

## M I S Z E L L E N

Flavio Boggi: THE MAESTÀ OF THE PALAZZO COMUNALE IN PISTOIA: CIVIC ART AND MARIAN DEVOTION IN THE PISTOIESE COMMUNE OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

The *Maestà* (Fig. 2) on the ground floor of the Palazzo Comunale in Pistoia (Fig. 1) is among the most impressive examples of Pistoiese painting to survive from the middle of the fourteenth century. Even with the substantial losses to the lower section of its composition, the surviving fresco is monumental in scale<sup>1</sup>, conspicuously accomplished in execution, and, above all, an ambitious statement of civic identity and authority. Somewhat surprisingly for a work of this size and status, early writings on the town's art and the local guidebooks of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries remain curiously silent about its existence. Since the 1970s and Pier Paolo Donati's pioneering studies of Pistoiese trecento painting<sup>2</sup>, in which the mural was discussed at length, scholars have focused attention primarily on questions of style and authorship. Yet the issues of the picture's iconographic significance, its function, and its audience in the politically charged years of the middle of the fourteenth century, when the city attempted to resist the power of its mighty neighbour Florence, have never received similar scrutiny. An examination of the activities and of the outlook of Pistoiese civic institutions in the 1340s can, however, shed much light on the circumstances surrounding the commission of the *Maestà*, and the Commune's efforts to create a focal, monumental work of art.

The mural depicts the Virgin<sup>3</sup> and Child set within a sumptuous throne, the details of which reflect the Gothic decoration from the exterior of the town's baptistery of San Giovanni in Corte that was under construction in the same period.<sup>4</sup> In attendance are six angels and four saints, including Bishop Zeno and the apostle James the Greater<sup>5</sup>, who are positioned closest to Mary (Fig. 3). Formally acknowledged as patrons of the city and church of Pistoia since the twelfth-century<sup>6</sup>, James and Zeno were regularly invoked together as the Commune's *defensores* in the fourteenth-century statutes of the Popolo.<sup>7</sup> On the outer edge of the fresco and on the Virgin's far right is John the Baptist<sup>8</sup>, patron of Florence or the neighbouring territory with which Pistoia was formally 'in alliance' through much of the trecento. The Pistoiese Commune's pro-Florentine Guelph interests, as suggested by the inclusion of the Baptist in the *Maestà*, were unequivocally reinforced in the 1329 Statute of the Popolo, which opens with laudatory remarks about King Robert of Naples (leader of the Guelphs in Italy) and the Florentine Commune (the stronghold of Guelphism in Tuscany), alongside invocations to God, the Mother of Christ, Saints James and Zeno, all the other saints, the Holy Roman Church, and the pope.<sup>9</sup> In addition, in the late fourteenth century the Baptist was given a prominent position in the decoration of the silver altar of Saint James in the



1 Pistoia, Palazzo Comunale, west façade.



2-3 Maestà and detail (Virgin and Child enthroned between Saints James and Zeno), 1344. Pistoia, Palazzo Comunale.



cathedral, another project of great civic importance that involved government intervention. In fact, a statuette of the saint was set alongside depictions of Mary, Saints James and Zeno, and other protector saints of the town. The altar, furthermore, carries an inscription from 1316, when it was renewed and when Pistoia (like Florence) was under the protectorate of King Robert. The Latin text overtly praises the Angevin dynasty and implicitly honours Florence, since the latter city was so closely associated with the king's cause in the region.<sup>10</sup>

On the opposite side of the *Maestà* is an older bearded saint holding a book, probably to be identified with John the Evangelist<sup>11</sup>, titular saint of an important church in the town where the Council of the Popolo gathered in the thirteenth century<sup>12</sup>, and after which one of the Commune's two *borghi* or companies was named in the 1370s.<sup>13</sup> Framing the entire mural is a broad border with a red and white chequered pattern, which is a feature of Pistoia's heraldry and communal standard.<sup>14</sup> As a richly articulated unity<sup>15</sup>, therefore, the fresco is a self-conscious statement of Pistoiese civic ideology that presents the Virgin as the merciful guardian and supreme protector of the free Commune, and other saints, especially James and Zeno, as its powerful intercessors.

The importance of Mary for Pistoiese political life and civic imagery has so far escaped scholarly attention.<sup>16</sup> Yet her name and revered status as Divine Mediatrix are unambiguously affirmed in, for example, the opening lines of the Commune's Statute of the Popolo of 1344<sup>17</sup>, which is close in date to the presumed moment of execution of the *Maestà*. The promotion of the Mother of God as the great defender of the late medieval Tuscan commune is most frequently associated with Siena, "the city of the Virgin"<sup>18</sup>, although she was adopted by other towns in the region in order to perform a broadly similar role. Moreover, she was prominently represented in the decoration of civic buildings beyond the Siense Commune and its *contado*, and some notable surviving examples are to be found in San Gimignano, where Lippo Memmi's *Maestà* was painted in the Sala del Consiglio of the Palazzo del Popolo in 1317, and in Volterra, where Jacopo di Cione and Niccolò di Pietro Gerini executed a mural of the *Annunciation* in 1386 for the council chamber of the Palazzo dei Priori.<sup>19</sup> In Pisa, a city with which Pistoia was frequently allied in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries<sup>20</sup>, Mary was patron of both commune and cathedral, and the feast of the Assumption was the cause of great civic celebration and commemoration there.<sup>21</sup> In Florence, the city with which Pistoia had closest ties through most of the fourteenth century, the cathedral was



4 Manfredino d'Alberto, *Virgin and Child between Saints Zeno and James*. Pistoia, cathedral of San Zeno, Sala del Capitolo.

rebuilt and rededicated in her name in 1296.<sup>22</sup> She was, furthermore, presented as the supreme protector of Florence in at least one great artistic commission for the city's government palace: Giorgio Vasari described a now-lost painting by Giotto of Duke Charles of Calabria kneeling in front of the Virgin, which was still to be seen in a chamber of the Palazzo Vecchio in the sixteenth century.<sup>23</sup> Pistoia presents another opportunity, therefore, to examine the religio-political function of the Mother of Christ in the context of the power struggles within and between the Tuscan city-states in the fourteenth-century.

The celebration of the Virgin by means of painted imagery in an important civic site in Pistoia was an already established practice by the time that the *Maestà* came to be painted in the government palace. She was in fact prominently represented in a now-lost fresco that once adorned the entrance to the chapel of Saint James in the cathedral; a *sinopia* from the lunette over the door is all that survives of the project (Fig. 4). Currently ascribed to Manfredino d'Alberto and dated 1280-85<sup>24</sup>, it depicts *Mary and the Infant between Saints James and Zeno*. The pose of the blessing Christ from the *sinopia* is repeated in the high relief group of the *Virgin and Child* (1287) from the silver altar of the chapel (Fig. 5), and both Pistoiese works may be responding to the iconography of Cimabue's *Maestà* (1260s/1280), formerly in San Francesco in Pisa (now in the Musée du Louvre in Paris), given the strong political contacts and artistic exchanges between Pistoia and Pisa in the thirteenth century.<sup>25</sup> The original chapel that housed the sacred relic of Saint James (Pistoia's most precious possession) was maintained by the Opera di San Jacopo, a quasi-governmental institution whose *operai* were elected by the Council of the Popolo from a list of candidates approved by the Anziani.<sup>26</sup> It was to this space that the newly appointed Capitano del Popolo would go to swear an oath on first assuming his responsibilities, after which he would be received by the General Council of the Popolo and the Commune.<sup>27</sup> The site of important civic ritual, the chapel was therefore a principal landmark in the network of buildings associated with or directly controlled by the Pistoiese government. The union of the Virgin with the other protector saints of the city, as displayed in the *sinopia*, will reappear in the later fresco of the *Maestà* for the Palazzo Comunale, where her political role and her association with Pistoia are made all the more explicit.

Ever since Donati's studies of early Pistoiese painting, the *Maestà* has been convincingly dated to the 1340s on stylistic grounds alone.<sup>28</sup> A set of hitherto overlooked payments to be found in the city's conciliar deliberations might indicate a more precise chronology for the project: on 29 November 1344, forty *lire* were noted "pro pictura virginis gloriose Marie cum aliis sanctis" in the "camera comunis" of the palace, at which point the work was in progress<sup>29</sup>; fifteen *lire* are recorded on the 22 December of the same year for the completion of the scheme.<sup>30</sup> The date of the payments and the subject of the painting mentioned alongside them support the idea that these are references to the surviving fresco of the *Maestà*.

Circumstantial evidence relating to the rebuilding of the Palazzo Comunale casts more light on the context of the commission and on civic patronage in Pistoia at this time. According to the records of the city's General Council, plans to expand the existing fabric of the government palace were discussed in 1334 and 1335.<sup>31</sup> These additions, which were nearing completion in late 1343<sup>32</sup>, included a new ground-floor extension that ran the entire length of the north side of the original nucleus of the complex. The *Maestà* was painted on the west wall of the smaller of the two new chambers, which were both the outcome of the 1334 to 1343 campaign of rebuilding and refurbishment. The focal point of a rectangular space, the fresco exercises an imposing presence within a room traditionally known as the Sala de' Priori.<sup>33</sup> Given its size, the chamber could only have been planned for the smaller, and consequently more important, magistracies of the Commune, especially the Council of (eight) Anziani, whose name was changed to Priori in 1402 at Florentine demand.<sup>34</sup> The original audience of the *Maestà* would therefore have included Pistoia's leading officials, who gathered in smaller oligarchical councils and *ad hoc* committees to take decisions on government policy. By 25 August 1345, however, a new scheme to further extend the building was proposed, culminating in modifications at ground level, the reconstruction of the first floor, and the addition of a new second floor in the years that followed.<sup>35</sup> Both ground-floor meeting rooms probably housed civic officials while this second phase of rebuilding was undertaken, which ultimately provided more spacious accommodation on the *piano nobile* for the less powerful but more numerous assemblies of the General Council of the Popolo and the Commune.



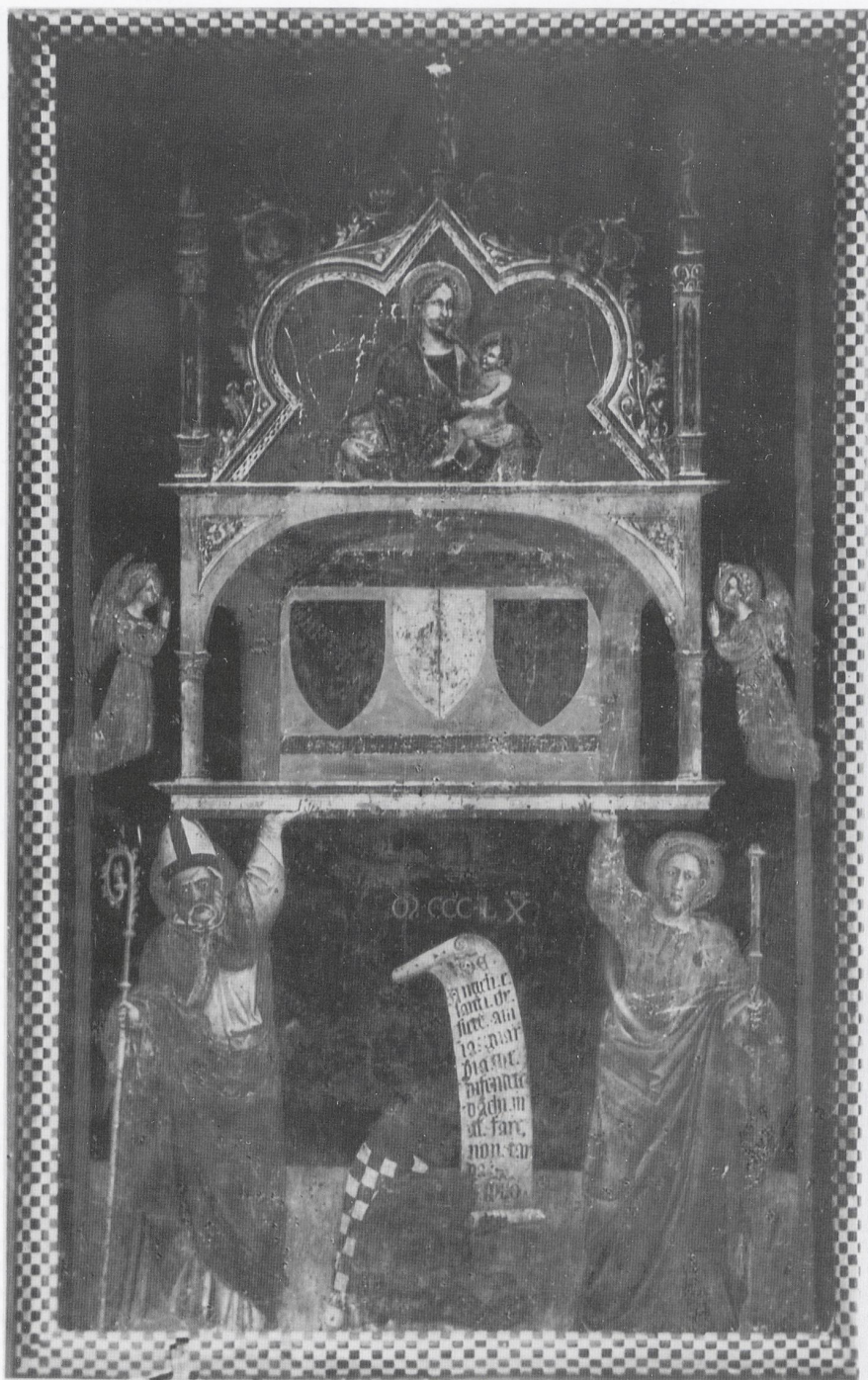
5 Virgin and Child from the silver altar of Saint James. Pistoia, cathedral of San Zeno.



6 Master of 1336, *Virgin and Child between Saints Francis, John the Baptist, Andrew, and Anthony Abbot*. Empoli, Museo della Collegiata.

On 29 November 1344, when the painting of the *Virgin and Saints* for the Palazzo Comunale was first mentioned, a payment of twenty *lire* was recorded for a second depiction of Mary and “*aliarum figurarum*” for the Loggia del Campanile, better known as the Loggia degli Anziani.<sup>36</sup> No trace of this painting survives today and there is no reference to it in the early literature on Pistoiese art, so it is unknown to modern scholarship.<sup>37</sup> As for the loggia, it once existed in the square in front of the Palazzo Comunale but was demolished in 1772<sup>38</sup>; its appearance, however, is faithfully preserved in a late sixteenth-century fresco in Villa Medici in Rome that depicts Pistoia’s main piazza.<sup>39</sup> The Loggia degli Anziani was built in the 1330s<sup>40</sup> against the northern flank of the cathedral and the bell- or civic-tower whose ground floor accommodated the offices of the Communal Treasury in the twelfth century.<sup>41</sup> The celebrated poet and jurist Cino da Pistoia (ca. 1270–1337), who worked for the Pistoiese government as the Podestà’s judge of civil cases, had allegedly promoted its construction.<sup>42</sup> Serving as an open-air adjunct to the nearby palace, the loggia accommodated the newly elected Gonfaloniere, Anziani, and, from 1402, Priori of the Commune who were sworn into office in full view of the citizenry, to whom they pledged to undertake their new public role with honesty and integrity.<sup>43</sup> From 1344, these civic ceremonies took place beneath the now-lost depiction of the Virgin in the loggia. To judge by the 1344 payment records then, both Marian images were executed concurrently, both formed part of an integrated programme to decorate the expanding complex of new government buildings, and both constituted striking focal points for civic celebrations and proceedings. These commissions, furthermore, make it abundantly clear that Pistoia’s leading civic institutions were under the protection of the Virgin Mary and her saintly companions: from the moment of the delivery of their oath of office in the Loggia degli Anziani, to the day-to-day management of state affairs in the nearby palace, Pistoiese officials operated under the watchful gaze and protective presence of the Mother of Christ.

The payment records of 1344 remain silent as to the identity of the painter or painters working on the frescoes of the Virgin for the government palace and the Loggia degli Anziani. Donati associated the Palazzo Comunale *Maestà* with the so-called Master of 1336, who is linked to a fresco that in turn commemorates a miraculous episode that took place in the city in 1336.<sup>44</sup> As presented by Donati, the art of this anonymous Pistoiese painter all too conveniently bridges the long gap between the end of the career of the Master of 1310 (another *anonimo* based in the town in the opening decades of the fourteenth century who was identified by Donati)<sup>45</sup> and the early activity of Giovanni di Bartolomeo Cristiani (perhaps the most significant local artist of the last third of the same century).<sup>46</sup> The idea that the painter of the *Maestà* may have been an artistic personality quite distinct from the Master of 1336 was raised by Donati himself, and this view has subsequently been expressed with good reason by others.<sup>47</sup> It is difficult, for example, to reconcile the uncompromising weight and gravity of the angels surround-



7 Saints James and Zeno beneath the Virgin and Child (before the 1974 *strappo*), 1360. Pistoia, Palazzo Comunale.

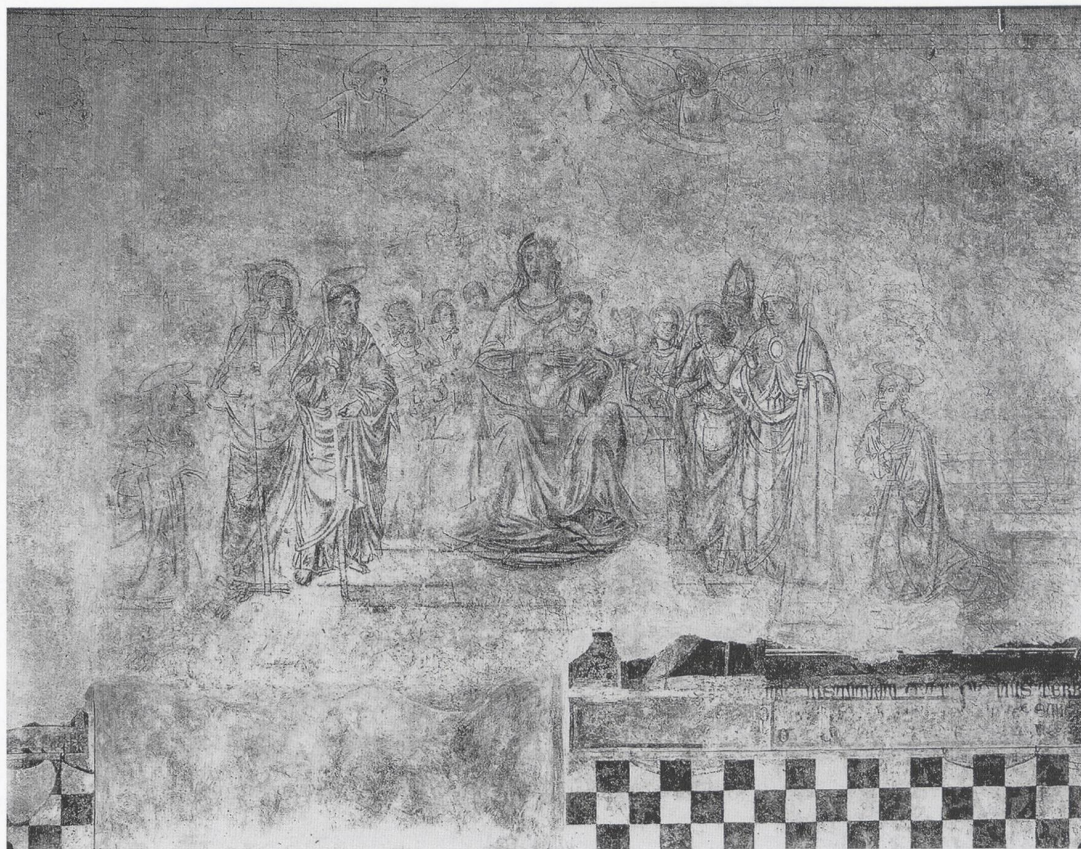


8 Lippo di Dalmasio, *Madonna of Humility with Angels*. Pistoia, Palazzo Comunale.

ing the central group in the *Maestà* with the altogether more sharply contoured forms and the terser figural style of many of the other works that Donati ascribed to the Master of 1336, such as the altarpiece of the *Virgin and Child with Saints* in Empoli (Fig. 6). The influence of Maso di Banco (active 1335-50) is particularly evident, as is frequently noted, in the austere air and restrained poses of these angels. Significantly, artists in Maso's circle were active in Pistoia in this period, most notably Bonaccorso di Cino and Alesso d'Andrea who decorated the chapel of Saint James in the cathedral in 1347 with Pistoiese collaborators.<sup>48</sup> In short, the visual evidence supports the view that the creator of the *Maestà* was as attuned to local artistic tradition as he was to the work of outsiders active in Pistoia in the 1340s.

There is a general consensus that the artist who executed the *Maestà* was Pistoiese or spent his formative years in the town, and that he commanded a certain reputation locally to judge by the scale and the prestige of the civic commission that he secured.<sup>49</sup> Among the most notable painters of Pistoia who were active from the middle of the fourteenth century, and who today remain without an identifiable body of work, are the brothers Filippo, Iacopo, and Tommeo di Lazzaro.<sup>50</sup> They may have been the sons of the painter Lazzaro, who is sometimes linked to Donati's Master of 1310.<sup>51</sup> Largely neglected in the recent literature on fourteenth-century painting of the region, the family merits some attention, not least because the known documents indicate that all three brothers were central to the town's artistic life from the 1340s, when the *Maestà* was executed, into the second half of the century. Tommeo di Lazzaro collaborated with Bonaccorso di Cino and Alesso d'Andrea on the project to decorate the chapel of Saint James in the cathedral in 1347<sup>52</sup>, while Filippo di Lazzaro worked for the Opera di San Iacopo in 1356 and 1380.<sup>53</sup> Iacopo di Lazzaro, perhaps the most successful of the three, painted a panel for the Opera di San Giovanni Fuorcivitas in Pistoia in 1354, and, further afield in Castelfranco di Sotto in the lower





9 Benozzo Gozzoli, *Maestà*. Pistoia, Palazzo Comunale.

Valdarno, executed an altarpiece of the *Virgin between Saints* (lost) for the Palazzo Comunale of the town in 1394.<sup>54</sup> A close examination of the unpublished lists of the members of Pistoia's civic offices<sup>55</sup> reveals that the di Lazzaro brothers, especially Iacopo and Filippo, had an impressive record of political service. In fact, between 1345 and 1368, this last year being when Giovanni Cristiani is mentioned in public office<sup>56</sup>, Filippo, Iacopo and Tommeo were the only painters known to have been elected to government. Iacopo regularly served as a member of the General Council of the *Popolo* and the *Commune* between 1345 and 1390<sup>57</sup>, and he secured the lucrative and prestigious office of Captain of Calamecca in the Pistoiese *contado* in 1381.<sup>58</sup> Filippo, who received payment of three *lire* from the government for decorating twelve banners on 14 April 1380<sup>59</sup>, was as committed as Iacopo to serving his city, taking on roles as Anziano in 1384 and 1387<sup>60</sup>, as one of the *Dodici Buonomini* in 1382 and 1398<sup>61</sup>, as a member of the General Council intermittently between 1349 and 1392<sup>62</sup>, and as ambassador of the *Commune* in a diplomatic mission to Bologna in 1382<sup>63</sup>; he is known to have died before 29 October 1398.<sup>64</sup> Tommeo served on the General Council in 1360<sup>65</sup>, while Iacopo's son, the painter Nofri di Iacopo di Lazzaro, was a member of the *Dodici Buonomini* in 1391 and Anziano in 1393.<sup>66</sup> The extant government records express and confirm the brothers' reputation, especially the status of Iacopo and Filippo, and it is likely, therefore, that one of them, even in early career, could have been responsible for the Palazzo Comunale *Maestà*. Given the uncertainties that still exist around Pistoiese painting from the middle of the trecento, especially in relation to the links between the Master of 1336 and the Master of Popiglio<sup>67</sup>, this suggestion must remain a working hypothesis until further research in the area reveals a securely identifiable *oeuvre* for each of the di Lazzaro brothers, who may well have operated within the context of a family workshop.

The projects of the *Maestà* in the Palazzo Comunale and the now-lost Marian image for the Loggia degli Anziani were part of what appears to have been a more extensive campaign of civic patronage in Pistoia in the 1330s and 1340s. The city was under Florentine hegemony between 1328 and 1343<sup>68</sup>, and, in an attempt to boost the citizens' morale and to promote a sense of the Commune's identity, civic institutions launched or gave new impetus to existing architectural schemes in these years. The most impressive and conspicuous of these have already been cited above and include the enlargement of the government palace, the building of the loggia, and the attempts to complete the construction of the baptistery. In addition, a series of artistic commissions for the interior of the cathedral was also established, which must have raised spirits and fuelled patriotic fervour.<sup>69</sup> These ranged from the erection of a funerary monument to commemorate Cino da Pistoia in 1337<sup>70</sup> and the additions to the silver altar of Saint James in the 1330s and 1340s<sup>71</sup>, to the commissioning of a new sarcophagus in 1337 for Bishop Atto.<sup>72</sup> Founder of the cult and chapel of Saint James in the cathedral in 1144-45, Atto was by virtue of these endeavours intimately associated with the civic and political identity of Pistoia.<sup>73</sup> The translation of the bishop's remains from the baptistery to the cathedral in 1337 would have appealed to the urban laity, and the local authorities may have been responding to the notable and very public promotion of the relics of Bishop-Saint Zenobius undertaken in Florence in 1331.<sup>74</sup> The Pistoiese event could be understood, therefore, to be an assertive act of civic self-promotion, but one that the Florentines would have endorsed due to the Guelph associations of the cult of Saint James and of Bishop Atto.<sup>75</sup> In 1343, following the demise of the tyrannical ruler of Florence, Walter of Brienne (the duke of Athens), Florentine involvement in the government of Pistoia weakened.<sup>76</sup> With great hopes for the future, the Pistoiese civic authorities redacted the new Statute of the Popolo in 1344, which, in its opening lines, appealed to the Virgin and Saints Zeno and James for the perpetual freedom of the city, the *contado*, and the district.<sup>77</sup> The Statute also conveyed a collective desire for amicable and harmonious relations with Florence, which manifested itself in an annual public procession that commemorated the peace made between the two cities in 1329.<sup>78</sup> It would appear that the Marian images, which were commissioned for the government palace and loggia in the same year, articulated and gave powerful visual expression to these prayers and invocations.

Even though Florentine domination of Pistoia became a permanent feature from 1351, culminating in the loss of the last vestiges of independence in 1401/2<sup>79</sup>, the Mother of Christ continued to be closely and deliberately identified with Pistoia, for she is prominently depicted in other frescoes that were commissioned for the *piano nobile* of the Palazzo Comunale after it was rebuilt in the 1350s. Surviving schemes include *Saints James and Zenobius beneath the Virgin and Child* in the Salone del Consiglio (Fig. 7), which carries the date 1360<sup>80</sup>, and the *Madonna of Humility with Angels* (Fig. 8) for another room that is today known as the Sala Guelfa.<sup>81</sup> As ambitious as the *Maestà* on the ground floor, these works express the city's ongoing allegiance to Mary and convey, perhaps, a trace of nostalgia for the earlier days of the free Commune.<sup>82</sup> By the close of the quattrocento, plans were set in place to execute a new mural of the Virgin in majesty on the north wall of the Sala Ghibellina on the first floor of the palace. But in 1497 Benozzo Gozzoli, who is credited with undertaking the project, died in Pistoia having executed a monumental *sinopia* in preparation for what would have been an imposing *Maestà* in fresco (Fig. 9).<sup>83</sup> Discovered beneath whitewash in 1955<sup>84</sup>, the rough composition is partly indebted to Lippo Memmi's earlier version of the same subject in San Gimignano's Palazzo del Popolo, which Benozzo restored in 1467. Of greater importance, however, is the fact that Benozzo's scheme draws upon and restates a variety of themes from the *Maestà* on the ground floor of Pistoia's Palazzo Comunale, a detail that has been overlooked in discussions of the late fifteenth-century work. In continuity with the Marian images of 1344 in the city's government buildings, Benozzo's *Maestà* would have provided a later, albeit equally compelling, testament to Pistoiese civic identity and authority, especially in the 1490s when relations with Florence were strained and Pistoia was once again in the throes of traumatic events.<sup>85</sup> Evidently, the Virgin Mary's religio-political role and her function as Divine Mediatrix were, for the general population of Pistoia, as strongly felt in 1497, as they had already been back in 1344.

## NOTES

*This article is dedicated to the memory of Chiara D'Afflitto, recently deceased director of Pistoia's Museo Civico.*

- <sup>1</sup> The work is 648 cm in length and 333 cm in height.
- <sup>2</sup> *Pier Paolo Donati*, *Per la pittura pistoiese del Trecento: Il Maestro del 1336*, in: *Paragone*, XXVII, 321, 1976, pp. 3-15; but also *idem*, *Per la pittura pistoiese del Trecento: Il Maestro del 1310*, in: *Paragone*, XXV, 295, 1974, pp. 3-26.
- <sup>3</sup> The literature on the cult of the Virgin in the later Middle Ages is extensive, but for Marian worship in the Pistoiese context, see *Natale Rauty*, *Il culto dei santi a Pistoia nel Medioevo*, Florence 2000, pp. 217-226.
- <sup>4</sup> In July 1339, the officials of the Opera di San Giovanni commissioned Cellino di Nese, *magister lapidum*, to work on the marble revetment of the exterior of the baptistery; see *Sebastiano Ciampi*, *Notizie inedite della Sagrestia pistoiese de' belli arredi, del Campo Santo pisano e di altre opere di disegno dal secolo XII al XV*, Florence 1810, pp. 47-48, 123-125.
- <sup>5</sup> For the veneration of these saints in Pistoia, see *Rauty* (n. 3), pp. 176-181, 331-334. There is also frequent reference to them in relation to civic matters in *Diana Webb*, *Patrons and defenders. The saints in the Italian city-states*, London 1996, pp. 78-81, 107-110, 155-161.
- <sup>6</sup> See, for example, one of the earliest surviving statutes of the city in *Lo Statuto dei Consoli del Comune di Pistoia: frammento del secolo XII*, eds. *Natale Rauty/Giancarlo Savino*, Pistoia 1977, p. 46.
- <sup>7</sup> See the Statute of 1329: AS, Pistoia (hereafter cited as ASP), Comune di Pistoia: Statuti e Ordinamenti (hereafter cited as Statuti) 3, fol. 2r; and the Statute of 1344: *ibidem* 6, fol. 3r.
- <sup>8</sup> For the veneration of the saint in the city, see *Rauty* (n. 3), pp. 181-184.
- <sup>9</sup> ASP, Statuti 3, fol. 2r. References to Florence and King Robert appear in the margin.
- <sup>10</sup> The inscription states:  
Hoc opus factum fuit tempore potentis viri Dardani de Acciaiuolis Vicarii pro Serenissimo Principe Domino Rege Roberto in civitate Pistorii et discriptu et tempore Simonis Francisci Guerci et Bartholomei Domini Aste Domini Lanfranchi Operarium Opere Beati Jacobi Apostoli sub anno Dominice Incarnationis MCCCXVI Inditione XV de mense Decembris per me Andream Iacobi Ognabenis aurificem de Pistorio. For the altar and its Guelph associations, see *Lucia Gai*, *L'altare argenteo di San Iacopo nel Duomo di Pistoia: Contributo alla storia dell'oreficeria gotica e rinascimentale italiana*, Turin 1984, pp. 92, 187.
- <sup>11</sup> For the veneration of John the Evangelist in Pistoia, see *Rauty* (n. 3), pp. 184-187.
- <sup>12</sup> For the meetings of the Popolo in San Giovanni Fuorcivitas, see *Breve et ordinamenta populi pistorii anni 1284*, ed. *Lodovico Zdekauer*, Milan 1891, pp. xvi-xvii.
- <sup>13</sup> In 1376, the city was subdivided into the Borgo or "societas" San Paolo and the Borgo San Giovanni Evangelista, and each had its own set of electoral purses; see *David Herlihy*, *Medieval and Renaissance Pistoia: The social history of an Italian town*, New Haven 1967, p. 205.
- <sup>14</sup> For the communal standard, see *Alfredo Chiti*, *Lo stemma del Comune di Pistoia*, in: *Bull. Storico Pistoiese*, XXXII, 1930, pp. 81-84.
- <sup>15</sup> The general scheme of the work is vaguely reminiscent of Simone Martini's earlier *Maestà* (ca. 1315) in the Sala del Consiglio of Siena's Palazzo Pubblico. Like Simone's work, the Pistoiese fresco portrays the Virgin as an impressively enthroned queen presiding over the court of heaven with angels and the city's patron saints in her company, and civic heraldry in the painted border. The mural in Pistoia, admittedly, includes far fewer figures in its composition and exhibits a less richly-wrought surface, but both paintings share a religio-political function, and their original audience, which consisted of communal officials, was ostensibly the same. The Pistoiese *Maestà*, as it survives today, does not include written texts, which are, on the other hand, given great emphasis in Simone's work. The possibility that the work in Pistoia once carried written embellishments cannot be excluded, for the lower half of its painted surface — where one would expect to find an inscription — is today destroyed. For a recent discussion of Simone's work in the context of civic ritual, see *Diana Norman*, 'Sotto uno baldachino trionfale': The ritual significance of the painted canopy in Simone Martini's *Maestà*, in: *Renaissance Studies*, XX, 2006, pp. 147-160.

- 16 Instead, the existing literature on the subject focuses on the importance of Saint James: see, for example, *Lucia Gai*, *Aspetti della civiltà figurativa comunale a Pistoia*, Pistoia 1985.
- 17 ASP, Statuti 6, fol. 3r.
- 18 For a penetrating exploration of this argument, see *Diana Norman*, *Siena and the Virgin: Art and politics in a late medieval city-state*, New Haven 1999.
- 19 For useful overviews of Tuscan communal palaces, their decoration, and their ideology, see *Niccolò Rodolico/Giuseppe Marchini*, *I palazzi del popolo nei comuni toscani del Medioevo*, Milan 1962; *Edna Carter Southard*, *The frescoes in Siena's Palazzo Pubblico, 1289-1539: Studies in imagery and relations to other communal palaces in Tuscany*, diss. Indiana University 1978, New York 1979; and *C. Jean Campbell*, *The game of courting and the art of the Commune of San Gimignano, 1290-1320*, Princeton 1997.
- 20 In 1182, for example, when Pistoia cultivated amicable relations with Pisa, the Pistoiese Commune adopted the Pisan coinage over the Lucchese one; see *Natale Rauty*, *Società, istituzioni, politica nel primo secolo dell'autonomia comunale*, in: *L'età del libero Comune: Dall'inizio del XII alla metà del XIV secolo* (Storia di Pistoia, 2), ed. *Giovanni Cherubini*, Florence 1998, p. 37.
- 21 For the Virgin as the supreme patron of Pisa, see, for example, *Webb* (n. 5), pp. 106, 181, 224, 249.
- 22 The history and context of the political role of the Virgin in Florence is usefully summarized in *Mary Bergstein*, *Marian politics in Quattrocento Florence: The renewed dedication of Santa Maria del Fiore in 1412*, in: *Renaissance Quarterly*, XLIV, 1991, pp. 673-719.
- 23 *Vasari-Milanesi*, II, p. 436.
- 24 The work was discovered in 1959 during a restoration campaign; see *Ugo Procacci*, *Sinopie e affreschi*, Milan 1960, p. 49. An early attribution to Lapo da Firenze and a chronology of 1260 were rejected by *Pier Paolo Donati*, *Il punto su Manfredino d'Alberto*, in: *Boll. d'arte*, LVII, 1972, pp. 143-152. Donati's views on authorship and date of execution are still widely accepted.
- 25 Points of contact between Cimabue's scheme and the high relief group from the silver altar of Saint James were recently underlined by *Marco Collareta* in: *Cimabue a Pisa: La pittura pisana del Duecento da Giunta a Giotto*, exh. Pisa, cat. ed. *Mariagiulia Burrelli/Antonino Caleca*, Pisa 2005, p. 96.
- 26 For the 1313 Statute of this special magistracy, see *Lucia Gai/Giancarlo Savino*, *L'Opera di S. Jacopo in Pistoia e il suo primo statuto in volgare (1313)*, Pisa 1994; and for some of the Opera's functions, see *Diana Webb*, *St James in Tuscany: The Opera di San Jacopo of Pistoia and pilgrimage to Compostela*, in: *Journal of ecclesiastical history*, L, 1999, pp. 207-234.
- 27 ASP, Statuti 3, fol. 3r.
- 28 *Donati*, 1976 (n. 2), pp. 3-15. This chronology is maintained in the most recent overview of Pistoiese painting of the early fourteenth century: *Enrica Neri Lusanna*, *Le arti figurative a Pistoia*, in: *L'età del libero Comune* (n. 20), p. 312.
- 29 ASP, Comune di Pistoia: Consigli, Provvisioni e Riforme (hereafter cited as Consigli) 8, fol. 30r (in pencil); the full entry reads "Camarlinghettus comunis pistoriensis pro uno castione [?] emendo et fieri faciendo pro camera comunis et pro pictura virginis gloriose Marie cum aliis sanctis in dicta camera. Librae quadraginta."
- 30 *Ibidem*, fol. 35r (in pencil); the full entry reads "Camarlinghettus comunis pro complemento picturae Virginis Marie in camera comunis. Librae quindecim."
- 31 For the published documents relating to the building programme, see *Gaetano Beani*, *Giano della Bella e il Palazzo degli Anziani in Pistoia: Appunti storici con documenti inediti*, Pistoia 1909; *Francesco Gurrieri*, *Il Palazzo comunale di Pistoia*, Pistoia 1975; and *Natale Rauty* in: *Nori Andreini Galli*, *Palazzi pistoiesi*, Lucca 1991, pp. 268-269. For a succinct overview of the various campaigns of enlargement of the building, see *Valerio Tesi* in: *Francesco Gurrieri*, *La piazza del Duomo di Pistoia*, Bergamo 1995, pp. 129-139; and *Italo Moretti*, *Le pietre della città*, in: *Dentro lo Stato fiorentino: Dalla metà del XIV alla fine del XVIII secolo* (Storia di Pistoia, 3), ed. *Giuliano Pinto*, Florence 1999, pp. 269-272.
- 32 On 19 December of this year, Lapo Mazzaluche was paid for the supply of 3,800 roof tiles; *Beani* (n. 31), p. 29.
- 33 The room measures 6.58 m in length and 6.48 m in breadth. For its association with the city's Priors see, for example, *Alfredo Chiti*, *Pistoia: Guida storica artistica*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Pistoia 1956, p. 34.
- 34 *Herliby* (n. 13), p. 220.
- 35 The Pistoiese Commune's plans of these years are recorded in the deliberations of the General Council and were published by *Beani* (n. 31), p. 72. On 17 April 1348, Michele di Ser Memmo of Siena declared himself "chamaestro del palagio del Comune di Pistoia" in a document relating to the commissioning of a statue for the silver altar of Saint James; *Milanesi*, *Documenti*, III, p. 276, n. 3. In November 1349, meanwhile, an otherwise unspecified "magistrum de Florentia" was cited in relation to the project; *Beani* (n. 31), pp. 31, 74.
- 36 ASP, Consigli 8, fol. 30r (in pencil); the full entry reads "Pro pictura unius Virginis Marie at aliarum figurarum subter logiam campanilis. Librae viginti." This depiction of the Virgin in the loggia is not to be confused with the earlier *Madonna delle Porrine*, which is today to be found inside the cathedral but was originally located

- outside, near the loggia. For a recent review of this last work, see *Cristina Acidini Luchinat*, *La cattedrale di San Zeno a Pistoia*, Cinisello Balsamo 2003, pp. 86-87.
- 37 The loggia was decorated with a cycle of fifteenth-century mural paintings depicting famous men; for this scheme, see *Alberto Chiappelli*, *Storia del teatro in Pistoia dalle origini alla fine del sec. XVII*, in: *Bull. Storico Pistoiese*, XII, 1910, p. 149.
- 38 For its destruction, see *Francesco Tolomei*, *Guida di Pistoia per gli amanti delle belle arti, con notizie degli architetti, scultori, e pittori pistoiesi*, Pistoia 1821, p. 36. The structure was also known as the Loggia del Giuramento or della Montata or del Teatro; see *Chiappelli* (n. 37), p. 149.
- 39 *Gurrieri*, 1995 (n. 31), pp. 30, 49, fig. 21. The appearance of the loggia is conveyed in later works; for illustrations see Cecco Bravo's fresco of the *Blessed Bonaventura Bonaccorsi* of 1633 (Pistoia, Santissima Annunziata) in *Enrica Neri Lusanna/Chiara D'Afflitto*, *Le arti figurative*, in: *Dentro lo Stato fiorentino* (n. 31), p. 421, fig. 39; and see the early seventeenth-century drawing in the records of the Opera dei Santi Giovanni e Zeno in *Gurrieri*, 1995 (n. 31), p. 59, fig. 32.
- 40 Its construction is mentioned in the deliberations of the civic authorities in 1337; *Chiappelli* (n. 37), p. 149. There is reference to the loggia at the earlier dates of 1334 in *Alfredo Pacini*, *La Chiesa pistoiese e la sua cattedrale nel tempo: Repertorio di documenti (Anni 255-1450)*, Pistoia 1994, I, p. 88; and 1332 in *Tolomei* (n. 38), p. 36.
- 41 See the *Breve consulum* (39.1), which was redacted in around 1140, in *Statuti pistoiesi del secolo XII: Breve dei consoli; Statuto del podestà*, ed. *Natale Rauty*, Pistoia 1996.
- 42 Cino, whose full name was Guittoncino dei Sinibaldi or Sighibuldi, was a prominent figure in Pistoiese public life between 1316 and 1332. For his links with the loggia, see, for example, *Moretti* (n. 31), p. 271.
- 43 For these ceremonies and other functions performed in the loggia, see *Chiappelli* (n. 37), p. 149. Similar civic rituals were performed in the government loggia of the Republic of Florence, which was ordered in 1356 and built in 1380; see *Nicolai Rubinstein*, *The Palazzo Vecchio, 1298-1532: Government, architecture, and imagery in the Civic Palace of the Florentine Republic*, Oxford 1995, pp. 86-87.
- 44 *Donati*, 1976 (n. 2), pp. 3-15.
- 45 For a crucial discussion of the master's work, see *idem*, 1974 (n. 2), pp. 3-26. For more recent scholarly interventions, including a review of the literature on the artist since Donati's article, see *Neri Lusanna* (n. 28), pp. 301-305; *Luciano Bellosi*, *Cimabue*, Milan 1998, p. 241 n. 43; and *Alessandro Volpe*, *Una aggiunta al Maestro del 1310*, in: *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Jürgen Winkelmann*, ed. *Sylvie Béguin*, Naples 1999, pp. 373-379.
- 46 For an informed overview of his life and career, see *Miklós Boskovits*, *Cristiani, Giovanni*, in: *Diz. Biogr. Ital.*, XXXI, 1985, pp. 14-17. For a recent contribution that includes a useful assessment of the scholarship on the artist since 1985, see *Neri Lusanna/D'Afflitto* (n. 39), pp. 357-383.
- 47 *Donati* (1976 [n. 2], p. 13), confessed "un ultimo tenue dubbio" over the *Maestà's* place in the catalogue of the Master of 1336 in response to the views held by Miklós Boskovits and Luciano Bellosi. The idea that the painter of the *Maestà* was instead a separate artistic personality, who could be associated with the execution of the fresco of the *Virgin of Mercy* in the Bigallo in Florence, was proposed by *Miklós Boskovits*, in: *Offner*, *Corpus*, sect. 3, IX, 1984, p. 3. For a different opinion, see *Isabella Lapi Ballerini* (*La sagrestia della chiesa di San Paolo a Pistoia e le sue decorazioni*, in: *Notizie di cantiere*, V, 1993, pp. 87-89), who noted stylistic affinities between a fresco of the *Crucifixion* in San Paolo in Pistoia and the *Maestà*. The scholar convincingly argued the case for a new *anonimo*, who, in her view, was responsible for a small group of frescoes that Donati had previously ascribed to the Master of 1336, including the *Madonna del Letto* (Pistoia, Santa Maria delle Grazie) and the *Saint Catherine* (Pistoia, San Bartolomeo in Pantano).
- 48 For the surviving fragments from the chapel, see *Ugo Procacci*, *Quattro virtù di Alesso d'Andrea scoperte nella cappella di S. Iacopo nel Duomo di Pistoia*, in: *Studien zur toskanischen Kunst: Fs. für Ludwig Heinrich Heydenreich zum 23. März 1963*, ed. *Wolfgang Lotz/Lise Lotte*, Munich 1964, pp. 244-254. For the activity of painters in Maso's circle in Pistoia, see *Enrica Neri Lusanna*, *La pittura in San Francesco dalle origini al Quattrocento*, in: *San Francesco: La chiesa e il convento in Pistoia*, ed. *Lucia Gai*, Pisa 1993, pp. 95-106.
- 49 For example, *Donati*, 1976 (n. 2), p. 8; and, more recently, *Neri Lusanna* (n. 28), pp. 301-305.
- 50 Their family enterprise was considered one of the three principal *botteghe* in fourteenth-century Pistoia according to *Peleo Bacci*, *Il pittore pistoiese Sano di Giorgio discepolo di Antonio Vite*, in: *Bull. Storico Pistoiese*, XIII, 1911, p. 197.
- 51 Sometimes called Lazzarino, the painter is associated with an inscription of 1307 in San Giovanni Fuorcivitas in Pistoia; see *Ugo Procacci*, *La pittura romanica pistoiese*, in: *Il romanico pistoiese nei suoi rapporti con l'arte romanica dell'Occidente*, conference Pistoia/Montecatini Terme 1964, Pistoia 1966, p. 366. Meanwhile, *Donati* (1974 [n. 2], p. 17) recognized Lazzarino's involvement in the decoration around the fenestration only, while others ascribed the nearby frescoes of *Scenes of the Passion* to him; see, for example, *Pierluigi Carofano*, *Pistoia*, in: *Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale*, IX, Rome 1998, p. 445. In 1346, Lazzaro received payment from

- the Opera di San Jacopo for work in the chapel of Saint James; *Lucia Gai*, Artigiani e artisti nella società pistoiese del basso Medioevo: Spunti per una ricerca, in: Artigiani e salariati: Il mondo del lavoro nell'Italia dei secoli XII-XV, conference 1981, Pistoia 1984, p. 248. Finally, a painter by the name of Lazzarino, who is almost certainly the same artist under discussion, received two *soldi* from the Commune on 27 May 1335; ASP, Consigli 5, fol. 52r.
- 52 *Ciampi* (n. 4), pp. 145-150.
- 53 For the first reference, see *Lucia Gai*, Arredi della cappella di S. Iacopo a Pistoia: La 'Resurrezione' di Benedetto Buglioni e le sue vicende nel secolo XVII, in: Bull. Storico Pistoiese, LXXX, 1978, p. 78; and for the second, see *Ciampi* (n. 4), p. 107.
- 54 For the first reference, see *Vittorio Capponi*, Biografia pistoiese o Notizie della vita e delle opere dei pistoiesi, Pistoia 1878, p. 240; for the second, see *Giulio Ciampoltrini*, Un contributo per Iacopo di Lazzaro, pittore pistoiese della seconda metà del XIV secolo, in: Bull. Storico Pistoiese, LXXXI, 1979, pp. 129-131. Iacopo is also known to have received a commission of a painting of the *Virgin and Saints* for the church of Grignano near Prato in 1372: *Ciampi* (n. 4), p. 106; and *Tolomei* (n. 38), p. 179.
- 55 After 1330, the names of painters are frequently to be found among the list of elected members of the General Council of the Popolo and the Commune, the largest of the Pistoiese magistracies, which replaced two older councils. Consisting of 136 members in 1376, the General Council represented the city's quarters or four gates (the Porta Caldatica, the Porta Guidi, the Porta Lucchese, and the Porta Sant'Andrea) and Pistoia's two *borghi* (from 1376). Less frequently, painters were elected to the prestigious and powerful Council of Anziani or Elders, which comprised eight members who served for two months, and the Dodici Buonomini or Council of Twelve, which was created in 1376 and whose members assisted the Council of Anziani in their dealings with the General Council. The Anziani supervised the Podestà and Capitano del Popolo and proposed changes to public legislation, which would then be presented to the General Council for approval. For a useful account of the main civic offices and magistracies of the Pistoiese Commune in these years, see *Ezelinda Altieri Magliozzi*, Istituzioni comunali a Pistoia prima e dopo l'inizio della dominazione fiorentina, in: Egemonia fiorentina ed autonomie locali nella Toscana nord-occidentale del primo Rinascimento: Vita, arte, cultura, conference 1975, Pistoia 1978, pp. 171-205; *Giovanni Cherubini*, Apogeo e declino del Comune libero, in: L'età del libero Comune (n. 20), pp. 71-72; and *Francesco Neri*, Società ed istituzioni: Dalla perdita dell'autonomia comunale a Cosimo I, in: Dentro lo Stato fiorentino (n. 31), pp. 1-18.
- 56 He is listed as one of the *aggiunti* (supplementary candidates) for the Porta Caldatica in the General Council on 22 December 1368 (ASP, Consigli 15, fol. 16r) and is elected to the same council under the same gate on 20 December 1369 (*ibidem*, fol. 57r).
- 57 *Ibidem* 9, fol. 22v (19 Dec. 1345; Porta Lucchese); 14, fol. 54v (20 June 1367); 19, fol. 41v (15 Nov. 1378); 19, fol. 270v (28 Apr. 1382; Porta Lucchese, Borgo S. Paolo); 19, fol. 285r (20 June 1382; Porta Lucchese); 19, fol. 294v (24 June 1382; involved in electing the Podestà); 20, fol. 26r (19 June 1383; Porta Lucchese); 20, fol. 42r (19 Oct. 1383; Porta Lucchese, Borgo S. Paolo); 20, fol. 51r (18 Dec. 1383; Porta Lucchese); 20, fol. 78r (21 Oct. 1384; Porta Guidi, Borgo S. Paolo); 20, fol. 83v (20 Dec. 1384; Porta Caldatica); 21, fol. 80v (3 May 1387; Borgo S. Giovanni); 22, fol. 40v (29 Oct. 1388; Porta Guidi, Borgo S. Paolo); 23, fol. 26v (10 Nov. 1389; Porta Guidi, Borgo S. Giovanni); 23, fol. 93v (29 Oct. 1390; Porta Guidi, Borgo S. Giovanni).
- 58 ASP, Comune di Pistoia: Camera del Comune 6, fol. 129r-v. He received payment of 25 *lire* for the position in March and again on 31 May. As Captain of Calamecca, Iacopo was the most important representative of the Pistoiese government, which had ultimate authority over this community in the mountains.
- 59 ASP, Consigli 19, fol. 138r.
- 60 *Ibidem* 20, fol. 68r (19 June 1384; Porta Lucchese, Borgo S. Paolo); 22, fol. 1(bis)r (28 June 1387; Borgo S. Paolo); 22, fol. 2v (1 July 1387; Borgo S. Paolo).
- 61 *Ibidem* 19, fol. 264r (26 Mar. 1382); 26, fol. 108r (on 28 Apr. 1398; Borgo S. Giovanni).
- 62 *Ibidem* 10, fol. 29v (27 June 1349; Porta Lucchese); 12, fol. 40v (17 June 1360); 18, fol. 86r (29 Oct. 1376; Porta Lucchese); 19, fol. 11v (23 Apr. 1378; Borgo S. Paolo); 19, fol. 234v (29 Oct. 1381; Porta Lucchese, Borgo S. Paolo); 20, fol. 12r (12 May 1383; Borgo S. Paolo); 20, fol. 51r (18 Dec. 1383; Porta Lucchese); 20, fol. 78v (21 Oct. 1384; Porta Lucchese, Borgo S. Paolo); 22, fol. 9v (4 Nov. 1387; Porta Lucchese, Borgo S. Paolo); 22, fol. 40v (29 Oct. 1388; Porta Lucchese, Borgo S. Paolo); 22, fol. 44r (28 Dec. 1388); 23, fol. 61v (15 May 1390; Porta Lucchese, Borgo S. Paolo); 25, fol. 7r (29 Oct. 1392; Porta Caldatica, Borgo S. Giovanni).
- 63 *Gai* (n. 51), pp. 245-246.
- 64 At this date, he is listed in the council records under the Borgo S. Giovanni as "mortus"; ASP, Consigli 26, fol. 133r.
- 65 *Ibidem* 12, fol. 40r (17 June; Porta Lucchese).
- 66 *Ibidem* 23, fol. 162v (29 Aug. 1391; Borgo S. Giovanni); 24, fol. 56r (on 28 June 1393; Porta Lucchese, Borgo S. Giovanni). He is probably to be associated with "Magister Nofrius olim Jacobi de Pistorio pictor" who was paid for working in Pisa cathedral in 1398; see *Ciampi* (n. 4), p. 118; and *Tolomei* (n. 38), pp. 187-188. For

- a different opinion on this last reference, see *Andrea G. De Marchi*, *Il Maestro della cappella Bracciolini e l'avvio del tardogotico a Pistoia*, in: *Storia dell'arte*, LXXIV, 1992, p. 22 n. 27.
- 67 Given the chronology, one cannot exclude the possibility that a member of the di Lazzaro family was responsible for the work that is currently ascribed to the Master of Popiglio, another anonymous Pistoiese artist of the trecento who was identified by *Miklós Boskovits*, *Pittura fiorentina alla vigilia del Rinascimento, 1370-1400*, Florence 1975, pp. 148, 250 n. 254. Some confusion exists over the precise nature of the links between the two masters, and a case in point is the *Madonna della Misericordia* in the Kisters Collection in Kreuzlingen, which has, at different moments, been associated with one or other of the anonymous painters in question; for an overview of this issue, see "Manifestatori delle cose miracolose": *Arte italiana del '300 e '400 da collezioni in Svizzera e nel Liechtenstein*, ed. *Gaudenz Freuler*, Einsiedeln 1991, pp. 186-188. More recently, however, *Enrica Neri Lusanna* (*L'affresco della Madonna dell'Umiltà: Filologia e iconografia*, in: *Centenario del miracolo della Madonna dell'Umiltà a Pistoia*, ed. *Alessandro Andreini/Marco Gori*, Pistoia 1993, pp. 85-86) extended the catalogue of the Popiglio Master, as did *Lapi Ballerini* ([n. 47], pp. 86-89), who reached very different conclusions, however.
- 68 From 1331, the Pistoiese selected their own Podestà but the Florentines stipulated that the important office of the Capitano della Custodia be given to a citizen of Florence. This guaranteed Florentine control of police authority and influence in decisions on new legislation. For an overview of the period, see *Herlihy* (n. 13), pp. 214-231; and *Cherubini* (n. 55), pp. 41-87.
- 69 For this specific context and these particular undertakings, see *Gai* (n. 10), pp. 36, 93.
- 70 The Sienese sculptor Agostino di Giovanni and his family workshop are commonly credited with the execution of the monument, which, though much altered over the years, is still in the cathedral; see *Neri Lusanna* (n. 28), p. 313. For the published records of payment, see *Pèleo Bacci*, *Cinque documenti pistoiesi per la storia dell'arte senese del XIII, XIV e XV secolo*, Pistoia 1903, pp. 15-16; and *Giancarlo Savino*, *L'eredità di messer Cino da Pistoia*, in: *Atti e memorie dell'Accademia Toscana di Scienze e Lettere "La Colombaria"*, LII, 1987, pp. 103-140.
- 71 Work on sections of the *predella* of the silver altar was underway between 1330 and 1340, and the figures of the *Virgin* and *Saint John* at either side of a *Crucifix* (for the summit of the scheme) were executed in the same period; see *Gai* (n. 10), pp. 46, 93.
- 72 The surviving elements from the sarcophagus of 1337 are three marble reliefs depicting *Atto sending for the relic* (left), *Atto between two angels* (middle), and *Atto receiving the relic* (right), which have been set into a seventeenth-century monument still located in the cathedral. The carvings have been attributed to the circle of Agostino di Giovanni; see *Neri Lusanna* (n. 28), p. 313; and *Acidini Luchinat* (n. 36), pp. 101-102.
- 73 The saintly bishop secured a relic of Saint James from the shrine in Santiago de Compostela and built a chapel to accommodate it in the cathedral in 1144-45; for information on Atto and subsequent events associated with his life, see *Giustiniano Marchetti*, *Della vita e lodi di santo Atto vescovo di Pistoia*, Pistoia 1630; and *Webb* (n. 5), pp. 78-80, 160-161.
- 74 For the history of the translation of Saint Zenobius and the associated rituals and celebrations, see *Alessandro Bicchi/Alessandro Ciandella*, *Testimonia sanctitatis: Le reliquie e i reliquiari del Duomo e del Battistero di Firenze*, Florence 1999, pp. 31, 42-43.
- 75 On this question, see *Webb* (n. 5), pp. 158, 160-161.
- 76 The period after 1343 was marred by factional feuds among Pistoia's patrician families, which culminated in victory for Giovanni Panciatichi in 1350; *Herlihy* (n. 13), pp. 227-228.
- 77 ASP, Statuti 6, fol. 3r.
- 78 *Ibidem*, fol. 97v. See also *Webb* (n. 5), pp. 190-191 n. 73.
- 79 On the broader question of the Tuscan territorial state that was created by Florence in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, see *William J. Connell/Andrea Zorzi*, eds., *Florentine Tuscany: Structures and practices of power*, Cambridge 2000. A full account and appraisal of the Florentine seizure of Pistoia in March 1351 and its aftermath is given in *Herlihy* (n. 13), pp. 227-231. In addition, the events that contributed to Pistoia's loss of independence in 1401/2 are chronicled in vivid detail by the notary *Luca Dominici*, *Cronaca della venuta dei Bianchi e della morìa, 1399-1400* (*Cronache di ser Luca Dominici*, 2), ed. *Giovan Carlo Gigliotti*, Pistoia 1933.
- 80 The fresco includes a bear wearing a red and white chequered cloak, a symbol of the Pistoiese Commune, and holding a long scroll with the dated inscription: DOMINE ANGELI E SANTI CHE SIETE A MIA GVARDIA ME DEFENDETE DA CHI MAL FARE NON TARDA, PPLO MCCCLX. The work is in a lamentable condition after a disastrous *strappo* in 1974, and it is now almost illegible. *Boskovits* ([n. 67], pp. 35, 40, 203 n. 111) ascribed it to Dalmasio and Niccolò di Tommaso, although more recently *Lucia Gai* (*L'immagine nell'arte sacra con particolare riguardo alla produzione artistica pistoiese*, in: *Arte sacra nei musei della Provincia di Pistoia*, ed. *Chiara D'Afflitto/Maria Cristina Masdea*, Florence 2004, p. 45) associated it with the hand of an anonymous Tosco-Emilian painter.

- 81 The mural is thought to date to 1407, but this chronology is unlikely. *Venturi* (1907, V, p. 948) attributed it to Lippo di Dalmasio, while *Luciano Bellosi* (in: *Andrea De Marchi*, *Il 'Maestro del 1310' e la fronda anti-giottesca: Intorno ad un 'Crocifisso' murale*, in: *Prospettiva*, 46, 1986, p. 55 n. 5) proposed Nanni di Iacopo as a more likely candidate. Recently, the attribution to Lippo, who was active in Pistoia until the late 1380s, was convincingly revived by *Alessandro Volpe*, *Frammenti di un'allegoria agostiniana: Quattro 'Filosofi' di 'Dalmasio'*, in: *Paragone*, LV, ser. 3, 53, 2004, p. 13.
- 82 On the ground floor of the palace are the *Virgin and Child* by Sano di Giorgio from the late 1300s and the *Virgin and Child with Angels between Saints Zeno and James*, which is dated 1397-98 and is also associated with the same Pistoiese painter; see *Neri Lusanna* (n. 48), pp. 158-159. For illustrations of both frescoes see Museo Civico di Pistoia: *Catalogo delle collezioni*, ed. *Maria Cecilia Mazzi*, Florence 1982, pp. 34-35, 37. Dating to the middle of the sixteenth century is a fresco of the *Virgin and blessing Christ Child* in a fictive tabernacle, which was originally to be found in the staircase of the Palazzo Comunale; see *L'età di Savonarola: Fra' Paolino e la pittura a Pistoia nel primo '500*, exhib. Pistoia, cat. ed. *Chiara D'Afflitto* et al., Venice 1996, p. 221 (*Andrea Muzzi*).
- 83 For Benozzo's association with the *sinopia*, see *Anna Padoa Rizzo*, *Arte e committenza a Pistoia alla fine del XV secolo: Benozzo Gozzoli e i figli Francesco e Alesso*. Nuove ricerche, Pistoia 1989, pp. 16-20. In addition, the scholar argued that the painter's youngest son, the notary Giovan Battista, a magistrate of the Pistoiese government, may have assisted Benozzo in securing this prominent civic commission, which was subsequently whitewashed due to its incomplete state.
- 84 For the circumstances surrounding the discovery, see *Procacci* (n. 24), p. 238. The restoration campaign revealed fragments of an earlier fresco that was destroyed in order to accommodate Benozzo's scheme. Surviving elements of this work, probably dating to the fourteenth century, include a tessellated dado, sections of fictive architecture, and an incomplete inscription consisting of two words: IVSTIT[ia] and TERR[ae]. For valuable comments on this earlier fresco, the associated inscription, and Gozzoli's *sinopia*, see *Diane Cole Abl*, *Benozzo Gozzoli*, New Haven 1996, pp. 200-203.
- 85 For a convincing interpretation of the *sinopia* in the context of the social and political upheavals in Pistoia at this time, see *ibidem*, p. 201. Benozzo's work in Pistoia in general and this civic commission in particular raise questions about Florentine artists working in Florence's territorial state. For a recent contribution to the notion of Pistoia as periphery to Florence as centre, see *Stephen J. Milner*, *The politics of patronage: Verrocchio, Pollaiuolo, and the Forteguerra monument*, in: *Artistic exchange and cultural translation in the Italian Renaissance city*, ed. *Stephen J. Campbell/Stephen J. Milner*, Cambridge 2004, pp. 221-245.

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