

# Two Panels by the Master of the St. George Codex in The Cloisters

JOHN HOWETT

*Associate Professor of the History of Art, Emory University*

IN 1961, THE CLOISTERS acquired two beautiful small panel paintings, a Crucifixion and a Lamentation (Figures 1, 2), attributed to the fourteenth-century Italian panel painter and illuminator known as the Master of the St. George Codex.<sup>1</sup> Soon after their acquisition, the paintings were published as "Avignon panels,"<sup>2</sup> reflecting the widely held hypothesis, first proposed by Giacomo DeNicola in 1906, that the St. George Codex Master was an associate of Simone Martini in Avignon.<sup>3</sup> The hypothetical French career of the Master has been a basis for the theory that the International Style grew out of the exchange of styles between French and Italian artists in fourteenth-century Avignon.<sup>4</sup>

Erwin Panofsky in 1953 had challenged the tradi-

tional view of Avignon's importance, stating that the history of art would have been the same had the popes stayed in Rome.<sup>5</sup> He correctly observed that the stylistic amalgamation between Italy and France had been accomplished well before any important artistic activity had taken place under the popes in Avignon. However, critics of Panofsky's theory continued to use the putative career of the St. George Codex Master in Avignon to bolster their argument.<sup>6</sup> Thus, the anonymous painter of the Cloisters' panels is a critical figure in a major historical debate.

DeNicola proposed that an illumination in the so-called St. George Codex in the Vatican depicting the battle between the saint and the dragon (Figure 3) was a copy of a lost fresco in Avignon painted by Simone

1. Tempera on wood, gold ground. Both panels 15 1/2 x 10 1/2 inches. Bequest of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 61.200.1,2. First attributed to the Master of the St. George Codex by Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, V: *La pittura del trecento* (Milan, 1907) p. 631. The Codex from which the Master derives his cognomen is Ms c. 129, Archivio di San Pietro, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

2. Margaret B. Freeman, "The Avignon Panels: A Preliminary View," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 20 (1962) pp. 303–307.

3. Giacomo DeNicola, "L'Affresco di Simone Martini ad Avignone," *L'Arte* 9 (1906) pp. 336–344. Venturi, pp. 619–620, 631, and 1030, who first published the Cloisters' panels, also endorsed DeNicola's hypothesis. The only dissent from DeNicola's hypothesis was by Carlo Volpe, "Una crocifissione di Niccolò Tegliacci," *Paragone* XXI (1951) pp. 39–41. Earlier (1789), Luigi Lanzi, the

first to mention the St. George Codex (*The History of Painting in Italy* I, trans. Thomas Roscoe [London, 1847] p. 47) ascribed it to Simone Martini, although traditionally it was given to Giotto, as the Codex frontispiece of 1601 indicates.

4. Michel Laclotte, *L'Ecole d'Avignon: La peinture en Provence aux XIVe siècles* (Paris, 1960) pp. 57–58; Enrico Castelnuovo, *Un pittore italiano alla corte di Avignone* (Turin, 1962) pp. 139–154; Bernard Guillemin, *La Cour Pontificale d'Avignon (1307–1376)* (Paris, 1962) p. 275.

5. Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting* I (Cambridge, Mass., 1953) p. 24. Panofsky's thesis is supported by Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry* (London, 1967) p. 26.

6. See Enrico Castelnuovo, "Avignone rievocata," *Paragone* 119 (1959) p. 33.



**FIGURE 1**  
Master of the St. George Codex, Crucifixion. The Cloisters Collection, Bequest of John D. Rockefeller, Jr.,  
61.200.1



FIGURE 2  
Master of the St. George Codex, Lamentation. The Cloisters Collection, Bequest of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 61.200.2

Martini between 1336 and 1344.<sup>7</sup> The fresco, since its destruction in the early nineteenth century, is known only from early written descriptions, but DeNicola believed he had discovered a drawing copy of it in the Vatican library (Barb. lat. 4426, fol. 36) (Figure 4).<sup>8</sup> He concluded that the St. George Codex illumination so closely resembled the drawing that it proved that the Master had copied Simone's Avignon fresco.

DeNicola's premise that the Barberini drawing was a copy of the fresco is reasonable but inconclusive. Barberini lat. 4426 is part of a collection of copies of monuments made for Cardinal Francesco Barberini in the seventeenth century; it contains miscellaneous drawings and maps from various locales, including at least five certain drawings of sites in and around Avignon.<sup>9</sup> Although folio 36 depicts the same subject as the Simone fresco and stylistically could indicate a trecento work, there is no proof that it comes from Avignon. On

the other hand, the Barberini drawing must be a copy of a major work now lost, because a fresco of about 1350 in the Baptistery at Parma, perhaps by Francesco Traini, was evidently derived from the same work.<sup>10</sup>

A four-line prayer that once appeared below the Avignon fresco and is found also in the St. George Codex was used by DeNicola to further demonstrate the association between the St. George Codex Master and Simone Martini.<sup>11</sup> DeNicola concluded that the Master had copied the prayer, which is not in the Barberini drawing, from Simone's fresco in Avignon. However, a more convincing explanation for this relationship is that since the prayer was used as an antiphon in the Codex,<sup>12</sup> this was its original context and use, and that it was later adapted for the fresco. The antiphon, with the rest of the missal, was composed by Cardinal Jacopo Stefaneschi, as stated in the Codex.<sup>13</sup>

Simone's patron in Avignon had traditionally been



FIGURE 3  
Master of the St. George Codex,  
Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana,  
Archivio di San Pietro,  
c. 129, fol. 85r. (photo: Biblio-  
teca Apostolica Vaticana)

7. The fresco was painted between Simone's arrival in Avignon sometime between 1336 and 1340, and his death in that city in 1344. He painted the St. George fresco on the south wall of the porch of Notre Dame-des-Doms and a Virgin and Child with Angels (and Donor) in the tympanum with Christ in Glory above. For a discussion of Simone's work in Avignon and a review of the controversy over his arrival date, François Enaud, "Les Fresques di Simone Martini à Avignon," *Les Monuments Historiques de la France* 9 (1963) pp. 111–180. Marthe Bloch, "When did Simone go to Avignon?," *Speculum* 2 (1927) pp. 470–472, demonstrated that the traditional date of 1340 was probably wrong; John Rowlands, "The date of Simone Martini's arrival in Avignon," *Burlington Magazine* 107 (1965) pp. 25–26, supported Bloch's date of 1336.

8. DeNicola, 1906, p. 338.

9. Besides the St. George scene on fol. 36, there are: the arch of Susa, fol. 5; Lampini Chapel, fol. 11; tomb of Cardinal Lagrange, fols. 24–25; tomb of Amé Genève, fol. 32; bridge on the Rhône near Arles, fol. 45.

10. The connection of the drawing in Barb. lat. 4426 with the Parma Baptistery fresco, and the latter's attribution to Traini, was first made by Millard Meiss, "The Problem of Francesco Traini," *Art Bulletin* 15, (1933) p. 144. Luciano Bellosi, *Buffalmacco e il trionfo della morte* (Turin, 1974) p. 68, attributes the Parma fresco to Buffalmacco.

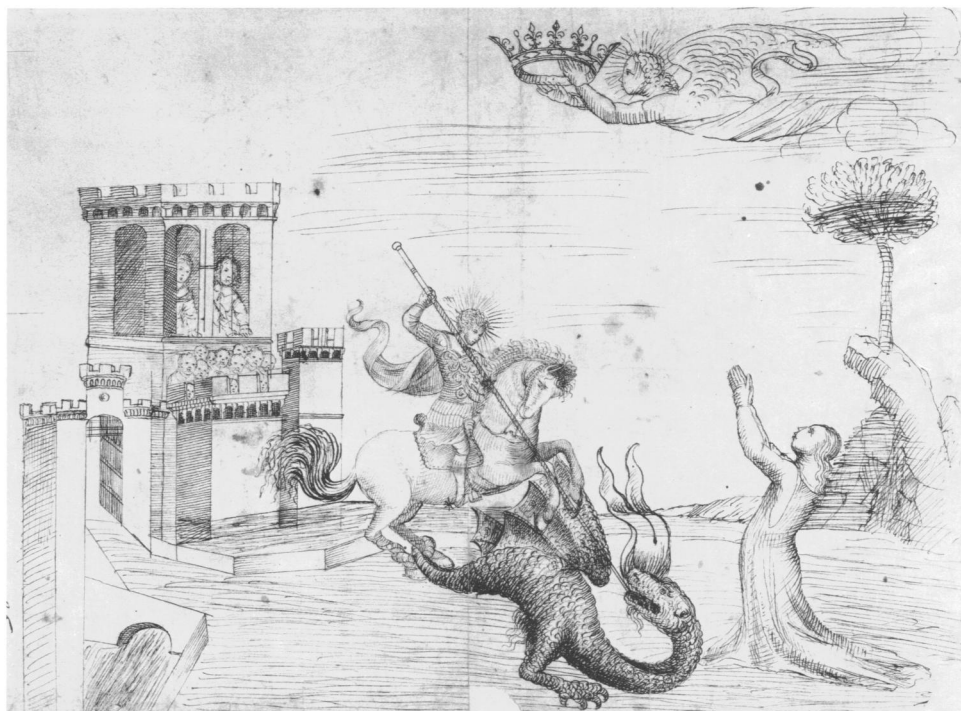
11. DeNicola, 1906, p. 338, quotes the fresco prayer recorded by a seventeenth-century traveler, André Valladier, which is the same as the one in the Codex: "Miles in arma ferox bello captare triumphum/Et solitus vastas pilo transfigere fauces/Serpentis tetrum spirantis pectore fumum/Occultas extingue faces in bella, Georgi."

12. In addition to appearing on fols. 81 and 82 of the Codex, as DeNicola noted, the prayer appears again on fol. 88; in both cases they are antiphons accompanied with musical notations.

13. "Jacobus sancti Georgii ad Velum aureum Diac. composuit," fol. 70.



FIGURE 4  
Seventeenth-century  
drawing, Biblioteca  
Apostolica Vaticana,  
Barb. lat. 4426, fol. 36  
(photo: Biblioteca  
Apostolica Vaticana)



considered to be Cardinal Annibaldo di Ceccano, but DeNicola, observing that the coats of arms on the fresco were those of the Stefaneschi family, concluded that Stefaneschi had been the patron, which he felt further supported his theory connecting the Master of the St. George Codex with Simone.<sup>14</sup> However, DeNicola failed to mention that an inscription under the tympanum fresco, mentioned by several observers, gave the donor as Annibaldo.<sup>15</sup> He also overlooked the fact that Annibaldo di Ceccano, the son of Cardinal Jacopo's sister, was a member of the Stefaneschi family.<sup>16</sup> Cardinal Annibaldo, who was bishop of Naples from 1324 until 1327<sup>17</sup> and could have been familiar with Simone's work there, might have commissioned the St. George fresco as a memorial to his uncle, who died in 1343.<sup>18</sup>

14. DeNicola, 1906, p. 338.

15. Eugène Müntz, "Les peintures de Simone Martini à Avignon," *Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* 45 (1885) p. 22, quotes the inscription, which was still legible in the nineteenth century; DeNicola, p. 338, quotes another account, dated 1600, giving the fresco donor as Cardinal Annibaldo, but he believed it was mistaken because of the presence of the Stefaneschi arms.

16. Arsenio Frugoni, *Celestiniana* (Rome, 1954) p. 71, and Ignaz Hösl, *Kardinal Jacobus Gaietani Stefaneschi. Ein Beitrag zur Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des beginnenden vierzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1908) p. 29.

If Stefaneschi were the patron of Simone's fresco, it would have been the only instance, in a lifetime of extensive Maecenasship, that he ever used an artist who had no association with his native city, Rome.

Since one cannot argue on the basis of Stefaneschi's patronage that the illumination in the Codex was copied from Simone's fresco, the only remaining question is that of the resemblance DeNicola saw between the two St. George compositions, as well as the supposed similarities between the two painters' styles.

The Codex illumination and Simone's fresco are both examples of the so-called "complex" composition of St. George and the dragon that first appeared in twelfth-century Byzantine art.<sup>19</sup> The complex composition included a princess, tower with spectators, land-

17. Müntz, p. 22, note 1; Hösl, p. 29; Frugoni, p. 71.

18. The date of Jacopo Stefaneschi's death continues to be unclear to some scholars. For example, Guillemain, p. 212, note 168, and Giovanni Paccagnini, *Simone Martini* (Milan, 1955) p. 168, repeat the erroneous date of 1341. Hösl, pp. 29–30 and p. 29, note 33, explained that the date 1341 was an eighteenth-century error, and gave proof for the date of 1343. Simone died in 1344.

19. Josef Myslivec, "Saint-Georges dans l'art chrétien oriental," *Byzantinoslavica* 5 (1933–34) p. 374, believes that the complex type grew out of literature in the East where it is first found in art in the twelfth-century fresco at Staraja Ladoga.

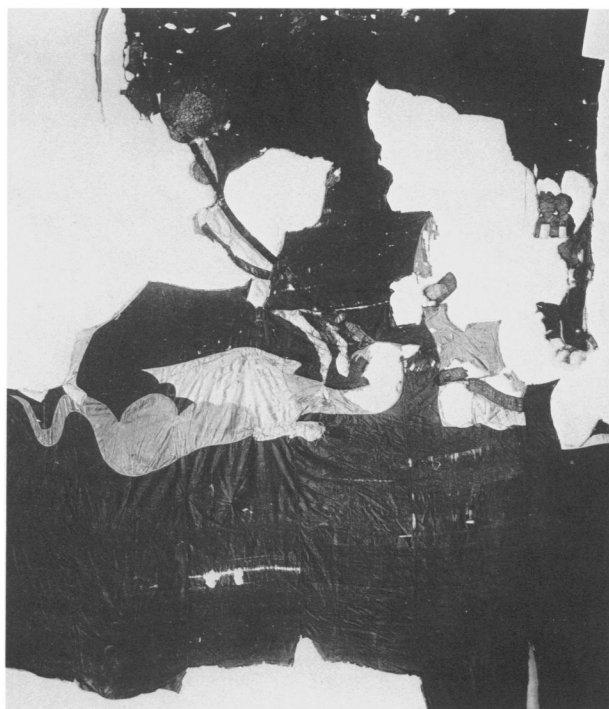


FIGURE 5  
Bandiera di San Giorgio, Museo Sacro Vaticano, T177 (photo: Archivio Fotografico Gallerie e Musei Pontificie Vatican)

scape, and the encounter between the saint and the dragon. I believe that the earliest example of this complex type in the West is the banner known as the *Bandiera di San Giorgio* (Figure 5), commissioned by Cardinal Stefaneschi for his titular church of San Giorgio in Velabro probably around 1295–1305, after he was made cardinal.<sup>20</sup> We can trace a hypothetical history of the complex motif in Italy, keeping in mind the possibility of lost examples, from the *Bandiera* to the St. George Codex, both done for Stefaneschi, to Simone's frescino Avignon by way of Annibaldo. Also, given the interest in dramatic narrative and landscape in the trecento, and the dependence on Byzantine art, Simone

20. Museo Sacro Vaticano, T177. Appliqué and paint on cloth; gray, red, and yellow. See Wolfgang Fritz Volbach, *I Tessuti del Museo Sacro Vaticano* (Vatican City, 1942) pp. 56–57. According to Volbach, this may have been the same banner that Cola di Rienzo in 1347 carried to the Campidoglio as the banner of the Roman people. Volbach dates the banner between 1339 and 1341, believing that it followed the fresco by Simone (he uses the erroneous date of 1341 for Stefaneschi's death). The style of the banner,



FIGURE 6  
Porta di San Giorgio relief. Florence, Collezione Civiche di Palazzo Vecchio (photo: Alinari)

and the Master could have come to this motif independently.

The complex composition was preceded by the “simple” composition, which showed only the saint battling with the dragon. An example of this simple type, which both Simone and the Master may have known, is the late thirteenth-century relief from the *Porta di San Giorgio* in Florence (Figure 6),<sup>21</sup> in which both the saint and the dragon face right. By comparing the traditional grouping in the relief to the drawing of the fresco and the Codex illumination, we can see that while Simone incorporated it wholly into the complex composition, the Master displayed a far more original manipu-

and the interest Stefaneschi had in his titular church when he was made Cardinal in 1295, suggest a date much earlier. The composition of the banner follows Eastern complex types more closely than does Simone's fresco as known from the drawing.

21. Richard Offner, *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting* III, VI (New York, 1930) p. 236, note 8, discusses the *Porta di San Giorgio* relief and its significance for St. George iconography in Italy.

lation of the elements by having the dragon and saint face each other, thus heightening the dramatic impact. The Master of the St. George Codex created a new central group in the iconography of St. George that was not used again until Donatello revived it in his relief for Orsanmichele nearly a hundred years later. The depiction of the dragon attacking the horse and rider has been suggested as a step toward a new free narrative representation, whereas Simone shows a continuation of an older symbolic motif.<sup>22</sup>

Not only are there important compositional and iconographic differences between the Barberini copy and the St. George Codex illumination, there are also variations in the treatment of individual elements. If the St. George Codex Master had not been in Avignon but was influenced by Simone through the use of a model book, we might expect a change in the overall composition, since it has been demonstrated that only individual motifs were repeated in fourteenth-century model books.<sup>23</sup> But, since there are even changes in the individual elements, such as the posture of the saint, the placement of the tower with spectators, and the action of the dragon,<sup>24</sup> there seems to be no basis upon which to insist that a close relationship exists between the compositions by Simone and the St. George Codex Master. To say that both use the same new complex motif, even if in a different manner, and therefore show some affinity, could easily lead us to speculate that the Codex influenced Simone, especially since illuminations were used more often than frescoes as models.<sup>25</sup> Both theories, of course, ignore the earlier appearance of the Bandiera.

By using the Barberini copy along with the other works by Simone from the Avignon period, we can attempt to reconstruct the stylistic treatment of the figures and the landscape, and the handling of space or

other pictorial elements, in the lost fresco. Simone's line, to judge from the Barberini drawing, moves across the surface in sweeping arabesque contours like those of the folds and orphreys on the garments of the figures in his Holy Family in Liverpool (Figure 7) and frontispiece for Petrarch's *Virgil* in Milan (Figure 8), the only extant works that can be placed securely within Simone's Avignon period. The spiraling, fluttering cloak of St. George in the Barberini copy is nearly identical to the angel's cloak in Simone's Annunciation in the Uffizi (Figure 9), dated 1333, a few years before his Avignon journey. The cloak in the St. George Codex is arranged, on the other hand, in a series of tubular folds that fall in rows across the horse's rump. There are no arabesque contours within the Master's composition. Simone's late work tends to emphasize pattern and line; figures are not overlapped or are paired, forming a single unit. Individual features, such as eyes, hands, and feet, are stretched and attenuated. These are not characteristics of the St. George Codex Master's work.

When the Cloisters' panels were first attributed to the St. George Codex Master in 1907 by Adolfo Venturi, he connected them to two panels in the Museo Nazionale (Bargello) in Florence: the Coronation of the Virgin and the *Noli me tangere* (Figures 10, 11).<sup>26</sup> A year later, DeNicola suggested that a panel in the Louvre, the Enthroned Virgin and Child with Sts. John the Baptist and John the Evangelist and Angels (Figure 12), was also a part of the original ensemble.<sup>27</sup>

The supposition that the Louvre, Bargello, and Cloisters' panels are all from one polyptych continues to be voiced,<sup>28</sup> but it is clearly untenable. In the first place, the panels are of slightly different sizes<sup>29</sup> and have entirely different tooled designs. In addition, the Cloisters' panels are from a later period in the Master's career, as I have argued elsewhere.<sup>30</sup> Therefore, I will 213-214, also attributed the Louvre panel to the Master but did not make a connection to other works.

28. Freeman, p. 304. Raimond van Marle, "Le Maître du Codex de Saint Georges et la peinture française du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 5 (1931) p. 10, first doubted the connection of the Louvre panel with the others; Volpe, *Paragone* 21 (1951) p. 40, dated the Bargello and Cloisters' panels in different periods although he did not discuss the ensemble problem directly.

29. The Cloisters' panels: 15 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 10 $\frac{1}{4}$  inches each. The Bargello panels: 16 $\frac{1}{8}$  x 11 $\frac{1}{8}$  inches each. The Louvre panel: 22 $\frac{1}{8}$  x 8 $\frac{1}{4}$  inches. All apparently have engaged frames.

30. I have discussed this in my doctoral dissertation, *The Master of the St. George Codex*, University of Chicago, 1968.

22. Otto Freiherr von Taube, "Zur Ikonographie St. Georgs in der italienischen Kunst," *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* 6 (1911) p. 196.

23. R. W. Scheller, *A Survey of Medieval Model Books* (Haarlem, 1963) pp. 14-15. Scheller emphasizes that the accuracy in copies of individual motifs was not applied to entire compositions.

24. Meiss, *French Painting*, p. 25, has also pointed out that the horse's legs are grasped by the dragon's tail in the drawing but not in the Codex.

25. Scheller, pp. 18-20.

26. Venturi, p. 631.

27. DeNicola, "Opere del Miniatore del Codice di San Giorgio," *L'Arte* 11 (1908) pp. 385-386. Wilhelm Suida, "Studien zur Trecentomalerei," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 31 (1908) pp.



FIGURE 7  
Simone Martini, Holy Family. Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery (photo: Walker Art Gallery)

discuss the Cloisters' panels as independent products within the Master's oeuvre; their original function or context must remain unknown.

The Cloisters' panels possess an elegance that does not fit into the common view of fourteenth-century Florentine art dominated by Giotto. This quality is, of course, one of the reasons for the traditional view that their author was Siense. Superficially, there is some basis for this idea: the colors in the Cloisters' works are reminiscent more of the Siense, Duccio, than of the Florentine, Giotto. The St. George Codex Master had

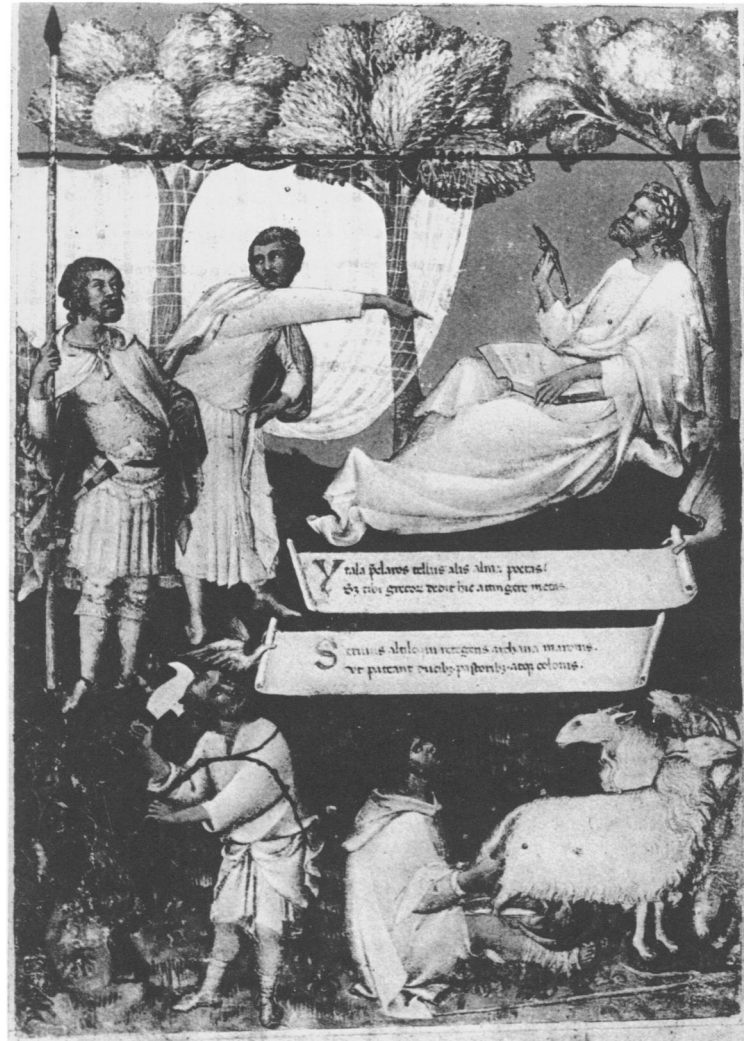


FIGURE 8  
Simone Martini, Virgil frontispiece. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana (photo: Biblioteca Ambrosiana)

a penchant for combinations of opulent hues that can be found, for example, in the figure of the Magdalen on the left of the Crucifixion panel, who wears a rose mantle with scarlet shadows trimmed and backed in lime green and gold, worn over a light orange robe with dark tangerine shadows, or the workman with the hammer and bucket at the left rear of the Lamentation, who wears a plum-colored hat, and a robe with deep purple shadows and electric rose lavender highlights. These color combinations attain a vibrant richness and *recherché* quality most likely inspired by Duccio.

But it is at this point that the peculiar Florentine formation of the St. George Codex Master emerges. As Offner pointed out, Duccio's Ruccelai Virgin was in Sta. Maria Novella as early as 1285, where it was seen and studied by the Florentine painters long before Giotto was active in Florence.<sup>31</sup> Indeed, Sienese activity in Florence extended even into Giotto's mature period in the 1320s, continuing Duccio's influence.<sup>32</sup> The Ducciesque Sienese style merged with a native non-Giottoesque tradition to create the new school to which the Codex Master belonged.<sup>33</sup>

The Cloisters' panels do contain proof that their author was Florentine. The haloes in both the Crucifixion and Lamentation are tooled in small, spiked, radiating lines that Offner dubbed the "feather motif," found only in Florentine work.<sup>34</sup> Moreover, it was used exclu-

31. Offner, *Corpus* III, V, p. 7, and *Italian Primitives at Yale University* (New Haven, 1927) p. 14.

32. Ugolino di Nerio, one of Duccio's closest Sienese followers, did altarpieces in Florence for Orsanmichele, about 1315–29; Sta. Maria Novella, before 1324; and Sta. Croce, finished by 1325; Gertrude Coor-Achenbach, "Contributions to the Study of Ugolino di Nerio's Art," *Art Bulletin* 37 (1955) pp. 160–161.

33. All of Section III (8 vols. in 9 parts) of Offner's *Corpus* is devoted to artists defined by him as non-Giottoesque. Recently Bellosi, *Buffalmacco*, p. 78, has discussed the non-Giottoesque tendency in Florence and suggested that the St. George Codex Master may have belonged to it. I am indebted to Joseph Polzer for calling this to my attention.

34. The use of tooled ornament as evidence for establishing close associations among artists in this period was stressed by Offner, *Corpus* III, V, p. iii; also see Mojimir Frinta, "An Investigation of the Punched Decoration of the Medieval Italian and Non-Italian Paintings," *Art Bulletin* 47 (1965) p. 26; and Erling Skaug, "Contributions to Giotto's Workshop," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 15 (1971) p. 146, note 20.

FIGURE 9  
Simone Martini, Annunciation. Florence, Uffizi (photo: Brogi)







FIGURE 10

Master of the St. George Codex, Coronation of the Virgin. Florence, Museo Nazionale (Bargello), no. 10 (photo: Brogi)



FIGURE 11

Master of the St. George Codex, Noli me tangere. Florence, Museo Nazionale (Bargello), no. 11 (photo: Brogi)

sively by a close-knit group specializing in panels and illuminations, which Offner termed the Miniaturist Tendency.<sup>35</sup>

The feather motif is first found in the haloes of Sts. Francis and Clare in the Tree of Life painted around 1310 by Pacino di Bonaguida (Figure 13).<sup>36</sup> Pacino, in

35. Offner, *Corpus* III, I, pp. xv–xviii. Except for works by the St. George Codex Master, these are the works that have a “feather motif”: Pacino di Bonaguida: Tree of Life, no. 8459, Accademia, Florence; The San Martino alla Palma Master and his shop: Crucifixion (fragment), no. 9, Strossmayer Gallery, Zagreb; Crucifixion (fragment), Wildenstein collection, New York; Virgin and Child with Angels and Last Judgment, nos. B-6 and B-7, New-York Historical Society; Virgin and Child with Angels, S. Brigida all’Opaco; Bernardo Daddi’s shop: triptych, no. 60, Pinacoteca, Siena (dated 1336); triptych, no. 1904, National Gallery of Scot-

land, Edinburgh (dated 1338); Annunciation, no. 1301, Louvre; Virgin and Child with Angels and Saints, private collection, Germany (formerly Goldammer collection, Schloss Plausdorf); triptych, no. 109, Musées Ingres, Montauban; triptych, no. 32.100.70 (Friedsam bequest), Metropolitan Museum; Virgin and Child with Saints, no. 41.100.15 (Blumenthal bequest), Metropolitan Museum; Master of the Scrovegni choir: Crucifixion, J. S. Lewis collection, London. This last panel, which was sold at Sotheby’s December 6, 1967, has been attributed by Ferdinando Bologna as an early work by the Giotto follower who painted the frescoes in the choir of the Arena Chapel (*Novità su Giotto* [Turin, 1969] p. 106, fig. 97).

36. Offner, *Corpus* III, VI, p. 135.

37. Offner, *Corpus* III, II, pt. I, pp. i–ii.

38. Offner, *Corpus* III, II, pt. I, p. vi.

39. For Daddi’s influence see particularly volumes III, IV, V, and VIII of Offner’s *Corpus* III.

40. Offner, *Corpus* III, VII, pp. iv–v; VIII, p. 127. Skaug, *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 15 (1971) pp. 157–

Offner's view, was one of the principal artists in Florence in the early trecento and one of the fountainheads, along with Duccio, of the Miniaturist Tendency.<sup>37</sup> A characteristic of Pacino's shop was the presence of several different hands in one work, producing a style less unified than those of other major Florentine figures.<sup>38</sup> It is understandable that a painter like the St. George Codex Master could emerge from Pacino's shop along with such disparate artists as Jacopo del Casentino, the Biadaiolo Illuminator, the Dominican Effigies Master, and the most influential successor to Pacino in the second quarter of the century, Bernardo Daddi.<sup>39</sup>

Since the feather motif was used in Florence from 1310 to 1338, when it is last found in a panel by an anonymous member of Daddi's circle, and since punched ornament, which the Master never used, appears in Florence and in Daddi's circle in the second quarter of the century,<sup>40</sup> we can give the approximate range of dates for the Master's activity. It began sometime after 1310, and ended in the 1340s. These dates are supported by other evidence in works by the Master and his contemporaries.<sup>41</sup>

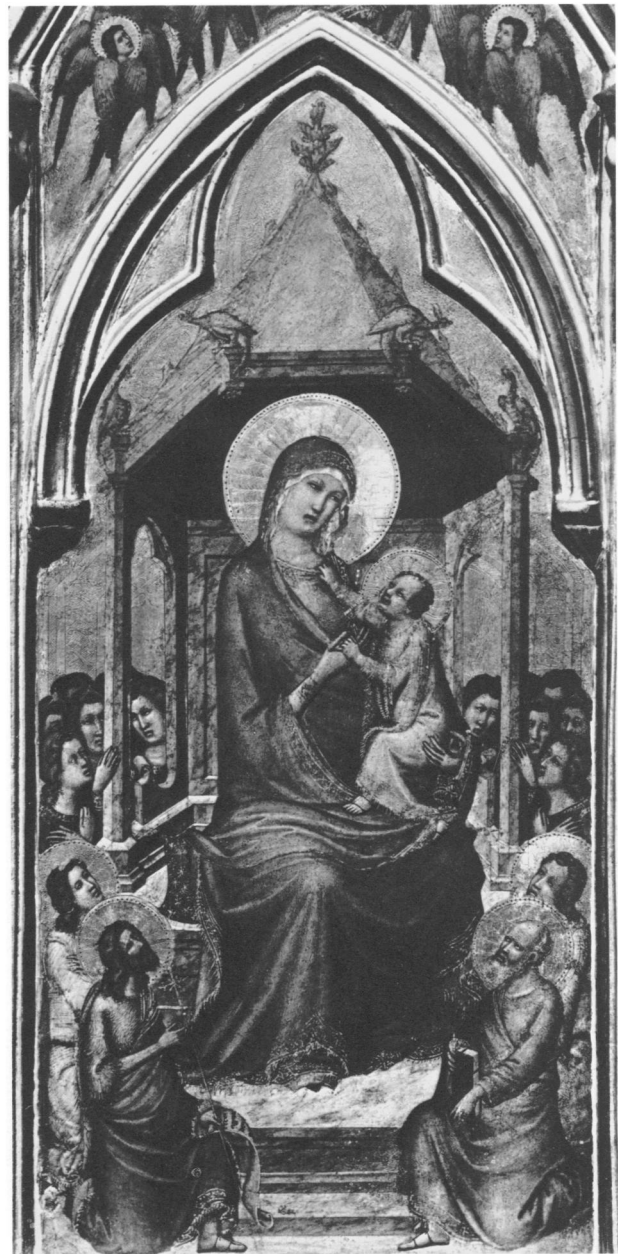
The figure of the sorrowful Virgin in the Cloisters' Crucifixion, muffling her mouth with her mantle, is an infrequent type whose closest known counterpart is the figure of St. John the Evangelist with crossed arms in Pacino's late signed polyptych from the thirties in Florence.<sup>42</sup> The soldier in the upper left of the Cloisters' Crucifixion, with a shield curving around his body, shouldering a sword with the forefinger hooked over the guard, is found in nearly the same location in a panel from around 1340 by the Biadaiolo Illuminator 159, has claimed that punch work appeared in Florence in 1333 when it was introduced by Giotto, who had seen Simone's work in Naples. The St. George Codex Master and some of Daddi's following evidently resisted this innovation in ornament at first, although Daddi was one of the first to adopt it, using it in the Bigallo Tabernacle of 1333. In the 1340s the punch technique became dominant when, we must suppose, the Codex Master's career ended. Possibly he was a victim of the 1348 plague.

41. In my catalogue raisonné I retained four illuminated manuscripts, one group of manuscript cuttings, and nine panels (one double-sided) for the Master's oeuvre; two illuminations (leaves) and eight panels, at one time or another given to the Master, were rejected. See Appendix. I also accept the seven illuminations in the chorale at Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, Rome, recently reported by Carlo Bertelli ("Un Corale della Badia a Settimo scritto nel 1315," *Paragone* 21 [1970] pp. 14-30). His dating of between 1315 and 1328 is too early, in my opinion; I would date them around 1335.

42. Offner, *Corpus* III, II, pt. I, pp. iv and 12-13.

FIGURE 12

Master of the St. George Codex, Virgin and Child with Saints and Angels. Paris, Louvre, No. 1666 (photo: Archives Photographiques)



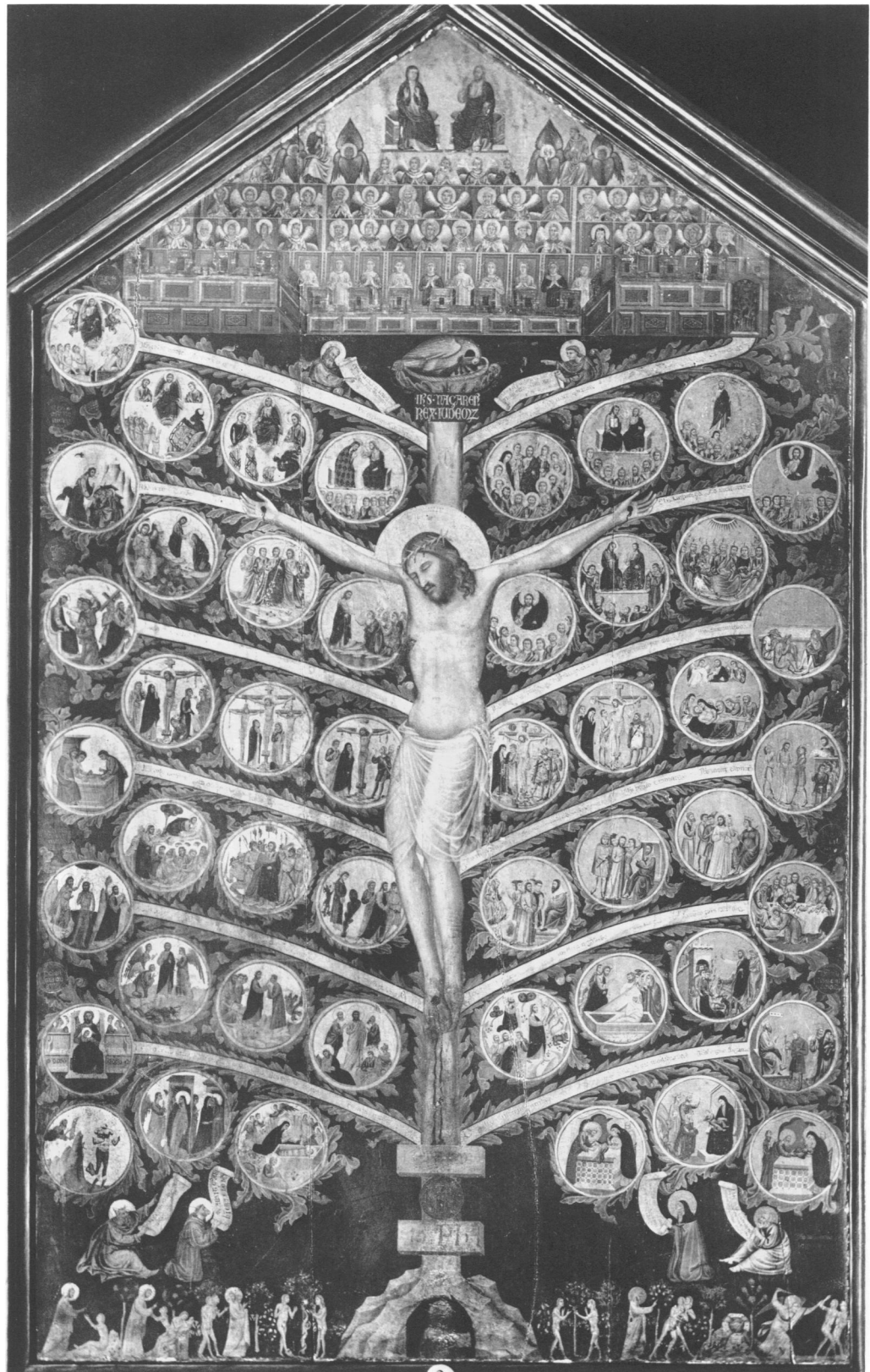
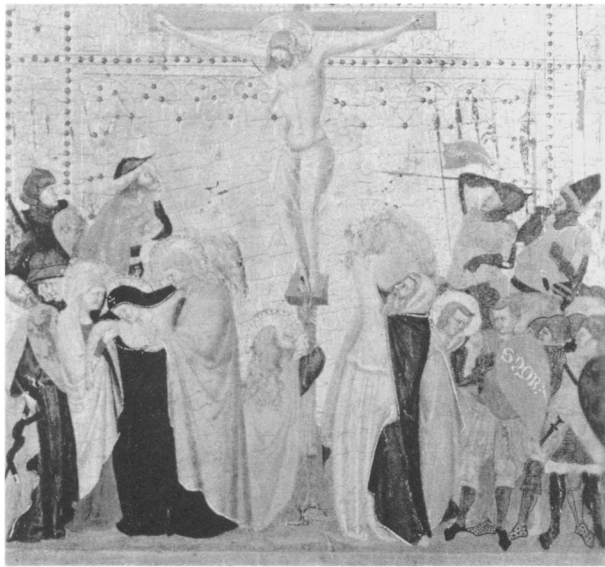


FIGURE 13

Pacino di Bonaguida, *Tree of Life*. Florence, Accademia delle Arti, no. 8459 (photo: Brogi)

FIGURE 14

The Biadaiolo Illuminator, detail from *Resurrection, Virgin and Saints, Crucifixion, St. Thomas Aquinas, Nativity*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection

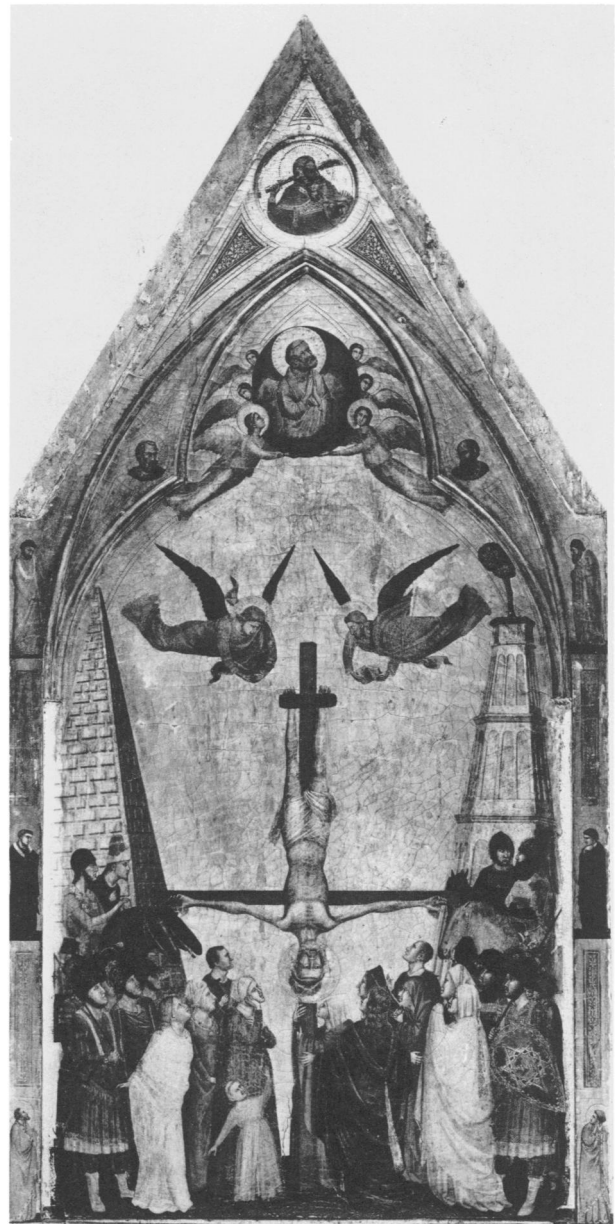


(Figure 14).<sup>43</sup> The figure of Christ in the latter's work, with rounded hips, thin arms and legs, and small curled fingers, resembles the Christ in the Cloisters' panel. Both figures probably ultimately stem from Pacino's *Tree of Life*. A panel in Zagreb close to the San Martino alla Palma Master, a member of Daddi's circle in the Miniaturist Tendency, whose "feather" tooling links him to the St. George Codex Master, has mourning figures whose expressions, draperies, and modeling are close to those in the Cloisters' Crucifixion.<sup>44</sup>

Typical Sienese Crucifixions after Duccio do not follow this somber type and do not exhibit the formal characteristics of the Cloisters' panel. The intense ex-

FIGURE 15

Giotto and his shop, *Stefaneschi Altarpiece* (detail of left shutter with the Crucifixion of St. Peter). Pinacoteca Vaticana (photo: Archivio Fotografico Gallerie e Musei Pontificie Vatican)



43. Offner, *Corpus* III, II, pt. I, pp. viii-x and 46. There are also many affinities between the illuminations by the Biadaiolo Illuminator and the St. George Codex Master.

44. Fragment from a Crucifixion, Strossmayer Gallery (No. 9), Zagreb: Offner, *Corpus* III, VIII, p. 138, pl. xxxviii.





FIGURE 16

Giotto and his shop, Lamentation, Settignano, Berenson Collection, Harvard University (photo: Anderson)

pression and restlessness, tendency toward ornament, and loose organization of Simone's Orsini polyptych Crucifixion contrast with the Cloisters' panels' hushed mood and compact organization.<sup>45</sup>

There are close and significant relationships between the Cloisters' Crucifixion and the famous altarpiece executed by Giotto and his shop for St. Peter's around

45. For the Crucifixion see Venturi, fig. 510.

46. Martin Gosebruch, "Giotto's römischer Stefaneschi-Altar und die Fresken des sogenannten 'Maestro delle vele' in der Unterkirche S. Francesco zu Assisi," *Kunstchronik* 11 (1958) pp. 288–291, has postulated a date of about 1320 for the altarpiece and connects it to the painter of the vault frescoes in the Lower Church at Assisi. Giovanni Previtali, *Giotto e la sua bottega* (Milan, 1967) p. 119, dates the Stefaneschi altarpiece, based on its stylistic characteristics, more probably to 1328–33. Julian Gardner, "The Stefaneschi Altarpiece: A Reconsideration," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37 (1974) pp. 57–103, has recently argued strongly for a date of around 1300, but this is much too early and would make the altarpiece a stylistic anomaly for the period; I agree with Gardner that Giotto should be considered the primary author of the altarpiece but not without participation from the shop. My own feeling is that Giotto received the commission in Florence after his return from Naples in 1334. Because of his preoccupations as the new *capomaestro* of Florence, a large share of the work on the Stefaneschi

1335–40, commissioned by Jacopo Stefaneschi while a canon of St. Peter's.<sup>46</sup> Instead of linking Simone Martini to the Codex Master through Stefaneschi as a common patron, it is the link between Giotto and the Master that should be emphasized.

The connections between the Stefaneschi altarpiece and the Cloisters' panels can be seen in the Cloisters' Magdalen, in particular the spiraling folds of her mantle that cramp the gesture of her outstretched arms, and the female figure occupying approximately the same spot in the Crucifixion of St. Peter on the left shutter of the Stefaneschi altarpiece (Figure 15). The model for these figures could be the Magdalen in the Crucifixion fresco in the Lower Church at Assisi.<sup>47</sup> The rendering of the body of Christ on the cross in the Master's Crucifixion follows closely the body of the Stefaneschi St. Peter. The thin legs and arms, the development of the chest and shoulders, the outline of the torso, as well as the thin, curving folds of the garment, are the same in both. Another connection between the Cloisters' panel and the Crucifixion of St. Peter is the two soldiers in both, standing in the foreground on the extreme right, holding almond-shaped shields. The mourning figure to the left of the cross in Giotto's work repeats the gesture and expression of St. John in the Cloisters' panel.

The similarities between the work of Giotto and his shop and the St. George Codex Master show that in his later years Giotto was himself moving toward the style of the Miniaturist Tendency. His later work was more elegant, richer in color, with more attenuated figures.<sup>48</sup>

The Lamentation panel employs a unique Florentine iconographic type that confirms the Master's for-

Altarpiece was given to assistants who may have had to finish it after Giotto's death in 1337. My dating of the altarpiece of around 1335 to 1340, which agrees with that of Offner (*Corpus* III, V, p. 240, note 1), fits more acceptably with the contemporary style of Florentine painting. Perhaps it was placed on the high altar of St. Peter's in 1341 after repairs on the roof were completed (as reported by Gardner, p. 66). As to the presence of Stefaneschi in Italy after the papal move to Avignon, we must assume that trips were made but not recorded.

47. Gosebruch, *Kunstchronik* 11 (1958) pp. 288–291; Venturi, fig. 376, and Previtali, pl. ciii. Bellosi, p. 79, recently made these same comparisons, evidently unaware of my earlier unpublished dissertation.

48. Roberto Longhi, "Stefano fiorentino," *Paragone* 13 (1951) p. 26, and Millard Meiss, *Giotto and Assisi* (New York, 1960) p. 9, have commented on the delicacy and refinement of Giotto's style in his late works.



mation as traced stylistically in the Crucifixion panel and the tooled feather motif. This type, found in works of Giotto's shop, depicts the Virgin fainting away from the prostrate Christ, thus paralleling him. A Lamentation in the Berenson collection is typical of the type (Figure 16).<sup>49</sup> Some of the figures are also similar, such as the old men with grizzled beards and mustaches, and the mourners with clasped hands held to their faces.

The Berenson panel shares with the Cloisters' Lamentation the same quiet mood of sorrow. It is unlike the typically Siense expression of violent hysterical grief on one of the Orsini polyptych panels by Simone depicting the same scene.<sup>50</sup> The Cloisters' panel is like the slightly later San Remigio Lamentation, usually given to Giotto's follower, Giotto, in which the somber, low-keyed sadness contrasts with Simone's highly charged expression of grief.<sup>51</sup>

The St. George Codex Master's early works (see Appendix) show an association with Pacino, stylistically as well as in his tooled ornaments, and with Pacino's colleague, Jacopo del Casentino. Like Jacopo's work in particular, the Codex Master's works from about 1325 to 1330 are marked by spatial disproportions and awkward relationships—signs of the struggle to assimilate two traditions of monumentality and lyricism. During the Master's transitional period, around 1335, he was concerned with organizing a more rational space and creating firmer, more convincingly expressive figures. The late works, which I place around 1340, and not much later than Cardinal Stefaneschi's death in 1343, show that with Pacino's and Jacopo's waning influence, the Master drew nearer to Daddi.<sup>52</sup> Daddi's influence grew in this period throughout Florence, especially in the Miniaturist Tendency, and even in the later works of Giotto's shop, as I observed earlier.<sup>53</sup>

The Master's late works consist of the Cloisters' pan-

els and the illuminations in the St. George Codex and Morgan Library M. 713 that were originally joined together in a multivolume missal in St. Peter's that I call the Stefaneschi Missal.<sup>54</sup> The style is relaxed and authoritative, much like Daddi's work in the thirties and forties.<sup>55</sup> Figures in the Cloisters' panels and Stefaneschi Missal illuminations occupy space in harmonious interrelationships. They are linked to the surface without disturbing the spatial transitions or resorting to a purely decorative pattern. The handling of the tempera, which especially in the early panels is heavy like that of Jacopo del Casentino, becomes refined and sophisticated, and the features, unlike those in the early works, convey subdued energy and convincing dramatic expression. These mature works possess restraint and depth of emotion, clarity and harmony of mass and space, an elegant and refined sensibility in color, tooling, and execution, a diminutive and articulate figural canon, and a lyric delineation of landscape details.

The Cloisters' panels can be dated only on the basis of stylistic analysis. The tooling can only provide the wide margins of after 1310 to the 1340s. Both the Cloisters' panels and the Stefaneschi Missal illuminations depend for their more precise dating—to about 1340–45—upon their relation to the Master's other works and the work of his Florentine associates, particularly Daddi.

The Bigallo tabernacle, painted in 1333, is one of Daddi's most important and influential works (Figure 17), and provides a stylistic model for the Codex Master's last products. The central panel of the Bigallo tabernacle contains a balance of elegance and verisimilitude with mass and space similar to that found in both the Stefaneschi Missal and Cloisters' panels. The grace and warmth of Daddi's Virgin seated in a spacious throne, her gently but firmly modeled features and

49. The Lamentation in the Berenson collection, Settignano, is probably not by Giotto but by a close assistant and is usually considered part of a series of seven; see Edi Baccheschi, *The Complete Paintings of Giotto*, intro. Andrew Martindale (London, 1969) pp. 115–116, nos. 131–137. It is possible that the paralleled figures of Christ and Mary have been used to emphasize the coredemptive Passions of the Son and Mother as found later, for example, in Roger van der Weyden's Escorial Descent from the Cross. See Otto von Simson, "Compassio and Co-Redemptio in Roger van der Weyden's Descent from the Cross," *Art Bulletin* 25 (1953) pp. 10–16.

50. For some typical examples of the Siense Lamentation, all of which resemble the type used by Simone in the Orsini polyptych,

see George Rowley, *Ambrogio Lorenzetti* (Princeton, 1958) figs. 31–34.

51. Luisa Marcucci, *Gallerie Nazionali di Firenze: I Dipinti Toscani del Secolo XIV* (Rome, 1965) no. 50, pp. 88–90.

52. See Appendix for a complete list of the Master's work.

53. Offner, *Corpus* III, II, pt. II, pp. ii–iii, and VIII, p. iii. Skaug, *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 15 (1971) p. 157, demonstrates on the basis of tooling motifs that Daddi and Jacopo del Casentino were both associated with Giotto's shop in the thirties.

54. See my dissertation, pp. 53–56.

55. Offner, *Corpus* III, VIII, pp. xvii–xviii.



FIGURE 17

Bernardo Daddi, Bigallo Tabernacle. Florence, Bigallo Museum (photo: Alinari)

body, the restrained rhythm of the orphreys with their simple decoration, the expansiveness of the space, the opulent but low-keyed color combinations, and the strong features and eager gestures of the kneeling donors, all embody that unique union of trecento styles found also in the work of the St. George Codex Master. Daddi possesses a concern, emphasized by Offner, for

a reciprocity of surface pattern with forms in space that was basic to the Master's late style.<sup>56</sup>

Carlo Volpe attempted to date the Cloisters' panels to the twenties and the Bargello panels in the thirties.<sup>57</sup>

56. Offner, *Corpus* III, VIII.

57. Volpe, p. 40.

Volpe felt that the Bargello panels were more "Gothic" and closer to Daddi than were the Cloisters' panels; he thought the Cloisters' panels were related to the early work of Giotto's follower, Stefano, and the Giottesque frescoes by Simone Martini in the St. Martin Chapel at Assisi. Volpe's hypothesis is understandable, since there were apparently painters during this period who went through a similar development.<sup>58</sup> Volpe discusses only the Cloisters' and Bargello panels, and one in the sacristy of Sta. Maria della Carmine. The weakness in Volpe's argument is that the latter work is related to the Louvre panel, as well as some of the Master's early illuminations; this is also true of the Bargello panels. Therefore, we would have to date all of these works to the 1330s and later. Conversely, the Stefaneschi Missal illuminations, since they are related to the Cloisters' panels, would have to be dated in the twenties. This makes Volpe's hypothesis for the Master's evolution improbable, since I have shown that the early illuminations are dated around 1325, and the St. George Codex and Morgan Library manuscripts are from the period just before Cardinal Stefaneschi's death in 1343.<sup>59</sup>

I believe that Volpe is correct in seeing the Cloisters' panels as more Giottesque than the Bargello panels, which, like the Master's other early work, are influenced not by Daddi, but by Pacino and Jacopo. As Offner and others have demonstrated, Daddi's and Giotto's styles became closer during the thirties at the very time that Daddi had a major influence on the Master.<sup>60</sup> It is this later Giottesque contact that is revealed in the Cloisters' panels.

The Cloisters' panels are, therefore, the sole extant representatives in panel painting of the St. George Codex Master's mature style around 1340-45, and are proof of his Florentine formation and career. Much of what has been called the Sienese influence on the later

International style must be re-examined in light of these Florentine sources. The St. George Codex Master and his associates in the Miniaturist Tendency establish an important link to the Tuscan International Style painters and illuminators in the late trecento and early quattrocento who are sometimes referred to as the "School of Sta. Maria degli Angeli."<sup>61</sup> The illuminations and panels of painters like Bartolomeo di Fruosino, Simone Camaldolese, Silvestro dei Gherarducci, and Lorenzo da Monaco continue the earlier tradition not just of Siena, but also Florence, represented so magnificently by the St. George Codex Master.<sup>62</sup> A tradition of lyric classicism persisted in Fra Angelico and other Renaissance masters side by side with the monumental classicism found in Masaccio, in the same way that their predecessors in trecento Florence, like our Master, had worked parallel to Giotto.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This study is based on research first done for my doctoral dissertation, a monograph and catalogue raisonné on the Master of the St. George Codex, completed in 1968 at the University of Chicago. Some of the arguments were presented in a lecture given at The Cloisters on April 23 (the Feast of St. George), 1970, under the auspices of The Cloisters and the International Center for Medieval Art, and in 1973 at the Southeastern College Art Conference in Atlanta. My sincere thanks to those who helped me during the writing of the dissertation, especially to Eleanor Greenhill and Earl Rosenthal, and also to Ulrich Middeldorf and the late Richard Offner. A grant from the Emory University Research Committee enabled me to continue my research. I am grateful to John Walsh, who helped me with the text of this article and to George Cuttino, who dated the colophon of the Morgan library manuscript. To Catherine Tekakwitha Howett, who has taught me most, this work is lovingly dedicated.

58. Millard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena After the Black Death* (Princeton, 1951) p. 7, observed a general return to a "Gothic" style in Tuscany at mid-century.

59. These arguments are set forth in my dissertation.

60. Offner, *Corpus* III, VIII, pp. xvii-xviii.

61. Mirella Levi D'Ancona, "Bartolomeo Fruosino," *Art Bulletin* 43 (1961) p. 81, has demonstrated that what is usually called the "School of Sta. Maria degli Angeli" is found throughout Florence and its environs.

62. Marcucci, p. 165, has expressed the view that Lorenzo da Monaco may have been influenced by the St. George Codex Master.

## Appendix: Works by the St. George Codex Master

### *Early period* (around 1325–30):

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 15619, Pontifical, one illumination only: fol. 2r; Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 86, Fragment of a Pontifical (probably a fragment of Cardinal Stefaneschi's so-called Ceremonials); Paris, Louvre, No. 1666, panel: Virgin and Child with Sts. John the Baptist and John the Evangelist and Angels, Christ the Teacher (spandrel); Florence, Sta. Maria della Carmine (sacristy), panel: Virgin and Child with Sts. John the Baptist and the Evangelist; Brussels, Mme. Jacques Stoclet Collection, panel: Angel of the Annunciation (kneeling); panel: Virgin of the Annunciation (standing); Florence, Museo Nazionale (Bargello), No. 10, panel: Coronation of the Virgin; No. 11, panel: Noli me tangere.

### *Transitional period* (around 1335):

Berlin (East), Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, eleven cuttings: nos. 1984, 1985, 1986, 1988,

1990, 1991, 1992, 1995, 1996, 1998, 1999; Berlin (West), Staatliche Museen (Dahlem), Kupferstichkabinett, six cuttings: nos. 1987, 1989, 1993, 1994, 1997, 2000; Cracow, Czartoryski Muzeum, no. 99 (Inw. XII-186), panel (recto and verso): Annunciation; Sts. Lawrence and Stephen; Rome, Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, Chorale, seven illuminations: fols. 97r, 122r, 140v, 158v, 135v, 250v, 272v.

### *Late period* (around 1340–45):

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio di San Pietro, Ms. c. 129, Fragment of a Missal (March 25 to June 9 of the Proper of the Saints—the Codex of St. George); New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. M. 713, Fragment of a Missal (the Common of the Mass and Votive Masses—a fourteenth-century colophon states that this section was one volume of a seven-volume Missal; probably the Codex of St. George in the Vatican was the first section of the same Missal); Cloisters' Lamentation and Crucifixion panels.