PACINO DI BONAGUIDA AND HIS WORKSHOP

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The phenomenon of the artist's workshop formed the foundation for artistic production in Trecento Italy. From this particular environment emerged the figure of Pacino di Bonaguida, who was active in Florence from around 1300 well into the 1340s and is perhaps the best-known artist of this period who was both a panel painter and a manuscript illuminator. Although today he is less renowned than other painters who worked in early Trecento Florence, such as Giotto or Bernardo Daddi, the large number and the complexity of the panel paintings and illuminated manuscripts he produced indicate that he was highly sought after by Florentine patrons for major commissions in both media. The five volumes of Richard Offner's *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting* that contain the works firmly or tentatively given to Pacino di Bonaguida reveal that a large body of material has been attributed to the artist.[1] The production of so many major panel painting and manuscript commissions during a career that spanned over forty years would have been difficult, if not impossible, for a single artist to accomplish. This indicates that Pacino assembled a significant workshop of artists, who worked in the master artist's style to produce such large and important commissions as the Laudario of Sant'Agnese (cat. 45).[2] In addition, Pacino's illumination appears in several manuscript commissions along with the work of the Master of the Dominican Effigies (cats. 52, 53, 55.1, 55.5), who was an established panel painter and manuscript illuminator in his own right and possessed his own distinctive artistic style. Together, these artists dominated the field of Florentine illumination in the first half of the Trecento.

In the discussion that follows, the workshop of Pacino di Bonaguida provides an example of how one such early Renaissance artistic studio may have operated, both with teams of artists working in the style of the master and with master artists working in collaboration with one another. First, a brief description of the general nature of the guild system and the structure of the Florentine workshop provides context for Pacino's workshop. This is followed by a summary of the few documentary references we have about the artist, his rediscovery by nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholars and how they characterized him, and a chronology of his major works. Pacino's artistic personality is described in terms of his painting style, and especially his

Detail of cat. 56.

iconographic innovation. Finally, this essay examines some of the works attributed to Pacino that are the products of several artists working in his style, such as the Laudario, as well as commissions that he completed with his artistic collaborator, the Master of the Dominican Effigies. While differences are evident among the various hands involved in producing elaborate commissions for Pacino's studio, a clear-cut division of the various passages into those by the master and those by his pupils is not straightforward, and this pursuit likely does not reflect how Florentine patrons thought of these works. The discussion below examines the nuances between the various hands but proposes a different approach, whereby these Pacinesque works are considered as collective artistic entities, reflecting Pacino's practice of employing multiple artists to produce works of a consistent style that would have pleased the numerous Florentine patrons who turned to him to produce precious panel paintings and illuminated books.

The Early Renaissance Workshop

The training of artists in the fourteenth century adhered to a structure based on master artists instructing apprentices. The parents of a young boy, often aged between ten and twelve, could pair him with a master craftsman who had been enrolled in a guild. After having spent one to eight years in the master's workshop, the artist could follow one of two paths, depending on his level of skill.[3] He could work for hire on particular projects led by a master artist for limited periods of a day, a month, or a year, or he could choose to become a master himself, setting up his own shop. This *bottega* would have been located on the ground floor of a building and would have opened onto the street for direct access to those who might commission the shop's services, much like the workshop of Saint Eloy depicted by the late Trecento Master of the Misericordia (cat. 46).[4]

The period of great civic and church growth in the early Trecento created a significant demand for artists in the large Tuscan cities of Florence and Siena (see Borsook essay). The craftsmen required to supply the building and decoration of the new structures rising in the cities were highly regulated in the form of a guild system, which had been in place in Italy since the twelfth century.[5] In Florence, painters likely had their own guild in the late thirteenth century, but they were first officially documented around November 1315, when they were added to the statutes of the guild of the Medici e Speziali[6] (doctors and apothecaries), presumably due to their work with pigments and binding materials, compounds similar to those used in medicine.[7] Painters, however, were considered minor members (*membri minori*) of the guild, with more limited rights than the principal members: the doctors, apothecaries, and silk traders (*merciai*).[8] In 1320, the Medici e Speziali had an enrollment of seventy men, eighteen of whom were painters, and by 1327 thirty-six additional painters had joined.[9] Many manuscript illuminators (*miniatori*) joined this guild, although they are not differentiated as such in the Florentine guild records.[10] Jonathan Alexander has suggested that this may have been because many painters, like Pacino, also illuminated manuscripts.[11] This seems to be the case for the painter-illuminator Lippo di Benivieni, who appears in the guild statutes grouped together with other painters registered before 1320 in the Medici e Speziali.[12] Complicating the situation, in the early fourteenth century most other Italian cities similar in stature to Florence had a dedicated guild for illuminators (Arte dei Miniatori).[13] In 1339, toward the end of Pacino's career, painters in Florence were permitted to form their own group, namely a confraternity dedicated to Saint Luke, the patron saint of painters.[14] The subsuming of the painters' guild under the leadership of the most powerful guild in the city for twenty years during the early Trecento has somewhat obscured the long history of painters' activities in Florence and may have caused the record of some artists' careers, including that of Pacino, to be incomplete.

Reconstructing the Career of Pacino di Bonaguida

Only two Trecento documents survive that mention Pacino di Bonaguida. His name first appears in a document dated February 20, 1303: "Pacinus filius Bonaguide pop. Sancti Laurentii de Florentia publicus artifex in arte pictorum" (Pacino, son of Bonaguide, from the San Lorenzo district of Florence, *publicus artifex* in pictorial arts). The term *publicus artifex* refers to those artists who sold their products out of a *bottega*.[15] The 1303 document also records the end of Pacino's working relationship of one year with another artist, Tambo di Serraglio,[16] which indicates that early on in his career Pacino was collaborating with other painters. Pacino is listed again in guild records of the Medici e Speziali covering the years from 1320 to 1342 as having enrolled around 1329–30.[17] Irene Hueck noted that the case of Pacino is unusual, in that the use of the term *publicus artifex* in the 1303 document suggests that he was already a principal associate of a guild, but he was only officially registered nearly three decades later.[18] Hueck outlined several reasons why an artist might delay enrolling in the guild, including the expense of doing so, but I would further suggest that this disjunction in the documentary evidence may again be attributed to the subsuming of the painters' guild as a subsidiary of the Medici e Speziali.[19]

One further "document" of Pacino's career is the large-scale polyptych now in the Galleria dell'Accademia in Florence that Pacino created for the church of San Firenze (Saint Florentius). An inscription in silver-colored lettering set against a dark background, resembling niello decoration on metalwork, runs along the lower frame of the painting's central *Crucifixion* panel: *SYMON [P]R[ES]B[I]TER S[ANCTI] FLOR[ENTI] FEC[IT] PI[N]GI H[OC] OP[US] A PACINO BONAGUIDE AN[N]O D[OMI]NI MCCCX[...]* (Simon, priest of [the church of] San Firenze, had this work painted by Pacino di Bonaguida in the year 131...). The inscription appears to continue with an additional Roman numeral, but only what appears to be the upper serif is still visible. Because this may represent the upper part of an I, V, X, or L, the date could range from 1311 to 1340 (for further discussion, see cat. 21). Scholars have generally preferred an earlier dating, between 1315 and 1320, based on the fragmentary date, but Laurence Kanter has argued for 1340 based on the figures' stylistic features and on the presence of trilobe arches.[20] This issue will be addressed further below, but as in the case of the foliation of the Laudario of Sant'Agnese (see Sciacca "Laudario" essay), it seems that only through conservation treatment or technical analysis might it be possible to reveal the missing numeral and resolve the matter.

The first scholars to note Pacino's work, namely the inscribed Accademia polyptych, were Vincenzo Follini and Modesto Rastrelli, in 1795. Henry Thode began to build Pacino's oeuvre in 1885 by connecting the polyptych and another painting now in the Galleria dell'Accademia, *The Tree of Life*, and others supported the idea, including Wilhelm Suida in 1905.[21] Offner noted that nineteenth- and early twentieth-century art historians generally perceived Pacino as following in the tradition of Giotto, with Adolfo Venturi going so far as to attribute the two outer panels of the signed Giotto polyptych in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Bologna to Pacino.[22] While Offner felt this was a misguided assessment, such an attribution speaks to the affinities that some of Pacino's works have with those of the elder artist. Indeed, the presence of full-length standing figures in the Bologna altarpiece (possibly ca. 1332–34) is relatively unusual for this early period,

and their appearance in the Accademia polyptych as well strengthens the connection between Giotto's and Pacino's workshops and supports an earlier dating for Pacino's painting.

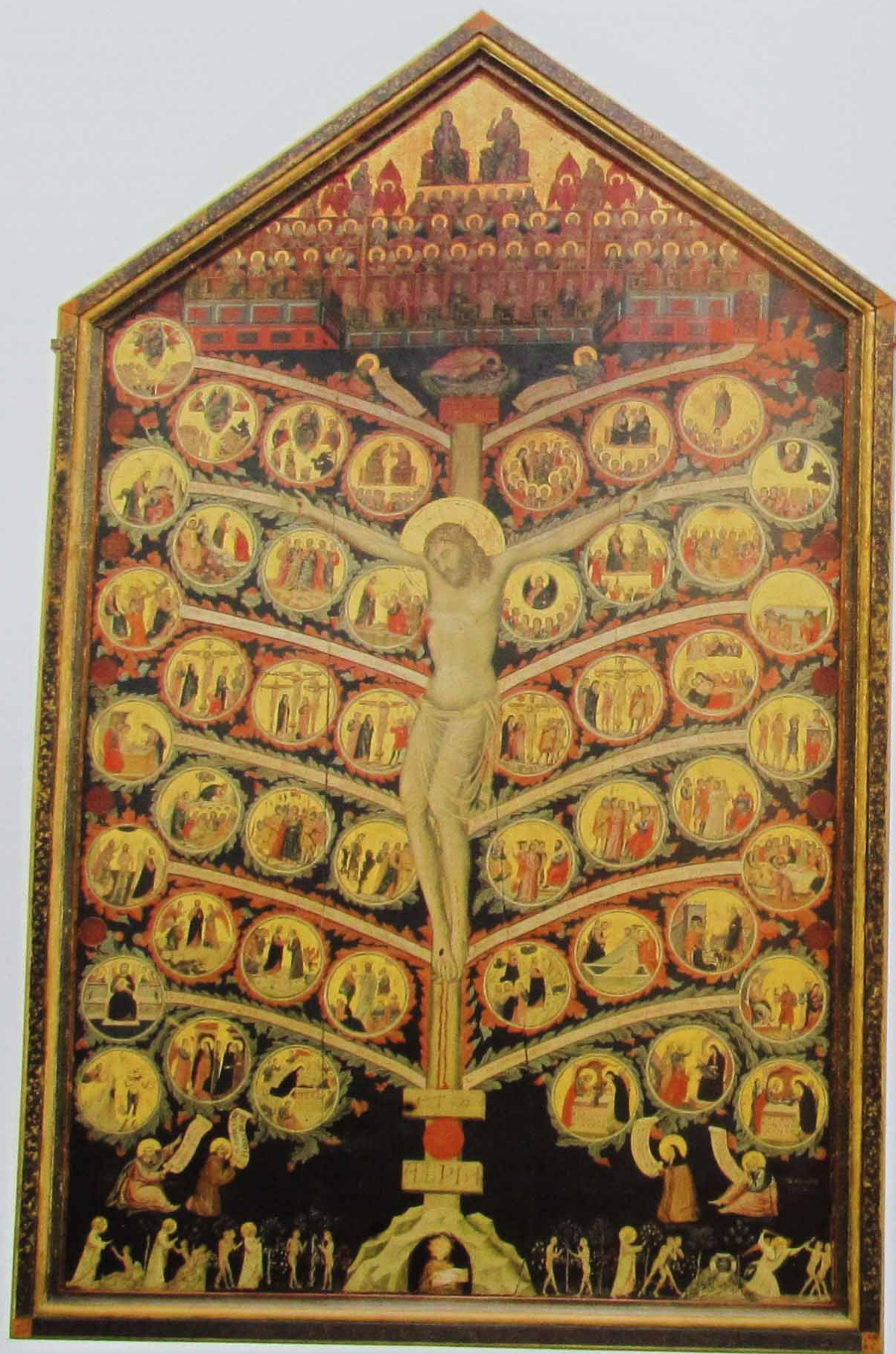
By far the most thorough treatment of Pacino's painting and manuscript illumination is found in the volumes that Offner devoted to him in the *Corpus of Florentine Painting*, which were then revised and expanded by Miklós Boskovits. Offner importantly added many more works to the artist's oeuvre, significantly the sensitively rendered *Saint Bartholomew* in the collection of the Barnes Foundation (fig. 5.1), which finds a direct parallel in the full-length figure of the same saint in the Accademia polyptych. Offner characterized Pacino as primarily a manuscript illuminator, and he sometimes found Pacino's work lacking in quality, but this may be attributed to the collaborative nature of the artist's workshop.[23] Offner particularly praised Pacino's strengths as a storyteller who could adeptly transform the written text into visual form.[24]

More recently, Pacino has been discussed in tandem by Laurence Kanter and Barbara Boehm as the artist at the forefront of the boom in manuscript production in Florence that began around 1300.[25] Kanter accurately described Pacino as an artist who conservatively adhered to the painting traditions of the late thirteenth century, but who incorporated some of Giotto's innovations, such as his monumental and expressive figure types. This combination held great appeal for Florentine patrons, as is evidenced by the great number of commissions that survive.[26] Recent discussions by Ada Labriola and Francesca Manzari have focused on Pacino's illumination in the context of this early Trecento period, citing its indebtedness to the work of Giotto.[27] Manzari noted that Pacino adopted Giotto's mode of modeling with light and shadow, creating figures with solid forms, and that he similarly used landscape elements to arrange figures in space, as seen in the Morgan Library's *Life of Christ* manuscript (cat. 36).[28] These recent studies have offered a richer sense of Pacino's place in early fourteenth-century Florentine painting.

With only two documents outlining the particulars of his career and only one painting inscribed with his name and a partial date, scholars long have grappled with the task of arranging Pacino's works chronologically. As Boskovits pointed out, "Although Pacino's known works are numerous, few of them can be dated with certainty and the question of his chronology still remains open."[29] Nonetheless, some of his later works, particularly manuscripts, may be dated fairly precisely based on historical context, and bearing in mind these more securely dated examples and those with stylistic similarities to them, it is possible to come to a consensus on the general trajectory of his career, which will be outlined below.[30] The great output of paintings and manuscripts generated by his workshop implies the involvement of multiple artists in completing the various commissions; however, since all of the various hands were working in the style of the master, the works listed in the discussion that follows will be referred to under Pacino's name.

Pacino's earliest works have been dated beginning in the first decade of the fourteenth century. Kanter has argued that Pacino's first pieces display a knowledge of Giotto's work in Florence after 1305 and that he had likely not been practicing very long before his name appeared in the 1303 document.[31] Thus his artistic production before the 1310s remains an open question. The painting for which he is best known, the monumental and ambitious *Tree of Life*, is also considered one of his earliest, dating to around 1310–15 (fig. 5.2). Closely allied with it is the triptych in the Alana Collection (cat. 47), which, while very different in composition, exhibits

Figure. 5.1
Pacino di Bonaguida, *Saint Bartholomew*, ca. 1320. Philadelphia, The Barnes Foundation.



similar facial and figural types (compare figs. 5.5 and 5.11). Also from this early period are two stained-glass windows depicting half-length saints, which he designed for the church of Santa Croce (cat. 27) and which were produced just after two windows by Giotto for the same church that are very similar in style and composition.[32] The earliest major illuminated manuscript commission from Pacino's workshop, the Morgan Library's *Scenes from the Life of Christ and the Life of the Blessed Gerard of Villamagna*, dates to the end of the second decade of the fourteenth century (cat. 36).[33] This manuscript contains no text; either it represents the prefatory image cycle to a devotional or liturgical manuscript or else it was originally designed as a picture book.[34] It is significant for this study because it exhibits two different artistic hands—one who was responsible for the first gathering of bifolia in the manuscript, and a second who completed the second gathering and the final bifolio, which displays the Gerard of Villamagna scenes. This indicates that even at this early stage in his career, Pacino was able to train other artists in his style, and that a single commission might be worked on by more than one artist from his workshop.

In the period that followed, Pacino turned increasingly to smaller-scale devotional paintings and, increasingly, to manuscript illumination.[35] Works during this period include the Tucson tabernacle (cat. 37), which adopts the serial narrative of *The Tree of Life* and the compositional format of *Scenes from the Life of Christ and the Life of the Blessed Gerard of Villamagna*. Among these more ambitious manuscript commissions is the large and extensively illuminated Bible in the Biblioteca Trivulziana, which likely dates to the fourth decade of the fourteenth century (cat. 30).[36] It was also beginning around 1330 that Pacino's workshop began to illuminate copies of the *Divine Comedy* (see Pasut essay), including the manuscript known as the Dante Poggiali, where Pacino contributed half-page miniatures of *Inferno* (cat. 43). Yet another Pacinesque hand is found in a copy of Giovanni d'Andrea's *Novella commentaria in libros I–II Decretalium*, perhaps made shortly after the Roman author's stay in Florence in 1334 (cat. 49).[37] One of the most ambitious and unusual manuscript commissions from Pacino's workshop is the earliest manuscript copy of the *Carmina regia: The Address of Prato to Robert of Anjou*, which is datable to 1336, when the city of Prato in the Florentine *contado* (the area around the city-state) was threatened by Florence's expansion and looked to Roger, the king of Naples, for protection (cat. 5). This book is the clearest example of Pacino adopting Giottesque figural types in the context of his manuscript illumination, and the dating of this manuscript to the middle of his career shows the impact of Giotto's work on manuscript illumination toward the end of the elder artist's life.

Pacino's most elaborate manuscript commissions and most creative panel painting compositions can be dated to the final phase of his career. Pacino's workshop was responsible for the most famous illuminated copy of Giovanni Villani's *Nuova cronica* (a history of Florence), which records events up to 1333 and is datable to the 1340s.[38] The five-volume antiphonary commissioned for the church of Santa Maria dell'Impruneta, just outside of Florence, was one of his most extensive projects, and one that required several non-Pacinesque artistic hands to complete, as will be discussed below (cat. 55). The presence of illuminations by the Master of the Antiphonary of San Giovanni Fuorcivitas in one volume of the antiphonary (cat. 55.1) suggests a dating for these works of around 1335–40 or perhaps slightly later in the 1340s, at the time the Laudario of Sant'Agnese (cat. 45) was also made,[39] although it is likely that some time elapsed between these two major manuscript commissions, owing to the elaborate nature of the

Figure 5.2
Pacino di Bonaguida, *The Tree of Life*, ca. 1310–15. Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia (1890 n. 8459).

projects. Although no internal evidence survives for dating the Laudario of Sant'Agnese, given its extensive program of decoration, complex compositions, and refined rendering of figures, the manuscript is considered one of the late products of Pacino's workshop and is generally dated to the 1340s. The *Chiarito Tabernacle* (cat. 56) may also be dated to this period, since Chiarito del Voglia founded the Augustinian convent that housed the painting on August 20, 1343, with his wife becoming its first abbess.[40] Because the painting depicts events from the life of the Blessed Chiarito, the *Chiarito Tabernacle* may be dated to after 1343. While not his most spectacular commissions, two other manuscripts attributed to Pacino are datable to the middle of the fifth decade of the fourteenth century. The first is a copy of Bartolomeo da San Concordio's *Ammaestramenti degli antichi* (Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, Ms. Castiglioni 3), which contains a colophon stating the manuscript was made in 1343.[41] The second is an antiphonary in Pistoia made for the church of Saint Stephen, decorated with two historiated initials and with an inscription dating it to 1347.[42] Based on the documentary evidence and his datable works, Pacino's career apparently spanned from around 1303 to 1347, precisely the years when Florence saw an upswing in civic and church building, a growth that eventually slowed as the Black Death descended on the city (1348–50). The sheer number of commissions attributed to Pacino during this nearly fifty-year period demonstrates how his workshop benefited from Florentine prosperity and how the artist provided many patrons with the books and devotional paintings they needed to feed their desire for learning, for recording their history, and for ensuring the salvation of their souls.

Stylistically, Pacino's work displays an indebtedness to the more conservative artistic traditions of the late Duecento while incorporating some elements drawn from the more innovative artists of the early Trecento, especially Giotto. His figural types are generally characterized by compact, egg-shaped heads and mitt-like hands rendered in a distinct set of positions. Pacino was skilled at depicting the undulations and folds of drapery, sometimes to the point of revealing the human form beneath (cat. 5), but his nude figures often display rubbery limbs and awkward proportions (see *The Tree of Life*; fig. 5.2). Pacino achieved greater success in depicting the human form naturalistically, however, in his frequent depictions of the crucified Christ. In these examples, the artist carefully modeled the musculature of Christ's torso, creating a believable rendition of the human body (see especially *The Tree of Life* and cats. 4, 19, 21, 26). The results exhibit great affinity with Giotto's Crucifixion scenes on the large and small scale, especially Pacino's nearly life-size *Crucifix* from the Museo de Arte in Ponce (cat. 19) as compared with Giotto's monumental Santa Maria Novella and Ognissanti *Crucifixes* (see figs. 2.1, 1.8), and the *Crucifixion* from the Longhi Foundation (cat. 4) with the *Crucifixion* panels from Berlin and Strasbourg (see fig. 1.13 and cat. 25.2). Pacino's figures rarely reach the emotionalism of Giotto's; however, they often exhibit great expressiveness in their interaction with each other through glance and gesture, all with the primary purpose of conveying the narrative details of the story depicted in the scene.

Pacino's execution of compositions on panel and parchment often defies the use of the larger figure scale typically associated with panel paintings and the small-scale figures typically associated with illuminated manuscripts. Most arresting are the scenes that fill the pages of the *Carmina regia* (cat. 5). This sizable manuscript contains equally large-scale illuminations: in one the seated figure of Christ occupies almost the entire page and is about twelve inches high—a highly unusual scale for any single figure in an illuminated manuscript up to this point in time.

It is here that Pacino's indebtedness to Giotto appears most clearly, both in the monumentality and weightiness of the figures and in their regal presence. Conversely, in several of the panel paintings that Pacino executed, such as the *Chiarito Tabernacle* (cat. 56) and the Tucson tabernacle (cat. 37), the artist chose to compose scenes with diminutive figures on a scale usually found in manuscript illumination. This is also true of his largest panel painting, *The Tree of Life*, where the eight-foot-tall panel is filled with hundreds of figures, each only a few inches high. In each of these paintings, he portrays a narrative composed of multiple scenes arranged serially, presenting sequential moments from the story being told (to be discussed further below). Perhaps Pacino found these small figures, drawn from their typical placement within the written text of a manuscript, more suited to a narrative mode of painting. It is tempting to suggest that Pacino's figures sometimes do not exhibit the scale traditional to their medium because he was active as both a panel painter and an illuminator; however, the work of other contemporary artists who worked in both media, such as the Master of the Dominican Effigies and the Master of the Codex of Saint George, does not frequently exhibit such great discrepancies in scale. Instead, this feature of Pacino's work speaks to his ability to rethink traditional artistic and compositional techniques while still satisfying patrons who desired works that conformed to traditional subject matter, such as scenes from the life of Christ.

While Pacino may only rarely have achieved the naturalism of Giotto's figures or the older artist's evocation of three-dimensional space in his compositions, where he excelled was in his ability to grapple with complicated or unprecedented subjects for new audiences. Pacino's iconographic creativity appears in many of his works, the best known of which is *The Tree of Life*. Pacino based this complex image on a text called *Lignum vitae* (Tree of Life) by the Franciscan theologian Saint Bonaventure.[43] The author describes Christ as the Tree of Life with twelve branches that represent various virtues. The fruits on the branches are events from Christ's life upon which the reader (or viewer) was meant to meditate one by one in sequence (see Suda essay).[44] Pacino repeated this composition, in a simplified form, in a large-scale illuminated Bible in the Biblioteca Trivulziana (cat. 30), where the scene prefaces the New Testament portion of the manuscript. Here, the fruits are filled mainly with Old Testament prophets, who hold scrolls displaying the titles of the fruits Bonaventure describes.[45] The impact of Pacino's treatment of this theologically complex subject matter is clear. Later in the fourteenth century, Taddeo Gaddi produced a monumental fresco of the same subject, which fills one wall of the refectory in the Franciscan convent of Santa Croce (fig. 5.3). Thus, with the commission of *The Tree of Life* early on in his career, Pacino was at the forefront of early Trecento artistic developments in Florence, which were spurred by the desire of the mendicant orders, in this case the Franciscans, for new devotional imagery to decorate their growing churches and to enrich their spiritual lives.

On a smaller scale, at the end of his career, Pacino executed a triptych known today as the *Chiarito Tabernacle* (cat. 56), which he produced for an Augustinian convent located on the Via San Gallo in Florence. This painting contains scenes from the dual narratives of the life of Christ and that of the local Florentine holy man, the Blessed Chiarito del Voglia. Scholars have long grappled with the meaning of the compelling and seemingly bizarre composition that dominates the central panel, which depicts the twelve Apostles receiving Holy Communion from the central figure of Christ by means of tubes that extend from his navel directly into their mouths. Attempts to pinpoint a textual or visual source for this unique image have met with

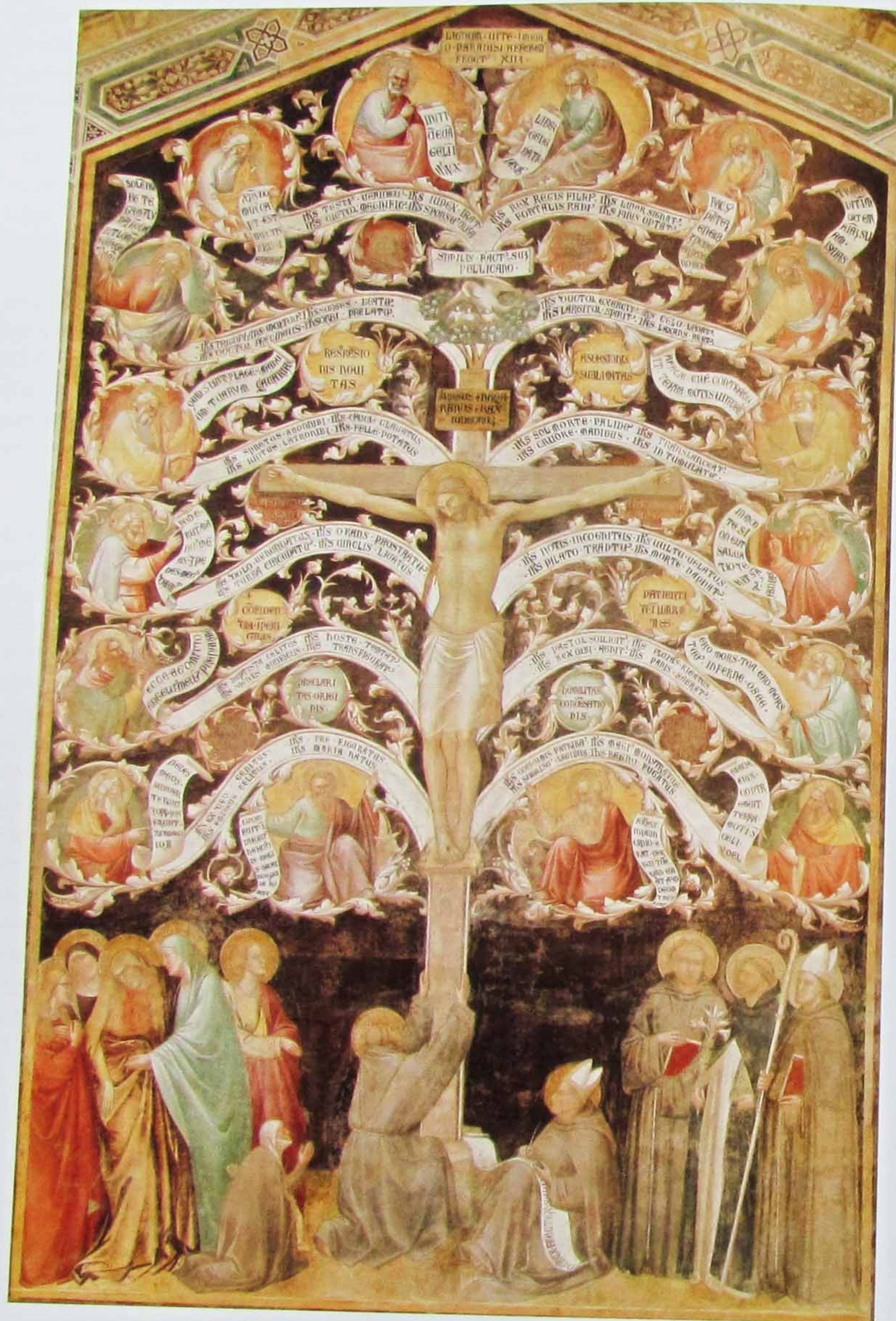


Figure 5.3
Taddeo Gaddi, *The Tree of Life*, ca. 1340. Florence, refectory of the convent of Santa Croce.

little success, but it likely relates to contemporary discussions of the doctrine of transubstantiation, which holds that during the Mass the bread and wine actually become the body and blood of Christ.[46] Even the gilded gesso technique, also known as *pastiglia*, used to depict the scene in monochrome relief, while discussed later by Cennino Cennini in his *Libro dell'arte* of around 1400,[47] had never up to this point in time been used on such a large scale nor been employed to create figural or narrative compositions.[48] Both the unusual subject matter and technique found in the *Chiarito Tabernacle* provide evidence of Pacino's creativity and innovation in the artistic commissions he produced for Florentine patrons.

These patrons also turned to Pacino's workshop for illustrated copies of some of the new literary texts being produced in Florence. Most importantly, Pacino, along with the Master of the Dominican Effigies, was the first to illustrate Dante's *Divine Comedy*, which was completed in 1321. His miniatures and historiated initials gave visual form, for the first time, to the vivid and sometimes horrific events described in the author's tale of his journey through hell, purgatory, and heaven (see Pasut essay). Depictions of hell, such as scenes from the Apocalypse, were frequent in European art by the fourteenth century, but Pacino had to develop a new set of imagery to convey the events described by Dante for which there was little precedent, such as the scene of traitorous people trapped in a lake of ice with Count Ugolino della Gherardesca of Pisa devouring the head of Archbishop Ruggieri (cat. 43.2). The groundbreaking visual iconography developed for representing Dante's narrative set the stage for later artists, who illuminated this popular text well into the fifteenth century.[49]

Finally, the most significant illuminated project undertaken by Pacino at the end of his career, the Laudario of Sant'Agnese, displays not only his painting technique on parchment at its finest but also his iconographic creativity. Although the miniatures and marginal scenes that decorate the leaves of this manuscript relate to the traditional temporal and sanctoral feasts of the liturgical year, and therefore often display standard subject matters, Pacino incorporated some innovative elements. In the *Saint Agnes Enthroned* leaf (cat. 45.6), he included two scenes in the lower half of the miniature that are drawn from the account of the saint's life in *The Golden Legend* but that appear to have no visual precedent—the symbolic marriage of the priest Paulinus to a statue of Saint Agnes and the apparition of Saint Agnes to the relatives mourning at her tomb. The *Trinity* leaf (cat. 45.16) commemorates the feast celebrating the triune nature of God, which had been newly codified in the early Trecento. While images of the Trinity appear before the fourteenth century, the marginal scenes in this leaf display new variations on Trinitarian imagery, such as the *Gnadenstuhl* (seat of mercy) in the upper right corner, which does not appear in Italian altarpieces or tabernacles until the second half of the fourteenth century. In the *Saint Lawrence* leaf (cat. 45.21), the central figure of the saint is shown enduring torture on a hot grill; however, unlike in other earlier or contemporary examples of this scene, where he is shown either in pain or relatively expressionless, here he is depicted in a state of religious ecstasy. Pacino's elaboration upon standard iconography in the large variety of scenes in the Laudario speaks again to the artist's great skill in creating evocative narratives that both engage and edify the viewer.

Characterizing Pacino's Workshop

Gathering together the leaves of the Laudario of Sant'Agnese provides an opportunity to address some of the difficulties in attributing the works produced by Pacino's workshop (see Sciacca

"Laudario" essay). Even among the leaves in the Laudario attributed to Pacino, distinct differences are apparent. For example, in the two Laudario leaves by Pacino in the Getty Museum collection (cats. 45.12, 45.21), a comparison of the faces and beards of similar figures demonstrates that the paint surface is built up in different ways (see Szafran and Turner essay). Upon evaluating the seventeen Laudario leaves known to him in 1957, Richard Offner suggested a breakdown of artistic hands among the leaves, attributing four to the Master of the Dominican Effigies, ten to Pacino's workshop, and three to Pacino and his workshop (in these he felt the master's hand was present within a workshop production). Comparing these last two examples side by side, however, reveals more stylistic differences than similarities.

A broad overview of the twenty-eight surviving leaves known today reveals that particular ones fall into groups based on their stylistic qualities. The figures wearing belted tunics in the *Saint Andrew*, *Saint Lucy*, *Saint Lawrence*, and *Saint Bartholomew* leaves (cats. 45.2, 45.3, 45.21, 45.23) exhibit similar long-waisted proportions, and their gestures are more lyrical, as they row a boat (*Saint Andrew*), pull ropes and thrust spears (*Saint Lucy*), or simply gesture toward the central figure in the composition (*Saint Lawrence*). Even some of their hairstyles, which are bobbed, flip up at their ends, and swing back in response to their action (see especially *Saint Lucy* and *Saint Bartholomew*), are atypical of Pacino's work and are not found in the rest of the Laudario. A second grouping of leaves follows in the vein of the *Saints Peter and Paul* leaf mentioned above, where the figures are rather more substantial, and awkwardly positioned. Similar figural types appear in the *Saint Mary Magdalene* and *Saint James* leaves (cats. 45.18, 45.19). In addition, some facial types are repeated, especially when one compares the disembodied heads in the lower right corners of the *Saints Peter and Paul* and *Saint James* leaves. Finally, the miniatures found in the *Saint Michael* (cat. 45.11), *Saint Agnes* (cat. 45.6), and *Resurrection* (cat. 45.9) leaves exhibit dense compositions filled with figures with compact, rounded heads, and, for the smaller figures, a doll-like appearance. Thus, the above groupings lay out at least three different artistic hands. While they all display the basic characteristics of Pacino's body of work, they demonstrate the slight variations that inevitably occur in a workshop production.

Considering these stylistic nuances in light of the revised sequence of leaves proposed in this catalogue (see Sciacca "Laudario" essay) reveals that the leaves which display stylistic similarities also group together codicologically; that is, particular artistic hands appear together in distinct sections of the book. In the urban workshop, as in earlier periods in the monastic scriptorium, manuscript production was a group effort, with various people completing different tasks, from writing the text to illuminating the pages to binding the book. For elaborately decorated volumes, the task of painting the pages might be divided up among different artists who would work on particular quires, or groupings of bifolia, that would be bound together to form the completed manuscript. Thus, it is not entirely surprising to find gatherings of artistic hands in distinct sections of the Laudario. Nonetheless, to find them grouped together in this way adds further weight to the stylistic distinctions outlined here and the proposed sequence of pages.

While stylistic similarities and differences among the Laudario leaves allow them to be categorized by artistic hand, certain pictorial motifs appear throughout the manuscript and across these stylistic groupings. For example, a male figure wielding a sword above his head appears in both the *Saint James* and *Saint Christopher* leaves (cats. 45.19, 45.20), figures sheathing their swords appear in both the *Saints Peter and Paul* and *Saint Bartholomew* leaves (cats. 45.17, 45.23), rod- or spear-wielding figures appear in the *Saint Andrew*, *Saint Lucy*, and

Saint Lawrence leaves (cats. 45.2, 45.3, 45.21), and a pair of angels lifting a soul to heaven appear in the *Saint Lawrence*, *Saint Bartholomew*, and, in modified form, *Saints Peter and Paul* leaves. These motifs run throughout all the stylistically distinct Pacinesque hands, which suggests the possible use of a model book within the workshop (see Szafran and Turner essay).

Until relatively recently, visual comparison was the primary means by which scholars attempted to resolve attribution issues. Another way to explore these difficult questions is to bring methods of technical analysis and conservation to bear on these manuscripts. A team of scientists from the Getty Conservation Institute, as well as manuscripts and paintings conservators from the Getty Museum, has conducted extensive analyses (using noninvasive and nondestructive means; see Szafran and Turner essay and Patterson, Phenix, and Trentelman essay) on a selection of leaves from the Laudario to examine whether differences in artistic materials or techniques might provide evidence of a particular artist's hand.[50] Their discovery of slight palette differences in the leaves—such as the use of the deep blue pigment indigo to outline halos in the *Saint James* and *Saint Lawrence* leaves, while carbon black was used in other illuminations, and the use of the pigment mosaic gold in only a handful of the illuminations examined—may corroborate the idea that different Pacinesque artists contributed to the various Laudario leaves. Additional examinations of aspects like underdrawings and the types of brushstrokes used may also help to distinguish between the working processes of different artists. The data collected in the present study, and additional information gathered by future researchers on other works from Pacino's workshop, may help sort out the identities of some of the different artists active in producing works now subsumed under the blanket name of "Pacino."

In the revised edition of the *Corpus of Florentine Painting*, Miklós Boskovits preserved Offner's attributions for the Laudario leaves, stating: "Although some of Offner's distinctions (master with assistance, shop of the master, close follower, etc.) may now appear too subtle and meticulous, they generally find their justification."[51] At the same time, Boskovits attributed all three of the additional Laudario leaves and fragments identified after Offner's original publication to "Pacino di Bonaguida."[52] I would argue that this more expansionist treatment of Pacinesque hands in the Laudario, whereby all of the leaves not by the Master of the Dominican Effigies are attributed to Pacino, is far more useful for understanding and characterizing the work of the very prolific workshop of Pacino di Bonaguida. Rather than focusing solely on the distinctions between hands, it is more productive to characterize instead the collective identity of Pacino and his sought-after commissions. As Hayden Magginis has stated: "Conditions of production and structures within the craft meant that fourteenth-century pictures often present a variety of 'hands.' And although Trecento patrons were not the connoisseurs of modern art history, they must have known full well those conditions and structures and their implications."[53] In other words, those commissioning these works were aware that they would be completed through the efforts of multiple artisans, but if the overall appearance of the completed image was in the style of the master artist with whom they contracted, they were satisfied.

Pacino and the Master of the Dominican Effigies

While documents related to Pacino are scarce, even less is known about the anonymous painter known as the Master of the Dominican Effigies. Richard Offner named this artist after an unusual panel painting he completed for the convent of Santa Maria Novella depicting seventeen Dominican saints gathered below the enthroned figures of the Virgin Mary and Christ

(cat. 10).[54] Depicted in the painting is the Blessed Maurice of Hungary, who died in 1336; thus the panel dates to about 1336 or slightly later and represents this master's earliest datable work.[55] Like Pacino, this artist was both a panel painter and a manuscript illuminator, and many examples of his work in both media survive. Some of the most accomplished and well preserved include a set of small shutters, presumably for a tabernacle, depicting Christ's crucifixion and the subsequent lamentation over his dead body (cat. 53), and a copy of *Tractatus de virtutibus et vitiis* filled with scenes of female personifications of the Virtues and the Last Judgment (cat. 39). And, like Pacino, he was one of the first artists to illuminate the *Divine Comedy* with figural scenes evoking Dante's narrative, including the earliest dated illuminated copy (from 1337), in the Biblioteca Trivulziana (cat. 42).

Scholars have cited close similarities between the work of the Master of the Dominican Effigies and that of another anonymous artist, known as the Biadaiolo Master, so called because he illuminated a copy of the *Specchio umano*, which records the activities of the Florentine grain merchant (*biadaiolo*) Domenico Lenzi (cat. 9).[56] Since the Biadaiolo Master's works are generally dated before 1335, and those by the Master of the Dominican Effigies after 1335, some have proposed that the Biadaiolo artist was the teacher of the younger Master of the Dominican Effigies, but more recently, scholars have rightly suggested that these two personalities actually reflect an earlier and later phase of the same artist's career.[57] When works that have been attributed to either artist are examined, many facial types, compositional elements, and stylistic aspects appear throughout, suggesting the development of a single artist. Focusing on two of the Master of the Dominican Effigies' works on panel and parchment from this later period—the eponymous painting in Santa Maria Novella and the leaves he illuminated in the Laudario of Sant'Agnese—reveals several salient features of his work. His figures' faces are characterized by close-set features and swarthy skin tones. The latter is a result of the artist's use of shades of brown and gray to model flesh rather than the layering of green, pink, and white favored by Pacino.[58] Youthful figures have full, rounded cheeks, and the older, bearded types display sunken ones, articulated with heavy shading. In terms of composition, the artist was an innovator in evoking a sense of three-dimensional space in manuscript illumination. For example, in the *Pentecost* leaf (cat. 45.14; fig. 5.4), he depicts the Apostles and Mary assembled in a believable semicircular arrangement in front of and behind a low wall and seated underneath a Gothic architectural canopy open at the sides to reveal a highly polished gold background. The illuminator's clever shading of the blue ceiling covered with stars evokes the type of vaulting typical of Italian architecture of this period.

The Master of the Dominican Effigies' illuminations appear along with those by Pacino di Bonaguida in several manuscripts.[59] These include an antiphonary made for the church of Santa Maria Novella (Cor. H)[60] and a copy of the *Divine Comedy* (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Cod. Pluteo 40.12).[61] An even more ambitious undertaking was the five-volume antiphonary made for the church of Santa Maria dell'Impruneta mentioned above (cat. 55).[62] These books contain illuminations by the Master of the Antiphonary of San Giovanni Fuorcivitas in addition to those by Pacino and the Master of the Dominican Effigies. The volumes numbered III, IV, and V of the Impruneta antiphonary were illuminated by Pacino's workshop, with several Pacinesque hands in evidence; volume VII is primarily by Pacino's workshop but with three historiated initials by the Master of the Dominican Effigies and several others by the Master of San Giovanni Fuorcivitas,[63] and volume VI is primarily by Pacino's workshop, but

with one elaborately illuminated page by the Master of the Dominican Effigies in the middle of the manuscript.[64] This set of large-scale choir books represents a massive undertaking, and the project seems to have necessitated a division of work among members of Pacino's shop. That independent artists were called in to assist with two volumes of the manuscript may indicate that the book was unfinished by Pacino and completed by others or that these other artists were invited in during the planning stages of the volume, when it became clear that more help was needed to complete the commission. While we cannot be certain of the validity of either theory, given that Pacino's work appears along with that of other artists in several other manuscript commissions, it was likely a regular practice for him to engage with illuminators working outside his workshop.

The greatest masterpiece produced by Pacino and the Master of the Dominican Effigies, however, is the Laudario of Sant'Agnese, which was dismantled in the nineteenth century and from which only twenty-six of twenty-eight identified leaves are known to have survived into the twenty-first century (cat. 45). New information about the original sequence of these leaves makes it possible to better understand both the relationship among the images, as they would have appeared to the Trecento reader proceeding through the book, and the nature of the creative process of the two illuminators who may have collaborated on this single manuscript. These findings, in turn, have implications for understanding the mechanics of artist collaborations in general in the early Trecento. For example, according to the reconstructed sequence of the leaves, the contributions of the Master of the Dominican Effigies appear in single leaves near the front and back of the manuscript (cats. 45.4, 45.25), as well as in a sequence of three leaves, perhaps originally forming a quire, toward the middle of the manuscript (*Saint Zenobius*, *Pentecost*, *The Last Supper*; cats. 45.13–.15). The presence of the Master's work throughout the manuscript could mean that he and Pacino were working together on the book at all stages of its production, but it does not exclude the possibility that the younger Master was called in to finish selected parts of a project begun by Pacino.[65] At the same time, technical analysis reveals that while the various Pacinesque artists who worked on the Laudario collectively used a palette quite similar to that of the Master of the Dominican Effigies, some differences are apparent. For example, the Laudario leaves by the Master of the Dominican Effigies do not contain indigo or mosaic gold, while several of the Pacinesque leaves do (see table 2 in Patterson, Phenix, and Trentelman essay). Additionally, in one notable instance, the red pigment used by the Master in the flesh tones of the *Pentecost* leaf appears to be red lead, while vermilion appears to serve the same purpose in the Pacinesque leaves examined.[66] These data provide support for the idea that, as a collaborator of Pacino's rather than a pupil of his workshop, the Master of the Dominican Effigies may have had greater independence than the Pacinesque artists and so was able to employ his own preferred techniques and materials within this collaborative manuscript project. Alternatively, this difference in pigment may indicate that the Master of the Dominican Effigies painted in a completely different work space than the Pacinesque artists and therefore had different materials available to him.[67] This latter possibility may revise the common perception of artistic collaborations as involving two independent artists working side by side on different parts of a single commission.

Annabel Thomas has recently proposed a broader consideration of Florentine artists' working relationships, which extends beyond that of the master-pupil or master-assistants relationship to consider the idea of artist collaborations that lacked such a hierarchy.[68] Indeed, the

Master of the Dominican Effigies may have contributed relatively fewer images than Pacino to the collaborative commissions mentioned above, but the quality of his illumination and his carefully constructed compositions ally him with Pacino at his best and place him on an equal level of accomplishment with the elder artist.[69] Although their respective artistic styles are both early Trecento Florentine in character, they are disparate enough that when directly juxtaposed, the distinction between hands is, and would have been, immediately obvious. Owing to the nature of manuscripts—multiple images separated by textual passages—a patron could commission a work containing imagery by the two greatest early Trecento Florentine illuminators, confident that their work would function comfortably side by side and that their established working relationship would make for a successful collaborative project.

Figure 5.4
Detail of cat. 45.14.

Conclusion

Although Pacino di Bonaguida has fallen into relative obscurity in the twenty-first century, in the first half of the Trecento he was "the head and center" of Florentine illumination,[70] while simultaneously producing important and influential panel painting commissions. I would argue that in large part Pacino's success can be traced to the fact that not only did he excel in providing the traditional narrative elements of storytelling but he also elevated this representational mode to a higher level by including unusual iconographic details and by inventing a visual vocabulary for the new texts being written in early Trecento Florence. He also included a great variety of imagery in his illumination of the Laudario of Sant'Agnese, along with numerous portraits of the confraternity members who commissioned this work for their own religious ceremonies. Pacino's work also adapted well to the needs of the mendicant orders, including the Franciscans, who commissioned him to render a monumental and unprecedented image of Saint Bonaventure's *Tree of Life*. The result was a complex work that inspired prolonged meditation on successive events, each of which was contained within its own individual roundel. Pacino also created stunning and mystical pieces like the *Chiarito Tabernacle*, decorated with an obscure scene of the Communion of the Apostles executed in gold relief in addition to serial narratives from the life of Christ and the life of the local Florentine holy man, the Blessed Chiarito, that were meant to inspire contemplation and religious devotion. Hayden Maginnis has pointed out that, in addition to possessing a deep desire to commission objects of great beauty, "Patrons, then, might demand many things of an artist, but invention and originality were the distinguishing traits of the great painter."[71] Indeed, the first half of the Trecento saw the rise of new groups such as the mendicant orders, the merchant class, and the early humanists,[72] all of whom demanded specific types of paintings and manuscripts. Perhaps the key to Pacino's success was his ability to adapt traditional modes of representation to provide for the innovative needs of these new entities.

To keep up with the demand for his work on panel and parchment, Pacino led a workshop of artists who worked in his style and who were called upon collectively to produce large-scale commissions such as *The Tree of Life*, the Morgan *Life of Christ* manuscript, the Impruneta antiphonary, and the Laudario of Sant'Agnese. He also worked with contemporary artists who possessed their own distinctive style, such as the Master of the Dominican Effigies. This working relationship offers insight into another aspect of artistic production in early Trecento Florence: artist collaborations. The number of works that survive from the early Trecento and later that demonstrate the collective work of accomplished artists, each with a distinct style, undermines our modern concept of the Renaissance artist as an autonomous "genius" and speaks instead of a spirit of collaboration aimed at achieving a common goal. This collaborative approach mirrors the increasing involvement of various levels of Florentine society in civic life, as artists and other members of the artisan class, in particular, participated in a collective effort to build the wealth and beauty of their city.

Using the above discussion as a foundation for understanding Pacino's body of work, the way in which his workshop may have functioned, and his significant role in the early Trecento Florentine artistic community, we can delve still further into this fascinating artistic personality. Through the techniques of conservation and conservation science available to us today we can examine how Pacino's gold punch work may provide information about his workshop and artistic collaborations (see Rivers essay), we can describe the specific painting techniques Pacino

used on panel and on parchment (see Szafran and Turner essay), and we can determine what pigments he and his collaborators employed (see Patterson, Phenix, and Trentelman essay) and how these colors have changed over time, altering and even distorting our modern-day perception of Pacino's work (see Berns essay). All of these aspects provide further information about how Pacino's prolific workshop operated to fulfill the great demand for the work of one of the most creative and inventive artistic personalities in early Trecento Florence.

NOTES

1 Offner 1930a; Offner 1956; Offner 1957; Boskovits 1984a; Offner and Boskovits 1987.
2 Offner 1956, xiii.
3 Larner 1971, 292.
4 Larner 1971, 298; Bomford et al. 2002, 11.
5 For studies of the guild system, see Goldthwaite 1980, 242–86; Staley 1906.
6 Hueck 1972, esp. 114.
7 For an extensive study of the guild of the Medici e Speziali, see Ciasca 1927.
8 Hueck 1972, 114; Bomford et al. 2002, 6.
9 Larner 1971, 288; Alexander 1992, 120.
10 In other places, such as Paris, some illuminators joined the scribes' guild while others joined the painters' guild. Alexander 1992, 90.
11 Alexander 1992, 120.
12 Hueck 1972, 119, 120. A monumental crucifix in the Museo di Santa Croce is attributed to this artist, as is an illuminated gradual in the Museo del Tesoro di Santa Maria dell'Impruneta. See Proto Pisani 1996, 125–30, cat. 1 (entry by Magnolia Scudieri and Maria Sframeli Rosanna). Another gradual attributed to a follower of Lippo di Benivieni is in New York (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 41.100.91). See Kanter et al. 1994, 6–7.
13 Alexander 1992, 30. The author notes, for example, that Perugia had an illuminators' guild as early as 1310.
14 Larner 1971, 299.
15 Doren 1940, 117. I thank Bryan Keene for bringing this reference to my attention.
16 Florence, Archivio di Stato, *Archivio dei contratti di Firenze; Rogiti di ser Gianni ricevuti; Protocollo dal 1298 al 1328*. No surviving works have been attributed to Tambo di Serraglio.
17 Hueck 1972, 117.
18 Hueck 1972, 117.
19 Heuck 1972, 117. Hueck also suggests that Pacino may have been working as an independent artist before 1329 and states that he was unable to lead a workshop until he enrolled in the guild. The fact that he is referred to as *publicus artifex* in the 1303 document, however, indicates his guild enrollment in this early phase of his career, which contradicts Hueck's interpretation of Pacino as an independent master without a workshop until 1329.
20 Kanter et al. 1994, 44. Arguing for a date of either 1315 or 1320 are: Labriola 2004b, esp. 841; Boskovits 2009a, 158. Offner (1930a, 2) argued for a date of "probably 1315 not later than 1330." Boskovits repeated this dating in the revised edition of this volume: Offner and Boskovits 1987, 64.
21 Follini and Rastrelli 1795; Thode 1885; Suida 1905; Offner 1930a, iv. Interestingly, Bernard Berenson (1926) refuted the connection between these paintings, suggesting that *The Tree of Life* is Umbrian-Riminese.
22 Offner 1930a, v. See Borsook essay for a brief discussion of this piece and its dating to the 1320s. Others, however, have dated this altarpiece to the 1330s. For more on the Bologna altarpiece, see Cauzzi and Seccaroni 2009; Medica 2005, 166–71.
23 Offner 1930a, vi.
24 Offner 1930a, vi; Offner 1956, xiii.
25 Kanter et al. 1994, esp. 44–83.
26 Kanter et al. 1994, 5.
27 Labriola 2008; Manzari 2009.
28 Manzari 2009, 278.
29 Boskovits 1984a, 47. See also Szafran and Turner essay.
30 For a concise outline of many of Pacino's works, see Labriola 2004b, 841–42: "Pacino di Bonaguida," *Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale*, vol. 9 (Rome, 1998), 53–55.
31 Kanter et al. 1994, 45.
32 Entry by Miklós Boskovits in Tartuferi 2000, 138. Boskovits dates the Giotto glass to ca. 1305–10 and the Pacino glass to 1310–15.
33 Boskovits (1984a, 259) cites a manuscript from this period (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Cod. Pluteo 39.39) dated to 1314 that contains a single illumination by Pacino—an author portrait within an initial—on fol. 1; however, the damaged state of the initial makes it difficult to confirm this attribution.
34 For another example of the phenomenon of the medieval picture book, see Noel and Weiss 2002.
35 Boskovits 2009, 158.
36 Labriola 2004b, 842.
37 Labriola 2004b, 841.
38 Labriola 2004b, 841; Zanichelli 2005, 77. Labriola dates the manuscript to 1340; however, more recent research by Zanichelli indicates that the manuscript likely dates from 1341–48.
39 Entry by Ada Labriola in Tartuferi 2008, 192; Kanter et al. 1994, 45.
40 Hoch 2012. I thank Adrian Hoch for generously providing me with an advance copy of this article.
41 Boskovits 2009, 158. Labriola 2004b, 841. Labriola calls this the latest known work by Pacino.
42 Offner 1956, 181; Boskovits 2004, 158.
43 Bonaventure 1978. One earlier monumental depiction of the theme of the Tree of Life appears in a thirteenth-century apse mosaic in the church of San Clemente in Rome, but based on the description of the Tree of Life in the book of Revelation, not Saint Bonaventure's text. See Hatfield 1990, esp. 136–37.
44 Bonaventure 1978, xix.
45 Offner 1956, 218.
46 Various discussions of the iconography of the central panel include: Krüger 2002, 56, 73–75, figs. 29–30; Baert 2007; Kessler 2011, esp. 10; Lakey 2012.
47 Cennini discusses the building up and gilding of *pastiglia* (specifically "leaves or other productions") only sporadically in his text. I thank Christopher Platts for having tracked this thread through Cennini's text. See Cennini 1954, 73, 76, 82.
48 The gilded gesso technique was being used already in the thirteenth century to create decorative elements and designs around painted panels, and then later in the thirteenth century artists in Siena and Florence began to use gesso relief in depictions of the Virgin and Child Enthroned; however, the figures were painted in naturalistic flesh tones and colors rather than monochrome gilding as in the *Chiarito Tabernacle* (cat. 56). For the treatment of gold, see Rivers essay.
49 Later artists seem to follow Pacino's solution for depicting the difficult subject of figures frozen in a lake of ice. For versions of this image of traitors in later *Divine Comedy* manuscripts, see Brieger, Meiss, and Singleton 1969, 153–55, pls. 308–316.
50 These studies included many manuscripts and panel paintings beyond the Laudario. See Szafran and Turner essay and Patterson, Phenix, and Trentelman essay.
51 Offner and Boskovits 1987, 10.
52 Boskovits 1984a, 52–53n179.
53 Maginnis 1995, 29.
54 Offner 1930a, 49, 58–59.
55 Offner 1957, 28; Kanter et al. 1994, 56–57.
56 The similarity of the works of the Master of the Dominican Effigies and the Biadaiolo Master has been noted by Boskovits (1984a, 55).
57 Kanter et al. 1994, 56.
58 Across the career of the Master of the Dominican Effigies, it should be noted, there seems to be some variation in the pigments used to model flesh tones. See, for example, cat. 62.
59 It should be noted that the Master of the Dominican Effigies seems to have worked with other artists beyond Pacino, as the *Tractatus de virtutibus et vitiis* manuscript (cat. 39) also contains illuminations by the contemporary illuminator and panel painter the Maestro Daddesco. See Kanter et al. 1994, 56.
60 Offner and Boskovits 1987, 568, 582.
61 Offner 1956, 248.
62 Offner 1956, 210; Offner 1957, 48.
63 Fols. 122v, 132v, and 142.
64 Fol. 158.
65 Entry by Laurence B. Kanter in Avril, Reynaud, and Cordellier 2011, 58.
66 See Szafran et al. 2011.
67 I thank Karen Trentelman for suggesting this alternative scenario.
68 Thomas 2008.
69 Although both these artists were accomplished panel painters, no examples have been identified that demonstrate their collaboration on a single panel as opposed to particular manuscripts and larger sets of books.
70 Offner 1930a, iv; Kanter et al. 1994, 44.
71 Maginnis 1995, 2, 32.
72 See Borsook essay.