



S. MARIA DEVMILITADE

The Miraculous Madonna of Pistoia in a Devotional Replica of 1490-1500 Attributed to Niccolò di Mariano

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At the time the authors of this article began collaborating on the Rijksmuseum's catalogue of the collection of Italian paintings, in 2021, the origins, iconography, function, and attribution of a small painted panel of the Virgin of Humility were unclear (fig. 1).¹ The painting was first documented in 1906 in the collection of Otto Lanz (1865-1935), a Swiss surgeon passionate about early Italian painting who lived in Amsterdam. Lanz considered it to be a work by an unknown Northern Italian or Florentine master of the fifteenth century.² He solicited opinions from various art historians. Richard Offner, in his letter to Lanz of 6 July 1928, suggested that the collector's 'Bauernmadönnchen', or peasant Madonna, might date to 1485 and that it could be by a late pupil of Filippo Lippi, close to the San Miniato Master. On 17 June 1929, Roberto Longhi instead put forward an attribution to Pier Francesco Fiorentino, whereas at unspecified dates Wilhelm Suida and Hermann Beenken suggested that the Madonna was from Siena and could be dated circa 1460. Henk van Os, in a typed annotation made in the nineteen seventies on a photograph in the Lanz archive, proposed it was Florentine School or by the Bolognese Lippo di Dalmasio.³ In 2008, however, Fee van 't Veen published the Madonna without substantiation as a forgery in the manner of the Florentine school dating

< Fig. 1
Attributed to
NICCOLÒ DI
MARIANO,
*Madonna
of Humility*,
c. 1490-1500.
Tempera (?), gold
and silver on panel,
26.1 x 16.4 x 1.5-2.0 cm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. SK-A-3997.

to about 1910-30.⁴ Independent of the research presented in the current article and without argumentation, in 2022 Andrea G. de Marchi attributed it to an unknown artist from around 1500 and identified it as a copy of a miraculous image in Pistoia.⁵

Technical investigations conducted in preparation for the catalogue of Italian paintings at the Rijksmuseum shed light on the manufacture of the *Virgin of Humility* and appear to corroborate a fifteenth-century dating. The art historical and archival research of 2021-22 presented in our article indicates that peculiarities in the iconography of the painting are related to a record of a Marian miracle that happened in the summer of 1490 in the Tuscan city of Pistoia. It demonstrates that it is likely to be one of several documented replicas made for devotional use in the event's direct aftermath, while also suggesting that it may have been painted by Niccolò di Mariano, one of the few painters documented in Pistoia at the time.

The Rijksmuseum *Virgin of Humility* Examined

Technical investigation consisted of close examination of the object's front and reverse, with the aid of diffuse and raking light and microscopic examination of the painted surface, coupled with a set of non-invasive analytical techniques, including x-radiography,⁶

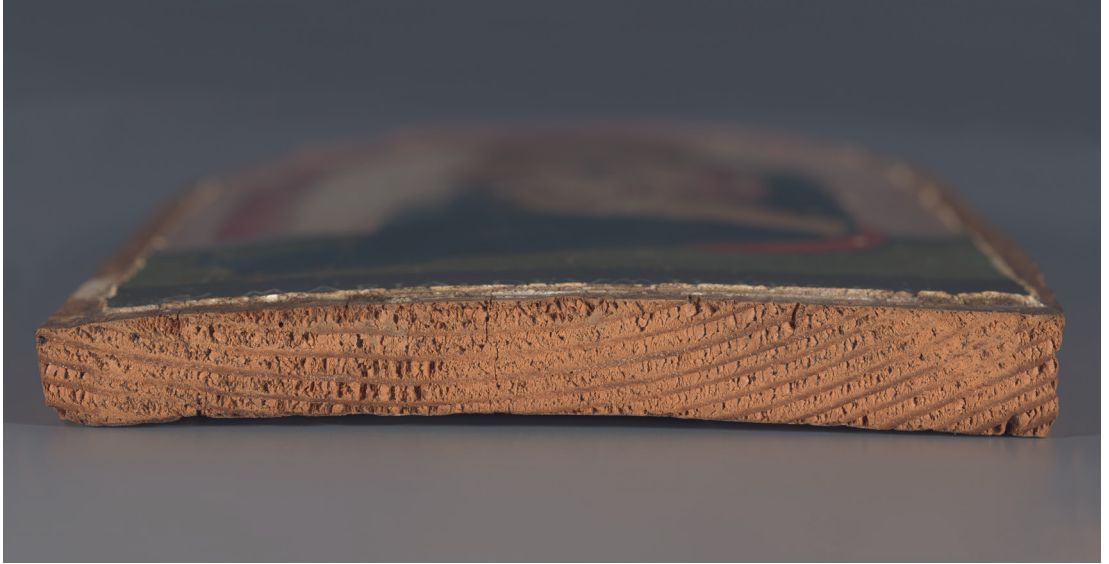


Fig. 2

Bottom side-edge of the panel (fig. 1). The support is made of a single plank of fir wood with a semi-tangential cut.

infrared reflectography (IRR),⁷ and infrared-false colour (IR-FC),⁸ all carried out in accordance with the standard research protocol designed to study the Italian paintings in the Rijksmuseum collection. In addition, macro-x-ray fluorescence imaging spectroscopy (MA-XRF)⁹ was used to gain more information on the palette and painting technique. Furthermore, non-invasive x-ray diffraction point analysis (XRD) was employed to answer specific questions on pigment identification.¹⁰

The artist painted on a single plank of vertically grained conifer wood identified as fir (*Abies* spp),¹¹ with a semi-tangential cut and an irregular thickness of between 1.5 and 2 cm, being slightly thicker on the right (fig. 2). The plank for the support, which would traditionally have been provided to the painter by the carpenter,¹² was probably recycled, as a fragment of a nail within the wood of the bottom left corner,¹³ visible in x-radiography (fig. 3), is unrelated to the construction of the present picture. Although it is well known that modern forgers reused older panels,¹⁴ renaissance artists did the same – including, for example,

the Florentine altarpiece and cassone painter Giovanni dal Ponte (1385-1437), who repurposed a wood panel in *Sts Nicholas and Benedict*, which is the lateral panel of an altarpiece. It has a bottom edge with dovetail joinery, suggesting it was readapted from what was probably first a piece of furniture.¹⁵ The support of the Rijksmuseum Madonna is likely to be a similar case of the fifteenth-century reconfiguration of a wood panel.

The choice of a conifer wood might seem unusual, given that during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, poplar was the most commonly employed wood for panel painting supports in Italy, and especially Tuscany, with planks from conifers somewhat more prevalent in the Veneto region.¹⁶ However, coniferous wood was prevalently used in early Tuscan painting until around 1250-80.¹⁷ It also continued to account for a small percentage of painting supports later on,¹⁸ including Piero del Pollaiuolo's *Virtues* of circa 1469-72, commissioned to serve as *spalliere* for the stalls (and therefore significantly as parts of furniture) in the hall of the Tribunale della Mercanzia in Florence¹⁹ and Neruccio

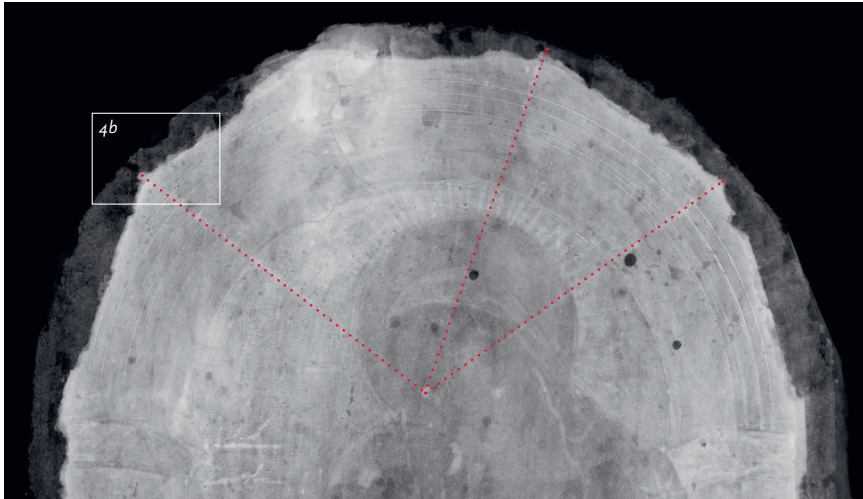
de' Landi's *Portrait of a Lady* of circa 1485, in these cases identified as cypress.²⁰ No less than fifteen wood species were used by Italian painters in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and as our knowledge in the field progresses, the number of non-poplar wood species tends to increase, as noted by Raffaella Bruzzone and Maria Clelia Galassi,²¹ with the percentages rising from 10%, as registered by Jacqueline Marette in her pioneering study,²² to 28% registered in the work by Peter Klein and Josef Bauch in 1980,²³ to 30% found in their 2011 study based on a database of 500 occurrences.²⁴ Fir has also been found to be used in Tuscany for battens originally applied to the reverse of paintings, for example

in Perugino's *Crucifixion* of about 1474-80,²⁵ attesting to its availability in the carpenter's workshop in the region. Furthermore, it is worth considering Pistoia's close geographical proximity to the Apennines, where fir wood is an indigenous species.²⁶ Considering that we are not dealing with a high-quality commission but instead a small devotional image, and that the support is made of a repurposed plank, the choice of wood is likely to have been dictated by its ready availability in the carpenter's workshop.

In line with fourteenth- and fifteenth-century central-Italian practice, prior to grounding, the carpenter applied framing wood mouldings to the panel enclosing the area of the pictorial field.²⁷ These mouldings are now lost; even though the panel has been subsequently cropped on all sides, exposed areas of bare wood measuring approximately 6 mm wide remain where they were once attached. A raised edge of ground, or *barbe*, is visible along the perimeter of the pictorial surface where it abutted the mouldings; residues of glue and splinters of wood – with a grain diverging from that of the panel – remain on the bare wood edges. The carpenter would have secured the mouldings at their centre with nails. Since no nail holes can be discerned, the mouldings and the wood surface to which they were applied would have been at least twice as wide as the remaining bare strips of wood. At the top, the frame was constructed with five moulding segments to form a polygonal arch: the carpenter incised radius lines in the wood of the support to mark the places where two adjacent segments would abut. We can observe one of these incisions at the edge of the *barbe* at the top left and follow three of them under the gesso preparation in the x-radiograph: due to the greater accumulation of preparatory layers in the incisions, they are in fact more radiopaque and therefore show as lighter lines in the image (figs. 4a, b). Traces of a brown colour

Fig. 3
X-radiograph of the panel (fig. 1). The arrow indicates the presence, within the thickness of the wood, of a fragment of a nail unrelated to the construction of the panel.





4a



4b

visible on the barbe (indicated by the yellow arrows in fig. 4b) suggest the framing elements were not gilded but simply painted.

The front of the panel was prepared with at least two preparatory layers: a lower layer of light grey and a top layer of white (figs. 5a-c). As is common in Tuscan panel painting,²⁸ these are composed of gesso, or calcium sulphate, as indicated by the elemental MA-XRF

maps of calcium and sulphur that show coinciding signals where the ground is exposed (figs. 6a, b). The presence of barbes on all sides indicates that the application of ground and paint concerned both the support and its framing elements. In some places, some white material seeped beneath the moulding. Beyond the barbe, it can be seen on the now exposed strips of wood on three sides: at the bottom of the panel this

Figs. 4a, b

Detail of the arched top in x-radiography (a) with the red dotted lines indicating the incisions in the wood filled with gesso and therefore appearing lighter; the rectangle indicates the detail enlarged in the photomicrograph (b), where, as indicated by the red arrow, the incision in the wood can be seen and where, as indicated by the yellow arrows, there are traces of the original mouldings' brown paint on the barbe.

Figs. 5a-c

The front of the painting (fig. 1) (a) with indication of the detail enlarged in (b) and the spot where the photomicrograph in (c) has been taken. It shows the wood of the support (1), the two preparatory layers, of which the lower one is light grey (2) and the

top one off-white (3), and the paint layers (4). In (b), splinters of vertical wood fibres from the now-lost applied frame can be seen.



5a



5b



5c

material consists of gesso, while at the left and top a difference between the two elemental maps shows a composition that is rich in calcium but not in sulphur. This suggests either a calcium carbonate or a calcium caseinate; both materials would have been present in a late fifteenth-century workshop, but it is impossible to distinguish between the two without further (invasive) analysis.²⁹

Observation through the stereomicroscope reveals this material is located under the two full preparatory gesso layers,³⁰ and therefore indicates that it was applied first, perhaps as a filler to regularize the carpentry.

Most likely from the outset – in accordance with a widespread use for independent central-Italian panel paintings³¹ – the reverse (fig. 7) was covered up to the edges with a coarse, off-white



6a



6b

Figs. 6a, b
MA-XRF elemental maps of calcium (Ca-K) (a) and sulphur (S-K) (b) of the painting (fig. 1). Both maps relate mainly to the presence of gesso (calcium sulphate) in the preparatory layers. The signal is strong where the ground is exposed, for example, in the barbe around the painted area or the many scattered miniscule paint losses. The two maps differ in two areas along the left and top edge where preparatory material seeped under the now-lost mouldings of the frame, highlighted by red ovals drawn on (a); here a signal

for calcium but not for sulphur is registered. The two maps also differ in which the red cushion on which Mary is seated, where there is a signal for sulphur but not for calcium, as it is painted in vermillion, a mercuric sulphide pigment.

Fig. 7
Reverse of the panel (fig. 1).



Figs. 8a-d
Detail of the Virgin and Child in the painting (fig. 1) in visible light photography (a) and infrared reflectography (InGaAs 900-1700nm) (b); respectively enlarged in the details in (c) and (d). The underdrawing for the blue mantle (as indicated by red arrows), suggests the direction and shape of the folds. It was made in a liquid medium applied with a brush.



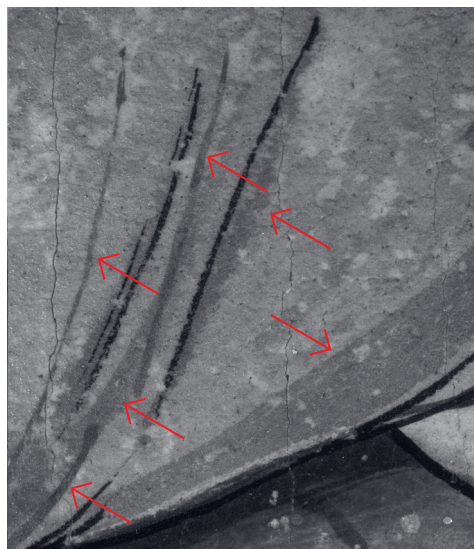
8a



8c



8b

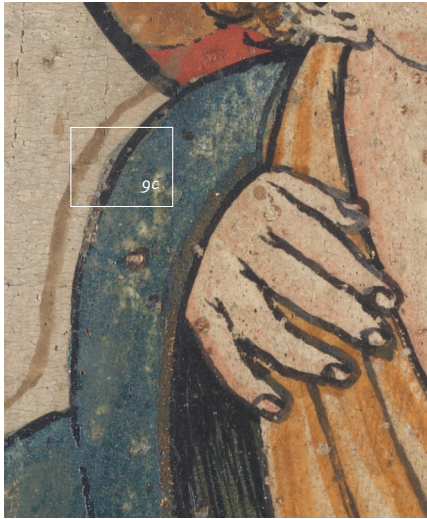


8d

gesso layer of which a patch towards the centre right has later been scraped off.

In a liquid medium using a brush, the painter made an extensive underdrawing for the outlines of the figures, the folds of the blue mantle (figs. 8a-d) and the capitals and bases of the niche: it looks dark grey when observed through losses with the stereomicroscope and appears lighter grey in infrared reflectography. Once the painter had blocked in the colours, he redrew the underdrawn

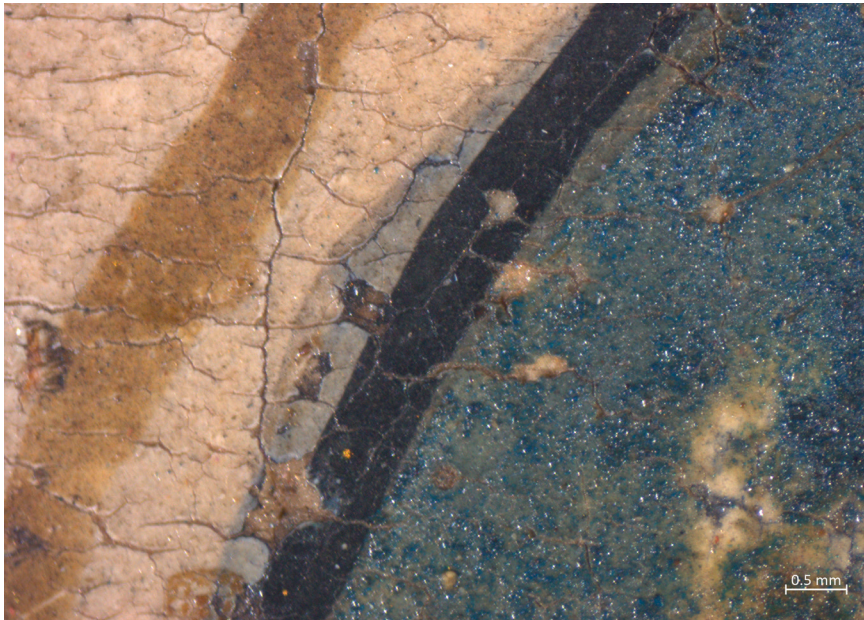
outer contours of the figures in black paint, which in infrared reflectography look darker than the lines of the underdrawing, indicating that the colours have different compositions (figs. 9a-c).³² In the gesso, he incised the pilasters and floor with a straightedge, and the arch with a compass, of which the central point has remained indented and can be perceived under the paint surface (fig. 10a-c). The incisions are interrupted by the figures, indicating



9a



9b



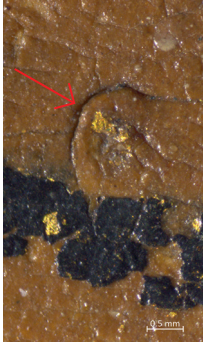
9c

Figs. 9a-c
Detail of the Virgin and Child in the painting (fig. 1) in visible light photography (a) and infrared reflectography (InGaAs 900-1700nm) (b). Where the Virgin's right hand and her mantle meet, as indicated by the red arrow, two lines are visible in infrared reflectography, the grey one relating to the underdrawing and the black one positioned farther right relating to the paint layers and made after the colour had been applied. In the photomicrograph (c), taken where the mantle and the background meet, the two lines can be distinguished, with the painted lines showing black and the underdrawing – elsewhere partially covered by the white of the background – showing grey in the small loss.

that he made the underdrawing first, as is usual in the preparatory phases of Italian panel painting and as is recommended by Cennino Cennini in his *Libro dell'arte*.

The handling of the paint suggests that the artist used tempera.³³ He first painted the architecture and the sky, while leaving the figures in reserve (figs. 11 a-c). For the sky, he scumbled, with horizontal brush strokes, a blue

pigment that contains copper, probably azurite, on top of a layer of lead white. The blue is now largely abraded, but some of it remains above the Virgin's halo.³⁴ A couple of white lines on top of some remaining blue in the sky may be remnants of clouds. The painter executed the architecture in lead white and a deep translucent red, probably a red lake as suggested by the copresence of calcium and potassium visible in the

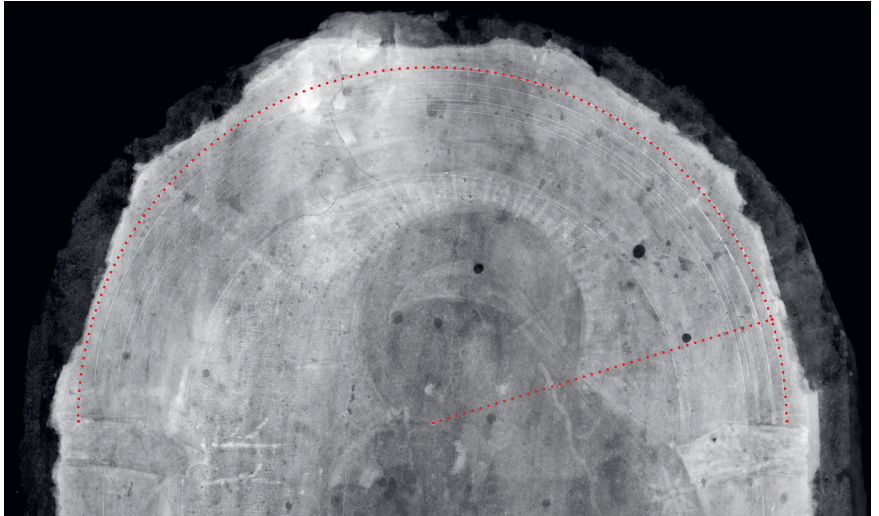


10c



10a

Figs. 10a-c
Detail of the arched top of the painting (fig. 1) in visible light (a) and x-radiography (b) with superimposed drawing (in red) matching the outer incised circle and a radius line emanating from the central compass point, visible in the photomicrograph (c).



10b

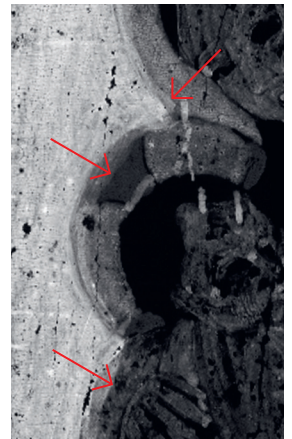
Figs. 11a-c
Detail of the painting (fig. 1) in visible light photography (a) and MA-XRF elemental maps of lead (Pb), Pb-M (b), and Pb-L (c) are associated respectively with more superficial or deeper-lying lead layers. The latter map (c) shows that, while painting the sky, the figures were held in reserve, as is indicated by the red arrows.



11a



11b



11c



12a



12b

Figs. 12a-d
Comparison between a photo of the painting (fig. 1) acquired in visible light (a) and MA-XRF elemental maps of copper (Cu-K) (b), arsenic (As-K) (c), and zinc (Zn-K) (d).

relative elemental distribution maps. The blue of the Virgin's mantle is, as confirmed by XRD spot measures, the relatively inexpensive azurite, coarsely ground, and applied in a thick layer on top of a thin, light-grey underlayer. For the flesh tones, the painter used highly diluted paint that left the underdrawing partially in view, evidently so that the facial features look drawn. For the green of both floor and garments, he used a copper-based pigment that contains arsenic and zinc impurities, as is revealed by the relative elemental distribution in MA-XRF maps (figs. 12a-d). XRD allowed us to rule out the presence of the modern pigments Scheele's Green and Emerald Green, for which arsenic in association with copper green can be an indication: the green pigment was found to be malachite, therefore ruling out the presence of the two modern greens. The arsenic and zinc present in the pigment must be interpreted as

impurities of malachite, possibly indicating its natural mineral origin.³⁵ Over a yellow mordant containing lead, the painter applied gold leaf for the halos, rays, *stella maris* on the Virgin's robe, and the borders of all garments, and silver leaf for the moon under the Virgin's foot (fig. 13). Only minute fragments of gold and tarnished silver remain. He painted the red cushion and the cross on Christ's halo in vermillion, reinforced all outlines in black and finished by painting two brown lines that run down from the Virgin's forehead.

A Miracle in Pistoia

The small panel shows the Virgin seated on a cushion on the floor, nursing her child, against the backdrop of an open arch. Both figures turn towards the viewer. The scene is a Virgin of Humility with Mary sitting on the ground, an iconography developed at



12c



12d

the onset of the fourteenth century as a means to enhance the devotee's sense of closeness to the Mother of God.³⁶ The image is akin to Dante's *Divine Comedy*, which describes the Virgin as 'humble and exalted more than any creature',³⁷ with Mary humbly seated on the ground, or 'humus', and simultaneously identified by the moon at her feet as the Woman of the Apocalypse, who according to the Book of Revelation (12:1) is the Queen of Heaven.

The only unconventional element in the image is the presence of brown lines of perspiration streaming down the Madonna. This detail refers to an image in the Tuscan city of Pistoia that represents the Virgin of Humility, which, in an extraordinary event occurring in the summer of 1490, according to local tradition, spontaneously began to perspire. The site of this miraculous happening was the romanesque church of Santa Maria Forisportam.

Fig. 13
Combination of the MA-XRF elemental maps of gold (Au-L) and silver (Ag-L), with the two signals coloured in red and cyan respectively.



Its protagonist was an image of the Virgin of Humility executed in fresco by a fourteenth-century painter, possibly the Tusco-Lombard Paolo Serafini of Modena,³⁸ on the bell tower wall inside the church, in close proximity to an altar (fig. 14).³⁹ The patron of the fresco was a widow, pictured kneeling in prayer on the Virgin's right, seeking holy intimacy with the Mother of God. About a century after its creation, the Pistoian Virgin of Humility would indeed become very close to her devotees.

As a consequence of the enduring wars between the pro- and anti-papal Black and White Guelphs, Pistoia was torn by internal strife between the Panciatici and Cancellieri families. On 17 July 1490, the allegedly exasperated Madonna in the fresco began to perspire, excreting a silvery liquid. According to contemporary accounts, it sprang in several currents from her forehead and trickled down over her body and her child.⁴⁰ When the canonical process for the miracle's authentication was initiated in 1549, two local witnesses – Giovanni Maria Franchini Taviani and Giuliano Grifoni – recalled that they had been in school when the portentous happening was announced by church bells. Upon arriving at the church, the two boys climbed the altar to get a closer view of the Virgin's sweat. Upon investigating this phenomenon, the city authorities verified that humidity in the church wall was not the cause. In 1491, the bishop of Pistoia, Niccolò Pandolfini, proclaimed the event's divine nature and granted indulgences to those visiting the image. The miracle of the perspiring Virgin was initially perceived as a divine gift, whereas a couple of years later, it was interpreted as a compassionate premonition of the famine and disease that in the meantime had started to plague the already feud-ridden city. The Pistoian fresco of the Madonna was one of many images from the fifteenth century said to have miracu-

lously come to life, another being the Madonna delle Carceri in Prato, in 1484, which also subsequently became the focus of cultic veneration.⁴¹

In 1495, the commune of Pistoia elevated the devotion of the city's miraculous Virgin of Humility to an annual civic feast. On the site of the ancient Santa Maria Forisportam, the construction of a sanctuary was also begun. The church of Santa Maria dell'Umiltà was designed by Giuliano da Sangallo, the preferred architect of Lorenzo il Magnifico de' Medici who ruled the Florentine state of which Pistoia formed part. Sangallo, who also constructed Santa Maria delle Carceri in Prato, devised his design for the Pistoian church in accordance with the centralized ground plan characteristic of the many sanctuaries built to mark miraculous events. Santa Maria dell'Umiltà (fig. 15) was erected under the guidance of Ventura Vitoni, a local architect, and completed in 1569 with a dome designed by Giorgio Vasari.⁴² The miraculous image, after being detached from its former location together with the wall on which it had been painted, was placed on the high altar of Santa Maria dell'Umiltà in 1579 (fig. 16).⁴³ In 1582, the newly built church was consecrated.

Prior to this time, in the miracle's wake, which had reportedly repeated itself in the early months of 1491, the city had begun organizing processions. It also commissioned a cloth veil of gold bearing the Pistoian coat of arms, to be hung in front of the image.⁴⁴ According to the church's archives, a frame for the veil was also built, made by the carpenter Batista di Tonino di Gerino and subsequently gilded by the painter Bernardino del Signoraccio.⁴⁵ Curtains or shutters were placed in front of many cult images to conceal them from casual glances and to enhance their mystery and cultic efficacy.⁴⁶ The archives in Pistoia also reveal that, in what had become an oratory within the church, various



Fig. 14
 FOURTEENTH-
 CENTURY
 TUSCO-LOMBARD
 PAINTER, PROBABLY
 PAOLO SERAFINI
 OF MODENA,
Virgin of Humility
and a Widowed
Donor, c. 1350.
 Fresco.
 Pistoia, Santa
 Maria dell'Umiltà.
 Photo: Lorenzo Gori,
 Pistoia

objects began to accumulate in a specially constructed cupboard and on a grate placed in front of the image: lamps, candles, vestments, jewellery, liturgical paraments, a silver sun and moon that could be affixed to the fresco, and ex-votos made of wax or silver in the form of babies and body parts.⁴⁷

Devotional Replicas

A considerable demand arose for images and material tokens in the similitude of the miraculous Madonna, to be used in the sanctuary and the city. They were desired by individual devotees as well, not only citizens of Pistoia but also pilgrims from afar. In the second half of 1490, the painter Niccolò di Mariano



Fig. 15
GIULIANO DA
SANGALLO (design),
VENTURA VITONI
(execution), and
GIORGIO VASARI
(dome), *The Church
of Santa Maria
dell'Umiltà in
Pistoia, 1495-1569.*
Photo: Lorenzo Gori,
Pistoia

was paid 7 lire and 4 soldi for 'dodici schudi dipintone chon l'immagine e figura di nostra donna', or 'twelve escutcheons painted with the image and figure of Our Lady'.⁴⁸ The following year, Bernardino del Signoraccio was commissioned to paint a replica of the miraculous Virgin on a panel made by the carpenter Batista di Tonino di Gerino (also responsible for the veil frame) – a work intended for the solicitation of alms.⁴⁹ One 'Giovanni Chianti' was paid 10 soldi for six images of the miraculous Virgin (possibly on paper, given the small sum of money), all to be brought to Siena as material to advertise her powers.⁵⁰

Among the surviving devotional replicas of Pistoia's prodigious fresco is Bernardino del Signoraccio's panel, today preserved in Avignon, which shows the Virgin of Humility accompanied by Mary Magdalene, St Jerome, and two angels. The panel was possibly painted at the request of a confraternity with a devotion centred on the two penitent holy figures.⁵¹ Another replica, a panel painting now preserved in the Musée Tessé in Le Mans, repeats the central figural group of the original fresco, set before a landscape back-

ground. The addition of God the Father and St Bernardino of Siena was possibly significant for the panel's first owner, perhaps also a confraternity. Given the softness of its colouring and the thinness of the facial features, the Le Mans panel may also be a work by Bernardino del Signoraccio, though it has recently been attributed to Niccolò di Mariano.⁵²

On 17 July 1492, Niccolò di Mariano – who, as noted above, executed the escutcheons bearing the image of the miraculous Virgin in 1490 – signed and dated a large panel made for the flagellants of the confraternity of Santa Maria dell'Umiltà in the church of Sant'Andrea in Pistoia (fig. 17). In the panel's inscription, the Virgin admonishes the members: '+FIGLIVOLI · TVTTI · VI PREGO · PER MI[A] AMORE · TVTTI · SERVIATE · A DIO · CHON VMIL · CHORE +', or 'All you brothers, because of my love, I beg you to all serve God with a humble heart'. With large, simple colour fields and sparse modelling, the painter has blocked out the figures against the background of the box-like space containing a pink marbled pavement also present in the miraculous, frescoed image. More precise than the painter of the devotional copies in Avignon and Le Mans,

Niccolò di Mariano repeats the composition of the figural group in the fresco in Pistoia and retains its architectural background. But he also retraces, in brown lines, the trajectory of the Virgin's perspiration, visible in the fresco and in agreement with contemporary accounts of the miracle.

The present panel in the Rijksmuseum is likewise a replica of the miraculous Virgin of Humility of Pistoia. Like Niccolò di Mariano's version for Sant'Andrea, it repeats the figural group's composition and retraces the trajectory of the Virgin's perspiration. Minor deviations from the prototype include the explanatory inscription 'S[ANCTA]·MARIA·DEVMILITADE' at the bottom of the picture and the setting in front of an arch opening onto a blue sky. Nevertheless, similarities in style and the faithfulness to the prototype ostensibly point to a connection between the Rijksmuseum Madonna and Niccolò di Mariano's painting in Sant'Andrea.

Niccolò di Mariano

At the time of the miracle, Niccolò di Mariano is one of very few figurative painters documented as being active in Pistoia.⁵³ On 4 March 1478, 'Niccolò di Mariano, painter from Siena' obtained citizenship in Pistoia.⁵⁴ The document seems to indicate that he was born and trained in Siena and, at the time he moved to Pistoia, that he was a master and at least twenty-five years of age. By 1464, his brother Bartolomeo was a town crier in Pistoia, a role later also fulfilled by another of his siblings and two nephews. Niccolò's move reunited him with his family. In Pistoia, he fathered six children, living for many years in the neighbourhood of Cappella di Santa Maria Maddalena a Ripalta up until his death in February 1500.⁵⁵

On the basis of his only signed work, the *Virgin of Humility* from 1492 in the church of Sant'Andrea in Pistoia, Niccolò di Mariano's pious and timid style has been recognized in various frescoes in and around the city.

These include the following works (presented in chronological order): the *Crucifixion*, dated 1478 (Piuveca, Santa Maria e Biagio); *Christ in the Tomb* (Pistoia, Museo Civico); *The Virgin and Child Enthroned with Tobias and the Angel, and Sebastian* (Pistoia, San Lorenzo); *The Adoration of the Shepherds* (Pistoia, San Lorenzo); and the *Four Evangelists* (Pistoia, Santa Maria delle Grazie).⁵⁶ Between 1479 and 1485, he produced many works for the city's cathedral. In 1484, he painted a now-lost fabric covering for the high altarpiece. On 29 January 1489, he was among twelve local painters – probably with different expertises – who reinstated the board and statutes of Pistoia's

Fig. 16
GIOVANNI DOMENICO PIASTRINI,
The Translation of the Miraculous Virgin of Humility of Pistoia, 1716.
Fresco. Pistoia, Santa Maria dell'Umiltà.
Photo: Lorenzo Gori, Pistoia





Fig. 17
NICCOLÒ DI
MARIANO, *Virgin
of Humility*, 1492.
Tempera on panel,
155 x 135 cm.
Pistoia, Sant'Andrea.
Photo: Lorenzo Gori,
Pistoia

Guild of Painters. On 27 June 1491, he was contracted to produce a now-lost triptych for the church of San Pietro di Vico Petroso (now San Pierino), in nearby San Pietro in Vincio, for the modest sum of six florins. Until the coming of age of Bernardino del Signoraccio (born c. 1460–last doc. 1524), Niccolò di Mariano appears to be the most active figurative painter in Pistoia.⁵⁷

Although smaller in scale and executed in a different medium, the Rijksmuseum panel is comparable to Niccolò's late, large fresco roundels of the Four Evangelists in Santa Maria delle Grazie (fig. 18), distinguished by woodcut-like figures with oval faces, expressionless eyes with large dark irises that almost blend in with the pupils, and a paperclip-like shorthand

for rendering the lines within the ear. As in his *Virgin of Humility* in Sant'Andrea, the architecture in the Amsterdam picture is rendered in a marbledization comprising only two shades of the same colour. Like the Sant'Andrea image, the Amsterdam panel bears an inscription in vernacular Italian – not learned Latin – using lettering in capitals with a distinctive splayed M. This recurs in the painter's *Christ in the Tomb*, made for the local Monte di Pietà (Pistoia, Museo Civico). Stylistically, the Rijksmuseum *Virgin of Humility* therefore appears to be a work by Niccolò di Mariano. Based on historical considerations, it can be dated between the day of the miracle in 1490 and the painter's death in 1500. This agrees with the copies for which Niccolò was

Fig. 18
NICCOLÒ DI
MARIANO,
St Matthew,
c. 1490-1500.
Fresco. Pistoia,
Santa Maria delle
Grazie, also known as
Madonna del Letto.
Photo: Lorenzo
Gori, Pistoia,
su concessione
dell'Azienda USL
Toscana Centro



commissioned in the fall of 1490, as cited in the aforementioned archival documents.

The cursory quality of the Amsterdam panel – swift in its execution, with low-cost materials (more so than the large confraternal copy of the miraculous image in Sant’Andrea) – points to its modest function as a small devotional replica. Another indication is that the panel’s mouldings were not gilded but painted. It was made for less institutional purposes than the large confraternal copies and probably geared towards the market of the

Fig. 19
UNKNOWN
TUSCAN PAINTER,
*Ex-Voto of a Man Who
Healed Miraculously*,
late fifteenth century.
Tempera on panel,
21 x 19 cm.
Viterbo, Santa
Maria della Quercia.
Photo: Public domain



individual pilgrim or local devotee. Late fifteenth-century ex-voto images painted on panel, such as those surviving in the shrine of San Nicola da Tolentino in the Italian Marches and in the sanctuary of the Madonna della Quercia near Viterbo (fig. 19), are similarly distinguished by their simple execution with an emphasis on the outlines, set in painted rather than gilded frames.⁵⁸ Perhaps the painter never even returned to examine the fresco, concealed behind its curtain in Santa Maria Forisportam, instead copying it from a cartoon, template, or even a woodcut. Accounts of the cult in Pistoia mention such prints. While none have been identified so far, they would have been executed in a simple style akin to that of the rare surviving xylography (Prato, Biblioteca Roncioniana), which reproduces the miraculous *Madonna delle Carceri* in nearby Prato.⁵⁹

The Rijksmuseum panel displays technical features in accordance with a dating to the fifteenth century: executed on a reused panel, to which now-lost mouldings were applied prior to the preparation with gesso layers; an underdrawing in a liquid medium; a paint application using a tempera technique; and pigments characteristic of early-renaissance Italian panel painting. In its cursory style and devotional accuracy, the painting approaches the work of Niccolò di Mariano, an artist documented as having produced numerous replicas of the frescoed Virgin of Humility in Santa Maria Forisportam in Pistoia, which became miraculously active in 1490. The Rijksmuseum Madonna appears to be one of them.

ABSTRACT

In this article, it is suggested that a small panel of the Madonna of Humility in the collection of the Rijksmuseum, executed with fifteenth-century woodworking and painting techniques and materials, is a devotional copy of the fresco of the Virgin of Humility in Pistoia that became miraculously active in 1490. Historical, stylistic, and archival evidence suggests the panel is possibly a work by Niccolò di Mariano (act. 1478; d. 1500), perhaps made as a devotional replica not long after the miraculous event.

NOTES

- * We are grateful to Suor Alix of the convent of Santa Maria dell'Umiltà in Pistoia, Ciro Castelli, Giacomo Guazzini, Nouchka de Keyser, Orazio Lovino, Mauro Mussolin, Pieter Roelofs, Victor M. Schmidt, Carl Brandon Strehlke, Matthias Ubl, and Carola van Wijk for sharing their insights during our research; also to Frederik Vanmeert for the XRD measurements and fruitful discussions on the green pigment, and Jan Dorscheid for the wood identification. We wish to extend special thanks to Duncan Bull, who until 2021 spearheaded the Rijksmuseum's project for a catalogue of the Italian paintings, and Robert-Jan and Melanie van Ogtrop, who generously funded the project's technical research.
- 1 For the organization of the Italian paintings catalogue project, see Giulia Sara de Vivo and Duncan Bull, 'Approccio metodologico allo studio della collezione dei dipinti italiani del Rijksmuseum di Amsterdam', in Daniela Rullo (ed.), *Lo stato dell'arte 16*, acts of the conference (Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, 25-27 October 2018), Florence 2018, pp. 737-44.
 - 2 According to Lanz's documentation, it was shown at the exhibition of his collection in the Rijksmuseum in 1906. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Otto Lanz Archive, no. 17, box 4. It can be identified with Adriaan Pit, *Het Quattrocento uit de verzameling Otto Lanz*, exh. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) 1906, p. 12, no. 2 (as unknown master, mid-fifteenth century, Northern Italy or Florence). For its subsequent provenance, Henk W. van Os, 'Otto Lanz en het verzamelen van vroege Italiaanse kunst in Nederland', *The Rijksmuseum Bulletin* 26 (1978), pp. 163, fig. 20, 167; Lanz's widow, Anna Theresia Elisabeth Lanz-Willi (1870-1954), Amsterdam, 1935, who temporarily exhibited it in the Rijksmuseum, 1940; from whom, CHF 2,000,000 and fl. 350,000, with other paintings, to Hans Posse (1879-1942), for Adolf Hitler's Führermuseum, Linz, through the mediation of the dealer Nathan Katz, 1941; war recuperation, SNK, 1945 inv. no. NK 2325); on loan from the DRVK to the museum, 1952 (inv. no. SK-C-1423); transferred to the museum, 1960.
 - 3 Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Otto Lanz Archive, no. 17, box 4.
 - 4 Fee van 't Veen, *Het Nederlandse palazzo: verzamelingen van vroege-Italiaanse kunst | The Dutch Palazzo: Collections of Early Italian Art*, Amsterdam 2008, pp. 38, fig. 25, 41.
 - 5 Andrea G. De Marchi, 'Alessio Gimignani, la Madonna dell'Umiltà e le chiavi per la storia dell'arte', *Studi di Storia dell'Arte* 33 (2022), p. 107.
 - 6 The image was acquired using a phosphor imaging plate irradiated at 25kV, 2.5mA, for 60s at a distance of 94.6 cm from the x-ray source and scanned at a resolution of 30µm.
 - 7 IR images were acquired with an Osiris Camera from Opus Instruments, with an Indium Gallium Arsenide (InGaAs) line array operating between 900 and 1700nm.
 - 8 Combining a colour-calibrated image with an infrared photograph acquired with a Canon camera modified to acquire IR by removal of the IR-blocking built-in filter in the wavelength band of circa 850-1100nm.
 - 9 Bruker M6.2 Jetstream: rhodium source, 50kV, 200µA, 200µm step-size, 80ms/pixel dwell time, in a single scan measuring 264 x 168 mm. The spectra acquired were exported and processed using the Pymca and Datamuncher softwares.
 - 10 Non-invasive XRD point analyses were performed with an in-house built macro-scale x-ray diffraction (MA-XRD) instrument developed by the group of Koen Janssens (University of Antwerp). The instrument is equipped with a 1µS-CuHB microfocus x-ray source (Cu anode, operated at 50 kV and 1 mA) and a PILATUS-R 200K area detector. Each point was analysed for 100s.
 - 11 This identification was based on microscopic examination of wood samples.
 - 12 Christoph Merzenich, *Vom Schreinerwerk zum Gemälde: Florentiner Altarwerke der ersten Hälfte des Quattrocento. Eine Untersuchung zu Konstruktion, Material und Rahmenform*, Berlin 2001, pp. 18, 28-40, 115-16.
 - 13 At 2.3 cm from the left and 3.5 cm from the bottom.
 - 14 See for example the instructions given by the forger Icilio Federico Joni in 1945, cited in Gianni Mazzoni, *Quadri antichi del Novecento*, Vicenza 2001, p. 181.
 - 15 Hanover, Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum, inv. no. KM87 [278]. We are grateful to Carl Brandon Strehlke for this information. For a photo, see Carl Brandon Strehlke, *Italian Paintings 1250-1450 in the John G. Johnson Collection and the Philadelphia Museum of Art*, Philadelphia 2004, p. 164, fig. 29.2.
 - 16 Ciro Castelli, 'Techniques of Construction of Wooden Supports for Painting', in Marco Ciatti and Cecilia Frosinini (eds.), *Structural Conservation of Panel Paintings at the Opificio delle Pietre Dure in Florence: Method, Theory, and Practice*, Pisa 2016, pp. 285-49.
 - 17 Luca Uzielli, 'Historical Overview of Panel-Making Techniques in Central Italy', in Kathleen Dardes and Andrea Rothe (eds.), *The Structural Conservation of Panel Paintings*, acts of the conference (Los Angeles, 24-28 April 1995), Los Angeles 1998, pp. 111, 114.

- 18 Raffaella Bruzzone and Maria Clelia Galassi, 'Wood Species in Italian Panel Paintings of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: Historical Investigation and Microscopical Wood Identification', in Marika Spring, Helen Howard, Carol Christensen, Suzanne Quillen Lomax, Michael Palmer, and Steve Wilcox (eds.), *Studying Old Master Paintings: Technology and Practice*, London 2011, pp. 253-59.
- 19 Castelli 2016 (note 16), p. 290.
- 20 Washington, D.C., The National Gallery of Art, accession no. 1942.9.47. Miklós Boskovits and David Alan Brown, *Italian Paintings of the Fifteenth Century*, Washington, D.C. 2003, pp. 531-35.
- 21 Bruzzone and Galassi 2011 (note 18).
- 22 Jacqueline Marette, *Connaissance des primitifs par l'étude du bois du xiiie au xviiie siècle*, Paris 1961, pp. 54-55, 65-66.
- 23 Peter Klein and Josef Bauch, 'Analyses of Wood from Italian Paintings with Special Reference to Raphael', in John Shearman and Marcia B. Hall (eds.), *The Princeton Raphael Symposium: Science in the Service of Art History*, Princeton 1990.
- 24 The authors interpret the different outcome as arising not only from the increasing number of panels that have now been examined, but also from the reliance on identifications based on scientific means, to the exclusion of those based solely on visual appearance.
- 25 Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, inv. no. 3254. See Giovanni Signorini, Giuseppina di Giulio, and Marco Fioravanti, *Il legno nei beni culturali, guida alla determinazione delle specie legnose*, Perugia 2014, p. 307, with further literature.
- 26 Signorini, di Giulio, and Fioravanti 2014 (note 25), p. 57.
- 27 George Bisacca and Laurence B. Kanter, 'Introduction', in Timothy J. Newbery, George Bisacca, and Laurence B. Kanter, *Italian Renaissance Frames*, New York 1990, pp. 13-18.
- 28 David Bomford, Jill Dunkerton, Dillian Gordon, and Ashok Roy, *Art in the Making: Italian Painting before 1400*, London 1989, pp. 17-19.
- 29 Mauro Matteini and Arcangelo Moles, 'Tecnica delle pitture antiche: le preparazioni del supporto', *Kermes* 2 (1989), pp. 49-62, esp. p. 57.
- 30 Without invasive investigations, it is impossible to establish whether this layer continues beneath the entire surface.
- 31 Compare, among many examples in the Rijksmuseum, Giovanni da Milano's *Crucifixion* from c. 1360 (inv. no. SK-A-4000) and Lorenzo Monaco's *Veronica of the Virgin* (inv. no. SK-A-4004) from c. 1400, and in the Berenson Collection in Florence, Neroccio's *Virgin and Child* from c. 1475 (cat. no. 78).
- 32 MA-XRF suggests a composition rich in iron, potassium and manganese.
- 33 No analytical data were acquired regarding the binding medium.
- 34 Dispersed, rubbed-off particles of the blue of the sky are visible through the microscope in the craquelure and in small losses.
- 35 For arsenic and zinc as indicators of a natural origin in azurite and malachite, see Silvie Švarcová, David Hradil, Janka Hradilová, and Zdeňka Čermáková, 'Pigments – Copper-Based Greens and Blues', *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences* 13, article no. 190 (2021), <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12520-021-01406-0>, with further literature. Other examples of the use of copper greens containing both arsenic and zinc impurities in the Italian paintings collection of the Rijksmuseum are Lorenzo Monaco's *St Francis Receiving the Stigmata* (inv. no. SK-A-4006) of c. 1420, the *Virgin and Child* by an anonymous painter (inv. no. SK-A-3375) from c. 1430-60, and Sandro Botticelli's *Judith with the Head of Holofernes* (inv. no. SK-A-3381) from c. 1497-1500 (data based on MA-XRF). For examples of copper greens containing various impurities of zinc, arsenic, barium, and chlorine, in paintings in the National Gallery in London, see Jill Dunkerton, Catherine Higgitt, Marta Melchiorre di Crescenzo, and Rachel Billinge, 'A Case of Collaboration: The Adoration of the Kings by Botticelli and Filippino Lippi; Part II: Investigating the Collaboration', *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 41 (2021), pp. 31-67, with further literature in footnotes 93-96.
- 36 Georgiana Goddard King, 'The Virgin of Humility', *Art Bulletin* 17 (1935), pp. 474-91; Millard Meiss, 'The Madonna of Humility', *Art Bulletin* 18 (1936), pp. 435-64; idem, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death: The Arts, Religion, and Society in the Mid-Fourteenth Century*, Princeton 1951 (ed. 1978), pp. 132-56; Hendrik Willem van Os, *Marias Demut und Verherrlichung in der sienesischen Malerei, 1300-1450*, The Hague 1969, pp. 79-142; Beth Williamson, *The Madonna of Humility: Development, Dissemination and Reception, c. 1340-1400*, Woodbridge 2009. For the iconography in Pistoia, see Flavio Boggi, 'Lippo di Dalmasio, the Madonna of Humility and Painting in Pistoia in the Late Trecento', in Emily Jane Anderson (ed.), *Visible Exports/Imports: New Research on Medieval and Renaissance European Art and Culture*, Newcastle upon Tyne 2012, pp. 61-98.

- 37 Dante, *Paradiso*, xxxiii, 2: 'umile e alta più che creatura'. Translation from Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy*, translated by Charles S. Singleton, vol. 3, *Paradiso*, Princeton 1975, part 1, p. 371.
- 38 For this attribution, see Miklós Boskovits, *Pittura Fiorentina alla vigilia del Rinascimento*, Florence 1975, pp. 252-53, notes 272-73; Enrica Neri Lusanna, 'L' affresco della Madonna dell'Umiltà: filologia e iconografia', in Alessandro Andreini and Marco Gori (eds.), *Centenario del miracolo della Madonna dell'Umiltà a Pistoia*, Pistoia 1992, pp. 71-86; Angelo Tartuferi, 'Questioni sulla pittura a Pistoia dal romanico al gotico: problemi e proposte', in Angelo Tartuferi, Enrica Neri Lusanna, and Ada Labriola (eds.), *Medioevo a Pistoia: crocevia di artisti fra Romanico e Gotico*, exh. cat. Pistoia (Antico Palazzo dei Vescovi and Museo Civico) 2021, p. 71; Angelo Tartuferi, "'Dalmasio" e Lippo di Dalmasio, tra Pistoia e Firenze', in Massimo Medica, Fabio Massaccesi, and Silvia Battistini (eds.), *Lippo di Dalmasio e le arti a Bologna tra Trecento e Quattrocento*, exh. cat. Bologna (Museo Civico Medievale) 2023, pp. 43, 45. Lucia Gai, 'La Madonna dell'Umiltà a Pistoia', in Antonio Paolucci (ed.), *Colloqui davanti alla Madre: immagini mariane in Toscana tra arte, storia e devozione*, Florence 2004, pp. 66-67, attributes it to an anonymous Florentine painter open to northern influences. Andrea De Marchi, 'Il Maestro del 1310 riconsiderato: un raro frammento di un pittore pistoiese a Empoli', in Francesco Salvestrini (ed.), *Empoli: novecento anni. Nascita e formazione di un grande castello medievale 1119-2019*, Florence 2020, pp. 211-12, note 1, suggests it is by a painter active in Pistoia c. 1350, working in dialogue with Stefano Fiorentino and the Bolognese 'Pseudo-Dalmasio'.
- 39 The fresco may have been part of the chapel that the 'prudens vir' or prudent man, Loste Dinarelli, dedicated to the Purification of the Virgin in 1388. Archivio di Stato di Pistoia (henceforth *ASPI*), Umiltà, 573, fol. 45r-v; Natale Rauty, 'Tracce archivistiche per l'antica chiesa di Santa Maria Forisportam', in *Centenario del miracolo della Madonna dell'Umiltà a Pistoia*, Pistoia 1992, pp. 34-38; Amedeo Belluzzi, *Giuliano da Sangallo e la chiesa della Madonna a Pistoia*, Florence 1993, pp. 9, 11, note 36.
- 40 There are several contemporary records of the miracle, including the canonical process of 1549. See note 44 below and Cosimo Bracciolini, *Trattato de' miracoli della sacra imagine della gloriosa Vergine Santa Maria dell'Humiltà di Pistoia*, Florence 1580; Gaetano Beani, *S. Maria dell'Umiltà: notizie storiche della sua imagine e del suo tempio in Pistoia*, Pistoia 1885; Alberto Cipriani, 'Quel "prodigioso licore": il miracolo dell'Umiltà nella turbolenta Pistoia del xv secolo', in Andreini and Gori 1992 (note 38); Belluzzi 1993 (note 39), pp. 5-11. In 1716, Giovanni Domenico Piastrini depicted the miracle and its sequel in four scenes in the vestibule of Santa Maria dell'Umiltà in Pistoia (see fig. 16).
- 41 Robert Maniura, *Art and Miracle in Renaissance Tuscany*, Cambridge 2018, pp. 95-190.
- 42 For the construction and consecration, see Belluzzi 1993 (note 39); Mauro Mussolin, 'La chiesa della Madonna dell'Umiltà di Pistoia', in *Il museo e la città: vicende artistiche pistoiesi del Cinquecento*, Pistoia 2017, pp. 9-37.
- 43 As early as 1515, Santa Maria Forisportam was already known as Santa Maria dell'Umiltà. Belluzzi 1993 (note 39), p. 7.
- 44 'Certamente savi e prudentissimi consiglieri se voi vi redareste la mente al pecto el sudar quale ha facto a giorni passati di nuovo quella devotissima ymagine della nostra donna beatissima e universale advocata de peccatori Sancta Maria del Humiltà, non è senza gran misterio: el quale è occulto ad que' nostre cieche menti. È ssi pensato per molto vostri honorevoli cittadini e devoti essere bene andare processionalmente ad visitarla con qualche dono conveniente alla comunità vostra e con divotione pregarla che tale dimostrazione sia in honore et utile della vostra città e cittadini d'epsa. E per ciò fatto si è proveduto riformato e vinto che e presenti operari ufficiali del monte della pietà e camerario di quello sieno tenuti e obligati per tutto di sabbato che saremo a di xii del prossimo dare et pagare fiorini trenta 4 de oro in oro a presenti operai dell'opera di S. Jacopo sotto pena di soldi due per lira, la qual pena sia la metà di dare Sancta Maria del Humiltà e l'altra delli operai di San Jacopo farne fare una cortina a dicta ymagine di Sancta Maria del Humiltà di drappo d'oro o d'ariento con i suoi ornamenti et con l'arme del commune di Pistoia honorevole e bella, presentandola fatta per tutto di xviii del presente mese a nostri Magnifici Signori et qui rilasciandola per portarla la domenica sequente a presentarla a dicta ymagine.' *ASPI*, Provvisioni, 48, fol. 289v (10-11 March 1491). Referred to by Belluzzi 1993 (note 39), pp. 6, 10, note 12.
- 45 'A Batista di Tonino di Gerino legnaiolo, a di detto per factura d'uno telaio con riporto di rilievo per il velo à a stare inanzi alla nostra donna da conto suo lire cinque,

- lire 5/ A Bernardino del Signoraccio dipintore a di detto per mettere a oro decto telaio e per pezi trentasette d'oro ... lire 6 soldi 10'. ASPi, Umiltà, 555, fol. 9v (20 March 1491).
- 46 Megan Holmes, *The Miraculous Image in Renaissance Florence*, New Haven/London 2013, pp. 211-55.
- 47 'Qui appresso per me Francesco d'Andrea Zeloni notaio pistoiese e uno de' ghovernatori dello oratorio di Sancta Maria della Humiltà situato e posto nella chiesa di Santa Maria fuori le porti di Pistoia...Ricordo come questo di 14 di novembre facevano inventario delli arienti e altre cose oblate erano e sono in uno armario si chiude a chiave sta apichato al lato allo altare di decto oratorio...'. ASPi, Umiltà, 555, fol. 1r (14 November 1490); referred to by Belluzzi 1993 (note 39), pp. 6, 10, note 13. There were collection boxes adjoined to a grate in wood and one in iron ('cassetta del catricolato del legno' and 'cassetta del catricolato del ferro', *Ibid.*, fol. 2r (14 November 1490).
- 48 'Maestro Nicholo da Siena dipintore de' dare a di XI d'aghosto lire due soldi no, da Ser Nicholao d'Angniolo dal Challo contanti, lire 2 soldi -/E a di XIII.º di detto lire cinque soldi IIII.º per noi da Alessandro Ricciardi contanti per resto di dodici schudi ne fece per la fexta de 2 aghosto lire 5 soldi 4'. ASPi, Umiltà, 1, fol. 13v (11 August 1490). 'Maestro Nicholò da Siena di contro de' avere a di XII di novembre lire sette soldi IIII.º li facciamo buoni per dodici schudi dipintone chon l'immagine e figura di nostra donna, lire 7 soldi 4'. *Ibid.*, fol. 14r (12 November 1490). 'A maestro Nicholò da Siena dipintore lire due soldi no da ser Nicholao d'Agniolo per parte di dipintura di dodici schudi con la figura di nostra donna, lire 2 soldi -'. ASPi, Umiltà, 2, fol. 9v (11 August 1490). Referred to by Belluzzi 1993 (note 39), pp. 6, 10, note 11.
- 49 '... a Bernardino del Signoraccio dipintore a di 8 di dicembre per dipintura d'una nostra donna s'a mandare a cattare con essa ..., lire quattro soldi 10'. ASPi, Umiltà, 2, fol. 37v (8 December 1491). 'A Batista di Tonino di Gerino legnaiuolo a di sopradetto contanti soldi venti per una tavoletta intagliata in sulla quale s'a a dipignere una nostra donna a similitudine della nostra donna per mandare a caltrare fuore lire 1 soldi -'. ASPi, Umiltà, 555, fol. 4r (10 December 1490). 'A Bernardino del Signoraccio dipintore a di 8 di detto per dipintura d'una nostra donna s'a a mandare a cattare con essa dal boscho[?] lire quactro e soldi dieci cioè lire 4 soldi 10'. *Ibid.*, fol. 8r (8 March 1491). Referred to by Belluzzi 1993 (note 39), pp. 6, 10, note 11.
- 50 'A Giovanni Chianti a di 15 di dicembre per sei immagini di nostra donna si dierono a Agnolo di Giorgio deposito le portò a Siena per pubblicare il miracolo, soldi dieci'. ASPi, Umiltà, 555, fol. 4v (15 December 1490).
- 51 Avignon, Musée du Petit Palais, inv. no. M.I. 558. Franca Falletti in Chiara d'Afflitto, Franca Falletti, and Andrea Muzzi (eds.), *Fra Paolino e la pittura a Pistoia nel primo '500: l'età di Savonarola*, exh. cat. Pistoia (Palazzo Comunale) 1996, pp. 125-27, cat. 2; Michel Laclotte and Esther Moench, *Peinture italienne: musée du Petit Palais Avignon*, Paris 2005, p. 75, cat. 39.
- 52 Le Mans, Musée Tessé, inv. no. 18.9, on deposit from the Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. no. R.F.1947.18. Corentin Dury, *Peintures italiennes et hispaniques: collections du Musée de Tessé: XIVE-XVIIIÈ siècle*, Ghent/Le Mans 2016, pp. 82-83.
- 53 Franca Falletti, 'La vocazione eclettica di un artista e di una città', in d'Afflitto, Falletti, and Muzzi 1996 (note 51), p. 65.
- 54 Peleo Bacci, *Cinque documenti per la storia dell'arte senese del XIII, XIV, XV secolo*, Pistoia 1903, pp. 23-27, docs. 4, 5. His Pistoian citizenship was granted, provided he would paint the Incredulity of St Thomas above the door of the audience hall in the city's town hall – a work of which all traces are now lost. For the life and works of Niccolò di Mariano, see Falletti 1996 (note 51), pp. 57-65.
- 55 Alfredo Pacini (ed.), *La chiesa pistoiese e la sua cattedrale nel tempo*, Pistoia 1994-2004, vol. 2 (1994), p. 264.
- 56 Falletti 1996 (note 51), pp. 60-65, figs. 35-41, 43-45.
- 57 Gaetano Milanese, *Nuovi documenti per la storia dell'arte toscana dal XII al XV secolo*, Rome 1893, pp. 145-46, 159-60.
- 58 Compare Maria Giannatiempo López, *Per Grazia Ricevuta: gli ex voto del Museo di San Nicola a Tolentino*, Tolentino 2005, pp. 17-29, cat. 1-15; Mario Signorelli, *Santuario Madonna della Quercia Viterbo: storia, arte e culto nei secoli*, Viterbo 1967, figs. 48-55. In Pistoia, the treasury of ex-votos documented from the very first period – Giuseppe Dondori, *Della Pietà di Pistoia*, Pistoia 1666, p. 94; Chiara d'Afflitto, 'Il Tesoro della Madonna', in Elisabetta Nardinocchi and Paolo Peri, *Il tesoro della Madonna: arredi sacri della Basilica di Santa Maria dell'Umiltà a Pistoia*, exh. cat. Pistoia (Atrio della Basilica) 1992, p. 17; Belluzzi 1993 (note 39), p. 7 – did not survive the Napoleonic era. At present, the sacristy cupboards are filled with nineteenth-century ex-votos.
- 59 Maniura 2018 (note 41), pp. 124-27.