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Guido da Siena's Coronation of the Virgin Thirteenth-Century Marian Devotion between East and West

UDC: 75.051*Guido da Siena

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This paper examines a panel depicting the *Coronation of the Virgin* attributed to Guido da Siena dated c. 1262-1267 in the Courtauld Gallery (London) in the context of cultural and intellectual exchange between Italy, northern Europe and the Mediterranean east. The iconography of the Coronation of the Virgin, strictly defined as the moment when Christ is placing a crown on the Virgin's head, originated in England c.1100 and spread to the continent in the mid-13th century. In Italy, Guido's *Coronation* is the earliest surviving depiction, which belonged to an altarpiece commissioned for Siena cathedral to commemorate the miraculous intercession of the Virgin who granted Sienese victory over Florence in 1260. In the eschatological context of the mid-13th century in the north, the Virgin's extraordinary role as the intercessor for humanity was strongly visualised in the iconography of the Coronation of the Virgin where she turns to Christ in an orant pose. Guido rendered the northern iconography with motifs deriving from earlier Italian depiction of the Assumption of the Virgin: the orant pose of the Virgin showing her palms to the viewers and the motif of the angels carrying the mandorla. Meanwhile, chrysography on the Virgin's mantle demonstrates the typical 13th-century western use of the eastern technique to honour her as Maria Regina. Such eclecticism, I would argue, represents the ambitious civic commission to honour the Virgin as Siena's queen protectress by making effort, both intellectual and artistic, to obtain more intercession and protection as well as to demonstrate privilege.

Keywords: 13th century, Italian panel painting, Siena, cathedral, altarpiece, Guido da Siena, Madonna del Voto, iconography, Coronation of the Virgin, intercession

Introduction

This paper examines a panel depicting the *Coronation of the Virgin* attributed to Guido da Siena dated c. 1262-1267 in the Courtauld Gallery, London (figs. 1, 2), in the context of cultural and intellectual exchange between Italy, northern Europe and the Mediterranean east.¹ The iconography of the Coronation of the Virgin, strictly defined as the moment when Christ is placing a crown on the Virgin's head, originated in England c. 1100 and spread to the continent and beyond in the mid-13th century.² In Italy, Guido's *Coronation* is the earliest surviving depiction.³ It rendered the iconography northern in its origin in a highly eclectic manner demonstrating knowledge of various traditions of representing Mary. The fragmentary panel, originally part of a gable of a larger painting, depicts the Coronation of the Virgin within the moulding frame, probably once forming a trefoil arch, surrounded by a mandorla held by two angels.⁴ Two coat-of-arms are later additions; and major part of Christ including his left hand holding a book with an inscription is completely a modern repainting after the mid-19th century, as Johann Anton Ramboux's drawing probably made in 1833-1842 records a lacuna in this area.⁵ Nevertheless the detail of Christ's right hand placing a crown on the head of the Virgin in orant pose belongs to the original composition.

The reconstruction proposed by the Lindenau-Museum, Altenburg, in 2001 combined Guido's *Coronation* with 12 narrative panels dispersed in Siena, Altenburg, Paris and Princeton and the *Madonna del Voto* in Siena

cathedral (fig. 3).⁶ This is the most venerated icon believed to have been commissioned to commemorate the miraculous intercession of the Virgin who granted Sienese victory over Florence in 1260 at the Battle of Montaperti.⁷ The *Madonna del Voto* is also believed to have been on the high altar before it was replaced by the *Maestà* (1308-1311) by Duccio di Buoninsegna.⁸ The reconstruction, which has been criticised because of its unusual format,⁹ can be supported from a technical viewpoint with a slight modification (fig. 4). The correspondence of the measurement of the width of the planks constituting the altarpiece, the consistency of the characteristic joins slightly rising to the right, and the regular intervals of the dowels suggest that the dismembered panels originally belonged to the same structure. Moreover, the vertical shadow of the batten of the same width observed continuously at the centre of the *Coronation of the Virgin* and the *Madonna del Voto* strikingly suggest that they belonged together placed in the main vertical axis of the altarpiece. The reconstructed altarpiece measuring approximately 175x310 cm was most probably intended for the high altar.¹⁰ Thus Guido's *Coronation* belonged to the altarpiece of the *Madonna del Voto* commissioned to commemorate the miraculous intercession of the Virgin, which gave birth to Siena's identity as "the City of the Virgin".

The purpose of this paper is to provide further support for the extraordinary context of the commission through the iconographical analysis of the Coronation of the Virgin. Firstly I will examine the origin and the dissemination of this iconography and explore the message and the significance it carried both in religious and historical contexts. This will be followed by the observation of Guido's *Coronation* in comparison with various traditions of representing Mary's heavenly status to elucidate its innovation. I will conclude by repositioning Guido's *Coronation* in the context of cathedral decoration in Siena, and re-evaluate 13th-century Siena as an individual leading centre of Marian art production.

English origin of the Coronation of the Virgin c. 1100

The Coronation of the Virgin is an extra-biblical episode which conceptualises the Virgin's exceptional status as the Queen of Heaven, the Bride of Christ. It appeared as a visualisation of the allegory of the mystic marriage of Christ and the Church identified as the Virgin which emerged from an unprecedented interest in the Marian interpretation of the *Song of the Songs* in the early 12th century in northern Europe. ¹² In contrast to the general understanding that the iconography emerged in northern France, George Zarnecki suggested that it originated in England based on the discovery of the earliest surviving example from Reading Abbey dated c. 1125 in Reading Museum and Art Gallery (fig. 5) followed by the sculpted tympanum of Saint Mary (now Saint Swithin) in Quenington, Gloucestershire, dated c. 1150 (fig. 6). ¹³

Most recently, T.A. Heslop supported the English origin for the new Marian iconography by bringing into light an even earlier image of the Coronation once in the chapter house of Worcester cathedral, built and decorated around 1100.¹⁴ A transcription of the verses accompanying forty images, now lost, was made c. 1200 describing the Coronation of the Virgin as the culmination of the pictorial programme. Heslop suggested that the pictorial cycle was concentrated on the vault arranging the forty images in ten groups of four. This was based on a reliable visual record of the cycle kept in a manuscript in the library of Eton College datable to c. 1260 (Eton College, MS 177).¹⁵ The last two bays showed the *Unveiling of Synagogue* and the *Coronation of the Virgin* as the central elements each accompanied by three Old Testament prefigurations, or types. Placed side by side, the *Coronation of the Virgin* was conceived as a revelation to Synagogue who should "see the reality with the advent of Faith", as indicated by the accompanying verse surrounding the Synagogue: "Adveniente fide rem synagoga vide". The *Coronation* depicted as an assumption at the same time showing the Virgin crowned by Christ in a chariot drawn by the symbols of the Evangelists was conceived as the revealed mysteries of the wings and the wheels of Ezekiel which appeared as one of the types surrounding the *Unveiling of the Synagogue*.¹⁷

The intellectual background of Worcester, according to Heslop, indeed supports the possible English origin of the Coronation of the Virgin: Honorius Augustodunensis arrived in 1100 or very soon after possibly in order to

write his text, *Sigillum Beatae Mariae*. This text was significant in giving consistency to the explicit association of the *Song of the the Songs* with the Virgin, and in stating that everything written about Ecclesia in the traditional exegeses equally applies to Mary. The theme of Mary's royalty was most explicitly developed in Honorius's commentary on the *Song of Songs* glossing the line "veni sponsa mea...coronaberis" where he directly addresses Mary to receive the crown of triumph which she has deserved. Moreover, the cult of the Virgin was particularly strong in England in the early 12th century.

The Worcester Coronation is accompanied by a verse which describes the event as both a coronation and a marriage: "Betrothed with the dowry of Faith, made holy by her virtues, the Bride is crowned and united with God, the Bridegroom." Heslop emphasised the importance of the simultaneity of "crowned and united", for it "links the nuptial and regal transformations into a single event." The three types surrounding the Coronation allude to the significance of betrothal. The first type anticipates Christ's birth: "Peace rejoices with Justice as Mary gives birth." The second type is identified with the personifications of Mercy and Truth: "When Grace is given to the Law and the willing bride to the king." The final type implies a link between the Coronation of the Virgin and the union of two peoples: "Here Judea binds herself to Christ, as likewise does Idumea. Thus can one flock be made for the Lord out of two."²⁰ Heslop argued that these were prompted by a specific historical event. In August 1100, William the Conqueror's youngest son Henry ascended the throne, and promised to bring an end to the oppressive reign of his brother Rufus and to respect Anglo-Saxon law. As soon as he took the crown, he selected Matilda, a descendant of English kings, as his bride. The union of the Norman and English dynasties achieved through the coronation and marriage must have been connected with the salvation of the Anglo-Saxon populace, and thus stimulated the imagination to create the new subject-matter of the Coronation as the rhetoric of reconciliation.²¹ The iconography of the Coronation of the Virgin by Christ himself therefore appeared as an innovation in a specific political and devotional climate in 12th-century England.

Dissemination of the Coronation of the Virgin in Europe (c. 1150-1250)

Although the bodily assumption of the Virgin remained an issue of much debate, for the only source regarding this theme consisted of apocryphal texts,²² the development of the ecclesiastical and Mariological interpretation of the *Song of the Songs* supported her heavenly queenship as the Bride of Christ, and it was increasingly linked with the matter of faith. The Virgin's exceptional status was also visually argued through artistic production introducing the theme into sacred spaces traditionally reserved for the representation of the theophany.

The new type of iconography, showing the Virgin enthroned side by side with Christ in glory as the Bride of Christ, appeared in Santa Maria in Trastevere in Rome c. 1143.²³ The literary roots of the iconography was to be found in the Song of the Songs, although the immediate source for the designer of the mosaic, according to Ernst Kitzinger, was the liturgy of the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, where the biblical text of the Song of the Songs were extensively cited and paraphrased.²⁴ The text inscribed on the book held by Christ reads "veni electa mea et ponam in te thronum meum" ("Come my beloved, and I will put my throne in you"), 25 which is a paraphrase of the Song of the Songs 4:8, "Veni de Libano, sponsa mea, Veni de Libano, veni, coronaberis" ("Come from Libanus, my spouse, come from Libanus, come: thou shalt be crowned")²⁶ taken from the responses in the liturgy of Assumption Day. In its entirety in the liturgy, the phrase is followed by the final clause "quia concupivit Rex speciem tuam" ("Because I [the king] have desired your beauty"),²⁷ taken from the Psalm 44: 12. The text held by the Virgin reads "Leva eius sub capite meo et dex(t)era illius amplesabit(ur) me" ("His left hand is under my head, and his right hand shall embrace me"), a literal quotation from the Song of the Songs 2:6 and 8:3 recited in the same liturgy. It is highly possible that the liturgical text of the Assumption was the source of inspiration for the Trastevere mosaic, as well as for other representations of bride and bridegroom sharing a common throne.²⁸ This type of image spread all over Europe after its introduction in the sculpted tympana on the façade above the portal of cathedrals and monasteries in northern France from the mid-12th century onwards.²⁹



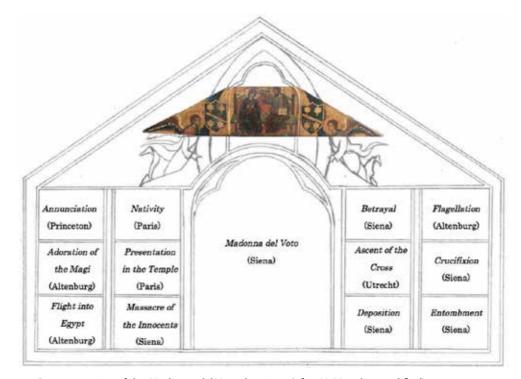
1 Guido da Siena, Coronation of the Virgin, c. 1262-1267, London, Courtauld Gallery



2 Guido da Siena, *Coronation of the Virgin* (part), c. 1262-1267, London, Courtauld Gallery

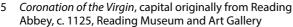


3 *Madonna del Voto*, c. 1262-1267, Siena cathedral (Wikimedia Commons)



4 Reconstruction of the *Madonna del Voto* altarpiece (after H. Manzke, modified), c. 1262-1267 (drawing and photo: K. Ichikawa)







6 Coronation of the Virgin, c. 1150, Quenington, Saint Swithin, tympanum over north portal

Philippe Verdier described the Coronation of the Virgin, broadly defined to include the crowned Virgin enthroned with Christ, as "the last theophany of Christian art" and remarked its position within the sequence of the history of the theophany immediately after the Last Judgement. The Coronation of the Virgin was a theme connected to Mary's role as the intercessor for humanity before Christ the Judge. Verdier noted that the valley of Josaphat, where the Virgin was entombed and from where she was assumed into heaven, is also the place where God will come and judge all the nations, according to Joel 3:2. This concept is visualised in the illustrations of the *Ingeborg Psalter* (Musée Condé, Chantilly, MS 9 Olim 1695) dated c. 1190: following the *Last Judgement* on folio 33 verso, folio 34 recto depicts the *Coronation* above the *Entombment*. In the 13th-century Liège psalter in Keble College in Oxford, the *Coronation of the Virgin* also appears in a prominent position in the full-page illustration of the "Beatus" initial of Psalm 1 (Keble College, Oxford, MS 17, fol. 21v), which is preceded by full-page gospel narrative illuminations. By the mid-13th century, placing the Coronation of the Virgin at the very end of the Christian narrative as the last theophany had become a logical solution in Gothic art. This explains that also for the reconstruction of Guido's altarpiece, the *Coronation of the Virgin* placed in the gable top to round off the gospel narrative is not a novelty or rarity, as previously noted by Lon Schröder. Moreover, the illustrated psalters most probably acted as a vehicle for transmitting the new iconography to Italy.

As noted by Verdier and Motokazu Kimata, the Coronation of the Virgin also began to appear in the initial of Psalm 109 in mid 13th-century England and France together with the iconography of the Trinity.³⁵ The Trinity itself generated between the 9th and the 13th centuries in the process of developing the illustration of Psalm 109 whose first line alludes to God the Father letting his son sit by himself: "The Lord said to my Lord: Sit thou at my right hand: Until I make thy enemies thy footstool."³⁶ This is cited in the Gospels in relation to the Ascension of Christ (Mark 16:19) or his Second Coming (Mark 14: 62), and more importantly in the *Apostle's Creed*: "... He ascended into heaven and is seated at the right hand of the Father. He will come again to judge the living and the dead..."³⁷

According to Kimata, it is indeed this theme that the illustration of the initial of Psalm 109 in the York Psalter c. 1260 (British Library, London, MS Add. 54179, fol. 110r) seeks to visualise: Christ who has suffered and resurrected ascends to heaven and is seated on the right of his Father waiting for the moment of the Last Judgement. In Kimata's view, the Holy Spirit was first added to visualise the creed of the Holy Trinity in a clearer way; and then the Coronation of the Virgin above the Holy Trinity containing the concept of the Incarnation, thus completing the whole vision of the Creed.³⁸

Establishing a complete vision of Christian faith was a crucial issue in the 13th century when the apocalyptic thought of preparing for the approaching moment of the Last Judgement was increasingly influential. The

Coronation of the Virgin without any canonical textual source thus gained a striking visual presence in Gothic art which provided this vision: the iconography of the Coronation of the Virgin by Christ himself pinpoints to the moment of the Last Judgement and emphasises her significant role as the ultimate intercessor, which is strongly symbolised by her orant pose.

Guido introduced this advanced iconography to Italy in the earliest stage, most probably because also in Siena in the mid-13th century, the intercession of the Virgin was a crucial theme after the Battle of Montaperti. The Virgin seated beside Christ looking out to the viewers in the orant pose must have conveyed a strong message and emphasised the historical purpose of the commission to commemorate the miraculous intercession of the Virgin. It must have had a political significance of virtually crowning the Virgin as Siena's queen protectress thus bringing peace and reconciliation, and also a religious significance of confessing Christian faith in the moment of excommunication.³⁹ As we shall see in the next section, Sienese selection of this northern iconography was deliberate, for there was already a range of visual repertoire regarding the Assumption of the Virgin in Italy around this time.

The Assumption of the Virgin in Italy and Guido da Siena's Coronation

In contrast to the development in the north, Italy did not see a considerable iconographical development of the crowned Virgin enthroned with Christ as the Queen of Heaven after the great mosaic in Santa Maria in Trastevere (c. 1143) for over a century. This might have been due to the controversial nature of the theme of the bodily assumption of the Virgin.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, Marian devotion and images flourished in Italy as well as in the north. The cult of the Assumption of the Virgin was well-established in 13th-century Italy. In Siena, the celebration of the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin can be traced back to 1200.⁴¹ The high altar of the 12th-century cathedral in Siena had been dedicated to the Virgin. This dedication was extended to the cathedral as a whole when it was rebuilt in the 13th century and took the title of Santissima Maria Assunta.⁴² It is likely that the main altar of the early 13th-century cathedral was adorned with a panel painting depicting the Virgin and Child in the centre which survives in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo in Siena.⁴³

The iconography of Maria Regina, the crowned Virgin,⁴⁴ as well as the Assumption of the Virgin was also well-diffused in Italy. In the 11th century in the narthex of Sant'Angelo in Formis, the crowned Virgin appears in a medallion upheld by two angels,⁴⁵ which alludes to the Assumption of the Virgin.⁴⁶ A more obvious depiction appears in the fresco painting of the baptistery in Riva San Vitale dated c. 1190-1230 paired with *Christ in Majesty* (figs. 7, 8).⁴⁷ The focus here is on the Assumption of the Virgin celebrated in analogy with the Ascension of Christ. It is also depicted within a narrative sequence in 13th-century Italian panel paintings such as the *Virgin and Child; Nativity of the Virgin; Annunciation; Nativity of Christ; Assumption of the Virgin* signed by the Spoletan painters Simeone and Machilone dated c. 1250-1255 in Mayer van den Bergh Museum, Antwerp,⁴⁸ the *Virgin and Child with seventeen scenes from the Life of the Virgin*, attributed to a Florentine master dated c. 1260 in the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow;⁴⁹ the *Painted Cross* dated c. 1261 attributed to Coppo di Marcovaldo in Museo Civico, San Gimignano (figs. 9, 10);⁵⁰ and the *Virgin and Child; Annunciation; Nativity; Adoration of the Magi; Assumption of the Virgin* signed by Margarito d'Arezzo dated c. 1274 in Santa Maria delle Vertighe in Monte San Savino.⁵¹ In these paintings, the Virgin is depicted as a standing figure in an archaic orant pose (see for example, fig. 10). These examples clearly show the preference of a single-figure Assumption in Italy, where the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin traditionally focused on the celebratory aspect of Mary's transition to heaven.

On the other hand in Byzantine art, the Dormition of the Virgin was the only moment represented from the episodes of the last days of the Virgin when Christ takes her soul in his hands. The Dormition of the Virgin was depicted by western artists demonstrating contact with the culture in the east. A panel painting attributed to the Magdalen Master dated c. 1285 in Musée des Arts Decoratifs in Paris (fig. 11) shows the crowned Virgin and Child in the centre accompanied by Saints Andrew and James and six narrative episodes regarding Mary starting from the *Annunciation* and ending with the *Dormition*.⁵² A triptych by a Crusader painter dated to the 1250s in the

monastery of St Catherine in Sinai⁵³ depicts the *Dormition* and the *Coronation of the Virgin* along with the *Finding of Jesus in the Temple* and the *Lamentation* on the wings flanking the central panel with the *Virgin and Child*, whereas the panel painting in the Pushkin Museum in Moscow noted above depicts the *Assumption of the Virgin* as the culminating scene of the extensive Marian narrative. As demonstrated thus far, in the latter half of the 13th century, the images of the Dormition, the Assumption and the Coronation of the Virgin were in circulation in Italy and the Mediterranean, and the selection of scenes varied.

The Coronation of the Virgin by Guido da Siena (figs. 1, 2) appears as the earliest introduction of this theme to Italy from the north. It is very significant that Guido chose the new iconographic type of the Coronation of the Virgin rather than the traditional image of the Assumption of the Virgin which was more diffused in Italy. However, the archaic pose of the Virgin showing her palms to the viewers reminds us of the pose she shows in the iconography of the Assumption of the Virgin. The motif of the angels carrying the mandorla containing the Coronation also resonates with the Assumption iconography. At the same time, the chrysography given on the mantle of the Virgin, according to Jaroslav Folda, demonstrates the typical 13th-century western use of the originally eastern technique to honour the Virgin as Maria Regina.⁵⁴ Thus Guido looked not only to the north for the new iconography but also to the east as well as to the Italian tradition. Guido carefully chose and combined the iconographic details of various cultures to form a completely new image of the Coronation of the Virgin which emphasised her intercession both thematically and visually, and yet conceived the scene as the traditional Assumption of the Virgin. This invention, in my view, was indeed prompted by the ambitious civic commission to honour the Virgin in the crucial moment for the Sienese to establish their identity as the City of the Virgin.

Repositioning Guido's Coronation in Siena cathedral

Repositioning Guido's *Coronation*, conceived as the Assumption of the Virgin, on the high altar of Siena cathedral also provides a logical explanation for the following development in the stained-glass window attributed to Duccio dated c. 1288 which was installed behind the high altar.⁵⁵ It depicted the three episodes, the *Dormition*, the *Assumption* and the *Coronation of the Virgin*, in a vertical composition. Duccio's *Maestà*, the high altarpiece installed in 1311, must have also included the Coronation of the Virgin to conclude the narrative cycle of the last days of the Virgin. This is also suggested by its subsequent inclusion in the works from Duccio's circle such as *Tabernacle no. 35* dated to the first quarter of the 14th century in Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena;⁵⁶ and the *Coronation of the Virgin* dated to the first half of the 14th century in Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest.⁵⁷

The deliberate selection and promotion of the iconography of the Coronation of the Virgin in Sienese art becomes explicit if we consider that Cimabue provided a different version of the last days of the Virgin in the Upper Church of San Francesco in Assisi c. 1279-1282.58 Following the Assumption of the Virgin, Cimabue depicts the Virgin in Glory seated on the throne side by side with Christ, instead of the Coronation of the Virgin. According to Marilyn Aronberg-Lavin, the main purpose here was to argue the Franciscan doctrinal idea of the bodily assumption of the Virgin. Focusing on the Bernardian interpretation of the Song of the Songs, Christ and the Virgin are conceived as the bridegroom and the bride in the Assumption of the Virgin.⁵⁹ Cimabue thus promoted a distinctive iconographic type of the double-figure assumption. This type became popular in Umbria among various orders, such as in the tabernacle of the Assumption of the Virgin with scenes from her Last Days by the Cesi Master dated to the end of 13th century (the Institut de France, musée Marmottan Monet, Paris), which is originally from the Augustinian female convent of Santa Maria Stella in Spoleto, 60 the fresco painting of the Assumption of the Virgin by the Master of the Perugia Triptych in Santa Giuliana, Perugia, dated to the second half of the 13th century; and two other fresco paintings by the Master of the Subiaco Dossals dated to the first half of the 14th century in Santa Maria di Monteluce, Perugia, and in the Virgin Chapel in Sacro Speco, Subiaco.⁶¹ In fact, it did not become so popular beyond the local area. The iconography of the Virgin enthroned with Christ was preferred in commissions related to the Franciscan or Clarissan devotion, such as the panel of Christ and the Virgin Enthroned by the Clarissan Master



7 Christ in Majesty and the Assumption of the Virgin, c. 1190-1230, Riva San Vitale, baptistery (Wikimedia Commons)



8 Assumption of the Virgin, c. 1190-1230, Riva San Vitale, baptistery



Coppo di Marcovaldo, *Painted Cross*,c. 1261, San Gimignano, Museo Civico



10 Coppo di Marcovaldo, Assumption of the Virgin, detail of the Painted Cross, c. 1261, San Gimignano, Museo Civico



11 Magdalene Master, Virgin and Child, Saints Andrew and James and a supplicant with six scenes from the Virgin's Life, c. 1275-1280, Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs



12 Jacopo Torriti, *Coronation of the Virgin,* 1296, Rome, Santa Maria Maggiore, apse (Wikimedia Commons)

* All photos except for 3, 7 and 12 are by K. Ichikawa

dated in the early 1270s in the convent of the Poor Clares in Siena;⁶² and *Christ and the Virgin Enthroned* on the right wing of a small triptych by Duccio dated to the first quarter of the 14th century in the Royal Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.⁶³ The theme of Mary as the Bride of Christ must have been significant especially for the nuns. Nevertheless the double-figure type of the Assumption of the Virgin was also considered too amorous and controversial.⁶⁴

Siena responded to Assisi by producing a different version by building on its own tradition of the Coronation iconography. Placed in the focal point of the cathedral, Duccio's stained-glass window c. 1288 illustrated the sequence of the bodily assumption in three scenes, yet in a different way from Cimabue. In the central scene of the *Assumption of the Virgin*, Mary is seated alone with her hands clasped in prayer on the bar inside the mandorla elevated by the angels. In the scene of the *Coronation* above, her arms are crossed and her head is inclined showing a submissive attitude, which became characteristic in Sienese art.⁶⁵ Yet her right hand does not rest on her chest but it is slightly raised in the gesture of speech towards Christ, which suggests, in my view, the gesture of intercession.⁶⁶ Siena thus promoted the single-figure Assumption and the Coronation of the Virgin, which consequently gained wider diffusion compared to Cimabue's version in Assisi.

In Rome, the iconography of the *Coronation of the Virgin* was championed by the first Franciscan pope Nicholas IV in the apse mosaic of Santa Maria Maggiore completed in 1296 by Jacopo Torriti (fig. 12).⁶⁷ Below the main iconography of the *Coronation*, the *Dormition* along with other Marian narrative scenes were also introduced. Here the assumption of the Virgin is indicated by an inscription. Julian Gardner suggested that this was more appropriate for the papal commission because "the corporeal assumption of the Virgin was by no means universally accepted."⁶⁸ Yet it is related to the Franciscan spirituality of the feast of the Assumption, and the Franciscans must have played a role in introducing the theme in the Roman apse.⁶⁹ However, Cimabue's image type in Assisi was not adopted. Moreover, the angels holding the mandorla alluding to the Assumption, in my view, is a rather similar solution to Guido's *Coronation*. Siena thus played an important role, along with Assisi and Rome, in the theological discussion of the Virgin's symbolical role which was developed through artistic production.

Following Guido da Siena's reconstructed altarpiece, the wall of the lower church of Siena cathedral was decorated in the 1270s with a gospel narrative cycle with emphasis on Mary along with the Old Testament episodes.⁷⁰ As Antonina Sahaydachny argued, "each work of art in the Duomo memorialized differently aspects of the life and destiny of the Madonna."⁷¹ In 1284, the construction and the decoration of the western façade began. 72 Sahaydachny borrowed the words of Enzo Carli describing it as a "sculptural prelude" for Duccio's Maestà, which was installed in 1311 through the newly completed portal: every detail of the design symbolises the Virgin's arrival into the cathedral of "Santa Maria Assunta". The important apocryphal scenes from Mary's infancy cycle was sculpted into the lintel above the main entrance, and the sculptures of the Old Testament prophets, kings, sybils, Plato and Aristotle adorned the façade alluding typologically to the birth of the Virgin. This illustrates the preparation for her destiny as the Mother of God, the new Gate of Heaven, and the Protectress of Siena.⁷³ Inside the cathedral, the stained-glass window showed the destiny of Mary in Heaven, anticipating the heavenly court in the Maestà. Later in the mid-14th century, the side altars for the four civic patron saints were adorned with altarpieces each depicting a Marian narrative episode in the central panel forming a unified programme elaborating on the Maestà. ⁷⁴ Thus from the mid-13th century onwards, the cathedral was constantly adorned with pictorial narrative visualising the presence and the importance of the Virgin Mary in Siena. Guido's reconstructed altarpiece to which the Coronation of the Virgin belonged to can be positioned at the early stage of such decorative programme.

Conclusion

To conclude, the iconography of the Coronation of the Virgin emerged in England after the Norman Conquest as rhetoric of reconciliation and salvation. It was introduced to Italy for the first time in the reconstructed altarpiece of the *Madonna del Voto* in Siena cathedral for a similar purpose to commemorate the intercession of

the Virgin at the Battle of Montaperti, and to bring peace and salvation for the Sienese after the war by virtually crowning the Virgin as their queen-protectress. Illuminated psalters most probably facilitated the transmission of the iconography. Guido's *Coronation* was rendered in a highly eclectic manner bringing together different traditions of representing the Virgin's heavenly status. The eclecticism in Sienese Marian iconography, I would argue, represents the ambitious civic commission to honour the Virgin by making effort, both intellectual and artistic, to obtain more intercession and protection as well as to demonstrate privilege.

The successive artistic production in Siena cathedral promoting the Coronation of the Virgin can be considered as a part of a wider theological debate of the Virgin's bodily assumption. Siena convincingly argued the importance of the Coronation of the Virgin as the last theophany through the pictorial programme devised for the cathedral high altar. The importance of the Virgin's role as the ultimate intercessor of humanity and the protectress of Siena was continuously visualised through the cathedral decoration in Siena from mid-13th century onwards. The gospel narrative was elaborated through various media incorporating the apocryphal Marian narrative of her childhood and her last days, which culminates with the Coronation of the Virgin, providing a complete view of the history of Salvation. Siena in the 13th century therefore was individually an important centre of Marian art production along with Assisi and Rome.

- The most recent study of the panel is C. VILLERS-A. LEHNER, "Observations on the 'Coronation of the Virgin' attributed to Guido da Siena in the Courtauld Institute Gallery, London", in: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 65, 2002, pp. 289-302. I propose the date c. 1262-1267 based on the reconstruction of the altarpiece to which the panel belonged to including the *Madonna del Voto* datable around this time. For a synthesis of the debate regarding the reconstruction, see K. ICHIKAWA, *Guido da Siena's Narrative Panels and the Madonna del Voto: The Formation of the Marian Civic Identity in Sienese Art c. 1260*, PhD Thesis, University of Warwick, 2015.
- Carolyn Wilson describes the Coronation of the Virgin as "an aspect of her triumph and reign in heaven" and the label "Coronation of the Virgin" should be restricted to the representations in which "Mary is actually being crowned", although this is not always done. "Triumph of the Virgin" is a more inclusive term, which is assigned to the representation of "the crowned Virgin enthroned with Christ in heaven", and could also be used to designate scenes of the Coronation. C. WILSON, *Bellini's Pesaro Altarpiece: A Study in Context and Meaning*, PhD Thesis, New York University, 1977, p. 7 and n. 1. For the English origin of the iconography, see T.A. HESLOP, "The English Origins of the Coronation of the Virgin", in: *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 147, 2005, pp. 790-797.
- G. COOR-ACHENBACH, "The Earliest Italian Representation of the Coronation of the Virgin", in: *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 99, 1957, pp. 328-332.
- 4 C. VILLERS-A. LEHNER, op. cit. 2002, pp. 295-298.
- 5 This is supported by technical analyses. *Ibid.*, pp. 293-294.
- B. JOHN-H. MANZKE-J. PENNDORF, Claritas. Das Hauptaltarbild im Dom zu Siena nach 1260. Die Rekonstruktion, exhibition catalogue, Lindenau-Museum, Altenburg, 24 May-15 August 2001, Altenburg, 2001. The 12 narrative panels are the Annunciation in the Princeton University Museum; the Nativity and the Presentation in Temple in the Louvre in Paris; the Adoration of the Magi, the Flight into Egypt and the Flagellation in the Lindenau-Museum in Altenburg; Christ Mounting the Cross in the Museum Catharijneconvent in Utrecht; the Massacre of Innocents, the Betrayal, the Crucifixion, the Deposition and the Entombment in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Siena. The group of paintings formerly attributed to Guido da Siena has been re-examined by Luciano Bellosi and other scholars identifying several other Sienese duecento painters such as Dietisalvi di Speme and Guido di Graziano: L. BELLOSI, "Per un contesto cimabuesco senese: a) Guido da Siena e il probabile Dietisalvi di Speme", in: Prospettiva, vol. 61, 1991, pp. 6-20; Duccio: Siena fra tradizione bizantina e mondo gotico, A. BAGNOLI-R. BARTALINI-L. BELLOSI (eds.), Milan, 2003. Some of the 12 narrative panels as well as the Madonna del Voto are attributed to Dietisalvi di Speme based on Bellosi's analysis. To avoid unnecessary confusion, I attribute all the panels to Guido da Siena although I consider the cycle to be the result of collaboration between Guido and Dietisalvi.

- The *Madonna del Voto* has been central to the transmission of the civic myth of the dedication of the city of Siena to the Virgin on the eve of the Battle of Montaperti. There is still a strong belief that it was the image on the high altar which received the dedication in 1260. See for example the most recent publication on the history of Siena by M. ASCHERI, *Storia di Siena: Dalle origini ai giorni nostri*, Pordenone, 2013, p. 51. However, this has been reviewed by Edward B. Garrison and more recently by Monika Butzek: the image of the Virgin which was in Siena cathedral in 1260 is likely to have been the *Opera Madonna* dated c. 1215 in Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena. E.B. GARRISON, "Toward a New History of the Siena Cathedral Madonnas", in: IDEM, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Italian Painting*, vol. 4, Florence, 1960, pp. 5-22; M. BUTZEK, "Per la storia delle due 'Madonna delle Grazie' nel Duomo di Siena", in: *Prospettiva*, vols. 103-104, 2001, pp. 97-109. Every year during the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, the *Madonna del Voto* is transferred from its current location in the Cappella del Voto to the high altar in front of which the traditional ritual of candle offering is re-enacted. For a summary of the present-day Sienese annual festivals in front of the *Madonna del Voto* in August, see: G. PARSONS, *Siena, Civil Religion and the Sienese*, Aldershot, 2004, p. xiv.
- This general belief is based on the historical accounts in the *Anonymous Chronicle of 1202-1362* and the *Montaperti Account* by Niccolò di Giovanni di Francesco Ventura. See: *Cronache Senesi*, A. LISINI-F. IACOMETTI (eds.), Bologna, 1931-39, p. 90; and E.B. GARRISON, *op. cit.*, 1960, pp. 37, 43. However, it is challenged by M. BUTZEK, *op. cit.*, 2001. For a summary of the debate, see K. ICHIKAWA, *op. cit.* 2015, pp. 59-65.
- 9 V.M. SCHMIDT, "Thirteenth-century panel paintings from Siena. Altenburg", in: *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 143, 2001, pp. 512-514; M. BUTZEK, *op. cit.*, 2001; and V.M. SCHMIDT-N. MULLER, "Nuove evidenze tecniche sull" Annunciazione' di Guido da Siena a Princeton e un'ipotesi di ricostruzione del complesso di appartenenza", in: *Prospettiva*, vols. 103-104, 2001, pp. 110-112.
- I have provided a synthesis of the technical analyses by Robert Oertel, Holger Manzke and Norman Muller in my doctoral thesis with further observation. R. OERTEL, *Frühe italienische Malerei in Altenburg*, Berlin, 1961, pp. 57-67; B. JOHN-H. MANZKE-J. PENNDORF, *op. cit.*, 2001, pp. 11-88; N. MULLER, "Guido da Siena's *Annunciation* in Context", in: *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University*, vol. 63, 2004, pp. 28-39; K.ICHIKAWA, *op. cit.*, 2015, pp. 28-56.
- 11 This paper is based on Chapter 4 and Conclusion of my doctoral thesis. *Ibid.*, pp. 158-208.
- 12 C. WILSON, op. cit., 1977, pp. 18-19; M. ARONBERG LAVIN, "Cimabue's Life of Mary: Mother and Bride", in: *The Liturgy of Love: Images from the Songs in the Art of Cimabue, Michelangelo and Rembrandt*, M. ARONBERG LAVIN-I. LAVIN (eds.), Lawrence, 2001, pp. 5-47.
- G. ZARNECKI, "The Coronation of the Virgin on a Capital from Reading Abbey", in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 13, 1950, pp. 1-12. For the sculpted tympanum in Quenington, see also: *The Victoria History of the Counties of England*, C.R. ELRINGTON (ed.), vol. 7, *A History of the County of Gloucester*, N.M. HERBERT (ed.), New York, 1981, pp. 127-128; D. GIVANS, *English Romanesque Tympana: A Study of Architectural Sculpture in Church Portals c. 1050-c.* 1200, 3 vols, PhD Thesis, University of Warwick, 2001, vol. 2, pp. 123-124.
- 14 T.A. HESLOP, *op. cit.*, 2005.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 790.
- 16 *Ibid.*, pp. 790-792. Illustrations of the *Coronation of the Virgin* and the *Unveiling of Synagogue* in Eton College MS 177 are reproduced in colour in Heslop's article as figures 3 and 4. He also provides a reconstruction of the pictures in the bays of the chapter house as figure 6.
- 17 *Ibid.*, p. 794.
- 18 *Ibid.*, p. 792-793.
- 19 G. ZARNECKI, op. cit., 1950, pp. 11-12.
- 20 T.A. HESLOP, op. cit., 2005, p. 791.
- 21 *Ibid.*, pp. 795-796.
- As Gertrud Schiller emphasised, the Gospels do not state anything about the last days of the Virgin's life. The last mention of her is in the Act of the Apostles 1:14 which accounts for Mary the mother of Jesus being among those who witnessed the Ascension of Christ. In the east, the bodily assumption of the Virgin came to be discussed in the mid 5th century with the new title of Theotokos given to her at the Council of Ephesus in 431 resulting in the emergence of legendary stories, sermons and liturgies regarding the theme. Since the Middle Ages, neither texts nor images had given a clear conclusion until it was finally established as a dogma in 1950 by Pope Pius XII who defined that both the

- body and the soul of the Mother of God were raised into heaven. G. SCHILLER, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, 4 vols, Gütersloh, 1966-1991, vol. 4.2, pp. 83-90.
- 23 E. KITZINGER, "A Virgin's Face: Antiquarianism in Twelfth-Century Art", in: *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 62, 1980, pp. 6-19.
- 24 Ibid., p. 8.
- Translation from M. ARONBERG LAVIN, op. cit., 2001, n. 12, p. 35.
- The English version of the biblical texts is taken from the Douay-Rheims Catholic Bible, Challoner Revision (hereafter cited as DRB). Psalms are numbered according to the Vulgate Bible and DRB, which can be consulted at www.drbo.org.
- 27 Translation from M. ARONBERG LAVIN, *op. cit.*, 2001, n. 12, p. 119, n. 147.
- 28 E. KITZINGER, op. cit., 1980, pp. 8-11.
- P. VERDIER, Couronnement de la Vierge: Les origines et les premiers développements d'un thème iconographique, Montreal, 1980, pp. 9-16.
- 30 P. VERDIER, "Le couronnement de la Vierge est la théophanie ultime de l'art chrétien", in: *lbid.*, p. 9.
- 31 C. OAKES, Ora pro nobis: The Virgin as Intercessor in Medieval Art and Devotion, London, 2008, pp. 27-30; M. KIMATA, Goshikku no shikaku uchū (L'univers visuel du gothique), Nagoya, 2013, p. 224.
- P. VERDIER, op. cit., 1980, p. 10. For the illustrations of the Ingeborg Psalter, see F. DEUCHLER, *Der Ingeborgpsalter*, Berlin, 1967, pp. XXIX-XXX, figs. 37-38.
- For illustrations, see M.B. PARKES, *The Medieval Manuscripts of Keble College, Oxford: A Descriptive Catalogue with Summary Descriptions of the Greek and Oriental Manuscripts*, London, 1979, pp. 51-54.
- L. SCHRÖDER, "Guido da Siena", in: *The Early Sienese Paintings in Holland*, H.W. VAN OS-J.R.J. VAN ASPEREN DE BOER-C.E. DE JONG-JASSEN-C. WIETHOFF (eds.), Florence, 1989, pp. 87-91: 88.
- P. VERDIER, op. cit., 1980, pp. 26-27; M. KIMATA, op. cit., 2013, pp. 193, 222-223. See for example the illustrations of the York Psalter c. 1260 (British Library, London, MS Add. 54179, fol. 110r) and the Huth Psalter c. 1275-1300 (British Library, London, MS Add. 38116, fol. 119v) both available on the online British Library Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts.
- M. KIMATA, *op. cit.*, 2013, pp. 192-193, 200-201, based on F. BŒSPFLUG-Y. ZAŁUSKA, "Le dogme trinitaire et l'essor de son iconographie en Occident de l'époque carolingienne au lre concile du Latran (1215)", in: *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, vol. 37, 1994, pp. 181-240.
- This English translation of the Apostles' Creed is that of the International Consultation on English Texts, approved for Catholic use by the International Commission on English in the Liturgy cited in B.L. MARTHALER, *The Creed,* New London, 2007, First printing of Third Edition, first published in 1987.
- 38 M. KIMATA, op. cit., 2013, pp. 207-218.
- The victory of Ghibelline (pro-imperial) Siena over Guelf (pro-papal) Florence at the Battle of Montaperti in 1260 resulted in the excommunication of the Sienese by the Pope. *The Grove Encyclopedia of Medieval Art and Architecture*, C. HOURIHANE (ed.), 6 vols, New York, 2012, vol. 2, p. 577.
- 40 See above, note 22.
- D. NORMAN, Siena and the Virgin: Art and Politics in a Late Medieval City State, New Haven and London, 1999, p. 1.
- 42 *Ibid.*, p. 3.
- 43 See above, note 7.
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- 45 M. LAWRENCE, "Maria Regina", in: *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 7, 1925, pp. 150-161.
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- 47 P. VERDIER, op. cit., 1980, p. 12.
- 48 L.C. MARQUES, *La peinture du Duecento en Italie centrale*, Picard, 1987, p. 64; E.B. GARRISON, "Simeone and Machilone Spoletenses", in: *Gazette des beaux-arts*, vol. 35, 1949, pp. 53-58.
- 49 L.C. MARQUES, op. cit., 1987, p. 76.

- G. SCHILLER, *op. cit.*, 1966-1991, vol. 4.2, p. 142. Traditionally attributed between 1250 and 1260 from stylistic ground, it has been traced to the Conservatorio di Santa Chiara in San Gimignano, the Clarissan house in this city founded c. 1261. A. DERBES, *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy*, Cambridge, 1996, pp. 21, 193, n. 59. John Moorman mentions that the Clarissan house in San Gimignano was founded in 1261. J.R.H. MOORMAN, *Medieval Franciscan Houses*, New York, 1983, p. 658.
- 51 L.C. MARQUES, op. cit., 1987, p. 92. Signed 'MARGARITUS T.RE. S...ITIO C...M CC...MSE.. AGUS...'
- L'arte a Firenze nell'età di Dante (1250-1300), A. TARTUFERI-M. SCALINI (eds.), exhibition catalogue, Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence, 1 June-29 August 2004, Florence and Milan, 2004, pp. 98-99.
- R. CORMACK, *Icons*, London, reprinted 2009, first published 2007, pp. 78-83; J. FOLDA, *Byzantine Art and Italian Panel Painting: The Virgin and Child Hodegetria and the Art of Chrysography*, New York, 2015, pp. 68-75.
- 54 *Ibid.*, pp. 132-246.
- The civic statute drawn up in 1287 orders the works on the round window behind the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Siena, Archivio di Stato, Statuti di Siena 5, fol. 13v, quoted in *Die Kirchen von Siena*, P.A. RIEDL-M. SEIDEL (eds.), 3 vols and 4 supplementary vols, Munich, 1985-2012, vol. 3.1.1.2, 2006, p. 746, n. 59a [3]. For illustrations and further information of the stained-glass window, see A. BAGNOLI-R. BARTALINI-L. BELLOSI, *op. cit.*, 2003, pp. 162-179; M. CACIORGNA-R. GUERRINI-M. LORENZONI, *Oculus cordis: la vetrata di Duccio. stile, iconografia, indagini tecniche, restauro*, Pisa, 2007.
- For illustration see: A. BAGNOLI-R. BARTALINI-L. BELLOSI, *op. cit.*, 2003, pp. 352-359; *Iconografia evangelica a Siena: dalle origini al Concilio di Trento*, M. BACCI (ed.), Siena, 2009, p. 14, fig. 2. For the most recent study of its context, see D. NORMAN, "The Prince and the Bishop: A New Hypothesis for Tabernacle 35 in Siena's Pinacoteca Nazionale", in: *Studies in Iconography*, vol. 30, 2009, pp. 96-125.
- 57 See A. BAGNOLI-R. BARTALINI-L. BELLOSI, op. cit., 2003, pp. 288-289.
- For the most recent discussion on the date, see D. COOPER-J. ROBSON, *The Making of Assisi: The Pope, the Franciscans and the Painting of the Basilica,* New Haven-London, 2013, pp. 85-86. For illustrations see: M. ARONBERG LAVIN, *op. cit.*, 2001, n. 12, pp. 18-20, figs. 16-18.
- 59 *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6, 16-33.
- M. ARONBERG LAVIN, "The 'Stella Altarpiece'. Magnum Opus of the Cesi Master", in: *Artibus et Historiae*, vol. 22, 2001, pp. 9-22; *Giotto e compagni*, D. THIÉBAUT (ed.), exhibition catalogue, Louvre Museum, Paris, 18 April-15 July 2013, Paris, 2013, pp. 94-99.
- 61 For illustrations, see F. TODINI, *La pittura umbra: dal duecento al primo Cinquecento*, Milan, 1989, figs. 64, 241 and 242.
- A. BAGNOLI-R. BARTALINI-L. BELLOSI, op. cit., 2003, pp. 58-60.
- 63 *Ibid.*, pp. 188-197.
- 64 M. ARONBERG LAVIN, op. cit., 2001, n. 12, pp. 26, 36.
- 65 G. COOR-ACHENBACH, op. cit., 1957, p. 328.
- lt is also similar to the gesture of the kneeling patron saints in the main panel of Duccio's *Maestà* (1308-1311).
- J. GARDNER, "Pope Nicholas IV and the Decoration of Santa Maria Maggiore", in: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 36, 1973, pp. 1-50:12; *IDEM*, "Il polittico Baroncelli per Santa Croce" in: *Giotto, l'Italia*, S. ROMANO-P. PETRAROIA (eds.), exhibition catalogue, Palazzo Reale, Milan, 2 September 2015-10 January 2016, Milan, 2015, pp. 140-153. See also D. COOPER-J. ROBSON, *op. cit.*, 2013, pp. 27-33.
- J. GARDNER, "The Franciscan Iconography of the Coronation of the Virgin before Bellini", in: *Essays in Honour of John White*, H. WESTON-D. DAVIES (eds.), London, 1990, pp. 63-68: 63. See also *idem, op. cit.*, 1973, p. 10.
- 69 J. GARDNER, op. cit., 1973 and 2015.
- 50 Sotto il duomo di Siena: Scoperte archeologiche, architettoniche e figurative, R. GUERRINI (ed.), Siena, 2003. The narrative programme of the mural cycle is not fully studied yet.
- A. SAHAYDACHNY, "The Madonna Protectress of Siena in the 'Maestà' Altarpiece by Duccio (1308-1311)", in: *1308*, A. SPEER-D. WIRMER (eds.), Berlin, 2010, pp. 663-691: 675.
- The author of the *Anonymous Chronicle of 1202-1362* notes the laying of the foundation stone in the account of May of that year. A. LISINI-F. IACOMETTI, *op. cit.*, 1931-39, p. 68.
- 73 A. SAHAYDACHNY, *op. cit.*, 2010, pp. 675-677.
- 74 D. NORMAN, op. cit., 1999, pp. 67-85.

Kayoko Ichikawa

Krunidba Djevice Marije Guida da Siene: Marijina pobožnost u 13. stoljeću između istoka i zapada

Ovaj tekst razmatra sliku s prikazom *Krunidbe Djevice Marije* pripisane Guidu da Sieni i datiranu između 1262. i 1267., a koja se nalazi u londonskoj galeriji Courtauld, u kontekstu kulturalne i intelektualne razmjene između Italije, sjeverne Europe i mediteranskog istoka. Ikonografija Djevičine krunidbe, pomno definirane kao trenutak kad Krist polaže krunu na njezinu glavu, potječe iz Engleske 1100. godine, te se širi kontinentalnim dijelom Europe sredinom 13. stoljeća. Guidova je *Krunidba* najraniji sačuvani prikaz u Italiji, koji pripada oltarnoj slici naručenoj za katedralu u Sieni u spomen čudesnom posredovanju Djevice u Bitci kod Montapertia i pobjedi Siene nad Firencom 1260. U eshatološkom kontekstu sredine 13. stoljeća na sjeveru, Marijina je uloga posrednice bila prikazivana u ikonografiji Krunidbe gdje se Djevica okreće prema Kristu u pozi moliteljice. Guido da Siena povezuje taj sjeverni prikaz s motivima izvedenim iz ranijih prikaza Marijina Uznesenja: stav moliteljice s dlanovima okrenutim prema gledateljima i motiv anđela koji nose mandorlu. Istovremeno, hrizografija Djevičina plašta predstavlja tipično trinaestostoljetnu zapadnu uporabu istočne tehnike u prikazu slavljenja Djevice kao Marije Regine. Takav eklekticizam, po mojem mišljenju, predstavlja ambicioznu javnu narudžbu djela koje Mariju slavi kao siensku kraljicu zaštitnicu, te pokazani intelektualni i umjetnički napor da se osigura snažnije posredovanje i zaštita, ali i da se pokaže značaj Siene i njezinih građana kao izabranih i privilegiranih.

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