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Pisa as a Center of Tuscan Painting in the 1390s: The Case of Taddeo di Bartolo*

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

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

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

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

he underwent in the city³ (figs. 1-3). His transformation has to do with matters other than painting style *per se*, for Taddeo's manner was mostly fixed by the time he produced these altarpieces. At Pisa, however, the works of Barnaba da Modena (d. 1386?), another visiting painter, had a demonstrable influence and Taddeo's manner continued to evolve in later years. This paper focuses on Taddeo's adoption of carpentry designs encountered at Pisa, where they had been introduced by Florentine contemporaries. Taddeo's 1395-1398 altarpieces attest his collaboration with a local carpenter working with models different from Sienese polyptychs. Another testament to exchange at Pisa is Taddeo's 1401 altarpiece for Montepulciano, a town in Siena's hinterland (fig. 4). There is no obvious reason why the oversized triptych for a distant patron should have to do with Pisa, but carpentry as well as painting style and composition indicate that Pisa is where the painting was largely produced in the mid-1390s. The Montepulciano triptych reinforces the thesis that Pisa was a formative place⁴.

Taddeo's 1395 Casassi altarpiece for San Paolo all'Orto looks decidedly unlike his only securely dated polyptych of earlier date, the 1389 painting for Collegalli, near San Miniato al Tedesco in Lucca's diocese (private collection) because of its broader proportions and more open, probably undivided lateral fields⁵ (fig. 5). The main registers alone are a good indication of the differences. The proportions of the 1389 pentaptych are in keeping with the formats adopted by Taddeo's compatriots at Siena, which typically present narrow compartments compressing the saints, whereas the 1395 Casassi pentaptych adheres to the model of numerous Florentine works, like Spinello Aretino's 1391 painting for an oratory at Lucca, the nearby Tuscan city in symbiosis often difficult with Pisa⁶. At Florence, Spinello's format was the standard model for a midsize altar painting⁷ (fig. 6). Taddeo's second Sardi altarpiece for Pisa, probably of 1397-1398, conforms to the model of the Casassi painting as reconstructed from dismembered parts⁸ (figs. 2-3). Its origin is the Pisan church of San Martino where Simone Sardi was *fabbricciaio* (member of the works board). That the woodwork model was extraneous to Siena and for Taddeo a "foreign" appropriation is the conclusion drawn from the fact that in subsequent years he did not again work on a polyptych with proportions like those of the Casassi painting or its San Martino offshoot, at least not at Siena. Volterra, where Florentine culture likewise dominated, is another place where, in 1411, Taddeo consigned a similarly designed pentaptych⁹. The carpentry of Taddeo's Pisan paintings therefore is an indication of his adaptation to the Pisan environment¹⁰.

The fact that the Casassi and the Sardi families commissioned a Sienese painter yet directed that he work on a carpentry model alien to his own types is explained

by the patrons' context. Florentine painters and altarpieces with Florentine formats predominated in late Trecento Pisa as a consequence of the city's political orientation. Pisa and Florence had been in close rapport through decades of pro-Florence politics by Pisa's leader, Pietro Gambacorta, whose economic policies benefitted the mercantile class that produced art patrons, among them Taddeo's clients. Taddeo's sponsors seem to have known one another, and they acted as a group ordering paintings with frameworks of Florentine model.

In itself the woodwork of an altarpiece speaks for a notion of style distinct from that of painted forms, yet little is it recognized that carpentry was a communicative aspect of a panel painting. Viewers perceived size, contour, and other frame features before they read painted forms, so the support on which the forms were painted had its own aesthetic effect¹¹. Across medieval and Renaissance Tuscany, a carpenter's method of work was basically standard, but in the dominating schools of Siena and Florence, carpenters produced structures of appreciably different conformation. This is clearer in the later than in the earlier Trecento when Siena's influence in the altarpiece genre had waned, and it is also true that the lines of differentiation were never indelibly drawn. In theory, a patron or a painter (to whom responsibility for the wood support was often allocated) could order any given format yet in practice they followed local norms. The nature of a carpenter's art made him less readily mobile than a painter with the result that carpentry design (as opposed to construction method) tended to be locally rooted. In the 1390s, in Pisa as well as in Liguria, Taddeo painted on carpentry supports made *in situ*¹².

Taddeo's first altarpiece for the Sardi family of 1395 was early evidence of an orientation at Pisa to Florentine woodwork models¹³ (fig. 1). The pentaptych for the sacristy chapel at San Francesco commissioned by the widow Datuccia was removed from its site like the Casassi painting and suffered drastic dismemberment. A recent reconstruction following the recovery of two panels from the five-part main register and the survival of several saints from lateral buttresses confirm that, at Pisa, Taddeo worked on carpentry of wide proportions unusual for Siena¹⁴. Although all the pinnacle panels are missing from the Sardi painting, the proportions of the main tier suggest that it developed above like the splendid polyptych by the Pisan painter Cecco di Pietro (ca. 1375) for the Olivetan church outside Pisa at Agnano¹⁵ (fig. 7). Cecco's patron was inspired by Florentine altarpieces with shapes like Taddeo Gaddi's pentaptych at San Giovanni Fuoricivitas at Pistoia (ca. 1353) and Giovanni del Biondo's in the sacristy chapel of Santa Croce at Florence (1379)¹⁶ (fig. 8). The latter pentaptych was also the obvious model for Taddeo's Sardi altarpiece, destined for the cognate space

in the Franciscan church at Pisa. Del Biondo's painting, like Cecco's, presents lateral compartments proportionally as broad as Taddeo's surmounted by paired three-quarter length saints as wide as the lower elements. The Franciscan overseers of the Pisan widow's project (and perhaps Datuccia herself) apparently directed Taddeo to the Florentine model and perhaps sent him to see it. Naturally Franciscan houses looked to one another as they generated artworks, so the key facts for the Sienese painter are that the Florentine carpentry model was current in Pisa, whereas his own city was not part of the interchange in which he took part.

In Taddeo's sacristy altarpiece, testimony of artistic trade with Florence exists in the iconography as well as the carpentry. The Madonna of Humility theme of the Sardi altarpiece—Mary sitting on the ground with her Child—has roots that go back to Taddeo's illustrious forebear, Simone Martini, who seems to have developed the type for a domestic panel at Siena about 1340¹⁷. Subsequently, the subject was applied in numbers of Sienese works for private devotion, though Florentines appear to have been the first to introduce the theme in a monumental painting. Giovanni del Biondo's Madonna of Humility, who does not nurse, is protected from the ground because she sits on a low chair, whereas typically the Humility Madonna, as in the Florentine Puccio di Simone's pentaptych of ca. 1350-1360, is seated on the ground as a Madonna del Latte, like Taddeo's Virgin¹⁸. Pisa appears to be the place where a Sienese iconography mediated at Florence was realized by a Sienese painter on a Florentine carpentry model, itself mediated at Pisa by a local master.

For Taddeo, fruitful contact with Florentine painters took place at Florence as well as at Pisa. Whether or not he made a targeted trip to Florence in connection with Datuccia's commission, he is documented in the city before 1393, and would have returned in ensuing years¹⁹. Taddeo's greatest interest in Florence would have been high altar paintings, those works of great dimensions and rich figuration that, on one hand, tested the limits of statics for the genre of multipart wood constructions and, on the other, challenged programmatic limits by extensive pictorial schemes. All the major Florentine churches boasted a painting of the kind, a couple of them older works from Sienese hands (those of Ugolino di Nerio at Santa Croce and Santa Maria Novella from the later 1320s). The most impressive examples at century's end were by Florentines active at Pisa and their colleagues²⁰.

When Taddeo joined Florentine painters in Pisa in ca. 1390, signs of exchange between them are good reason for seeing the immigrant masters as a connected group. At San Francesco, the Florentine Niccolò di Pietro Gerini was, until 1391,

painting Passion frescoes in the chapter house, which stands across a corridor from the sacristy site for Taddeo's altarpiece and the accompanying fresco series (1397)²¹. Gerini's time at Pisa probably overlaps with Taddeo's first consultations with Datuccia Sardi, so the location and date of their respective projects set the two painters in a direct relationship. At the Pisan Camposanto Taddeo would have come into contact with Spinello di Luca Aretino, Gerini's colleague, busy with scenes of Saints Ephesius and Potitus until 1391²². Giorgio Vasari's claim that Taddeo painted in the monumental cemetery cannot be verified, though certainly Taddeo, like all arriving masters, gravitated to that fresco showcase²³.

Taddeo may have first encountered Spinello Aretino or his paintings at Lucca, where Taddeo can be located before 1393 by the same document that records his presence in Florence and in Pisa prior to that year. Taddeo's first employer at Siena was the carver Jacopo del Tonghio, whose engagements at Lucca in the mid-1380s, contemporaneous with their collaboration, may implicate Taddeo as polychromer for Jacopo at Lucca. There, or at Pisa, Taddeo almost certainly was introduced to Spinello through a senior Sienese gilder-painter, Gabriele Saracino, a specialist in *pastiglia* and *sgraffito* techniques at which Taddeo was adept already by 1389. Crucially, Saracino was part of a team at Lucca with Spinello and a Florentine carpenter, Simone di Cino, and perhaps also at Pisa, where Spinello's activity ran through 1395 and possibly later. Customs reports show that Spinello travelled regularly between the two cities; Taddeo may have been as mobile²⁴. Lucca in any case belongs to the network of cities that made Pisa a rich place of artistic interchange about 1400. In Lucca Taddeo would have seen at least one altarpiece by Spinello's consortium that bore directly on his own 1401 altarpiece for Montepulciano, which this paper argues to be part of his Pisan production²⁵.

Taddeo's Montepulciano painting is a grand tri-partite screen (525 x 420 cm) of multiple tiers—two predella levels and a pinnacle story over the main register²⁶ (figs. 4, 9). The painting is undocumented, though an inscribed date and name make clear the involvement of the archpriest of the Collegiata at Montepulciano, Jacopo Aragazzi²⁷. One would naturally assume that the Sienese painter produced the altarpiece for Siena's *contado* in his native place for transport to the regional destination, but the notion is problematic for two reasons. First, the painting style of the main tier is unlike that of the peripheral parts, namely the pinnacles, lower predella, and vertical supports. Discrepancies in handling suggest two phases of realization that span about five years: the main register components were painted while Taddeo was busy at Pisa to about 1397-1398, whereas the other elements were completed in the months leading up to 1401.

Even in the presence of an inscribed date, figural style is bedrock for dating a

painting, particularly a large scale work whose production is protracted. From the beginning of Taddeo's career until after 1400, a series of dated polyptychs charts a clear and rapid development propelled after his maturity by new experiences, especially paintings by Barnaba da Modena²⁸. Taddeo's evolution was from the narrow-faced, finely drawn, and richly embellished figures of 1389 for Collegalli—not too unlike some of those in the Montepulciano main register—to the fleshier forms executed more rapidly in works of ca 1400/01. The Montepulciano *Virgin of the Assumption* compares with the 1395 Sardi Virgin and with Christ in Taddeo's *Triora Baptism of Christ* (Liguria, 1397; figs. 9, 12). The Montepulciano Baptist is like the same saint on the 1395 Sardi altarpiece, and the Montepulciano Saint Dominic is like the Sardi Saint Francis²⁹ (figs. 11, 13, 14). The fuller faces and more cursory execution of the Montepulciano pinnacle and pilaster figures argue for a date close to the time Taddeo signed the painting in 1401, as a comparison of the Annunciate with Taddeo's 1404 Madonna in the *Adoration of the Shepherds* for the Servite church at Siena reveals (figs. 15, 16). Probably Taddeo realized the lower predella about 1400. Its Passion stories consciously evoke Duccio's *Maestà* series, and Taddeo's predella borrowings from other Sienese paintings further suggest that he painted the narratives when the models were close at hand. By September 1399 he had returned to Siena³⁰.

The richly embellished surface of the main tier Montepulciano panels is added testimony for a mid-1390s date³¹. *Pastiglia* details are densest in the central panel, logically the first element painted. Mary's mantle is patterned with AVE in raised gilt-letters, bosses inset with colored glass to simulate jewels, and fine glazes (now lost), whereas *sgraffito* designs embellish her rose colored gown (fig. 10). Both the *pastiglia* and *sgraffito* techniques were time-consuming and costly, which is why they dropped from Taddeo's practice by the end of the 1390s, when his workload seems to have precluded them. Symptomatically, such decoration vanishes from the auxiliary Montepulciano panels³².

If Taddeo painted the main Montepulciano compartments with the *Assumption of the Virgin* between lateral panels of saints in the mid-1390s, as their style attests, he cannot have done so in Siena. Through the decade he worked as an itinerant in as many as ten different cities and towns. Meanwhile there is no sign that he maintained a shop in his native place—to do so would have made no sense. For long periods he was engaged even farther from Siena than Pisa and Lucca, sojourning in Liguria at the start and the end of the decade, traversing its coast, and probably reaching Padua. From mid-1394 to 1397-1398 his shop at Pisa produced at least five altarpieces, a fresco cycle, and more minor paintings than survive³³. Other works dating to the mid-1390s would have been produced

there unless they were for Liguria. Tellingly, the Montepulciano main tier figures conform in style, and consequently in date to the polyptychs for Pisan families and the *Baptism of Christ* at Triora (1397)³⁴.

The decidedly un-Sienese effect of the Montepulciano carpentry is the second reason for localizing production of the altarpiece at Pisa. At Siena, the woodwork would have been anomalous. The engaged frames and spires were reinforced and consolidated in the early twentieth century, but there is no reason to think the profiles or moldings were changed, although they do have a mechanical and rigid appearance consonant with a modern rehandling³⁵. Sienese altarpieces on a scale approaching Taddeo's (there is no counterpart fully as large) do not present the heavy, gridded aesthetics or marked horizontals and verticals that distinguish the Montepulciano woodwork (fig. 4). Two large triptychs of the 1380s at nearby Montalcino by Bartolo di Fredi, one of Taddeo's mentors, must have spurred the ambitious and still larger Aragazzi initiative, though the patrons looked to other models (fig. 17). Bartolo di Fredi's paintings (as reconstructed) highlight Taddeo's altarpiece as a more grounded, compact, and less perforated structure³⁶.

Altarpieces with wood supports comparable to the one at Montepulciano include Florentine high altar paintings that Taddeo would have seen *in situ*. The best evidence for the character of the Montepulciano framework is the grand, exceptionally complete triptych of 1402 in its original frame by Lorenzo di Niccolò di Martino, a Florentine colleague of Spinello Aretino and Niccolò Gerini³⁷ (fig. 18). Crucial aspects of this *Coronation of the Virgin* altarpiece are main register panels of equal span, a double predella (the lower one historiated, the upper level with blind quatrefoils), broad trefoil or quatrefoil moldings, and robust lateral piers³⁸. To be sure, there are also differences in the solid and cohesive formats, particularly in the upper contour, where the Montepulciano molding bursts into pediments. Additionally, Taddeo incorporated four rather than two broad vertical supports, and his larger pinnacle paintings increase the mass and weight of the whole.

Taddeo's ranks of kneeling saints in rigorous, space-defining rows are conspicuously different from the crowds of devotees painted by Sienese painters from the time of Duccio and Simone Martini to Bartolo di Fredi. They are another sign of Florentine models³⁹. His orchestration of the holy group derives from a long tradition dating from Giotto's Baroncelli *Coronation of the Virgin* altarpiece at Santa Croce and still current in Jacopo di Cione's *Coronation* high altarpiece of 1371 at San Pier Maggiore, the Florentine church second in importance to the Cathedral⁴⁰ (fig. 19). Taddeo and his patrons turned their backs on the claustrophobic Sienese companies for a methodical alignment of male and female saints on respective sides, and Jacopo's saints were the compelling prototype. Taddeo's seventeen

kneeling figures are far fewer than Jacopo's crowd, though his three rows, particularly the males at the front, closely match. Significantly, the scrupulous reconstruction of Jacopo's dismembered painting as a continuous surface with heavy horizontal moldings has echoes at Montepulciano⁴¹.

In Lucca and presumably in Pisa until after Taddeo settled there, Lorenzo di Niccolò's older colleague Spinello Aretino and his consortium had been producing altarpieces with carpentry similar to the 1402 painting at Florence. The two triptychs by Spinello's team of the mid-1380s are dismembered, yet surviving components preserve their frame moldings⁴². The altarpieces, one modeled on the other, are especially pertinent because at least one of them remained in Lucca at San Ponziano, where Taddeo would have had direct access to it⁴³. The second painting of 1385 was by contract to be like the just-completed work. An old photographic montage of components from the two altarpieces is misleading, yet supplies a good general idea of the models Taddeo encountered⁴⁴ (figs. 4, 20). The correspondence in contour and applied elements of Taddeo's Montepulciano framing and Spinello's is clear. As on the Montepulciano altarpiece, Spinello's upper molding steps up over each compartment in a low, slightly inclined pediment bordered by a wide quatrefoil molding (fig. 21). While Taddeo worked at Pisa simultaneously with Spinello through 1395, he is likely to have adopted similar supports and frames⁴⁵. A wide quatrefoil molding like Taddeo's was known in Sienese paintings from the time of Ugolino di Nerio's early Trecento polyptych for Santa Croce in Florence to the altarpieces by Taddeo's mentors Luca di Tommè (the Annunciation pentaptych of unknown origin) and Bartolo di Fredi (the Madonna and Child pentaptych for San Domenico, Siena), but none of these superstructures was configured in the gabled fashion of Spinello's paintings or Taddeo's Montepulciano altarpiece⁴⁶.

There were many reasons to expect from the Aragazzi patrons at Montepulciano a painting in keeping with the Sienese canon, yet they were prime movers in selecting Florentine models. Three interlinked factors explain why they opted for something different and the patently bizarre circumstances of manufacture by a Sienese painter at Pisa of a Florence-inspired polyptych destined for Montepulciano. First, the Aragazzi patrons had particular requirements. Second, Taddeo was a painter of much wider experience than most others. And, third, the peregrinations that recommended him as ideally equipped to serve the Aragazzi made Pisa the place where he could meet their requirements. The anomalies in the Montepulciano painting vis à vis the rest of Taddeo's production are explained by directives from his sponsors and by the way Taddeo handled them in his Pisan milieu.

Taddeo's occasion to meet his Montepulciano patrons would have come on one of his periodic returns home during his 1390s itinerancy. The prominent Aragazzi were tied to Siena by family, properties, and financial interests⁴⁷. In Siena they would have learned of Taddeo's considerable accomplishments⁴⁸. If the parties agreed to a contract in the 1390s, as I think was the case, the painter would have visited hilltop Montepulciano to inspect the site before accepting another of the prospective commissions that characterize his entire career. Fundamental to the plan was the fact that the intrinsic nature of wood meant polyptych altarpieces were built of components, and this eased their execution as well as their transport.

At least one of two heads of the Aragazzi family who appear to have sponsored the commission knew Florentine altarpieces well, and both evidently saw utility in them. Jacopo di Bartolomeo, whose name Taddeo inscribed on the altarpiece, was archpriest of the Collegiata (primary church), whose meager endowment did not permit such an ostentatious polyptych⁴⁹. However, his brother Francesco, a devout man, was one of Montepulciano's wealthiest citizens due to broad commercial connections weighted to Florence more than Siena⁵⁰. Like his brother in the cloth, Francesco was eager to promote the Collegiata and his son Bartolomeo, who was destined for a career in the church. (Michelozzo would carve a marble tomb for Bartolomeo (d. 1429) and send it from Florence to the Collegiata in 1436⁵¹.) As ranking prelate, Jacopo Aragazzi evidently spearheaded the altarpiece project, and Francesco, a political figure in Montepulciano, Florence, and Siena as well as a prosperous entrepreneur plying the roads of Tuscany, probably underwrote it.

The grand Aragazzi initiative was driven by political and religious goals advanced by the visual expression of cosmopolitan associations. Taddeo's altarpiece can be understood as an instrument in the campaign for new privileges for the collegiate church, which Jacopo Aragazzi had headed since at least 1396, when his predecessor moved to the Curia. At Rome, Francesco de' Piandibeni presumably promoted his town's cause, which was resolved with a papal bull of 9 April 1400 that ensured freedom from the bishopric of Arezzo, expanded jurisdiction for the Collegiata, and bestowed honors for Jacopo⁵². The episcopal insignia that Aragazzi became entitled to wear are displayed prominently, and prospectively, on Taddeo's front row Saint Donatus, patron of Arezzo, who was credited with bringing Christianity to Montepulciano and with protecting the *contrada* where the Aragazzi resided (fig. 11). At its installation, Taddeo's altarpiece celebrated the acquisition of new rights by which Jacopo Aragazzi benefitted most directly.

Cultural heritage as well as personal ties to Siena guided the Aragazzi to a Sienese master. The city's painters, like Bartolo di Fredi, had long supplied their

region with panels and frescoes. The earlier painting of note at Montepulciano itself was by another of Taddeo's mentors, Jacopo di Mino del Pellicciaio. Jacopo's sumptuous *Coronation*, rich with *sgraffito* and *pastiglia*, clearly whetted Aragazzi appetites for this kind of decoration⁵³ (fig. 22). The primary subject of the Aragazzi painting, the *Assumption of the Virgin*, is quintessentially Siennese in as much as it was the major feast of the city's most lauded protector⁵⁴. To emphasize the connection, Taddeo and his patrons turned to an iconic Siennese model: Bartolomeo Bulgarini's monumental *Assumption of the Virgin* of around 1370 in the hospital church across from Siena Cathedral⁵⁵ (fig. 23). Additionally, Taddeo's Passion predella similarly takes Siena as its foundation with scenes based primarily on Duccio's *Maestà*. In these ways the grand 1401 altarpiece communicates that Montepulciano was historically and culturally within Siena's sphere.

Setting a Siennese *Assumption of the Virgin* between perspectival saints in a decidedly Florentine framework acknowledged divided loyalties. The joint course set by an amalgam of different references sent appropriate signals to parties within and beyond Montepulciano as the campaign for new ecclesial status began. A dual allegiance was precisely what served the cause in the problematic period. When archpriest Aragazzi contracted with Taddeo, arguably near the beginning of his tenure in the mid-1390s, it was a precarious time for the town as a whole, not for the church alone. Long contested by Siena and Florence, Montepulciano witnessed bitter fights for its control before passing under Florence in 1390, to concerted Siennese reaction⁵⁶. Mimesis of Florentine models in these circumstances reflects deliberate visual diplomacy acknowledging the overlord state, and potentially the Curia, where Jacopo's rights were still to be procured when the painting was commissioned. The carpentry and orchestrated rows of saints including local patrons, the archpriest's apostolic alter ego, and other Aragazzi protectors communicated loyalty, or at least acquiescence, to Florence. Selection of a Siennese painter to produce a Florentine-style woodwork carrying compositions and iconographies predominantly but not only Siennese made the visual bid for attention inclusive.

For Aragazzi purposes, Taddeo's travels and his ambient at Pisa uniquely versed him in the visual languages they called for. He shared with them a databank of altarpieces both Siennese and Florentine. During *trattative* between painter and patrons, *modo et forma* seems to reverberate as they came to terms about iconography, figural composition, and the containing woodwork. A master less remote than one at Pisa would have allowed closer monitoring of the commission, yet as a mobile merchant Francesco Aragazzi was in a position, probably better than his archpriest brother, to follow the progress of Taddeo's

work. The patrons recognized any logistical problems and what they sacrificed by lesser proximity to the production site by an early start and the availability at Pisa of carpenters working to Florentine models. Transporting the altarpiece stymied neither the patrons, with carts roaming Tuscany, nor the painter, who had a decade's experience on the road. Certainly it was easier to travel the rugged terrain with a wooden painting than a marble tomb⁵⁷. For Taddeo, on the other side of the equation, the size and iconographic scope of the Aragazzi commission represented an opportunity to rival the greatest in his school, even Duccio. He would have relished it.

There would have been nothing exceptional in Taddeo's collaborating with a Pisan carpenter, or, conceivably like Spinello, with an itinerant Florentine. Time after time in Pisa and Liguria Taddeo painted on supports with contours and proportions of non-Sienese design. Technically, carpentry was out of a painter's hands, but about half the time he would procure and probably design the framework for an altarpiece⁵⁸. In Taddeo's case his sponsors may have ordered a "Florentine" support whose fine points of design they left to the painter and his woodworking colleague whom they may never have met. The carpenter would have built and mounted the Montepulciano components only to disassemble them for transfer to the painter's shop. Ordinarily a painter oversaw transport and installation of a finished altarpiece, as Taddeo presumably did, but for the Aragazzi components the route was not from Pisa to Montepulciano.

Production of the Montepulciano triptych in Taddeo's Pisa shop was complicated about 1398-1399, when professional enticements at Siena induced him to conclude his affairs in Genoa, close his Pisan operation, and return home. I conclude that when he packed the contents of his Pisan *bottega* they included the finished panels of the main tier of the Montepulciano painting and the incomplete pinnacles, pilasters, piers, and probably the lower predella. By September 1399, Siena became a way station for the Aragazzi altarpiece. There Taddeo painted the peripheral elements under time pressure and with assistants' help, since in the spring of 1400 Jacopo Aragazzi received the bull granting privileges. In fact, the style of the pilaster and pinnacle figures reveals assistance from shop hands, as do the Passion scenes. Possibly Taddeo ordered a new predella box at Siena⁵⁹. At a length of 420 cm, the predella was the most cumbersome element of the entire structure, making its transportation no easy task. He may have avoided moving it twice, potentially abandoning an original unpainted carpentry in Pisa though he would not have left finished paintings.

Paradoxically, evidence that Taddeo painted most of the Montepulciano altarpiece at Pisa comes from Liguria. A painting in Genoa by an *émigré* Pisan

painter influenced by Taddeo is modelled on the main tier of the Montepulciano painting. Turino Vanni da Rigoli (active to 1438), was a malleable, uninventive artist indebted to visiting masters at Pisa like Niccolò Gerini, Spinello, and Taddeo. After 1405 Turino went to Genoa in Taddeo's wake, a fact that secured the bond between them. In all likelihood he could not have painted his large triptych/high altarpiece signed and dated 1415 for the Genoese church of San Bartolomeo degli Armeni without having seen the Montepulciano painting⁶⁰ (figs. 4, 24). Turino's central subject is a *Madonna and Child Enthroned* rather than an *Assumption of the Virgin*, yet other aspects correspond with the Montepulciano altarpiece so closely as to suggest not just a Tuscan model but a specific *modo et forma* instruction with regard to Taddeo's painting.⁶¹ Turino's side panels present saints similarly divided along gender lines and in similar ranks, particularly the front row of males. So far as the record shows, he never went to Siena or Montepulciano, so Pisa would have been where he (and his patron?) saw Taddeo's painting. The grand altarpiece in progress there between Taddeo's two Ligurian sojourns (ca.1390-1394 and 1397-1398) would have made news in the northern capital.

Another Ligurian painting commissioned earlier, in 1401, yet apparently never realized, is further indication that Taddeo produced the Montepulciano painting at Pisa. 1401 was the year Taddeo's Ligurian colleague and collaborator, the modest Nicolò da Voltri, was engaged in Genoa by patrons from Nice to make an outsized altarpiece for their cathedral⁶². They met in the archiepiscopal palace to contract for a painting with extraordinary measurements of 450 x 600 cm including the *pede* (foot), that dropped to the floor⁶³. This structure is inconceivable without the influence of some equally large foreign altarpiece, for, as with Turino Vanni's painting, there was no remotely similar Ligurian precedent, and Nicolò was a painter of even more localized activity than Turino. Taddeo's Montepulciano painting is the obvious model. Nicolò was to ship his finished altarpiece to Nice in time for the Feast of the Assumption, which could suggest that the main subject was the same as for Montepulciano. Since no trace survives of Nicolò's grandiose commission, the prospect seems so far to have surpassed his capacity that he never began it.

Possibly the commission for Nice initially went to Taddeo. He was connected there before 1393, and in his later Ligurian years (to 1398), may have transmitted news of his altarpiece in Pisa⁶⁴. A reason for Taddeo's neglect or postponement of the project could have been others impinging upon him until he left Liguria. By 1401, his departure must have seemed definitive (as indeed it was), impelling patrons from Nice to turn to his local acolyte – a second initiative seemingly destined to fail. The painting for Nice highlights an inverse situation between

Taddeo and his Aragazzi patrons. Rather than commissioning another painter, they submitted to distant production of their altarpiece and eventually to two legs of transportation, apparently because they were insistent about employing a particular Siennese master – Taddeo – and had a limited time frame. Their preparedness to face difficulties attendant on remote manufacture speaks for the prestige they recognized in Taddeo, and equally for the value they saw in realization of their painting in a Pisan context.

It is an aberration that a painter from Siena should make a mammoth painting in Pisa for a destination at Montepulciano, yet the evidence of Taddeo's whereabouts and of his evolving style supports that very notion, at least for the main panels. My contention for Pisa as the primary production site solves the problem of a disjunctive figural style and explains a Florentine carpentry and composition difficult to conceive of at Siena. Precedents for distant production exist in many cases, including the painting by Spinello's team at Lucca which was bound for Rome. Throughout the 1390s and later, Taddeo himself was sending his altarpieces, even oversized examples, to their destinations; the 1403 heptptych for Perugia is evidence⁶⁵. Two extraordinary Ligurian paintings conceived on Taddeo's heels and evidently on the Montepulciano model reinforce the hypothesis that the key parts of that impressive painting were at Pisa before the turn of the century. Nicolò da Voltri and Turino Vanni, neither with any known contact at Siena or around Montepulciano, were both in a position to know Taddeo's Pisan paintings because of that city's relations with Genoa, where they were active. The altarpiece at San Bartolomeo degli Armeni and the one for Nice that survives only on paper speak clearly for the radiating influence of the Montepulciano polyptych, for Pisa as a center of artistic exchange in the years leading to 1400, and for Taddeo as an agent there.

- * Parts of this argument were presented at the Andrew Ladis conference in Athens, Georgia in October 2014 and at the Renaissance Society of America meeting in Berlin in March 2015. For this article, my special thanks to Dóra Sallay and Gergely Buzás who prepared my digital graphics, to Linda Pisani for permission to use her reconstruction, to Christa Gardner von Teuffel and Shelley Zuraw who made helpful comments on the text, and to the editors of this issue.
- 1 For Taddeo at Pisa and the Sardi commissions, see the author's *Taddeo di Bartolo's Altarpiece for the Sacristy at S. Francesco in Pisa: New Discoveries and a Reconstruction*, in «The Burlington Magazine» 152, 2010, pp. 144-151; Eadem, *The Painter and the Widow: Taddeo di Bartolo, Datuccia Sardi-Da Campiglia, and the Sacristy Chapel in S. Francesco, Pisa*, in «Gesta», 49/1, 2010, pp. 53-74; and Eadem, *The Count and the Clares: Taddeo di Bartolo, His Shop, and Paintings for S. Martino-Sta. Chiara Novella at Pisa*, in «Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte», 73, 2010, pp. 449-486, all growing out of Eadem, *Taddeo di Bartolo: His Life and Work*, Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1991 (Ann Arbor, 1991), forthcoming revised and updated as *Taddeo di Bartolo: Siena's Itinerant Painter in the Early Quattrocento*, Turnhout, 2018.
 - 2 The Sardi and other Pisan families were lenders to the Siennese state in the period 1392-1394, as recorded in documents presented in the author's forthcoming volume, chapter 5.
 - 3 Various parts of the 1395 Sardi painting are at Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts, nr. 53.500, and two components are in the Alana Collection; Solberg, *Taddeo di Bartolo's Altarpiece for the Sacristy*, cit. For the Casassi painting, now Grenoble, Musée de Grenoble, Solberg, *Taddeo di Bartolo*, cit., pp. 414-433 and notably, with a reconstruction, G. Amato, *Alcuni chiarimenti sull'attività giovanile di Taddeo di Bartolo e il caso del polittico Casassi di Pisa*, in «Prospettiva», 134/35, 2009/2010, pp. 101-119. For the later Sardi altarpiece with panels split between Pisa and Nancy, Solberg, *The Count and the Clares*, cit., pp. 450-464. I first treated altarpiece shapes in Taddeo's production including Pisa in *Altarpiece Types and Regional Adaptations in the Work of Taddeo di Bartolo*, in *Italian Panel Painting of the Duecento and Trecento*, ed. by V. M. Schmidt, (Studies in the History of Art, National Gallery of Art, Washington, 61), New Haven, 2002, pp. 199-227, with some different ideas than those presented here.
 - 4 For the triptych, Solberg, *Taddeo di Bartolo*, cit., pp. 137-139, 477-547, and Diana Norman's largely dependent discussion (as acknowledged) in *Siena and the Virgin: Art and Politics in a Late Medieval City State*, New Haven, 1999, pp. 183-195.
 - 5 For the Collegalli painting, Solberg, *Taddeo di Bartolo*, cit., pp. 13-15, 26-33, 1182-1194 and Eadem, *Altarpiece Types*, cit., pp. 199-202; and Eadem, forthcoming monograph, chapter 2.
 - 6 Spinello's painting is now, Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia, nr. 1890.8461; M. Boskovits and D. Parenti, *Dipinti: Il tardo Trecento dalla tradizione oragnesca agli esordi del Gotico Internazionale*, (Galleria dell'Accademia, Firenze), Firenze, 2010, pp. 157-60, figs., color plate 29; S. Weppelmann, *Spinello Aretino e la Pittura del Trecento in Toscana*, Firenze, 2011, pp. 48-52.
 - 7 See, for example, Niccolò Gerini's 1404 Corsi altarpiece from San Benedetto fuori Porta Pinti (Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia, nr. 1890.8610; Boskovits and Parenti, *Dipinti*, cit., pp. 135-140, figs. and color plate 24), and Agnolo Gaddi's pentaptychs, one possibly from San Minato al Monte in Florence (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, nr. 4).
 - 8 Solberg, *The Count and the Clares*, cit., pp. 450-460, fig. 5.
 - 9 Now Volterra Pinacoteca, note 21; Solberg, *Taddeo di Bartolo*, cit., pp. 1161-71. See Franco Lessi in *La Pinacoteca di Volterra*, ed. by Antonio Paolucci, Firenze, 1989, pp. 98-102, color plate.

- 10 Another pertinent altarpiece by Taddeo is from San Michele in Borgo (Pisa), now on loan to the Museo Nazionale di San Matteo. In addition to the works discussed in Solberg, *The Count and the Clares*, cit., see the unassociated polyptych components by Taddeo in the Museo Nazionale at Pisa, nr. 1684 (*Saint John the Baptist*) and nrs. 1664 and 1666 (*Saints Peter and Paul*); for which Solberg, *Taddeo di Bartolo*, cit., pp. 704-706, 1307-1309.
- 11 Andrea De Marchi stated this succinctly, noting that the support is «un elemento costitutivo di un'opera d'arte», profoundly conditioning an altar painting; see his *La pala d'altare. Dal politico alla pala quadra* (Università degli Studi di Firenze, Dispense del corso tenuto nell'anno accademico 2011-12), Firenze, 2012, p. 27. For carpentry in general, see De Marchi's *Struttura e carpenteria delle ancone*, (in *La pala d'altare. Dal paliotto al politico gotico*, Dispense per l'anno accademico 2008-09), Firenze, 2009, pp. 153-162.
- 12 For Taddeo in Liguria, see chapters 4 and 6 of the author's forthcoming volume.
- 13 The digital reconstruction is by Gergely Buzás and Dóra Sally and is a revised version of the model presented in Solberg, *Taddeo di Bartolo's Altar-piece for the Sacristy*, cit., p. 144.
- 14 There are exceptions to the Siennese norm: one is Pietro Lorenzetti's Carmelite altarpiece of 1327, for which, H. van Os, *Siennese Altarpieces 1215-1460: Form, Content, Function*, 2 vols, Groningen, 1984/1990, 1, pp. 90-99 and lately C. Gardner von Teuffel, *The Carmelite Altarpiece (circa 1290-1550): The Self-Identification of an Order*, in «Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz», 57, 2015/1, pp. 3-41. See also Luca di Tommè's Humiliati altarpiece, for which, J. I. Miller and L. Taylor-Mitchell, *From Giotto to Botticelli, The Artistic Patronage of the Humiliati in Florence*, University Park (PA), 2015, pp. 78-80, fig. 46.
- 15 Now Pisa, Palazzo Blu; Linda Pisani, *Cecco di Pietro a Palazzo Blu: dal Polittico di Agnano al San Giovanni Battista di recente acquisizione*, in *Cecco di Pietro e i fondo oro di Palazzo Blu*, catalogo della mostra, Pisa, Palazzo Blu, 2011, ed. by Linda Pisani, Firenze, 2011, pp. 8-21, in part. 10-17 with a reconstruction (p. 12) reproduced here by Pisani's kind concession. See also Pisani, *Nuove proposte per il polittico di Agnano di Cecco di Pietro* in «Predella Monografie», 1, 2010, pp. 21-30 (online edition: www.predella.it > archivio > n. 27).
- 16 For Giovanni del Biondo's *in situ* painting as Taddeo's direct model, see Solberg, *Taddeo di Bartolo's Altar-piece for the Sacristy*, cit., pp. 150-151.
- 17 For a recent discussion of Humility iconography at Siena see D. Sallay, *The Avignon Type of the Virgin of Humility: Examples in Siena*, in *Geest in Gratie: Essays Presented to Ildikó Ember on her Seventieth Birthday*, ed. by O. Radványi, Budapest, 2012, pp. 104-111.
- 18 Puccio's painting is now Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia, nr. 1890.8569: M. Boskovits and A. Tartuferi, *Dipinti dal Duecento a Giovanni da Milano* (Galleria dell'Accademia, Firenze), Firenze, 2003, pp. 237-243, fig.; arguably from Sant'Onofrio delle Cappuccine of the Dyers Company.
- 19 The notice, of 16 August 1393, is in the Archivio di Stato, Genoa: Notarile Andrea (Andreolo) Caito Scans 16.313.5, Anni 1393-96, fol. 207r, published by, F. Alizeri, *Notizie dei Professori del Disegno in Liguria dalle origini al secolo XVI*, 6 vols., 1, *Pittura*, Genoa, 1870, pp. 176-77. The document is discussed and transcribed in my forthcoming book.
- 20 In addition to the altarpieces cited below, other important works were those by Bernardo Daddi at the Cathedral (1340?, now mostly Firenze, Uffizi), by Giovanni da Milano at Ognissanti (1360-63; now mostly Firenze, Uffizi), and by Pietro Nelli and Niccolò Gerini on the route from Siena to Florence at Impruneta (1375; *in situ*).
- 21 J. Tripps, *Taddeo Gaddi e Niccolò di Pietro Gerini nel convento di San Francesco a Pisa: sulle*

- orme di un cenacolo perduto*, in «Predella Monografie», 1, 2010, pp. 105-113 (online edition: www.predella.it > archivio > n. 27).
- 22 Weppelmann, *Spinello Aretino*, cit., pp. 59-60, 198-205.
- 23 G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori italiani*, ed. by G. Milanesi, 9 vols, Florence, 1878-85 (reprint 1906), 2, pp. 36-38 : «In Campo Santo, sopra la cappella, una Nostra Donna incoronata da Gesù Cristo con molti Angeli, in attitudine bellissime e molto ben coloriti».
- 24 For customs documents for Spinello, Weppelmann, *Spinello Aretino*, cit., p. 378, doc. 10.
- 25 The painting by Spinello's company was for the Olivetan house of San Ponziano (see Weppelmann, *ivi*, pp. 49-50, 128-33). It was the model for second altarpiece that followed immediately and was intended for the Order's church at Rome, Santa Maria Nuova (Weppelmann, *ivi*, pp. 50-51, 143-151, 374-378, doc. 7).
- 26 Originally for the high altar of the Collegiata, the altarpiece was transferred to the high altar in the rebuilt cathedral.
- 27 *Taddeo di Bartolo da Siena dipinse questa op[er]a al tempo di Messere Iacopo di Bartolomeo arciprete di Monte Pulciano Ano Dni m.cccc[i]*.
- 28 The influence of Barnaba's Merchants' Madonna (Pisa, Museo Nazionale di San Matteo) is evident in Taddeo's *Casassi Madonna*.
- 29 For Triora, see Solberg, *Taddeo di Bartolo*, cit., pp. 110-113, 1093-1108 and G. Algeri and A. De Florian, *La Pittura in Liguria: il Medioevo, Secoli XII-XIV*, Genoa, 2011, p. 272, color plate p. 275.
- 30 Archivio di Stato, Siena, Notarile Antecosimignano 234, fol. 113r, published by G. Corti, *La compagnia di Taddeo di Bartolo e Gregorio di Cecco con altri documenti inediti*, in «Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz», 25, 1981, pp. 373-377, in part. 374.
- 31 All haloes have raised lettering and other *pastiglia* details span the main register.
- 32 In the second Sardi pentaptych (ca. 1397-1398), as in the Montepulciano pinnacle panels, Taddeo converted to painted patterns to simulate rich fabrics.
- 33 A lesser Pisan work is the standard of San Donnino (Pisa, Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, nr. 1685; for which Solberg, *Taddeo di Bartolo*, cit., pp. 707-716). An altarpiece in Palazzo Blu, Pisa can be associated with Taddeo's shop (Pisani, *Cecco di Pietro*, cit., p. 15 and fig. 10).
- 34 For the panel at Triora in Santa Maria Assunta, see note 29.
- 35 The painting restorer, Icilio Federio Ioni, wrote «prima di cominciare la doratura il falegname doveva riordinare e consolidare tutto il Trittico», my emphasis. Gianni Mazzoni translates «riordinare e consolidare» as «reassembled and strengthened» in I. F. Ioni, *Le Memorie di un Pittore di Quadri Antichi, A fronte la versione in inglese; Affairs of a Painter*, ed. by G. Mazzoni, Siena, 2004, pp. 104, 106-107. A pre-war photograph is Brogi 9886. "Riordinare" can mean to straighten up. The passage describes woodwork that «had come apart in places and some of the pinnacles were broken». There was little possibility of substantive change during the reconsolidation.
- 36 For reconstructions of Bartolo's dismembered triptychs, see G. Freuler, *Bartolo di Fredi Cini: Ein Beitrag zur sienesischen Malerei des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Disentis, 1994, pp. 166-185, figs. 156, 161 for the 1382 *Deposition* altarpiece (228,3 cm width without piers) and pp. 188-218, fig. 187 for the *Coronation* altarpiece (203/270 x 267 cm). De Marchi describes for the *Coronation* an effect «quasi babelico di elevazione verso il cielo a detrimento della chiarezza e

solidità strutturale» (in *Dal polittico alla pala quadra*, cit., p. 30).

- 37 The three worked together on the *Coronation* altarpiece for Santa Felicita in Florence the following year (Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia, nr. 1890.8468; see Boskovits and Parenti, *Dipinti*, cit., pp. 163-68, fig. and color plate 31).
- 38 Lorenzo di Niccolò's woodwork was subcontracted as the commission document of 25 January 1402 (1401, Florentine calendar) indicates; Archivio di Stato, Florence, Ser Stefano di Niccolò da Poggibonsi, published by G. Milanese, *Nuovi documenti per la storia dell'arte toscana dal XII al XV secolo*, Florence, 1885/1901, reprint Soest, 1973, pp. 70-71, nr. 88. The painting, for the Silvestrines at San Marco, was transferred to San Domenico, Cortona; see A. de Vries, *L'Incoronazione della Vergine' di Lorenzo di Niccolò in San Domenico a Cortona: da Polittico Silvestrino a Pala Domenicana*, in «Prospettiva», 137, 2010, pp. 86-96. For the restoration see A. M. Maetzke, *Lorenzo di Niccolò di Martino (doc 1391-1411): L'Incoronazione della Vergine, Angeli e Santi, Polittico*, in *Il Polittico di Lorenzo di Niccolò della Chiesa di San Domenico in Cortona. Dopo il Restauro*, exhibition catalogue (Cortona 1986), ed. by M. Moriondo Lenzini, Cortona, 1986.
- 39 In Duccio's and Simone's respective *Maestà* paintings, figures press toward the picture surface from all across their fields. Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *Maestà* at Massa Marittima presents two more spatially convincing front rows, but at the back the crowd typically flattens. After mid-century, Bartolo di Fredi had only begun to organize a group of devotees in a more depth-defining way in the *Madonna of Misericordia* at Pienza.
- 40 Most of the di Cione painting, which was the closest competitor to Taddeo's in size, is in the National Gallery, London. See D. Gordon, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Italian Paintings Before 1400*, London, 2011, pp. 52-91, 78-86 and *Art in the making: Italian Painting Before 1400*, exhibition catalogue, London, National Gallery, ed. by D. Bomford, J. Dunkerton, D. Gordon, and A. Roy, London, 1990, pp. 136-189, 197-200. The dimensions are estimated at 550 x 440 cm.
- 41 The war-damaged and restored damaged altarpiece of 1375 at Impruneta served as a model for reconstructing Jacopo di Cione's painting. A pre-war photograph is Brogi 9886.
- 42 The carpentry of the Lucca paintings is less reworked than that at Montepulciano.
- 43 See note 25. The second work was commissioned for Santa Maria Nuova at Rome; whether it was consigned is debated. See Weppelmann, *Spinello Aretino*, cit., pp. 50-51, 143-151, 374-378, Doc. 7.
- 44 The Madonna presumably from San Ponziano (now Cambridge (MA), Harvard Art Museums (Fogg), nr. 1917.3) is too small; it measures 169,5 x 88,5. Even the Roman painting would have been smaller than the one for Montepulciano.
- 45 Spinello's important altarpiece probably for the Pisa Cathedral is likely to have been accompanied by other lost or dispersed panels that kept the painter busy in or for the city until ca. 1395; see Weppelmann, *Spinello Aretino*, cit., pp. 241-247 and Idem., *Ein Marienaltar von Spinello Aretino für den Pisaner Dom*, in «Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz», 45, 2001/2002, pp. 469-489.
- 46 For Ugolino, see S. Weppelmann and S. Winkler, *Digitale Kunstgeschichte? Ein Fallstudie an Ugolinos Altarwerk aus Santa Croce in Geschichten auf Gold; Bilderzählungen in der frühen italienischen Malerei*, exhibition catalogue, ed. by S. Weppelmann, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, 2005-2006, Berlin, 2005, pp. 118-125. Luca di Tommè's understudied pentptych (Florence, Uffizi, nr. 00293380) with an upper quatrefoil molding

came from a group of gold ground paintings at Palazzo Pitti and went to the Oratory of San Giovanni at Cascina. Luca seems to have worked in or around Pisa, as suggested by his *Crucifixion* in Pisa, Museo Nazionale, nr. 8. Taddeo's quatrefoil moldings correspond with those at the top and bottom of Bartolo di Fredi's panels reconstructed as a Madonna and Child pentaptych (Freuler, *Bartolo di Fredi*, cit., pp. 380-391, 333-42, figs.). By wide Bartolo's painting is consensus understood to come from the high altar of San Domenico in Siena. A presumed date of 1395-1400 means Taddeo's Pisa woodwork possibly influenced Bartolo's molding which would be an exceptional introduction to Siena, where altarpieces from the early decades of the Quattrocento show that the rectilinear form did not catch on.

- 47 For a family profile, R. W. Lightbown, *Donatello and Michelozzo: An Artistic Partnership and its Patrons in the Early Renaissance*, 2 vols, London, 1980, 1, pp. 134-166.
- 48 See n. 47.
- 49 Francesco Aragazzi, brother to Jacopo, owned terrain a mile outside of Siena and a stake in a dwelling in the city, where he had cousins (*Ivi*, p. 143).
- 50 The 1429 endowment of the Collegiata by the catasto evaluation was a meager 280 florins (*Ivi*, p. 138).
- 51 As outlined by Lightbown, *Ivi*, pp. 140-145.
- 52 *Ivi*, pp. 128-133, in part. 128-129.
- 53 *Ivi*, p. 146.
- 54 Probably the center of a polyptych, possibly from San Francesco, Jacopo di Mino's painting painting is now in Montepulciano's Museo Civico. Laura Martini (*Museo Civico Pinacoteca Crociani*, Siena, 2000, pp. 63-64) describes «una incredibile varietà di motivi decorativi». Bartolo di Fredi's Montalcino altarpiece also bore *pastiglia* inset with glass.
- 55 For towns of the hinterland honoring Siena, particularly at the Feast of the Assumption, see Norman, *Siena and the Virgin*, cit., pp. 1-4.
- 56 Siena, Pinacoteca, nr. 61; 205 x 112 cm; see J. B. Steinhoff, *Sienese Painting after the Black Death: Artistic Pluralism, Politics, and the New Art Market*, New York, 2006, pp. 201-204.
- 57 In the second half of the Trecento Montepulciano, beyond Siena's direct control, but historically subject to the larger city, was rent by the native Del Pecora tyrants and by the southward ambitions of Florence. The Del Pecora declared independence from Siena in 1385. In 1387, Florence and Siena negotiated over Montepulciano, and Florence prevailed. The Sienese responded by raiding the town. A decision of 1401, the year Taddeo's painting was dated, placed Montepulciano under Florence for ten years. For a succinct history, Paolo Cammarosano and Vincenzo Passeri, *I castelli del Senese: strutture fortificate dell'area senese-grossetana*, Siena, 2006, nr. 31.1, pp. 302-304, and recently L. Mulinacci, *La Lupa e il Biscione: considerazioni sulla dominazione viscontea su Siena all'epoca di Gian Galeazzo Visconti*, in «Bullettino senese di storia patria», 123, 2015, pp. 46-99, in part. pp. 66-69, 73. Lightbown notes, «the end of Sienese power did not end the prestige of Sienese art in Montepulciano...»; see Donatello and Michelozzo, cit., p. 136.
- 58 As reported by Leonardo Bruni to Poggio Bracciolini, or the Aragazzi tomb in a cart stuck in the mud on the way to Montepulciano, see Lightbown, *Ivi*, pp. 128-129.
- 59 M. O'Malley, *The Business of Art, Contracts and the Commissioning Process in Renaissance Italy*, New Haven, 2005, p. 7.
- 60 Sassetta abandoned an entire support to have a new one made at Siena for his San Sepol-

cro altarpiece.

- 61 Turino's *Madonna* is based on Taddeo's Casassi Madonna and on Barnaba da Modena's *Merchants' Madonna*. See Algeri and de Floriani, *La pittura in Liguria. Il Quattrocento*, cit., pp. 82-87, fig.
- 62 Another instance of Taddeo's connection with Turino Vanni is their *Baptism of Christ* altarpieces, Turino's for Pisa (Pisa, Museo Nazionale di San Matteo) and Taddeo's for Trionfo in Liguria (see note 29). Both are spinoffs of a model by Niccolò di Pietro Gerini for Santa Maria degli Angeli at Florence, presumably transmitted to Pisa. For Gerini's *Baptism* now in the National Gallery in London, nr. 579.1-5; see Gordon, *The Italian paintings before 1400*, cit., pp. 394-409, and B. New et al., *Niccolò di Pietro Gerini's 'Baptism Altarpiece': Technique, Conservation and Original Design*, in «National Gallery Technical Bulletin (London)», 33, 2012, pp. 27-49.
- 63 Evidence that they worked together is discussed in my forthcoming volume. The Nice contract, drawn up by the notary Antonio Foglietta, is in the Archivio di Stato, Genoa and was published by Alizeri, *Notizie dei professori del disegno*, cit., pp. 204-206, in part. 206 as Notul 2, 1389-1402.
- 64 The painting was to be 24 x 18 *palmi*, a Genoese unit of measurement equaling 24,6 cm.
- 65 Taddeo is located at Nice before 1393 by the same document cited in note 19.
- 66 Solberg, *A reconstruction of Taddeo di Bartolo's altar-piece for S. Francesco a Prato, Perugia* in «The Burlington Magazine», 134, 1992, pp. 646-656.

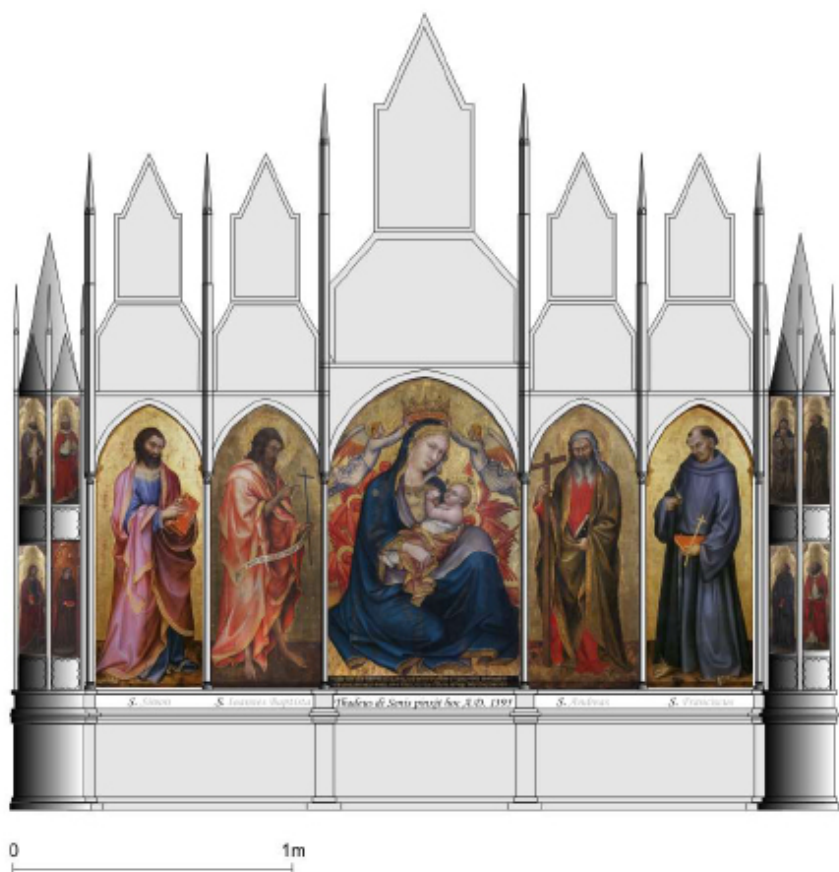


Fig.1: TADDEO DI BARTOLO, *Datuccia Sardi-Da Campiglia altarpiece*, 1395, from San Francesco, Pisa, new graphic reconstruction by Dóra Sallay and Gergely Buzás to plan by Gail Solberg (Credit: author)



Fig.2: TADDEO DI BARTOLO, *Casassi altarpiece*, 1395, from San Paolo all'Orto, Pisa (Credit: Musée de Grenoble)



Fig.3: TADDEO DI BARTOLO, *San Martino altarpiece* reconstructed with *Madonna and Child* from Nancy (Musée des Beaux-Arts) and two pairs of Saints in the Pisa (Arcivescovado, deposit), ca 1397/98, graphic reconstruction by Dóra Sallay and Gergely Buzás to plan by Gail Solberg (Credit: author)



Fig.4: TADDEO DI BARTOLO, *Assumption of the Virgin altarpiece*, 1401, Montepulciano, Cathedral (Credit, Foto Lensini, Siena)



Fig.5: TADDEO DI BARTOLO, *Collegalli altarpiece*, 1389, Private Collection (Credit: author)



Fig.6: SPINELLO
ARETINO, *Altarpiece
from the Oratorio di
Sant'Andrea*, Lucca,
1391 (Florence,
Galleria dell'Ac-
cademia) (Credit:
Florence Polo
Museale della Città
di Firenze)



Fig.7: CECCO DI PIETRO, *Agnano altarpiece* reconstructed, graphic reconstruction by Dóra Sallay and Gergely Buzás to plan by Linda Pisani (Credit: Linda Pisani by kind concession)



Fig.8: GIOVANNI DEL BIONDO, *Altarpiece from Sta Croce*, Florence, Sacristy, 1379 (Credit: Foto Archivio)



Fig.9: TADDEO DI BARTOLO, *Montepulciano altarpiece*, 1401, Montepulciano, Cathedral, main panel (Credit, Foto Lensini, Siena)



Fig.10: TADDEO DI BARTOLO, *Montepulciano altarpiece*, 1401, Montepulciano, Cathedral, detail of *pastiglia* on Virgin's mantle (Credit, author)



Fig.11: TADDEO DI BARTOLO, *Montepulciano altarpiece*, 1401, Montepulciano, Cathedral, detail left wing with male saints (Credit, Foto Lensini, Siena)



Fig.12: TADDEO DI BAROLO, *Baptism of Christ*, 1397, Triora, Sta Maria Assunta, detail of Christ (Credit: author)



Fig.13: TADDEO DI BAROLO, *Datuccia Sardi-Da Campiglia altarpiece*, 1395, detail of St John the Baptist, (Credit: Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts)



Fig.14: TADDEO DI BAROLO, *Datuccia Sardi-Da Campiglia altarpiece*, 1395, detail of St Francis (Private Collection) (Credit: by kind concession of Moretti Fine Art)



15 TADDEO DI BARTOLO, *Montepulciano altarpiece*, 1401, Montepulciano, Cathedral, detail of pinnacle with Annunciate Virgin (Credit: by kind concession of the Soprintendenza BSAE Siena and Grosseto)



Fig.16: TADDEO DI BARTOLO, *Adoration of the Shepherds altarpiece*, 1404, Siena, Sta Maria dei Servi, detail of the Virgin (Credit: author)



Fig.17: BARTOLO DI FREDI, *Coronation of the Virgin* altarpiece, from San Francesco, Montalcino (Museo Civico e Diocesano) graphic reconstruction by Gaudenz Freuler



Fig.18: LORENZO DI NICCOLÒ, *Coronation of the Virgin* altarpiece, 1402, Cortona, San Domenico (Credit: Soprintendenza BSAE, Arezzo)



Fig.19: JACOPO DI CIONE, *Coronation of the Virgin* altarpiece, 1371, from San Pier Maggiore, reconstruction (Credit: Foto Archive)



Fig.20: SPINELLO ARETINO, montage photograph of elements from two *Olivetan Altarpieces*, elements in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge (Credit: Foto Archive)



Fig.21: SPINELLO ARETINO, detail of the frame from the *Olivetani altarpiece* panel with Sts Nemesio and John Baptist, Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts (Credit: Dóra Sallay)



Fig.22: JACOPO DI MINO DEL PELLICCIAIO, *Coronation of the Virgin*, ca 1370, Montepulciano, Museo Civico (Credit: Foto Lensini, Siena)



Fig.23: BARTOLOMEO BULGARINI, *Assumption of the Virgin* from Sta Maria della Scala, (Siena, Pinacoteca, nr 61) (Credit: Foto Lensini, Siena)



Fig.24: TURINO VANNI, *Madonna and Child altarpiece*, 1415, Genoa, San Bartolomeo degli Armeni (Credit: by kind concession of the Soprintendenza BSAE Liguria)