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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.
- 9 D. Cole Ahl, *An Unpublished Frieze in Pisa and the Workshop of Benozzo Gozzoli*, in *Benozzo Gozzoli. Viaggio attraverso un secolo*, ed. by E. Castelnuovo and A. Malquori, atti del Congresso Internazionale di Studi (Firenze-Pisa 1998), Pisa, 2003, pp. 175-181, and M. Fanucci Lovich, *Artisti attivi a Pisa*, cit., 1991, p. 294 («Zanobi da Firenze, dipintore»).
- 10 M. Burrese, *Opera d'arte del Trecento e del Quattrocento della chiesa e del monastero di San Domenico*, in *L'arte e la storia, incontri tra il Sovrano Militare Ordine di Malta e gli Amici dei Musei e Monumenti pisani*, Pisa, 2007, pp. 101-120; A. M. Roberts, *Dominican Women and Renaissance Art: The Convent of San Domenico of Pisa*, Aldershot, 2008; and G. de Simone, *L'Angelico di Pisa: ricerche e ipotesi sul "Redentore benedicente" del Museo Nazionale di San Matteo*, in «Polittico», 5, 2008, pp. 5-35.
- 11 M. Spallanzani, *Oriental Rugs*, cit., pp. 14-16.