

Reconsidering the Problem of the Central Predella of the Barbadori Altarpiece by Filippo Lippi: Why was the subject “Annunciation of the Death of the Virgin and Arrival of the Apostles” chosen?

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Introduction

In 1437, Fra Filippo Lippi was painting the altarpiece for the Barbadori Chapel in the church of Santo Spirito in Florence [1], composed of a main panel and predella. The main panel (Paris, Musée du Louvre) depicts the standing Virgin holding her baby with a belt, while St. Frediano and St. Augustine kneel to them, surrounded by angels standing in a semicircular form (Fig.1). The predella (Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi) is composed of three scenes (Fig.2). In the left scene, *St. Frediano diverts the course of the river Serchio* is represented because the donor Gherardo Barbadori desired to build a chapel or altar dedicated to this saint. In the right scene, *St. Augustine perceives the Trinity* is displayed because the chapel was constructed in the Augustinian church. Meanwhile the central predella *Annunciation of the Death of the Virgin and Arrival of the Apostles* (Fig.3) shows Mary standing in the cloister receiving the illuminated torch, which the angel presents to her solemnly.



Fig.1 Fra Filippo Lippi, *Barbadori Altarpiece* (main panel), c.1438, Paris



Fig.2 *Barbadori Altarpiece* (predella), Florence



Fig.3 Central predella (*Annunciation of the Death of the Virgin and Arrival of the Apostles*)

The strong light enters the space onto the arranged columns, casting long shadows along the wall. The apostles hurry to Mary led by the angels from both sides through the columns and walls. Prior research concluded that this scene had been derived from either the text of Pseudo-Melito or the *Golden Legend* [2], where the angel visited the Virgin to announce her imminent death. The Virgin desired to see the apostles again with her bodily eyes and to be buried by them. Furthermore, Mary prayed that no power of Satan might confront her when her soul left her body. In response, the angel promised that all of her desires would be fulfilled. He returned to heaven. After these events, the palm shone like “the morning star.” After these events, St. John and the other apostles arrived at the Virgin’s house according to the will of God.

However, the representation of the predella deviated from the texts. Firstly, Lippi did not paint an “illuminated palm” but rather an “illuminated torch or taper.” Secondly, he combined this annunciation and the apostles’ arrival into a single image, as if these two events happened simultaneously. Furthermore, the “Annunciation of the Death of the Virgin” and the “Arrival of the Apostles” are rarely depicted as a Marian story, compared to the Annunciation, the Nativity, and the Dormition. This paper aims to clarify the reason why this rare subject was chosen for the central predella, which complements the main panel [3]. I hope that my investigation will contribute to the comprehension of the *Barbadori Altarpiece*.

1. Examination of Preceding Studies

While not many studies focus on this predella, the studies by Meiss and Ruda are crucial to my research [4]. Indicating that the illuminated torch was influenced by Duccio’s *Maestà* (Fig.4, 5) (Siena, Museo dell’Opera del Duomo, 1311), Meiss associated the candle with the ritual presentation of a burning taper to a dying person. Ruda presented one interpretation that considered the problem of this predella in reference to the standing Madonna in the main panel. That is, the standing Madonna upon either the reliquary or the image of human remains may symbolize Christian triumph over death [5]. Because this altarpiece may have been situated above the tomb of Gherardo Barbadori, accompanied by the prelude scene to Mary’s Assumption, Ruda concluded that this standing Madonna signifies triumph over death. In addition, Ruda indicated that the illuminated candle alludes not only to the ritual symbol but also to St.

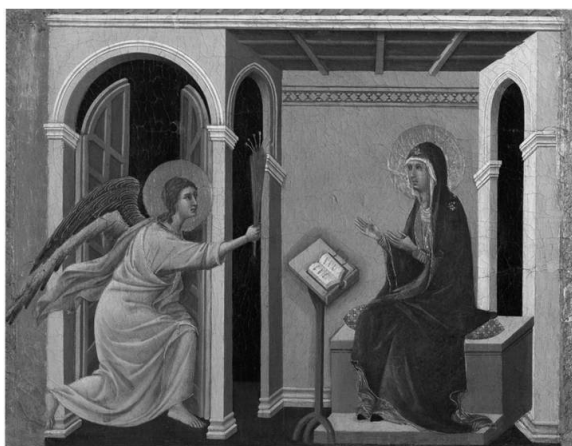


Fig.4 Duccio, *Annunciation of the Death*

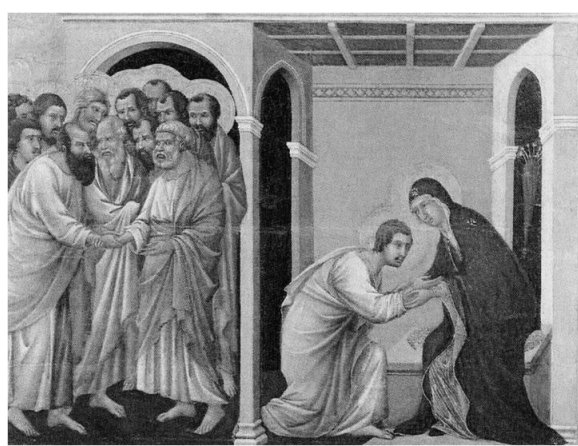


Fig.5 Duccio, *Arrival of the Apostles*

Augustine himself, because according to the saint's disciple St. Possidius, "Thus, lit and burning and 'raised upon a candlestick', Augustine continued to 'give light to all who were in the house'" [6]. Therefore, he reasoned that this rare subject might have been chosen to unite the donor's and the Augustinians' intentions.

Although Mannini agreed with this interpretation [7], I would highlight four weak points in his argument. Firstly, not many examples exist where St. Possidius is depicted, so it seems unlikely that audiences would immediately recall his story when observing this predella. Secondly, I point out that the candle motif was represented often in the Dormition, so there should be no reason that the *Annunciation of the Death of the Virgin and Arrival of the Apostles* had been chosen for the Augustinians. Thirdly, Ruda failed to examine the reason why these two scenes were combined. Fourthly, all earlier research has overlooked additional examples depicting the "Annunciation of the Death of the Virgin" and the "Arrival of the Apostles," apart from Duccio's *Maestà* [8]. Since thirteenth century Italy, the number of works that focused on the conclusion of Mary's life had increased. Therefore, it is necessary to investigate and compare the predella to these preceding works.

Recently, Pagnotta presented one thesis dedicated to the research of the iconography of the Annunciation of the Death of the Virgin [9]. She surveyed the works from the ninth century and subsequently commented on Lippi's predella. According to Shoemaker [10], the ancient text narrates that the angel gives the Virgin "βραβείου," meaning "scepter" and "branch of palm." Pagnotta suggested that if Lippi represented the scepter, then the scene of the predella would confirm that the main panel represents the Virgin and Child "in maestà" with the angels and saints. While this research is essential to understand the development of this rare iconography, I hesitate to agree with her interpretation about this altarpiece, because she did not present any evidence supporting that Lippi or the donor realized the ambiguity of this word in the ancient text. Therefore, I continue my argument based upon the four points that I indicated previously.

I will first compare this predella with other important Italian preceding works that represent both the Annunciation of the Death and the Arrival of the Apostles. Through this trial, the particularity of Lippi's expression will be clear. Then, I will provide supporting documentation to underline the role and the responsibility of the confraternity of Orsanmichele for the Barbadori Chapel, where Gherardo Barbadori belonged and asked to execute his will. Furthermore, I will present the possibility that the choice of the subjects reflects the charity of this confraternity.

2. Comparison of Lippi's Predella to its Preceding Works

One of the oldest important works in Italy that represents the Virgin's Last Days is the fresco of Assisi by Cimabue (c.1270) [11]. After Cimabue's masterpiece, many of these scenes have been painted all over the country. From these preceding works, I have abstracted the examples that include both the Annunciation of the Death and the Arrival of the Apostles: the altarpiece by the master of Cesi (Fig.6, 7) (Paris, Musée Marmottan Monet, c.1295), the *Maestà* by Duccio (Fig.4, 5), the fresco by the school of Giotto (Fig.8, 9) (Padua, Cappella degli Scrovegni, c.1320), the Hungarian Anjou legendary by the school of Bologna (Fig.10, 11) (Biblioteca Vaticana, c.1330-



Fig.6 the master of Cesi, *Annunciation of the Death*



Fig.8 the school of Giotto, *Annunciation of the Death*

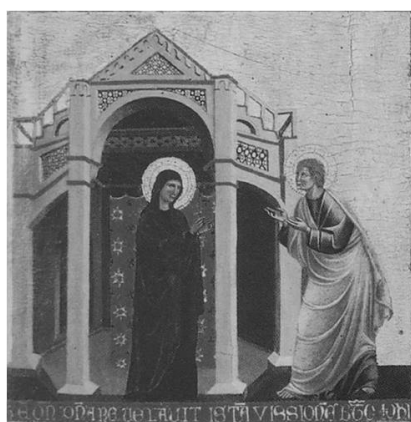


Fig.7 the master of Cesi, *Arrival of St. John*



Fig.9 the school of Giotto, *Arrival of the Apostles*



Fig.10 the school of Bologna, *Annunciation of the Death*



Fig.11 the school of Bologna, *Arrival of the Apostles*

1340), the fresco by Stefano fiorentino (attrib.) (Fig.12) (Milan, Abbazia di Chiaravalle, c.1345), the fresco by the school of Tuscany (Fig.13) (L'Aquila, Fossa, the church of Santa Maria ad Cryptas, the second half of the fourteenth century)[12], the fresco by Ugolino di Prete Ilario (Fig.14) (Orvieto, Duomo, c.1370), the fresco by Taddeo di Bartolo (Fig.15, 16) (Pisa, the church

of San Francesco, Cappella Sardi, 1397) [13] and the two frescoes by Ottaviano Nelli (Fig.17, 18, 19) (Foligno, the chapel of the Palazzo Trinci, 1424; Gubbio, the church of San Francesco, c.1410) [14]. Filippo Lippi traveled through several cities until 1437 [15], including a short trip to Pistoia (1424), Siena, and Prato (1426). From November 1428, he stayed in Siena for about one year, and his traces in Padua in 1434 were documented. While there is a strong likelihood that Lippi learned of more examples in those cities, I would like to call your attention to other works in the cities where he had not visited. For among the works depicting the Virgin's Last Days, artists may have exchanged opinions and influenced each other. Therefore, we should expand our subjects for comparison beyond the works that Lippi may have seen to account for these additional influences.



Fig.12 Stefano fiorentino(attrib.), *Annunciation of the Death and the Arrival of the Apostles*

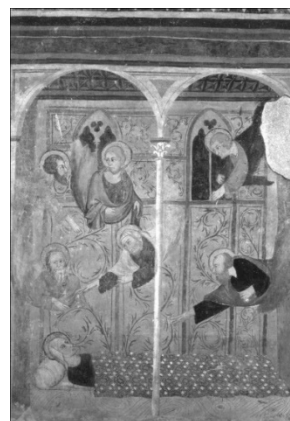


Fig.13 the school of Tuscany, *Arrival of the Apostles*



Fig.14 Ugolino di Prete Ilario, *Annunciation of the Death and Arrival of the Apostles*

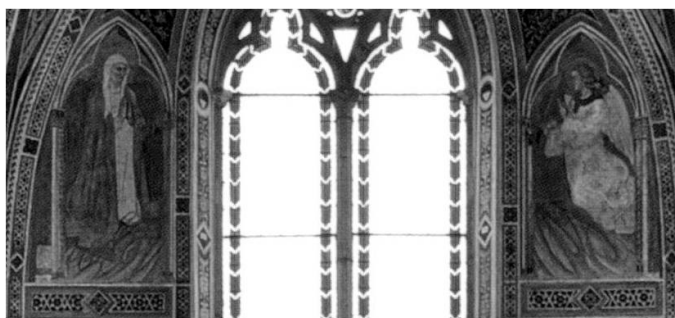


Fig.15 Taddeo di Bartolo, *Annunciation of the Death*



Fig.16 Taddeo di Bartolo, *Arrival of the Apostles*



Fig.17 Ottaviano Nelli, *Annunciation of the Death* (Foligno)



Fig.18 Ottaviano Nelli, *Arrival of the Apostles* (Foligno)

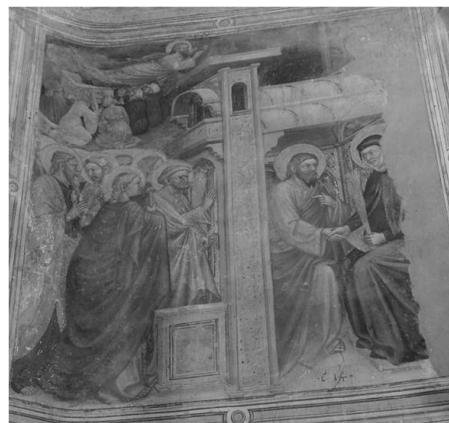


Fig.19 Ottaviano Nelli, *Arrival of the Apostles* (Gubbio)

In comparing these precedents with Lippi's predella, two obvious traces of other works can be found. Primarily, the object that the angel gives and Mary receives shines. Other researchers had previously indicated that Lippi was inspired by Duccio's *Maestà* to th paint his illuminated torch [16]. Duccio represented the palm motif faithfully to the text, with seven small stars illuminating the top of the palm. After Duccio, the painter of the school of Bologna depicted the branch in full leaf with a large golden shining star. Lippi's golden rod could have descended from these precedents [17]. Influences of other works can also be traced in Lippi's depiction of the flying angels, which seem to recall the flying angels and apostles of preceding artworks. Aside from the altarpiece by the master of Cesi and the *Maestà* by Duccio, most artists at the time depicted the motif of flying angels and apostles.

Meanwhile, there are distinctive differences between Lippi's predella and these precedents. Firstly, no other examples represent the illuminated palm as a torch. Secondly, Lippi depicted precisely the moment that the angel presents the torch and Mary receives it [18]. Thirdly, the Virgin is standing in the cloister, as if she were already preparing for the angel's visitation. On the contrary, preceding works usually indicated Mary sitting down in a domestic space—in a chair, on the floor, or on a bed—as if the arrival of the angel were unexpected [19]. Finally, no other example represents this scene alone, for it is usually accompanied by the Dormition.

Lippi's predella presents an ingenious treatment of composition. In the *Arrival of the Apostles*, Mary is usually depicted on the right or the left while the apostles gather along the other end [20]. However, Lippi's composition wisely situates the Virgin and St. Peter in the center of this panel, while tracing a vanishing point near the light of the torch. This technique elucidates two focal points: one in the central presentation of the Virgin and St. Peter and the other in the illuminated torch. The space that holds the Virgin and the apostles remains unified because Lippi painted this scene as a cloister. Thanks to this inventive space, the viewer can focus on the *Arrival of the Apostles*, running back to the Virgin in the center, simultaneously with the *Annunciation of the Death*.

Through comparison with other works, we can now better understand Lippi's clever device and the singularity of this predella, urging us to clarify the reason why its subject was chosen.

3. Examination of Documents Regarding the Construction of the Barbadori Chapel

The documents that indicated the subjects and motifs for the *Barbadori Altarpiece* are either lost or have not been found. The original Barbadori Chapel was also lost [21], limiting the research to focus on its function. I hope, however, that the documents registered from the construction of this chapel to the commission of this altarpiece clarify who had the responsibility of both tasks. This information will be useful to demonstrate why this rare subject was chosen.

The donor, Gherardo Barbadori, belonged to the confraternity of Orsanmichele with his father and his brother, Tommaso, where they lived at the San Frediano quarter together [22]. Witnessed by two friars in June 1411, the will of Gherardo was registered in Santo Spirito [23]. The will that Gherardo left requested:

The captains would be obligated to use the bequest to build a ‘chapel or altar’ in Florence, in a church and place of their choice, and there also to build a marble tomb and to endow a daily mass. The altar was to be in the name of St Frediano [24].

According to this will, I call your attention to the fact that Gherardo Barbadori permitted the construction of the Orsanmichele confraternity. Based in the church of Orsanmichele, this confraternity was originally active as “Laudesi” [25] then gradually changed its character to a charitable society. During the Black Death in the fourteenth century, this confraternity performed acts of charity in collaboration with the government of Florence [26].

Gherardo served as captain of this confraternity twice in 1415 and 1423, becoming heavily involved in its activity [27]. For constructing his own burial chapel, he relied on this society to perform the desires of his will. In September 1429, the captains of Orsanmichele assumed the estate and chose the sacristy of Santo Spirito for his burial chapel [28]. The remaining documents show that the confraternity had the responsibility and the right to decide regarding the construction of its chapel and decoration. The document from December 22, 1431, described:

The operai of Orsanmichele to ‘make’ the chapel at their discretion [29].

On March 8, 1437, the confraternity announced that they would pay Filippo Lippi 40 florins for this altarpiece [30]. Therefore, the confraternity of Orsanmichele was considered the predominant authority in the construction of its chapel and altarpiece.

Although preceding researchers made little account of the role of the confraternity, these documents show precisely the importance of the confraternity to build and decorate the Barbadori Chapel.

4. Reason for the Choice of the Subject

Thanks to the possession of the miracle working image of the Virgin and Child, the confraternity of Orsanmichele may be characterized as a prominent charitable society. According to Villani in 1292, the image of the Virgin started performing miracles to cure an illness at a wheat

market [31]. The wheat market was converted to an oratory in devotion to this Virgin, now known as the church of Orsanmichele. For the praise and protection of this Virgin, the confraternity of Orsanmichele was founded [32]. Many people who wished to recover from illness or avoid disease dedicated money and bequests to this miracle image, especially during the Black Death when large sums of money were contributed to the confraternity.

With considerable donations, this confraternity supported the charitable activity of the Florentine republican government in their relief of the poor. In those days, such charity paved the way to salvation. After the thirteenth century, mendicant orders spread the notion of Purgatory through their sermons. The diffusion of this notion was linked to the religious awakening of laymen. To diminish time spent in Purgatory, laymen participated in mass, funerals, and relief of the poor, organized by the confraternity.

No other confraternity could comparatively produce as many charitable acts as performed by Orsanmichele, funded by the many bequests and donations dedicated to its miraculous Virgin image. Furthermore, this confraternity was not constrained by specific religious orders, as opposed to other confraternities, because this oratory was originally a wheat market and did not belong to mendicant orders [33]. Therefore, this confraternity did not limit its members based on geographical boundaries and social class, making their charity accessible to all Florentines.

Today their charity can be traced through existing rules, particularly those compiled in 1294, 1333, and the first half of the fourteenth century [34]. Each of these rules guaranteed courteous burial within the confraternity. When a member died, fellow members had to rapidly prepare his burial and mourn for the deceased with burning candles or torches. With these rules, honorable burial was promised to all members.

The last rule provided that if a dying member were poor, he could confess and receive the sacrament of Extreme Unction [35]. This article may have been written due to the outbreak of the Black Death, when many people were abandoned and could not confess or receive this sacrament before death. Christians gravely feared death without these sacraments because it meant the impossibility of salvation. These rules show that the confraternity of Orsanmichele encouraged all members to confess and receive Extreme Unction, and if one of the members fell sick, the supervisors would immediately care for them at their bedside. Thanks to these rules, more Florentines could confess and receive the sacrament of Extreme Unction so that they could accept their death free of fear.

These charities by the confraternity of Orsanmichele seem to relate to the subject of this central predella by Filippo Lippi. The *Annunciation of the Death of the Virgin and Arrival of the Apostles* renders the moment that Mary knows and accepts her destiny. The angel presents the torch solemnly. Mary receives it calmly. She is standing in the cloister, as if she had anticipated the angel's visitation. Furthermore, this illuminated torch recalls the candles that were dedicated to a dying person, as the rules of the confraternity stated. This representation parallels the charity of Orsanmichele, which made the acceptance of one's death peaceful through the assurance of confession and Extreme Unction. The figures of the apostles, who rush to the Virgin from both sides, resemble the members of the confraternity that quickly attended to the deathbed of sick members and their courteous burial.

In the Middle Ages, the Virgin's death or Dormition offered one model for dying well [36].

The confraternity of Orsanmichele had the responsibility of constructing the Barbadori Chapel. Therefore, it is likely that their authority influenced its decoration, that is, its altarpiece. Because this confraternity was famous as a charitable society, especially in calmly preparing people for their death, their charity was reflected in this rare subject.

Conclusion

After the middle of the twelfth century, the “Glory of the Virgin” and the “Virgin’s Last Days” were carved together on the portal of French churches [37]. This prototype diffused throughout Europe, and its variation blossomed in Italy [38]. The predella of the Barbadori altarpiece represents the peaceful twilight of the Virgin’s life. Its main panel of the Virgin standing as Queen of Heaven was most likely inherited from the same lineage as the French prototype.

In comparing preceding works of the Last Days of the Virgin, I pointed out this predella’s singularity. The Virgin is standing in the cloister as if she had expected her imminent death. The angel presents the illuminated torch and Mary receives it. Our eyes are also drawn to the apostles running along the corridor. Lippi painted only this scene and no other Marian episodes in this predella.

Keeping these singularities in mind, I presented several documents that were registered for the construction of the Barbadori Chapel. It became clear that the confraternity of Orsanmichele had the responsibility of constructing and decorating this chapel. By comparison, I found that the charitable acts of Orsanmichele directly influenced the iconography and the subject chosen by Lippi in his predella. I concluded that this central predella reflects the Orsanmichele’s charity in preparing for one’s final moments of life through the sacraments, which provided consolation in overcoming death.

Notes

All abbreviations are standard: ASF: Archivio di Stato di Firenze

- [1] ASF, Capitani di Orsanmichele, f.26, c. 39v: “Iacobus Phylippi aurifex populi Sancti Nicholai de Florentia promixit etc. quod frater Philippus Tomaxii ordinis Sancte Marie del Carmino consignabit bonum computum de florenis quadraginta quos habere debet a dicta sotietate pro pinctura tabule altaris cappelle Gherardi de Barbadoris sin autem de suo proprio consignabit etc. et propterea promixit etc. obligavit etc. renuntiavit etc. per guarentigiam, presente dicto fratre Philippo et promittente ut supra etc. et Maso Pieri et Nardo testibus etc.” I. B. Supino, *Fra Filippo Lippi*, Firenze, 1902, pp.55-57; J. Ruda, *Fra Filippo Lippi: Life and Work with a Complete Catalogue*, London, 1993, p.518.
- [2] Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, ed. G. P. Maggioni, Firenze, 1998, pp.779-781. This indication was first made in a study by Mendelsohn. H. Mendelsohn, *Fra Filippo Lippi*, Berlin, 1909, p.88. The *Golden Legend* was primarily based on the Pseudo-Melito. See R. Guerrini, “Immagini dell’Assunta: il Transito della beata Vergine da Duccio a Beccafumi”, in ed. M. Caciorgna & R. Guerrini, *Alma Sena: percorsi iconografici nell’arte e nella cultura senese; Assunta, Buon Governo, Credo, Virtù e Fortuna, biografia dipinta*, Firenze, 2007, pp.11-65, in part. 17-23.
- [3] This paper is based on my Japanese thesis, N. Kuwabara, “The central predella of the Barbadori altarpiece by Fra Filippo Lippi: A study of the choice of subject”, *Bigaku*, vol.62, no.1, 2011, pp.49-

60. After the publication of my Japanese thesis, I investigated preceding examples of the Last Days of the Virgin in Italy and found an abundance of preexisting works. As a result, I updated my research based on this reconsideration. Through the comparison of Lippi's central predella to its precedents, I expect that my study and claim about the choice of the rare subject will gain conviction.
- [4] M. Meiss, "Light as form and symbol in some Fifteenth century paintings", *The Art Bulletin*, vol.27, 1945, pp.175-181, in part. 175 and note 1. ; J. Ruda, *op.cit.*, pp.101-115.
- [5] E. W. Rowlands, "Sienese painted reliquaries of the Trecento: Their format and meaning", *Konsthistorisk tidskrift*, vol.48, 1979, pp.122-138, in part. 134-135; M. Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death*, Princeton, 1951, p.42.
- [6] J. Ruda, *op.cit.*, p112.
- [7] M. P. Mannini & M. Fagioli, *Filippo Lippi: catalogo completo*, Firenze, 1997, pp.97-99.
- [8] Quite recently Pagnotta had published her study on the iconography of the Annunciation of the Death of the Virgin. L. Pagnotta, "Origini e sviluppo di una rara iconografia sacra: la 'Seconda Annunciazione della Vergine' ovvero l' 'Annuncio della morte'", *Arte cristiana*, vol.101, 2013, pp.193-216.
- [9] *Ibid.*
- [10] S. J. Shoemaker, *Ancient Traditions of the Virgin Mary's Dormition and Assumption*, Oxford, 2004, pp.40-42.
- [11] The oldest extant cycle of the *Death of the Virgin* is the fresco found in "Tempio della Fortuna Virile," once called the church of Santa Maria Egiziaca (872-882). After this fresco, the cycle of the Death of the Virgin had not been represented until the thirteenth century in Italy.
- [12] The *Annunciation of the Death* was frescoed but suffered heavy damage. Moreover, all of the church's interior was covered by scaffolding, so I could not see this scene clearly (I visited there on 11th September 2014 as a participant of the Summer School of Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz). For this reason I omitted the presentation of its image from my thesis.
- [13] In 1397, the Sardi chapel in Pisa was painted with a series of the *Last Days of the Virgin* by Taddeo di Bartolo. The iconographies and the compositions bear strong similarities to preceding works. See G. E. Solberg, *Taddeo di Bartolo: His Life and Work*, New York, 1991, vol.1, pp.129-130; G. E. Solberg, "The painter and the widow: Taddeo di Bartolo, Datuccia Sardi Da Campiglia, and the sacristy chapel in S. Francesco, Pisa", *Gesta*, vol.49, 2010, pp.53-74. Between 1407-1408, Taddeo painted almost the same cycle for the chapel of Signori of the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena. Lippi may have seen it during his stay in Siena. I excluded his Sienese example from my examination because it does not hold the *Annunciation of the Death*.
- [14] The fresco of the church of San Francesco in Gubbio was discovered in 1938. The adjacent scene to the *Arrival of the Apostles* was lost, but it could have depicted the *Annunciation of the Death*. F. Santi, "Un capolavoro giovanile di Ottaviano Nelli", *Arte antica e moderna*, vol.12, 1960, pp.373-384.
- [15] J. Ruda, *op. cit.*, pp.513-515; Ed. A. Sabatini, *Atti dei capitoli provinciali di Toscana dei carmelitani: 1375-1491*, Roma, 1975, pp.168-176, in part. 173.
- [16] See note 4. After Meiss, this opinion has been widely supported by researchers.
- [17] In the *Visconti Hours* (Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Landau Finary 22) Belbello da Pavia (floruit c.1430 – died after 1473) depicts the golden plant in the scene of the *Annunciation of the Death*. However, its form does not resemble the palm.
- [18] The following two cases show the instant that the angel delivers the palm and the Virgin receives it (evident in the painters' representation of the palm): the fresco of Foligno by Ottaviano Nelli and the fresco of the church of Santa Maria Rossa of Crescenzero by anonymous painters (c. 1290).
- [19] There are few examples that show the standing Virgin in the scene of the second annunciation. Yet in these cases Mary is shown in her house and sometimes holding a book. Consequently, she does not seem to be anticipating the angel's visiting.

- [20] The work of Chiaravalle is an exception. Like this predella, the central scene depicts the *Annunciation of the Death* and the apostles gathering from both sides.
- [21] W. Paatz & E. Paatz, *Die Kirchen von Florenz*, vol.5, Frankfurt am Main, 1953, pp.118-122, 152.
- [22] H. Saalman, *Filippo Brunelleschi: The Buildings*, London, 1993, p.90; J. Ruda, *op.cit.*, p.393; D. F. Zervas, *Orsanmichele: Documents 1336-1452*, Modena, 1996, pp.178, 193, 198, 199.
- [23] J. Ruda, *op. cit.*, p.516.
- [24] ASF, Corporazioni Religiose Soppresse dal Governo Francese, 122, f.76, c.70r-v. “...Et in casu quo dictus testator decederet sine filiis legitimis et naturalibus, uno vel pluribus, suos heredes universales instituit, fecit et esse voluit Capitaneos Orti Sancti Michaelis de Florentia pro tempore existentes. Cum hoc onere, quod dicti Capitanei teneantur fieri facere et hedificari de bonis suis unam capellam sive altare in civitate Florentie, in illa ecclesia et loco et ubi videbitur dictis Capitaneis, et ibidem fieri facere unum sepulcrum pro dicto testatore, marmoreum, in qua, de bonis dicti Gherardi, providere et ordinare quod ibidem qualibet die celebretur una missa. Quod altare debeat construi ad honorem Dei et sub nomine et vocabulo Sancti Fridiani.” J. Ruda, *Ibid.*
- [25] B. Wilson, *Music and Merchants: The Laudesi Companies of Republican Florence*, Oxford, 1992.
- [26] J. Henderson, *Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence*, Oxford, 1994, pp.176-177, 297-335.
- [27] D. F. Zervas, *op.cit.*, pp.193, 198.
- [28] ASF, Capitani di Orsanmichele, f.62, c.9v. “Diliberarono che si pigl[i]asse e presono la redità di Gherardo di Bartolomeo Barbadoro, veduto che per suo testamento fatto di giugno 1411 lasciava reda questa compagnia.” Ruda, *op.cit.*, p.516.
- [29] ASF, Capitani di Orsanmichele, f.62, c.29v. “Elesono gli Operai del’Oratorio chamo [sic=come(?)] maestri e operai a fare la chapella in Santo Spirito secho[ndo] pare loro in quel modo lor parrà e piacierà.” J. Ruda, *op.cit.*, p.517.
- [30] See note.1.
- [31] D. F. Zervas, *Orsanmichele a Firenze*, Modena, 1996, p.28.
- [32] *Ibid.*, pp.28-41.
- [33] R. F. E. Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood in Renaissance Florence*, New York, 1982, p.44 and note 3.
- [34] S. La Sorsa, *La compagnia d’Or San Michele ovvero una pagina della beneficenza in Toscana nel secolo XIV*, Trani, 1902, pp.183-205; L. Del Plete, *Capitoli della Compagnia della Madonna d’Orsanmichele dei sec. XIII e XIV*, Lucca, 1859, pp.33-41.
- [35] L. Del Plete, *op. cit.*, p.36.
- [36] D. F. Duclow, “Dying Well: The *Ars moriendi* and the Dormition of the Virgin”, in ed. E. E. Du Bruck & B. I. Gusick, *Death and Dying in the Middle Ages*, New York, 1999, pp.379-429.
- [37] Around 1170 on the portal of the cathedral of Senlis, the *Glory of the Virgin* was sculpted in its tympanum and the *Burial of the Virgin* and the *Resuscitation of the Virgin* were represented in its lintel. After this sculpture, this “Glory and before her Glory” combination pattern was repeated in France, Spain, the Netherlands and Italy. P. Verdier, *Le Couronnement de la Vierge: les origines et les premiers développements d’un thème iconographique*, Montréal, 1980.
- [38] One of the earliest combination examples in Italy I point out is the apse of the church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, by Jacopo Torriti around 1295. W. Tronzo, “Apse decoration, the liturgy and the perception of art in medieval Rome: S. Maria in Trastevere and S. Maria Maggiore”, *Italian Church Decoration of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: Functions, Forms and Regional Traditions*, Bologna, 1989, pp.167-193, in part. 185-193. In the context of funeral artworks, I indicate the funeral monument of Francesco Dandolo circa 1339 in the church of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari in Venice. Its lunette was painted by Paolo Veneziano and its sarcophagus shows the *Death of the Virgin*. In the church of Santa Maria in Trastevere in Rome, you can find the funeral monument of Philippe d’Alençon circa 1397. The *Burial of the Virgin* was sculpted, on which the *Assumption* was most likely situated. H. S’Jacob, *Idealism and Realism: A Study of Sepulchral Symbolism*, Leiden, 1954, pp.125-126; J. Gardner, *The Tomb and the Tiara: Curial Tomb Sculpture in Rome*

and Avignon in the Later Middle Ages, Oxford, 1992, pp.126-130; D. Pincus, *The Tombs of the Doges of Venice*, Cambridge, 2000, pp.105-120, 216-220. As a significant monument in Florence, I point out the *Tabernacle of Orsanmichele* by Orcagna in 1352-1359. Its backside shows the *Death of the Virgin* in the lower part and the *Assumption* in the upper part.

Photographs of the paintings are taken from:

Fig.1 M. Holmes, *Fra Filippo Lippi: The Carmelite Painter*, New Haven, 1999, p.122.

Fig.2, 3 M. P. Mannini & M. Fagioli, *Filippo Lippi: catalogo completo*, Firenze, 1997, p.29.

Fig.4, 5 L. Bellosi, *Duccio: The Maestà*, London, 1999, pp.310, 314.

Fig.6, 7 D. Thiébaud, *Giotto e compagni*, Paris, 2013, p.95.

Fig.8, 9 G. Basile, *Giotto: gli affreschi della Cappella degli Scrovegni a Padova*, Milano, 2002, p.442.

Fig.10, 11 F. Levárdy, *Magyar Anjou legendárium*, Budapest, 1973.

Fig. 12, 17, 18, 19 Photos by author, June 2014.

Fig. 13 S. Paone, *L'Aquila, magnifica citade: pittura gotica e tardogotica a L'Aquila e nel suo territorio*, Rome, 2009, tav. IX.

Fig.14, G. Testa, *La cattedrale di Orvieto: Santa Maria Assunta in cielo*, Roma, 1990, p.87.

Fig.15 G. E. Solberg, "The painter and the widow: Taddeo di Bartolo, Datuccia Sardi Da Campiglia, and the sacristy chapel in S. Francesco, Pisa", *Gesta*, vol.49, 2010, p.53.

Fig.16 M. Caciorgna & R. Guerrini, *Alma Sena: percorsi iconografici nell'arte e nella cultura senese; Assunta, Buon Governo, Credo, Virtù e Fortuna, biografia dipinta*, Firenze, 2007, p.42.

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