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**Artistic Exchange between Liguria,
Piedmont, and Tuscany:
Taddeo di Bartolo, Pietro Gallo da Alba,
Barnaba da Modena, Niccolò da Voltri,
and Francesco di Michele**

It is curious and unfortunate that late Trecento painters who lodged long- or short-term in Genoa are not survived by as much as a single painting. An inevitable conclusion is that many were painters of ephemera, objects of quotidian use that perished – signs, standards, shields, furniture, and no doubt many sails for the maritime city and places along its coast. Genoa was a radiant center for all of Liguria and beyond. More important works must have existed, but evidently they were not luxury objects that ensured, or helped ensure, their safeguarding. The number of paintings by Taddeo di Bartolo and Barnaba da Modena prove them to be heavily over-represented. It seems that patrons were a smaller pool than elsewhere, for how else does one account for the fact that, compared to other places, so little painting for Genoa or Liguria has come down to us? This essay examines artistic exchanges between Liguria, Piedmont, and Tuscany – as well as the bitter personal rivalries that were engendered – through stylistic analysis, patronage networks, and documentary evidence.

In 1398 in Genoa, the Sienese painter Taddeo di Bartolo (ca. 1362 – 1422) denounced a threat on his life by another foreign painter in Genoa, Pietro Gallo (active 1385 – d. 1401), from Alba in Piedmont¹. The few known facts about the case are derived from a document recording a deliberation by the lieutenant of Genoa's governor and the Council of Elders. The notice relates that Taddeo was attacked by Rainaldo, Pietro Gallo's 19-year-old Tartar slave. Rainaldo was tortured until he confessed, but his master Pietro refused to admit guilt. Pietro claimed that at the time he had been in Asti, another Piedmont city, and knew nothing about Rainaldo's purported aggression. The officials levied a 200-florin fine on Pietro and exiled him from Genoa. At that, Pietro pled for leniency before the «Officialium Missiricordie» (Misericordia Board), protesting his poverty on account of a family of four young children whom he supported by the daily sweat of his brow: «[...] obstante paupertate sua quia de cotidiano vivit sudore cum quator filiis parvulis [...]». Perhaps his prediction that he and his family would become destitute pilgrims – «[...] recedere cum filiis et reliqua familia sua et vitam pelegrinam ducere vagando» – was persuasive, because his fine and exile were annulled, and he remained in Genoa. Probably the fact that he and Taddeo di Bartolo had come to terms was more decisive in the waived punishment. Luciano Spinola, a member of one of the city's four leading families, had intervened. The Spinola were patrons of Taddeo in Genoa and probably in its suburb of Quarto earlier in the decade, and the painter was still at work in their circle at the time of the litigation. Presumably Luciano was Taddeo's partisan.

The conflict between the two non-native painters in Genoa allows for speculation regarding their context. The cosmopolitan port city was a magnet for both, one of whom met success whereas the other, in reduced circumstances, left only one work that, though important for its singularity, is of minor account. This essay, involving other local painters and a Florentine in Genoa, prompts reflection on a larger question, that is, how we arrive at a just evaluation of different cultural contexts when the extant material is decidedly unbalanced. Based on the evidence for this case, Siena around 1400, with Taddeo di Bartolo as ambassador, was a powerful propagator of its visual patrimony while Genoa, the larger, more international place, was a receptor. If that was not the reality, how is one to know when the documentary record that helps fill the lack in surviving works is similarly thin for Genoa?

Pietro Gallo's birth date is not known. Probably he arrived in Genoa around 1380 to ply his trade and make his fortune, although he is first documented in the Ligurian capital in 1385. The fact that he was then an heir to the wife of one Marchisio Valle da Sori suggests he had established relations in the city by a considerably earlier date². Presumably a trained painter when he reached the city, perhaps around age 25, he would have been several years older than Taddeo di Bartolo, whose birth is calculated to have been in 1362. In all likelihood Taddeo arrived in Genoa about a decade after Pietro, in later 1390 or 1391, for the first of two sojourns.

When Taddeo and Pietro arrived in Genoa, Barnaba da Modena (Milan, ca. 1330 – Genoa, after 1386) was the major painter in the city³. Pietro joined a heterogeneous group around Barnaba, which comprised a number of other foreign painters and a few local masters. Barnaba, who is documented in Genoa by 1361, was well entrenched when Pietro arrived, but had been dead for a few years by the time Taddeo appeared. He was prolific until around 1386, sending paintings across Liguria, into Piedmont, and beyond to the Alps (fig. 1). Late in his career Barnaba worked for an undefined period, probably not more than a year or two, in Pisa, where Taddeo encountered his paintings, but the two never met. In Genoa, Barnaba had Sienese assistants: Barnaba di Bruno (in 1362) and Sano di Angelo (in the 1380s)⁴. He also had a Florentine aide in Angelo di Bartolomeo (in 1361)⁵. Other Florentines in Genoa were Giovannuccio da Firenze, who worked with a painter from Rapallo, Giovanni Re⁶. Nicolaus Borghi de Florentia, perhaps a painter though not identified as such, was a witness when Taddeo agreed to paint two altarpieces for Cattaneo Spinola in March 1393⁷. When Taddeo had dealings in 1394 with an Albengan banner painter in Genoa, his guarantor throughout his time in Liguria, a witness to their agreement was a Florentine, Pietro Lapi⁸.

Francesco di Michele, a painter from Florence noted in Genoa and Savona, was the most interesting figure in Taddeo's circle of contacts. They must have encountered each other in the capital where Francesco is documented in 1391⁹. No work of any of these masters other than Barnaba, Pietro, or Taddeo survives; we know of them only in the written record¹⁰.

It is curious and unfortunate that painters who lodged long- or short-term in Genoa are not survived by as much as a single painting. An inevitable conclusion is that many were painters of ephemera, objects of quotidian use that perished – signs, standards, shields, furniture, and no doubt many sails for the maritime city and places along its coast. Genoa was a radiant center for all of Liguria and beyond. More important works must have existed, but evidently they were not luxury objects that ensured, or helped ensure, their safeguarding. The number of paintings by Taddeo and Barnaba prove them to be heavily over-represented. It seems that patrons were a smaller pool than elsewhere, for how else does one account for the fact that, compared to other places, so little painting for Genoa or Liguria has come down to us? The half-length *Madonna and Child* apparently was the sort of painting most in demand until Taddeo di Bartolo arrived – or more specifically, until he returned to Liguria a second time, from later 1397 to 1398¹¹.

An impressive *Madonna and Child*, exemplary of the preferred type of painting, is Barnaba da Modena's panel for Pietro Gallo's native Alba, a work dated 1377 for the Franciscans (now in the Cathedral of San Giovanni)¹². The panel plausibly captivated the attention of the young local painter, and even impelled him to approach the renowned master in Genoa. Barnaba's painting at Santi Cosma e Damiano in Genoa has essentially the same composition (fig. 2). There must have been many such panels in the city, and Barnaba sent similar paintings abroad. Pertinent examples in Piedmont are the *Madonna and Child* (1370) of a slightly different composition for the Dominican house at Rivoli, west of Turin (Turin, Galleria Sabauda, 114 x 70 cm), the *Madonna* at Turin (Museo Civico d'Arte Antica, 107 x 72.5 cm), and two others, one in the Giacomo Bergui Collection at Alba, the second at Tortona in San Matteo¹³. In Alba and its region there is no indication of other paintings, whether on panel or murals, that approached the grandeur of effect, the pictorial sophistication, and the delicacy of Barnaba's work.

Taddeo di Bartolo's contact with Barnaba, probably like Pietro Gallo's, predated his arrival in Genoa. In the mid-1390s at Pisa, years sandwiched between Taddeo's two Ligurian sojourns – the first from ca. 1390 to mid-1394; the second from later 1397 to 1398 – he painted a number of altarpieces that demonstrate the impact of paintings Barnaba had made in that city. The clearest indication that the Tuscan studied Barnaba is the resemblance between Barnaba's *Madonna and Child* for the

Merchants' Guild of Pisa (ca. 1385; Pisa, Museo Nazionale di San Matteo; fig. 3) and Taddeo's *Madonna and Child* pentaptych for the Casassi, a mercantile family of the city (Grenoble, Musée de Grenoble; fig. 4). Barnaba's production in Pisa included at least two polyptychs, one for Jacopo Compagno (at Ripoli di Cascina in Santi Andrea e Lucia) on the same model as Taddeo's pentaptych for the Casassi, and the lost *Coronation* altarpiece, a pentaptych for San Francesco, the same church where Taddeo worked at length on the decoration of a chapel with a five-part altarpiece and a fresco cycle¹⁴. Taddeo's second most Barnaba-like panel is his *Madonna and Child* at Budapest (Museum of Fine Arts, no. 1090, 75 x 50.5 cm), conceivably made for Genoa. In the latter painting, Taddeo's figures push to the extreme edges of the panel, which has been cut, indicating that it was originally taller and wider on all sides. Arguably, the work served as the central component of a polyptych.

In Genoa, Taddeo di Bartolo and Pietro Gallo found themselves in a city looking for a leading painter to fill the vacuum when Barnaba ceased work in the later 1380s. That Pietro took up the challenge is announced by the one work that represents him – making him a lucky man in his Ligurian context. An *altarolo*, a panel for personal devotion of modest size (Turin, Museo Civico d'Arte Antica, 78.5 x 68.5 cm) and unknown provenance, is signed at the lower right corner: «Petrus de Alba pinxit»¹⁵ (fig. 5). At the top center of an unusually divided picture field is a *Madonna and Child* of Barnabesque imprint. Mary, shown just to her knees, and the pose of the supine Child across her lap, derive from a composition that Barnaba painted more than once¹⁶.

The second compartment on the spine of Pietro's painting, below the Virgin, is filled with a narrative of the *Stigmatization of Saint Francis* (fig. 6). The composition of this frequently depicted event – but one not known from Barnaba's hand – may imply contact with Taddeo di Bartolo (fig. 7). The seraph, the tree-covered rocky mountains of La Verna, and the architecture are comparable to Taddeo's models, such as the panel in the Siena Pinacoteca (no. 162)¹⁷. Other signs of Taddeo's influence are the transparent veil of the Virgin with a simulated pearl border and the articulated gestures of the saints as they grasp their attributes. These typically Taddesque aspects are not found in Barnaba's work. A date before 1380 has been proposed for Pietro's painting, but Taddeo di Bartolo's influence would require production at least 15 years later¹⁸. The other fields in the small painting, two stacked at the left and two at the right, are filled with standing saints in compartments defined by *pastiglia* framing. As a whole, the *altarolo* is convincing testimony that Pietro reflected the styles of both Barnaba and Taddeo.

Pietro's aspirations for his future in Genoa would have been high. His context there was different from what he knew at Alba or in other urban centers of his native region, for which he probably continued to work after moving to Genoa. Presumably he met with success in the capital, but this deduction is strained by other facts. None of the documents regarding him concerns a commission, and in addition to his patrimony of the *altarolo*, only one other dubious attribution has accrued to him – a triptych of mysterious origin and whereabouts¹⁹. His productivity thus cannot be ascertained, but documents other than that of 1398 concerning the 200-florin fine, with which we began, betray his economic distress. The civic authorities were unlikely to have been duped if his pleas about hardship were a subterfuge. And, if he meant to hide his involvement in his slave's attack on Taddeo by claiming absence in Asti, he need not have traveled so far. One adduces that some professional commitment took him there.

At Genoa, Pietro seems to have been an assistant or collaborator of the painter Giovanni Roccatagliata. The Roccatagliata comprised a family of at least two, maybe three painters, but we have no work by any of them. Giovanni had died by 1394 because Pietro is recorded in a document that year regarding payment to Roccatagliata's widow, Marietta, for the slave Rainaldo, acquired in September from Giovanni's estate²⁰. The notice attests that Pietro was dilatory in paying, to the widow's detriment. In December he was constrained to redress the arrears with her father. We might hope that penury was Pietro's reason for failing to respect his obligation to the wife of a former colleague²¹. In 1397 Pietro figures in another legal matter in Genoa – as a creditor to Gottardo of Milan, an arms maker, raising suspicions about their business²². Poverty seems to have plagued Pietro to the end and then afflicted his widow, Francesca. The notice of Pietro's death by 1 June 1401 comes from a notarial document registering Francesca's plea before the Genoese officials in the Palazzo Comunale for her dowry rights and for widow's weeds²³.

Unlike Pietro Gallo, who would have found in Genoa a richer visual culture than what he knew at Alba or elsewhere in Piedmont, Taddeo confronted a less culturally vital place than Siena, Florence, Lucca, or Pisa – to all of which he had been before arriving in the north around 1390. In Liguria, Taddeo probably worked first at Quarto, a suburb four miles east of Genoa, for a new Olivetan foundation. It is likely that his connection to that place was established in Tuscany through the Olivetan prior Fra Niccolò Faccio, a Pisan who took the helm at San Gerolamo in Quarto in 1388. Fra Niccolò would have recruited Taddeo where both had contacts, at Pisa and/or at Lucca²⁴. At Quarto the prior persuaded leading Ligurian families to sponsor the enlargement and embellishment of the impoverished

house of San Gerolamo, inherited from a failed group of Gerolomiti. Patrons at San Gerolamo included the Spinola. Significantly, Luciano, who intervened for Taddeo in 1398, was the sponsor of a chapel (to the left of the apse) in the church, which was consecrated by 1403²⁵. One might logically, though hypothetically, deduce that Luciano engaged Taddeo at Quarto, where he painted the figures on the triumphal arch by mid-1394 (see fig. 13). If this was the case, the painter settled into an illustrious patronal group at, or near his debut in the north. In 1393, as noted, another Spinola, Cattaneo, commissioned two altarpieces from Taddeo for San Luca, the family church in the center of Genoa (both are lost or misidentified). Additionally, Taddeo's *Madonna and Child* at Santa Maria delle Vigne (fig. 8), near San Luca, found a patron in Spinola relatives, the family of Cattaneo Spinola's father-in-law, Francesco Vivaldi (d. 1390)²⁶. The Vigne *Madonna* must date around 1398. Taddeo's works for San Gerolamo, San Luca, and Santa Maria delle Vigne attest that the Spinola backed him throughout his time in Liguria.

One wonders how Pietro Gallo became such an antagonist of Taddeo di Bartolo so as to prompt a life-threatening attack. A credible scenario is not difficult to construct. Whether rivalry fueled their bitterness cannot be said with certainty, yet the circumstances were ripe for competition that devolved into hostility. In the 1398 document, Pietro attributed their animus to Taddeo's envy («propter invidium»)²⁷, but this was an odd way to express Taddeo's sentiment, which is probably better defined as superiority. Imaginably, the envy flowed in the other direction. Pietro would have been angry with the newcomer who swept like a whirlwind into the city where he had been working for years, to quickly produce a rich body of work. Pietro (d. 1401) lived to see important backers facilitating Taddeo, and for them the Tuscan introduced large and novel paintings.

New evidence shows that Taddeo's *Madonna* in Santa Maria delle Vigne belonged to a polyptych for the high altar. The painting, arguably, employed a new format, grander than anything Pietro or even Barnaba had produced for Genoa. Conjecturally, the Vigne altarpiece was made in accordance with contemporary Tuscan practice – in other words, as a polyptych like those Taddeo had produced for Pisan patrons until later 1397 when he returned to Liguria the second time (see fig. 4). In this case, Taddeo was the agent of the transfer of models that Barnaba had made in Tuscany, but had not himself introduced to Genoa or Liguria.

In the north, Taddeo's geographical range was as impressive as the number of works that distinguished him from his contemporaries. Compared to Pietro Gallo, who perhaps left paintings at Alba and Mondovì, and possibly Asti, Taddeo won commissions across a far broader territory, to the east of Genoa at Quarto, and to the west, from Savona and Finalborgo to more distant places²⁸. According to the

written record (if not to surviving paintings), Taddeo's reach extended along the coast to Nice and possibly Marseille²⁹. He sent his *Baptism of Christ* (1397) inland above San Remo to Santa Maria Assunta at Triora, and almost certainly went to that town. The *Baptism* must have come from a polyptych, none of whose other elements are known. Taddeo probably also worked inland north of Genoa at Busalla, a Spinola stronghold³⁰.

In Taddeo's patrons and in the quantity, caliber, and diffusion of his work, there was much against which Pietro could measure himself and be found wanting. If he was as frustrated as one imagines, Taddeo's own character may also have been an issue. Signs that Taddeo was not an easy personality are recorded on two occasions in Tuscany. In Siena 1412, Taddeo's compatriot and contemporary, the painter Martino di Bartolomeo, said «injurious» words about Taddeo – «per certe parole chel detto maestro Martino disse ingiuriose a maestro Tadeio di Bartalo» – serious enough to be fined by Siena's authorities³¹. Presumably Martino was provoked, and Taddeo denounced him, as he had Pietro Gallo. Like Pietro, Martino was a painter of lesser renown than Taddeo, though of much greater stature than the northern master.

In another dispute Taddeo mounted a case against the heads of the *Societatis sancti Francisci de Vulterris* (Society of Saint Francis at Volterra). In this matter that dragged on from before June to September 1411, Taddeo went before Siene, Florentine, and Volterran authorities due to the «many injuries and damages» he had suffered in what he claimed as the breach of an accord³². He had expected to receive the commission for frescoes in the confraternity's oratory, but the work went instead to another master, the Florentine Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni. The Priors of Siena, in a letter to their counterparts in Volterra, described Taddeo as a «most esteemed citizen of our city» and added that all justice cried out in his favor³³. However, the Volterra Priors retorted that there were two sides to the story, noting that the Siene painter ought not to complain so much³⁴. The confraternity expressed surprise at Taddeo's charges, described him as a «prevaricator» (transgressor), and characterized his claims as untrue and his behavior as lamentable.

At Volterra, as at Genoa, Taddeo initiated the dispute by insisting on his rights before the authorities. Each time he must have been convinced about his claims, and probably that the judgment would go his way. His sense of self-worth was at stake, and his actions denote a strong character and a determined businessman. Even though his case with Pietro Gallo resulted in no more than reestablished peace, Taddeo was sufficiently well positioned at Genoa so that a rationale for his counterpart's envy is not difficult to fathom. The iconography of Pietro Gallo's

altarolo raises the possibility that his patron came from Luciano Spinola's circle, which would have created an immediate context for the painters' antagonism. With the Franciscan saints Anthony of Padua, Louis of Toulouse, and Clare to the sides of the central *Stigmatization of Saint Francis*, Saint Jerome is an unusual presence. He was patron of the Olivetan church at Quarto where Luciano Spinola had endowed a chapel dedicated to the Holy Cross, Saint Bridget, and Saint John the Baptist. Pietro painted the Baptist in the gable opposite Jerome. At the lower right, the saint in white with a tiny devil secured on a chain of this otherwise decidedly Franciscan group including no less than four saints of the Order (the aforementioned Anthony of Padua, Louis of Toulouse, Clare, and Francis), may be a protector of the Olivetans, Saint Benedict or Saint Bernard, the saints Taddeo painted on the triumphal arch in San Gerolamo at Quarto (see fig. 13). Conceivably, the elegant kneeling donor is a female in the Spinola circle.

Taddeo got along well with two painters in Genoa. One was the banner painter, Benedetto of Albenga, who seems to have been a loyal friend. Benedetto lent Taddeo money in 1393 and acted as his guarantor twice, both times when the Sienese master seems to have been leaving Liguria (or at least Genoa) with unfulfilled financial obligations³⁵. As with so many other painters, no works by Benedetto survive, which, in his case, is less surprising because he specialized in *gonfalon*i (processional standards), ephemeral paintings often carried outdoors. The other amicable painter was Nicolò da Voltri (1370? – 1417), the local figure of note because he is represented by a body of work much greater than that of any Ligurian contemporary. Nicolò was from the suburb west of Genoa by which he is known, and before 1386 seems never to have ventured far from his base in the capital. Like Pietro Gallo, he looked first to Barnaba da Modena and then to Taddeo di Bartolo, reflecting the brilliance of the two greater painters. Nicolò's most impressive paintings are deeply influenced by Taddeo's work and documents substantiate a relationship between the two men³⁶.

In the literature Nicolò is judged in conflicting ways. A competent but impressionable artisan lacking in inspiration, he was seen positively by Federigo Alizeri in 1870. Recently, Alfonso Assini credited him with a «ruolo di tutto rispetto» (fully respectable role), but the painter was also characterized as of «debole» (weak) temperament³⁷. Another author augmented Nicolò's stature by redating his activity – traditionally thought to start ca. 1385 – to around 1370³⁸. Lately, Nicolò has been described as «un taddeiano osservante, anche se disuguale» (a follower of Taddeo, albeit an unequal one)³⁹.

Nicolò's most important works are three polyptychs dependent on Tuscan models. Crucially, none of them can be convincingly dated prior to Taddeo's arrival.

In regard to the exchange between the painters, the most telling work is Nicolò's *Annunciation* of 1401 (Papal Apartment, Vatican Palace, Vatican City; 231 x 155 cm; fig. 10). It was made for Santa Maria delle Vigne, for which Taddeo furnished the high altarpiece around 1398. Nicolò's patrons, Luchino and Raffaele Vivaldi, belonged to the Spinola-Vivaldi circle within which Taddeo worked for the same church. Nicolò's *Annunciation* altarpiece is inconceivable without knowledge of Taddeo's Ligurian and Tuscan polyptychs, and the famous Siena Cathedral *Annunciation* altarpiece (1333) by Simone Martini and Lippo Memmi. Such an innovation in format and size as Nicolò's altarpiece would not have sprung *ex novo* from this modest master. His other polyptych for San Colombano in Genoa (Museo di Sant'Agostino, Genoa), at times attributed to Taddeo, shows how closely Nicolò mirrored Taddeo's style in the central figure of Saint Columbanus⁴⁰ (figs. 11, 12). Multi-part altarpieces of such scale and importance were an exponential leap from the half-length Madonna and Child images in Barnaba's tradition that can be credited to Nicolò prior to his contact with Taddeo. New to the capital, Taddeo arguably collaborated with Nicolò on that kind of painting. A little-discussed *Madonna* assigned to Nicolò at San Rocco di Principe, Genoa, may be a joint effort of the two masters, a *bottega* experiment (see fig. 9)⁴¹. Thereafter, Nicolò's horizons in Taddeo's ambient rapidly expanded. Together these painters changed the pictorial *status quo* in regional polyptychs as later commissions to Tuscan painters in Liguria, including Giovanni da Pisa and Turino Vanni, would demonstrate.

One would expect Taddeo's impact on fresco painting in Liguria to be comparable with his influence on panel painting. In the late Trecento, fresco paintings in Liguria were rare even though time has shown that many works were lost (like an important commission to Nicolò da Voltri), or hidden (like Taddeo's single mural in Genoa itself)⁴². As with panel painting, Taddeo's catalogue of frescoes in the north is far more abundant than that of any other master of the period (but is paltry at that). Barnaba da Modena is known for one fresco in Sant'Agostino, a *Last Judgment* that can be likened to the semi-dome that Taddeo painted with *Christ as Judge* in Genoa's venerable church of Santa Maria di Castello⁴³. Located above the port, the church was the devotional site of the Guild of Caulkers (or *Calafati*), an important organization in sea-faring Genoa. Nicolò da Voltri's substantial fresco commission of 1388, a lost work with which he may well have made his mark, was for 24 figures of saints and the Evangelists in the tribune of the church of Santa Maria Coronata in the Polcevera valley outside Genoa⁴⁴.

For Taddeo's Castello fresco, a date during his second sojourn at the end of the 1390s is appropriate. In that case, the commission postdated his figures of Saints Bernard and Benedict in fictive niches in San Gerolamo at Quarto (fig. 13).

The Olivetan saints, apparently produced at the end of Taddeo's first Ligurian trip (ca. 1393-1394), would have been painted after his frescoes at Savona, probably of later 1391, by which time he would already have been at Quarto. The lost figures of saints in the Savona Cathedral of Sancte Maria Maioris may have been Taddeo's debut frescoes in Liguria, and perhaps his earliest frescoes as an independent master. Mural training would have been part of his apprenticeship in Siena, which imaginably began about 1375. By the time Taddeo first reached Liguria, presumably he was committed to paint Datuccia Sardi's sacristy chapel in San Francesco at Pisa, which he completed with a polyptych in 1395 and a full series of Marian frescoes including niche saints similar to those at Quarto in 1397 (fig. 14). The Quarto saints are less confident works than those at Pisa; they are less volumetric, more static, and their niches are less spatially audacious – factors that indicate an earlier date. By the time Taddeo returned to Liguria in later 1397, his splendid achievement in the San Francesco chapel at Pisa may have paved his way with local patrons, particularly for murals.

The frescoes Taddeo painted at Savona are of interest as a collaborative effort with a Florentine about whom little is known, Francesco di Michele, who had initiated the commission on 7 March 1391, but abandoned it⁴⁵. The painters must have known one another before Taddeo was engaged at Savona, where Francesco is documented in 1387, because Taddeo agreed to collect part of the payment due him by the Cathedral *massari* (board of works) from Francesco who had been given an advance. Francesco's whereabouts were unknown to the *massari* when they engaged Taddeo to complete their project. The Florentine is documented at Genoa in 1391, which makes that city the place where Taddeo knew Francesco and expected to collect what he was owed. It is unthinkable that Taddeo would have approached an unknown man, a Florentine at that, to ask for money due. Perhaps Francesco passed word of the stalled commission to Taddeo after abandoning Savona.

Taddeo's name has been associated, foreseeably but erroneously, with two other fresco cycles: one at Finalborgo, near the coast past Savona; the second inland just beyond the Ligurian border in the Piedmont castle of Saliceto, slightly northeast of Millesimo⁴⁶. The latter attribution is the more interesting for it shows that Taddeo's influence percolated into what Pietro Gallo must have considered his territory, thus putting the Tuscan on Barnaba's heels to infiltrate the north⁴⁷. The frescoes at Finalborgo and Saliceto, though unrelated *per se*, are bound by a loose connective thread of sponsorship. Finalborgo was the base of the powerful Del Carretto family, whose hold also at Savona extended north through the valley of the Bormida River and the Langhe to Monferrato and the Piedmont plain. The Del

Carretto family had made the Dominican church of Santa Caterina at Finalborgo their burial place. Here, in the Oliveri Chapel (at the head of the right aisle) are the frescoes in question, the richest (though badly damaged) cycle of the region and the time. These works, in which more than one hand can be discerned, have been attributed to Taddeo di Bartolo and Francesco di Michele. Correspondingly, the proposed date is at the end of the Trecento⁴⁸. On visual grounds, the claims for these painters owe more to the desire for a name than to grounded conviction.

No fresco at Santa Caterina is sustainable as Taddeo's work, but he can be credited a hand in the panel of the *Madonna and Child with Donors* from the church (Savona, Pinacoteca Civica, 101 x 63 cm)⁴⁹. The author of an early publication proposed that the painting was the Oliveri Chapel altarpiece, possibly even before the space was frescoed. He supplied no grounds for his assertion, even if legitimately one might conclude that sponsorship of the Savona *Madonna* fell within range of Del Carretto patronage. Finalborgo is a place where Taddeo's presence is ascertained at some time before 1398 by a document⁵⁰.

The frescoes in the castle at Saliceto, 35 kilometers north of Savona, fill an unusual space of modest scale that opens from the inner courtyard⁵¹ (fig. 15). Once this bay may have been accessed from the facade. Probably the site was not a chapel because three doors obviate the placement of an altar easy to officiate. An accurate reading of the murals is precluded by their damaged condition, yet they always would have sent mixed signals about the origins of at least two painters working in different phases. The narrative scenes allude to the Incarnation: *A Nativity with the Annunciation to the Shepherds* on the rear wall is flanked on the right by an effaced *Annunciation* (above a door), and on the left by an even more badly damaged *Pietà* in a lunette above a door (figs. 16-17). An off-center niche painted at later date by a second hand opens in the rear wall. Its decoration consists of two monochrome heads, two coats of arms, and, in the vault, the *Mystic Lamb*⁵². The greater damage of the lateral walls by the elements prompted some repainting. In the barrel vault, a nearly effaced *Trinity* is surrounded by symbols of the Evangelists. Here, as at Finalborgo, an attribution of the narratives to Taddeo or to Francesco should be discounted – in Taddeo's case on the grounds of style, in Francesco's because no secure painting from his hand is known⁵³.

Two easily copied motifs, a tortile column and a border pattern, constitute a Taddesque mark on the murals. Though minor in the general scheme, these details speak loudly to distinguish the murals at Saliceto from the corpus of Piedmontese frescoes⁵⁴. The executant (or executants) perhaps had worked with Taddeo, and certainly knew his Ligurian murals. The column at the left of the *Annunciation*, one of two framing elements and the only one still legible, has an aggressively

twisted shaft, so energetically spiraling that it seems to move⁵⁵ (fig. 17). It calls to mind the column Taddeo painted in San Gerolamo at Quarto (fig. 18), and others in his chapel at Pisa of 1397. By comparison with Quarto, the column at Saliceto differs in particulars, such as the fictive *opus sectile* decoration of the shaft and the richer foliate forms of the perspectival capital. Nevertheless, it remains a signature form. The illusionistic columns enclosing a mural of Saint Christopher in Liguria in the church of San Giorgio at Balestrina (Albenga) reveal the distinctive qualities of Taddeo's columns at Quarto and of those at Saliceto⁵⁶.

The second noteworthy component of the castle decoration is the patterned border of the *Nativity* (see fig. 16). In color, breadth, and the geometric design of a six-pointed star within running linear borders, the pattern relates to ones that Taddeo painted at Quarto and elsewhere⁵⁷. A second pattern of interlocking foliage corresponds to that in the Pisa chapel⁵⁸. A survey of border patterns in Ligurian and Piedmontese frescoes reveals the singularity of the Saliceto designs, thus, they too, can be taken as signs of "foreign" models. Though literally peripheral, the column and the border details, like the narrative scenes, speak for breadth of reference in the Saliceto painter(s). The unattributable *Annunciation* and *Nativity* compositions are generally informed by Tuscan models.

A context for the intersection of the anonymous Saliceto painters with the Sienese master is found in two coats of arms in the recessed niche that punctures the *Nativity* wall. The heraldry belongs to the Del Carretto owners of the castle in the late Tre- and early Quattrocento, signaling that the mural commission resulted from exchanges within the family's ambient⁵⁹. Notably, the Del Carretto were allies of the Spinola in the early Trecento, while the Genoese family was exiled from the capital. Contact between Taddeo and the Del Carretto at Finalborgo (perhaps in connection with his *Madonna* from the Del Carretto church) and conceivably at Savona (in relation to the cathedral commission) would be the precondition to the filtering of Taddeo's pictorial repertoire north within the family's sphere of influence. At Santa Caterina and vicariously at Saliceto, the family's awareness of the Sienese master is part of the greater Del Carretto world. The family sent Ilaria Del Carretto (d. 1405) as bride to Paolo Guinigi at Lucca, and more pertinently, Giorgio Del Carretto was at Siena as lieutenant of Giangaleazzo Visconti after Milan assumed overlordship of the city in 1399. He took up residence in Siena in April 1402⁶⁰. Pietro Gallo, too, may have had Del Carretto contacts in his native Alba, since a Del Carretto wore the bishop's miter continuously from 1369 to 1418.

The fact that Taddeo's shadow in the north falls as far inland as Saliceto enmeshes him in a web that extends to other cities in the Piedmont, the region of Pietro Gallo's origins⁶¹. Pietro's single surviving painting leaves *terra incognita*

along his path, but his route to Genoa alone is evidence for commerce between Liguria and Piedmont at the time of Taddeo's northern sojourns. Attention to the late Trecento Piedmontese Masters of Montiglio and of Viatosto, whose work seems to bear on the Saliceto frescoes, may one day shed light on the intriguing amalgamated style of the region⁶². In their telling details the Saliceto frescoes are solid evidence of a Tuscan "advance" in the area, and Taddeo di Bartolo was, by surrogate, at its forefront. The adoption of two of his motifs reflects extensive transmission of his models in the province of an artistic and a patronal community selective about the work that they produced.

- 1 In the process of procuring images, I acknowledge the generosity of the Fondazione Torino Musei for the *altare* of Pietro Gallo, in particular Barbara Nepote. Apologies for the quality of the images of the Saliceto frescoes, which I could not trace in any public photo archive. For 29 May 1398, see Archivio di Stato di Genova (henceforth ASG), Archivio Segreto, Diversorum, 498, ff. 144r-145r; published by F. Alizeri, *Notizie dei professori di disegno in Liguria dalle origini al secolo XVI*, vol. I, Genova, 1870, pp. 184-188.
- 2 *Ivi*, p. 184.
- 3 In addition to the numerous works that attest his productivity, Barnaba decorated the chapel in the Ducal Palace, made a painting for the building, and restored a painting in the Loggia dei Banchi (*ivi*, p. 133).
- 4 *Ivi*, pp. 130-132, 156-157, for the Sienese assistants. There was also a painter from Padua, Giovanni di Giorgio, active 1369-1388; *ivi*, pp. 149-150.
- 5 *Ivi*, pp. 130-132; 153, for Angelo da Firenze.
- 6 *Ivi*, pp. 139; 153, for Giovannuccio da Firenze.
- 7 For Nicolo Borghi, ASG, Notai Antichi, 312, ff. 160v-161r, for 15 March 1393 (Andreolo Caito, 1392-1393); published by Alizeri, *Notizie*, cit., pp. 178-179, note 1; and here.
- 8 ASG, Notai Antichi, 419, f. 192r, for 18 July 1394; published by Alizeri, *Notizie*, cit., pp. 179-181, esp. p. 180, note 4.
- 9 See A. Nicolini, *Taddeo di Bartolo a Savona: la più antica presenza in Liguria del pittore senese*, in «Sabazia. Quaderni di storia, arte, archeologia», 4, 1983, pp. 5-7, esp. p. 5. Francesco di Michele recognized a debt of 12 florins to a citizen of Savona, Giovanni Gara. Alizeri (*Notizie*, cit., p. 157, note 2) published it without a specific date, citing a register of the notary Revelino, with whom Taddeo di Bartolo also did business. By 1387 Francesco is documented in Savona.
- 10 The locations of their shops are noted; see A. Assini, *Nicolò da Voltri e Taddeo di Bartolo: un documento apparentemente oscuro*, in «Studi di Storia delle Arti. Università di Genova», 8, 1995-1996, pp. 15-26, esp. p. 20. A master who claims a single painting is Francesco d'Oberto, responsible for the lunette of the *Madonna and Child and Saints* of 1368 (Genoa, Accademia Ligustica di Belle Arti).
- 11 E. Rossetti Brezzi, *Tra Piemonte e Liguria*, in *Primitivi piemontesi nei musei di Torino*, ed. by G. Romano, Torino, 1996, pp. 15-38, esp. p. 18, characterized such paintings as archaizing, but they were not consciously archaizing.

- 12 *Ivi*, pp. 16-17.
- 13 For these works, *ivi*, pp. 16-18, notes 4-5.
- 14 Barnaba's *Coronation* was described by A. Da Morrona, *Pisa illustrata nelle arti del disegno*, Pisa, 1793, vol. 3, p. 73. The central panel has been proposed as the homeless painting from the Hurd Collection, New York, with unconfirmed measurements of 86.5 x 56 cm.
- 15 For detailed images, see *Pittura e miniatura del Trecento in Piemonte*, ed. by G. Romano, Torino, 1997, figs. 5-9. In 1995 the panel was acquired from a private collector who believed it to be a Spanish work. In good condition, the painting was restored when it entered the Turin museum. See F. Zeri, *Un piemontese a Genova verso la fine del Trecento: Pietro da Alba, Diari di Lavoro 2*, Torino, 1976, pp. 27-29, figs. 14-15; E. Rossetti Brezzi, *Pietro d'Alba*, in *Opere d'arte e oggetti preziosi da Palazzo Madama: il tesoro della città*, exh. cat., Torino, Palazzina di Caccia di Stupinigi 1996, ed. by S. Pettenati, G. Rotondi, Torino, 1996, p. 12, no. 9; *ead.*, *Tra Piemonte*, cit., pp. 15-38, 22, 23, note 16; G. Algeri, *La presenza ligure di Taddeo di Bartolo e la prima produzione di Nicolò da Voltri*, in G. Algeri, A. De Floriani, *La Pittura in Liguria: il Medioevo: secoli XII–XIV*, Genova, 2011, pp. 273-274.
- 16 The gables are not attached, but are integral parts of the support. Barnaba adopted similar carpentries.
- 17 For the *Stigmatization* by Taddeo (48.9 x 30.8 cm support; 42.5 x 30.7 cm paint surface), see P. Torriti, *La Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena*, 2 vols., Genoa, 1977-1978, vol. 1., *I dipinti dal XII al XV secolo*, 1977; 2nd ed. in 1 vol., *I dipinti*, Genoa, 1980; 3rd ed. in 1 vol., Genoa, 1990, pp. 134-135. See also Taddeo's predella panel on the 1411 pentaptych altarpiece in Volterra, Pinacoteca Civica, no. 21. The architecture Pietro Gallo adopted for the La Verna chapel derives from the model church in the hands of Saint Dominic on Taddeo's ca. 1390 altarpiece for San Miniato (Turin, Galleria Sabauda, Gualino Collection; 194 x 131 cm). For these works, see Gail E. Solberg, *Taddeo di Bartolo: His Life and Work*, Ph.D. Diss., New York University, 1991, pp. 1117-1125, 1161-1171; *ead.*, in *Taddeo di Bartolo*, exh. cat., Perugia, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria 2020, ed. by G. Solberg, Milano, 2020, pp. 152-153; 340-341.
- 18 For the pre-1380 date, see Rossetti Brezzi, *Tra Piemonte*, cit., p. 26, in which Giovanni Romano proposed a later date on the basis of the high-necked gown of the donor. Zeri, *Un piemontese*, cit., p. 29, suggested 1385-1401; Algeri, *La presenza*, cit., p. 274, the 1390s.
- 19 Artnet.com reveals a triptych credited to him in an online auction of 12 September 2012. The winged painting (57.3 x 75 cm) on a base shows the *Crucifixion* at center, a standing male saint on each wing, and the *Annunciation* in the gables above. It is impossible to pronounce on this work.
- 20 Alizeri, *Notizie*, cit., p. 159. The price of the slave was 75 lire.
- 21 *Ivi*, pp. 184-185, 185, note 1, with citation to the notary Oberto Foglietta senior with whom Taddeo did business in 1398.
- 22 *Ivi*, p. 184, note 1, for Gottardo.
- 23 *Ibid.*
- 24 At Lucca, Fra Niccolò had commissioned an altarpiece for the Olivetan house at Rome of which he was then head. Taddeo, documented in Pisa, Lucca, and Florence before 1393, arguably was in Lucca from the later 1380s and in Pisa ca. 1390. See Gail E. Solberg, *Taddeo di Bartolo, Siena's Painter in the Early Quattrocento* forthcoming, Brepols, 2020, chapter 3.

- 25 See M. Cataldi Gallo, *Il complesso olivetano di San Gerolamo di Quarto a Genova: cenni storici sulle origini del complesso in Nicolò Corso: un pittore per gli Olivetani: arte in Liguria alla fine del Quattrocento*, exh. cat., La Spezia, Palazzo della Provincia, Le Grazie di Portovenere, and Refettorio dell'ex Monastero Olivetano 1986, ed. by G. Rotondi Terminiello, Genova, 1986, pp. 57-68, esp. pp. 58, 62; G. Rossini, *La chiesa di San Gerolamo e l'architettura religiosa del Quattrocento a Genova e in Liguria*, in *ivi*, pp. 69-80, esp. p. 77.
- 26 Francesco was married to Margarita Spinola.
- 27 ASG, Archivio Segreto, Diversorum, 498, f. 144v.
- 28 It has been intimated that Pietro worked at Mondovì in the wake of the appointment of the Genoese Damiano Zoagli in 1388. Zoagli was the town's first bishop, presumably offering art commissions shortly after his installation. See Rosetti Brezzi, *Tra Piemonte*, cit., pp. 20-21. It may be more than coincidental that a member of the Zoagli family, Dexterino de'Zualio quondam Baldasalis, witnessed the document about the slave Gallo bought from Roccatagliata's estate; see the citation at note 20 above.
- 29 A lost painting of the *Redeemer Blessing* by Taddeo is recorded at Marseille in a 1931 photograph preserved in the Biblioteca Berenson Fototeca, Florence, and in the Fondazione Longhi, Bologna (inv. 22776).
- 30 ASG, Notari Antichi, 446, f. 99r, of Oberto Foglietta senior; 1387-1403 for 18 September 1398; Alizeri, *Notizie*, cit., 190-191, note 1, is a document that lists Busalla as a place Taddeo would have been.
- 31 Archivio di Stato di Siena (henceforth ASS), Concistoro, 2496, f. 185r (Libro dei Coffani; 1407 September 1-1413 December 31) for 31 August 1412; published by S. Borghesi, L. Banchi, *Nuovi documenti per la storia dell'arte senese: appendice alla raccolta dei documenti pubblicati dal Comm(endatore) Gaetano Milanese*, Siena, 1898; reprint Soest, 1970, p. 112.
- 32 Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Signori e Collegi, Deliberazioni Fatte in Forza Speciale Autorità, no. 15, ff. 19v-20r, for 2 July 1411; published by Borghesi, Banchi, *Nuovi documenti*, cit., pp. 69-70.
- 33 For the Sienese response of 18 September 1411 in which Taddeo is referred to as «dilectissimi civis nostri», see ASS, Concistoro 1608, f. 92v; published by G. Milanese, *Documenti per la storia dell'arte senese*, Siena, 1854, 3 vols.; reprint Soest, 1969, vol. 2, p. 49, no. 30.
- 34 See ASS, Concistoro 1878, int. no. 67, for 30 September 1411, and int. no. 78, also for 30 September; published by Milanese, *Documenti*, cit., vol. 2, pp. 49-51, no. 31. See also Solberg, *Taddeo di Bartolo*, forthcoming, cit., chapter 17, on this dispute and for one unpublished letter.
- 35 For the loan of 16 August 1393, see ASG, Notari Antichi, 313, f. 207r (Notary Andreolo Caito; 1393-1396); Alizeri, *Notizie*, cit., pp. 176-177, note 1; and for surety on 18 July 1394, see the citation at note 8 above. For their later accord of 17 September 1398, see ASG, Notari Antichi, 446, f. 98v (Notary Oberto Foglietta seniore; 1387-1403); published by Alizeri, *Notizie*, cit., p. 189, note 1.
- 36 For the document of 1394 naming the two painters together (cited at note 8 above), see Assini, *Nicolò da Voltri e Taddeo di Bartolo*, cit., p. 19.
- 37 See Alizeri, *Notizie*, cit., pp. 201-209; Assini, *Nicolò da Voltri e Taddeo di Bartolo*, cit., p. 19; Algeri, *La presenza*, cit., p. 279, for a «respectable role»; and F. Renzo Pesenti, *Un apporto emiliano e la situazione figurativa locale*, in *La pittura a Genova e il Liguria*, ed. by E. Poggi, C. Bozzo Dufour, Genova, 1970, vol. 1. *Dagli inizi al Cinquecento*, pp. 49-74, esp. p. 64 (rev. and enlarged, Genova, 1987, pp. 45-70), for a «weak temperament».

- 38 M. Migliorini, *Nuove Acquisizioni sull'attività giovanile di Nicolò da Voltri*, in «Studi di storia delle arti. Università di Genova», 8, 1995-1996, pp. 1-14, esp. p. 2.
- 39 C. Di Fabio, *Giovanni di Pietro, un pittore pisano a Genova nel primo Quattrocento. Approfondimenti, inediti e questioni di contesto*, in *Le arti a Pisa nel primo Rinascimento / The Arts in Pisa during the Early Renaissance*, ed. by D. C. Ahl, G. de Simone, Pisa, 2018, pp. 83-109, esp. p. 88, special issue of «Predella. Journal of Visual Arts», 13-14, 2016.
- 40 The comparison was made by Migliorini, *Nuove Acquisizioni*, cit., p. 7. A third altarpiece by Nicolò was for San Pietro in Vesima, Genoa (now in private hands in the Castello Gabbiano in Piemonte).
- 41 For the San Rocco painting, see G. Solberg, in *Taddeo di Bartolo*, exh. cat., cit., pp. 176-177; 348-349.
- 42 Taddeo's *Redeemer* mural was hidden from view when the Caulkers' Chapel was redecorated with a lower dome in the early seventeenth century. When a door was cut to gain access to the space in the 1960s, the fresco was discovered and detached. An inscription with the dedication by the Calafati was left in place.
- 43 Similarities between what remains of Taddeo's mural and the single fresco to survive from Barnaba da Modena's hand, a *Last Judgment* at Sant'Agostino in Genoa, suggest that Taddeo's program was like Barnaba's, extending down the wall to include the *Resurrection of the Saved and the Damned at the End of Time*.
- 44 Migliorini, *Nuove Acquisizioni*, cit., p. 2.
- 45 For Francesco di Michele, see Alizeri, *Notizie*, cit., p. 157; and Nicolini, *Taddeo di Bartolo a Savona*, cit., p. 5. Francesco is without a corpus in Liguria whereas there have been disputed efforts to build him a Tuscan body of work from the paintings assigned to the Master of San Martino a Mensola; see L. Bellosi, *Francesco di Michele, Il Maestro di San Martino*, in «Paragone», 419-423, 1985, pp. 57-63; and the critique by A. Ladis, *The Reflective Memory of a Late Trecento Painter: Speculations on the Origins and Development of the Master of San Martino a Mensola*, in «Arte Cristiana», 80, 752, 1992, pp. 323-334. Bellosi (p. 62) doubted whether the painters in Tuscany and Liguria were the same person. The dates make it improbable that they were different individuals.
- 46 In the first publication of the frescoes, D. Olivieri, *Gli Affreschi della cappella del Castello di Saliceto*, in «Sabazia», 15, 1993, pp. 5-8, dubbed the anonymous Ligurian painter the «Maestro di Saliceto» and noted his refined and cultured manner as inspired by Sieneese works. The attribution to Taddeo matured in M.G. Bosco, *Una Proposta per Taddeo di Bartolo a Saliceto*, in «Studi Monregalesi», 1, 1996, pp. 75-78, esp. p. 76. It was accepted by A. Pregliasco, *Saliceto, il nostro paese: frammenti di arte e di storia*, Torino, 1999, p. 86, who wrote: «È quindi evidente che i Marchesi di Finale accompagnarono l'artista nel castello di Saliceto, di loro proprietà». Bosco reported a 1991 restoration of the murals by the Turin Soprintendenza.
- 47 Still fundamental for the Piedmont-Liguria exchange ca. 1400 are: E. Castelnuovo, *Appunti per la storia della pittura gotica in Piemonte in Arte*, in «Arte Antica e Moderna», 4, 1961, pp. 97-111; E. Rossetti Brezzi, *Nuove indicazioni sulla pittura ligure-piemontese tra '300 e '400*, in «Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte», 9, 1978-1979, pp. 13-24.
- 48 For the frescoes, see G.V. Castelnuovi, *I Dipinti*, in *La chiesa e il convento di Santa Caterina a Finalborgo (Studi e prospettive per il recupero di un monumento)*, conf. proc., Finale Ligure, Civico Museo del Finale, 21-22 June 1980, Genova, 1982, pp. 47-92; he credited a Tuscan

master. G. Algeri, *Ai confini del Medioevo, dal Trecento al Quattrocento: la pittura in una regione 'di frontiera'*, in *La Pittura in Liguria: Il Quattrocento*, ed. by G. Algeri, A. De Floriani, Genova, 1991, pp. 17-224, esp. pp. 36-41, assigned the cycle to three Tuscan hands, and saw Taddeo as the latest of them, working in the early 1390s. In 2011, Algeri, *La presenza*, cit., pp. 265-269, restated this argument.

- 49 The panel was taken from Santa Caterina by 1798, and acquired by housemaids of the priest in 1885 as «scuola di Giotto». See Castelnovi, *I Dipinti*, cit., pp. 5-6, note 4, who cited Archivio di Stato di Savona, Registro deliberazioni commissione per l'impianto a conservazione di una Pubblica Pinacoteca dal 1867 [...] for 15 July. The *Madonna* has been attributed to Barnaba da Modena and to Nicolò da Voltri; for the attributions, see *ivi*.
- 50 ASG, Notai Antichi, 446, f. 99r, for 18 September 1398; published by Alizeri, *Notizie*, cit., p. 190, note 1.
- 51 The space is 3.29 m wide and 4.17 m in height. A. Semenzato, *Affreschi per i Del Carretto*, in Romano, *Pittura e miniatura*, cit., pp. 137-139, esp. 138, note 135. Semenzato concluded that originally the space may not have opened on the courtyard. Rebuilding over the centuries, particularly in the Cinquecento, deformed the site, part of which was walled up for an undetermined reason and period. For the condition in 1991, when the asymmetrical niche in the back wall was reopened by Augusto Pregliasco, see Romano, *ivi*, fig. 91 (color). At that time Antonio Rava restored the paintings for the Soprintendenza dei Beni of Turin. For a later photograph, see F. Volpera, *Dipinti murali e cicli decorativi del Ponente nella prima metà del Trecento*, in Algeri, De Floriani, *La Pittura in Liguria: Il Medioevo*, cit., pp. 165-178, 242, fig. 6. Volpera designated the space a chapel.
- 52 The coats of arms are in fictive marble frames low on the lateral walls. Probably of the early Quattrocento, the monochrome heads also face each other across the niche from *tromp-l'oeil* apertures: at the left a female; at the right an androgynous physiognomy. Of mysterious and contested identity, they draw on a Tuscan and Siense tradition as certain heads by Taddeo and his contemporaries of similarly fine and sharp contour demonstrate. The surrounding vegetal motifs, particularly the springy vines, reflect the transalpine characteristics of Piedmontese painting. For various identifications of the two heads, as women of the court, see Olivieri, *Gli Affreschi della cappella*, cit., p. 8, note 17; as sons of the patrons or as virtues, see Semenzato, *Affreschi*, cit., pp. 138, 139, note 136; as Justice and Charity or as Saints Mary and Anne, see Pregliasco, *Saliceto, il nostro paese*, cit., p. 87. Bosco, *Una proposta*, cit., p. 78, compared the female head with Taddeo's *Saint Catherine* at the New Orleans (La.), Museum of Art.
- 53 Rossetti Brezzi, *Tra Piemonte*, cit., p. 22, note 15, noted the works as «avvicinabili» to Francesco di Michele; Semenzato (*Affreschi*, cit., p. 139) was of the same opinion. Semenzato assigned a date of 1385-1395 for both the narrative scenes and the monochrome heads, and qualified the works as the highest quality frescoes of the Trecento in the immediate region (the area of Cuneo), especially for their spatial and naturalistic effects. F. Volpera, *Dipinti murali e cicli decorativi del Ponente nella seconda metà del Trecento*, in Algeri, De Floriani, *La Pittura in Liguria: Il Medioevo*, cit., pp. 237-263, esp. p. 241, proposed instead Giovanni di Nicola, Nicolò di Tommaso, and Tommaso del Mazza.
- 54 See Romano, *Pittura e miniatura del Trecento*, cit., for images of an array of works in Piedmont and for bibliography.
- 55 The *Annunciation* itself survives in little more than the incised contour lines and remnants of raised haloes. Bosco, *Una Proposta*, cit., p. 77, described the column as «quasi una firma»

(almost a signature) because it is identical to Taddeo's other columns. One may note, in addition to the colonnettes framing the figures on the altar wall of the Pisa chapel, those between Taddeo's *Uomini Famosi* in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena.

- 56 For Balestrina, see F. Volpera, *Dipinti murali e cicli decorativi del Ponente nella prima metà del Trecento*, in Algeri, De Florian, *La Pittura in Liguria: Il Medioevo*, cit., pp. 169-172, esp. p. 170, fig. 6. Volpera's date of 1320-1330 seems to be too early. The chapel at Balestrina, interestingly enough, contains a *Nativity*, *Annunciation*, and a vault with the symbols of the Evangelists as does the space at Saliceto.
- 57 A similar cosmatesque border is found in the Oliveri Chapel at Finalborgo, where Tuscan influence has been noted. See Volpera, *Dipinti murali e cicli decorativi del Ponente nella seconda metà del Trecento*, cit., pp. 238-239. See also the surround of the Jacopo Ricci fresco of Saints Mary Magdalene, Bartholomew, and Anthony Abbot in Santo Stefano di Massero (Bastia d'Albenga); *ivi*, pp. 253-255, esp. p. 255, fig. 22.
- 58 At Pisa, a pattern of interlocking leaves that opens from a seedpod is like one of the Saliceto border designs.
- 59 From 1390 Saliceto was the seat of Francesco II and Antonio, sons of Corrado II and Luisa Del Carretto, as a concession of the Marchesi of Monferrato. See G. Araldo, *Annotazioni su Saliceto e i suoi marchesi*, in Pregliasco, *Saliceto, il nostro paese*, cit., pp. 91-110, esp. pp. 96-99.
- 60 Giorgio Del Carretto's assignment as a Visconti representative was due to the inclusion of the Del Carretto territory around Saliceto in the dowry of Giangaleazzo's daughter Valentina when she wed Louis of Valois.
- 61 For another fresco in which Taddeo di Bartolo's imprint has been charted, a *Madonna and Child* possibly from Carassone or from San Francesco in Mondovì, now in the sacristy of the Cathedral at Mondovì, see A. Quazza, *Frammenti trecenteschi nel Monregalese*, in «Bollettino della Società Piemontese di Archeologia e di Belle Arti», n. s., 19, 1965, pp. 83-87 and fig. 2; also discussed and illustrated in Semenzato, *Affreschi*, cit., pp. 127-129.
- 62 For these masters, but without any mention of Saliceto, see Romano, *Pittura e miniatura del Trecento*, cit., pp. 56-61, 241-244.



Fig. 1: Top: Map of Piemonte; bottom: Map of Liguria (in green) with Piemonte (to the north), from Liguria: *Attraverso l'Italia*, Servizio Cartografico del Touring Club Italiano, Milano, 1987, p. 236. Additional graphics by Martine C. Barnaby.



Fig. 2: Barnaba da Modena, *Madonna and Child*, 1377, tempera on panel. Genoa, Santi Cosma e Damiano. Photo: Soprintendenza Belle Arti e Paesaggio della Liguria.



Fig. 3: Barnaba da Modena, *The Merchants' Madonna*, ca. 1385, tempera on panel. Pisa, Museo Nazionale di San Matteo. Photo: Soprintendenza Archeologia Belle Arti e Paesaggio per le Province di Pisa e Livorno.



Fig. 4: Taddeo di Bartolo, *Casassi Altarpiece of the Madonna and Child with the Blessed Gherardo Cagnoli and Saints Paul, Andrew, and Nicholas of Bari*, mid-1390s, tempera on panel. Grenoble, Musée de Grenoble. Photo: Musée de Grenoble.



Fig. 5: Pietro Gallo, *Altarolo with Madonna and Child, Stigmatization of Saint Francis, Saints, and a Donor*, 1390s, tempera on panel. Turin, Palazzo Madama, Museo Civico d'Arte Antica. Photo: by concession of Fondazione Torino Musei.



Fig. 6: Pietro Gallo, *Stigmatization of Saint Francis*, detail of *Altarolo*, 1390s, tempera on panel. Turin, Palazzo Madama, Museo Civico d'Arte Antica. Photo: by concession of Fondazione Torino Musei.

Fig. 7: Taddeo di Bartolo, *Stigmatization of Saint Francis*, ca. 1405 (?), tempera on panel. Siena, Pinacoteca, no. 162. Photo: Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali. Soprintendenza B.S.A.E. di Siena, Grosseto, e Arezzo.



Fig. 8: Taddeo di Bartolo, *Madonna and Child*, ca. 1398, tempera on panel. Genoa, Santa Maria delle Vigne. Photo: Ufficio Beni Culturali Ecclesiastici, Genoa.



Fig. 9: Taddeo di Bartolo and Nicolò da Voltri (?), *Madonna and Child*, ca. 1393-1394 (?), tempera on panel. Genoa, San Rocco di Principe. Photo: Ufficio Beni Culturali Ecclesiastici, Genoa.



Fig. 10: Nicolò da Voltri, *Annunciation Altarpiece*, 1401, tempera on panel. Vatican City, Vatican Palace, Papal Apartment. Photo: Musei Vaticani.

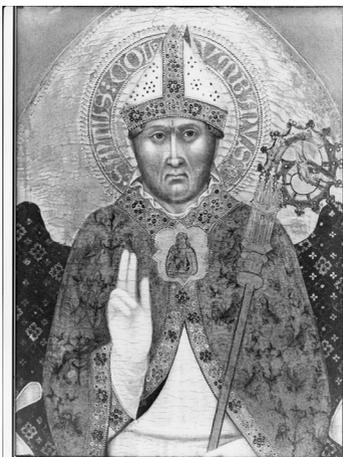


Fig. 11: Nicolò da Voltri, *Saint Columbanus*, ca. 1400 (?), tempera on panel. Genoa, Museo di Sant'Agostino. Photo: Soprintendenza Belle Arti e Paesaggio della Liguria.

Fig. 12: Taddeo di Bartolo, *Saint Geminianus*, detail of a dossal altarpiece, 1401, tempera on panel. San Gimignano, Pinacoteca Civica. Photo by Fabio Lensini, Siena.



Fig. 13: Taddeo di Bartolo, *Saint Bernard*, ca. 1393-1394, fresco. Quarto (Genoa), San Gerolamo, triumphal arch. Photo by Author.



Fig. 14: Taddeo di Bartolo, *Saint Andrew*, 1397, fresco. Pisa, San Francesco, sacristy.
Photo by Fabio Lensini, Siena.



Fig. 15: Anonymous, Saliceto Castle, Frescoed bay that opens from the inner courtyard, first decade of the Quattrocento (?) and later. Photo by Author.



Fig. 16: Anonymous, Saliceto Castle, *Nativity with Annunciation to the Shepherds with border patterns*, first decade of the Quattrocento, fresco. Photo by Author.



Fig. 17: Anonymous, Saliceto Castle, *Annunciation* framed by a twisted column, fresco.
Photo by Author.



Fig. 18: Taddeo di Bartolo, *Twisted Column*, ca. 1393-1394, fresco. Quarto (Genoa), San Gerolamo. Photo by Author.