

Predella journal of visual arts, n°39-40, 2016 - www.predella.it - Monografia / Monograph ■

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Predella pubblica ogni anno due numeri online e due numeri monografici a stampa / §
Predella publishes two online issues and two monographic print issues each year

Tutti gli articoli sono sottoposti alla peer-review anonima / All articles are subject to anonymous peer-review

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Predella journal of visual arts - ISSN 1827-8655

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

some of their original impact. Two sets of engravings, one by Carlo Lasinio, a set of which was hand-colored by his son Giovanni Paolo Lasinio and is preserved in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, and another by Giovanni Paolo Lasinio after drawings by Giovanni Rossi, also recapture some of the original detail and color⁴.

Although the sequence of events in which Benozzo was commissioned and executed the Pisan cycle are known from documents, less clear are the persons and motives behind his choice for the commission⁵. In this paper I would like to explore the role of Archbishop Filippo de' Medici who took up his post in 1461. While he is often credited with a central role in the revival of Pisa in the last decades of the fifteenth century, his role in the Camposanto murals is more difficult to document.

Born in 1426 in either Florence or Avignon, Filippo was the son of a banker who was a relative and business associate of Cosimo de' Medici⁶. He spent his early career in Rome as an apostolic protonotary, probably beginning in the early 1450s. His career benefited from the close attention of Cosimo, whom he referred to as «father» in his letters⁷. Filippo was nominated bishop of Arezzo – at Cosimo's insistence – in January of 1457, during the brief pontificate of Callixtus III (reigned 1455-1458). Pius II (reigned 1458-1464) named him archbishop of Pisa in 1461 as part of his attempt to enlist Cosimo's support for a new crusade, a pressing issue in the aftermath of the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Writing to Cosimo, Pius regretted only that he could not name Filippo a cardinal⁸. In fact Filippo's lifelong ambition to be chosen cardinal was never realized, owing more to changing papal-Florentine relations than to any defect in his own actions.

On 8 February 1461 Filippo entered Pisa and he – unusually – resided there from then on. His letters to Medici correspondents testify to his immediate concern to improve «le cose disordinate» that he had discovered⁹. His efforts to reclaim church lands, to reorganize the provincial churches, and to repair the fabric of his diocese are documented in sources, and they are summarized in an undated memorandum composed toward the end of his life (fig. 3)¹⁰.

Filippo's efforts to improve conditions in Pisa must be seen in the context of Florentine policy toward the subject city¹¹. Following Pisa's defeat in 1406, the Florentines' first concern was to secure the city and countryside militarily. Florentine policies fueled depopulation and general economic decline. Starting from the late 1450s, a new view of Pisa dominated by economic interests emerged. Many projects promoted by Lorenzo de' Medici beginning in the 1470s – such as the improvement of the countryside, regulations favoring merchants and artisans, and the re-founding of the university – built on these earlier policies¹². They also reflected political reality – the need to deepen Florentine support in Pisa in order

to counter forces (especially Milan and Naples) – that threatened the Florentine state. Filippo's extended residence in Pisa can be seen, then, as an on-the-spot Medici presence in the subject city, a valuable resource for the reformed Florentine policy.

At the same time, Filippo served as an intermediary for the Medici regime in the delicate relations of Florence and the papacy. While in Rome during the 1450s, he came to know the personalities and formalities of the papal court. After his appointment as bishop of Arezzo, he largely resided in Rome and in 1459 accompanied Pope Pius II to Mantua to rally forces for a new crusade¹³. Filippo also led Florentine delegations to Rome, to the newly elected Venetian pope, Paul II, in 1464, and to the Emperor Frederick III in 1468¹⁴. In Rome he represented the groom at the 1468 wedding of Lorenzo de' Medici and Clarice Orsini, and he accompanied the bride to Florence¹⁵.

Filippo's diplomatic skills were also deployed internationally. He was dispatched as Florentine ambassador to the new king of France, Louis XI, in September of 1461¹⁶. He and his entourage were received at the courts of Modena and Milan before crossing the Alps. They met Louis at the court in Tours several times, the formal session for which Filippo delivered the oration. Filippo then journeyed to Paris, visiting Notre-Dame and St. Denis, among other sites, remarking on the splendor of the architecture and relics.

In sum, Filippo's extensive connections in Rome and in Florence, as well as his experience in the courts of north Italy and Europe, positioned him perfectly to serve as a central figure in a Medici presence at Pisa.

In expense records Filippo's efforts to rebuild institutions within his control as archbishop of Pisa are clear. As noted in his memorandum, he rebuilt the archiepiscopal palace and improved the archiepiscopal residences at Calci and Filettole, where he often entertained his Medici relatives¹⁷. In these projects he employed Pisan artisans as well as Florentine ones¹⁸.

Filippo's commissions showed a taste shaped by papal buildings in Rome. The structures completed during his lifetime, such as the Palazzo Arcivescovile, show a blending of the refined classicism of Rossellino's Pienza – which he had visited with the pope in 1459 and 1460 – and the traditions of marble carving visible in the monuments of the Piazza del Duomo¹⁹.

In the monuments of the Piazza del Duomo, Filippo's influence is often assumed but is seldom documented. In the Duomo a commission for a new coffered ceiling in the tribune and transepts to the woodworker Francione, whom Filippo may have known in Rome, was begun soon after his arrival as archbishop²⁰. In the Camposanto, he is often credited with the completion of the marble

tracery in the arcade and with the resumption of the mural decoration. In fact, however, the archbishop had no legal role in the administration of the Duomo or the Camposanto. That power resided with the Opera del Duomo, a secular body reporting to the Pisan priors and ultimately to the Signoria of Florence²¹. The *operaio* of the Opera del Duomo, appointed by the Priors, was the active manager of the building campaigns in the Duomo and Camposanto. In the copious documentation that survives in the Opera del Duomo archive relating to the Quattrocento projects, there is no mention of the archbishop, though there is evidence of good relations between Filippo and the *operaio*, Antonio di Jacopo della Mura²².

And yet, as the foremost religious authority in Pisa, the archbishop surely had some role in the management of the most sacred spaces in the city. In the Camposanto, a plaque commemorating the completion of the tracery in 1464 is prominently placed (fig. 4)²³. The inscription celebrates the *operaio*, implying the archbishop's support if not active role. In fact, the project to complete the marble windows was begun in 1451, before either the *operaio* or the archbishop was appointed²⁴. The wording of the plaque conforms to that on the inscription from 1278 on the façade of the Camposanto commemorating its founding²⁵. Both inscriptions are strategically placed to confront the visitor. Their formulaic and ceremonial content is as important as the historical message.

Even if Filippo de' Medici had no formal authority over construction and decoration projects in the Camposanto, I would argue that his influence can be detected in aspects of the decoration itself. Apart from his role in the religious ceremonies of the Camposanto – during Easter and the vigil to All Souls' Day, at funerals and memorial masses – Filippo's particular veneration for the Camposanto was manifest. From the beginning of his tenure as archbishop, the accounts of the Mensa Arcivescovile – over which, unlike the Opera del Duomo accounts, he did have control – record payments for masses to be said in the cemetery²⁶. Filippo's medal, probably designed by Bertoldo di Giovanni and cast in Rome around 1470, shows on the reverse an image of the Last Judgment (fig. 5)²⁷. The inscription, *ET IN CARNE MEA VIDEBO DEUM SALVATOREM MEUM* from the book of Job (19:26-27), was incorporated into the office for the dead²⁸. The story of Job, it may be recalled, was depicted on the southwest wall of the Camposanto. The Last Judgment, with a vengeful God raising his arm, flanked by angels carrying the cross and column, also recalls the searing image by Buffalmacco in the southeast corridor of the Camposanto. And Filippo's testament leaves detailed instructions for his own burial in the Camposanto, in a sumptuous chapel dedicated to the Holy Cross, including an altarpiece depicting the cross flanked by the Virgin and Saint Phillip, that was largely finished by 1480 but drastically altered by Archbishop Carlo An-

tonio Dal Pozzo in the late sixteenth century²⁹.

The murals too are replete with what might be indications of his guidance. The appointment of Gozzoli as painter, after a fitful effort to retain Mantegna, Foppa and other non-Tuscan artists (such as Michele Ciampanti from Lucca, then an independent republic), was perhaps owing to his intervention³⁰. While Gozzoli had obvious ties to Piero de' Medici, having completed the Medici palace chapel frescoes in 1459, his acquaintance with Filippo probably dates to the early '50s, when both were present at the papal court. Filippo would also have known Benozzo's work in the Vatican palace and other Roman works, such as the lost chapel in the Aracoeli with scenes from the life of Saint Anthony of Padua³¹. Gozzoli's narrative style, with its prominent architectural and landscape settings, and portraits of contemporaries, is reminiscent of works by Roman artists such as Antoniazio Romano, particularly the fragments from the Bessarion chapel in Santissimi Apostoli painted in 1464-1468, just before Benozzo's move to Pisa³². The grand narratives of Gozzoli's works from San Gimignano, I believe, reflect this Roman mural style and provide a more telling precedent for the murals in the Camposanto than those in the intimate, opulent setting of the Palazzo Medici chapel.

Filippo too likely had some impact on the content of the murals. The Old Testament subject of the murals had been determined in the late Trecento. Nonetheless, Gozzoli's rich presentation reflects the revival of patristic studies which began in Florence in the 1430s and continued in the papal courts³³. These interests seem embedded in the murals, in which protagonists such as Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Moses lead their people, triumph in battle and obey God. The history of Moses, begun in 1477, is the most comprehensive presentation of his life before the Sistine Chapel decoration in 1481-1482. Incidents such as Abraham's trial by fire, in the mural of the *Adoration of Baal*, finished by 1471, which do not have a source in the biblical text, suggest a program shaped by learned input³⁴.

Filippo's Roman experience may have played a role in the program in Pisa. Though he was not a theologian – being probably schooled in canon law – his experience of the papal court in the 1450s, where Rome was cast as the New Jerusalem and the church as the recreation of the celestial city of Revelation, shaped his outlook. Pisa's traditional association with Rome may have reinforced Filippo's Roman experience. Similarly, Benozzo's long activity in Rome was probably at least as significant a qualification as his activity in Florence in awarding him the commission in Pisa.

At the same time, Filippo's position as the central figure of the Medici presence in Pisa, and the increasingly courtly demeanor of its head Lorenzo de' Medici, is also reflected in the murals. The scene depicting the *Tower of Babel* was one of

the first Benozzo painted, completed by 1471 (figg. 6-7)³⁵. At the center workers mix mortar, haul stones, and lay bricks while the giant Nimrod gestures toward the rising structure (fig. 8). Filippo de' Medici is portrayed at the right, leading a group of figures in contemporary dress who calmly view the scene (fig. 9)³⁶. At first it would seem strange for the archbishop to be associated with this scene. The biblical text describes building the tower as an act of pride which brought the wrath of God on man³⁷. God caused the workers to speak in many tongues, so that the workings of the *cantiere*, here seen humming with activity, foundered in confusion. Gozzoli shows the mythical city to the right, cinched by walls and pierced by a towered gate above which is written BABILONIA (fig. 10). Tall buildings rise, among which can be recognized a mix of old and new, including the Pantheon, Trajan's column, the pyramid of Cestius, the Florentine Palazzo Vecchio and the Palazzo Medici. Yet they are jumbled together, showing a chaotic mix of scale, type and style. As God appears at the upper left, the tower of Babel and the city of Babylon will fall.

None of the buildings, new or old, in the walled city of Babylon is Pisan, and yet Filippo is associated with both the construction of the tower and the magnificent cityscape behind³⁸. But the traditional negative connotations of the scene have been muted. The destruction of the city, with which this scene is often paired – as, for example, in the stained glass window installed in the Duomo in 1453-54 – is notably absent³⁹. Instead, the city of Babylon with its profusion of monuments draws admiration rather than reproach⁴⁰.

The changed meaning of this scene from traditional depictions reflects a new attitude. Rather than being an act of hubris, building was seen as the performance of civic duty; princes, wealthy merchants, and city officials justified the expense with reference to the concept of magnificence, derived from ancient authors⁴¹. Filippo seems to share this view.

The mixture of medieval and classicizing structures in Benozzo's architecture also visualizes the humanist value of *varietas* – a pleasing contrast of materials, textures, colors and styles⁴². The central scene of workmen hoisting a carved marble console into place on the brick tower points to a preference for marble and is especially apt in Pisa, for centuries a center for marble carving.

The mural with the *Stories of Jacob and Esau* also links Pisa with this imagined sacred land (fig. 11). The Camposanto recreated the terrestrial and celestial Holy Land by virtue of the soil brought during crusade, by the ceremonies of Holy Week, and by funerals performed there⁴³. The magnificent triumphal arch in the center of the mural forms the backdrop to Esau's selling of his birthright. To the right is a building with an arcade and trabeated second floor loggia that recalls

the courtyard elevation of the Archbishop's palace, newly built on Filippo's initiative⁴⁴. The prominent rosettes carved in marble in the spandrels of the arcade allude to the palace arcade and directly recall the materials and details of the Piazza del Duomo monuments. The mural was completed sometime between 1473 and 1477, and it may be that this architectural "portrait" is a posthumous tribute to Filippo – he died in 1474⁴⁵.

Filippo's wide ranging efforts to rebuild Pisa did not end with his death. In his campaign he enlisted the young Lorenzo de' Medici, who appears as one of his regular correspondents starting in 1464, when Lorenzo was a teenager, and who became Filippo's principal Medici correspondent after the deaths of Giovanni, Cosimo and finally Piero in 1469. In his letters to Lorenzo Filippo is deferent, yet he does not hesitate to chastise the young man at one point for requesting a French-style gown formerly in his possession; Filippo reminds Lorenzo that «in this land there are few youths who have anything, much less "*farsetti alla francese*"»⁴⁶. Lorenzo's extensive land holdings in the countryside, where he enjoyed hunting and pursued the cultivated *otium* of classically inspired villa life, partly explain his support of Pisa's revival⁴⁷. In these efforts Filippo de' Medici was Lorenzo's role model and right hand man.

Filippo's death in 1474 meant the loss of his vital presence as archbishop to the Medici cause. Lorenzo's strenuous efforts to promote a pro-Medicean candidate were rebuked by pope Sixtus IV, who appointed as archbishop Francesco Salviati, an ally of the pope's nephew Girolamo Riario and of the Pazzi family. Relations between Florence and the papacy deteriorated through the decade, culminating in the Pazzi conspiracy, in which Salviati was implicated and executed⁴⁸. Through this turmoil, Gozzoli steadily covered the walls of the Camposanto with murals, a testament to the administrative continuity of Antonio di Jacopo's role as *operaio*. Benozzo responded to the larger fields of the last murals with more expansive and monumental designs⁴⁹. At the same time, the Florentine presence in their imagery becomes more insistent and reflects Florence's redoubled efforts to assert its control of Pisa culturally as well as militarily and economically.

As an example we might look at the mural of the *Story of Joseph in Egypt*, completed by October, 1477 (fig. 12). It was approached directly on axis from the main door, across the central sacred field; the plaque commemorating the completion of the marble windows is located on the right. The narrative action is dominated by a central loggia with three pointed arched bays and a coffered ceiling. While the architecture fits in with the imaginary character of the painted architecture throughout the cycle, it may also be a reference to the interior of the Pisa Duomo, with its pointed triumphal arch. The coffered ceiling might recall the new ceiling

in the choir and transept arms, one of the first projects begun during Filippo de' Medici's term, work on which continued during the 1470s⁵⁰. And yet, looming in the background to the right of this structure is an unmistakable image of Florence Cathedral. By transposing the Florentine image into the imaginary scenes from Pharaoh's court, the mural draws together Pisa, Florence and the legendary court of ancient Egypt.

An inscription inserted into the central loggia celebrates the painter Benozzo in terms that reflect humanist discourse on creativity and fame⁵¹. Possibly composed by Lorenzo's confidant, Agnolo Poliziano, it signals a new status for artists fostered by princely courts. Benozzo was in fact treated well during his long sojourn in Pisa, being presented with a house and generous in-kind payments. When his father died in 1469, the Opera provided candles and an avello in the Camposanto; Benozzo himself was given a tomb at the foot of this very mural⁵². Ultimately it was not used; Benozzo was forced to leave Pisa as were all Florentines two years before his death in 1497.

The last mural of the cycle, the *Meeting of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba*, completed before May 1484, reinforces this idea of a Pisa "Laurenziana" (figg. 13-14). Known only in fragments and copies, the mural depicts the meeting against a magnificent backdrop of Solomon's temple – an evocation of Old St. Peter's in Rome – and to the right his palace, depicted as a Renaissance loggia draped with garlands. The wise Hebrew leader and the proud queen of Egypt embrace, as crowds of dignitaries look on. In this copy of the mural, the design of Solomon's palace possibly alludes to another Pisan building, the Palazzo Vecchio de' Medici on the Lungarno. This palace, drastically renovated in the nineteenth century, was originally built in the fourteenth century and purchased by Cosimo de' Medici in 1441⁵³. While evidence is scant, Rohault de Fleury published in 1866 a plausible reconstruction featuring use of the local building stone and prominent buttresses flanking the arches (fig. 15)⁵⁴. In the copy of the Pisa mural, the masonry and the articulation of the ground floor loggia might recall aspects of the Palazzo Medici in Pisa that signal local building traditions⁵⁵. The equivalence of the palace of the magnificent king with that of "il Magnifico" again underscores the Medici reshaping of Pisa as the foremost city of the Florentine state.

Ultimately, Florentine efforts to absorb Pisa into its territory, its politics and its culture failed. In the wake of Lorenzo's death, the expulsion of the Medici, and the invasion of the French king Charles VIII, Pisa regained independence until 1509. The effort to make Pisa truly Florentine would be taken up again by the Medici Grand Dukes in the sixteenth century, with different results.

- 1 D. Cole Ahl, *Benozzo Gozzoli*, New Haven-London, 1997, pp.157-185.
- 2 G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori ed architettori* (1568), ed. by G. Milanesi, Firenze, 1906, t. 3, p. 51; for the history of the painting, see I. B. Supino, *Il Camposanto di Pisa*, Firenze, 1896, pp. 22-28; A. Caleca, *Costruzione e decorazione dalle origini al secolo XV*, in *Il Camposanto di Pisa*, ed. by C. Baracchini and E. Castelnuovo, Torino, 1996, pp. 36-37; Ahl, *Benozzo Gozzoli*, pp. 159-160.
- 3 See most recently A. Andreotti et al., *The Wall Paintings of the Monumental Cemetery of Pisa: the War, the Restoration, the Conservation*, in *Science and Art: The Painted Surface*, ed. by A. Sgamellotti, et al., Cambridge, 2014, pp. 193-209.
- 4 C. Lasinio, *Pitture a fresco del Camposanto a Pisa intagliate da Carlo Lasinio*, Firenze, 1812; G. P. Lasinio and G. Rossi, *Pitture a fresco del Camposanto a Pisa disegnate da Giuseppe Rossi ed incise dal Prof. Cav. G. P. Lasinio*, 2nd ed., Firenze, 1832. The hand-colored set is from the 1812 edition.
- 5 M. L. Orlandi, *Benozzo Gozzoli a Pisa. I documenti (1468-1495)*, Pisa, 1997.
- 6 The monographic study of M. Luzzati is fundamental: *Filippo de' Medici Arcivescovo di Pisa e la visita pastorale del 1462-1463*, in «Bollettino storico pisano», 33-35, 1964-66, pp. 361-408. See also G. Ciccagliani, *Filippo de' Medici*, in *Dizionario Biografico italiano*, vol. 73, 2009, pp. 47-50.
- 7 For example, Florence, Archivio di Stato (hereafter ASF), fondo Mediceo Avanti il Principato (hereafter MAP), F. 6, doc. 784, to Giovanni di Cosimo, undated; F. 12, doc. 402, from Rome, to Cosimo di Giovanni de' Medici, 21 March 1457/58.
- 8 G. Holmes, *Cosimo and the Popes*, in *Cosimo 'il Vecchio' de' Medici 1389-1464*, ed. by F. Ames-Lewis, Oxford, 1992, pp. 26-27; Pius's letter is published in L. von Pastor, *Ungedruckte Akten zur Geschichte der Päpste*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1904, t. I, p. 120. On the Medici efforts to secure a cardinalship, see D.S. Chambers, *A Cardinal in Rome. Florentine and Medici Ambitions*, in *The Medici: Citizens and Masters*, ed. by R. Black and J. Law, Firenze, 2015, pp. 205-17.
- 9 ASF, MAP, F. 16, doc. 98, to Piero di Cosimo, from Pisa, 30 Sept. 1461.
- 10 Pisa, Archivio di Stato (hereafter ASP), Miscellanea Manoscritti, no. 84, ins. 50; Luzzati, *Filippo de' Medici Arcivescovo di Pisa*, p. 408, note; idem, *Un arcivescovo Mediceo del quattrocento pisano*, in «Comune di Pisa: Rassegna periodica di informazioni», 3, no. 4, 1967, pp. 22-29.
- 11 For this and what follows, see M. Mallett, *Pisa and Florence in the Fifteenth Century. Aspects of the Period of the First Florentine Domination*, in *Florentine Studies: Politics and Society in Renaissance Florence*, London, 1968, pp. 403-441; G. Chittolini, *Ricerche sull'ordinamento territoriale del dominio fiorentino agli inizi del secolo XV*, in *La formazione dello stato regionale*, Torino, 1979, pp. 292-352; *La città e il contado di Pisa nello stato dei Medici (XV-XVII secoli)*, ed. by M. Mirri, Pisa, 2000; and *Firenze e Pisa dopo il 1406: La creazione di un nuovo spazio regionale*, ed. by S. Tognetti, Firenze, 2010.
- 12 G. Petralia, *Pisa Laurenziana: Una città e un territorio per la conservazione dello 'stato'*, in *La Toscana al tempo di Lorenzo il Magnifico. Politica Economia Cultura Arte*, ed. by R. Fubini, Pisa, 1996, t. 3, pp. 955-980.
- 13 For the pope's journey to Mantua, see L. von Pastor, *Storia dei papi*, t. 2, trans. Angelo Mercati, reprint of the 4th ed., revised, Roma, 1961, pp. 37-47; Luzzati, *Filippo de' Medici Arcivescovo di Pisa*, pp. 366-367.
- 14 For the 1464 delegation, see ASF, Signori: Missive, Legazioni, Commissarie, etc., no. 15, cc. 125-27; Luzzati, *Filippo de' Medici Arcivescovo di Pisa*, pp. 371-372. For the 1468 delegation,

- see ASF, Signori, Missive, Legazioni, Commissarie, etc., no. 16, cc. 192-193 verso; see also ASF, MAP F. 17, no. 604, to Piero di Cosimo Piero di Cosimo, from Rome, 4 January 1468/69; Luzzati, *Filippo de' Medici Arcivescovo di Pisa*, pp. 373-374.
- 15 For the marriage, see C. Guasti, *Tre lettere di Lucrezia Tornabuoni a Piero de' Medici ed altre lettere di varii concernenti al matrimonio di Lorenzo il magnifico con Clarice Orsini*, Firenze, 1859, p. 12; A. Rochon, *La jeunesse de Laurent de Médicis*, Paris, 1963, pp. 99, 108, 136, 240, 267; Luzzati, *Filippo de' Medici Arcivescovo di Pisa*, pp. 373-374.
 - 16 The appointment was made 26 September 1461, the official instructions to the delegation were given on 20 October, and the party departed 27 October, returning 14 March 1462. The voyage was recorded in minute detail in a surviving account by Giovanni Cecchi, a notary who served as *cancelliere*. The register is found in ASF, Legazioni e Commissarie, Missive e Responsive, 52; published by G. Milanese, *Il viaggio degli ambasciatori fiorentini al re di Francia nel MCCCCLXI descritto da Giovanni di Francesco di Neri Cecchi loro cancelliere*, in «Archivio storico italiano», ser. 3, t. I, 1865, pt. 1, pp. 4-62.
 - 17 «Rimurato quasi da fondamente l'arcivescovado e fatto lo magior non era»; «Rimurato da fondamenti il castel di Calci che per le guerre era in tutto disfatto e fattolo più bello e più forte non era prima»; «Raconcio el castello di Filetto. Stava male e intonacatolo e riparato dentro tutto [crossed out: riparato] et di fuori arriaciatolo» (ASP, Miscellanea Manoscritti, no. 84, ins. 50).
 - 18 M. Fanucci Lovitch, *Artisti attivi a Pisa fra XIII e XVIII secolo*, Pisa, 1991, p. 6: payments 1462-1466 to Adamo di Domenico da Como working in Calci; p. 10: payments to Andrea scarpellatore 1462-1463 for a chimney in the palace at Filettole. See also W. Dolfi, *Vescovi e arcivescovi di Pisa. Gli stemmi e il loro palazzo*, Pisa, 2000, t. 2, p. 55; E. Karwacka Codini, *Prima dominazione fiorentina a Pisa: avvio verso una nuova stagione architettonica tra il gusto di antiche magnificenze, l'eredità brunelleschiana e gli echi albertiani*, in *Architettura a Pisa nel primo periodo mediceo*, ed. by E. Karwacka Codini, Pisa, 2010, pp. 12-13.
 - 19 E. Karwacka Codini, *Dimore nobiliari a Pisa e metamorfosi del volto urbano nel periodo mediceo*, and Gabriele Morolli, *La 'domus cardinalis' di Filippo de' Medici, arcivescovo di Pisa. Una 'prova generale' del nuovo palazzo umanistico all'antica di metà Quattrocento: tra Vitruvio e Alberti*, in *Le dimore di Pisa: L'arte di abitare; i palazzi di una antica Repubblica marinara dal Medioevo all'Unità d'Italia*, ed. by E. Daniele, Pisa, 2010, pp. 43-54 and pp. 55-82.
 - 20 See I. B. Supino, *L'arte del rinascimento nella primaziale di Pisa. I maestri d'intaglio e di tarsia in legno, i pittori e gli scultori*, Roma, 1893, pp. 160-63; L. Tanfani-Centofanti, *Notizie di artisti tratte dai documenti pisani*, Pisa, 1897, pp. 198-200; S. Borsi, et al., *Maestri fiorentini nei cantieri romani del Quattrocento*, Roma, 1989, pp. 177-78. Gaetano Milanese published the contract with the Primaziale, dated 10 March 1462 (Milanese reported the date erroneously as 1461), in *Nuovi documenti per la storia dell'arte Toscana dal XII al XV secolo*, Firenze, 1901, p. 111, doc. 131.
 - 21 G. Fusco, *L'Opera della Primaziale attraverso i tempi*, Pisa, 1908, pp. 15-20; P. Pecchiai, *L'Opera della Primaziale Pisana*, Pisa, 1905.
 - 22 M. Battistoni, *Antonio di Jacopo dalle Mura, orafo e operaio del Duomo di Pisa, 1461-1488*, in «Bollettino storico pisano», vol. 63, 1994, pp. 131-148.
 - 23 «+DOMINO FILIPPO DE MEDICIS / ARCHIEPISCOPO PISANO ANTO/NIUS JACOBI ALMI TEMPLI / PISANI OPERARIUS SACRI / HUIUS ET INTER MORTALES / PRECLARISSIMI SEPULCRI / OPUS IIII ARCUBUS XXVIII / Q[UAM] P[ER]FORATUI FENESTRIS / MARMOREIS III ANNIS SUA / DILIGENTIA PERFICI CUR/AVIT D[E]I [INCARNATIONIS] AN[NO] MCCCCLXII» («at the time

- of Archbishop of Pisa Filippo de' Medici, Antonio di Jacopo operaio with three years of diligent work, brought to completion four great arches and twenty-eight tripartite marble windows»).
- 24 Caleca, *Costruzione e decorazione*, p. 36; See also for payments to Gaspare di maestro Antonio picchiapietre, Simone di Domenicho da Firenze, and Salvi d'Andrea da Firenze, for «tutte le finestre mancavano al fornimento in ca[m]posanto» (in Tanfani Centofanti, *Notizie*, pp. 286-287).
 - 25 «A.D. MCCLXXVIII/ TEMPORE DOMINI FEDERICI ARCHIEPISCOPI PISANI / DOMINI TERLATI POTESTATIS / OPERARIO ORLANDO SARDELLA / JOHANNE MAGISTRO AEDIFICANTE».
 - 26 Archivio Capitolare di Pisa, Mensa Arcivescovile, Entrata e Uscita no. 9 (formerly no. 10), dal 1464/63, c. 35 recto: «A di 30 detto [June 1465(st. pis)/1464] soldi vinti a prete Luca per le messe di campo Sancto. E a di detto [11 September 1465/64] a prete Lucha lire uno grossi quattro per limosine delle messe di campo sancto».
 - 27 J. D. Draper, *Bertoldo di Giovanni, Sculptor of the Medici Household*, Columbia, MO, 1992, pp. 82-86, no. 2.
 - 28 «I believe that my redeemer liveth, and that in the last day I shall rise from the earth: and in my flesh shall see God my savior» (Job, 19:26-27); this is the first nocturne of Matins in the Office of the Dead.
 - 29 The testament consists of four legal documents dated 5 October 1474, found in ASF, MAP, f. 81, no. 22, cc. 122-132. See most recently D. Carl, *Zu Francione und den Brüdern da Sangallo. Ihre Partnerschaft im Licht neuer Dokumente*, in *Giuliano da Sangallo*, ed. by A. Belluzzi et al., Milan, 2017, pp. 169-85. Carl publishes newly discovered payments for the chapel, a new transcription for the contract, and excerpts from Filippo's testament.
 - 30 For this well-known sequence of events, see Supino, *Il Camposanto*, pp. 22-28; Caleca, *Costruzione e decorazione*, pp. 36-37; Ahl, *Benozzo Gozzoli*, pp. 159-160.
 - 31 B. Cirulli, *Note sulla cappella Albertoni all'Aracoeli a Roma e la Vergine in Gloria della collegiate dell'Assunta a Sermoneta (1456-58)*, in *Benozzo Gozzoli, allievo a Roma, maestro in Umbria*, ed. by B. Toscano and G. Capitelli, exh. cat. (Montefalco, 2002), Milano, 2002, pp. 233-237, and G. Capitelli and G. A. Vergani, *Benozzo Gozzoli: A Growing Workshop*, Milano, 2003, pp. 43-46.
 - 32 The Bessarion chapel shows the *Apparition of Michael the Archangel* in the guise of a bull, at the gulf of Saint Malo in Brittany, in the dream of Saint Aubert. Aubert, bishop of Avranches (with features of Louis XI), is shown in the center wearing a mitre and opulently dressed. The sanctuary of Mont Saint Michel is clearly visible in the background. For a discussion of Roman painting in the mid fifteenth century, see M. Gill, *The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, in *Artistic Centers of the Italian Renaissance: Rome*, ed. by M. Hall, Cambridge, 2005, pp. 27-46; and A. Cavallaro, *Antoniazio Romano, pittore 'dei migliori che furono allora in Roma'*, in *Antoniazio Romano Pictor Urbis*, ed. by A. Cavallaro and S. Petrocchi, exh. cat. (Rome, 2013-2014), Milano, 2013, pp. 23-24.
 - 33 C. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome*, Bloomington, 1985, pp. 166-234.
 - 34 R. Wischnitzer-Bernstein, *Jüdische Legendenstoffe bei Benozzo Gozzoli*, in *Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag von Moritz Schaefer*, Berlin, 1927, pp. 271-274, for references to Hebrew sources for this scene.
 - 35 Orlandi, *Benozzo Gozzoli*, p. 18, doc. 6.
 - 36 M. Luzzati, *Un arcivescovo mediceo del Quattrocento pisano*, in «Comune di Pisa: rassegna periodica di informazioni», t. 3, no. 4, 1967, pp. 22-29; idem, *Su due ritratti di Filippo de' Medici*

- arcivescovo di Pisa*, in «Bollettino storico pisano», 3rd ser, no. 71, 2002, pp. 193-198.
- 37 S. Maddalo, *Babele*, in *Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale*, Roma, t. 2, 1994, pp. 820-827.
- 38 G. Morolli, "Aethereasque domus (...) pinxit": Benozzo primo illustratore delle istituzioni albertiane di architettura, p. 37, identifies the cathedral of Pisa in the scene; but F. Quinterio, *La costruzione della torre di Babele*, p. 59, sees no Pisan monument, except for perhaps an allusion to the campanile. Both essays are in *Benozzo Gozzoli e l'architettura*, ed. by E. Andreatta, et al., Firenze, 2002.
- 39 R. K. Burnam, *Le vetrate del duomo di Pisa*, in «Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa», serie iv, Quaderno 13, Pisa, 2002, pp. 112-13, no. XV, fig. IX.
- 40 The ceremonial aspect of the scene, with dignitaries grouped to the left and right has been likened to *Sagra* paintings, depictions of the consecration of churches and cathedrals, with their echoes of commemoration and celebration; see Ahl, *Benozzo Gozzoli*, p. 308, note 63.
- 41 For an excellent summary of the arguments and sources, see G. Clarke, *Roman House – Renaissance Palaces: Inventing Antiquity in Fifteenth-Century Italy*, Cambridge, 2003, pp. 55-65.
- 42 C. Smith, *Architecture in the Culture of Early Humanism*, Oxford, 1992, pp. 98-129.
- 43 D. Cole Ahl, *Camposanto, Terra Santa: Picturing the Holy Land in Pisa*, in «Artibus et historiae», 24, 2003, pp. 95-122.
- 44 Luzzati, *Un arcivescovo mediceo*, p. 27.
- 45 Ahl, *Benozzo Gozzoli*, p. 161.
- 46 ASF, MAP, F. 22, doc. 512, in Filippo's hand to Lorenzo di Piero from Pisa, 13 February, without date but 1472-74: «...ma in questa terra si è sì pochi giovani che abbino chosa alcuna, che, nonché abbino farsetti alla francesea...».
- 47 F. W Kent, *Lorenzo de' Medici and the Art of Magnificence*, Baltimore, 2004, pp. 112-151.
- 48 J. Najemy, *A History of Florence 1200-1575*, Chichester, 2008, pp. 354-357.
- 49 Ahl, *Benozzo Gozzoli*, pp. 176-84.
- 50 See note 20.
- 51 «QUID SPECTAS VOLUCRES, PISCES, ET MONSTRA FERARUM, / ET VIRIDES SILVAS AETHEREASQUE DOMOS? / ET PUEROS, IUVENES, MATRES, CANOSQUE PARENTES? / QUEIS SEMPER VIVUM SPIRAT IN ORE DECUS? / NON HAEC TAM VARIIS, FINXIT SIMULACRA FIGURIS / NATURA INGENIO FOETIBUS APTA SUO: / EST OPUS ARTIFICIS: PINXIT VIVA ORA BENOZZUS: / O SUPERI, VIVOS FUNDITE IN ORA SONOS»; «How beholdest thou birds, fish, and monsters prodigious, / Sylvan greenery or heavenly habitations? / Children, youths, mothers, and hoary-headed elders, / Their countenances live with decorous charm? / Who fashioned these images of such varied form / Was not Nature, her genius engendering that brood. / This is the work of Benozzo: by his art their visages live: / O gods above, endow them with voice as in life!» (Ahl, *Benozzo Gozzoli*, p. 194).
- 52 See the documents in Orlandi, *Benozzo Gozzoli*, for example, pp. 15-16, doc. 4; original ASP, Opera del Duomo, Ricordanze, no. 443, c. 33 recto. On 6 October 1469, the Opera sent three florins to Benozzo's house, «quando Lese suo padre morì». ASP, Opera del Duomo, Ricordanze, no. 443, c. 54 recto; Orlandi, p. 24, doc. No. 9. The payment for the tomb slab is recorded in ASP, Opera del Duomo, Ricordanze, no. 443, c. 58 recto; Orlandi, pp. 26-27, doc. no. 11.
- 53 On the palace see A. Niccolai, *Palazzi, ville e scene medicee in Pisa e nei dintorni*, Pisa, 1914, p. 33; M. A. Giusti, *Il 'palazzo vecchio' di Pisa*, in *L'Architettura di Lorenzo il Magnifico*, ed. by G. Morolli et al., Milano, 1992, pp. 208-209; V. Di Feliciantonio, *Palazzo Vecchio de' Medici*, in

Architettura a Pisa nel primo periodo mediceo, pp. 162-65; Karwacka Codini, *Dimore nobiliari a Pisa e metamorfosi del volto urbano nel periodo mediceo*, in *Le dimore di Pisa*, pp. 45-46.

54 G. Rohault de Fleury, *Les monuments de Pise au moyen âge*, Paris, 1866, pp. 5-8, fig. I-III.

55 F. Redi, *I palazzi pisani nel Medioevo. Una lettura archeologica e tipologica delle strutture superstiti*, in *Le dimore di Pisa*, pp. 33-42.



Fig. 1: Pisa, Camposanto, North Wall with Scenes from the Old Testament

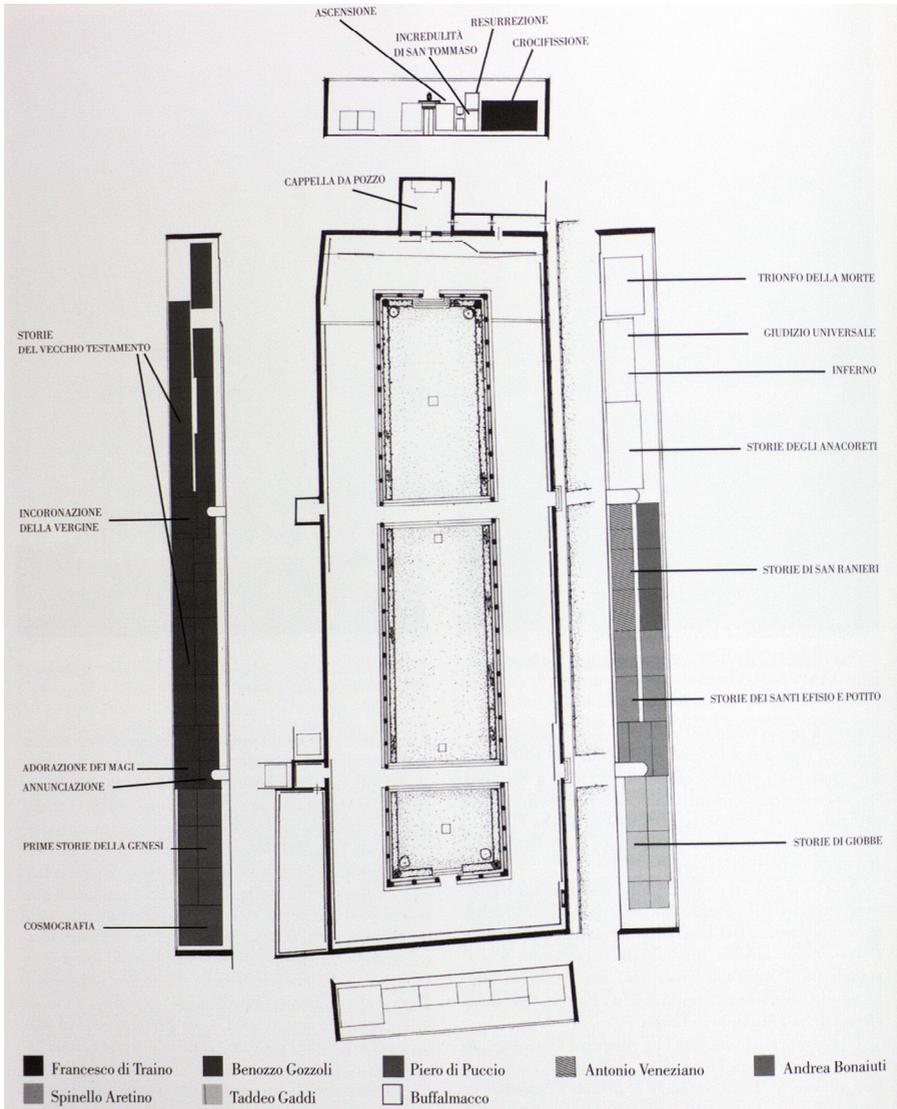


Fig. 2: Plan of the Camposanto

R. inudo delle resti a fatto di poi suo archimandrita di papa
 di urato loro de grande e udotto a cultura. posto fuori
 di archimandrita quasi da fondamr l'archimandrita e fatto lo magiore no ro
 R. inurato da fondamr il castel di calvi che per le guerre era
 in tutto disfatto e fattolo piu bello e piu forte no era pmo
 R. arcenio il castello
 R. acquistato in detto calvi molte possessioni occupate. e messe
 presso al castello una posta di lino in mio rra 800.
 E piu al podere grande di detto luogo vlinj 60
 E piu in detto luogo romato molti vlinj per l'archimandrita
 R. arcenio il castello di fletto. stana maltr e intornatolo
 e riparato dentro tutto e ripareto di fuori arcenatolo.
 Agrisse in detto luogo stancia di vigna piantoy
 di lino e disboschato lo iustro iustro mio ro
 e ripato dal re ^{di fletto} uno luogo chiamato el burru
 fattoy fornare e udottoij da santa maria per pumta
 fornari e far imbari e altri lauori di ferro
 fattoy chaste y loro
 R. acquistato a rasignano molte chaste e possessioni. et resti
 di tutto il podere
 di castel infiorato
 di altre resti affli
 di acquistato di
 di rimontare
 di acquistato
 di numero di
 di detto luogo
 atto vada tutta di l'archimandrita e il paratino
 R. acquistato vlylano all'archimandrita
 A. acquisto all'archimandrita delle salnetti. piaga e fiamta e mignone
 Castello anselmi agone caluoli. La pastura di quacchero
 La pastura del padure di malaudra. li fornari da verghano
 E udotto il re di verghano apagar di fruct lauro al archimandrita
 her 40. due no paguano prima

Fig. 3: Pisa, Archivio di Stato, Filippo de' Medici Memorandum



Fig. 4: Pisa, Camposanto, Inscription , 1464 [St. Pis.]



Fig. 5: BERTOLDO DI GIOVANNI, medal of Filippo de' Medici, reverse, c. 1468-69, bronze, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1974.166



Fig. 6: Benozzo Gozzoli, *The Tower of Babel*, 1470, Pisa, Camposanto



Fig. 7: GIOVANNI PAOLO LASINIO and GIOVANNI ROSSI after BENOZZO GOZZOLI, *The Tower of Babel*, Pisa, Camposanto, from *Pitture a fresco del Camposanto di Pisa*, Florence, 1832

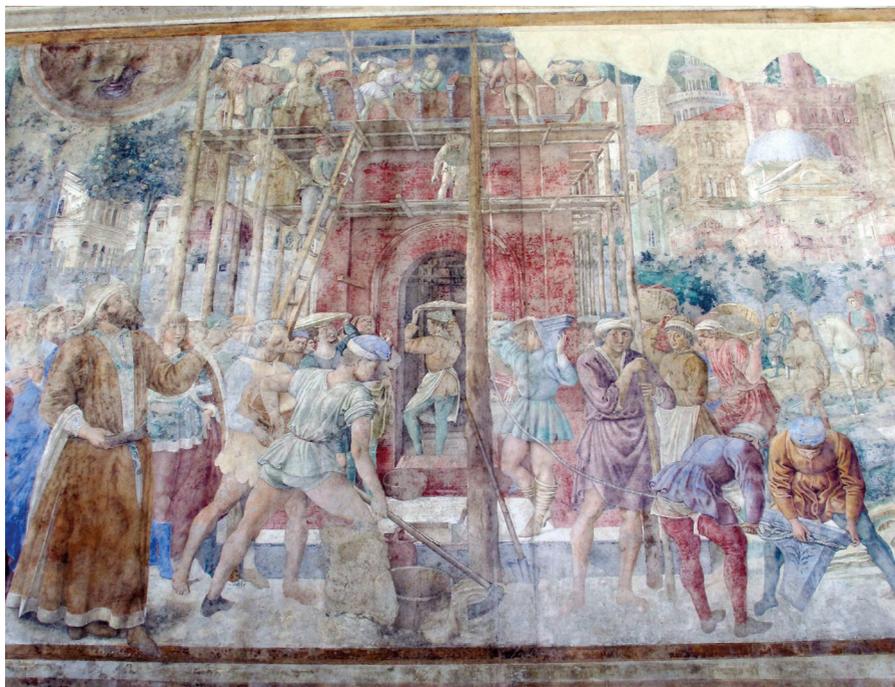


Fig. 8: BENOZZO GOZZOLI, *The Tower of Babel*, detail, 1470, Pisa, Camposanto



Fig. 9: CARLO LASINIO after BENOZZO GOZZOLI, *The Tower of Babel*, detail, 1470, Pisa, Camposanto, from *Pitture a fresco del Camposanto di Pisa*, Florence, 1812, hand-colored by Giovanni Paolo Lasinio, Pisa, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo



Fig. 10: CARLO LASINIO after BENOZZO GOZZOLI, *The Tower of Babel*, detail, 1470, Pisa, Camposanto, from *Pitture a fresco del Camposanto di Pisa*, Florence, 1812, hand-colored by Giovanni Paolo Lasinio, Pisa, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo



Fig. 11: CARLO LASINIO after BENOZZO GOZZOLI, *The Birth of Jacob and Esau* (c. 1473-77), Pisa, Camposanto, from *Pitture a fresco del Camposanto di Pisa*, Florence, 1812, hand-colored by Giovanni Paolo Lasinio, Pisa, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo



Fig. 12: CARLO LASINIO after BENOZZO GOZZOLI, *Joseph and His Brothers in Egypt* (1477), Pisa, Camposanto, from *Pitture a fresco del Camposanto di Pisa*, Florence, 1812, hand-colored by Giovanni Paolo Lasinio, Pisa, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo



Fig. 13: GIOVANNI PAOLO LASINIO and GIOVANNI ROSSI after BENOZZO GOZZOLI, *The Meeting of Solomon and Sheba* (fragment), 1484, Pisa, Camposanto, from *Pitture a fresco del Camposanto di Pisa*, Florence, 1832



Fig. 14: Anonymous copy after BENOZZO GOZZOLI, *The Meeting of Solomon and Sheba* (detail), Pisa, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo

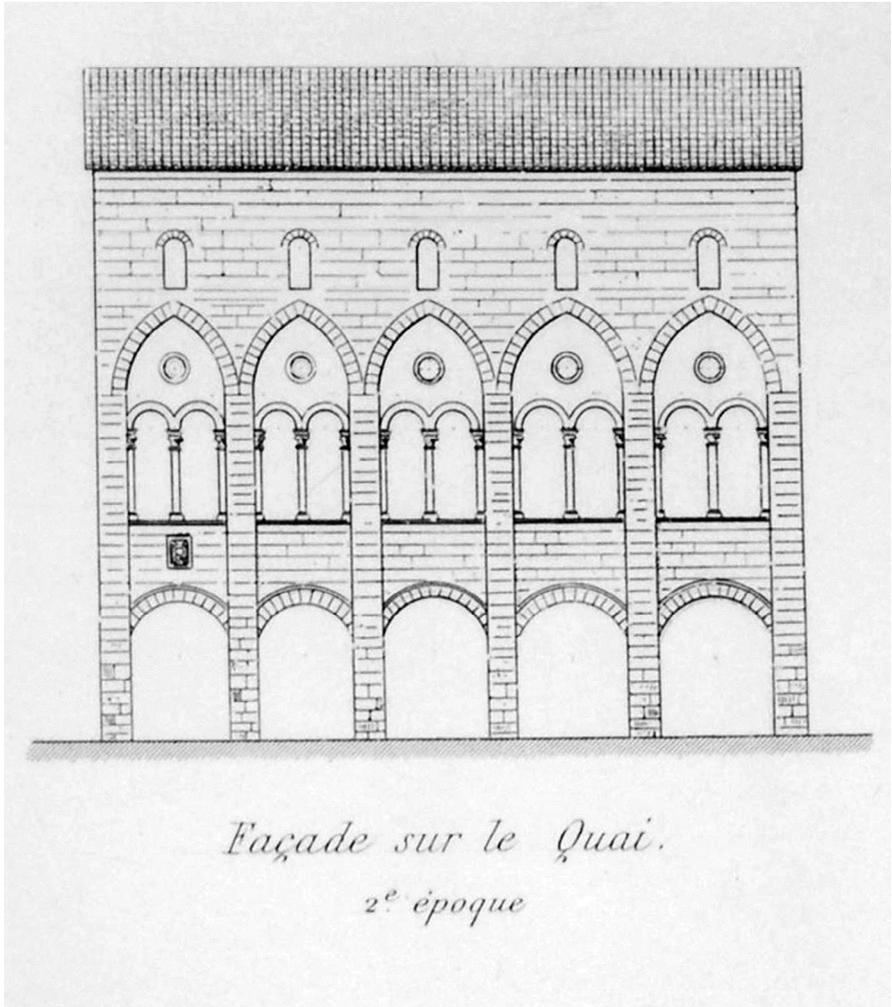


Fig. 15: Palazzo Medici in Pisa, façade, from Georges Rohault de Fleury, *Les monuments de Pise au moyen age*, Paris: A. Morel, 1866, plate I.