

From Eve Borsook, *The Mural Painters of Tuscany*, (second edition, Oxford, 1980), pp. 58-63.

M A S A C C I O (Tommaso di ser Giovanni di Mone Cassai)  
Born in San Giovanni Val d'Arno, 1401; died in Rome, 1428

Santa Maria Novella, Florence, in the third bay of the western aisle

Trinity with Mary, John, and Two Donors

Painted between late 1425 and 1428

Height and width: 6,67 x 3,17 m

**HISTORY:** Although Masaccio's authorship of the mural has never been questioned, no documents concerning its commission or execution are known. According to Modesto Biliotti, a sixteenth-century Dominican chronicler, an altar dedicated to the Trinity was erected at the behest of Fra Lorenzo Cardoni during his priorate of the convent of Santa Maria Novella (December 1422 until June 1426).<sup>1</sup> Masaccio's fresco is mentioned near it, but the exact location of the altar (i.e. whether it was free-standing or set against the wall) in relation to the painting is not specified. The altar and the mural were certainly part of the same complex, whether they were paid for by the same donors or not.<sup>2</sup> The donors portrayed in the fresco are laymen. The man wears a red robe and hat appropriate to the office of gonfaloniere di giustizia—the highest civil officer in the Florentine republic, whose term lasted two months.<sup>3</sup> A tombstone existed at the foot of the fresco inscribed: "Domenico di Lenzo et suorum 1426".<sup>4</sup> Although five members of the Lenzi family were gonfalonieri, the highest office ever held by Domenico was only that of priors. But a cousin, Lorenzo di Piero Lenzi, was gonfaloniere during August and September 1425 and it was during his term that the feast of Corpus Domini was adopted as a communal celebration with a great procession to Santa Maria Novella as its goal.<sup>6</sup> Such an event might have justified a commemorative image in this church. Yet, despite all these circumstances, it remains an open question whether it was really this Lenzi who was commemorated in the fresco, because eventually he was buried, not here, but in Ognissanti in 1442.<sup>7</sup> However, there are other cases in Florence where a cenotaph originally planned as a sepulchral monument was painted for a man whose bones were laid to rest elsewhere: e.g. Uccello's fresco of John Hawkwood.<sup>8</sup>

Iconographically, Masaccio's Trinity could well have served to commemorate the institution of Corpus Domini as a municipal feast. The Eucharistic significance of the sacrifice performed at the Mass is made visible: the crucified Saviour embodies Christ's sacrifice for mankind which is presented as the hope for salvation and resurrection.<sup>9</sup> Situated as it is in front of a triumphal arch, it is also a triumphal cross and, as such, it occupies the appropriate liturgical place in the middle of the church where all could see it.<sup>10</sup> In a unique way, the themes of the Eucharist, Trinity, and Last Judgement here merge into a single image.<sup>11</sup>

Although the Trinity is invoked with every sacrament, its history as a cult in its own right was then a rather recent development. <sup>12</sup> Unofficially, it had been celebrated for several centuries before it was finally placed on the Church calendar among the canonical feasts in 1334.<sup>13</sup> Thereafter, it became a theme more frequently used for the names of churches, altars, and subsequently as a subject for altarpieces as well.<sup>14</sup> Probably the motivation behind the cult of the Trinity (just as for the cults of the Eucharist [Corpus Domini], the Holy Spirit, and the Immaculate Conception) during the later Middle Ages was that these supernatural ideas, which were fundamental notions of the Roman Church, became vulnerable to heretical attack and the Dominicans, as militant defenders of the Faith, had a particular interest in representing many of these dogmas.<sup>15</sup>

**SCHEME:** Besides serving as a kind of monumental altar piece for a no longer extant altar, and possibly as a cenotaph as well, the presence of the memento mori beneath the kneeling donors contributes to the fresco's funerary significance even though no trace of a tomb remains.<sup>16</sup> It is a scheme not unlike Maso di Banco's fresco inside an actual tomb niche at Santa Croce painted a century earlier,<sup>17</sup> here expanded in scale and addressed, not only to the specific donor, but to mankind in general. Hope for redemption and resurrection is implicit in this scheme where mortal and immortal are juxtaposed. <sup>18</sup> It has been pointed out by von Simson that the Trinity became a favourite theme in sepulchral art from the beginning of the fifteenth century and that its formulation as the "Throne of Mercy" (or Gnadenstuhl) found its earliest monumental expression in Masaccio's fresco.<sup>19</sup> In the context of its chancel-like setting, it is interesting that the mercy seat in the Eastern Church was commonly associated with the chancel and altar which commemorated Christ's manger, tomb, and the table of the Last Supper.<sup>20</sup>

Almost everything about Masaccio's treatment of the Trinity is unconventional. Instead of being placed against a gold ground, amidst clouds or a landscape, <sup>21</sup> here the holy group is enclosed by a mighty structure of what appears to be a deliberately ambiguous type: at once a church, a chapel, a mausoleum, a triumphal arch. Ursula Schlegel argues persuasively that this structure was based upon another memorial monument—the most celebrated in all Christendom: the chapel erected over the rock of Golgotha in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.<sup>22</sup> Like its prototype, Masaccio's version of it is located on the left side of the church not far from the entrance to the old monks' choir, in a position analogous to that of the Anastasis in Jerusalem.<sup>23</sup> It was before the Golgotha Chapel there that Masses were said for prominent laymen. During the Middle Ages, popular belief regarded the place as the centre of the earth—the point of departure for either Heaven or the underworld.<sup>24</sup> Thus Masaccio's kneeling donors await their fate praying to their Maker and to their intercessors, while below them lies the corpse symbolic of human mortality with its ominous message: "I

was that which you are, and that which I am you will become" (IO. FV. G[ ]A. QVEL. CHE. VOL S[ ]ETE: E QVEL. CHI SON. VOI. A [N] CO SARETE).

The object upon which God the Father stands has been the subject of recent speculation. Janson interpreted it as a piece of church furniture supporting Christ's tomb.<sup>25</sup> John Shearman has generously pointed out to me that this object is probably the Ark of the Covenant used here in the context of the Throne of Mercy or judgment Seat (Gnadenstuhl).<sup>26</sup> Just such a composition with the Almighty standing upon the Ark while holding up the Cross with both hands was described by the Abbot Suger in the twelfth century.<sup>27</sup>

Another aspect of the scheme which broke with tradition is the unprecedented scale, not only of the donors with respect to the sacred figures, but of the composition as a whole. To enhance the realism of the subject, all the figures, even the skeleton, are life-size. Some are painted as if seen from below<sup>28</sup> and the perspective of their setting has a vanishing point roughly corresponding to the eye of the beholder standing in the aisle.<sup>29</sup> The Virgin's glance and gesture are further details designed to involve the observer. Many scholars have been reminded here of Alberti's recommendation that such pointing figures be introduced to history scenes.<sup>30</sup> But probably Alberti merely gave voice here to an old custom which preceded even Masaccio's dramatic use of it.<sup>31</sup>

The architecture is a veritable manifesto of the Classical style introduced to Florence at this time by Brunelleschi. Not only is the membering and ornament Brunelleschian, but the foreshortening of the vault is a demonstration of his theories on perspective rendering.<sup>32</sup> However, Brunelleschi's theories did not include directions for regulating the scale of human figures seen at various distances and Alberti's more practical formula had not yet, as far as we know, been defined.<sup>33</sup> But the discrepancy between the size of the figures and the architecture may have been deliberate. Had the figures been drawn to the scale of their painted setting, they would have been much smaller than life-size and the forcefulness of their dramatic relation to the observer would have been lost. The arrangement is extremely subtle: Janson has supplied evidence that Masaccio achieved mathematical cohesiveness in his scheme by using as a modular unit the Florentine palm or half braccia (29,18 cm).<sup>34</sup> Seven palmi, for instance, is the measurement between the church floor and that of the fictive chapel enclosing the Trinity; the same distance exists between the chapel floor and the arms of the cross. Likewise, it is the diameter of the barrel vault. Yet again, the perspective projection of the vault is inscribed within a square of seven palmi on the picture plane in what Janson describes as an eloquent attempt to harmonize the illusion of depth with the surface pattern of the fresco.<sup>35</sup>

The realistic impact of the imagery brings us back to the question of where the lost Trinity altar was located. In its present partly reconstructed state, the fresco gives the misleading impression that an altar table was set against the wall just below the kneeling donors—a liturgically impossible situation.<sup>36</sup> Although there are cases, such as the Dragonelli altar in Arezzo, where the table does abut on a tabernacled scene, no donors are present. In earlier funerary complexes wherein altar, tomb, donor portraits, and religious imagery are aligned, the altar is free-standing.<sup>37</sup> That this was also the case at Santa Maria Novella is argued by the only known quotation of the scheme carried out in 1451 by Brunelleschi's adopted son (Andrea Cavalcanti known as "il Buggiano"), as an actual funerary chamber for the Cardini family in San Francesco, Pescia.<sup>38</sup>

TECHNIQUE: The Trinity was painted on top of an earlier fresco representing the Adoration of the Shepherds.<sup>39</sup> To gain height for it, part of the window recess was filled in.<sup>40</sup> An explanation given for the non-axial alignment of the fresco within the bay is that it had to be set in line with the altar.<sup>41</sup> The destruction of the arriccio beneath the fresco during its detachment in the last century removed any evidence there might have been of a sinopia -- the possible existence of which has been rejected by several scholars, mainly because no traces of any were found beneath the memento mori in 1951-52.<sup>42</sup>

The visible remains of the fresco (excluding the area of the corpse) was, according to Tintori, carried out on about twenty-six giornate.<sup>43</sup> As in the Brancacci frescoes, Masaccio first painted in the outer framework and then proceeded downwards from left to right. Notwithstanding the complexity of the scheme, the giornate are large. The elaborately coffered and foreshortened vault, for instance, was carried out in only two sessions. Recent studies have concluded that Masaccio planned everything on a small modello and then transferred the composition to full scale on the wall, either via a modular system (Janson) or by the preparation of cartoons for each giornata (Polzer).<sup>44</sup> The only evidence visible on the surface today for Masaccio's use of either cartoons or a squared modello are the spolveri for an insignificant ornament in the entablature (the pseudomeander frieze) and the incised grid across the Virgin's face.<sup>45</sup> Although almost every student (including Procacci, who at first resisted the idea) has accepted Oertel's interpretation of this grid as a precocious use of squaring for enlargement from a modello,<sup>46</sup> it still seems to me more likely that it was used as a device for rationalizing the proportions of the foreshortened features of the Virgin's face. The grid here does not consist of uniform squares, as has been noticed on more than one occasion, but of squares and rectangles.<sup>47</sup> Grid-like schemes for the purpose of arriving at the proper proportions of heads, foreshortened and unforeshortened, existed in illustrated treatises from Villard d'Honnecourt to Luca Pacioli, Daniele Barbaro, and others.<sup>48</sup> Barbaro includes an example for heads seen from below.<sup>49</sup> The features of Masaccio's Madonna are slanted sharply downwards from left to right from the nearest parts to those turned further away. The degree of foreshortening is plotted out, for instance, by the horizontal incision which touches the lid of the nearer eye and intercepts the socket of the further one. If Masaccio used squaring here for pantographical enlargement, why then was it not used for the entire composition, which is full of difficult foreshortening?<sup>50</sup> Masaccio's experiment with the grid for the Virgin's face was not a complete success. The expression is tragic, but the foreshortened view is achieved at the cost of a curiously misshapen face. In no other frescoed head did Masaccio ever again try to represent a turned head seen from below, or with features foreshortened according to an arbitrary system. Thereafter, there was an aversion among theorists as well to the view seen di sotto in sù.<sup>51</sup> Although Janson and Polzer have explained the mechanics for the foreshortening of the vault, they note that several of the foreshortened architectural details—such as the roundel

rosettes and the abacus of one of the columns-were improvised on the spot, with Masaccio's efforts plainly recorded in the rough incisions scratched into the hardening plaster.<sup>52</sup>

CONDITION: Despite his admiration of Masaccio's fresco, Vasari hid the Trinity behind an enormous altar-piece and tabernacle of his own making, dedicated to the Rosary, which was completed in 1570 for a member of the Cappom family.<sup>53</sup> The fresco remained in this obscurity until about 1860, when it was taken down together with the intonaco, placed inside a wooden frame, and set up between the east and centre doors of the entrance wall.<sup>54</sup> Then, between 1950 and 1951, Procacci, following one of his celebrated intuitions, uncovered the lower section of the fresco which had remained in situ: this is the memento mori mentioned by the early commentators.<sup>55</sup> Subsequently this area was surrounded by a reconstruction carried out under the supervision of Procacci and two architects (Baroni and Morozzi).<sup>56</sup> Original are the cadaver, most of its catafalque, and the pair of columns on the right (excluding the capitals). Forthwith, in August 1952, Vasari's altar was removed and the Trinity was returned to its original site. Tintori was greatly helped in his relocation of the migrant fresco by a crucial fragment from the top of the entablature which had remained in place. It included compass marks at the top of the central plumb line.<sup>57</sup> The Trinity on its intonaco and the nineteenth-century reconstruction of most of the entablature and the outer areas of the arch were kept together and reset in the wall.<sup>58</sup> Ursula Schlegel has noticed an original fragment of the vertical stringcourse which probably surrounded the entire composition.<sup>59</sup>

The lower areas of the donors' robes also suffered because of the gilt ornaments and ex-voto offerings formerly affixed to them.<sup>60</sup> Some kind of gold ornament was also applied to the architecture.<sup>61</sup> Widespread flaking of the paint was caused by the glue left on the surface by the facing canvases used during the transfer in the last century.<sup>62</sup> Since the completed re-installation in 1954, the mural has been inspected and cleaned again by Tintori in 1969.<sup>63</sup>

1 Stefano Orlandi, *Necrologia di S. Maria Novella* (Florence, 1955), II, PP- 1934; cf. Luciano Berti, *Masaccio* (Milan, 1964), p., 50 n. 270.

2 Ursula Schlegel, "Observations on Masaccio's Trinity in Santa Maria Novella", *Art Bulletin*, xlv (1963), 19, 24.

3 The red hat and fold of cloth over the shoulder are of a darker tone of red than the mantle (of which only the upper half is original). Note the similar costume worn by gonfaloniere, Filippo Corsini, in an altarpiece of 1391 now in S. Maria a Quarto near Florence; E. Borsook, "Maestro Francesco and a Portrait of the Signoria of Florence", *Festschrift Ulrich Middeldorf* (Berlin, 1968), pp. 60-3, Plate XXXVII. See also another, but unidentified gonfaloniere, represented in an altar-piece of c. 1400, again dedicated to the Trinity, now in the Cloisters in New York; Millard Meiss, "An Early Altarpiece from the Cathedral of Florence", *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, xii (1954), 3,0-pointed out to me by Max Seidel. For a full description of the costume for this office, see W. N. Hargreaves-Mawdsley, *A History of Legal Dress in Europe until the End of the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1963), P. 13. None of the illustrations cited above include the gold stars adorning part of the robe, nor the white collar of the miniver lining belonging to this costume.

4 ASF, MS. 625, *Sepoltuario fiorentino di Stefano Rosselli*, 1657, 11, pp. 708 f. cited by Otto von Simson, "Ober die Bedeutung von Masaccios Trinitätsfresko in S. Maria Novella", *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, viii (1966), 123 n. 10.

5 Johannes Offerhaus, *Motief en Achtergrond: Studies over het Gebruik van der Architectuur in de 15e Eeuswe Florentijnse Schilderkunst* (Utrecht, 1976), pp. 40, 180 n. 84; and von Simson, 1966, 124.

6 Scipione Ammirato, *Istorie fiorentine*, ed. Ranalli (Florence, 1848), v, Book xix, p. 33 cited in E. Borsook, *The Companion Guide to Florence* (London, 1966), p. 133. Corpus Domini is celebrated the Thursday after Trinity Sunday. The Dominicans had been concerned with this solemnity from its inception; Archdale A. King, *Liturgies of the Religious Orders* (London, 1953), P- 359. See also the discussion in entry on the "Spanish Chapel"; pp. 49 ff. For the rivalry between the Cathedral and S. Maria Novella concerning this procession, see V. Fineschi, *Della festa a della processione del Corpus Domini in Firenze* (Florence, 1768), passim. As a Church festival, Corpus Christi was introduced in Florence in 1346; Gerhard Matern, *Zur Vorgeschichte and Geschichte der Fronleichnamtsfeier besonders in Spanien: Studien zur Volksfrommigkeit des Mittelalters and der beginnenden Neuzeit* (Munster, Westfalen, 1962), p. 92 n. II.

7 Creighton Gilbert, "The Renaissance Portrait", *Burl.*, cx (1968), 281; Ulrich Middeldorf, "Additions to Lorenzo Ghiberti's Work", *Burl.*, cxiii (1971), 723. Ugo Procacci, who was the first to identify the donor as Lorenzo Lenzi (in the discussion following Ursula Schlegel's lecture at the Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence, 12 November 1957) has since changed his mind; see his "Nuove testimonianze su Masaccio", *Commentari xxvii* (1976 but issued in 1978), 233-4. In this study, Procacci points out that Domenico Lenzi's son, Benedetto, succeeded Cardoni as prior of Santa Maria Novella from June 1426 to September 1428.

8 See p. 75.

9 Wolfgang Braunfels, *Die heilige Dreifaltigkeit* (Dusseldorf, 1954), P. 38.

10 Sicardi Cremonensis, *De officiis ecclesiasticis summa*, lib. ., cap. 13 (Migne, P.L., 213, p. 55f.): "Crux triumphalis Christi in medio Ecclesiae ponitur, turn ut signum victoriae in publico videamus, turn ut de medio corde Redemptorem nostrum diligimus, qui media charitate constravit propter

filius Hierusalem."

11 For a less successful contemporary effort in combining these three themes, see Giovanni di Paolo's panel in the Siena Pinacoteca in which the bleeding Savior holds the Cross on one side and is seated in judgment on the right with the dove of the Holy Spirit overhead.

12 A. Michel, "Le Culte de la Trinite", *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* (Paris, 1950), xv, col. r826. Before this, the Trinity was instituted as a movable feast by Pope Alexander 11.

13 *Ibid.*, cols. 1828-9; K. A. H. Kellner and A. Mercati, *L'anno ecclesiastico a le feste dei santi nel loro svolgimento storico* (Rome, 1906), pp. 110-12.

14 Michel, 1950, col. 1825. For the emergence of the theme in Trecento panel painting see Millard Meiss, "Italian Primitives at Konopisté", *Art Bulletin*, xxviii (1946), 6; *idem*, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death* (Princeton, 1951), pp. 34 ff, 38. Tino di Camaino's Orsi monument in the Duomo was moved out of the way to make room for a very large Trinity altar beside the main portal c. 1400; *idem*, 1954, 3 112. Probably, with this altar in mind, Masaccio's Trinity was moved after its detachment in the last century to the same location-beside the entrance portal of S. Maria Novella. The founder of the Vallombrosan Order, San Giovanni Gualberto, had a special veneration for the Trinity and therefore the Order's Abbey Church in Florence was dedicated to it; D. F. Tarani, "Ufficiatura a Devozioni particolari in S. Trinita", in *Nel VII. centenario della Sagra di S. Trinita 1227-1927* (Florence, 1927), pp. 31-2; Darrell D. Davisson, "The Iconology of the S. Trinita Sacristy", *Art Bulletin*, lvii (1975), 325-6. 328.

15 *Matern*, 1962, pp. 4 ff., 21.

16 Schlegel, 1963, 21-33; John Coolidge, "Further Observations on Masaccio's Trinity", *Art Bulletin*, xlviii (1966), 382-3. Charles Dempsey ("Masaccio's Trinity: Altarpiece or Tomb?", *Art Bulletin*, liv, 1972, 279-80, 281 n. 10) suggests that Masaccio's original conception did not include an altar and that it belongs to a tradition of carved tomb monuments and only later was made to function as an altar-piece. Cf. von Simson, 1966, 153.

17 Dempsey, 1972, 280. Another example which includes the Trinity and was originally accompanied by an altar, is Tino di Camaino's grave monument of San Ranieri now in the Campo santo, Pisa; Max Seidel, "Studien zu Giovanni di Balduccio and Tino di Camaino", *Staedel-Jahrbuch*, new series, v (1975), Fig. 33, 71-5. The monument was erected by a Pisan notary in the southern transept of Pisa Cathedral and was finished by 1306.

18 Kathleen Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol: the Transi Tomb in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 1973), pp. 104-10.

19 Von Simson, 1966, 138, 157-8 who gives as the Biblical source for the iconography of the "Throne of Mercy" St. Paul's Letter to the Hebrews 4: 15-16: "Let us therefore come boldly unto the throne of grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace to help in tune of need".

20 Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (Harmondsworth, 1965), p. 213.

21 Schlegel, 1963, 25-6.

22 *Ibid.*, 27-30.

23 *Loc. cit.* and Marcia B. Hall, "The Ponte in S. Maria Novella: the Problem of the Rood Screen in Italy", *JWCI*, xxxvii (1974), 170, Pl. 36, Fig. d. The Trinity Chapel in Pescia is likewise on the left side of the church, as is the altar in Santo Spirito in Florence where it is situated next to a Sacrament altar.

24 Schlegel, 1963, 33.

25 H. W. Janson, "Ground Plan and Elevation in Masaccio's Trinity Fresco", *Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolf Wittkower* (London, 1967), p. 88; and Joseph Polzer, "The Anatomy of Masaccio's Holy Trinity", *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, xiii (1971) 50-2.

26 See Isaiah 16: 5 for the Throne of Mercy in the tabernacle as a site of judgment; and Hebrews 4: 15-16. For the location of the Mercy Seat above the Ark see Exodus 25: 21-22. The Ark of the Covenant supported by consoles in a high position and, as in Masaccio's fresco, in front of a free-standing altar, was represented in the background of Raphael's *Expulsion of Heliodorus*, as pointed out to me by Prof. Shearman.

27 Braunfels, 1954, p. 37; Gertrud Schiller, *Ikonographie der Christlichen Kunst* (Gutersloh, 1968), 11, p. 135.

28 Schlegel, 1963, 21, 23 n. 30, notes that while there is some foreshortening in the Intercessor, there is none in God the Father; see also Janson, 1967, 87.

- 29 Ibid., 85; Polzer, 1971, 45-6. See also Robert Klein's important study "Tomponius Gauricus on Perspective", *Art Bulletin*, xliii (1961), 228-9.
- 30 L. B. Alberti, *Della pittura*, ed. L. Mall& (Turin, 1950), Book III, p. 108.
- 31 Klein, 1961, 215. Reflections of this, for instance, in the pointing thumb used in works by Pietro Lorenzetti: St. John in the Arezzo altarpiece; in the frescoed Virgin and Saints beneath the Crucifixion in the Lower Church of S. Francesco, Assisi (Plate 39); and in the Baptist panel of 1332 in the Pinacoteca, Siena.
- 32 Piero Sanpaolesi, *Brunelleschi* (Milan, 1962), pp. 46-7 f., Fig. B; Berti, 1964, pp. III-12, 151 n. 271; Samuel Y. Edgerton, *The Renaissance Rediscovery of Linear Perspective* (New York, 1975), PP. 24, 27.
- 33 Richard Krautheimer and Trude Krautheimer-Hess, *Lorenzo Ghiberti* (Princeton, 1956), pp. 243-8.
- 34 Janson, 1971, 84, 86.
- 35 Ibid., 86, Figs. 3-4; cf. Polzer (1971, 46-8) who found discrepancies in some of Janson's measurements, denies the use of the palmo here as a modular unit, but confirms Janson's and Kern's observations that the perspective of the vault was developed within the confines of the square.
- 36 See also Schlegel, 1963, 21-2, 29. For the idea behind this reconstruction, see the fully developed plan in Sanpaolesi, 1962, Fig. C opposite p. 52; also in Luciano Berti, *L'opera completa di Masaccio* (Milan, 1968), p. 99.
- 37 See the Caetani tomb complex in Anagni Cathedral and the S. Nicola Chapel in the Lower Church of S. Francesco, Assisi; Julian Gardner, "Arnolfo di Cambio and Roman Tomb Design", *Burl.*, cxv (1973), 437-9; Seidel, 1975, 62-3 where one of Tino di Camaino's reliefs shows an altar beneath a raised tomb surmounted by a gabled panel, reproducing the original form of the entire San Ranieri monument.
- 38 Schlegel, 1963, 28-30; Coolidge, 1966, 382. John Shearman points out to me that the Cardini Chapel is really a three-aisled church in miniature; the lateral chambers are invisible in photographs taken from the nave. For the plan of the chapel see Alessandro Gambuti, "L'architettura del primo Rinascimento nella Toscana nord-occidentale, etc." in *Settimo convegno internazionale: egemonia fiorentina ed autonomie locali nella Toscana nordoccidentale del primo Rinascimento: vita, arte a cultura, Pistoia 15-18 settembre 1975* (Pistoia, 1978), p. 490, Fig. 35.
- 39 G. B. Cavalcaselle and J. A. Crowe, *Storia della pittura in Italia* (Florence, 1883), 11, p. 316 n. 1.
- 40 Coolidge, 1966, 383.
- 41 Loc. cit.
- 42 Janson, 1967, 86, 87 n. 18; Polzer, 1971, 19, 44-5, 58.
- 43 Berti, 1964, p. 151 n. 270; Polzer, 1971, Fig. 3-Tintori's revision of his earlier diagram.
- 44 Janson, 1967, 86-7; Polzer, 1971, 58 f. See also Alessandro Parronchi, *Studi su la dolce prospettiva* (Milan, 1964), p. 195. As an alternative, Janson (1967, 87) also suggested another method involving strings attached to points outside the area of the fresco.
- 45 Polzer, 1971, P. 59
- 46 Robert Oertel, "Wandmalerei and Zeichnung in Italien", *Mitt. Flor.*, v (1940), 310-11; Bernhard Degenhart-Annegrit Schmitt, *Corpus der italienischen Zeichnungen 1300-1450* (Berlin, 1968), 1. 1, pp. xli-xlii; Ugo Procacci, "The Technique of Mural Paintings and their Detachment", in *Frescoes from Florence* (London, 1969), pp. 27-9.
- 47 For this reason the grid was referred to in the 1960 edition of the present study (p. 144) as a grid of rectangles rather than squares; see also Polzer (1971, 43) who concluded, however, that the omission of at least one line from the so-called squaring was because the artist wished to spare the Virgin's face from superfluous marks.
- 48 Pomponius Gauricus, *De Sculptura* (1504), edited and annotated by André Chaste] and Robert Klein (Geneva, 1969), pp. 64 n. 94, 81 fl., 86, 91 n. 31; Figs. 14-15, 19, 41.
- 49 Ibid., Fig. 41.
- 50 Oertel (1940, loc. cit.) was puzzled by the same question.

51 Klein, 1961, 229.

52 Polzer, 1971, 24-8, Figs. 9-10, 12.

53 Vasari-Milanesi, VII, p. 715 n. 1; Ugo Procacci, "Il Vasari e la conservazione degli affreschi della Cappella Brancacci al Carmine e la Trinità in S. Maria Novella", *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Lionello Venturi* (Rome, 1956), I, pp. 212-13.

54 Cavalcaselle and Crowe, 1883, 11, p. 30; Leonetto Tintori, "Methods used in Italy for detaching Murals", *Recent Advances in Conservation: Contributions to the I.I.C. Rome Conference* (London, 1963), p. 1 18.

55 Schlegel, 1963, 19.

56 Information from Leonetto Tintori. The Brunelleschian altar table in the Barbadori Chapel of S. Felicita was used as a basis for what was originally intended as a provisional reconstruction.

57 Polzer, 1971, 18, 47-Fig. 22A. This fragment has been lost; *ibid.*, 20.

58 *Ibid.*, 18 and Leonetto Tintori's notes in manuscript.

59 Schlegel, 1963, 22-4; cf. Offerhaus, 1976, p. 233.

60 Vasari-Milanesi, II, p. 291 cited by Schlegel, 1963, 2i-2.

61 Orlandi, 1955, it, p. 194 citing Biliotti: ". . . auratis columnis et arcu decenter ornatam . . . ."

62 Tintori, 1963, *loc. cit.*

63 Polzer, 1971, 19.