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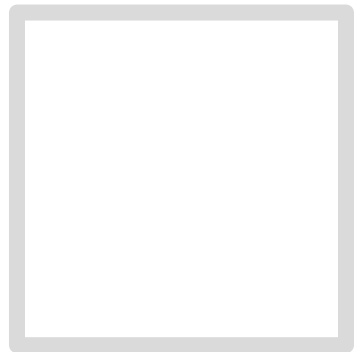
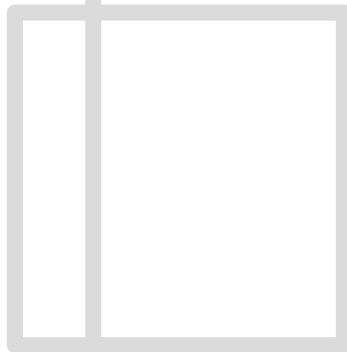
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 *Le arti a Pisa
nel primo Rinascimento*

*The Arts in Pisa
during the Early Renaissance*

Edited by Diane Cole Ahl and Gerardo de Simone



Mentre questo numero era prossimo alla conclusione, è venuta a mancare la direttrice del Museo nazionale di San Matteo, Alba Maria Macripò (6 settembre 1953 - 30 settembre 2017), la cui brillante carriera presso il Ministero dei beni culturali era iniziata nel 1979: per onorarne la memoria ci era parso doveroso dedicarle il numero la cui lavorazione lei aveva seguito con grande interesse (tante opere del "suo" Museo vi sono illustrate e commentate).

Alcuni mesi più tardi, nell'imminenza della pubblicazione, un secondo, terribile lutto ci ha colpiti: Linda Pisani (1 maggio 1970 - 26 gennaio 2018), storica collaboratrice di «Predella», membro del Comitato scientifico, ideatrice e curatrice del primo numero monografico a stampa nel 2010 – dedicato all'arte a Pisa nel Trecento (Primitivi pisani fuori contesto) –, e qui autrice di un saggio esemplare, e purtroppo ormai postumo, sull'iconografia del polittico pisano di Masaccio.

Con dolore e affetto condivisi dagli autori il numero vede quindi ora la luce con una doppia dedica, nel ricordo imperituro di due persone e studiose a noi, e siamo certi non solo a noi, particolarmente care.

I curatori

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The Introduction analyzes the significance of the essays in this issue while underscoring the importance of Quattrocento Pisa as a catalyst for innovation and artistic exchange. It challenges the colonial conception of Florentine cultural domination by identifying the unique contributions of the city's art and proposes new directions for further research.

This issue of *Predella* comprises sixteen essays that investigate art in Pisa during the Quattrocento, the century dramatically defined by Florence's conquest of the metropolis in 1406. This compilation originated in two sessions Gerardo di Simone organized and chaired and for which I served as respondent at the 2015 Renaissance Society of America conference in Berlin. Our objective was to reassess the visual culture of Pisa during the fifteenth century, an age that has been dismissed as one of ignominious decline following the glory of its medieval past as epitomized by the splendors of the vast Cathedral complex and the Trecento murals in the Camposanto. How would the speakers approach these decades? Through varied methodologies leading to innovative conclusions, the participants demonstrated the complexity and richness of Pisan visual and intellectual culture. To supplement their contributions, we commissioned an additional nine papers that enlarge the scope of this volume. Tracing shifting trajectories in diverse media, the authors consider painting, sculpture, architecture, sacred objects in precious metal, and music from the 1390s to the early Cinquecento.

Although the fifteenth century has been perceived as an era of Pisa's artistic subjugation by Florence, these papers present more nuanced perspectives. In continuity with the previous century, visual culture in the early Quattrocento is

shown to demonstrate variety rather than conformity and a vibrant receptivity to exchange that resists restricted definition. This diversity was perhaps a reflection of Pisa's cosmopolitan identity as a key Mediterranean and Tuscan port with international and peninsular contacts, a center for receiving and distributing merchandise from distant lands¹. It distinguished the city's visual culture from the late Trecento through the opening of the Quattrocento, when Pisa was a crucible for vigorous interactions between artists from across the peninsula. But in the aftermath of the Florentine conquest, countless artists departed for Siena, Lucca, Palermo, and Genoa, where in 1415, nine of twenty painters at a guild meeting were refugees from Pisa². In their absence, Florentine masters, from Lorenzo Monaco to Fra Angelico and Masaccio, produced works for the city and its environs. Indeed, until the collapse of Medici rule in 1494, artists from Florence executed many important commissions, a circumstance that has been viewed as evidence of repressive cultural domination³. Such an interpretation should be questioned. It overlooks the strong connections between Florentine and Pisan masters that existed long before the conquest and undervalues the multiple networks of patronage, especially of religious orders, that characterized the age. Equally important, it ignores artists and artisans from other parts of Italy – Como, Cremona, Fabriano, Lucca, Perugia, Siena, and Sicily – who produced works for the city⁴. So, too, with the masters invited to complete the Camposanto murals, the city's most prestigious commission: Mantegna, who traveled to Pisa from distant Mantua, was foremost among them.

The issue begins with Gail Solberg's essay, which creates a context for understanding Pisa's role as a catalyst for artistic innovation and exchange at the end of the Trecento, as demonstrated by Taddeo di Bartolo, the most important Siennese painter of the day. Joining the community of immigrant masters which included the prominent Florentines Spinello Aretino and Niccolò di Pietro Gerini profoundly influenced the master, as demonstrated by the imposing *Montepulciano Altarpiece*, perhaps his most important work. Proposing that much of it was executed in Pisa, Solberg traces its composition, iconography, and massive frame to Florentine types already known in the city and nearby Lucca. Its influence was diffused to Genoa, with which Pisa had political and commercial relations, as apparent in the high altarpiece for San Bartolomeo degli Armeni, completed by the émigré Pisan artist Turino Vanni in 1415. For Solberg, Taddeo was an agent of change and Pisa the locus of his transformation.

Exemplifying the climate of exchange that typified the city's art in the opening

years of the Quattrocento, the *società* of Giovanni di Pietro da Napoli and Martino di Bartolomeo da Siena is the subject of Gabriele Fattorini's contribution. Perhaps only in this "great Mediterranean capital" would painters from such diverse artistic traditions have met and joined forces so successfully. Fattorini reconstructs the independent and prolific collaborative activity of the two masters, especially their paintings on canvas, intended to simulate the monumentality of murals. He advances important new attributions and proposals for patronage, most notably Martino's decoration of the chapel (destroyed) of the eminent Conte Gianbernardo da Castagneto (doc. 1404), apparently executed after the partnership was dissolved. While Martino returned in 1404 to his native Siena where he worked until his death (before 1435), nothing more is known about his collaborator. Fattorini's discussion creates a context for understanding other collaborative enterprises in Pisa and throughout Tuscany early in the century.

Marco Mascolo interprets painting in Pisa during this time from a different but complementary perspective than do Solberg and Fattorini. He investigates the diffusion of the "International Gothic" style by both Gherardo Starnina, newly returned from Toledo and Valencia, and Lorenzo Monaco. For Mascolo, art in Pisa, because it lacked «a strong stylistic physiognomy» and was receptive to «foreign influences, especially Florentine», provides a fascinating case study. He detects Starnina's importance in the Pisan works by Alvaro Pirez de Evora of Portugal, whose formation in Tuscany is proposed, and those by Battista di Gerio. Lucca, which flourished during the reign of Paolo Guinigi, is identified as a key center of cultural transmission. Other local masters, most notably Borghese di Piero Borghese (formerly known as the Maestro di Santi Quirico e Giulitta), later responded to Florentine innovations, especially those introduced by Masaccio, lending support to Mascolo's thesis.

Pisa was not only a place of reception but a site of creation from which local masters departed to establish careers elsewhere. Such was the case with Giovanni di Pietro da Pisa, as Fabio Di Clario demonstrates. Several years before the conquest of his native town, Giovanni moved to Genoa, whose ties to Pisa are elucidated by both Di Clario and Solberg. In Genoa, Giovanni was exposed to paintings by Bartolomeo da Modena and Taddeo di Bartolo as well as the magnificent works – miniatures (including the *Boucicaut Hours*), paintings, and precious ivory and gold objects – produced for the Maréchal de Boucicaut, who established his brilliant court in Genoa between 1401 and 1409. By 1415, Giovanni was well known, serving as an officer in the painter's guild, an indication of his reputation.

Di Fabio reconstructs the master's development, advancing new attributions, dates, and proposals on patronage. While Giovanni responded to local innovators, most notably Donato de' Bardi, his style fundamentally was rooted in that of the late Trecento, apparently satisfying his patrons, who included major Genoese families. Di Fabio's assessment is important for demonstrating the dissemination of Pisan art beyond the city.

The calamitous conquest of Pisa in 1406 is generally recounted from the perspective of the vanquished city⁵. In his essay, Anthony Cummings analyzes *Godi, Firenze*, the triumphalist madrigal lauding the victors, which Paolo da Firenze composed. Cummings reconstructs the life of this important and prolific composer and musician. Paolo was an eminent Benedictine abbot who attended the Council of Pisa (1409) and served his Order in major administrative positions. He composed liturgical music in Latin as well as secular compositions in the vernacular, including three political madrigals, *Godi, Firenze* among them. Referring to earlier scholarship, Cummings discusses the quotation of Dante's *Inferno* XXVI, vv. 1-3, in the madrigal's first lines, noting the ironic inversion of its meaning. The following lines proclaim Florentine cultural superiority over Pisa and imply divine intervention in the victory. The essay concludes with a modern transcription of the madrigal.

Marco Frati comprehensively analyzes architecture in Pisa during the Quattrocento. After surveying major projects from the late fourteenth century as a context, he chronicles destruction in the city due to the Florentine conquest and identifies new construction, which expressed the continuity of tradition preferred by local patrons. Brunelleschi, who repaired fortifications and towers in the city (1424-40), introduced an innovative vocabulary that later architects, including Antonio Manetti, developed in their projects for the Cathedral, Arsenale, and Cittadella Nuova. The turning point in Pisa's renewal occurred under Archbishop Filippo de' Medici (ruled 1461-1474). His major projects, including the classicizing Palazzo Arcivescovile (an expression of Albertian principles, as Frati explains) and the expansion of the Spedale dei Trovatelli, are analyzed at length. Renovation of the city accelerated dramatically under Lorenzo de' Medici, who initiated numerous ambitious plans, including the foundation of the Università di Pisa and the building of several monastic cloisters. With the collapse of Medici rule (1494) and the expulsion of all Florentines, Pisa returned to what Frati describes as the «neo-medieval» style of its own tradition, a display of *campanilismo* that reinforced local identity. Frati's essay describes the transformation of the city's urban fabric and reconstructs sites that have been altered or lost over time, providing

directions for future research.

Contributions by Linda Pisani and Christa Gardner von Teuffel focus on the polyptych that Masaccio painted in 1426 for the chapel of the Pisan notary, Ser Giuliano di Colino degli Scarsi, located on the *tramezzo* of Santa Maria del Carmine. Both scholars, who have written extensively about the *Pisa Polyptych*, focus on specific aspects that deepen our understanding of the devotional, Carmelite, and artistic contexts from which it emerged. Linda Pisani investigates the sources and diffusion of the Eucharistic iconography of the *Madonna and Child with Angels* (London, National Gallery), in which the infant consumes grapes tightly grasped in his fist. She traces the origins of this motif to Giotto's *Stefaneschi Polyptych* (Vatican City, Musei Vaticani) and other Trecento sources, confirming Masaccio's engagement with tradition, also seen in Masaccio's emulation of medieval Pisan sculpture in the altarpiece⁶. Masaccio had introduced this motif in the *San Giovenale Triptych* (dated 1422; Cascia di Reggello, San Giovenale), located in the Florentine church of San Lorenzo until 1441. Pisani identifies panels by Beato Angelico, Arcangelo di Cola, and Giovanni dal Ponte deriving from Masaccio's example, proposing that the *Madonna Orlandini* (Berlin, Staatliche Museen) from the circle of Donatello may have been inspired by it as well.

Christa Gardner von Teuffel traces the life and iconography of Albert of Trapani, the first canonized saint of the Carmelite Order, who was represented on a pilaster in the *Pisa Polyptych*. She identifies the earliest known altarpiece portraying the saint as a triptych by Lippo di Andrea (dated 1420; New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery). Executed in response to a decree issued by the Order in 1420, it was, she proposes, located in the Florentine church of Santa Maria del Carmine, where Masaccio would have seen it. Her discussion of the polyptych for the Carmine in Pisa encompasses its iconography, including the pilaster panel of the saint (Berlin, Staatliche Museen), and proposes the possible author of its program. She contemplates the conceivable intervention of Fra Filippo Lippi in its execution as well. Since few images of Albert of Trapani appeared after his official canonization (1476), a phenomenon that Gardner von Teuffel explains, Masaccio's portrayal captures a unique moment in Carmelite spirituality.

Gabriele Donati analyzes liturgical and devotional objects in precious metal in mid-Quattrocento Pisa, expanding our understanding of the range of artistic and religious experience in the city. A gilded copper reliquary casket (dated 1446; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art) and a reliquary (converted from a mon-

strance) in San Nicola, Vicopisano are rare survivors of what was a flourishing industry in the city. Dated 1446, the reliquary includes a portrayal of Saint Ranierius of Pisa, confirming its provenance. Although the architectonic conception can be traced to sarcophagi from late Antiquity, the refined proportions, compositional equilibrium, and incised figures reflect study of Brunelleschi and Donatello, both of whom had worked in Pisa. Notwithstanding the gothic elements of the Vicopisano monstrance mandated by tradition, the style of the music-making angels depicted in enamel reveals execution by the same master ten-to-fifteen years later. Whether he was Pisan – robust membership in the Arte is recorded in 1447 – or Florentine is unknown, although his influence is apparent in later Pisan works. This study underscores the importance of these costly, exquisite objects to understanding the range of artistic and religious experience in Pisa.

As Frati observes in his essay, the archbishopric of Filippo de' Medici, begun in 1461, was a turning point for urban renewal in Pisa. Both Claudio Casini and Jean K. Cadogan underscore this theme in their contributions. Casini focuses on the development of sculpture, the history of which he traces from the 1420s, and the establishment of Donatello and Michelozzo's workshop through the late 1460s. Because of its rich local tradition and proximity to the marble quarries at Carrara, Pisa attracted sculptors from different locales during the Quattrocento. The Florentine Andrea di Francesco Guardi, who arrived in the 1440s, and Ottaviano di Duccio, Agostino da Duccio's brother and Antonio del Pollaiuolo's collaborator, were among them. Although Andrea di Francesco and his shop carved works for churches in the city and *contado*, their most prestigious commissions were for the Duomo, a focus of patronage under Filippo de' Medici. Ottaviano di Duccio came to Pisa in 1464 to execute a candlebearing angel in gilded brass to adorn a porphyry column for the presbytery of the Cathedral. For reasons unknown, the figure was never cast, but its graceful appearance may be imagined from Ottaviano's angels on the Malatesta Tomb (1467) in Cesena Cathedral. Casini's essay has particular significance not only for reconstructing the history of sculpture in Pisa, but for understanding the renewal of patronage inaugurated by the Medici archbishop.

Jean K. Cadogan assigns Filippo de' Medici a crucial role in establishing Pisa as second only to Florence through his patronage of art and architecture, epitomized by Benozzo Gozzoli's Old Testament murals in the Camposanto (1468-1484). She believes that the archbishop's aesthetic preferences were shaped in Rome, where he saw frescoes by Benozzo and Antoniazio Romano. Noting Filippo's institution

of Masses in the Camposanto, where he himself intended to be buried, Cadogan speculates on the archbishop's influence on the iconography of the cycle. She cites the representation of Florentine, Roman, and Pisan monuments, including the new archiepiscopal palace in Pisa, as evidence of his intervention. After Filippo's death, Lorenzo de' Medici continued the city's revival. Florence's presence in Pisa and in the murals grew more dominant, as in the *Meeting of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba*, in which Solomon's palace may have paraphrased the Palazzo Vecchio de' Medici in Pisa. While others have proposed Filippo's involvement with the project, Cadogan offers new evidence to reinforce this hypothesis.

Luigi Lazzarini presents a micro-history of the *Fraternita dei fiorentini* and its artistic patronage during the Florentine domination of Pisa. He reviews its history, noting the sodality's aggregation of two earlier confraternities and the *Pia Casa di Misericordia* in 1466. While retaining the obligations of the confraternities it united, including custodianship of the potent *Madonna Incoronata delle Grazie*, the primary purpose of the *Fraternita* was to solace prisoners condemned to death. Noting Vasari's citation of «la tavola e molte altre pitture» by Benozzo Gozzoli «nella Compagnia de' Fiorentini»⁷, Lazzarini considers the sodality's commissions. He disputes the long-accepted identification of the confraternal altarpiece as the Ottawa *Madonna and Child with Saints* (National Gallery of Canada) and proposes in its stead the Florence *Descent from the Cross* (Museo della Fondazione Horne), the subject of which, he emphasizes, expressed the sodality's mission. He tentatively associates Gentile da Fabriano's Pisa *Madonna of Humility* (Museo Nazionale di San Matteo) as a possible commission of the *Pia Casa di Misericordia* as well. Although challenges to these proposals can be raised, the study suggests the importance – and potential – of confraternal patronage as a field for further investigation.

Sarah Cadagin explores the Pisan commissions of Domenico Ghirlandaio and his brother Davide. While noting Domenico's lost works for the Opera del Duomo from 1479 and the 1490s, she focuses on two altarpieces and the votive panel of Saints Sebastian and Fabian (all in Pisa, Museo Nazionale di San Matteo) executed for San Girolamo dei Gesuati in the mid-1470s. After discussing the Gesuati Order and its production of pigments, she turns to the «webs of patronage» through which the commission might have been obtained. Domenico's previous successes in Tuscany, purchase of pigments from the Gesuati, and works for Pisa's Opera del Duomo are considered, but she proposes a connection to the Medici. For Cadagin, the Medici (and Lorenzo in particular) may have delegated Florentine

masters as «artistic ambassadors» to imprint their power, issues that have been raised in discussions of patronage in Florentine-controlled territories. Are such interpretations convincing, or do they reflect invalid colonial conceptions of cultural domination? Cadagin's essay asks that we consider both possibilities.

The penultimate essay crosses into the Cinquecento. Catarina Bay analyzes an anonymous altar frontal portraying the Story of Paphnutius and Honophrius (Pisa, Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, in deposito) and its iconographic and literary origins. Dated to the 1520s, the painting was executed for the altar supporting Taddeo di Bartolo's Casassi Polyptych (1395, Grenoble, Musée de Grenoble) in the church of San Paolo all'Orto, a congregation of Dominican tertiaries. The painting emerges from the visual tradition known from Buffalmacco's Camposanto frescoes and fifteenth-century Florentine panels of the subject. It reflects, she proposes, a *sacra rappresentazione* written by a Florentine associate of Savonarola who taught in the Studio Pisano. Bay identifies the subject's relevance to the convent's reform, which emphasized the *vita comunis*. The authorship of the painting is problematic, suggesting the need for further study.

The final article is by Pierluigi Nieri. His important contribution concerns the recently-completed conservation and installation of Beato Angelico's *Redeeming Christ* (Pisa, Museo Nazionale di San Matteo), which originally functioned as a processional gonfalone. The article reviews the literature and contextualizes the technical novelty of this Florentine work, executed on canvas, within the history of Pisan processional standards, which traditionally were painted on wood. Nieri analyzes the original medium—egg tempera without gesso priming—and traces the history of the earlier interventions that compromised the work's appearance, masking its high quality. During conservation, the pigments were analyzed, later repainting removed, and the surface cleaned, stabilized, and consolidated with state-of-the-art nanotechnology. The later backing, which misleadingly rigidified the surface, was carefully removed from the original canvas to indicate the work's use as a processional standard, a function underscored by the sensitive, new installation in the Museo Nazionale di San Matteo in Pisa.

As these essays indicate, much remains to be learned about art in Pisa during the Quattrocento, notwithstanding the magisterial publications of Enzo Carli (1910-1999), significant monographs on the city's churches and monuments, and innovative studies of the artists who worked in Pisa and its environs. While hinting at the lost richness of the city's visual culture during the Quattrocento, the

documentary references published by Miria Fanucci Lovitch in *Artisti attivi a Pisa fra XIII e XVIII secolo* (1991) and *Artisti attivi a Pisa fra XIII e XVII secolo* (1995) complement discoveries presented by Leopoldo Tanfani Centofanti and Igino Benvenuto Supino more than a century ago⁸. They include information on apprenticeships, social and legal interactions, and diverse commissions, from gilding statues and carving tabernacles to the production of major works. Sorting these references chronologically would identify projects shared by different masters, as with the decoration of the Palazzo Arcivescovile and Casa dell'Opera della Primaziale in the late 1470s, an enterprise in which Domenico di Losso of Benozzo Gozzoli's shop, Domenico Ghirlandaio, and Zanobi Machiavelli participated⁹.

Perhaps the most important task is to reexamine how art in Quattrocento might be interpreted in light of postcolonial criticism. While Florence exerted a formidable role in rebuilding the city, its intervention in every undertaking should not be presumed. Major commissions were generated independently of Florence, as epitomized by the works for the convent of San Domenico¹⁰. Religious orders had their own networks of patronage, as suggested by Masaccio's *Pisa Polyptych* for the Carmelites and Ghirlandaio's paintings for the Gesuati. *Campanilismo* was expressed through the creation of works, like the New York reliquary casket that honored the city's saints and the reprisal of Pisan Trecento models, as in Benozzo Gozzoli's *Triumph of Saint Thomas Aquinas* (Paris, Musée du Louvre), which references Lippo Memmi's panel for the city's church of Santa Caterina. Finally, the implications for art of Pisa's role as a «lively centre» in a global network of trade¹¹ have largely been overlooked, but may be seen in the oriental rugs and exotic textiles exquisitely depicted in paintings for its churches. Although Pisa passed from political autonomy in the Quattrocento, it nonetheless was a site for important exchanges to which artists and architects from the entire peninsula contributed.

- 1 M. Tangheroni, *Politica, commercio, agricoltura a Pisa nel Trecento*, Pisa, 2002; the essays in *Pisa e il Mediterraneo. Uomini, merci, idee dagli Etruschi ai Medici*, ed. by M. Tangheroni, exhibition catalogue (Pisa 2003), Milan, 2003, and M. Spallanzani, *Oriental Rugs in Renaissance Florence*, Florence, 2007, *passim*.
- 2 E. Castelnuovo and C. Ginzburg, *Centre and Periphery*, in *History of Italian Art*, ed. by P. Burke, trans. by E. Bianchini and C. Dorey, Cambridge, UK, 1994, vol. 1, p. 92.
- 3 F. W. Kent, *Lorenzo's 'Presence' at Churches, Convents and Shrines in and outside Florence*, in *Lorenzo the Magnificent: Culture and Politics*, ed. by M. Mallett and N. Mann, London, 1996, pp. 23-36.
- 4 Masters from these cities and others are identified as painters, sculptors, woodworkers, stoneworkers, embroiderers, and experts in intarsia, among other professions; see M. Fanucci Lovitch, *Artisti attivi a Pisa fra XIII e XVIII secolo*, Pisa, 1991, 1995, *passim*, and M. Fanucci Lovitch, *Artisti attivi a Pisa fra XIII e XVII secolo*, Pisa, 1995, *passim*.
- 5 O. Corazzini, *L'assedio di Pisa (1405-1406), scritti e documenti inediti*, Firenze, 1885.
- 6 E. Borsook, *A Note on Masaccio in Pisa*, in «Burlington Magazine», 103, 1961, pp. 212-217.
- 7 G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori ed architettori*, ed. G. Milanesi, Firenze, 1906, vol. 3, p. 50.
- 8 L. Tanfani Centofanti, *Notizie di artisti tratte dai documenti pisani*, Pisa, 1897, and I. B. Supino, *I maestri d'intaglio e di tarsia in legno nella Primaziale di Pisa*, in «Archivio storico dell'arte», 6, 1893, pp. 153-166, and Idem, *I pittori e gli scultori del Rinascimento nella Primaziale di Pisa*, in «Archivio storico dell'arte», 6, 1893, pp. 419-423.
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Pisa as a Center of Tuscan Painting in the 1390s: The Case of Taddeo di Bartolo*

This paper examines artistic exchange at Pisa with a focus on Taddeo di Bartolo's activity there in the mid-1390s. Carpentry design is the aspect of style that shows how Taddeo's altarpieces for the city were influenced by local works and by paintings in and around Pisa by masters from Florence, notably Spinello Aretino. A counterintuitive argument is laid out: Taddeo's huge triptych for Montepulciano signed in 1401 was begun at Pisa though completed at Siena. The painting's heavily gridded framework and its figural arrangement - unusual for Siena - are explained by Taddeo's contacts at Pisa as well as by the requests of his patrons. Problems of distant production and the transportation of large polyptychs are addressed. Test cases for what is claimed about Pisa as a crucible are altarpieces by Turino Vanni and Nicolò da Voltri that bring Liguria into the discussion.

In the 1390s immigrant artists of stature constituted a school of painting at Pisa that the city itself could not equal. Taddeo di Bartolo, foremost painter of Siena, and Spinello di Luca of Arezzo were the artists who contributed most to painting at Pisa in the last years of the century. The work of these two masters indicates that Pisa was a crucible from which new syntheses emerged. What Taddeo di Bartolo produced at Pisa proved to be unique in his *oeuvre*, indicating that conditions there were transformative¹. Taddeo's Pisan *oeuvre* also suggests that Pisa was a center that radiated novelty, especially to Liguria. The maritime city had been a rival of Genoa and other cities of its coast, yet after Genoa decimated the Pisan fleet at Meloria in 1284, the two republics were in constant commercial and political rapport. Culturally, Pisa predominated. Taddeo's travel between Pisa and Genoa promoted exchange between the metropoli around 1400. In his corpus one sees that artists congregating at Pisa affected one another and local style.

Taddeo arrived in Pisa in all likelihood about 1390 for a brief stay, went on to Liguria, and settled in Pisa probably from mid-1394 to 1397-1398, when he returned north. During his first Pisan sojourn he seems to have been in contact with a prominent Pisan family, the Sardi, who were connected at Siena and would furnish more than one patron². Taddeo's Sardi sponsors must have known the Casassi, another leading Pisan family that commissioned him.

Taddeo's two Pisan altarpieces of 1395, one for the Sardi and one for the Casassi, and another Sardi painting of ca. 1397-1398 reveal the process of change

Giovanni di Pietro da Napoli e Martino di Bartolomeo "in compagnia" nella Pisa di primo Quattrocento (con un accenno alle tele che fingevano affreschi)

In the years preceding the Florentine conquest of 1406, Pisa witnessed the prolific activity of an unusual company of painters, which brought together Giovanni di Pietro of Naples and Martino di Bartolomeo of Siena. Societas of painters were quite frequent at the time in order to make a given work quickly, or to share several commissions and execute them in a more practical way. This paper aims to review the story of the partnership between Giovanni and Martino, offering significant contributions concerning the familiarity of the painters with the technique of painting on canvas, a new panel to add to the fairly limited catalogue of Giovanni's work, and Martino's involvement in the lost decoration of the chapel of the count Gianbernardo da Castagneto in the church of San Lorenzo alla Rivolta.

Negli anni che precedettero la conquista fiorentina del 1406, Pisa vide la proficua attività di una compagnia di pittori che mise insieme Giovanni di Pietro da Napoli e Martino di Bartolomeo da Siena. Le *societas* artistiche di pittori o scultori erano allora quanto mai frequenti; ci si poteva associare per realizzare in tempi rapidi un determinato lavoro, oppure ci si poteva unire in compagnia per qualche tempo, così da condividere molteplici commissioni e svolgerle con maggiore praticità. Il secondo caso è quello che riguardò i nostri Giovanni e Martino, ma trova innumerevoli esempi nella storia dell'arte: per la Firenze del primo Rinascimento è sufficiente ricordare l'associazione tra Masolino e Masaccio e quella tra Donatello e Michelozzo. Di seguito procederò dunque a ripercorrere le vicende della *societas* di Giovanni e Martino, approfittando per offrire alcune novità, quanto alla dimestichezza del pittore senese con la tecnica della pittura su tela, a un nuovo dipinto da inserire nel ridotto catalogo del maestro napoletano, e al coinvolgimento del solo Martino, nel 1404, nella decorazione della perduta cappella del conte Gianbernardo da Castagneto in San Lorenzo alla Rivolta¹.

Le notizie su Giovanni di Pietro sono ben poche e, nonostante l'origine partenopea, si limitano ad attestare un'attività in terra toscana. Il ricordo più antico è del 3 luglio 1397, quando Giovanni è documentato a Lucca: insieme con l'importante orafo Bartolomeo di Marco di Rainalduccio Arcomanni da San Miniato, appare in veste di testimone nell'atto in cui i pittori lucchesi Alessio e Giuliano di Simone si associano in compagnia con Benedetto di Giovanni da Siena². È una circostanza

At the beginning of the fifteenth century, Florence became one of the centers from which the so-called 'International Gothic' radiated. The frescoes of Gherardo Starnina and the Empoli polyptych of Lorenzo Monaco established a new point of departure for Florentine artists, who were able to overcome the influence of the Giottesque tradition. An interesting case is how and in which manner these examples were spread to Pisa, Volterra, and Lucca. Of these cities, Lucca was the one which, with a great polyptych by Starnina, contributed to the circulation of this new stylistic paradigm. Exposed to the influence of both Florence and Lucca, on the other hand, the way in which Pisa and its artists reacted to these novelties permits one to trace a unique and interesting history: Works by Alvaro Pirez, Borghese di Piero, and Battista di Gerio are the best examples of the new style and of its dissemination.

1. Il momento che va, all'incirca, dagli ultimi decenni del Quattrocento sino ai primi due decenni del secolo successivo è, di solito, individuato negli studi come "tardogotico" o "gotico internazionale". Una definizione che, dal momento in cui si è affacciata negli studi, ha via via avuto sempre più fortuna per designare appunto quel particolare momento che segna la fine dell'arte tardomedievale e prelude al vero e proprio Rinascimento.

Come è ben noto, il primo a circoscrivere l'arte di questi anni entro un primo perimetro fu Louis Courajod all'interno dei corsi tenuti all'École du Louvre nel periodo tra il 1887 ed il 1896¹. Per lo studioso l'aver individuato una ben precisa corrente stilistica allo schiudersi del Quattrocento, che egli denominava «courant international», aveva assunto i caratteri di una rivendicazione del genio nazionale francese da contrapporre al Rinascimento italiano. Nel corso del tempo si sono poi avuti diversi interventi volti a correggere il tiro di quelle proposte di Courajod, ed in particolare vale la pena menzionare gli interventi che Julius von Schlosser prima, e Otto Pächt dopo, hanno dedicato a questo tema². Il naturalismo epidermico, che indaga gli aspetti più sottili della natura; un'attenzione assai spinta per i dettagli preziosi, siano essi rappresentati o resi sulla superficie pittorica attraverso un

Giovanni di Pietro, un pittore pisano a Genova nel primo Quattrocento. Approfondimenti, inediti e questioni di contesto

Born in Pisa, the painter Giovanni di Pietro is known only for his activity in Genoa between the Tre- and Quattrocento. This article reconsiders the totality of his oeuvre and all the documentary and epigraphic sources concerning his activity. It proposes new hypotheses about the original provenance, history, and iconography of paintings already known or presented here for the first time and it pays more precise attention to historic context, namely to his relations with local and foreign painters and the contemporary Genoese and Italian background.

Pisano di nascita, Giovanni di Pietro è conosciuto per la sua attività pittorica solo a Genova, e soltanto genovese è anche la sua vicenda biografica documentata. Il suo passato pisano, vale a dire il periodo cruciale della sua formazione e del suo apprendistato professionale, resta invece indefinito.

Fu Alessandro da Morrona a portarlo alla ribalta della storia dell'arte quando individuò il suo nome in calce a un polittico (*Madonna col Bambino fra i santi Agata, Lorenzo, Francesco d'Assisi, Caterina d'Alessandria*) ai suoi tempi conservato nella collezione Zelada di Roma (figg. 1-2), che fu acquisito più d'un secolo dopo dal Museu Nacional de Arte de Cataluña di Barcellona¹.

Quattro documenti resi noti da Federigo Alizeri concorsero poi a schiudere alcuni spiragli sulle sue vicende professionali e biografiche; offrono in effetti alcune notizie significative, scaglionate però su un arco cronologico molto ampio: ben quattordici anni corrono infatti tra la menzione più antica, del 1401, e il 1415, quando il suo nome riaffiora dagli archivi: due altre citazioni, nel 1419 e nel 1421, in sequenza ravvicinata stavolta, si concentrano in un triennio².

Al Polittico Zelada e a queste informazioni Enzo Carli collegò nel 1961 un trittico (*Madonna col Bambino fra i santi Giovanni Battista e Antonio abate*) (fig. 3) della Hearst Foundation di San Simeon, in California³, che Berenson aveva pubblicato una trentina d'anni prima⁴; firmato e datato 1423, provvede il più recente termine

The early-Quattrocento madrigal “Godi, Firenze” by the composer Abbot Paolo da Firenze celebrates the 1406 Florentine conquest of Pisa. The event was a military victory, surely, but the text of the madrigal paraphrases Dante’s Inferno (“Take joy, oh Florence, for you are so great / your wings beat over land and sea, / your fame resounds through Hell!”), which suggests that the poet and composer intended to convey metaphorically that Florentine superiority over Pisa was not only military in nature, but also cultural and literary: a quotation from Florence’s great national poet is a celebration of Florentine literary preeminence. The madrigal is further contextualized: Paolo’s biography is recapitulated; his status as a composer-ecclesiastic explained; Florentine poetic practice is described; and Paolo’s other political madrigals are elucidated. There is a complete list of Paolo’s extant compositions; a transcription into modern notation of a portion of “Godi, Firenze”; and a contemporary image of Abbot Paolo.

1. *Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas de Florentia: a biography;*
2. *Paolo da Firenze as a composer. Composer-ecclesiastics of the Trecento and early Quattrocento;*
3. *Italian literary tradition, the poetic fixed-forms, and contemporary compositional practice;*
4. *Paolo da Firenze and his «political» compositions;*
5. *The Florentine conquest of Pisa celebrated in song.*

Appendix A: *The extant musical compositions of Paolo da Firenze;*

Appendix B: *The opening of Paolo da Firenze’s madrigal Godi, Firenze transcribed into modern musical notation*

1. *Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas de Florentia: a biography*

The 1406 Florentine conquest of Pisa was celebrated in song by the preeminent late-Trecento/early-Quattrocento musician and composer Paolo da Firenze (ca. 1355-†1436), who among Italian fourteenth-century composers is second only

Il secolo breve di Pisa. L'architettura durante la prima occupazione fiorentina (1406-1494) fra tradizione e innovazione

Pisan architecture in the fifteenth century, the first age of political domination of Florence on the former independent maritime republic, was marked by an opposition between the persistent Romanesque and Gothic local tradition, and the introduction of Florentine Renaissance innovations. The presence of early Renaissance masters, the activity of specialized craftsmen, and the generosity of Medicean patrons (foremost among them the bishop Filippo, who built the extraordinary Bishop's Palace) favored the diffusion of the new architectural language – Brunelleschian at first, then Albertian – which was mainly employed in decorations, exterior elements, and courtyards, without undermining, except for its fortified walls, the medieval image of the town.

La *facies* rinascimentale di Pisa, stretta fra potenti depositi culturali come quelli romanico e gotico prima e quello manierista poi¹, è stata di recente indagata in modo sempre più completo e approfondito, restituendo il valore di un secolo di realizzazioni edilizie rimasto un po' in ombra nella storiografia per ragioni scientifiche e identitarie. Da una parte, i recenti restauri filologici, le letture stratigrafiche e gli scavi archeologici hanno permesso di conoscere a fondo la successione delle fasi di molte importanti architetture cittadine, giungendo a ricostruirne l'aspetto in modo soddisfacente. Dall'altra, la grande attenzione riservata al ruolo della città prima come centro di un mondo perduto² e poi come polo territoriale del futuro³, ha fatto ingiustamente distogliere lo sguardo dalla fase della prima occupazione fiorentina durante la quale, perduta temporaneamente la libertà, andavano però impostandosi gli indirizzi progettuali che hanno ipotecato quelli attuali.

In questa sede, perciò, varrà la pena ripercorrere i principali orientamenti ed episodi architettonici fra la conquista fiorentina (1405-1406) e il temporaneo recupero della libertà (1494-1509) tentando di collazionare i principali studi apparsi più recentemente (che di molto hanno ampliato le conoscenze sul tema)⁴ e restituendo una visione d'insieme della Rinascita pisana, talvolta affatto ignorata dalla critica⁵.

This essay investigates a rare iconography shown by Masaccio in one of his most famous works, the Virgin and Child, formerly the central panel of the polyptych painted for the Pisan church of Santa Maria del Carmine and now in the National Gallery of London. The image of the Christ Child suckling his fingers after eating some grapes has been connected by scholarship both with Giotto and Donatello. The present research investigates the origin of this theme in Giotto's circle and focuses on the relationship between Masaccio and Giotto.

Il polittico realizzato nel 1426 su commissione del notaio pisano ser Giuliano di ser Colino degli Scarsi e destinato alla sua cappella di famiglia nella chiesa del Carmine di Pisa non è soltanto una delle opere più affascinanti del primo Rinascimento italiano, ma è anche l'unica impresa documentata di Masaccio¹. Masaccio giungeva a Pisa anagraficamente ancora molto giovane, ma certamente non esordiente, avendo alle spalle l'impresa della cappella Brancacci al Carmine di Firenze: erano già parte del suo bagaglio culturale la meditazione su Giotto, comune, del resto, a molti degli artisti fiorentini di inizio Quattrocento, sulle novità elaborate da Brunelleschi e Donatello (più anziani di lui di diversi anni) e quasi certamente sull'esperienza dell'antico maturata durante un viaggio a Roma². Per il polittico pisano, come lo chiameremo per semplicità d'ora in avanti in queste pagine, ci restano infatti diverse attestazioni di pagamento, tutte risalenti al 1426 e riscosse dallo stesso Masaccio o, per suo conto, dal suo amico Donatello, allora a Pisa per l'esecuzione della tomba del cardinal Brancaccio destinata alla chiesa napoletana di Sant'Angelo al Nilo, e dal suo collaboratore Andrea di Giusto, fattivamente impegnato nella realizzazione di alcune parti marginali del dipinto³. Del polittico pisano conosciamo molti aspetti, anche se, in realtà, esso ci è giunto in stato frammentario. Ne sopravvivono infatti soltanto undici, sia pur consistenti frammenti: la cuspide centrale raffigurante la *Crocifissione* al Museo di Capodimonte a Napoli, due delle quattro cuspidi laterali raffiguranti un *San Paolo*, al Museo di San Matteo a Pisa, e un *Sant'Andrea* al Getty Museum di Los Angeles,

Locating Albert: the first Carmelite Saint in the works of Taddeo di Bartolo, Lippo di Andrea, Masaccio and others^{1*}

Lacking an undisputed founder, the Carmelites, in competition with other mendicant orders, promulgated the cult of their early confessor Alberto degli Abati of Trapani (c.1240-1307). Their concentration on Albert's legend, iconography, relics, liturgical feast, anniversary masses, and venerated sites eventually resulted in his canonization (1457). The original locations of the first images of Albert, which provided the Order with important propaganda tools, are investigated. The possibility that these sites, initially of popular devotion, became, after Albert's canonization, altars dedicated to the new saint is examined.

The study of the Carmelite Order, in contrast to that of the other main mendicant orders, the Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians, has been comparatively neglected by earlier scholarship². The Carmelites, who migrated to Western Europe from the Holy Land in the mid-thirteenth century, transformed themselves from an eremitical-monastic order into an urban mendicant order. As they did not possess a single founder, they claimed the Prophets Elijah and Elisha as forefathers, and asserted their origin in the Holy Land in biblical times. This extraordinary claim has attracted historians' wider interest. However, historians' concentration on Carmelite origins resulted in less attention being paid to their European existence. The Carmelites although officially acknowledged by the papacy in the West, struggled in competition with the other mendicant orders. It is in this context that the introduction of the mendicant Alberto degli Abati of Trapani (ca. 1240-1307) became meaningful. The Order's first real saint, he was soon assigned the status of "modern" founder-figure, comparable to Francis and Dominic. For over a century the Order had slowly, but persistently promulgated the cult of the Sicilian confessor. Their insistence on image, vita, relics, feast, masses, and sites of veneration eventually led to the oral concession of his canonization in 1457, and its formal ratification in 1476. Thereafter his proper feast liturgy was established, and altars and chapels were officially consecrated to him. In this drawn-out process Albert's image, be it painted, sculpted, or even printed, played an important role for the Carmelites as a tool of visual communication with their own members,

San Ranieri in America. Due oreficerie di metà Quattrocento fra New York e Pisa

The gilded copper reliquary dated 1446 (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art) has been well-known for a long time as a rare example of the early infiltration of Renaissance forms inspired by Brunelleschi and Donatello in the field of goldworking. Its iconographic legacy includes, among the four figures of Saints in niches, one plausibly identified as Saint Ranierius, a saint who lived in the twelfth century and was venerated in Pisa. The likely Pisan provenance of the reliquary therefore is confirmed through stylistic comparison with a gilded copper monstrance that is still preserved today in that Tuscan city in the church of San Nicola. Although the conventions of the monstrance are still gothic, as one might expect for an object that belonged to a type well codified in tradition, the enamels with the Music-Making Angels that decorate the shaft reveal the same hand that engraved the Saints – about 10 or 15 years earlier – in the New York reliquary. This anonymous goldsmith, whether a Pisan or a Florentine, must have made a significant impact on the history of local goldsmith work at the height of the Quattrocento.

La cassetina reliquiario acquisita nel 1981 dal Metropolitan Museum of Art di New York è ben nota al mondo degli studi dal 1935, allorché Ulrich Middeldorf la pubblicò in un pionieristico contributo sulla storia dell'oreficeria primo-rinascimentale (figg. 1-2)¹. La straordinarietà del pezzo è costituita dal connubio di data precoce – il 1446 ricordato dall'iscrizione di dedica² – e di impianto rigorosamente all'antica: come lo studioso tedesco-americano non mancò di osservare, infatti, lo schema decorativo dei lati del cofanetto esempla la propria scansione di ordine architravato maggiore su pilastri e di edicole centinate, sorrette da colonnine tortili, sul modello di un sarcofago tardo-antico del tipo di quello cosiddetto di Onorio nel Mausoleo di Galla Placidia a Ravenna³. Un sarcofago marmoreo di analoga conformazione si trova peraltro *ab antiquo* anche nella Cappella di Sant'Aquilino nel complesso monumentale di San Lorenzo Maggiore a Milano (fig. 3)⁴. La scelta di un simile modello fu senz'altro meditata e veicolata dalla riflessione sul carattere eminentemente funebre del contenitore di reliquie – le quali sono per lo più, com'è noto, resti organici di corpi santi. È d'altronde palese che la ricerca e la riscoperta d'un codice strutturale e ornamentale che appariva autenticamente antico (benché forse, ai nostri occhi, non propriamente classico) costituiscono una decisiva novità di contro alla pur variegata tradizione del reliquiario medioevale, specialmente rispetto a quegli esemplari di stile gotico fiorito che costituivano l'immediato precedente per il nostro orefice. Alla data del 1446 (che forse, come vedremo, andrebbe anticipata al nostro 1445), non risulta che fossero molti gli

L'angelo che non volò. Una scultura non realizzata per il nuovo arredo presbiteriale del Duomo di Pisa al tempo dell'arcivescovo Filippo de' Medici

In the 1460s artistic activity in Pisa experienced a period of recovery thanks to the Florentine archbishop Filippo de' Medici and to the Operaio del Duomo Antonio di Jacopo delle Mura. While local artists preferred to work in Florence or Rome, "foreign" sculptors and stoneworkers came to town, like the Florentine Andrea di Francesco Guardi, whose collaborative workshop decorated urban and rural churches, and above all realized the interior furniture of the Cathedral: Andrea created a new temple-shaped ciborium while Domenico di Giovanni da Milano and Domenico Rosselli sculpted a figured capital, today lost, for a porphyry column, which was in turn to serve as base of a metal statue of a candlebearer Angel. The execution of the latter was entrusted to the brother of Agostino di Duccio, Ottaviano, who was also active in Rimini and Urbino and then a collaborator of Antonio del Pollaiuolo. Ottaviano presented in Pisa a wax model, eventually representing a moving figure with fluttering vestments and twisting arms (so as to hold the candle), which probably looked similar to the couple of tablet-bearer angels that he sculpted in relief in 1467 for bishop Antonio Malatesta's monument in the cathedral of Cesena. However, Ottaviano's project wasn't approved, or possibly it ultimately was too expensive; therefore, the porphyry column waited for more than a century until its candle-bearer angel finally was cast in bronze in 1583 by Stoldo Lorenzi.

A Pisa, gli anni sessanta del XV secolo segnarono un periodo di ripresa dell'attività artistica. La crisi economica e politica, che la città registrò dopo la conquista fiorentina nel 1406, si avviava ad essere in parte superata intorno alla metà del secolo, quando imprenditori e politici ritornarono ad investire capitali e ad occuparsi della rinascita di quella che fu la capitale di una delle repubbliche mercantili più potenti del Mediterraneo¹. La consapevolezza che il commercio e la lavorazione dei marmi, che avevano visto Pisa protagonista dal Mille al XIV secolo, potessero ritornare ad essere due settori in attivo dell'economia cittadina grazie alle commissioni provenienti da luoghi diversi, consentì a Donatello e a Michelozzo di aprire una bottega a Pisa già negli anni venti per eseguire i marmi destinati al monumento Brancacci a Napoli; sempre in città, venti anni più tardi, Andrea di Francesco Guardi avviò la sua attività pisana con la realizzazione del sepolcro di Pietro Speciale per Palermo². La committenza locale era pressoché assente, come è testimoniato dal numero esiguo di opere scultoree eseguite in questo periodo, più interessata alle opere edilizie con i numerosi appalti affidati a maestri scia-

Benozzo Gozzoli, Filippo de' Medici and the Old Testament Murals in the Camposanto in Pisa (1468-1484)

This paper explores the role of Filippo de' Medici, Archbishop of Pisa (1426-1474, r. 1461-1474), in the creation of the Old Testament murals in the Camposanto, painted by Benozzo Gozzoli between 1468 and 1484. Pisa was absorbed into the growing Florentine territorial state in 1406 after a humiliating and bitter defeat. Filippo's efforts to reorganize his diocese, to maintain the monuments of the Piazza del Duomo, and to rebuild the urban architectural fabric reveal the goal of establishing Pisa as the foremost city of Tuscany, second only to Florence. At the same time, Filippo was the key intermediary for the Medici regime in the delicate relationship of Florence and the papacy. The choice of Gozzoli to paint the murals, as well as the imagery of the Old Testament scenes themselves, reflect political and cultural realities in Italy at the end of the Quattrocento.

The murals painted by Benozzo Gozzoli in the Camposanto in Pisa have rightly been seen as the crowning achievement of the artist's career¹. In Vasari's words an *opera terribilissima*, the decoration comprises the most extensive Old Testament cycle in Tuscan painting: thirty fields, of which twenty-six were painted by Gozzoli between 1468 and 1484².

The scenes are horizontal rectangles arranged in two levels covering the entire north wall (fig. 1). Piero di Puccio painted the *Cosmography* and scenes of Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, and Noah between 1388 and 1390. In 1468 Benozzo began the *Drunkenness of Noah*, the *Curse of Ham*, and the *Tower of Babel* below (fig. 2). The area between the two chapels displays histories of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, while the vast area to the northeast shows stories from Joseph, Moses, Joshua, David and Solomon. Scenes from the New Testament were situated over the entrances to chapels opposite the main entrance portals.

While the murals today are mere shadows of their former selves, victims to the dampness of the Pisan climate, defects in the original technique, and the disastrous fire following a bomb strike during the Second World War, visitors today can still see most of the original works thanks to the decades-long conservation campaign, recently completed³. The sheer scale of the murals, particularly when seen in the spaces for which they were designed, allows visitors to experience

According to Vasari, Benozzo painted in Pisa «in the oratory of the Confraternity of the Florentines... the altarpiece and many other images». Starting with a detailed reconstruction of the fifteenth-century history of the Pisan Fraternita dei Fiorentini, which assisted those condemned to death, and of another confraternity, strictly connected with the Fraternita, the Compagnia del Corpo di Cristo, to which Benozzo and the members of his family belonged, the paper proposes a new hypothesis for the identification of the altarpiece mentioned by Vasari. At the same time, it tries to clarify the specific characteristics of the iconographic program developed in the oratories of confraternities dedicated to comforting condemned criminals.

1. Tra la metà del Trecento e l'inizio del Quattrocento nacquero le prime confraternite il cui scopo era quello di assistere i condannati al momento dell'esecuzione e di prendersi cura dei corpi. Non si sa quale compagnia si sia dedicata per prima a questa opera di misericordia. Si contendono il primato quelle di Santa Maria della Morte di Bologna e di Santa Maria della Croce al Tempio di Firenze, o dei Neri, dal cui ceppo si diramarono molte altre confraternite fondate dai fiorentini dove si estendeva il loro dominio o dove era significativa la loro presenza¹. Per le chiese, i tabernacoli e gli oratori in cui i confratelli esercitavano il loro compito pietoso furono realizzate tavole ed affreschi che sembrano seguire un preciso programma iconografico. La piccola chiesa fiorentina che si trovava lungo il percorso che conduceva i condannati al luogo della giustizia, distrutta nel 1529 durante l'assedio di Firenze, ospitava un ciclo di affreschi attribuiti da Vasari a Pisanello, il cui soggetto era un episodio del ciclo di San Giacomo e vedeva protagonista un ladro redento. La tavola, che è sopravvissuta all'abbattimento della chiesa, era stata affidata invece al Beato Angelico, che scelse la scena che meglio illustrava i compiti che i confratelli si erano assunti e lo spirito che doveva animare queste confraternite, il *Compianto del Cristo* (fig. 1). Attorno al corpo di Cristo disteso per terra nei pressi della croce si scorge una piccola folla: ci sono naturalmente la Madonna, san Giovanni e le pie donne, ma anche Giuseppe di Arimatea, che secondo il racconto evangelico aveva ottenuto da Pilato la possibilità di prelevare il cadavere e seppellirlo in una tomba di sua proprietà, e Nicodemo, che lo aiuta fornendo mir-

Domenico Ghirlandaio and his Workshop in Pisa: Panel Paintings for the Gesuati

Domenico Ghirlandaio's three paintings in Pisa's Museo Nazionale di San Matteo have long been the subject of connoisseurial investigation, but have been little examined in light of their origins in Pisa's Gesuati church of San Girolamo. Exploring Ghirlandaio's presence in Pisa in the late 1470s as well as the religious culture of the Gesuati, this study proposes that Ghirlandaio's Pisan panels were an early turning point in his career, as he moved from working in smaller centers in Tuscany to undertaking some of the most memorable mural programs in late fifteenth-century Florence. In considering the iconography and patronage of these paintings, this study furthermore illuminates new connections between Ghirlandaio and the Medici, who had long sponsored architectural and artistic renewal in Pisa. Lorenzo de' Medici, in particular, emerges as powerful, yet discreet patron of Ghirlandaio's who deftly used the artist's works to promote his family and Florentine hegemony.

In the late 1470s, Domenico Ghirlandaio (1449-1494) made several panel paintings destined for the city of Pisa that are now highlights of the Museo Nazionale di San Matteo. The first is a *sacra conversazione* with the *Madonna and Child enthroned with saints Catherine of Alexandria, Stephen, Lawrence, and an unidentified female saint* (c. 1478-1479: fig. 1). The second, very similar in iconography, but slightly smaller in size, also depicts the *Virgin and Child enthroned with saints* (c. 1478-1479: fig. 2). This square panel contains an elaborately patterned Anatolian rug that cascades down the Madonna's throne, and an unidentified donor portrait, a young man in contemporary dress. The third painting, vertical in orientation, shows *Saints Sebastian and Roch*, traditional plague saints, standing on a ledge behind which a Netherlandish landscape background is visible (c. 1478-1479: fig. 3). The bottom of the painting features the Medici family coat of arms and an inscription identifying the two saints.

While the paintings have long been attributed to Ghirlandaio and his workshop, much of their content and meaning remains problematic. There are no firm identifications of the saints in the smaller *Virgin and Child*, for instance, whom scholars have identified as variously as saints Paul, Matthew, Jerome, Raphael, Benedict, Giovanni Gualberto, Joachim, Bernard, and Augustine¹. The second fe-

This article is dedicated to a little known panel that entered the Pisa museum's collection in 1808 from the suppressed church of San Paolo all'Orto. The painting, which served as the frontal for the high altar, represents episodes from the story of Saints Paphnutius and Honophrius. In Pisa, this story has an illustrious precedent in the key narrative shown in the fresco of the Thebaid by Buffalmacco in the Camposanto, but has no other occurrences.

Nel deposito del Museo Nazionale di San Matteo si conserva una tavola a tempera, finora sfuggita all'attenzione degli studi, che raffigura per episodi la storia del monaco Pafnuzio e dell'eremita Onofrio, ritratti in quello che dovrebbe essere l'arido deserto di Tebe in Egitto, presentato invece come un fertile paesaggio (fig. 1).

L'opera venne prelevata dal conservatore Carlo Lasinio nel 1808 dal soppresso monastero di San Paolo all'Orto a Pisa, fino a quel momento sede delle monache domenicane di Sant'Agostino di via Romea¹. Dopo un breve passaggio presso la cappella Da Pozzo nel Camposanto monumentale, la tavola giunse nella collezione della Pinacoteca annessa all'Accademia (1816), poi del Museo Civico (1893) e infine del Museo Nazionale (1949)². Dal primo inventario della cappella redatto da Lasinio nel 1810 si ricava la notizia che si trattava del paliotto dell'altare maggiore della chiesa interna³. In letteratura artistica e nei documenti d'archivio non risultano attestazioni della tavola precedenti la soppressione della chiesa. Al di sopra del paliotto stava un'opera ben più nota e documentata, il polittico firmato da Taddeo di Bartolo e commissionato nel 1395 dalla famiglia pisana Casassi raffigurante la *Madonna col Bambino tra i santi Gherardo, Paolo, Andrea e Nicola di Bari* (fig. 2). Il polittico, portato anch'esso da Lasinio nella cappella Da Pozzo, divenne oggetto delle requisizioni napoleoniche e nel 1813 fu portato in Francia, dove si trova tuttora dal 1876 al Musée des Beaux-Arts di Grenoble⁴.

Il restauro del Redentore benedicente del Beato Angelico al Museo Nazionale di San Matteo a Pisa: dati diagnostici e tecnico-materiali

The restoration of Beato Angelico's Blessing Redeemer (Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa), undertaken to conserve a work unique for its preciousness and rarity as well as for its damaged condition, has allowed us to acquire new knowledge about the work. Information obtained during the course of diagnostic testing and in the actual phases of restoration have permitted us to integrate its exquisite artistic features, already observed in the literature, with newly acquired technical-material data regarding its state of conservation; the interventions undertaken in earlier restorations; and the technique of execution, supporting the hypothesis of its original function and creation as an object used as a banner during the ephemeral ritual of procession.

Il restauro del *Redentore benedicente* del Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, finalizzato alla conservazione e alla conoscenza dell'oggetto, destinato alla valorizzazione della sezione moderna del museo, si è rivelato particolarmente complesso per le peculiari caratteristiche dell'opera, la sua preziosità e rarità e per l'entità del degrado: il dipinto presentava perdita di cromia originale, macchie di umidità, porzioni sbiancate ed altre fortemente annerite, varie lacerazioni.

L'intervento è stato preceduto, a partire dal 2007, allora direttrice del museo Mariagiulia Buresi, da una campagna di indagini preliminari finalizzate ad acquisizioni tecnico-conoscitive e diagnostiche in collaborazione con i ricercatori dell'Istituto di Chimica dei Composti Organo-Metallici (ICCOM) del CNR di Pisa, condotte da Emanuela Grifoni¹. Nel 2014, grazie al contributo della Fondazione Pisa, ha potuto aver inizio il restauro affidato, sotto la direzione di Dario Matteoni, con la consulenza dell'Opificio delle Pietre Dure e del Dipartimento di Chimica dell'Università di Firenze, e con il coordinamento dello scrivente, ai restauratori della ditta Io Studiolo di Lucca; l'inizio dei lavori ha reso indispensabili ulteriori indagini diagnostiche eseguite da Thierry Radelet. Nel giugno del 2017 il restauro è giunto a conclusione sotto la direzione della compianta Alba Maria Macripò, alla quale questo contributo è dedicato con sincera gratitudine per il suo competente e costante lavoro, determinante per i risultati ottenuti. (figg. 1-2)

Tra decadenza e Rinascenza: spigolature sul Quattrocento a Pisa

In sì fatali circostanze e in sì torbidi giorni,
che tali furono in ispecie dal 1400 al 1540 circa,
[...] vana lusinga è il ricercare alcun vestigio della Scuola Pisana,
tanto benemerita delle Arti italiane de' bassi tempi¹

Trattasi di un'opera della Rinascenza, che per quanto sia di lavoro mediocre,
ha valore non poco e particolare interesse per Pisa,
dove sono rari i monumenti di questa età²

A Pise, négligence et poésie. Octave découvrait [...] une autre Toscane,
plus lâche, un autre idéal de beauté, moins assujetti à l'ordre,
un autre style, plus accommodant, une autre conception de la vie,
plus humaine. Plus humaine? Fallait-il dire : plus libre,
et s'en émerveiller? Ou parler d'incurie, et faire descendre ce style
d'un degré dans l'échelle des valeurs? Tirailé entre l'orthodoxie familiale
et ce qu'il avait envie de ressentir, Octave ne savait que penser
de ce laisser-aller, de cet abandon, visibles dans la forme même de la ville³

The fifteenth century was for Pisa an almost apocalyptic age: the glorious maritime Republic, queen of the Mediterranean sea in the past centuries, fell under the dominion of Florence and underwent a dramatic decay which affected demography, economy, culture and art. Nonetheless, eminent "foreign", mainly Florentine artists created exquisite masterpieces of International Gothic and Early Renaissance art destined to churches or patrons in the city, and its harbor allowed Pisa to remain a strategic centre of commerce. In the second half of the Quattrocento, the archbishop Filippo de' Medici and the young Lorenzo il Magnifico promoted many architectural and artistic commissions: a Florentine-oriented development which was abruptly, if temporarily interrupted after the descent of Charles VIII of France in Italy in 1494. The event gave Pisans the brief illusion of regaining their lost liberty.

1. Il 9 ottobre 1406, dopo lunghi mesi di assedio, le truppe fiorentine conquistarono Pisa, vincendo la strenua resistenza dei cittadini pisani⁴. Il cavaliere e «difensore del popolo» Giovanni Gambacorti, richiamato in patria l'anno prima, trattò la resa all'insaputa degli stremati concittadini, in cambio di concessioni e privilegi⁵.

Aspettavasi il saccheggio; ma fu proclamato che la città era salva. Allora la moltitudine popolare si mostrò alle finestre e per le strade. Pareano larve non uomini, magri com'erano, squallidi e consumati dalla fame; poichè negli ultimi giorni dell'assedio non d'altro cibavansi che di erbe colte per le vie e lungo le mura. Mossi a compassione i fiorentini presero a percorrere la città preceduti da carri carichi di pane e di altri viveri, che i soldati medesimi distribuivano al popolo⁶.

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