusionism, resulting in a flat appearance. "Nowhere are these traits more noticeable than in Florence, where the art of Andrea Orcagna and Nardo di Cione typifies these artistic values" that influenced this new generation of artists. This description, in fact, is not entirely true. Unlike what was previously thought, artists did not "forget" the natural style of Giotto and his immediate followers, they just started to combine it with the "hieratic" style preferred by the Dominicans, which is characterized by abundant use of gold. Recent studies show that "conversely, the extensive use of gold, often associated with the dematerialized setting and thus a more hieratic image, could in the *trecento* also

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¹ Д'Амико, Бошњак и Прерадовић. Ийпалијанско сликарстиво од XIV до XVIII века из Народної музеја у Беоїраду, Београд, 2004, 40-41.

² Perrig, A. "Painting and Sculpture in the Late Middle Ages", in The Art of the Italian Renaissance, Potsdam, 2008, 89.

³ Ibidem, 86.

⁴ Tartuferi A, "From Giotto to Late Gothic", in Florence Art and Architecture, Potsdam, 2005, 156.

⁵ Sherwood A. Fehm, Jr. "Notes on Spinello Aretino's So-called Monte Oliveto Altarpiece", in *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz*, Florence, 1973, 258.

⁶ Paoletti T. J, Radke G. M. Art in Renaissance Italy, London, 2011, 156-159.

signal the costliness of a panel painting and appeal to the materialistic tastes of the very nouveaux riches patrons."

These new patrons proved to be the key commissioners of artworks that adorned numerous family chapels around Florentine churches. And from this, another very important aspect of the late gothic art can be examined, the dependence of the quality of artwork on the relations between the "patron, religious order, audience, and site." These relations are essential in the art of the *trecento*, including Spinello Aretino's oeuvre.

Life and works of Spinello Aretino

"Luca Spinelli having gone to dwell in Arezzo on one of the several occasions when the Ghibellines were driven out of Florence, there was born to him in that city a son, to whom he gave the name of Spinello, so much inclined by nature to be a painter, that almost without a master, while still a boy, he knew what many exercised under the discipline of the best masters do not know." The exact year of Spinello di Luca Spinelli's birth is unknown. According to Vasari, he passed away in 1400, at the age of 92. Since these numbers are unlikely to be true, art historians have nowadays agreed that he was born between 1350 and 1352 and that he died in 1410. This is just one of the numerous examples of the "inconsistencies" mentioned in the previous chapter.

Vasari mentions that Jacopo di Casentino was Spinello's master in Arezzo. ¹² On the other hand, recent studies discovered that Andrea di Nerio was his actual teacher during the seventies of the *trecento*. It is hard to differentiate the styles of these two painters in that period, but frescoes in the church of San Bartolomeo in Arezzo, showing the scenes from the life of San Tommaso might be the oldest known work by Spinello di Luca. Most certainly, the *fresco staccato* of the Virgin with a Child (formerly in the church of SaintAgostino) is dated to 1377 and is definitely Spinello's authentic work. ¹³ Aside from Arezzo, in the following decades, Spinello went on a journey around Tuscany working in all the major cities of that region – Florence, Pisa, Lucca and Siena. He established himself as a favorite painter of the Benedictine order in this region. The production of the altarpiece for the monastery of San Ponziano in Lucca led to a second commission for the same monastic order in the monastery of Monte Oliveto Maggiore near Siena in 1385. ¹⁴

Spinello's first work in Florence (according to Vasari) was in the Acciaiuoli chapel, built between 1332 and 1334 by Messer Dardano Acciaiuoli. Unfortunately,

⁷ Steinhoff J. B. Artistic working relationships after the Black Death: a Sienese compagnia: c. 1350-1363, 2008, 19-20.

⁸ Paoletti T. J, Radke G. M, op. cit. 87.

⁹ Vasari G. Lives of the most eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects, Vol. 2, London, 1914, 29.

¹⁰ Ibidem, 39.

¹¹ Paoletti T. J, Radke G. M, op. cit. 170.

¹² Vasari G. op. cit. 29.

¹³ Tartuferi, A. "Recensione a Stefan Weppelmann 'Spinello Aretino e la pittura del trecento in Toscana", in 'In nome di buon pittore' Spinello e il suo Tempo, Arezzo, 2016, 167-168.

¹⁴ Antal, F. Florentine Painting and its Social Background, London, 1948, 207.

the fire in the $16^{\rm th}$ century 15 greatly damaged the frescos, which were then completely removed in 1718. 16

What is known for sure is that in 1386, Spinello di Luca entered the painters' guild in Florence.¹⁷ Due to "Orcagnesque traits" in his early works, it is evident that he was inspired by the art of Andrea Orcagna and Nardo di Cione.¹⁸ Contemporary scholars of Spinello's work state that he is no longer regarded as a mere follower of Cione, but rather as a highly creative individual in the art of the *trecento*.¹⁹

In 1387, before being exiled from Florence, Benedetto degli Alberti commissioned Spinello to decorate the sacristy of San Miniato al Monte (Fig. 2), the monastery under the charge of the Olivetan monks and the Arte del Calimala.²⁰ There is a total of sixteen scenes from the life of St Benedict, who was the patron saint of the religious order of the same name, of which the Olivetan monks were a fraction. The abbot of the monastery, Don Jacopo d'Arezzo,21 probably chose Spinello, since he had already worked for the same monastic community in Arezzo (San Francesco).²² All the scenes (of which St Benedict Founds Monte Casino and Resurrects a Monk Crushed by a Falling Wall and St Benedict Exorcises a Possessed Monk are the most famous) are framed by architecture that clearly resembles Agnolo Gaddi's decorative frames in Santa Croce. Regarding the overall painterly idiom of the San Miniato frescoes, the figures are, again, not as elegant as Gaddi's, but rather heavy, with a bodily mass typical of Giotto and his followers, and thus reminiscent of the "natural style" from the first half of the trecento.²³ And from this point on, Spinello's work would be "spreading a language characterized by its noble essentiality and clarity, yet enriched by an intense interpretation of the Florentine culture of Giottesque origin of the thirties: from Andrea Pisano to Maso di Banco."24 For painting the halos, Spinello used the spolvero²⁵, which, at that time was becoming a common practice in sketching the ornaments and other decorative elements on murals.²⁶

He also painted the scenes of the Life of Santa Caterina of Alexandria in the country church of Santa Caterina in Antella. They, too, were commissioned by Benedetto degli Alberti. "This is proved by the fact that, in his will of 1387, he

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^{15 &}quot;They were in great part spoilt by a fire that burst out unexpectedly in that church, which had been unwisely filled with straw by some foolish men who made use of it as a barn or storehouse for straw." (Vasari, G. op. cit. 29.)

¹⁶ Giura, G. "La seconda età della pittura in Santa Maria Novella", in Santa Maria Novella. La chiesa e il convento, Florence, 2016, 151.

¹⁷ Sherwood A. Fehm, Jr. op. cit. 258.

¹⁸ J.B.M. "A Maddona by Spinello Aretino", in Bulletin of the City Art Museum of St. Louis, Vol. XII, 1927, 35.

¹⁹ Weppelmann, S. "Spinello Aretino's Canonization of Thomas Becket and Trecento Drawing Practice", in Master Drawings, Vol. XDI, 2003, 3.

²⁰ Paoletti T. J, Radke G. M, op. cit. 170.

²¹ Vasari, G. op. cit. 32.

²² Paoletti T. J, Radke G. M. op. cit. 170.

²³ Regarding the overall fresco disposition in San Miniato al Monte, I suggest Lavin, Marilyn Aronberg. 2014. *The Place of Narrative: Mural Decoration in Italian Churches*, 431-1600. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

²⁴ Tartuferi, A. "From Giotto to Late Gothic", 156.

²⁵ It is a technique that uses a pin-holed paper to transfer the ornament, which is meant to be painted, onto the wall. The paper is then hit with a thinned-out cloth full of pigment. The pigment would go through the holes on the paper and leave a trace on the wall. This technique was known in the Italian peninsula since the middle of the 14th century, and in the 15th it started to be used for figures as well; both in mural and panel painting. (Koller, M. "Wandmalerei der Neuzeit", Vol. 2, in *Reclams Handbuch der kunstlerichen Techniken*, Stuttgart, 2002, 229.)

²⁶ Koller, M. op. cit. 229.

bequeathed money for the decoration of an oratory near Florence (Santa Caterina dell'Antella) dedicated to the martyr saint of Alexandria."²⁷ In the St Caterina episodes, Spinello "immediately transcends Agnolo Gaddi's frescoes in the choir of Santa Croce, completed only a short time before...; he is more spatial and monumental."²⁸ Angelo Tartuferi states, in accordance with Stefan Weppelmann's observation, that these frescoes can be seen as one of the peaks of Spinello Aretino's production only when chronologically placed immediately after the frescoes of San Miniato al Monte.²⁹

The San Miniato sacristy was not the end of the collaboration between the Benedictine order and Spinello di Luca. Between 1399 and 1401 he painted a polyptych with the Coronation of the Virgin for the main altar of the Santa Felicita church in Florence.³⁰ It was a result of a collaboration between Spinello Aretino, Niccolò di Pietro Gerini and Lorenzo di Niccolò. This panel, now in the Galleria dell Accademia in Florence, is considered to be among his best works, together with another altarpiece done in 1391 for the church of Sant'Andrea in Lucca (Fig. 3) depicting the Virgin Mary on the throne.³¹ The Santa Felicita polyptych is not the only collaboration he did with Niccolò di Pietro Gerini. Each artist produced a fresco in the Corsini-Rinuccini sacristy in Santa Croce, after 1388. Spinello did the Way to Calvary and Gerini painted the Resurrection, on the left and right side of a 50 years older *Crucifixion* by Taddeo Gaddi. Here, Spinello shows his creative power and the complexity of a painting in the spatial and symbolic context of the church. He manages to adapt a scene much more often found in the Sienese art to a Giottolike style of Taddeo's Crucifixion while painting an episode that is very important in the identification of the motive of the Cross with the name of the basilica of Santa Croce.³² According to Vasari, in 1400, on the bequest of Filippo di Bonifazio, he painted another fresco in this church – Scenes from the lives of SS Giacomo and Filippo in the Machiavelli chapel, together with the altar panel depicting the Virgin with a Child, and Saints Jacob and Philip (Fig. 4).33 It was long thought that this panel is the one located in the church of Santa Maria a Quinto presso Castello near Florence, since the same saints are depicted in the panel as the ones noted by Vasari, and its quality is very high for a small country church. However, the name of Filippo di Bonifazio is not mentioned in the genealogy of the Machiavelli family, and the inscription on the panel in Santa Maria a Quinto says it was done in 1393.34 This canceled the theory of that altarpiece being in the Machiavelli chapel in Santa Croce.

²⁷ The Alberti family's veneration of Saint Catherine may have been based on the popular etymology of her name (catherine=catenula) diffused by Jacopo da Varazze in *Legenda Aurea*, with reference to the chain represented in the Alberti coats of arms.

²⁸ Antal, F. op. cit. 208.

²⁹ Tartuferi, A. "Recensione di Stefan Weppelmann 'Spinello Aretino e la pittura del Trecento in Toscana", 176.

³⁰ Falletti F, Anglani M, Rognoni G.R. Accademia Gallery, Florence, 2011, 134.

³¹ Ibidem, 103.

³² Giura, G. "Spinello Aretino e la Sacrestia di Santa Croce", in 'In nome di buon pittore' Spinello Aretino e il suo Tempo, Arezzo, 2016, 77-84.

³³ Giura, G. "Notizie su due cappelle perdute nella basilica di Santa Croce a Firenze", in *Commentari d'arte: rivista di critica e storia del'arte*, Vol. XVII, 2011, 35.

³⁴ Ibidem, 35

And it is also likely, taking into account the size of the chapel, that no frescoes with the episodes from the lives of saints were painted (especially if there was an altar panel in it as well).³⁵ Nowadays, there is only a fragment of the Assumption of the Virgin, showing Mary in a *mandorla*, and it is attributed to Lorenzo di Niccolò, who collaborated with Spinello on the Santa Felicita altarpiece and was very much influenced by him.

"He was then summoned to Pisa in order to finish, below the stories of S. Ranieri in Campo Santo, certain stories that were lacking in a space that had remained not painted; and in order to connect them together with those that had been made by Giotto, Simone Sanese, and Antonio Viniziano, he made in that place, in fresco, six stories of S. Petito and S. Epiro." This is how Vasari introduces the fresco cycle of the lives of two Sardinian Saints, who are buried in the Duomo of Pisa. The paintings were severely damaged during the bombing of World War II. It is hard to talk about their stylistic qualities (although restoration work has been done) since much of the original paintings is missing.

Around 1400, Spinello Aretino decorated the Cortigiani chapel in San Michele Visdomini church in Florence. Scenes that remained well-preserved until today are illustrations of the lives of St Zenobius and St Bartholomew.³⁸

"Spinello ended as one of the most sought-after painters of his time: his native town of Arezzo, Florence, and Siena (Cathedral and Palazzo Publico) overwhelmed him with large-scale commissions, some of which even he was unable to execute."39 This is how Frederick Antal ends the chapter dedicated to the life of Spinello di Luca, without describing the Sienese part of his career. In 1405, he moved to Siena and worked in the Duomo "for seven and half months" with his son Parri di Spinello.⁴⁰ Unfortunately, nothing remains of this work, However, the frescoes for Palazzo Publico (Fig. 5) will be described here, since they have survived and are considered to be his late masterpiece. 41 The Priors of Siena commissioned a fresco cycle of episodes from the life of Alexander III, an eleventh-century Pope of Sienese origin, for their meeting chamber (Sala dei Priori, nowadays known as Sala di Balia) in 1407. 42 The cycle was painted in the first half of 1408. 43 There are a couple of reasons for choosing this specific topic – Pope Alexander III was from Siena, and these frescoes were probably done as a reminder of the power of the Sienese pontifex maximus for Pope Gregory XII, who visited this city in the same year; another reason is that they served as a comparison with the contemporary

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³⁵ Ibidem, 37

³⁶ Vasari, G. op. cit. 37.

³⁷ Virdis, A. "Il ciclo di affreschi di Spinello Aretino nel Camposanto monumentale in Pisa", in *Efisio:martirizzato dai romani, santificato dai cristiani, venerato dai contemporanei*, Cagliari, 2018, 101.

³⁸ Weppelmann, S. op. cit. 9. For further reading on his decoraion of this chaper, I suggest Tartuferi, Angelo. 1983. "Spinello Aretino in San Michele Visdomini a Firenze." *Paragone*, January: 3-18.

³⁹ Antal, F. op. cit. 210.

⁴⁰ J.B.M. op. cit. 35.

⁴¹ These frescoes are among the first wall paintings with the preparatory drawing done on paper. (Koller, M. op. cit. 225.)

⁴² Strehlke C. "Art and Culture in Renaissance Siena", in Painting in Renaissance Siena, New York, 1988, 38.

⁴³ Weppelmann, S. op. cit. 4.

history and the alliance with the Visconti from Milan, since Alexander III also had an alliance with the Lombards.⁴⁴ They were probably executed with the aid of Parri di Spinello, Spinello di Luca's son.⁴⁵ It seems that the painter was not influenced by the contemporary art of Siena, as there are "no markedly Sienese elements in his work."⁴⁶ Spinello di Luca remained faithful to his Giotto-inspired painterly idiom. In addition, "Spinello's representations differ fundamentally from the traditional manner and compositions of other *trecento* narrative and pictorial cycles. The wall compartments are not treated as simple flat surfaces to be filled with figures and scenery. Instead, the borders around the individual scenes serve as illusionistic windows opening onto the various episodes."⁴⁷

To end the chapter about the life of Spinello Aretino, an episode described by Vasari is quoted. He went back to Arezzo to paint the Stories of St Michael for the confraternity of St Agnolo. In one of these scenes, Lucifer is painted "already transformed into a most hideous beast. And Spinello took so much pleasure in making him horrible and deformed that the said figure painted by him appeared to him in a dream, asking Spinello where he had seen him so hideous, and why he had offered him such an effort with the brushes; and that he, awaking from his sleep, being unable to cry out by reason of his fear, shook with a mighty trembling, insomuch that his wife, awaking, came to his rescue." He passed away soon after this nightmare, in 1410, leaving behind two sons - Forzore, who was a goldsmith, and Parri di Spinello, who, as mentioned before, was a painter. Spinello di Luca is buried in Sant'Agostino in Arezzo, under a coat of arms with a hedgehog. 49

Based on the information presented above, a more or less precise chronology can be established. The first documented work by him, now lost, was in Pieve di Arezzo in 1375.50 In the next couple of years, he worked in Arezzo (San Bartolomeo and Sant'Agostino), before moving to Lucca in 1377 to paint an altarpiece for the San Ponziano church. Through that commission, he became acquainted with the Benedictine order, which commissioned him to paint an altarpiece for the Monte Oliveto Maggiore in 1385. He then moved to Florence where he adorned, according to Vasari, the Acciauioli chapel in Santa Maria Novella with frescoes (now lost). Vasari's narrative is generally troublesome, and since these frescoes are almost completely lost, it is impossible to confirm or deny Vasari's statement. However, it is for sure that Spinello Aretino's biggest commission in Florence was the decoration of the sacristy of San Miniato al Monte for the Olivetans in 1387 (Fig. 2). Soon after finishing them, he painted the oratory of Santa Caterina in Antella outside of Florence. In 1388, he painted a fresco in the sacristy in Santa Croce. Sometime between 1387 and 1391, Spinello Aretino decorated a chapel in Santa Maria del Carmine (Fig. 6), before departing for Lucca (Sant'Andrea altarpiece (Fig. 3)) and

⁴⁴ Paoletti T. J, Radke G. M. op. cit. 119-120.

⁴⁵ Ibidem, 119.

⁴⁶ J.B.M. op. cit. 35.

⁴⁷ Weppelmann, S. 4.

⁴⁸ Vasari, G. op. cit. 39.

⁴⁹ Ibidem, 39

⁵⁰ Д'Амико, Бошњак и Прерадовић. ор. сіт. 115.

Pisa (San Matteo altarpiece (Fig. 7)). Between 1390 and 1391, he painted frescoes in Camposanto. In a few years around 1395, he returned to Florence, where he remained until his departure to Siena. During the second Florentine period, he painted several altarpieces: Santa Maria a Quinto in 1393 (Fig. 4), Santa Felicita between 1399 and 1401, and Saint Stefan between 1400 and 1405. After these works, in 1405, he moved to Siena where he worked for the Opera del Duomo and Palazzo Publico (Fig. 5). Of these two, only the works from the latter have survived (the frescoes of pope Alexander III, painted in 1407). He passed away in 1410.

"Madonna Enthroned" from the National Museum in Belgrade

In the official catalog of the National Museum in Belgrade, the Madonna with a Child by Spinello Aretino (Fig. 1) is dated to the transition between the 14th and 15th centuries. It is also stated that it is stylistically very close to the works of Lorenzo Monaco, but that the Sienese influences are even more present. Lastly, there are reminiscences of Antonio Veneziano's work.⁵¹ The idea of this paper is to closely analyze the painting in relation to the catalog description and to raise questions about its purpose and origin.

The first question to be raised is that of the actual date of the painting, or at least of trying to locate it in an exact decade, especially since the term "transition of the centuries" can involve a relatively wide time span. A further issue with this term, when discussing the work of Spinello di Luca, is the fact that his artistic production was at its peak during this time. Lastly, in that time span of roughly two or three orthree decades, he changed at least 4 cities. Hence, a time-narrowing should be done by comparing the style of this Madonna and a Child with his other works whose dates are known. There are a few Maestà paintings that resemble this one. However, the representation of the Virgin Mary tickling baby Jesus is generally rare, and this panel might be the only one in Spinello's career to present it. Another fact is that the characters in the painting, the throne and the fall of the Virgin's robe, all have very similar features to a number of different panels, all dated to different periods and done in several artistic centers.

Since the Virgin is occupied with tickling her son, her gaze is, hence, directed towards him, and not towards the observer. This feature hasn't been seen in any other work with the same motif in Spinello's production. Hence, it makes the comparison harder. However, she still resembles another Madonna from the Gallery of the Academy polyptych in Florence, which was originally painted for the church of Sant'Andrea in Lucca (Fig. 3). That polyptych was done in 1391,⁵² and the similarities can be seen in the anatomy of the Virgin's face and the robust lower part of her robe. However, the body volume under the cape in the Belgrade version is far less emphasized. Another feature that both figures have in common is the specific Giottesque appearance. This fact fits the dating of the painting at the end of the *trecento* or at the beginning of the *quattrocento*, since the revival of Giotto's

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⁵¹ Ibidem, 41.

⁵² Falletti F, Anglani M, Rognoni G.R, op. cit. 103.

style appeared in Spinello's works with frescoes from the sacristy in San Miniato al Monte (1387). Regarding the Virgin's body, the greatest similarity is with the central part of a dismantled triptych from the Fogg Art Museum in Massachusetts (Fig. 8). The resemblance between the red dresses and their subtle folds is high. The same goes for the very flat-painted robe, with almost no sense of volume of the Virgin's body underneath it. However, the face of the Belgrade Madonna is more naturalistic, unlike the Fogg Art Museum's one, which has a flatter appearance and is thus related to the period around 1380,⁵³ and a more Orcagna-like style. There are also certain similarities between the figure of the Belgrade Madonna with those of the painters like Jacopo di Cione, Niccolò di Pietro Gerini (who worked with Spinello on several occasions but has a more rigid style), Lorenzo di Niccolò (who was inspired by Spinello) and Agnolo Gaddi (whose frescoes were an inspiration for Spinello's cycles).

The catalog of the National Museum states that there is a number of stylistic similarities with Lorenzo Monaco, who "as a young painter looked up to Spinello."54 Even though this is true,55 this painting would not be a good example of their artistic relationship. Furthermore, as Lorenzo Monaco developed as a painter, his style diverged from that of Aretino and was favored more in the first decades of the quattrocento in Florence. A fresco by Spinello Aretino showing the Mystical Marriage of St Catherine of Alexandria (1390) was discovered underneath frescos done by Lorenzo Monaco in the 1420s in the Bartolini-Salimbeni chapel in the church of St Trinità in Florence. 56 Although Monaco's paintings are not that similar to the Belgrade Maestà, Spinello's fresco which was underneath them is (Fig. 9). The floral decorations of the throne upon which Mary is seated, as well as the overall style, the cloth, the anatomy, and the volume of the figure, are all very reminiscent of the panel from the National Museum in Belgrade (Fig. 1). This fits the previous comparisons and the dating of the painting around 1390, when Spinello was still in Florence. However, similar treatment of the figures and floral motifs on the throne also corresponds nicely with the Virgin and a Child from the San Matteo Museum in Pisa (Fig. 7), which is dated between 1391 and 1395.⁵⁷ This also fits the timeframe, because it is from 1390 until 1391 that Spinello was working for the Opera del Duomo in Pisa, painting frescoes in the Camposanto.⁵⁸ In 1393, he painted the altar panel for the church of Santa Maria a Quinto, outside of Florence (Fig. 4). The central panel, showing the Virgin with a Child again, has certain similarities, mainly the almost-body-less appearance of the cloak, the figure of the Virgin, the somewhat rigid pose of the Child, as well as the simplicity of the throne, which does not have side arches like a lot of other ones. The lack of decoration can probably be

⁵³ https://www.harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/230929?position=0

⁵⁴ Д'Амико, Бошњак и Прерадовић. ор. сіт. 41.

⁵⁵ In the Staatliche Museum in Berlin there is a predella panel with the Last Supper, which was previously attributed to Spinello di Luca, but is now confirmed to have been done by the hand of Lorenzo Monaco.

⁵⁶ Paoletti, John T, and Radke, Gary M. op. cit. 220.

⁵⁷ http://catalogo.fondazionezeri.unibo.it/entry/work/4410/Spinello%20Aretino%2C%20Madonna%20con%20Bambino%20in%20trono

⁵⁸ Virdis, A. op. cit. 99.

explained by the fact that the panel was meant to adorn a country church and not an important city one (like the Santa Felicita altarpiece, or the Sant'Andrea in Lucca). The same reasoning can be applied to the Pisa panel in the San Matteo museum and to the Belgrade one as well (although it is not known where these two stood). This, however, does not imply a lack of painterly skill and quality. On the contrary, they are all quite fine examples of the diversity of Spinello di Luca's production and the maintenance of a high-quality level.

Regarding the reminiscences of the work of Antonio Veneziano, they are indeed present in Spinello's oeuvre. However, they are more visible in the works similar to those of Niccolo di Pietro Gerini, with a somewhat rigid style. Comparing the Belgrade Maestà with an earlier painting done by Antonio Veneziano around 1380, which is now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (Fig. 10),⁵⁹ these reminiscences can clearly be seen. They are, mainly, in the way that both painters treat the volume of the faces and the figures, and in the use of colors. Since they are both regarded as the greatest supporters of "neo-Giottism",⁶⁰ this does not come as a surprise. There is even a high degree of similarity in the ornaments on the brim of the Virgin's cloak between these two paintings.

Lastly, the catalog says that "the elements of Sienese painting in the transition between two centuries, which Spinello came to know during his stay in this city after 1405, are more present than the Florentine Giottesque tradition." As has been previously observed in the chapters above, this argument cannot be true if the painting is dated to the last decade of the 14th century. On the other hand, there are certain reminiscences of paintings with a similar subject by Taddeo di Bartolo (Madonna with a Child, Museo di palazzo Corboli, Asciano), Paolo di Giovanni Fei or Lippo Vanni. However, the facial features of the Madonna from Belgrade are strictly Giottolike, her figure is not elongated and lacks a certain elegance typical of the Siena school. Even though her garment may be associated with the art of this Tuscan city, its folds are more stiff and rigid, contributing to the overall lack of Sienese style.

Another indication of the stylistic origin of the painting might be found in the ornaments on the throne. Even though the painting is not small in size, the throne is not full of decorative elements, like the other ones produced by various artists throughout the *trecento*. Comparing this panel with others painted by Spinello himself, it is hard to draw a clear conclusion, since he painted both richly decorated ones and more simple ones, probably depending on the purpose of the commission itself. In its lower part, geometric ornaments can be seen varying only between a few colors: grey, red, black and green. These colors, along with very simple motifs like squares and rhombuses, are reminiscent of the marble geometrical patterns found on the Romanesque monuments in Florence. Mainly the Baptistery of San Giovanni⁶², San Salvatore al Vescovo, and the church of San Miniato al Monte, in which Spinello painted his most famous fresco cycle. Although rhombuses and

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⁵⁹ https://collections.mfa.org/objects/30941/virginandchild;jsessionid=3E4DE4182C7E7E1C9856A604FCA0B9 92?ctx=fef07a0d-546c-4a5d-b4be-4ea5a0a670d8&idx=0

⁶⁰ Tartuferi A. "From Giotto to Late Gothic", 156.

⁶¹ Д'Амико, Бошњак и Прерадовић. ор. сіт. 41.

⁶² Regarding the Baptistery of San Giovanni, its history, architecture, and decortaion, I would suggest Giusti, Annamaria. 2000. *The Baptistery of San Giovanni in Florence*. Florence: Mandragora.

squares are very common motifs, it is the combination of colors, rigid geometries and the lack of "sweet" decorativeness which makes them Florentine.⁶³ They can be found in his other works, as well (i.e. the decorative frames of the fresco cycle with the Life of Saint Catherine of Alexandria in the church of Santa Caterina in Antella). These ornaments are more notable on the throne decoration from the Mystical Marriage of St Catherine from the Bartolini-Salimbeni Chapel in Santa Trinità (Fig. 9). However, they are a bit more elaborate when compared to the Belgrade panel. Interestingly, highly similar ones can be seen in the Davanzati chapel on the opposite side of the nave in the same church. The chapel was founded in 1303 and later decorated by the *bottega* of Taddeo Gaddi.⁶⁴ When this is taken into account, it can be seen that Spinello's fresco, and thus the panel from the National Museum in Belgrade, become distinctly more Florentine in their appearance, taking direct inspiration from the artist's surroundings.

Another subtle decorative elements in the panel from the National Museum in Belgrade are the cross-like ornaments and the red/black rectangular hangers on the red cloth which adorns the throne. The former can also be found on the fresco fragments from the Manetti Chapel, from the church of Santa Maria del Carmine in Florence (Fig. 6).65 There is, however, one significant difference between these two: the ones from the Belgrade Maestà are not painted in a continuous pattern next to one another, but are rather randomly scattered over the vibrantly red cloth. A further problem that this comparison opens, is the fact that the fresco fragments are not accurately dated to one year in which the cycle has been done. A couple of hypotheses still surround them, but the most accepted ones put them in the years after the St Benedict frescoes (1387), or around the Lucca altarpiece (1391)/Camposanto frescoes (1391). In the online catalog of the Zeri Foundation, these frescoes are dated between 1391 and 1395.66 The cross-like shape can be seen in a varied form in other works by Spinello, which makes it hard to use it as a chronological indicator. The same goes for the red/black rectangles on the brim of the red cloth covering the throne, as they can be seen on Bernardo Daddi's predella with the life of Santa Cecilia, which was probably located in the church dedicated to the same Saint in Pisa,⁶⁷ or on the Annunciation by Jacopo del Casentino (now in Museum of Poldi Pezzoli in Milano), done around 1348.68

All of these motifs are a common feature in the Tuscan art of the *trecento*, and hence, cannot be a reliable dating source on their own. On the other hand, they

⁶³ An example of their use is a small panel of the Last Supper painted by Giotto between 1303/06-1312/13. The architecture of the room in which the scene is happening has very similar geometrical details. (Schumacher, Andreas; Kranz, Annette; Hojer, Annette; Syre, Cornelia. "Katalog", in *Florentiner Malerei Alte Pinakothek*, Munich, 2017, 136-144.)

⁶⁴ Information panel from the church of Santa Trinità.

⁶⁵ Spinello probably painted this chapel with the scenes of the Life of Saint John the Baptist around 1390. The frescoes were badly damaged in 1771 by a fire that devastated the church. The decision was made to demolish the chapel and build a new oratory, and some parts of the frescoes were detached from the wall in 1772. (Casu, S. G. The Pittas Collection: Early Italian Paintings (1200-1530), Florence, 2011, 194-195.)

⁶⁶ http://catalogo.fondazionezeri.unibo.it/scheda/opera/4662/Spinello%20Aretino%2C%20Salome

⁶⁷ The parts of the predella are now located in different museums (Munich, Pisa, Krakow). Bernardo Daddi was one of the main hairs of Giotto's art, and hence might have provided some artistic solutions for Spinello.

⁶⁸ Schumacher, Andreas; Kranz, Annette; Hojer, Annette; Syre, Cornelia. op. cit. 273.

can be seen, although in a more elaborate version, on the panel in the Municipal Art Gallery of the Città di Castello (Fig. 11). It is unknown which church exactly this panel came from; possibly from San Domenico in Arezzo, and it was probably a central panel of a lost polyptych.⁶⁹ The size and the position of the throne, the decorative elements adorning the pedestal, the acanthus leaf-like ornaments on the throne, even the style of the figures (face, body, red dress, and the cape of the Virgin, along with the Child) are all highly reminiscent of the Belgrade panel. The letters/ decorations on the rim of the Virgin's cloak are almost the same, as well as a detail of a golden star on her shoulder. There are only a few differences, such as the crosslike ornaments on the red throne cover of the Città di Castello painting, which are organized in a very rich decorative pattern with a flowery appearance, the more elaborate throne with the side hand rests, a marble step extension of the throne base in the front, the white cloth covering Madonna's head instead of a black hood, and the very topic of the painting: Madonna with Child and goldfinch. In the case of the Belgrade panel (Fig. 1), Christ's future is probably revealed in the cross-like shape on the red throne cover. And that might be the reason why it is not fully converted into a pattern, as is the case in the panel from the Municipal Art Gallery of Città di Castello, thus preserving the full message of Christ's passion.

There is also no precise date of the creation of the painting from the Umbrian city, only a time span from 1401 until 1410.70 Due to a very high level of resemblance between the two panels, the conclusion might be drawn that they were perhaps painted in the same period – the first decade of the 15th century. However, there is no proof that Spinello could not have done the Belgrade panel first, and then used a similar artistic solution within the next decade for the Umbrian one. The data found in the online Zeri foundation catalog say that the Belgrade painting was done between 1396 and 1399, while the Città di Castello one was done between 1401 and 1410. These years might be correct, but there is no hard evidence that supports this. The confusion is even greater when one takes into account the fact that the previous location and the purpose of these two panels are unknown (even though it is highly probable that the painting from the Municipal Art Gallery of Città di Castello was an altarpiece). However, bearing in mind all of the aforementioned, the Belgrade panel was very likely painted in Florence around 1395. Its Florentine origins might be confirmed by the fact that it came into the National Museum in Belgrade from the Gentner Collection in Florence.71

The final notable details are the letters on the brim of the Virgin's and Jesus's garments. They are described as a pseudo-Oriental script that can be noticed in other works by Spinello Aretino, such as the Madonna and Child in the City Art Museum of St Louis.⁷² The problem is that this script is found, although in a multitude of variants, in the whole Apennine peninsula since the *duecento* and well into the *cinquecento*. The inspiration by Arabic symbols ceased at the end of the 16th

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⁶⁹ http://www.keytoumbria.com/Citta_di_Castello/S_Francesco.html

⁷⁰ http://catalogo.fondazionezeri.unibo.it/entry/work/4308/Spinello%20Aretino%2C%20Madonna%20con%20 Bambino%20in%20trono

⁷¹ http://catalogo.fondazionezeri.unibo.it/entry/work/4307/Spinello%20Aretino%2C%20Madonna%20con%20 Bambino%20in%20trono

⁷² J.B.M. op. cit. 34.

century.⁷³ It varies immensely even within Spinello's oeuvre, let alone in a span of three and a half centuries. Therefore, it cannot be held as a reliable dating source.⁷⁴

Iconography and Purpose

The city of origin of this painting's cannot be determined by the iconography itself, since the Virgin Mary was a very popular motif both in Florence⁷⁵ and Siena⁷⁶, as well as in the rest of the medieval world. Bearing in mind the aforementioned discussion, it is more likely that the panel was produced in Florence, but a further step in this research is required. An obvious hypothesis, just by looking at the shape of the panel with a gothic arch and the characters represented on it, is that this was a central part of a polyptych. In written correspondence with Ms. Rosa d'Amico, a former curator of the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Bologna, I have been informed that the panel was, indeed, part of a dismantled polyptych.⁷⁷ However, no further information regarding the side panels or their origin is available. What is problematic is the theme of the painting: the Virgin Mary tickling baby Jesus. For that reason, it was described in the Ventura collection catalog as a "painting, on a gold background" that "develops an unusual theme for the iconography of the enthroned Madonna and Child."78 There is, however, another possibility for the purpose of the Belgrade Maestà – that it was a private commission for an interior. This might be proven by the lack of decorative elements and other figures, such as angels or kneeling donors. Compared to other altarpieces (such as the ones for Sant'Andrea (Fig. 3) in Lucca or Santa Felicita in Florence), this painting does not lack quality but lacks richness, which might be a clue. On the other hand, a similar case is with the polyptych for the countryside church of Santa Maria a Quinto (Fig. 4), which is explained by the importance and the position of the church. This leaves the option of it being an altarpiece open.

Getting back to the private commission for personal devotion, it can be further explained when taking into account the domestic religious experiences. It was somewhat common to have a small improvised space within a house reserved for a sacral painting. The most common figures represented in them would have been the Virgin Mary and Jesus Christ, as the two most important figures in Christianity.

⁷³ Napolitano, E. "The transfer of Arabic inscriptions In Italian Gothic and Renaissance painting. A new approach. The words al-mulk, baraka and al-yumn in the 14th and 15th centuries Italian paintings", in *Re-defining a Space of Encounter. Islam and Mediterranean: Identity, Alterity and Interactions*, Palermo, 2016, 337.

⁷⁴ For further information regarding the Arabic script and its interpretations, I suggest Napolitano, E. "The transfer of Arabic inscriptions In Italian Gothic and Renaissance painting. A new approach. The words al-mulk, baraka and al-yumn in the 14th and 15th centuries Italian paintings", in *Re-defining a Space of Encounter. Islam and Mediterranean: Identity, Alterity and Interactions*, Palermo, 2016.

⁷⁵ The city of Florence saw three major altarpieces with Maestà – Cimabue's Madonna St Trinità (1280s), Duccio's Madonna Rucelai (1285) and Giotto's Madonna Ognisantti (1310/1315). All three are now in the Uffizi Gallery. (Paoletti, John T, and Radke, Gary M. op. cit. 84-86.)

⁷⁶ The Virgin Mary was the patron Saint of the city of Siena, with numerable depictions like the famous Duccio's Maestà (1308-1311) for the high altar of the Duomo and Simone Martini's Maestà (c. 1315) in Palazzo Publico. (Paoletti, John T, and Radke, Gary M. op. cit. 103-106, 111-112.)

⁷⁷ The information was obtained from a written correspondence with Ms. Rosa d'Amico.

⁷⁸ Zaru, C. "The Affaire Ventura. Antiquarians and Collaborators during and after" in *Studi di Memofonte*, no. 12, 2019, 11.

St Bonaventura wrote that a picture is an object which arouses "pious emotions and awakens memories."⁷⁹ This especially applied to women and children, who were believed to be moved by paintings more easily. It is a common case that the pictures in churches were regarded as literature for the laity, but it was also recommended for women who cannot afford to adorn their homes with many paintings to take their children to churches so that they could see holy pictures. This was part of the advice given to Bartolomea degli Obizzi Alberti⁸⁰ by her preacher Fra Giovanni Dominici, who also pointed out that more richly decorated paintings, with excessive use of gold or silver, attract more devotion than the old ones, forgetting the real importance lies in what is represented.⁸¹ This might be one of the reasons that the Belgrade Maestà lacks decoration. In that way, the focus would be more on the scene and characters themselves, rather than on the splendor.

Following the idea of Spinello's Maestà from the National Museum in Belgrade (Fig. 1) being used for private devotion inside a home (a palazzo or private chamber), the size of the panel must be mentioned. It is 112,5 cm high which seems too large to fit inside an improvised wall niche. Especially if it had a gothic spiked frame or side wings. For example, Bernardo Daddi's triptych from the Museo del Bigallo is 88cm tall, including the frame⁸², and Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Madonna del Late is 90cm tall⁸³ - these are some examples of devotional paintings that are significantly smaller than the Belgrade panel.84 On the other hand, one of the peaks of emotional art of the 14th century is the Pietà by Giovanni da Milano (1365), which was used as a devotional painting but stood in the church of San Giorgio alla Costa, 85 and is 121cm high (Fig. 12). A parallel might be drawn between these two artworks based on the depiction of emotion. While in Giovanni da Milano's Pieta the grief and sorrow are explicitly depicted, Spinello's painting looks very lively and joyful. Taking the height of Da Milano's panel as an example, it is also highly probable that Spinello's Maestà shared the purpose of adorning a private chapel inside one of Florence's lesser churches. Even though a scene of the Virgin Mary tickling infant Jesus is not common for a sacred interior (rather befitting a domestic one), it would not be surprising if it stood in a family chapel because all of the descriptions regarding private devotion can be applied to a family shrine polyptych. When both the size and the original hypothesis of the purpose of this panel are taken into account, it is most likely that it was a central part of a polyptych in a private chapel. The monks that held the church would often sell chapels to rich families, who would commission the decoration of that chapel from a renowned painter and thus "bring honor to the church and

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⁷⁹ Lawless, C. "Sensing the Image: Gender, Piety and Images in Late Medieval Tuscany", in *Open Arts Journal*, 2014, 3

⁸⁰ One should not forget that Spinello worked for the Alberti family painting two major Florentine cycles for them-Life of St Benedict and Life of St Catherine of Alexandria. With this in mind, it would certainly be possible that Spinello knew of the ideas of Giovanni Dominici, at least through contact with the Alberti family members.

⁸¹ Lawless, C. op. cit. 4

⁸² Ibidem. 9

⁸³ Perrig, A. op. cit. 66

⁸⁴ There are also paintings which are c. 30cm at height, and which were most certainly used for private devotion. This format us much more common for private commissions, than for the larger panels.

⁸⁵ Falletti F, Anglani M, Rognoni G.R. op. cit. 94

the monastic community resident there."⁸⁶ The closer the chapel is to the altar, the higher the status of the family who commissioned its decoration.⁸⁷

Which church the painting came from is, for now, impossible to trace. There are no crests (as is the case with the Pietà which has coats of arms of the Strozzi and Rinieri families⁸⁸), nor any other symbol that would make the investigation of its origin clearer. Also, it is only known that the painting came from the private Gentner collection in Florence, but how and when it was acquired is still unknown, leaving many questions open. Further research needs to be conducted regarding the provenance of the Belgrade panel in the Gentner collection, if such data exist.

Another possible option for tracing the origin of the polyptych might be found in the Zeri foundation catalog. If the years of production between 1396 and 1399 are taken as correct, there is another panel that is painted in the same period by Niccolò di Pietro Gerini. The dimensions are 90 × 46 cm, and it shows Saint Eligius and Saint John the Baptist.89 Comparing the height ratio of these two panels, it corresponds in a large degree to the altarpiece of Sant'Andrea in Lucca or the Santa Felicita altarpiece that he painted together with Gerini and Lorenzo di Niccolò. Saint John the Baptist is the patron Saint of Florence, while Saint Eligius is the protector of the Guild of Farriers (Arte dei Fabbri)90. Based on this, it can be assumed that this guild commissioned the painting. This is further supported by the fact that Gerini painted two small scenes from the life of Saint Eligius that could be part of a dismantled *predella.* Hence, further research should be directed towards finding a church in which the guild members would meet to venerate this image. On the other hand, there are two problems regarding this hypothesis. One is that it is based solely on the Zeri Foundation catalog that might not necessarily be correct; the other is that it seems strange that the Guild of Ferriers would commission a painting with such a tender theme as the Virgin Mary tickling baby Jesus.

Conclusion

The "Madonna Enthroned" of Spinello di Luca is one of the masterpieces in the Collection of Italian art of the National Museum in Belgrade. However, its origin and the date of its production remain unknown. This paper aimed to further examine the panel, opening new questions and pointing out the complicated case of the precise dating of the painting and its purpose, while analyzing it in the artistic and social

⁸⁶ Paoletti T. J, Radke G. M. op. cit. 87.

⁸⁷ Such example is the Cappella Baroncelli, and also famous chapels like Bardi and Peruzzi (both decorated by Giotto around 1320). Both Bardi and Peruzzi where banking families in Florence, who reached their peak in the first half of the 14th century, working for the Curia. The Florentines where the official bankers of the Popes, since their rich families controlled not just the banking system, but also politics, industry and trade. (Antal, F. 1947, "Florentine painting and its social background", p. 14, Kegan Paul, London)

⁸⁸ Falletti F, Anglani M, Rognoni G.R. op. cit. 94

⁸⁹ http://catalogo.fondazionezeri.unibo.it/scheda/opera/4084/Gerini%20Niccol%C3%B2%20di%20Pietro%2C%20Sant%27Eligio%20e%20san%20Giovanni%20Battista [18.4.2022]

⁹⁰ Roefs, S. "Reflections on the Sculptures in Orsanmichele in Florence", in *Acta Historica platform voor beginnende historici*, Leiden, 2014, 25

⁹¹ http://catalogo.fondazionezeri.unibo.it/ricerca.v2.jsp?locale=it&decorator=layout_resp&apply=true&percorso_ricerca=OA&RSEC=Scene+della+leggenda+di+sant%27Eligio&sortby=DATA&batch=10 [18.4.2022]

context of the *trecento* and the overall development of Spinello's artistic production. Bearing in mind the lack of written sources and contemporary bibliography, it was still possible to make a more accurate dating of this artwork around the middle of the last decade of the 14th century, which corresponds to the peak of Spinello Aretino's artistic production. The city of origin of this picture is probably Florence, a town where Spinello painted his most notable works in the 1380s and 1390s. This is further enhanced when one notices all the stylistic elements of Giotto and his followers, as well as those of certain contemporaries and local Florentine details.

Regarding the purpose of the painting, it remains unclear where it stood since, based on its appearance, various functions can be attributed to it, leaving space for a more comprehensive analysis in order to fully unveil the biographical secrets of the National Museum's masterpiece. Hence, the continuation of the analysis should be aimed either toward the origins of the Gentner collection or the Guild of Farriers and the location of their chapel. The former seems more promising, as it would lead to a certain conclusion, while the latter would still have a veil of doubt surrounding it.

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БОГОРОДИЦА НА ПРЕСТОЛУ СПИНЕЛА АРЕТИНА ИЗ НАРОДНОГ МУЗЕЈА СРБИЈЕ У БЕОГРАДУ

РЕЗИМЕ

Идеја рада је да преиспита каталошки опис слике Богородица на престолу Спинела Аретина, са тежњом прецизнијег датирања слике. Ово је постигнуто на основу стилске компарације дела из Народног музеја у Београду и других Спинелових слика сличне тематике.

Према опису у каталогу Народног музеја, слика се датира у прелаз између 14. и 15. века, што представља релативно дугачак временски оквир. Поредећи ово дело са другима, изнета је хипотеза да је слика настала у последњој деценији 14. века, у Фиренци. До овог закључка се дошло на основу изразито "ђотовских" ликовних карактеристика, које се огледају, пре свега, у третману ликова и драперија. Оно што, такође, доприноси јачем утиску фирентинског манира Ђотових следбеника, јесте и мањак китњасте декорације која је, на ппример, карактеристична за сијенско сликарство тречента. Међу детаљима који се посебно издвајају јесу орнаменти на престолу и дуж доње ивице слике, који сведоче о директном цитирању декоративних патерна романичких фасада Фиренце, попут крстионице св. Јована или цркве Сан Миниато ал Монте. У каталогу се, такође, наводе и сијенски утицаји, као и стил сличан Лоренцу Монаку. Детаљном анализом, и прихватајући хипотезу да је дело настало у Фиренци, крајем 14. века, не могу се уочити утицаји сијенских мајстора тога доба. Овоме посебно доприноси чињеница да ће Спинело Аретино радити у Сијени тек у првој деценији кватрочента.

Наставак истраживања се креће у смеру одређивања оригиналне локације панела из Народног музеја, с обзиром на то да се на основу величине и облика слике може претпоставити да је у питању централни део олтарског полиптиха. Забуну ипак уноси тема Богородице која голица Христа, што више одговара домену приватне побожности.

Кључне речи: Спинело Аретино, Богородица на престолу, сликарство, треченто, Фиренца

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Fig. 1 Spinello Aretino, Madonna Enthroned with Child and four Angels, St. Paul, St. John the Baptist, St. Andrew, St. Matthew the Evangelist, 1391, 170 x 209 cm, egg tempera on panel, Accademia Gallery, Florence (Falletti F, Anglani M, Rognoni G.R. Accademia Gallery, Florence, 2011, 134)

Сл. 1. Спинело Аретино, Болородица на йресшолу са Дешешом и чешири анђела, св. Павлом, св. Јованом Крсшишељем, св. Андрејем и св. Машејом Јеванђелисшом,1391, 170 × 209 ст, јајчана темпера на дасци, Галерија академије, Фиренца (Falletti, F., Anglani, M. et Rognoni, G.R. Accademia Gallery, Florence, 2011, 134)



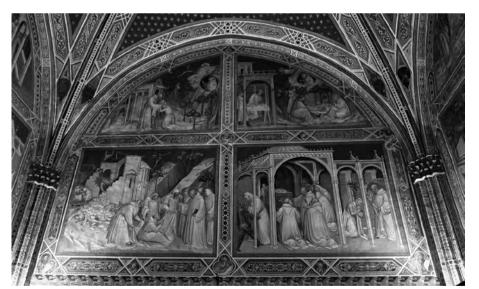


Fig. 2 Spinello Aretino, *Madonna Enthroned with Child, St. Peter, St. Philip, St. Jacob, St. Lawrence*, 1393, 155 × 181 cm, egg tempera on panel, Santa Maria a Quinto, Florence (Giura, G. "Notizie su due cappelle perdute nella basilica di Santa Croce a Firenze", in *Commentari d'arte: rivista di critica e storia del'arte*, Vol. XVII, 2011, 35)

Сл. 2 св. Јаковом и св. Лавреншијем, 1393, 155 × 181 cm, јајчана темпера на дасци, Санта Мариа а Квинто, Фиренца (Giura, G. "Notizie su due cappelle perdute nella basilica di Santa Croce a Firenze", in: *Commentari d'arte: rivista di critica e storia del'arte*, Vol. XVII, 2011, 35)



Fig. 3 Spinello Aretino and Parri di Spinello, Scenes from the Life of Pope Alexander III, 1408, fresco, Palazzo Publico, Siena (Paoletti T. J, Radke G. M. Art in Renaissance Italy, London, 2011, 119) Сл. 3. Спинело Аретино и Пари ди Спинело, Сцене из живота йайе Александра III, 1408, фреска, Градска већница (Palazzo Pubblico), Сијена (Paoletti, T.J. et Radke, G.M. Art in Renaissance Italy, London, 2011, 119)



Fig. 4 Spinello Aretino, *Salome*, с. 1391-1395, 38 × 33 cm, fresco, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool (http://catalogo.fondazionezeri.unibo.it/entry/work/4662/Spinello%20Aretino%2C%20Salome) Сл. 4. Спинело Аретино, *Салома*, с. 1391–1395, 38 × 33 cm, фреска, Вокер арт галерија,

Ливерпул, (http://catalogo.fondazionezeri.unibo.it/entry/work/4662/Spinello%20 Aretino%2C%20Salome)



Fig. 5 Spinello Aretino, *Madonna Enthroned*, c. 1391-1395, 66 × 51 cm, egg tempera on panel, Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa (http://catalogo.fondazionezeri.unibo.it/entry/work/4410/Spinello%20Aretino%2C%20Madonna%20con%20Bambino%20in%20trono)

Сл. 6. Спинело Аретино, *Боїородица на йресійолу*, с. 1391–1395, 66 × 51 cm, јајчана темпера на дасци, Национални музеј Сан Матео, Пиза (http://catalogo.fondazionezeri.unibo.it/entry/work/4410/Spinello%20Aretino%2C%20 Madonna%20con%20Bambino%20in%20trono)



Fig. 6 Spinello Aretino, *Virgin Enthroned with Angels*, c. 1380, 195.5 × 113 cm, egg tempera on panel, Fogg Art Museum, Massachusetts (https://harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/230929?position=0)

Сл. 6. Спинело Аретино, Боїородица на йресйолу са анђелима, с. 1380, 195,5 × 113 сm, јајчана темпера на дасци, Фог арт музеј, Масачусетс (https://harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/230929?position=0)9.



Fig. 7 Spinello Aretino, *Mystical Marriage* of St. Catherine of Alexandria, 1390, fresco, Santa Trinità, Florence (photographed by the author)
Сл. 7. Спинело Аретино, *Мисшично* венчање св. Кашарине Алексанаријске,

1390, фреска, Санта Тринита, Фиренца

(фотографија аутора)

Fig. 8 Antonio Veneziano, *Virgin and Child*, c. 1380, 55.9 × 37.4 cm, egg tempera on panel, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (https://collections.mfa.org/objects/30941/virginandchild;jsessionid=3E4DE4182C7E7E1C98 56A604FCA0B992?ctx=fef07a0d-546c-4a5d-b4be-4ea5a0a670d8&idx=0)

Сл. 8. Антонио Венецијано, *Боїородица са Дешешом*, с. 1380, 55,9 ×37,4 сm, јајчана темпера на дасци, Музеј лепих уметности, Бостон (https://collections.mfa.org/objects/30941/vi rginandchild;jsessionid=3E4DE4182C7E7E1 C9856A604FCA0B992?ctx=fef07a0d-546c-4a5d-b4be-4ea5a0a670d8&idx=0)



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Fig. 9 Spinello Aretino, *Madonna Enthroned*, c. 1401-1410, 134.5 × 69.5 cm, egg tempera on panel, Pinacoteca Comunale, Città di Castello (http://catalogo.fondazionezeri.unibo.it/entry/work/4308/Spinello%20Aretino%2C%20Madonna%20con%20Bambino%20in%20trono)
Сл. 9. Спинело Аретино, *Боїородица на йресійолу*, с. 1401–1410, 134,5 × 69,5 cm, јајчана темпера на дасци, Градска пинакотека, Чита ди Кастело (http://catalogo.fondazionezeri.unibo.it/entry/work/4308/Spinello%20Aretino%2C%20 Madonna%20con%20Bambino%20in%20trono)

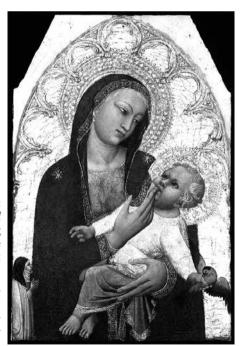


Fig. 10 Giovanni da Milano, *Christ in Pietà lamented by the Virgin, St. Mary Magdalene, and St. John the Evangelist*, 1365, 121 × 63 cm, egg tempera on panel, Accademia Gallery, Florence (Falletti F, Anglani M, Rognoni G.R. *Accademia Gallery*, Florence, 2011, 132)

Сл.10. Ђовани да Милано, *Ойлакивање Хрисйа*, 1365, 121 × 63 cm, јајчана темпера на дасци, Галерија академије, Фиренца (Falletti, F., Anglani, M., et Rognoni, G.R. Accademia Gallery, Florence, 2011, 132)



Fig. 11 Spinello Aretino, Madonna Enthroned, c. 1396-1399, 112,5 \times 63.5 cm, egg tempera on panel, National Museum in Belgrade (photographed by the author)

Сл. 11. Спинело Аретино, Боїородица на \bar{u} рес \bar{u} о- πy , с. 1396–1399, 112,5 \times 63,5 cm, јајчана, темпера на дасци, Народни музеј Србије (фотографија аутора)



Fig. 12 Spinello Aretino, *Scenes from the Life of St. Benedict*, 1387, fresco, San Miniato al Monte, Florence (photographed by the author)

Сл. 12. Спинело Аретино, *Сцене из живо*ша *св. Бенедикша*, 1387, фреска, Сан Миниато ал Монте, Фиренца (фотографија аутора)