The Enthroned Virgin and Child with Six Saints from Santo Stefano Castle, Apulia, Italy

Dr. Patrice Foutakis[1]

ABSTRACT

A seven-panel work entitled The Monopoli Altarpiece is displayed at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, Massachusetts. It is considered to be a Cretan-Venetian creation from the early fifteenth century. This article discusses the accounts of what has been written on this topic, and endeavors to bring field-changing evidence about its stylistic and iconographic aspects, the date, the artists who created it, the place it originally came from, and the person who had the idea of mounting an altarpiece. To do so, a comparative study on Byzantine and early-Renaissance painting is carried out, along with more attention paid to the history of Santo Stefano castle. As a result, it appears that the artist of the central panel comes from the Mystras painting school between 1360 and 1380, the author of the other six panels is Lorenzo Veneziano around 1360, and the altarpiece was not a single commission, but the mounting of panels coming from separate artworks. The officer Frà Domenico d'Alemagna, commander of Santo Stefano castle, had the idea of mounting different paintings into a seven-panel altarpiece between 1390 and 1410. The aim is to shed more light on a piece of art which stands as a witness from the twilight of the Middle Ages and the dawn of Renaissance; as a messenger from the Catholic and Orthodox pictorial traditions and collaboration; finally as a fosterer of the triple Byzantine, Gothic, Renaissance expression.

Keywords: Painting, Altarpiece-Polyptych, Icon, Byzantine-Gothic-Renaissance art, Venice, Cretan and Mystras painting schools.

1.   Introduction

The monumental altarpiece from the Romanesque basilica of Santo Stefano castle, near the town of Monopoli, Apulia, southeastern Italy, is a major piece of art for the late Byzantine, late Gothic and early Renaissance painting. Today, it is part of the collections at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, and it is under restoration since 2015. The polyptych[2] is painted in tempera on European poplar wood, and composed of seven panels. The principle one depicts the Virgin and Child, on the dexter side (right for the Virgin, left for the viewer) three panels illustrate, from left, Saints Christopher, Augustine and

---

[1] 55bis, boulevard du Montparnasse, 75006 Paris, France. Email: foutakis@orange.fr
[2] Although the term of *polyptych* is inappropriate for this altarpiece, since its wings are not closing, I will use it in this paper because it is very often employed in scholarly research on multi-panel altarpieces.

Stephen, and on the sinister side are represented Saints John the Baptist, Nicholas and Sebastian (Fig. 1). Given the dimensions of the main panel, which is 229 cm in height and 276 cm in width without the frame, and also the abbey it was once, a more accurate title would be *The enthroned Virgin and Child with Six Saints from Santo Stefano castle.*

It was described in 1777 as standing at the main altar of the Santo Stefano abbey, "within a big frame made of very old wood, where can be seen, first of all the image of the Virgin of Constantinople, on her right [the images] of Saints Stephen, Augustine, Christopher; on her left those of Saints John the Baptist, Nicholas and Sebastian, and for each of these images there are separating frames" (Calò Mariani, 2001, p. 268). The

Figure 1. Lorenzo Veneziano and a painter from Mystras, *The Enthroned Virgin and Child with Six Saints from Santo Stefano castle*, 1360-1380, tempera on poplar wood, 229 X 276 cm (overall unframed), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts (photo: Museum of Fine arts).

meaning of the expressions "very old wood" and "Virgin of Constantinople" is that the frame has a Gothic shape, and the Virgin is *in forma greca*, that is in a Byzantine style icon, and not *in forma latina*, in other words in the Western manner, Gothic or Renaissance. Although terms like *maniera greca* and *maniera latina* sometimes mask more than they reveal, because there are numerous paintings presenting features from both styles, such terms are widely used in scholarly literature in order to stress iconographic and stylistic differences between Byzantine and Italian paintings from the

Figure 2. Francesco Antoriello, The enthroned Virgin and Child with six saints from Santo Stefano, 1871, colored lithograph, 28 X 36.5 cm. Demetrio Salazaro, Studi sui monumenti della Italia meridionale del IVo all XIIIo secolo, 1:24 (photo: author).

thirteen to the late fifteenth century (Drandaki, 2014, p. 41, 43).

Demetrio Salazaro (1877, II, p. 23-24) provided a detailed lithograph of the panels made by Francesco Antoriello in 1871 (Fig. 2), and also some information about the artwork: along with an accurate description of the seven panels, he asserted that this altarpiece is painted in oil, and dated from the first half of the thirteenth century. Giuseppe Lucatuorto and Mauro Spagnoletti (1984, p. 161-62) laconically wrote that the painting style of this work seems to follow Lorenzo Veneziano, but in persisting Byzantine forms. Maria Stella Calò Mariani (2001, p. 276-77, 285) claimed that the panels were painted between 1460 and 1480, during the office of the bailiff Gian Battista Carafa, by Cretan painters settled in Apulia who followed the Palaiologos pictorial tradition, but also adopted the local painting expression they found in Apulia. Maria Constantoudaki-Kitromilides (1994, p. 289-90, 292-94, 300), although she recognized characteristics from Paolo Veneziano (active in 1320-1358), Lorenzo Veneziano (active in 1353-1379) and Jacobello di Bonomo (active in 1370-1390) for the maniera latina panels, and from the Chora monastery in Constantinople (1315-1320) and the Peribleptos monastery in Mystras (1350-1375) for the maniera greca panels, she thought that the seven panels were painted at the beginning of the fifteenth century by an artist in Crete, familiar to the post-Gothic painting, and she admitted that this dating, quite early for a high-quality Cretan altarpiece, arises the question of when the Cretan school really started.

Maria Vassilaki (2000, p. 152; 2010, p. 62-63) followed Constantoudaki-Kitromilides's assumption, and stressed some similarities with the Constantinopolitan style. Anastasia Drandaki (2009, p. 14-15; 2014, p. 46-47) distinguished two origins for these panels, from both an iconographic and stylistic point of view: the Virgin and Child, Saints Nicholas, John the Baptist, Sebastian and Christopher are entirely Byzantine, whereas Saints Stephen and Augustine are equally straightforwardly Western, with Saint Stephen following the late Gothic style, in a way of a deliberate artistic "bilingualism" to emphasize the Eastern provenance and the Western destination of the composition. Michele Bacci (2014, p. 91, 93; 2016, p. 110) proposed Lorenzo Veneziano or his workshop as the artists of the polyptych, and underlined the stylistic and compositional formulae of the artwork which do not seem to be combined but rather to be juxtaposed selectively: figures such as the Virgin and Child, Saints John the Baptist and Nicholas look distinctively "Palaiologan", whereas the international Gothic flavor of Lorenzo Veneziano's work is easily detectable in the figures of Saints Stephen and Augustine.

2.   Methodology

The idea of this study comes from the fact that although The enthroned Virgin and Child with Six Saints from Santo Stefano castle altarpiece stands as an important artwork at the twilight of the Middle Ages and the dawn of Renaissance, combining Byzantine, Medieval and Renaissance pictorial traditions, no work, to my knowledge, has been carried out exclusively on the panel. It is mentioned in papers about Byzantine and Italian painting (Salazaro 1877; Lucatuorto and Spagnoletti, 1984; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, 1994; Vassilaki, 2000 and 2010; Calò Mariani, 2001; Drandaki, 2009 and 2014; Bacci, 2014) presented in the previous section Introduction, however without a thorough, comparative research on the altarpiece. For doing so, this study first examines the present state of the paint layers and the calligraphy on the seven panels, along with the state of the wood revealed by x-radiographs. An icon I located in the Louvre museum, and frescoes in monasteries in Mystras, Greece, give reliable clues on the identity of the artist for the central panel of the Santo Stefano altarpiece. The work of Lorenzo Veneziano – through his idiosyncratic style in light and face expression, and the punching work of his workshop for the punched marks – confirms him as the artist of the other six panels. A careful study of the seven panels makes clear that they are not the result of a single commission, but the mounting of panels coming from separate altarpieces. Finally, a research on the history of the Santo Stefano castle reveals that the person who mounted seven paintings as a seven-panel altarpiece was the officer Frà Domenico d'Alemagna, commander of Santo Stefano castle.

3.   Examining the altarpiece

The identity of the saints is given by their names written in Latin on the gilded background: *Christophorus, Augustinus, Stephanus, Ioannes Baptista, Nicolaus, Sebastianus*. The calligraphy is written in uncial script, and the S, for sanctus, is in the upper lobe of each panel. The calligraphy on the central

panel is in Byzantine script *M[HTH]P Θ[EO]V* (Mother of God), and *I[HΣOY]C X[PIΣTO]C* (Jesus Christ). The gilded background is evidently altered, and in some places erased, likely after clumsy cleaning from past restorations. However, although re-gilded, there is no doubt that the background was also gilded in its original aspect because such a background was an essential part of the visual economy implicating the comprehension of Byzantine icons and manuscripts (See Barber, 2014).

The way the nine characters of the altarpiece are painted announces four different pictorial traditions: the Virgin with Child, Saint John the Baptist and Saint Nicholas are in purely Byzantine style; Saints Sebastian and Christopher follow a Post-Byzantine style; Saint Stephen is painted in late Gothic style, and Saint Augustine is an early Renaissance-type depiction. It is most interesting to compare Christ's head depicted twice, in the panel with the Virgin and in that sitting on Christopher's shoulder: they are completely different in their expressions, shapes and foreheads.

All seven panels have the same incised circles and the same punched design for the haloes. Furthermore, x-radiographs reveal that the same score lines on the wood surface, before the gesso and paint were applied, are present on all panels made by the same kind of tools; likewise, the score lines on Saint Christopher and Saint Augustine meet at the edges and continue on both panels, indicating that they were prepared together on one piece of wood.[3] Therefore, the identical haloes and score lines suggest that all seven panels were certainly prepared and probably painted at the same workshop.

Through my research on Byzantine iconography, I located an icon which is fundamental for the study of the altarpiece. It is The Virgin and Child between Saint John the Baptist and Saint Paraskeve (Fig. 3). Before this icon was bought by the Louvre museum in 1988, Egon Sendler, one of the world's foremost experts on Orthodox icons, estimated that it was probably painted in Constantinople and is undoubtedly dated from the fourteenth century.[4] When the painting was purchased by the museum, it was accepted as an icon created in Constantinople at the end of the fourteenth century (Anonymous, 1988, 254). Michel Rutschkowsky proposes for this icon a workshop in Constantinople or Mystras in the Peloponnese, and for the dating, although the light and the internalization of the expressions on the faces come from the second half of the fourteenth century, the shape of the throne and the Virgin's dress make him think of a date closer to 1400 (Foucart, 1991, p. 177).
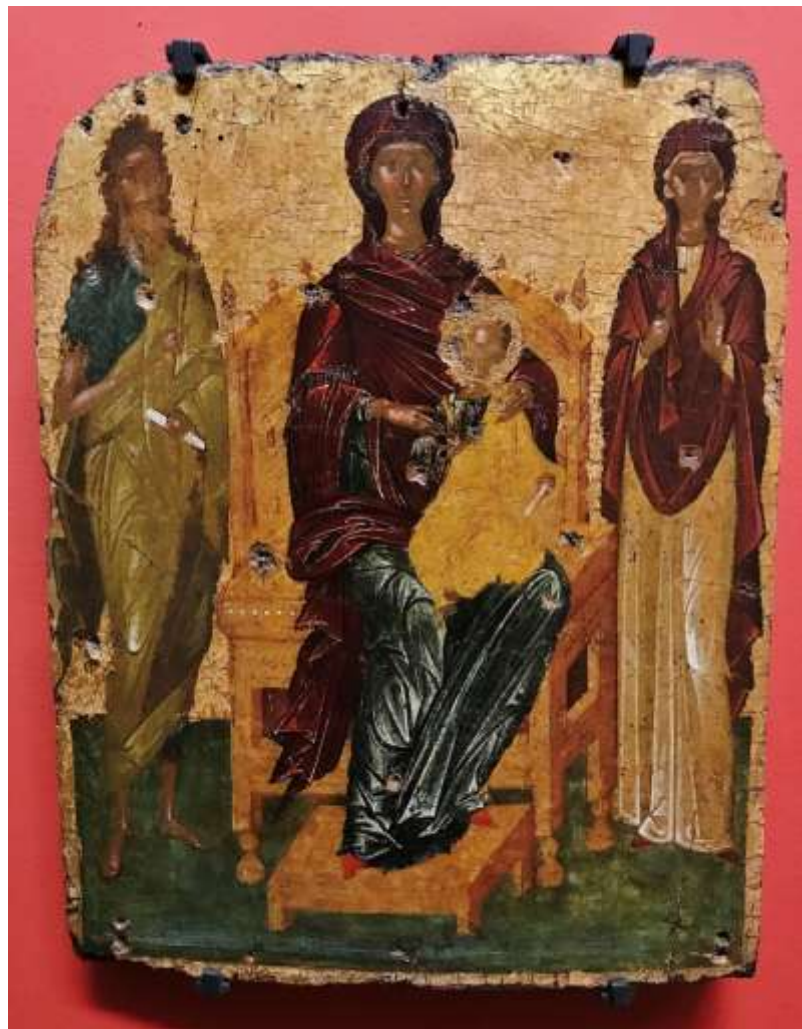

Figure 3. Unknown Mystras painter, *The Virgin and Child between Saint John the Baptist and Saint Paraskeve*, 1360-80, Tempera on walnut wood, 26.5 X 21 cm, Louvre museum, Paris (photo: author).

---

[3] Conservation team of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, electronic letter to the author dated 11 September 2017.
[4] Louvre museum, *Inventory file* R.F. 1988:7 (Paris); Gallery catalog, *Icônes grecques et russes* (Paris: Galerie Nikolenko, 1975), note 2.

Whereas the past restoration of the Virgin's panel in Boston has changed some aspects of the painting, what is left indicates that it was created by the same artist who painted the Virgin of the Louvre museum, or at least by a very skilful painter who imitated the latter: the subtle harmony of the colors, the orientation of the shoulders, forearms and knees, the shape of the Virgin's both index fingers, the position of the feet, the extremely wide forehead of the Child, and the way the three-dimensional conception is realized betray the same "brushwriting" for both paintings; these are reliable indications of identical authorship. The system of modeling flesh tones or of applying highlights to drapery folds are different between the two works because the altarpiece was restored when x-radiographs or ultraviolet light were not used to examine paintings before their restoration, and more attention was paid to the general artistic taste at the time of restoration than to the original aspect of an artwork to be restored.

During the thirteenth century, the best expression in late-Byzantine pictorial art such as icons, frescoes, mosaics, altarpieces and polyptychs came from the school of Thessaloniki; the school of Constantinople became again important during the following fourteenth century (Empiricos, 1967, p. 19-20, 26-30, 35). The Cretan school was an influent late-Byzantine group of painters only from the fifteenth century onwards, with a massive production of icons commissioned by different dealers from Venice and from the Peloponnese (Lymberopoulou, 2007, 188-89). As for the expression "Cretan Renaissance", which implies a local version of the Italian Renaissance on this island, such an assumption is contested because there were also non-Venetian models used in Crete coming from northern Europe and local Gothic traditions which challenge the traditional binary Venice–Crete / metropolis–colony paradigm (see Olympios, 2016). There were already talented Cretan painters in Constantinople, Thessaloniki, the Peloponnese, and on several islands of the Aegean Sea, but the main characteristics of the Cretan school achieved their proper identity by the end of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century (Empiricos, 1967, p. 29-30, 41-42). It is thus inappropriate to write about a Cretan school for the time the Santo Stefano altarpiece was created. One more indication in disfavor of the Cretan school is the wood species: the material most of the icons were painted on in Crete was cypress wood (Stassinopoulos, 2012, p. 68). The panels of the altarpiece are made of poplar wood.

The most important Byzantine intellectual and artistic center at the end of the fourteenth century was Mystras, capital of the Despotate of the Morea, alias the Peloponnese peninsula. The despot of the Morea from 1349 to his death in 1380 was Manuel Cantacuzenus, the Byzantine emperor's brother. He was a real protector of the arts by inviting the best architects, painters, craftsmen, and scholars for the main palace, as well as for chapels, churches, and monasteries (Runciman, 1980, p. 53, 102-107). The frescoes in the churches of Mystras are a priceless and unique example of late-Byzantine painting (Hamilton, 1956, p. 195). Manuel's successors continued the same policy, and Mystras became the most important center of late-Byzantine culture, the real cultural capital of the empire.

The theme of the enthroned Virgin with Child is attested in Constantinople and Thessaloniki, however the Virgins from the altarpiece in Boston and from the Louvre museum are far closer to the Mystras enthroned Virgins. The way this theme variated at Mystras (Figs. 4a, 4b, 4c, 4d) suggests that both the small icon at the Louvre museum (Fig. 4e) and the main panel of the Santo Stefano altarpiece (Fig. 4f) were painted by a painter who had worked in Mystras. These two Virgins present the same pictorial conception with the enthroned Virgin at the Peribleptos monastery (Fig. 4c): the bodies' posture, the hands' gesture, the heads' position, the knees' orientation, the Christ's hands, the Virgin's feet, the plasticity of the maphorion folds are the same. The only substantial difference between the icon at the Louvre museum and the altarpiece in Boston is the throne with the footstool, but the way of applying highlights and lines to both pieces of furniture of the altarpiece indicates that they were repainted; so were, in the Boston artwork, the Virgin's maphorion and the draperies of Christ on both panels with Virgin Mary and Christopher.

Figure 4a (left). Mystras school, *The enthroned Virgin and Child* (detail), c. 1310, fresco, Hodegetria church, Mystras, Peloponnese. Figure 4b. Mystras school, *The enthroned Virgin and Child* (detail), c. 1350, fresco, Chapel of the Saint Sophia church, Mystras, Peloponn (photos: Ephorate of Antiquities of Lakonia, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports / Archaeological Receipts Fund).

Figure 4c (left). Mystras school, *The enthroned Virgin and Child* (detail), c. 1370, fresco, Peribleptos monastery, Mystras, Peloponnese. Figure 4d. Mystras school, *The enthroned Virgin and Child* (detail), c. 1430, fresco, Pantanassa monastery, Mystras, Peloponnese (photos: Ephorate of Antiquities of Lakonia, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports / Archaeological Receipts Fund).

Figure 4e (left). Detail from *The Virgin and Child between Saint John the Baptist and Saint Paraskeve* (Fig. 3). Figure 4f. Detail from the Santo Stefano altarpiece (Fig. 1).

Consequently, a most likely date for the Virgins in Paris (Fig. 4e) and in Boston (Fig. 4f) is close to that of the Peribleptos monastery Virgin (Fig. 4c), between 1360 and 1380. As for the material, the walnut wood for the Louvre's Virgin, which was used very often in Mystras, and the poplar wood for the Santo Stefano's Virgin, the material that accounts ninety percent of all panel paintings in Italy from the thirteenth century (Bisacca and Castrelli, 2012, p. 74), they indicate that this painter worked both in Mystras and in Italy.

4.   The main artist of the Santo Stefano altarpiece

There are some stylistic and iconographic similarities between the altarpiece and fourteenth-century paintings from Emilia Romagna, Tuscany, and mainly Venice, especially by Paolo and Lorenzo Veneziano. The latter was already mentioned by scholars as the artist who has probably painted the Santo Stefano polyptych.[5] The result of the present research indicates explicitly that Lorenzo Veneziano is the painter indeed, but only of the six lateral panels; and it is so for at least six reasons.

First, unlike other Venetian painters, he traveled outside Venice seeking for more clients. Although it was not very rare for an artist, and especially a painter, to create in different places during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth century, during the fourteenth century most painters, with a few exceptions, were settled in a specific place which was the center of their artistic activity. Lorenzo Veneziano's style embraces influences coming from the rest of Italy and the European Gothic not only in painting but also in architecture, sculpture, jewelry and illuminated manuscripts. When the numerous creations undoubtedly identified as those by Lorenzo Veneziano are taken into account, it is clear that he worked a lot for clients away from Venice, between Verona and Vicenza, as well places around the Adriatic Sea (Guarnieri, 2011, p. 19-20).

---

[5] Giuseppe Lucatuorto, Mauro Spagnoletti and Michele Bacci simply mentioned Lorenzo Veneziano as a painter for the Santo Stefano altarpiece without insisting on specific similarities and discrepancies between Lorenzo's paintings and the altarpiece. Maria Constantoudaki-Kitromilides also found some similarities between the altarpiece and Lorenzo Veneziano's paintings, but finally she proposed a Cretan artist from the following century. See above.

Second, Lorenzo Veneziano worked for the Dominican Order and he painted a lot for Dominican churches. He established a privileged relationship with Dominican friars who used to choose very carefully talented and avant-gardist artists who were capable, at the same time, of following the principles of the Order and of expressing a subject with subtle theological implications by means of an image with a strong emotional impact (Guarnieri, 2011, p. 22, 24, 27-28, 35). The Hospitaller knights, lords of Santo Stefano castle and abbey, had various churches under their control, including Dominican ones.

Third, the frame elements were copied by different workshops – however in more or less akin variations – and some frames for altarpieces by Paolo Veneziano present similar elements with the Santo Stefano polyptych, like San Severino, Correr, Louvre and Bologna altarpieces painted by Paolo. Nevertheless, the common points are very general and the details do not match. On the contrary, many of the frames made by the woodcarver's shop for Lorenzo Veneziano's paintings (Figs. 5a, 5b, 5c, 5d, 5e) have not only the same general shape, but also the very same ornamental details with the Santo Stefano altarpiece.[6]

Fourth, a significant detail has not yet been examined in a comparative way for the attribution of this artwork: the haloes. The incised circles and the punching style of the haloes were a sort of signature for a workshop. Even if some tools, creating similar designs and patterns, were used within different workshops, the final result was not the same because it depended on the choices of different artists, assistants and specialized craftsmen. The haloes and the punched design are identical on all seven panels of the Santo Stefano altarpiece: four concentric incised circles with two sizes for circular punches used which are three or four holes in a triangle shape.[7]

Paolo Veneziano's assistant delineated the haloes with small stars and three small holes in a triangle shape punched in long distances between them outside the halo line (Figs. 6a, 6b, 6c, 6d). Lorenzo Veneziano's assistant used to delineate the haloes with small circles, and holes in a triangle shape punched very close each other outside the halo line: The Stational Cross c. 1360 (Fig. 7a), Saint Anthony the abbot c. 1368 (Fig. 7b), The Arquà polyptych c. 1370 (Fig. 7c), and Saint Leonard c. 1370-72 (Fig. 7d) present the same approach of using the punching work as that in the Santo Stefano altarpiece (Fig. 7e).

Unlike other painters, such as Paolo Veneziano, who used various punched designs, including stars inside and outside the circle of the halo, Lorenzo Veneziano had a constant use of a triangle shape punch mark encircling the halo and in short distances between these marks around the exterior side of the halo. When other painters used the triangle shape punch mark outside the halo, they punched it in longer distances one from another. This detail is significant because it reveals consistency for a long time in Lorenzo's career: what is identified as his work covers the period from 1353 to 1379 (Guarnieri, 2005, p. 61), and his paintings mentioned here for the punching style (Figs. 7a, 7b, 7c, 7d) are dated from 1360, 1368, 1370 and 1372. The punch tooling is a fairly important indication about the artist of a piece of art. Punched decoration is a reliable factor for attribution, dating, and workshop relationships in painting (see Skaug, 1994).

---

[6] The frame of the Santo Stefano altarpiece will be replaced by a new one, when the restoration will be finished, because the curators of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston think that it was made in the nineteenth century. The frame elements are regilded and repainted, and this is the reason they look homogenous: they are not. They most likely come from different epochs. The upper part of the frame with neo-Gothic pinnacles and shell-shaped niches was probably added in the nineteenth century. It is not the case for the rest of the frame: the trefoil opened lobes, the twisted colonettes, and the denticulations seem to be part, if not of the original frame, at least of an old one, following Lorenzo Veneziano's frames (Figs. 5a, 5b, 5c, 5d, 5e). Besides, in the eighteenth or nineteenth century, when part of the frame was recreated, no one knew that most of the altarpiece's panels were painted by Lorenzo Veneziano, and therefore there was no reason to imitate a polyptych frame made by the woodcarver's shop for Lorenzo's paintings. On the other hand, if the lower frame elements were also recent, the choice would have been for a richer decoration with multifoil lobes and ornamental elements from the Flamboyant Gothic style, a constant trend of the nineteenth-century taste in Medieval art.

[7] Conservation team of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, electronic letter to the author dated 11 September 2017.

Figure 5a (left). Lorenzo Veneziano, *The Virgin with Child and the Crucifixion with six saints*, c.1355, tempera on wood, 82.5 X 73.6 cm, Isabella Stewart Gardner museum, Boston (photo: Isabella Stewart Gardner museum). Figure 5b. Lorenzo Veneziano and his workshop, The *Saint John the Evangelist polyptych*, c. 1365, tempera on wood, 154 X 218 cm, Museo provincial di Lecce, Italy (photo: Museo provincial di Lecce).

Figure 5c (left). Lorenzo Veneziano, *The Proti polyptych*, 1366, tempera on wood, 246 X 250 cm, Duomo of Vicenza, Italy (photo: Duomo of Vicenza). Figure 5d (center). Lorenzo Veneziano, *The Annunciation with eight saints*, c. 1370, tempera on wood, 60 X 30 cm, Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio, Parma, Italy (photo: Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio). Figure 5e. Lorenzo Veneziano, *The Celestia polyptych*, 1370-72, tempera on wood, 118.5 X 127.5 cm, Pinacoteca Brera, Milan (photo: Pinacoteca Brera).

Figure 6a (left). Paolo Veneziano *The Pala feriale* (detail), 1345, tempera on wood, 119 X 322 cm (overall), Museo Marciano, Basilica of San Marco, Venice (photo: Museo Marciano). Figure 6b. Paolo Veneziano, *The polyptych of the Virgin and Child with saints* (detail), 1349, tempera on wood, 124 X 274 cm (overall), San Martino church, Chioggia, Italy (photo: San Martino church).

Figure 6c (left). Paolo Veneziano, *The Virgin with Child* (detail), 1354, tempera on wood, 100 X 160 cm (overall), Louvre museum, Paris (photo: author). Figure 6d. Paolo Veneziano, *Saint John the Baptist*, 1355-1358, tempera on wood, 21 X 17.8 cm, County museum of Art, Los Angeles (photo: County museum of Art).

Figure 7a (left). Lorenzo Veneziano, The Stational Cross (detail), c. 1360, tempera on wood, 448 X 347 cm (overall), Church of San Zeno, Verona (photo: Church of San Zeno). Figure 7b (center). Lorenzo Veneziano, *Saint Anthony the abbot* (detail), c. 1368, tempera on wood, 46 X 32 cm (overall), Pinacoteca nazionale, Bologna (photo: Pinacoteca nazionale). Figure 7c. Lorenzo Veneziano, *The Arquà polyptych* (detail), c. 1370, tempera on wood, 100 X 168 cm (overall), Church of Santa Maria, Arquà Petrarca, Veneto, Italy (photo: Church of Santa Maria).

Figure 7d (left). Lorenzo Veneziano, *Saint Leonard* (detail), c. 1370-72, tempera on wood, 34 X 27 cm (overall), Galleria regionale di palazzo Bellomo, Syracuse, Italy (photo: Galleria regionale di palazzo Bellomo). Figure 7e. Detail from the Santo Stefano altarpiece, Saint John the Baptist (Fig. 1).

Fifth, the panels of the Santo Stefano altarpiece have score lines incised on their poplar wood surface, before the gesso and paint were applied;[8] so have the panels of Lorenzo's polyptychs (Ravaud, 2005, p. 46-47), which was not something that all painters did. They used to prepare the support material before they paint on it. Incising score lines on it was a way to make the surface less smooth. The rough surface can thus receive and keep the gesso applied on it as the first layer, before the successive paint layers are executed. Lorenzo Veneziano was not the only painter who incised score lines on the wood before painting on it. However, what x-radiographs show is that the score lines underneath the gesso and paint layers in the Santo Stefano altarpiece[9] and in Lorenzo's work (Ravaud, 2005, figs. 49, 50, 52, 53) are the same. Even if this is not clear evidence – because score lines from different workshops can be randomly very similar – it is a serious clue not only because of the way these score lines are incised and cross one another, but also because other painters, instead of making score lines, rubbed on the wood so that the surface becomes rough.

Finally sixth, some of the style similarities between the Santo Stefano altarpiece and paintings by Lorenzo Veneziano are much more than a simple expression of mutual influence or inspiration between two different painters. They are fairly reliable signs indicating the same hand having painted them. The way the drapery folds are executed and illuminated, how the skin tone appears and is painted, the use of stark white highlights on the clothes and the degree of expressivity on the figures' faces suggest Lorenzo Veneziano as the artist of six panels from the Santo Stefano altarpiece. The drapery folds in The Virgin with Child and the Crucifixion with six saints, c. 1355 (Fig. 5a), in The Saint John the Evangelist polyptych, c. 1365 (Fig. 5b), in The Proti polyptych, 1366 (Fig. 5c), in The Annunciation with eight saints, c. 1370 (Fig. 5d) and in The Celestia polyptych, 1370-72 (Fig. 5e) are the same as those in the Santo Stefano artwork. The skin tone and the stark white highlights on the draperies in The Saint John the Evangelist polyptych, in The Proti polyptych and in The Celestia polyptych are identical with those in the Santo Stefano altarpiece.

As for expressivity in the figures' faces, the examples are numerous. I choose only four among them: Saint Nicholas compared to three of the saints above the body of Virgin Mary from The Proti polyptych (Figs. 8a, 8b), Saint Christopher compared to an apostle from The Virgin with Child, the Crucifixion and the twelve apostles (Figs. 9a, 9b), Saint Augustine compared to Saint Peter (Figs. 10a, 10b), and Saint Stephen compared to Saint Mary Magdalene from The Lion polyptych (Figs. 11a, 11b). The identical features between Saints Stephen and Mary Magdalene are a glaring illustration for a safe attribution of the Santo Stefano altarpiece. Their posture, gesture and face expression are so peculiar and close, that they exclude random. They demonstrate Lorenzo Veneziano's quite easily recognizable

---

[8] Conservation team of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, electronic letter to the author dated 11 September 2017.
[9] Museum of Fine Arts (Boston), *Inventory File n° 37.410.1-7*: Conservation in action, Monopoli altarpiece, November 2015.

and idiosyncratic style, and indicate an identical authorship. Unless another painter copied meticulously and successfully Saint Mary Magdalene to create Saint Stephen, it seems most unlikely that Lorenzo Veneziano did not paint Saint Stephen. The orientation to the viewer, the position of the hands, the inclination of the head, the angle of the neck, the shape of the head and the expression of the face, particularly the expression of the eyes, are so strikingly similar that they make the possibility of a coincidence almost inconceivable.

Sometimes paintings are wrongly identified not only with respect to the artist, but also regarding the identity of the person depicted on them (see Foutakis, 2018a). Some of the six reasons presented above to defend the authorship of the altarpiece may appear in the work of other painters: like the orientation to the viewer or the inclination of the head; or the fact that other painters worked also for the Dominican Order or used to incise score lines on the surface of the wood before painting on it. Nevertheless, all six reasons simultaneously in the same painting cannot be random. Especially the system of modeling drapery folds, of applying stark white highlights to them, how the flesh tones appear and are painted, and the degree of expressivity on the figures' faces; not to mention the identical features between Saints Stephen and Mary Magdalene which are intrinsically constitutive elements of a painter's identity. Saint Mary Magdalene is part of The Lion polyptych at the Gallerie dell'Accademia in Venice, painted in 1357-59, and offers a reliable dating for the altarpiece in Boston. The six panels of the Santo Stefano polyptych were thus painted around 1360, approximately in the middle of Lorenzo's career: he was active from 1353 to 1379 (Guarnieri, 2005, p. 61).

Figure 8a (left). Detail from the Santo Stefano altarpiece, Saint Nicholas (Fig. 1).
Figure 8b. Detail from The Proti polyptych (Fig. 5c).

Figure 9a (left). Detail from the Santo Stefano altarpiece, Saint Christopher (Fig. 1). Figure 9b. Lorenzo Veneziano, *The Virgin with Child, the Crucifixion and the twelve apostles* (detail), c. 1360, tempera on wood, 53.8 X 78.7 cm (overall), Museum of Art, San Diego, California (photo: Museum of Art, San Diego).

Figure 10a (left). Detail from the Santo Stefano altarpiece, Saint Augustine (Fig. 1). Figure 10b. Lorenzo Veneziano, Saint Peter (detail), 1371, tempera on wood, 114 X 44 cm (overall), Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice (photo: Gallerie dell'Accademia).
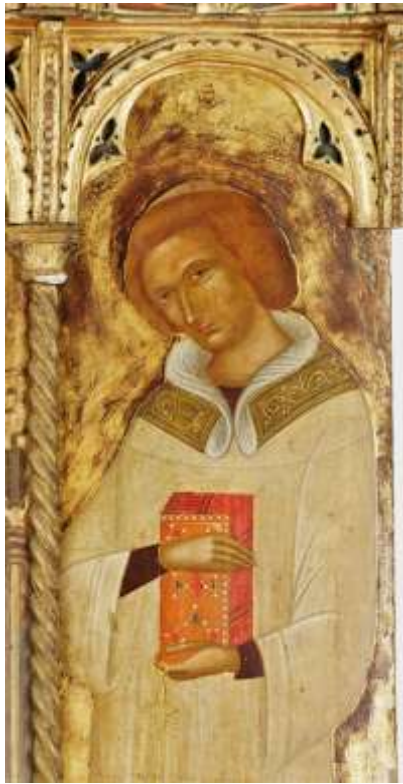
Figure 11a (left). Detail from the Santo Stefano altarpiece, Saint Stephen (Fig. 1). Figure 11b. Lorenzo Veneziano, The Lion polyptych (detail), 1357-59, tempera on wood, 258 X 432 cm (overall), Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice (photo: Gallerie dell'Accademia).

5.   The Castle of Santo Stefano

This fortified place, 30 miles (50 km) southern of Bari, southeastern Italy, enjoys various benefits from its location. First of all, it is positioned on the route between Bari and Brindisi, two ports of call with a crucial role since ancient times: they were the starting points for the ships sailing to the Orient, and coming back with precious goods such as rare spices or expensive textile, as well as for the warships for the Roman and Norman military expeditions, and later for the Crusades. Another advantage is the way the castle of Santo Stefano is built: it occupies a tongue-shape rock extending in the Adriatic Sea, and flanked by two creeks, both in a U-shape. The closed part of each creek is sandy and easy to reach from the mainland, while the rocky walls of the creeks protect from the sea (Fig. 12). The third advantage of Santo Stefano is the fertility of the surrounding land. This region was regarded for a long time as the wheat granary of Italy (Foutakis, 2020, p. 223-24).

The Norman chief Geoffroy, Earl of Conversano and Lord of Brindisi, founded in 1086 a Benedictine fortified abbey on this rock dedicated to the protomartyr Saint Stephen, and he endowed the abbey with very substantial feudal donations taken on the bishoprics of Conversano and Monopoli (Pagliarulo, 1964, p. 87). The choice of this fortified site (Fig. 13), except its strategic position, came also from the fact that the two creeks, nowadays tourist beaches, were then the estuaries of two rivers bringing fresh drinking water, and a well on the rock was in use for direct water supplied to the abbey buildings. This well still exists (Fig. 14) and continues to be filled with fresh water. The small caves created by the force of the sea at several places of the rock were transformed into bathrooms by the monks (Fig. 15).

The abbot of Santo Stefano Palmerio initiated the construction of the Romanesque basilica from 1170 onwards and also the scriptorium room for copying and illuminating religious manuscripts, which he directed in 1188 (Bellifemine, 1988, p. 30, 36-39). The abbey became one of the most important religious centers in Apulia, and Palmerio received in December 1175 the bishopric miter and crosier as a pontifical recognition (Calò Mariani, 2001, p. 257). On 19 May 1195, the abbey was granted with more feudal concessions from the emperor Henry VI (Itollo, 2001, 172). The portal of the

Romanesque church, today walled up, bears an inscription engraved on the marble that contains the year 1200 (Foutakis, 2018b, p. 42), surmounting a marble lintel carved with Christ between Saints Stephen and George (Fig. 16).

Figure 12. Santo Stefano castle (photo: Google Earth).

Figure 13. Santo Stefano castle, north side. Fourteenth to seventeenth centuries (photo: author).

Figure 14. The Santo Stefano well, since 1086 (photo: author).

Figure 15. The Santo Stefano caves, transformed into baths by the monks (photo: author).

Figure 16. The entrance of the Santo Stefano Romanesque basilica, 1170. The inscription, above the lintel with Jesus, Saint Stephen and Saint George, contains the year 1200 (photo: author).

The knights of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem had a small commandery at the neighboring town of Monopoli, three miles (five km) northern of Santo Stefano, and nourished the ambition to take Santo Stefano under their control. They did so in 1314, and in 1317 this act was validated by the pope John XXII as a token of appreciation for the knights' struggle in the Holy Land and Syria (Pagliarulo, 1964, p. 87-88), from where they were chased away shortly before, in 1291, by the Mamelukes. The castle and abbey of Santo Stefano remained under the rule of the Hospitallers until 1808, when the abolition of feudalism was ordered by Joseph Bonaparte and realized by Joachim Murat; abolishing feudalism was one of the first measures taken after Murat's enthronement as king of Naples in 1808. Santo Stefano was sold on 2 October 1813 to Rocco Morelli (Bellifemine, 1988, p. 30, 91). Morelli's descendants sold the estate to the brothers Francesco and Leonardo Sgobba in 1854, and from the Sgobba family Santo Stefano passed in 1978 to the de Bellis family, still owner of the estate of Santo Stefano.[10] The altarpiece left the Santo Stefano castle before 1871 (Salazaro, 1877, II, p. 23-24), and in 1892 it was mentioned at the palazzo Della Rocca, Naples, in the possession of Luigi dell'Erba, the nephew of Francesco and Leonardo Sgobba (Morea, 1892, p. 294-95). About 1900/1910, it was acquired

---

[10] I am grateful to Marina dell'Erba, widow of Saverio de Bellis, actual owner of the estate of Santo Stefano, and Licia Sgobba, who welcomed me at the castle and gave me information on the late owners of Santo Stefano.

by Eliot Hubbard, whose son, Dr. Eliot Hubbard, Jr., offered it, on 5 May 1937, to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.[11]

In regard to the patronage and commissioning of the altarpiece, among the Santo Stefano officers for the period 1350-1430,[12] there is a name that catches the attention: Frà Domenico d'Alemagna. Anthony Luttrell (2001, p. 99) is the only scholar, to my knowledge, who suggested that if this altarpiece dates from the beginning of the fifteenth century, then probably d'Alemagna could have ordered for it. Yet, Luttrell's survey was not on this piece of art but on a specific aspect of the history of Santo Stefano. Therefore, a research to find out whether this officer can be definitely associated with the Santo Stefano altarpiece has to be made.

A focus on Domenico d'Alemagna's career makes clear that this knight is behind the polyptych, albeit not as the man this artwork was painted for. He was appointed commander of Santo Stefano in November 1373 (Bosio, 1629/30, II, p. 116), and held this office until 1377/1378, and again from 1385/1386 until his death in 1411 (Luttrell, 2001, p. 96-98). Already admiral of the Hospitaller fleet in 1392, with multiple incomes from windmills, houses and vineyards in Rhodes, lieutenant of the Order since March 1409 (Bosio, 1629/30, II, p. 145, 171), he ordered a radical restoration in 1386 of the San Giovanni a Mare church in Naples, he founded in 1389 a chapel of the Virgin at the Conventual church of the Order in Rhodes, he likewise founded in 1391 the hospice of Saint Catherine for pilgrims in Rhodes, and in 1401 he initiated and funded the construction of a house and a chapel for the Italian knights at Rhodes (Luttrell, 2001, p. 99-100). He had a distinguished career in the Peloponnese: in 1379 he was appointed bailiff of Achaia for the defense of the principality, as a result of the agreement between the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem and Joanna I, queen of Naples and princess of Achaea, and in 1389 he became governor of Achaia (Chrysostomides, 1995, p. 325, note 9).

The grand master of the Hospitallers did not appreciate that the negotiations with the kingdom of Sicily about the Principality of Achaia, in the Peloponnese, remained fruitless. In spring 1387, he sent Domenico d'Alemagna to the Peloponnese to take by force the fortified places the knights considered to be theirs (Bosio, 1629/30, II, p. 137-38). One of the major missions of d'Alemagna's career was to negotiate with the despot of the Morea Theodore Palaiologos what territories were to be sold to the Order: the despot needed money and he thought about selling Corinth and Mystras to the knights, and moving to Monemvasia as a provisional capital. Numerous grand master's orders give details about d'Alemagna's mission in the Peloponnese (Chrysostomides, 1995, p. 415-16, 504-505, 515-22. Letters by the grand master dated 21 February 1400, 31 May 1402, 22 September 1403, 5 April 1404, 6 April 1404, 5 May 1404, 6 Juin 1404). The negotiations took some time until the final agreement was reached on 6 April 1404, excluding Mystras which would remain the capital of the Despotate of the Morea (Bosio, 1629/30, II, p. 159-61, 164-65). Together with his military, political and diplomatic activity, he continued to be active in the decoration of worship monuments, and seemed very alert to the relics of saints (Luttrell, 2001, p. 100). During all these years for his missions in the Peloponnese, Domenico d'Alemagna made many travels between Rhodes, Mystras, Constantinople, and certainly to his castle of Santo Stefano.

6. Conclusion

The responsible for the arrival of the painted panels at Santo Stefano was Domenico d'Alemagna, a monk-knight, commander, admiral, and passionate about founding or restoring chapels and churches. Yet, he was not the man the seven panels were painted for because they were not ordered by him to one or more artists for the purpose of one single altarpiece. They were chosen and mounted by the knight to create this artwork (Foutakis, 2018c, 184-85). A more accurate term would be to say that Domenico d'Alemagna was the "editor" of the altarpiece. The way the tool marks for the panels of Saints Stephen and John the Baptiste match up indicates that the two panels have been switched in the past; besides, the orientation of Saint Stephen's body implies the same interchange. This technical evidence clearly indicating that the two saints have been switched around by another officer of the castle, comes from the orientation of the supporting tool marks on the Saints Stephen's and John the

---

[11] Museum of Fine Arts (Boston), Inventory File n° 37.410.1-7: Provenance.
[12] This period of time, extended for the purpose of this research, is implied by the dating of the Louvre icon (Fig. 3). This icon is dated from the fourteenth century and also around the year 1400.

Baptiste's panels, and gives an idea about the changes this piece of art has been through while it was in the altar of the Santo Stefano church (Fig. 17).

Figure 17. The church of the Santo Stefano abbey where the altarpiece was, from the end of the fourteenth century until the mid-nineteenth century (photo: author).

The places of the seven panels obey to specific rules. The Virgin on the big, central panel was the most venerated biblical character by the Hospitallers: the icon of the Virgin of Fileremos was the most precious item for the Order. Originally, the place of honor in this altarpiece (Fig. 1), which is to the right of the Virgin, was for Saint John the Baptist, saint patron of the Order, and the second best place, to the left, for Saint Stephen, saint patron of the fortified abbey. Next to the saint patron of the castle is standing Saint Nicholas, protector of sailors: Santo Stefano was on a trade route for the ships between Italy and Eastern-Mediterranean ports. Furthermore, the body of Saint Nicholas, buried in the nearby town of Bari, was and still is a highly venerated pilgrimage site.[13]

The most determining evidence that the Santo Stefano altarpiece cannot be the result of a single commission for all pieces is the fact that the six panels are cut out: Saint Christopher's right foot and elbow, Saint Augustine's crosier, Saint Stephen's right elbow, Saint John's left side and scroll, Saint Nicholas' left side and book, and Saint Sebastian's left elbow are severely trimmed – and so are some of their names – in a way that the panels can fit in a single polyptych created a posteriori. Should the panels be ordered for the same artwork, their size would adequately match up with the altarpiece and they would have not been cut out, with the figures and some names mutilated, along with some haloes partly hidden by the frame.

---

[13] Archaeological excavations under the Saint-Nicholas church in Demre, southern Turkey, led to claiming that Saint Nicholas' tomb is under this church. However, much more archaeological evidence is needed in order to accept such an assertion.

Can Domenico d'Alemagna's first name be connected to the Dominican Order? As it is stressed above, Lorenzo Veneziano worked a lot for the Dominican Order, and d'Alemagna's first name could imply some ties with this Order. The oldest creation by Lorenzo that has been identified so far is The Lion polyptych, painted in 1357-59 and ordered by Domenico Lion for the Sant'Antonio abate di Castello church in Venice (Guarnieri, 2011, p. 19). The Lions were one of the most prestigious patrician families in Venice and the first name Domenico was important for them: another Domenico Lion, with whom the activity of the family had started, was Master of knights, a title replaced by that of the Doge (Bettinelli, 1780, p. 90). The family funded the construction of the Saint Dominic chapel in the church of the same name, which was richly endowed by the Lions, who also contributed to the construction of Santi Giovanni e Paolo basilica (Leader, 1866, p. 49), the place many doges are buried in Venice. Although the name Domenico is important in the history of the Lion family, the fact that the first important Lion was a Domenico, that this family contributed to the worship of Saint Dominic, that the Lion who ordered the polyptych to Lorenzo Veneziano was likewise named Domenico, that Lorenzo worked a lot for Dominican churches, and that d'Alemagna's first name was also Domenico, could after all be a coincidence because names like Domenico and Francesco were very common.

In any case, there are four facts that need to be highlighted: the region of Apulia had many paintings coming from Venetian workshops (Calò Mariani, 2001, p. 286-88), Lorenzo Veneziano worked a lot for Dominican churches (Guarnieri, 2011, p. 22, 24, 27-28, 35), the knights of the Order of Saint-John of Jerusalem had Dominican churches under the local control of their commanderies, bailiwicks or priories, and Dominican churches in the region around Santo Stefano castle had sumptuous altarpieces and polyptychs (Calò Mariani, 2001, p. 256). Domenico d'Alemagna most likely possessed already the six panels painted by Lorenzo Veneziano before he went to the Peloponnese in 1387; panels that he intentionally or fortuitously saw probably in a Dominican church. In this case the six panels were at Santo Stefano by the 1370s or the 1380s. The Virgin's panel was painted by a painter coming from Mystras at the same workshop. D'Alemagna's several travels to the Peloponnese between spring 1387 and April 1404 may be the reason for the choice of the painter: as a passionate founder or simply funder of chapels and churches, the knight had certainly admired the frescos and icons in Mystras, which were the finest expression of Byzantine art at the time.

If one day a chemical analysis of the pigments from the letters on the seven panels is undertaken and reveals that they were all written at the same time, the following hypothesis can be asserted: the panels – coming from the same workshop because of the identical score lines and the punch marks for the haloes on all seven panels – arrived separately at the Santo Stefano abbey after d'Alemagna's successive travels to Puglia, Naples, Emiglia Romagna, Rhodes, Mystras and Constantinople; they became parts of different diptychs and triptychs or remained as separated paintings. The decision to create something monumental was likely taken when d'Alemagna saw the Virgin's panel and decided to bring it to Santo Stefano. It is fundamental to mention that the Virgin's panel is the only panel of this altarpiece which is not cut out; and even if it was slightly trimmed, it is not mutilated like the other six panels. The parts cut out from Saints Christopher, Augustine, Stephen, John the Baptist, Nicholas and Sebastian are discussed above. As soon as the Virgin's panel arrived at Santo Stefano, the other six panels were cut out, gilded and entitled at a nearby workshop, or at the Lorenzo Veneziano's workshop which continued the master's tradition, and finally they were mounted together with the Virgin's panel, within a frame made ad hoc at this workshop, in order to form the seven-panel altarpiece for the Santo Stefano altar (Fig. 17). If so, the altarpiece and its frame were created between 1390 and 1410, with the Virgin's panel made between 1360-1380 by a painter coming from Mystras to the Lorenzo Veneziano's workshop, and six panels painted around 1360 by Lorenzo Veneziano. The upper part of the frame with neo-Gothic pinnacles and shell-shaped niches is new, while the rest of the frame is, if not the original, at least an old one.

After interchanging the panels, partly repainting the figures, mutilating the lateral panels, substantially restoring them, and partly recreating the frame, the state of conservation the Santo Stefano altarpiece presents today does not help the art lover or the Christian believer to experience the interaction with this work. Nowadays, such a piece of art is seen, or contemplated, or studied as a static item in a museum, or in a private collection, or through a virtual image. Nevertheless, the Medieval icon was experienced, except sight, also through touch, sound, smell, and taste. Its rich, highly reflective

materials and surface textures, combined with its setting – flickering candles and oil lamps, sounds of music and prayer, the fragrance of incense, and the approach and breath of the faithful – saturated the material and sensorial to excess. It led to a vision that transcended this materiality and gave access to the intangible (see Pencheva, 2006). It was also the case for artistic creation in general at the time, and for this reason the five senses was a favorite and recurring theme in iconography. Although the famous tapestries of The Lady with the Unicorn do not depict the five senses as it is sometimes asserted, they represent the interaction between human sensitivity – both that of the artist and of the owner of the artwork – and the item itself in a dynamic way: during a period of time of low literacy, when images held the place of a text, a piece of art had a practical aim by keeping warm or hiding a defect, a decorative aim by embellishing a place, a social aim by letting know the wealth and power of a person, and a transcending aim by stressing principles, beliefs and virtues (Foutakis, 2019, p. 38, 409, 416-17).

Policy implications of this research are that an older age for the altarpiece than that believed so far is proposed, the uncovered identical icon at the Louvre museum is presented, a different Byzantine origin than the Cretan school has come out, and the mounting of panels coming from separate altarpieces instead of a commission for a single artwork is revealed. They are field-changing data in regard to this altarpiece; they shed clearer light on it and establish a better connoisseurship. The Enthroned Virgin and Child with Six Saints from Santo Stefano stands as a witness from the twilight of the Middle Ages and the dawn of Renaissance, as a messenger from the Catholic and Orthodox pictorial traditions and collaboration, as a fosterer of the triple Byzantine, Gothic, Renaissance expression. Notwithstanding the attrition of time and the past inappropriate restoration, the altarpiece arises as a treasure, for the result remains a strikingly high-quality creation. Frà Domenico d'Alemagna mounted a chef-d'œuvre of inhomogeneity in a field where homogeneity is a rule. Every piece of art comes from a past which seems inert, but the present is always pregnant, for there is always a future.

Ackowledgments

References

Anonymous, (1988). Les récentes acquisitions des musées nationaux. *Revue du Louvre* 3, 254.

Bacci, M. (2014). Veneto-Byzantine 'Hybrids': towards a reassessment. *Studies in Iconography* 35, 73-106,

Bacci, M. (2016). Gothic-Framed Byzantine Icons: Italianate Ornament in the Levant during the Late Middle Ages. In: Necipoglu, G. & Payne, A. (Eds.), Histories of Ornament. Princeton: Princeton University Press, p. 106-115.

Barber, C. (2014). Out of Sight: Painting and Perception in Fourteenth-Century Byzantium. *Studies in Iconology* 35, 107-120.

Bellifemine, G. (1988). Il Castello di S. Stefano presso Monopoli. Fassano: Shena.

Bettinelli, G. (Ed.) (1780). Dizionario storico-portatile di tutte le Venete patrizie famiglie Venezia: Giuseppe Bettinelli.

Bisacca, G. & Castrelli, C. (2012). Italian panel paintings. In: Stoner, J. H. & Rebecca Anne Rushfield, R. A. (Eds.), *Conservation of Easel Paintings*. London and New York: Rutledge, p. 72-86.

Bosio, G. (1621-1684). Dell'Istoria della Sacra Religione et Illma Militia di San Giovanni Gierosolimitano. 3 vols., Roma-Napoli: Guglielmo Facciotto & Domenico Antonio Parrino.

Calò Mariani, M. S. (2001). I Cavalieri gerosolimitani e il Balliagio di Santo Stefano in Puglia. Committenza di opere d'arte e relazioni culturali. In: D'Angela, C. & Sante Trisciuzzi, A. (Eds.), *Fasano nella storia dei Cavalieri di Malta in Puglia: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Fasano* 14-16 *Maggio* 1998. Bari: Adriatica, p. 253-320.

Chrysostomides, J. (1995). Monumenta Peloponnesiaca. Documents for the history of the Peloponnese in the 14th and 15th centuries. Camberley-Surrey: Porphyrogenitus.

Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, M. (1994). Enthroned Virgin and Christ-Child with Saints. A composite work of Italo-Cretan art. Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας [Bulletin of the Christian Archaeological Society] 17, 285-302.

Drandaki, A. (2009). Between Byzantium and Venice: Icon Paintings in Venetian Crete in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In: *The Origins of El Greco: Icon Painting in Venetian Crete*. New York: Onassis Foundation, p. 11-18.

Drandaki, A. (2014). A Maniera Greca: content, context and transformation of the term. *Studies in Iconography* 35, 39-72.

Empiricos, A. (1967). L'école crétoise, dernière phase de la peinture byzantine. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

Foucart, J. (1991). Musée du Louvre, nouvelles acquisitions du Département des Peintures (1987-1990). Paris: RMN).

Foutakis, P. (2018a). Two portraits allegedly depicting two members of the Bosio family. *Journal of Historical Archaeology & Anthropological Sciences* 3(4), 573-79.

Foutakis, P. (2018b). Chemins et destin de fr. Antonio Bosio. *Société de l'Histoire et du Patrimoine de l'Ordre de Malte* 38, 28-59.

Foutakis, P. (2018c). Frà Antonio Bosio da Chivasso, balivo di Santo Stefano, cavaliere della sfortuna. Studi Chivassesi 9, 155-206.

Foutakis, P. (2019). De 'La Dame à la licorne' et de 'son' désir. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Foutakis, P. (2020). Les trois saisons: un carrosse sur le chemin du chevalier Antonio Bosio. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Guarnieri, C. (2005). Le polyptyque pour l'église San Giacomo Maggiore de Bologne dans l'œuvre de Lorenzo Veneziano. In: *Autour de Lorenzo Veneziano. Fragments de polyptyques vénitiens du XIVe siècle, exhibition catalog* (Milan and Tours: Silvana, p. 57-81.

Guarnieri, C. (2011). Lorenzo Veneziano e l'ordine dei predicatori: nuove riflessioni critiche attorno alle tre tele con *la Madonna dell'umiltà*. In: Rigoni, C. & Scardellato, C. (Eds.), *Lorenzo Veneziano. 'Le Virgines humilitatis'*. Milano: Silvana, p. 19-41.

Hamilton, J. A. (1956). Byzantine architecture and decoration. London: Batsford.

Itollo, A. d' (2001). Santo Stefano: dall'abazia benedettina al baliaggio giovannita. In: D'Angela, C. & Sante Trisciuzzi, A. (Eds.), *Fasano nella storia dei Cavalieri di Malta in Puglia: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Fasano 14-16 Maggio 1998*. Bari: Adriatica, p. 165-180.

Leader, J. T. (1866). Libro dei Nobili Veneti ora pera la prima volta messo in luce. Firenze: Tipografia delle Murate.

Lucatuorto, G. & Spagnoletti, M. (1984). *San Nicola di Mira nelle immagini*. Fasano: Shena.

Luttrell, A. (2001). Le origini della Precettoria capitolare di Santo Stefano di Monopoli. In: D'Angela, C. & Sante Trisciuzzi, A. (Eds.), *Fasano nella storia dei Cavalieri di Malta in Puglia: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Fasano 14-16 Maggio 1998*. Bari: Adriatica, p. 87-100.

Lymberopoulou, A. (2007). Audiences and markets for Cretan icons. In: Woods, K., Richardson, C. & Lymberopoulou, A. (Eds.), *Viewing Renaissance Art*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, p. 170-206.

Morea, D. (1892). Il chartularium del monastero di S. Benedetto di Conversano. Montecassino: Forni.

Olympios, M. (2016). Treacherous Taxonomy: Art in Venetian Crete around 1500 and the 'Cretan Renaissance'. *The Art Bulletin* 98(4), 417-37.

Pagliarulo, L. (1964, July-September). Il Baliaggio Gerosolimitano di S. Stefano presso Monopoli. *Annales de l'Ordre Souverain Militaire de Malte* 22, 87-94

Pentcheva, B., V. (2006). The Performative Icon. The Art Bulletin 88(4), 631-55.

Ravaud, E. (2005). Contribution des examens radiographiques à la reconstitution de retables vénitiens du XIVe siècle. In: *Autour de Lorenzo Veneziano. Fragments de polyptyques vénitiens du XIVe siècle, exhibition catalog*. Milan and Tours: Silvana, p. 45-55.

Runciman, S. (1980). Mistra, Byzantine capital of the Peloponnese. London: Thames and Hudson.

Salazaro, D. (1877). Studi sui monumenti della Italia meridionale dal IVo al XIIIo secolo. 2 vols., Napoli: Morelli.

Skaug, E., S. (1994). Punch marks from Giotto to Fra Angelico : attribution, chronology, and workshop relationships in Tuscan panel painting c. 1330-1430. 2 vols., Oslo: IIC Nordic Group, Norwegian Section.

Stassinopoulos, S. (2012). Icon supports. In: Stoner, J. H. & Rushfield, R. A. (Eds.), Conservation of Easel Paintings. London and New York: Rutledge, p. 68-72.

Vassilaki, M. (2000). Painting and Painters in Venetian Crete. In: Ovadiah, A. (Ed.), Mediterranean Cultural Interaction. Tel Aviv: Ramot, p. 147-62.

Vassilaki, M. (2010). From Constantinople to Candia: Icon Painting in Crete around 1400. In: Vassilaki M. (Ed.), The Hand of Angelos: an Icon Painter in Venetian Crete. Athens: Benaki museum, p. 58-65.