

GENDER REPRESENTATION IN TUSCAN TOMBS
OF THE TRECENTO AND QUATTROCENTO

by


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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines Tuscan tombs of the Trecento and Quattrocento as instruments upholding a preoccupation with patrilineal authority. Evidence indicates that the tomb monuments of Florence, Siena, Pisa, and Lucca aggrandized elite laymen to a striking degree over their female counterparts.

A discussion of the development of intrachurch lay burial and the legal status of women introduces this investigation. Subsequently, this study draws attention to the small number of markers overtly identified as belonging to women. In addition, the physical placement of these female tombs, and the nature of the different types of information conveyed by them, such as inscriptions and portraits, are compared to male-defined monuments. This study interprets the enduring material record as corresponding to popular social concepts which defined women as a group thought to ideally belong within the spheres of the home and family.

Ultimately, this thesis examines patronage as a highly gendered and constrained activity, but also as an area in which women asserted themselves as agents. To add dimension to the study of commemorative practices, a concluding exploration of art patronage indicates alternative areas in which women contributed to the culture of remembrance.


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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS

In a section of his Ten Books on Architecture, celebrated author and artist Leon Battista Alberti asserts that: "care ought to be taken of the Dead Body, for the Sake of the Living ... and for the Preservation of the Name to Posterity, there can be no Means more Effective than Sepulchres."¹ Alberti thus defines the role of commemoration as inspirational to society. Within the text, he assigns the responsibility for adequate sepulchral memorialization to male family members.² Indeed, the majority of grandiose chapels and monuments of the Renaissance were established by fathers, sons, and brothers. By contrast, Alberti is silent about female participation in the cult of remembrance. As this study indicates, his silence regarding the role of women is paralleled by the small number of surviving monuments commissioned by or on behalf of women.

The aforementioned remarks embody one of the major arguments of this thesis, namely, that women were not as active within the Early Renaissance tomb-building economy as their male counterparts. These comments, as well as the examples discussed below, highlight crucial elements in an analysis of gendered sepulchral commemoration in Tuscany during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. For the purposes of this study, the term "gender" refers to the behaviours, attitudes, and demeanours culturally attributed to, and expected of, each sex.³

During the fourteenth century, a group of four Bardi brothers requested familial burial rights in the Dominican house of Santa Maria Novella in Florence.⁴ In this instance, the siblings intended to build one grave near the altar of their family chapel to commemorate their late father and the knights of their line; a floor vault would suffice to house all other deceased family members.⁵ This separation of persons along social lines of "honour" exposes a visible and conscious system of ranking the dead, like the living, in a hierarchical manner. As may be seen in this example, the Bardi's approach to burial customs seems to affirm patrilineal values of the day, as well as reinforce social categories, such as the state of knighthood.

A third example concerns a now-anonymous effigial slab marker of a woman, stationed in the nave near the right transept of the Mendicant church of San Francesco in Siena. Though fundamentally destroyed as a result of its placement in a prominent position near the altar area, the slab retains some clear vestiges of low carving incised into its surface. The placement of this marker may be compared to the positioning of Donatello's splendid bronze slab in Siena Cathedral, made after 1427 for Giovanni Pecci, Bishop of Grosseto. Pecci's marker occupies a spiritually and socially privileged location in the middle of the nave, directly in front of the main altar. The slab in San Francesco almost undeniably portrays a high-standing noblewoman (as discussed in detail below, Chapter Four).

Her image was executed in the costly and exclusive form of a full-length effigial floor tomb. There can be little doubt that the placement of this female grave cover, or lastra terragna, commanded a similar position of spiritual and social prestige compared with the other monuments in San Francesco. Aside from a brief examination by art historian Robert Munman, however, no publications have discussed this obscured effigy during its five centuries of existence.⁶ Munman refers to the decrepit state of the piece as the sole cause of its scholarly neglect.⁷

As the above example suggests, the scholarship on Italian tombs has generally overlooked a large number of sepulchral monuments that fall outside the categories of aesthetic innovation, the fame of a particular artist, or a novel subject-matter. It is the intention of my thesis to focus on two interconnected categories of gender and social structure in relation to this material, to provide us with a fuller historical and social contextualization of tomb art in general.

The above examples highlight several important considerations in Tuscan sepulchral art of the Early Renaissance. Firstly, female tombs were relatively scarce during this period. Important implications can also be drawn from the visible social and gender divisions within the sepulchral sphere, and, as will be discussed below in this chapter, the literature does not discuss female tombs in any detail, or, on a more general level, "conventional" or "standard" tomb-types.

This thesis analyses how gender is represented in Trecento and Quattrocento sepulchral art found at the Mendicant churches of Santa Croce (Fig. 1) and Santa Maria Novella (Fig. 2) in Florence. My research also examines the evidence of sepulchral monuments in several other Tuscan cities, including Siena, Pisa, and Lucca. Central to the ideas expounded here is the concept of tombs as objects which reveal, in their existence and appearance, aspects of political and social mores, as well as piety. As we shall see, funerary monuments functioned to uphold patrilineage as the publicly recognizable authority.

During this period in Tuscany, ties to one's family were all-important. An individual's greatest pride lay in belonging to a family or a dynasty. Within this structure, men played a more active role in the realm of public affairs. Tombs of women should thus be viewed with this context in mind. This study will demonstrate, for example, that the spatial placement of women's graves differed from those of men, and that a significant difference existed in terms of "appropriate" areas of patronage for women; both of these elements may have been the result of social forces that sequestered women to the private sphere of the home and the family.⁸ Other indicators of gender and social position, such as inscriptions or portraits, communicate a visible difference in how family members were viewed and promoted. As will be discussed in Chapter Four, tombs of men are not only much more numerous, but reveal an individual's identity in a more pronounced fashion.

Within the powerful mercantile families that thrived in Trecento and Quattrocento republics such as Florence, both men and women were raised with a similar sense of pride, honour and social entitlement concerning their origins. Elite groups chose to define themselves and their families as extraordinary through patterns of conspicuous material display, an activity which entailed the building of sepulchral monuments; this task was normally carried out after an individual's demise.⁹ In theory, therefore, patrician women could have been commemorated via the display of their own markers and their own heraldic devices. In Florence, Siena, Pisa, and Lucca, however, this was not the case. As my research demonstrates, most of the surviving female tombs in these locations were designed as adjuncts to those of male family members or agnatic lines. These monuments received the respect owed to the dead in Christian society, but we do not see the same number and range of female burial markers within the sepulchral complex.

The focus of this study differs from more traditional studies in its wide-angle view of women as a group portrayed in sepulchral art. As will be discussed later in this work, the burial practices and tombs of women have traditionally been treated in an indifferent fashion by scholars, neglected as potential subjects for typological or patronal studies. My work is also different in that, although I scrutinize the markers owned by several wealthy families such as the Bardi and Strozzi, my attention

focusses upon more "average" or more representative types of tomb than those commonly encountered in monographs or surveys.¹⁰ It is important to note here that the material record is fundamentally skewed, for the "average" European's tomb would have been made out of less durable materials. A greater number of extant tombs have survived by virtue of the more costly, durable materials used in their construction, but they are not necessarily the norm for the period.

An individual's ability to erect any type of large memorial was usually linked to their social standing within the political, religious, or economic spheres.¹¹ Generally, grave markers served individuals whom Munman describes as "important enough to be mentioned in one historical survey or another."¹² The rich and honourable obtained their burial spots within a church through a number of avenues. Most commonly, persons received permission for cemeterial or intrachurch inhumation by right of their existence as inhabitants of that parish. Ecclesiastical authorities also extended mortuary rights to those who had contributed to the building or upkeep of part of the church complex, such as the cappella maggiore (main chapel), or sacristy.¹³ The decision to donate funds and art to a church may also be linked to an undeniable spiritual sentiment, although this factor is often forgotten by much secular-minded scholarship.¹⁴ We should also note that many families including the Strozzi, Tornaquinci (or Tornabuoni) and Rucellai produced a steady

stream of influential and loyal clergy who spent their lives serving churches such as Santa Maria Novella.¹⁵

METHODOLOGY

Much of the evidence concerning a study of female tombs is quantitative. It also involves the idea of gendered space as an abstract concept which is echoed in specific extant or recorded examples. The whole church structure must be taken into account, along with its grounds whenever possible. At this stage in my research, I have been unable to conduct firsthand analysis of archival or physical documentation for many tombs. For this reason, and because of the restricted scope of the thesis format, I acknowledge that this study cannot propose to discover and treat all of the sepulchral histories within Early Renaissance Tuscany in an exhaustive manner. While this thesis cannot resolve all of the issues influencing tomb-building, or the status of women in society, it is nevertheless important as a collation of known material regarding gendered burial systems. It is hoped that this work can contribute further to these new avenues of inquiry.

On account of the wide geographic scope of this thesis, I prefer to keep discussions general, and thus I will not be examining the history of individual graves in great detail. Such a subject would benefit from a more detailed study at a later date. For many chapels, key documentary evidence has already been published.

Qualitatively, I will consider the geographical layout of tombs, along with elements of decoration, and inscribed messages. To obtain the clearest possible correlation between patronal groups and their most representative markers, an examination of several different types of sepulchral monuments is necessary. Tomb monuments will be discussed in a more typological overview later on in the Introduction and in Chapter Three. Although the smallest of grave plaques have not been featured in significant social studies, slab tombs, and especially those bearing effigies, have benefitted from renewed scholarly interest in recent years.¹⁶ Unfortunately, the original distribution of grave monuments in cities such as Florence (most often small slabs) proves difficult to reconstruct, due to natural attrition and the post-Renaissance repaving of churches.¹⁷

This study sets the years between 1300 and 1500 as its chronological boundaries. Many Mendicant churches, including Santa Croce and Santa Maria Novella in Florence, and San Francesco in Pisa, underwent their final great rebuilding and refurbishment projects in the late Duecento.¹⁸ The installation of a notable and studiable corpus of tombs was hence pushed back until the early Trecento. Canonical standards admitting large-scale intrachurch burial of laymen during this time also contributed to this outcome. Finally, the sixteenth century, or Cinquecento, proved to be an era of radical political and religious turmoil in Italy. Over the course of this period the appearance of many Italian tombs, as

well as the interiors of churches including Santa Croce and Santa Maria Novella, experienced significant change. These developments lie outside the scope of this thesis.¹⁹

A number of relevant motives support the choice of the Mendicant churches of Santa Croce and Santa Maria Novella as the main topics of this study. For many scholars, Florence represents the epitome of Renaissance civilization, although this perception has been challenged in recent years. Florentine religion, society and art have thus been the subject of the largest amounts of scholarship available; the two Mendicant churches cited above have also received the greater share of scholarly attention. Secondly, relative to other Tuscan houses of worship, both institutions offer a great deal of published primary source material. The Dominican Order in particular greatly emphasized the literacy and erudition of its members, an expectation which, in the case of Santa Maria Novella, resulted in the production of several surviving detailed necrologies and other sources.

Lastly, as will be discussed within the context of lay patronage at churches, and of intrachurch inhumation in general, private citizens in Italy targeted Mendicant groups more than any other Order for permission to construct and embellish tombs. Both churches, the flagships of their respective Orders, could therefore be described as housing a substantial number of intrachurch burials representing a relatively "wide" though usually moneyed spectrum of social groups.²⁰

This thesis does not attempt to espouse a proto-feminist interpretation of tomb monuments. I am hesitant to argue a sentiment which does not present itself through records or the surviving artwork. Although we know that some women were involved in sepulchral patronage, the nature of the published evidence does not provide an insight into the mindset of Tuscan Renaissance women who commissioned their own tombs. The scarcity of their monuments may even suggest that females found them to be unnecessary or prideful. My intention is rather to try to steer a middle course between a view of Tuscan women as subject to conditions that blocked their agency within society, and more recent theories that see women adopting more assertive, individualistic and egocentric modes of behaviour. Discrimination definitely occurred: there is an overwhelming number of male graves of every kind that address an individual's identity within society. As my research shows, non-aristocratic women as a group were not promoted as clearly or in as great a number as men. As Chapter Two and the Epilogue attest, women exerted their influence using other forms of patronage.

It is relevant and timely to study tombs as enduring material evidence which can and should be used in similar ways as, and in combination with, textual documents. Though we shall never truly "decode" them, the study of tombs permits us to make many quantitative and qualitative inferences about past systems such as gender, class, and family. Tombs, and the contexts in which they are found, survive as rich stores of information that suggest how

Italians viewed themselves and others. For instance, mortuary chapels, in which tombs played a crucial part, constituted one of the pinnacles of "Renaissance" artistic and patronal effort. They were a popular and pan-Tuscan phenomenon that consciously promoted the social glory of the well-heeled patron and clan for generations to come. Although published studies of tomb monuments number in the hundreds, authors have only recently turned to look at the complex social environment which informed them. In the past, scholars have focussed on the aesthetic manipulation of space, and tended to neglect the larger social issues of how the dead were cared for and artistically remembered.

The ensuing paragraphs briefly introduce and analyze the state of documentary sources relative to medieval and Renaissance sepulchral art. In addition, they focus upon three fundamental and interconnected themes perceivable in the scholarship used to build this thesis: the affiliation of modern art historical methodologies with "social" concerns, especially those relating to sepulchral art; the treatment of past civilizations' attitudes towards death; and most importantly, the obscurity of women within both Renaissance and modern sources.

SOURCES

I found a number of primary sources to be invaluable for discerning the key themes that affected the roles of women within an economy of commemorative display. Many of these primary sources are available in published form. I analyzed published rolls and accounts to substantiate many

of the observations in this thesis. For example, tax rosters can be used to uncover information concerning death rates and funeral expenses, though Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber warn that they contain biased, scattered and "often incomplete data."²¹ The rolls of Italian gravediggers or beccamorti are similarly unsystematic, as well as being often unavailable to North American audiences.²²

Necrologies list the activities and obituaries of friars at a convent, as well as their religious calendar, and dealings with the community. The first two published volumes of the Santa Maria Novella necrology encompass the late medieval and Renaissance periods, and were published by Padre Stefano Orlandi in 1955. I consider this type of source to be irreplaceable for generating valuable new interpretations of religious and social attitudes within the cult of remembrance. In particular, the Necrologio provides a rich store of information on commemorative patronage supported by both sexes.

Ildefonso di San Luigi, a Dominican priest like Orlandi, compiled the lists, chronicles and artistic histories of prominent Florentines in a series of 24 volumes entitled Delizie degli eruditi toscani.²³ Produced in the late eighteenth century, but embracing literature of preceding centuries, these volumes reveal a community shaped by complex political, social and religious habits over generations. The ninth volume proves to be especially significant for my aims, as it presents a pavement layout of Santa Maria Novella, and a death register for both monks

and laypersons buried here, which spans the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries.²⁴

Death registers (or libri dei morti) made during the Trecento and Quattrocento survive at several Italian churches. Aside from the already-mentioned register of Ildefonso di San Luigi, I have relied upon another version of the same list, provided by C.C. Calzolari.²⁵ I used these catalogues to gather numerical and qualitative data concerning female burial patterns.

In terms of the secondary material examined for this thesis, I will first discuss the approaches taken by art historians in relation to a social history of art during the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Other topics pertinent to my thesis include general studies of death rituals and sepulchral art. Finally, I will discuss ways in which gender studies have been incorporated into the examination of these themes.

Within the past three decades, art historians have increasingly focussed on social distinctions within material culture, such as gender, race, and class.²⁶ Very briefly, the beginnings of social art history were manifested in works such as Antal's Florentine Painting and its Social Background (1931), Millard Meiss' publication Painting in Florence and Siena After the Black Death (1951), and, thirteen years later, in Frederick Hartt's seminal essay "Art and Freedom in Quattrocento Florence."²⁷ This type of art history diverged from more traditional lines of enquiry, where an art historian would have focussed on artists' biographies, style and provenance.

The newer social art history discussed art as an expression or commodity affected by political, economic and psychological realities. This approach has become normative during the course of the later twentieth century. For instance, John Shearman's Only Connect: Art and the Spectator in the Italian Renaissance (1992) emphasizes a new direction in the social history of art, that of the audience and its relationship with art. His approach is indicative of a more interactive, subjective and wide-ranging view of culture that has greatly expanded the range of possible interpretations for a work of art.²⁸ As will be discussed below, Sherman's interest in spectator reaction has been taken up by Butterfield and Johnson in relation to funerary monuments.

This study has benefitted from such recent changes in the social history of art. The implications of this methodological shift are evident in the next section of this chapter, which reviews the existing state of research on medieval and Renaissance sepulchral monuments. As this thesis will demonstrate, previous "standards" or "canons" used to evaluate tomb art have not examined the social context, including gender implications, to any great degree.

OVERVIEW OF PERTINENT LITERATURE

Panofsky's Tomb Sculpture, Burger's Geschichte des Florentinischen Grabmal von des ältesten Zeiten bis Michelangelo, or Bauch's The Medieval Grave Image and "Anfänge des Figurlischen Grabmals in Italien," provide

standard references for the history of funerary monuments.²⁹ However, while these texts present key typological observations and provide a general pattern of stylistic development for different types of tombs, they are ultimately too general to support a high level of research on broad social patterns. Other important studies have focussed upon one artist or monument, often resulting in judgements which are too highly specialized to draw widely inclusive or cross-culturally relevant observations.

Whether studying types of tombs or single markers, most art historical scholarship has dealt with the style, iconography, and the attribution of monuments to particular artists. Unfortunately, these concerns often result in the treatment of tombs as just another form of homogenous "art" expression, identical in nature to painting or other forms of sculpture. Moreover, the "meaning" or "meanings" of tombs have sometimes highlighted individual iconographic details, rather than the nature of sepulchral display in the first place.³⁰ Therefore, I feel that it is relevant to introduce the contextual and art historical inquiries which have laid the foundation for this text.

In the last fifteen years, research involving sepulchral art has begun to shift focus towards topics which are more conscious of the role the spectator plays in interacting with art. For example, in his article "Sepulchral Monuments and their Social Typologies," Andrew Butterfield warns that sepulchral markers may vary widely within any one period from one urban centre to another, "even within a small geographic area."³¹ This article is

essential as it links medieval and Early Renaissance tombs with the social desires and ideals of their buyers.

The role of the audience in constructing political and social meaning through art has recently gained attention in publications such as "Activating the Effigy: Donatello's Pecci Tomb in Siena Cathedral," by Geraldine Johnson.³²

Roberta Gilchrist's essay in Kay and Rubin's Framing Medieval Bodies confronts the issue of architectural spaces, not as purely aesthetic arrangements, but as contexts which instruct and define ideas of gender and class.³³ Other historians interested to varying degrees in the issues of tomb typology and specific groups of patrons, such as the Papacy in Rome, include Marco Paoli, Julian Gardner, and Robert Munman.³⁴

In recent years, historical and anthropological investigations into death and its cultural expressions have advanced the study of funerary art. One such work, The Hour Of Our Death, by the late historian Philippe Ariès, constitutes the most famous work on attitudes and practices towards death and its "culture."³⁵ Other principal authors in this field include Jacques Chiffolleau, Michel Vovelle, Alberto Tenenti, and most recently, Samuel Cohn and Paul Binski.³⁶ All of their works provide fascinating and valid information towards an understanding of death in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. To some extent, by using large amounts of quantifiable material, such as wills, some of these "non-artistic" studies go farther in accounting for a particular psychological response to death, or for tomb economies, than many art historical treatments.³⁷

Nevertheless, certain studies, including Binski's Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation and Ariès' The Hour of Our Death claim to represent trends based on the materials and experiences of one region, such as France, England, or Germany. In this way, Italian (as well as Spanish) experience and practice, which naturally had cultural and historical differences from Northern Europe, is often shunted to the margins.

Writers including Binski also use particular thematic approaches that resemble the "older" methods of Ariès or Panofsky, in that social concerns, including gender studies, are neglected to varying degrees. Instead, they focus on more visually sophisticated themes, such as the Dance of Death. It is important to note here that although Early Renaissance historiography is being re-examined, older, Burckhardtian concepts of individuality and humanism still determine the choice of topics to a notable degree.³⁸

Samuel Cohn employs surviving testaments to expose multiple senses of death in Tuscany. Steven Epstein has carried out similar studies for medieval Genoa.³⁹ In examining material acts of funerary pomp which were more ephemeral than monuments, Sharon T. Strocchia looks qualitatively and quantitatively at the intentions of changing ceremonial display in Trecento and Quattrocento Florence. Importantly for this thesis, Strocchia also invokes gender as a dividing factor in funerary treatment. Only in brief allusions, such as those found in Roberts' work, has the issue of gender as an influence upon tombs recently emerged.⁴⁰ As the ensuing example indicates,

contemporary Italian records, and our modern art historical scholarship, have not viewed the existence of ordinary women within tombs as noteworthy.

Tuscan epitaphs of the Trecento and Quattrocento commonly omitted the names of female consorts, referring instead to the husband as sole owner, or to a mere surname. For example, the resting place of Masa, first wife of Buonamico de' Guidalotti, the merchant responsible for financing the Spanish Chapel at Santa Maria Novella, remains unknown. James Wood Brown remarked that she died of plague; Dominican friars working on the convent's Libro dei morti recorded her burial as occurring July 4th, 1348.⁴¹ Guidalotti's second wife, Frondina Infanganti, died in 1384, outliving her husband by almost thirty years. While Gardner and Calzolari mention Frondina as being interred alongside Buonamico, neither the tomb inscription (which refers to Guidalotti alone) nor written evidence mention the destiny of Masa.⁴² Tellingly, several treatments of the Spanish Chapel, such as those by Roberto Lunardi, or Joseph Polzer, do not describe Guidalotti's elaborate slab-covered grave as communal either, referring only to the demise of Buonamico, and his ownership of the tomb.⁴³

Strictly art historical references to any overall set of burial or tomb practices for medieval and Renaissance women have generally limited themselves to two or three paragraphs. Views of this aspect of female experience are consequently enigmatic. Authors such as Pines, Butterfield, and Paoli all correctly describe the

interments of women as occurring within the matrimonial or natal fold, although this point is not elaborated in any detail.⁴⁴ Helen Ann Ronan allots only a few sentences to the discussion of female tombs, but is one of the few authors to mention that women were poorly commemorated.⁴⁵ Noting present information as "unclear" and that "[t]he burial of women is a problem which has received scant attention," Pines admits that further study of this subject is necessary.⁴⁶ In an undocumented statement, F.W. Kent asserted that most Florentine women chose the matrimonial tomb as their final resting place.⁴⁷

While producing some examples of female tomb patrons (mostly noble and French) Ariès states simply that although women had the right as Christians to choose their burial site, most went to the tombs of their husbands.⁴⁸ Vanessa Harding and Robert Dinn use statistics to quantify burial numbers and locations in medieval London and Bury St. Edmunds.⁴⁹ Both Dinn and Harding provide examples of wills that indicate burial within the matrimonial or natal unit, as well as instances of memorial-building and hierarchic placement.⁵⁰

To date, Bauch is the only author to dedicate two chapters of his work The Medieval Grave Image to female effigy tombs and double tombs, some of which physically depicted a husband and wife (and in transalpine instances, even children.) His arguments, however, revolved around attribution, iconography, and stylistic change in Italian and non-Italian samples; he paid little attention to social rituals. This methodological oversight has to some extent

been addressed by Cohn and Epstein's surveys of wills, which provide a rich variety of examples of female patronal autonomy that redress the balance to some degree.

More traditional studies of architectural history, whether pertaining to female burials at churches such as Santa Maria Novella, Santa Croce, or San Frediano in Lucca, simply refer to either conjugal or natal modes of interment. They also treat the posthumous segregation of the sexes into separate tombs as a matter of well-known, universally-accepted fact.⁵¹ However, medieval and Renaissance sexual bias and a lack of enduring female tombs must not be simply accepted as a moot point. More examination is necessary to fully evaluate the representation of a group which, according to Klapisch-Zuber and Herlihy, comprised a little less than half of a population, a group which faced a wide range of life experiences and roles as daughters, nuns, wives, mothers, and widows.⁵²

In order to conduct a study which examines female tombs as comprehensively as possible within a restricted context, I have chosen to limit my study to two Mendicant Florentine churches. At first, however, it is necessary to offer some basic information about Tuscan burial and tomb-types, before attempting to indicate differences in memorializing certain groups.

BURIAL PRACTICES AND TOMB-TYPES

Burial practices in Western Europe as a whole shifted away from a Classical culture which forbade intramural

interment. Over time, spurred on by physical necessity and by the cult of saints, the urban clergy increasingly used their churches to accommodate the remains of thousands of laypersons, who wished to build graves and tombs around and within church structures. Historian Ejnar Dyggve described this ideological about-face as a "conquest of the town by the dead."⁵³

From a theoretical, spiritual standpoint, interment within consecrated ground was all that was necessary to achieve salvation. In practice, however, the location of a tomb mattered: securing an honourable space constituted a not only a struggle towards grace, but the acquisition of social status.⁵⁴ As my thesis will suggest, certain types of material consumption were deemed appropriate to different social positions. In this way, a Tuscan's reputation after death usually corresponded to the position that had been enjoyed during life.

Efforts to maximize space, and as we shall see economic gain, motivated artistic designers and church authorities to accept new ways of burying the deceased. Floors and walls were covered by slabs; tombs abutted walls, or were recessed into hollowed-out decorative niches. Indeed, burial chests might even be set at varying heights on the walls of the church.⁵⁵

In sepulchral memorialization, as in other activities expressing religious sentiment, the attitudes of both major Mendicant Orders were shaped by the wishes of the laity, as much as they in turn affected Italian culture, religion and

society. Both Orders enjoyed massive grassroots popularity during the Trecento and Quattrocento.

Although the majority of examples of overtly-defined female markers encountered in this study are floor slabs, numerous other types of sepulchral monuments could be chosen by a patron, and are therefore relevant. Other forms to be delineated here include avelli, arcosolia, wall tombs, and tumbae.

Due to their unimposing horizontality and spare use of stone, medieval testament-makers saw tomb slabs (Fig. 3), a form used since Antiquity, as the most religiously and materially "humble" form of marker.⁵⁶ Slabs existed as comparatively subordinate objects, yet proved to be the most popular and often most practical form of sepulchral art used by medieval and Renaissance Europeans. Slabs, especially full-length varieties, were commonly utilized by the nobility, high-placed clergy and outstanding entrepreneurs.

The bulk of commissioned slabs in this city, as well as throughout Tuscany, were not full-sized. They existed instead as small plaques displaying the deceased person's familial inscription, death date, and commonly a heraldic symbol of some sort, either carved, or in incised niello work. More extravagant Florentine slabs included inlaid white, red and black marble constructions, as well as assorted examples of a sculpted effigial genre.⁵⁷ Effigial tombs, whether slabs, freestanding, or wall-varieties, appear in significant numbers in the last quarter of the thirteenth century. This pattern distinguishes Italy from

other Northern European regions, where effigial and incised slabs attracted favour from an earlier date.⁵⁸

Effigial slabs (Fig. 4) display costumes that correspond to the career and station of the deceased, and invoke one's station in life. Clerical, courtly, and knightly effigies abound, as do mercantile varieties, choices which mirrored the adoption of specific clothes by various estates for the funeral procession.⁵⁹ As Chapter Four will discuss, effigies might also be imbued with the distinctive facial characteristics of an individual.

Smaller plaques, which could not accommodate the large surrounding inscriptions found on most life-sized effigial slabs, usually contained only a brief message. This epitaph listed the name of the deceased and perhaps the date of death. Coats of arms for the most part constituted the only other data deemed important to remember. A record of the age of the deceased was not valued as important.

Small plaques or slabs designated both single tomb inhabitants as well as familial burial spots, while more elaborate creations might house several family members.⁶⁰ Slabs of all kinds were set throughout the body of the church, including areas open to the elements, such as the cloister, and choice interior spots such as the nave. Very often, patrons arranged slabs (or sometimes tombs of other types) around or inside family mortuary chapels. In the case of Santa Croce, many floor markers are found not within the chapels per se, but aligned near their entrances. Others occupy floor space as independent monuments. For religious reasons, most Tuscan slabs were

laid in an east-west or north-south orientation facing the main altar.

Other Trecento and Quattrocento tomb forms included several varieties of wall tomb. With antecedents traceable to Classical times, wall tombs invariably possessed sarcophagus-like chests, yet differed in their other components.⁶¹ Avelli (Figs. 5-7), which are found at Santa Maria Novella, Santa Trinità in Florence, and in Lucca and Pistoia, were comprised of a chest located within a ground-level niche surmounted by a Gothic-style canopy on columns.⁶² Usually but not exclusively exterior designs, avelli were attached by both the chest and canopy into church walls.⁶³ This concept proved to be popular until the mid-Quattrocento, and was used to house multiple burials. Arcosolia tombs (Fig. 8), of which only seven were made in Renaissance Florence, involved a round-headed niche set into a wall structure; here the chest, designed for an individual, comprised a separate piece within this space.

Other non-figural wall tombs included chests raised on columns; these structures abutted walls and were communal. Funerary chests sporting effigies also comprised an element of the wall tomb genre, a type used throughout Europe. In this case, the sarcophagus was attached to a wall rather than recessed within it; its trappings or supports could touch the floor or hang, supported by elaborate brackets, at various heights along the wall. The monument of Gastone della Torre at Santa Croce provides an example of this last type of wall tomb (Fig. 9.) Furthermore, these tombs were

ensconced within a architectural framework of columns, canopy and supports, and accommodated Gothic styles, as well as "Renaissance" references to Antiquity.

On a final note, other tomb forms existed, such as a freestanding variety of chest. These types were less common or shorter-lived than their previously-described counterparts, and for reasons of their rarity, do not figure into this study. For example, free-standing chests or tumbae commonly designated the resting-places of honour for saints, and so exist as an atypical type.⁶⁴

It is difficult to trace exact patterns of interment for women due to a high rate of destruction experienced by tombs, and especially by slabs. Many factors worked in combination to effect the erosion of slabs. As highly public paving stones, they were worn down or damaged in refurbishment projects. Compared to other forms of sepulchral monument including wall tombs, the lightweight, modest and practical nature of slabs also resulted in their being targeted for frequent displacement and removal.⁶⁵

The economic and social legacy of wealthy Tuscan families constituted the last major determinant in the destruction of tomb slabs. Briefly, if no heirs could be produced to lay claim to a particular mortuary chapel in a church, the space could be declared vacant, and auctioned off to another clan desiring beneficial and prestigious placement within the church.⁶⁶

CONCLUSION

This thesis is motivated by the fact that in most cases, Tuscan women of the Trecento and Quattrocento went into the afterlife listed by records and inscriptions only as the "filiolorum et descendendum" of a male line.⁶⁷ My study endeavours to analyze women's role in society as viewed through the values of sepulchral art. Following the Introduction, Chapter Two outlines the history of burial within the church by private persons and corporations. For example, Gardner states that Santa Maria Novella, Santa Croce, Siena, and Pisa eventually developed eastern, or apsidal ends which were predominantly devoted to the laity.⁶⁸ The legal components involved in burial and in women's testamentary practices will also be discussed. I will rely upon recent gender analysis in Renaissance studies to propose that women expressed different types of social power, both within their participation in funerary rites, and in several instances of religious, and sometimes artistic, patronage. An understanding of a full spectrum of patronage activities is crucial to this study of larger social groups, a focus which has in the past been obscured by dominant art historical traditions focussing on individual patrons and more "monumental," costly art.

Chapter Three discusses the inherent differences in Tuscan sepulchral traditions. As we shall see, though all laity chosen for conspicuous forms of remembrance essentially issued from origins both rich and notable (from which the term "noble" derives), the general social levels normally involved in the patronage of certain sepulchral

forms were not consistent.⁶⁹ Chapter Four analyzes the representation of women on tombs; these monuments are compared with male markers. The discussion in this section will hinge upon definitions of public authority and honour in relation to wealth and social status.

Lastly, as the Epilogue will contend, the ability of women to support cultural works and to patronize artists impacted upon their level of involvement in commemorative projects. This discussion concentrates upon material alternatives to the building of stone or metal markers. Instead, it highlights other areas of memorialization such as painting, which might have been viewed as popular amongst women patrons, perhaps because it seemed more appropriate for female support. In this way, two differently-gendered but interacting patronage economies can be introduced, existing as a way by which women asserted themselves as productive members within a rich commemorative environment.

NOTES

1. Leon Battista Alberti, Ten Books on Architecture, trans. J. Leoni and ed. J. Rykwert (London, A. Tirani, 1965), 164; quoted in F.W. Kent, Household and Lineage: The Family Life of the Capponi, Ginori, and Rucellai, (New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1977), 259.
2. Alberti, Ten Books on Architecture, 163, 165, refers to forefathers, sons, and men in general; Kent, Household and Lineage, 99, refers to fra Luigi Marsili, Carte Stroziane, ser. III, CXXXIX, fol. 18r-v., Ibid., LXXXIX fols. 57r-59r, who also emphasized the agnatic role in commemoration.
3. See Roberta Gilchrist, "Medieval Bodies in the Material World: Gender, Stigma and the Body," chap. in Framing Medieval Bodies, eds. Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin. (Manchester, University of Manchester Press, 1994.), 50. Another good definition of this term can be found in Mary Weisner, Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe. (Cambridge, Mass., Cambridge University Press, 1993), 3.
4. James Wood Brown, The Dominican Church of Santa Maria Novella at Florence, (Edinburgh, Otto Schulze Co., 1902), 127.
5. Brown, Santa Maria Novella, 127. The Bardi brothers encompassed Pietro, Alessandro, Tomasso, and Riccardo di Ricco.
6. Robert Munman, Sieneese Renaissance Tomb Monuments, (Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, Academic Press, 1993), 63. The author states that the marker is "in such bad condition that little more can be said about it."
7. Ibid., 63.
8. Helen Ann Ronan, The Tuscan Wall Tomb 1250-1400, (Phd diss., Indiana University, 1982), 75.
9. Richard C. Trexler, The Libro Cerimoniale of the Florentine Republic, (Geneva, Librairie Droz, 1978.) Trexler studied Florentine material displays and courtly comportment during the Quattrocento. Trexler refers (page 9) to O. Cartellieri, The Court of Burgundy, (New York, 1929), 71, in stating that the "mere ritual" examined by historians today "seemed to the Renaissance the very essence of public order, foreign relations, eternal salvation, and personal identity."
10. Andrew Butterfield, "Social Structure and Typology of Funerary Monuments in Early Renaissance Florence," Res, no.26 (Autumn 1994): 47. By "average," I intend to describe the markers usually chosen by the bulk of patrons eligible to erect funerary monuments in a church, such as

the slab tomb. These markers could be custom-fit to many levels of society and for individual and communal burial. But because of their lack of radical stylistic innovation, many of the more common tomb-types have not been chosen in large numbers for traditional art historical study. Butterfield comments that "By focussing on a small group of sumptuous and grandiose tombs made for the richest and most privileged patrons, it (the literature) has failed to establish what the norms of tomb patronage and construction were. Instead, it has treated the exceptional as the typical, a common mistake in cultural history." (words in brackets mine.)

11. Munman, Sieneese Tomb Monuments, 14.; Pines, The Tomb Slabs of Santa Croce: a New Sepoltuario, (Phd diss., Columbia University, 1985), 9.; Ronan, Tuscan Wall Tomb, 70.

12. Munman, Sieneese Tomb Monuments, 14.

13. At Santa Croce, the Alberti patronized the main chapel or cappella maggiore. At Santa Maria Novella, The Tornaquinci (and as they argued, the Sassetti) maintained this space. The Cavalcanti built the church's sacristy during the Trecento. See Patricia Simons, "Patronage in the Tornaquinci Chapel at Santa Maria Novella," chap. in Simons and F.W. Kent, eds. Patronage, Art, and Society in Renaissance Italy, (New York, Oxford University Press, 1987), 225-250. See also M. Haines, "The Sacristy of Santa Maria Novella in Florence: The History of its Functions and Furnishings," chap. in Santa Maria Novella, un convento nella città: studi e fonti, (Pistoia, Memorie Domenicane, 1980), 587-604, and M. Paoli, L'Arte e committenza privata a Lucca nel trecento e nel quattrocento: produzione artistica e cultura libraria, (Lucca, Maria Pacini Fazzi Editore, 1986) for a discussion of this type of patronage. Finally, a fifteenth-century churchman named Antoninus complained about the mercenary nature of monumental church patronage. He stated "[laymen] are mean in giving alms and prefer to spend on chapels, superfluous ornament, and ecclesiastical pomp rather than on support of the poor." See Marcia Hall, "Lay Patronage and Observant Reform," chap. in Christianity and the Renaissance: Image and Religious Imagination in the Quattrocento, eds. Timothy Verdon and John Henderson, (New York, Syracuse University Press, 1990), 66, n.19.

14. Roberto Lunardi, Arte e storia in Santa Maria Novella, (Florence, Nuovi Salani, 1983), 31. "Si impegnarono (Florentine merchants) nella costruzione di chiese e conventi, lo fecero certamente non soltanto per acquistare il diritto di esservi sepolti, ma soprattutto per partecipare alla glorificazione di Dio ed essere così di riflesso gratificati."

15. For example, Monna Silvestra, mother of the Dominican friar Lionardo was listed in Orlandi's Necrologio as being buried in Santa Maria Novella in 1363. Her background combines two main elements required for intrachurch burial. As a member of the Altoviti family, Silvestra belonged to a clan which had long possessed the ability to "buy their way" into a church. Over generations, her clan also gave the Dominican Order a number of illustrious clergymen. Stefano Orlandi, Necrologio di Santa Maria Novella, 2 vols. (Florence, L. Olschki, 1955), vol.I, 551.

16. See Pines, A New Sepoltuario. This thorough and well-written work constitutes the most helpful text where the modern n Corpus delle lastre tombali della Santa Croce a Firenze," chap. in Skulptur und Grabmal des Spätmittelalters in Rom und Italien: Akten des Kongresses "Sculptura e monumento sepolcrale del tardo medioevo a Roma e in Italia." (Rom, Juli 1985), ed. Jörg Garms (Vienna, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990), 331-343. See also Butterfield, "Social Structure," for the clearest correlation of tombs to patrons that I have yet encountered. For Siena, see Robert Munman, Sieneese Monuments, and Geraldine Johnson, "Activating the Effigy: Donatello's Pecci Tomb in Siena Cathedral," Art Bulletin, vol.LXXVII no.III (Sept. 1995): 444-459. For Lucca and Pisa respectively, see Marco Paoli's Arte e committenza and idem, "Un Aspetto poco noto della scultura trecentesca pisana: la lapide sepolcrale con ritratto," Antichità Viva, vol.21 no.5-6, (Sept.-Dec. 1982): 38-47. For a more general list of slabs, F.A. Greenhill, Incised Effigial Slabs: A Study of Engraved Stone Memorials in Latin Christendom ca.1100 to ca. 1700, (London, Faber and Faber, 1976.)

17. Butterfield, "Social Structure," 47-68. Later decorating schemes ruined slab placement. For instance, in the nineteenth century Santa Maria Novella's slabs were relaid with new flooring to form two strips dividing the nave from the aisles. Clearing of tombs from Santa Croce's cloister occurred during the last century. For details of this activity, refer to Carlo Sisi, "Il Cimitero romantico di Santa Croce," chap. in Santa Croce nell'800. eds. Angelo Calvani and Maria Grazia Ciardi Dupré dal Poggetto, (Florence, Alinari, 1986), 125-152. The rebuilding of the Florentine church of Santa Reparata occurred right over preexisting tombs; see P. Bargellini, Santa Reparata, la cattedrale risorta, (Florence, Bonechi, 1970.) In the case of Pisa's San Francesco, art historian Julian Gardner explains that Trecentesque tombs were removed, leaving the interior "austere and unprepossessing." See Julian Gardner, "The Louvre Stigmatization and the Problem of the Narrative Altarpiece," Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, 36 (1978), 1-50.

18. Santa Croce faced two major reconstructions, the last major one occurring in 1295. San Francesco in Pisa was rebuilt during this period as well. The present structure of Santa Maria Novella represented the third in a line of expansions, commenced for the final time in 1279.

19. Pines, A New Sepoltuario, 1. Pines limits her study to slabs made previously to 1500 because of stylistic changes to inscriptions, etc. occurring afterwards. In other regions of Italy, the consumption of different tomb-types changed in the early Cinquecento also. See Kathryn B. Hiesinger, "The Fregoso Monument: A Study in Sixteenth-Century Tomb Monuments and Catholic Reform," Art Bulletin, (Sept. 1996): 283-289 for Northern Italian cases. However, these changes do not suggest that representation of groups including women were necessarily ameliorated. Refer also to idem, Renovation and Counter-Reformation: Vasari and Duke Cosimo in Santa Maria Novella and Santa Croce, 1565-1577, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1979). Here, Hall relates the changes to chapels and tombs of both Santa Croce and Santa Maria Novella.

20. C.C. Calzolari, "Il Libro dei morti di Santa Maria Novella, 1290-1436," chap. in Santa Maria Novella, un convento nella città: studi e fonti, (Pistoia, Memorie Domenicane, 1980), 28.

21. David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, Tuscans and their Families: A Study of the Catasto of 1427, (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1985), 257.

22. Ibid., 260-2, 267, 269; Raffaele Ciasca, Statuti dell'arte dei medici e speciali, (Florence, Valleschi, 1921), 292, referred to in Sharon Strocchia, "Funerals and the Politics of Gender in Early Renaissance Florence," chap. in Refiguring Woman: Perspectives on Gender and the Italian Renaissance, eds. Marilyn Migiel and Juliana Schiesari, (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1991), 153-173, 159.

23. Ildefonso di San Luigi, Delizie degli eruditi toscani, 24 vols. (Firenze, Gaetano Cambiagi, 1770-1787.)

24. Ibid., vol. 9, 123-248.

25. Calzolari, "Libro dei morti," 15-218.

26. For an excellent discussion of social approaches to historical writing, with an emphasis on gender, see Merry Weisner, Women and Gender, 2-8. Her bibliographies at the back of this text provide a wide range of themes which have been targeted by recent scholarship.

27. Frederick Antal, Florentine Painting and its Social Background, (London, Kegan Paul, 1947.); Millard Meiss, Painting in Florence and Siena After the Black Death: The

Arts, Religion and Society in the Mid Fourteenth-Century, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1951.); Frederick Hartt, "Art and Freedom in Quattrocento Florence," in Lucy Freeman Sandler, Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann, (New York, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University), 114-31.

28. John Shearman, Only Connect: Art and the Spectator in the Italian Renaissance, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1992.)

29. Erwin Panofsky, Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on its Changes from Ancient Egypt to Bernini, ed. H.W.Janson. (New York, Harry N. Abrams, 1964); Kurt Bauch, The Medieval Grave Image: European Tomb Builders of the 11th-15th Centuries, (Berlin/New York, De Gruyter, 1976); idem, "Anfänge des Figuralischen Grabmals in Italien," Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz, no. XV (1971): 227-258. Finally, see F. Burger, Geschichte des Florentinischen Grabmal von des Ältesten Zeiten bis Michelangelo, (Strasbourg, Heitz, 1904.)

30. See the work of Dale Martin, "The Construction of the Ancient Family: Methodological Considerations," Journal of Roman Studies, (1996): 40-60, which concentrates on much older and more scattered data, and can be held up as revealing a type of memorialization which included wives and daughters, many of them named.

31. Butterfield, "Social Structure," 52.

32. Johnson, "Activating the Effigy."

33. Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin, eds. Framing Medieval Bodies.

34. Paoli, L'Arte e committenza; idem, "Un Aspetto;" Munman, Sieneese Monuments; Julian Gardner, The Tomb and the Tiara: Curial Tomb Sculpture in Rome and Avignon in the Later Middle Ages, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1992). Also, see Ann M. Roberts, "The Chronology and Significance of the Tomb of Mary of Burgundy," Art Bulletin, vol.LXXI no.III (September 1989): 376-395, and especially pages 389-395, where a subsection is entitled "Genealogy and Gender in the Tomb of Mary of Burgundy."

35. Philippe Ariès, The Hour of Our Death, trans. Hélène Weaver (New York, Knopf, 1981).

36. Alberto Tenenti, Il Senso della morte e l'amore della vita nel rinascimento, 2 ed. (Turin, 1977); idem, La Vie et la mort à travers l'art du XVe siècle, (Paris, Librairie Armand Colin, 1952); Jacques Chiffolleau, La Comptabilité de l'au delà: les hommes, la mort et la religion dans la région d'Avignon à la fin du moyen age (vers 1320- vers 1480) (Rome, École Française de Rome,

Palais Farnese, 1980); Michel Vovelle, La Mort et l'occident, de 1300 à nos jours, (Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 1973); Samuel Cohn, The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death: Early Renaissance Cities in Central Italy, (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1992); idem, Death and Property in Siena 1205-1800: Strategies for the Afterlife, (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988.) Finally, see Paul Binski, Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation, (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1996.)

37. Works such as Chiffolleau's La Comptabilité de l'au-delà, 179-86, contain a comparatively large amount of information upon female burial choice, and their sepulchral patronage.

38. Peter Burke, "Death in the Renaissance, 1347-1565," chap. in "Dies Illa" Death in the Middle Ages: Proceedings of the 1983 Manchester Colloquium, ed. Jane Taylor, (Liverpool, Francis Cairns, 1984), 60.

39. Cohn, Cult of Remembrance; idem, Death and Property; Steven Epstein, Wills and Wealth in Medieval Genoa 1150-1250, (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1984).

40. Butterfield, "Social Structure," 52. "Indirect hints" are found in articles such as M. Haines' "Sacristy," or Julian Gardner's article dealing with the Spanish Chapel in his compilation of work entitled Patrons, Painters and Saints, (London, Variorum, 1993): 149. In these cases burial practices for women are divulged in an unexpanded and offhand, though not necessarily flippant, manner.

41. Brown, Santa Maria Novella, 102; Calzolari, "Libro dei morti," 163.

42. Gardner, Patrons, Painters and Saints, 149. Additionally, see Calzolari, Il Libro dei morti, 171-2, 171n.610. Joseph Polzer, "Andrea di Bonaiuto's Via Veritatis and Dominican Thought in Late Medieval Italy," Art Bulletin, no.77 (Sept 1995): 262-89, 263, lists Buonamico de' Guidalotti's inscriptions as follows: "Hic iacet michus filius olim lapii deguidalottis mercator qui fecit fieri et depingi istud capitulu(m) capella sepultus i(n) habitu ordinis ADM CCCLV die septembris Requiescat i(n) pace."

43. Lunardi, Arte e storia, 67; Polzer, "Dominican Thought," 262-300.

44. Paoli, "Un Aspetto," 42; Butterfield, "Social Structure," 54, 54n.15; Pines, A New Sepoluario, 26-7.

45. Ronan, Tuscan Wall Tomb, 75-76. Paoli also described their sepulchral treatment as representative of their low status relative to the paterfamilias. Paoli, "Un Aspetto," 42.
46. Pines, A New Sepoltuario, 26.
47. Kent, Household and Lineage, 262. This reference is also mentioned by Pines, A New Sepoltuario, 26. Non art historians such as Ariès, Cohn and Chiffolleau have historically given more attention to issues of burial choice and family ties. See Ariès, Hour of Our Death, passim, Cohn, Cult of Remembrance and idem, Death and Property, passim, and Chiffolleau, La Comptabilité de l'au-delà, 153-190.
48. Ariès, Hour of Our Death, 74.
49. Steven Bassett ed., Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and Dead 100-1600, (New York, St. Martin's Press, 1992), and Robert Dinn, "Monuments Answerable to Mens Worth: Burial Patterns, Social Status and Gender in Late Medieval Bury St. Edmunds," Journal of Ecclesiastical History, vol.46, no.2 (April 1995): 237-255.
50. Dinn "Mens Worth," 241, 252, 253; Vanessa Harding, "Burial Choice and Burial Location in Later Medieval London," chap. in Death in Towns, 124, 127, 135n.45.
51. Paoli, Arte e committenza, 244.
52. Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber, Tuscans and Their Families, 266. In their study of the 1427 Catasto, Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber infer that the ratio of men to women varied between 114:100 and 118:100.
53. Einar Dyggve, "Origins of the Urban Churchyard," Classica et Medievalia, XIII, (1952): 153.
54. Robert Finucane, "Sacred Carrion or Profane Corpse? Social Ideals and Death Rituals in the Later Middle Ages," chap. in J. Whaley, ed., Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death, (London, Cambridge University Press, 1981), 43.
55. Wall tombs were placed at various heights along walls. For example, the ostentatious memorial to Emperor Henry (or Arrigo) VII at Pisa Cathedral was placed high along the wall. The sarcophagus of the Paduan ruler Francesco da Carrara's consort, Fina Buzzacarina, was placed over a doorway. For Fina's tomb, see Catherine King, "Women as Patrons: Nuns, Widows, Rulers," chap in Florence, Siena, and Padua: Art, Society and Religion 1280-1400, ed. Diana Norman (New Haven, Yale University Press in assoc. with Open University, 1995), vol. 2, 243-265.

56. Aries, Hour of Our Death, 239; John Osborne, "From Turtura to Alfanus: Funerary Monuments in Early Medieval Rome," RACAR (Revue d'art canadienne/Canadian Art Review), vol.LI (1983): 240, 243-4, 247. In addition, refer to Julian Gardner, "Arnolfo di Cambio and Roman Tomb Design," Burlington Magazine, 115 (1973): 420-39, 431-32, 435, 435n.84.
57. Butterfield, "Social Structure," 50.
58. Gardner, Tomb and Tiara, 34. Gardner refers to Greenhill, Effigial Slab Tombs, 120.
59. Strocchia, "Funerals and Politics," passim.; idem, "Death Rites and the Ritual Family in Renaissance Florence," chap. in Tetel, Marcel, Ronald Witt and Rona Goffen, eds. Life and Death in Fifteenth-Century Florence, (Durham, North Carolina, 1989), 138-40.
60. Butterfield, "Social Structure," 50.
61. Ibid., 61, 61n.40, 65-66.
62. Ibid., 53.
63. Ibid., 54, 62.
64. Ronan, Tuscan Wall Tomb, 3.
65. Munman, Sieneese Tomb Monuments, 6. Pavement reorganization and redecoration at Santa Maria Novella caused the rearrangement of the tomb slabs into two decorative strips set between the running columns of the nave. At Santa Trinità, slabs were later fastened to the walls.
66. For example, the Tornaquinci and Sassetti families conflicted over the ownership of the apse at Santa Maria Novella. Simons, "Tornaquinci Chapel," passim.; For instances where several families owned chapels in succession to each other, see also Pines, A New Sepoltuario, passim, and Marcia Hall, Renovation and Counter-Reformation: Vasari and Duke Cosimo in Santa Maria Novella and Santa Croce, 1565-1577, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1979), passim.
67. Ronan, Tuscan Wall Tomb, 75.
68. Gardner, Tomb and Tiara, 36.
69. John Larner, Italy in the Age of Dante and Petrarch 1216-1380, (New York, Longman, 1980), 83.

CHAPTER TWO

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTRACHURCH BURIAL IN EUROPE
AND THE LEGAL STATUS OF TUSCAN WOMENINTRODUCTORY COMMENTS

Mi sembra però che in chiesa ci si debba star meglio, da morti. Questo buon odore d'incenso; e messe e preghiere tutti i giorni. Nel camposanto, se vogliamo dirla, ci piove.

Luigi Pirandello, Il Vecchio Dio.¹

Medieval and Renaissance church pavements originally integrated hundreds of examples of numerous standard types of sepulchral monument; a list of these types appropriate to Tuscan burial practice has been discussed in the Introduction. According to Julian Gardner, the monuments which survive nevertheless represent only "the tip of the iceberg" of the original array of memorials which filled sacred space.²

The goals of this chapter are threefold. Firstly, I will present an overview of the history of intrachurch lay burial in medieval Europe. In this section, I examine the evidence of Church Council rulings to gain some sense of how practices were shaped at the upper levels of church administration. I also analyzed diverse regional and civic patterns of burial to indicate how such rulings would have been interpreted by clergymen and their communities on a more pragmatic basis. Tracing the development of lay burial is necessary as a foundation for the second aim of this chapter, the examination of female agency as seen through a legal lens.

A related third aim attempts to create a picture of the possible figurative "place" allotted to women within funerary rituals, a picture derived from legislation, civic financial records, and historical accounts. Some of these records are intriguing in that they explicitly denote where a woman should or should not be in relation to funerary rites. This survey of the position of women in relation to testamentary practices emphasizes their subordinate social status within the cult of remembrance.

Tombs occupied almost every possible space within a church or convent structure, from the choir, to the cloisters, to the walls and fields laid out around the building. However, almost all surviving medieval and Renaissance grave monuments are found in interior locations.³ Outdoor markers, such as those found in Florence, have for the most part disappeared.

THE EVOLUTION OF INTRACHURCH LAY BURIAL

As we shall see in this section, late Roman and early Christian thinkers resolved to keep the body and in many aspects, all things worldly and secular, at a distance.

With only a few exceptions, Italy and Europe under Roman rule disdained the practice of intramural burial.⁴ The very idea of interring bodies within buildings of worship would have appeared to Classical tastes as indiscreet, morbid, and, in many cases, unhygienic.⁵ The development of burial land around urban churches contradicted the laws of the Twelve Tables, a code

developed around 450 B.C.. The Twelve Tables forbade interment within city boundaries.⁶ Cemeteries were eventually accepted inside city walls and around houses of worship as a result of urban expansion and in response to the waves of foreign invasion.⁷ In addition, we know that Christians began to emphasize the cult of the resurrected Saviour and early martyrs of the flesh.⁸

In a manner akin to living worshippers celebrating near an altar and/or a martyr's relic, late Classical Christians aspired to arrange their dead around a church, or near the remains of deceased holy persons.⁹ This type of beneficial positioning was referred to as burial ad sanctos. Lay burial occurred in growing numbers outside, and eventually interior of the ecclesiastical space was preferred by most Christians.

Prior to widespread permission for intrachurch interment, we know that Christians in the Tuscan region, who believed themselves to be religiously deserving and socially important, commonly decided to commemorate themselves and their clans using exterior memorials.¹⁰ For example, plaques immured in church walls were frequently commissioned, as were the ever-popular forms of exterior tombstones and crosses still favoured today in many parts of the world. Large, canopied, somewhat house-shaped avelli transformed the walls and façades of churches in Florence, Lucca, Pistoia and Rome into decorative chains of stone arches.¹¹ During the seventh century, another prestigious type of burial also became popular, whereby the

defunct were interred under the pavement directly surrounding the church, or in relation to its portals.¹² This practice occurred throughout Tuscany; Florentine records indicate that the steps leading toward the church of Santa Croce were encrusted with markers.¹³ As time advanced, entombment within the vicinity of entrances, or in porticu, remained highly popular, with floor markers arrayed both inside and outside these physically and symbolically liminal spaces.¹⁴

Cemeteries accumulated around most European churches which could support them.¹⁵ To illustrate, the region around the Florentine Baptistery, (and of almost all other ancient Florentine religious houses) accommodated numerous sarcophagi, in which successful families had been buried since the Roman period.¹⁶ External memorials continued to flourish throughout and beyond the period investigated by this thesis; however, as time passed, intrachurch burial began to grow in importance. By the end of the Middle Ages, this procedure accounted for roughly 50% of western European interments.¹⁷

Several attractive factors induced medieval Europeans to opt for interment within church walls. Obviously, spiritual considerations constituted a major component in such a development. Most importantly, the laity viewed the church body as an advantageous location in which to successfully conclude a pious life. Undoubtedly the popularity of medieval pilgrimage cults, and by extension the belief in intercession through proximity to the saints,

encouraged people to request interment within the Church.¹⁸

Concomitantly, members of socially prestigious elites were the first laypersons to earn permission to set up their own interior vaults. Interior burial space, often elaborately decorated, displayed and sustained their social seniority. While many important people were buried outside, wealthy individuals apparently preferred an indoor resting place over an outdoor plot; this may be the result of the perception that such outdoor sites were far removed from the altars and too close to paupers' burial ditches.¹⁹

According to the letter of the law rather than actual practice, any Christian burial was not to be undertaken as a gainful financial transaction.²⁰ Contemporary procedure nevertheless allowed both moneyed laypersons and religious authorities to view architectural or other types of pious artistic patronage as significant and deserving of reward. These donations often earned a patron the leverage to propose inclusions benefitting their own souls.²¹

Where the laity were concerned, intramural entombment commenced long before the very first sizeable, though scattered, accounts of the practice occurred.²² Intrachurch interment of uncanonized, but still clerical persons occurred as early as the mid-to-late sixth century.²³ Germanic areas of Western Europe (such as the city of Cologne) appear to have been particularly keen to initiate the procedure. Here, instances of intrachurch lay burial occurred even in the sixth century A.D..²⁴ Floor

tombs were initially placed mainly in areas such as the narthex, atrium, and aisles of churches.²⁵

Very generally, intrachurch burial for uncanonized Florentine clergy has been pinpointed as commencing as early as the eleventh and twelfth centuries.²⁶ However, this initial entitlement did not extend to the broader spectrum of the Florentine laity; the elite of this group were obliged to wait until the thirteenth century for widespread permission.²⁷ The earliest surviving tombs found at Santa Croce, including nonecclesiastical slabs, date from the Trecento.²⁸ An eighteenth-century chronicler of Santa Maria Novella, Vincenzio Fineschi, argued that intrachurch lay burial did not occur at Santa Maria Novella until 1360. However, other records refute his theory, listing non-clerical burials (including one of a female Cavalcanti family member) as occurring within the church's completed east end during the early Trecento.²⁹

By the late twelfth century, the citizens of Rome most likely viewed widespread lay burial as an unsurprising occurrence.³⁰ Indeed, the publicly supported burial of a Roman senator, Giovanni Capocci, suggests a widespread acceptance of the spiritual and financial ramifications of the burial of prominent laymen.³¹ Although this requires further investigation, I suggest that this difference in practice between Florence and Rome resulted in part from the number and size of elite groups within their societies, and regional religious attitudes.

Romans could boast of the history of their city, as being the site of an ancient Empire, and its present status as home of the Papacy. Many elite inhabitants and groups were associated with the Holy See, and the city accommodated domestic and visiting foreign leaders and political associations, as well as local noble houses. All of these groups expected religious commemoration, and potentially brought non-Italian sepulchral traditions and precedents into play. While similar types of noblemen and women were present in Florence at least until the end of the thirteenth century, the number or assortment of elite circles differed greatly in comparison.

Lastly, as will be discussed in the next chapter, sepulchral customs and attitudes were not universally extendable across Italy. Secondary evidence concerning the "beginnings" of intrachurch lay burial is often vague. No one definable "start date" for the phenomenon holds across Europe or Italy. Instead, authors often speak of Papal bulls or other evidence of intrachurch practice but only as it applies to a specific church; we therefore have only a few dates that are unique and specific to particular sites and regions within Italy. Although, to the best of my knowledge, published material explaining the spiritual considerations behind these differing dates does not exist, it appears that particular centres adopted the procedure at different dates, and to varying degrees as we shall see.

Pisa supported the existing prohibitions against intrachurch lay burial for most of the medieval era.

According to Paoli, in observance of these rules, laymen desiring spiritually and socially advantageous memorials commissioned inscribed plaques, which were affixed to external walls.³² Some of these memorials still remain today on the southern flank of the Pisan Duomo.³³ Records and surviving tombs demonstrate that by the initial decades of the Trecento, interment of nonsacred personages in Pisa, and also in Lucca, its Trecento possession, can be considered a standard practice.³⁴

Nevertheless, Catholic Church doctrine sought to withhold and constrain the privilege to certain faithful.³⁵ Illustrating this point, Paoli invokes the 563 A.D. Council of Braga's decision to exclude laypersons from intrachurch burial: "Giova ricordare a questo proposito che a cominciare dal secondo Concilio di Braga (563), vi fu una serie di canoni conciliari e di capitolari reali e imperiali che tendevano ad escludere le chiese dal novero dei luoghi di sepoltura."³⁶ Philippe Ariès and Paul Binski also recount Carolingian royal edicts, and a 813 A.D. Church Council at Mainz, both of which forbade the practice.³⁷ Despite constant reiteration of this ban, in response to pressure for lay burial ad sanctos, hard-line canonical stances consistently weakened over time.

Gratian's Decretals of 1140 A.D. reaffirmed a Church Synod at Tours in reserving intrachurch burial advantages to high clergymen (or digni presbiteri) alongside the vaguely determined station of devout layperson (or fideles laici.)³⁸ Samuel Cohn believes that these descriptors

formed a sufficiently vague loophole which opened church doors (and vaults) to successive levels of society.³⁹ Conceivably, this legal obscurity resulted in part from recognition of a potent social reality; as early as the ninth century in Lucca, clerical and elite lay members were acquiring church burial space.⁴⁰ Overall, the constant reiteration of indistinct strictures hints at clerical recognition of a process which they could not seem to curb.

Papal bulls promulgated by Popes Gregory IX and Alexander IV, dating respectively from 1229 and 1255 A.D., finally recognized and authorized intrachurch lay burial.⁴¹ F. W. Kent asserts that official permission reached churches even earlier, in 1221.⁴² A popular 1215 text entitled Rhetorica Antiqua, or Candelabrum Eloquentiae, sifted through various standings of fideles laici deemed appropriate for this type of entombment. These persons were to be further "commemorated with the insignia of office."⁴³ Invocations of "offices" and "insignia" highlight the underlying idea that these changes focussed upon elite privilege, rather than a fundamental switch in practice.

Julian Gardner points to the Duecento as the period in which various church Orders and houses permitted increasing numbers of uncanonized laypersons to construct burial vaults within their walls.⁴⁴ Here again, the vast majority of these applicants can comfortably be assumed to be wealthy, and/or of refined ancestry. Significantly, these deceased also occupied "ever more prominent locations"

indoors, suiting their elevated earthly position.⁴⁵ Indeed, as the next chapter clarifies, certain memorial designs or locations were always reserved for elite patronage of any estate, be it religious, mercantile and urban, or feudal and agrarian. The sepulchral patterns of late medieval Rome reveal that during these years, numerous women had tombs built, or built for them, at churches such as Santa Maria in Aracoeli and Santa Sabina.⁴⁶

In the same vein, Pisan churches extended initial burial privileges to royal and imperial figures, and later to successively lower levels of lay society.⁴⁷ A surviving sepulchral seal used for a Count of Capraia, who died in 1288 and was buried in the Pisan basilica of San Francesco, illustrates this point. Paoli describes this nobleman's marker as one of the earliest examples of interior sepulchral art found in the city.⁴⁸

Even though intrachurch burial was adopted in various European centres at different intervals and in changeable ways, from the Duecento onward Italians increasingly requested and received this type of burial.⁴⁹ Although the literature on this topic is not well-developed, we gain a clearer understanding of sepulchral customs in Tuscan edifices when we consider the histories of various religious orders.

The Benedictines, the earliest monastic Order, were the first group to receive Papal permission for intrachurch lay burial.⁵⁰ Having buried their founder at Montecassino, Benedictine communities supported the practice of

intrachurch burial, though in a less ostentatious fashion than their later Mendicant counterparts.⁵¹ Gardner labels "important" monumental Benedictine tombs as "rare."⁵²

Cistercian centres, particularly those houses located in Germanic holdings of northern Europe, also followed a conservative practice of mainly burying aristocrats and the clerical elite.⁵³ The Cistercians obtained papal privileges for the practice in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁵⁴ In terms of quantity and conspicuousness of tombs, however, the Dominicans and Franciscans outstripped the lay interment programmes of both the Benedictines and the Cistercians.⁵⁵ Mendicant houses proved especially popular as burial churches, most likely as an extension of their teaching of an emotional, personal relationship with God. The humanistic social inclusiveness emphasized by these Orders also persuaded a great number of people from all stations to request burial both outside of and inside their centres. Importantly, however, the best locations and tomb-types normally remained the prerogative of those holding the highest status.

Julian Gardner claims that the first datable Franciscan sculpted tomb is much later in date than those in Dominican sites, thereby upsetting the stereotype of Dominicans as occupying a more austere and ascetic end of the religious spectrum than their Franciscan counterparts.⁵⁶ The relatively late emergence of Franciscan sepulchral systems can be explained partially by the fact that at the time of Francis' death in the early

Trecento, no cemeterial land belonged to the Order.⁵⁷ Nonetheless, as soon as Franciscan churches went up, sepulchres were immediately established in and around the church fabric. Several early Franciscan tombs belonging to laypersons survive in Tuscany. The 1239 tomb of a female aristocrat lies in the Lower Church of San Francesco, Assisi.⁵⁸ Gardner mentions that Popes generally elected burial within both types of Mendicant edifices, indicating that no one Order had the exclusive favour of the papacy.⁵⁹

Much of the history of Florence's premiere Dominican establishment, Santa Maria Novella, serves as a chronicle of the history of Florentine intrachurch sepulchral art. The last two major expansions of the church occurring in 1246 and 1279 interfered with older cemeterial lands; this overlap left the building not only surrounded by classically-inspired sarcophagi but necessitated the incorporation of tombs as part and parcel of the crypt area.⁶⁰ The graveyards around the building comprised the largest, or second largest (after the Duomo complex) of such precincts in the city.⁶¹ The church then separated its cemeteries into two parts: the superiore (or eastern) and inferiore (western).⁶² On a microcosmic scale, relaxation of old intrachurch taboos may have been considered necessary, given the growing pressure to house the many remains of devout Tuscans in this environment, and enlarge the church in general for congregational worship. However, this explanation must remain partial, as plans for

the latest basilica included additions for private chapels, which appear to have been directed to lay patronage.

Papal bulls of 1227 and 1243 in Santa Maria Novella's archives dissolved ancient restrictions on intrachurch lay burial, thus rendering the church and Dominican Order one of the earliest in Tuscany to accommodate lay burial on the premises.⁶³ However, this process did not occur to an equal extent at all Dominican edifices. For instance, outside of Italy, English Dominican houses in 1250 still balked at the idea of intrachurch lay burial.⁶⁴

Entombment within the large, urban-based Mendicant churches became prevalent enough to divert enormous revenues from local parish churches; these churches had long reigned as traditional burial sites. Indeed, the slabs discussed in this thesis are found mainly in Mendicant houses. Competition over grave space was fierce; significant sums of money stood to be made by participating churches, given that the patron paid for their funeral, masses and the elaboration of an allotted space within the church. Often other types of artistic patronage accompanied the execution of a tomb or family chapel, which, to some minds, brought enhanced social prestige to a particular building. All of these elements added to the reputation of specific church sites. Importantly, it is also a sincere manifestation of religious enthusiasm felt by generations of faithful towards the charismatic inclusiveness of the Mendicants.

Squabbling between Mendicant houses and local parishes over intrachurch graves came to a head in 1303, when Boniface VIII produced the papal bull Super Cathedram.⁶⁵ By this period, however, such problems were already long-lived, having flared up in Italian cities such as Pisa and Rome during the first third of the Duecento.⁶⁶ In Super Cathedram, one-quarter of obligatory mortuary fees passed to the parish church; no stronger measures were taken to bring back adherents to parish churches, as this action would deny the Christian right to their choice of interment space. The following year Benedict XI struck down the law, but it was later reinstated in 1312 by Clement V.⁶⁷

By the fourteenth century lay burials within churches functioned as a lucrative and mutually rewarding exchange. The various Orders were nevertheless not without detractors, including Durandus in the thirteenth century, and Savonarola in the late fifteenth. These clerics likened this process at best to a trade in distracting objects, and at worst to a crass, indiscriminate and insincere traffic indicative of hellish vices such as superbia and vanitas.⁶⁸ Durandus particularly opposed large-scale lay burial within the choir, the holiest area of the church.⁶⁹

Indeed, from the very dawning of widespread lay interment within the church, Papal and Regular legislation ensured that the programme remained under ecclesiastical control. Boniface VIII in 1302 asserted the prerogative of churches to refuse interments, an act which could assist in

throwing off those deemed unworthy, or in stemming the veritable tide of bequests.⁷⁰ Even earlier, Dominicans restricted ostentatious sepulchres to the point where they cleared many monuments from establishments, as occurred in Bologna.⁷¹ All future tombs could not exceed the height of nearby altars.⁷²

Cistercian authorities also mandated constraints against the height of freestanding tombs, even within the more open space of the cloister. This regulation safeguarded the community from ostentatious practices as well as from any potential injury that might be incurred by tripping over raised slabs.⁷³ In this way, burial, while undoubtedly a religious affair, also aroused feelings of materialism amongst the laity, who could be viewed as increasingly forcing themselves upon a specific church.⁷⁴

In conclusion, this section deals with the legal realities influencing the ability of the wealthy layperson to secure a resting place as close to the religious centre of the parish as possible. The history of intrachurch burial for the Tuscan laity represents a complex and as yet undeveloped area of study, characterized by the relationship between the religious and secular estates, and their specific social, political and religious agendas. For the purposes of this study, this general account must now be broadened to examine how concepts of gender operated within the legal sphere. The following paragraphs describe the pervasively androcentric legal strictures experienced

by women, constraints which carried over perceptibly to the funerary realm.

TESTAMENTS AS A MEASURE OF FEMALE STATUS

For the purposes of this thesis, testaments figure significantly in evaluating attitudes towards death, and relating the legal and social customs which influenced the role played by men and women. During the Trecento, Tuscans experienced a notable shift in attitudes toward the family and social authority. Rather than both maternal and paternal sides of a family sharing a comparatively more equal role in honour and power, agnatic ties now dominated community identity. We can see traces of this sentiment in the testamentary and inheritance patterns of women.

More precisely, women's access to financial and legal power had an impact on their ability to commission artworks, and by extension, commemorative acts, whether expressly "funerary" or not. Certain funerary rituals, namely the procession and requiem, are crucial to the argument of this thesis, as they also embodied sharply distinguished and divided roles for men and women. An examination of the gendered social practices leading up to interment provides us with an essential backdrop against which to view later, more permanent types of memorial.

The earliest sizeable holdings of Tuscan wills are found in Pisa; these extend back chronologically as far as the twelfth century.⁷⁵ As the records demonstrate, all western European testaments revolved around the appropriate

disposal of property benefitting the testator's soul, relatives, and even friends. As Samuel Cohn has indicated, the structure of medieval and Renaissance testaments precluded erratic changes occurring over time or from one area of Tuscany to another. Instead, notarial methods, expressed through standard Latin phrases and sections labelled "formulae," usually underlie any divergence from the norm, or significant omissions.⁷⁶ Because of these differences, testaments in two or more cities, or even within a city, could and did deviate in the accentuation given to one section over another.

To illustrate, Pisan testators of the thirteenth and most of the fourteenth century described their funerary expenses in detail, usually apportioning specific sums for items such as Masses, candles, shrouds and the like. On the other hand, Florentine and Sieneese testators ignored these aspects during this period.⁷⁷ Testaments might also differ in their organization of similar elements, perhaps identifying the dispersal of pious bequests first, followed by explicit instructions for the funeral. This order is normally reversed in Tuscan Renaissance testamentary practice.⁷⁸

Notwithstanding these intricacies, wills registered the physical state of the testator, pious gifts such as donations to churches, alms, and the liquidation of other worldly property. Medieval and Renaissance Tuscans considered the dispersal of real estate to be of paramount interest, especially where the family house was

concerned.⁷⁹ Depending upon where one lived, testators might also be obligated to donate a sum to secular and/or religious projects sponsored by the Commune, such as the maintenance of hospitals, city walls, or the city Cathedral.⁸⁰

The expenses or personal requirements surrounding one's funeral or interment rites might, but did not always, constitute another section.⁸¹ Within this division, a testator could comment upon three factors which are relevant towards this study: place of burial, a choice which constituted an inviolable Christian right; spiritual remembrance, played out in *massés* or *pietanze*, special meals allocated to the clergy for the salvation and commemoration of specific souls; and lastly, by funeral processions and the accompanying rites.

These ritualistic events were conducted with considerable panache, particularly amongst the wealthy, exhibiting a great reverence towards the intertwined concepts of family, a mythologized ancestry or genealogy, and the condition of a person's soul.⁸² Testaments might include the number and rank of persons to take part, along with any expenditures for various types of ornamentation.⁸³ The documents demonstrate a tendency to separate women from significant sources of public and material power. Strocchia states that women, like men, were awarded funerary honours such as the use of torches, beautiful clothes and drapery, as well as clerical presence. However, by comparison, women were usually buried with less

elaborate forms of material display, and ostentatious funerals for women were less common.⁸⁴

For a long time social scholarship has worked under the assumption that Mediterranean countries were historically more misogynist than other areas of Europe.⁸⁵ While this assertion of misogyny is contentious, and may be attacked as something of a blanket statement, historians such as Cohn, Kuehn, Herlihy, Kent, Klapisch-Zuber, and Strocchia, assert that Florence dedicated itself more wholeheartedly to systems of primogeniture and patrilinealism than any other Tuscan centre.⁸⁶ To illustrate, Cohn posits that wills were not used in Siena to preserve agnatic estates until the sixteenth century, a practice which emerged in Florence some three and even four centuries earlier.⁸⁷ At least in an abstract sense, Pisans gave women relative freedom in designing their own wills and in the reception of their inheritances.⁸⁸ Nevertheless, legal terms such as stirpe, per lineam masculinam, agnatio, ceppo, fidecomissum, and consanguineos infiltrated Tuscan testamentary operations; their focus on the masculine realm may denote an unequal balance between the sexes.⁸⁹

Amidst the preexisting structures of Tuscan wills already discussed there exists a secondary set of rules predicated upon sex. Cohn and Klapisch-Zuber, and to an extent Strocchia, maintain that new social definitions within the Florentine middle-class affected the degree of power accorded to female members.⁹⁰ Although the earlier

rights of mercantile-class women remain unclear, early Renaissance women experienced a marked reduction in their ability to inherit and control property.

A woman's position as an intermediary between, and member of, two families inspired and fed patrilinealism.⁹¹ An androcentric legal climate placed a married woman's movable and real property in the hands of her spouse, and potentially, in some cases, could be used by persons of a bloodline different from her own. Kent has demonstrated that the "dynasticism" of the urban merchant class was precarious at best, and therefore families sought to retain all elements of power within one bloodline.⁹²

From the earliest recorded times, Florentine legal tradition proscribed women from writing wills without the consent and assistance of a mundualdus, or male advocate.⁹³ The role of the mundualdus, be he the husband, other male kin, or "of no seeming relationship to the woman" in question, endured as a holdover from ancient Lombardic law.⁹⁴

Due to an increasing obsession with the survival of agnatic lineage, over the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Florentine women, and to an apparently lesser degree those living elsewhere in Tuscany, also stood on the whole to inherit significantly less than male relatives. The one-time gift of the dowry commonly, but not always, precluded the inheritance of many other types of goods upon the death of parents or other kin.⁹⁵ Legal convention further directed that a female could not inherit more than

one-quarter of her paternal legacy, even in the absence of close male kin.⁹⁶ Dynastic lines, so intent upon keeping goods, especially real estate out of cognatic hands, often (though not always) chose distant patrilineal kin over closely-related women when no close male kin were available.⁹⁷ Although Santa Maria Novella's published wills contain examples of women becoming main heirs, sons, and most commonly the eldest sons of a family, acted as universal heirs on behalf of both men and women during this period.⁹⁸

Widows also faced strictures in receiving and exploiting deceased spouses' possessions. This proved a particular problem in Florence, where although widows became the primary creditors to their spouses' estate, they nevertheless received the least amount of control over their inheritance.⁹⁹ If Florentine widows elected to remain "good mothers," by refraining from remarriage and staying with their children in the conjugal household, they normally retained access to their dowry and to the usufruct of their husbands' estate.¹⁰⁰

Nevertheless, a widow exercised a traditional right of tornata, or return to her natal household.¹⁰¹ Though tornata could not honourably be denied, provisions in some husbands' wills guarded against this break, and a woman's possible remarriage. Their own wills could qualify that material property, and in some extreme cases, even the children, clothing and the initial dowry, could not accompany a widow to the cognatic fold.¹⁰²

Although women's funds were controlled to a large extent by the fathers, husbands, brothers or sons in their lives, testaments alone create a theoretical, incomplete assumption that women lived as unwilling prisoners of the household, who lacked all access to discretionary funds or decision-making. Indeed, a sizeable portion of wills, though admittedly a small proportion of those surviving, depict a more equitable treatment of women, or a more assertive female stance than is often assumed. Willmaking procedures, including the insistence upon the mundualdus, were not always faithfully followed in the Florentine cases.

Elaine Rosenthal contends that in a number of cases, the mundualdus appears to have behaved in a more formal manner than has been previously assumed, existing more as a witness than an advisor.¹⁰³ She asserts that these guardians often simply signed their names to documents, often at a date later than the testation. Rosenthal believes that this apparently casual approach to guardianship resulted out of a more widespread trust of women than was previously believed.¹⁰⁴

Material business transactions fulfilled by widows and wives during their lifespan included bookkeeping, and large-scale domestic arrangements, such as hiring servants.¹⁰⁵ Women of the Alberti clan, whose graves occupied a secondary social position compared to those of their male relatives, nevertheless managed the family business during a period when the adult males of the line

had been exiled.¹⁰⁶ Although these occurrences do not cancel out the undeniably biased structure of inheritance patterns, they suggest that the testament alone cannot encapsulate the lifelong experiences of Florentine women.

Prior to plague epidemics in the Trecento, women in Pisa made wills almost as often as their male counterparts, independently of marital status and without guardianship.¹⁰⁷ Evidently freer to inherit and disseminate their property, Pisan women did not follow a similar path to their Florentine counterparts in nominating husbands or sons as universal heirs.¹⁰⁸ Pisan law and custom instead allowed women to choose from other kin, and some indeed chose cognatic kin, including other women.¹⁰⁹ Communal legislation also set a 15 lire minimum bequest to a husband, a regulation which although small, was on some occasions still denied.¹¹⁰ Cohn argues that due to plague epidemics, Pisan, as well as other Tuscan testamentary practices, gradually fell into line with Florentine social and legal structures, preferring celebration of one family line at the expense of others.¹¹¹

Notarial styles and methods influenced greatly what contemporary scholars know about the religious or secular drives behind burial practices. Importantly, testaments often serve as the only source providing an indication of the original position of now depredated tombs.¹¹² Some of the earliest Italian wills reveal no clearly-defined choice of burial placement.¹¹³ However, it would be imprudent to conclude that willmakers faced the afterlife with

indifference. As time passed, notaries and the dying articulated more clearly the exact location of their final resting place. These early sources were actually quite vague, referring to the grave as resting apud ecclesiam or in ecclesiam only.¹¹⁴

Cohn and Kent delineate several reasons for this shift towards more specific instructions regarding the type of burial. Cohn, concurring with Philippe Ariès, states that repeated experience with death and the chaos caused by outbreaks of plague compelled testators to clarify their burial spots to avoid mass burial.¹¹⁵ As Kent suggests, for families living in the last half of the Trecento, the idea of anonymous burial inspired fears of an inferior spiritual and social treatment.¹¹⁶ For example, in 1348 the Alberti clan commissioned thirteen adjacent tombs in the apse end of Santa Croce out of a desire to remain together as a family after death.¹¹⁷

Many large familial burial spaces arose in the fourteenth century. The early Quattrocento saw over 50% of Florentine testators and 75% of their Pisan counterparts specifying their burial sites as "ancestral."¹¹⁸ Many testators refer to chapels as the initial property of "fathers, husbands, or ancestors," many of whom, as in the case of the Tornaquinci, Bardi, and Strozzi, built their sites in the Trecento, if not earlier.¹¹⁹ Contemporary religious views linked the saying of masses or prayers made at communal tombs to a spiritual salvation which benefitted

both the living and the deceased; this further encouraged unity in burial.¹²⁰

Growing pride in the middle class "family" or "dynasty," thus comprised another factor in describing one's choice of gravesite, as well suggesting the motivation behind the creation of "family" mortuary spaces. Whereas earlier generations might not have presumed the right to celebrate their mercantile status, families now credited themselves in some cases as equals to the nobility. Overpopulated church space also necessitated the use of familial, communal tombs. Additional clarity in testamentary writing could have become obligatory to ensure a fitting resting place within a church. As Cohn indicates, by the first decade of the Quattrocento, Florentine churches showed signs of becoming cramped.¹²¹

Finally, since clarification of one's place of burial commenced at a time when intrachurch interment was on the upswing, it can be suggested that the laity simply had more options in designating their choice of gravesite at this time. Beforehand, if only nobles or clergymen could obtain access to the church proper, ordinary Tuscans probably did not see a point in articulating a burial site that would not normally have been open to them.

Although many Tuscans (and western Europeans in general) designated their specific resting place within their wills, this was not universally adopted in many notable cases. Burial arrangements might be handed over to heirs, or in the case of women, to the discretion of

husbands, sons or fathers.¹²² Santa Maria Novella's death register includes the death notice of one woman, "non erat nupta."¹²³ Given the accent put upon her unmarried status, this person was most likely young and not following a religious vocation; her final arrangements were most likely handled by patrilineal kin.

However, while a designated burial site may comprise an important aspect in estimating female agency, other aspects of a will, and other recorded funerary practices also indicate ways in which Tuscans ordered their society.¹²⁴

FEMALE PARTICIPATION IN FUNERARY RITUALS AND PATRONAGE

Numerous examples survive of women acting as agents in commissioning or decorating family chapels and tombs; such material provides valuable information about women's roles and their representation within tomb art. In a few cases, donatrixes were awarded places of honour within the chapel, either by means of portraits, inscriptions, or even tombs. On the whole, however, the spirit of communal burial places from the period of the Duecento to the Cinquecento remained overwhelmingly male-based, in that inscriptions, as well as heraldic ornamentation, specified almost invariably patronymics or the identities of individual males. The next chapters will deal more fully with individual tombs explicitly reserved for female occupants.

Many women are named in artistic contracts, church journals, and testaments, as providers of a variety of

funerary bequests. These legacies included the arrangement of masses, meals, and other types of charitable works benefitting the dead. For example, Santa Maria Novella's Necrologio records several female members of the Strozzi, Bardi, and Altoviti clans as donors of masses benefitting nuclear or extended families.¹²⁵ These women often included their names in the divine offices. For example, Monna Andrea Acciaiuoli, wife of Mainardo Cavalcanti, paid for "mille messe" towards her own salvation.¹²⁶

A predetermined clerical group carried out masses and pietanze, or memorial meals. Patrons ordered these rituals at a designated period, often each year. Arising from pre-Christian celebratory practices, these occurrences also commonly fell on the seventh, and thirtieth days after a death.¹²⁷

Aside from, or more correctly affiliated with the aforementioned sense of genealogical reverence, women must have assumed responsibility for such observances, partially as an extension of familial affection, as well as because of their own personal piety. These types of patronage might also have been considered befitting to those viewed by society as natural caregivers.

Merchant-class women gave generously to religious establishments in their testaments as well. Again, Santa Maria Novella's Necrologio as well as the Delizie degli eruditi list scores of material donations given on behalf of one or more women. For example, Fiondina Sasseti, widow of an Adimari, and daughter of Palla Sasseti, left

200 florins to create a "grande e bella tavola" for the main altar of the church.¹²⁸ To the disgruntled exasperation of male kin who wished to retain property within the clan, women living as widows, members of tertiary groups, or confraternity members, occasionally surrendered their goods to the Church as their universal heirs.¹²⁹ Fiondina Sasseti was one such designator, leaving her property to Santa Maria Novella.¹³⁰

Examples exist of masses contracted by women on behalf of mothers, or including maternal relatives. They have not received close study to date; however, in my limited research these instances seem to have been occasional.¹³¹ Women maintaining or building mortuary sites with few exceptions did so in a fashion endorsing males, in the form of the initial founder and his bloodline.¹³²

Three notable exceptions to this rule exist, whereby women called attention to themselves or other females as opposed to or along with males. The first example pertains to the admittedly somewhat extraordinary case of the Beata Villana, a Trecento female saint buried at Santa Maria Novella. Using a male intermediary, in this case a friar at the convent, the holy woman's relative Domina Villana employed her money and connections to encourage a growing cult around the Beata's memory.¹³³ Over time, Domina Villana made several improvements to her relative's effigial tomb, and she established a day of celebration in her honour.

Born without a "family name," Domina Mante, widow of a professional (a notary), nevertheless rose in station to the point where she could commission a chapel in the Florentine church of San Lorenzo. In this space she had a commemorative plaque installed to establish her "earthly memory".¹³⁴ To further identify both sides of the marital union, both Mante's newly-acquired coat-of-arms and that of her deceased husband were displayed in the chapel. She further requested masses for the benefit of herself, her daughter, and her spouse.

The last of my selected examples involves Johanna, a widow in Pisa in late Trecento. Johanna bought a ready-made tomb which is now lost; she was destined for burial in the city's Camposanto. Her will stipulated that she be remembered through her own (albeit her father's) heraldry, as well as an inscription which mentioned her by name.¹³⁵

Despite women's ability to make commemorative bequests, Tuscan and seemingly pan-Italian laws constrained them within another funerary ritual, specifically the funeral procession or cortege. Through the study of sumptuary exemptions and historical accounts, Strocchia has observed that agnatic representatives of mercantile families in Florence, a city which "described itself through ceremony," took part in processions while women, including bereaved wives and mothers, faced exclusion.¹³⁶

The funeral procession, as opposed to other funerary events such as the requiem, stressed patrilineal ties exclusively. Florence, together with Mantua, Rome, Padua,

Ascoli Piceno (Monte del Fiore) and Bologna, passed bylaws barring women from inclusion in these sometimes sumptuous public events.¹³⁷ Authorities cited exaggerated female displays of grief, a Mediterranean tradition common since Antiquity and visible in Italian religious art, as the determining factor in such regulations.¹³⁸ This issue was also addressed by Sieneese preachers.¹³⁹ Although in practice women sometimes followed the procession "as an informal addendum," male, agnatically-defined family members (particularly if the deceased was a man), heirs, and heads of households occupied positions of honour behind the bier.¹⁴⁰ Strocchia reasons that in this very public domain we can see a new visible method of family ranking. Crucially, this new method shifted female involvement away from a more public tradition towards the more private sphere of the home.¹⁴¹

Women did express themselves in relevant ways which directly related to the social experience of death. Death was a shared experience, with family, friends and neighbours fulfilling traditional and accepted roles.¹⁴² Often elaborate though private, displays of mourning occurred immediately after a demise, whereby women prepared the body for presentation. Calzolari posits that while the women engaged in this activity, male family members remained outside, greeting those coming to pay respects, and awaiting the arrival of high-standing guests and the clergy.¹⁴³ Whereas tradition encouraged men to assume places of honour within a cortege, slowly winding towards a

church while reciting religious passages, women had assumed their own, more private positions of honour in mourning over the deceased, consciously or sincerely expressing exaggerated attitudes of woe. This would fit into Binski's idea of "the ritualization of grief... which was the special preserve of women."¹⁴⁴ Thus, women's participation in burial rites were limited as a result of their exclusion from the more public arena of the cortege.

The private, emotional component expressed at the death of a family member, compared with the highly visible display of power and in many cases consumption, can be argued as affirming and exaggerating ideals found in popular cultural sentiment. Here women were deemed to be nurturing, but ideally unseen, family members, as opposed to the more publicly assertive men. Florentine traditions of funerary oratory also bear this out; these forms were directed more at men and "virile" personality characteristics than at women.¹⁴⁵ Disruptions of the rules courted social approbation; for instance, Binski and Finucane state that the use of a woman as a pallbearer transgressed a strong medieval taboo.¹⁴⁶ Importantly, female exclusion from processional activities did not bar women from publicly asserting their presence as essential and conspicuous. Following the procession, the service of requiem provided an opportunity for all familial members and other well-wishers to express their condolences in a socially conspicuous manner.

Through their apparel, Florentine women embodied symbols of mourning and respect, in a manner similar to the banners and dress used in the procession. Families expended more money for funerary apparel on women than they did for closely-related males. This garb, dyed black for nuclear family members and brown for more distant degrees of relation, was worn by women to mark losses of life on both natal and matrimonial sides.¹⁴⁷ This action symbolized attachments which did not revolve around a single man, be he father or husband.

Men asserted a preference for agnatic lineage by wearing mourning attire mainly when attending funerals of men occurring in their agnatic line. The same display did not accompany cognatic services.¹⁴⁸

While Strocchia cautions that more "private" functions like the requiem accommodated female assertion, it is interesting to examine the degree to which tombs can be compared to the public display of mourning gear and procession for men, and the more self-effacing costumes and activities reserved for women of the household.

Laws and wills provide an important, though at times contentious and incomplete view of Tuscan religious sentiment and gender treatment. In sum, a double picture develops, exhibiting wills as both sources of discrimination, and as documents that on occasion attest to female agency. Within a socially restrictive climate, women succeeded in commissioning memorial objects, structures, and services. The following chapters hope to

illuminate ways in which art has displayed or erased
collective and individual female identity.

NOTES

1. Luigi Pirandello, Il Vecchio Dio, (Verona, Oscar Mondadori), 5.

2. Gardner, Tomb and Tiara, 15n.98.

3. Ibid., 33.

4. The Emperor Trajan was supposedly buried within his column in Rome. However, although ancestor worship composed a major part of the Classical belief system, busts, not actual bodies provided the foci of a cult. Jocelyn Toynbee, Death and Burial in the Roman World, (London, Thames and Hudson, 1971) presents a thorough investigation of Roman death and memorialization practices.

5. Dyggve, "Origins of the Urban Churchyard," 148. Ronan, Tuscan Wall Tomb, 20, also says that due to a bustling but not-quite-sanitary enterprise of intrachurch burial, medieval churches were not the most pleasant sites to visit. She cites the phrase "puzza come un avello" as an observation of this sometimes problematic practice.

6. P. Hofmeister, "Das Gotteshaus als Begräbnisstätte," Archiv für Katholisches Kirchenrecht, III (1931): 450; Dyggve, "Origins of the Urban Graveyard, 137-41. See also Alberti, Ten Books on Architecture, 163, and Osborne, "From Turtura to Alfanus," 3, and 3 n.2, where the author also cites Cicero's De legibus, II, xxiii, upon the matter. Finally, Toynbee, Death and Burial, 48, describes the Twelve Tables as disallowing intramural burial to all but Emperors. Toynbee claims that most persons in the Roman world were interred along roads. Those wealthy enough to own rural estates were allowed to be buried on their own property.

7. Osborne, "Roman Catacombs," 281-3, 284, 284n.28, does not agree with the argument (as espoused by Dyggve) which justifies intramural burial strictly as a result of the cult of saints and relic translation. Osborne cites evidence suggesting that the deceased moved within city walls before large-scale relic translations, for reasons of safety during invasion. For this reason, intramural burials have been noted in Rome as early as the middle of the sixth century.

8. C. Walker Bynum, The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336 (New York, Columbia University Press, 1995), 19-51.

9. Dyggve, "Origins of the Urban Churchyard," 50, speaks of martyria. For a discussion concerning the growth of

early medieval graveyards in Northern Europe, see also Ariès, Hour of Our Death, 33-35. Ariès labels choice burial locations with the descriptors ad sanctos or inter sanctos.

10. Paoli, Arte e committenza, 198-9, 200. Paoli states that early medieval sepulchral inscriptions in Lucca referred to the worthiness for salvation of the donor's virtues; later monuments bore familial arms and more secularized complimentary descriptions.

11. Ibid., 198-200; Gardner, Tomb and Tiara, 33.

12. Binski, Medieval Death, 72, discusses interment in the "porticus" or atrium of churches. Many tombs also took up space on the façade of a church; for example, the tomb of the papal chamberlain Alfanus at Santa Maria in Cosmedin. See John Osborne, "The Tomb of Alfanus in Santa Maria in Cosmedin, Rome, and its Place in the Tradition of Roman Funerary Monuments," Papers of the British School at Rome, 51 (1983): 240-47, and Gardner, Tomb and Tiara, 25-26. Finally, see Ariès, Hour of Our Death, 35, who notes the 755 A.D. burial in porticu of St. Germain, the medieval Bishop of Paris who had consecrated the city.

13. Pines, A New Sepoltuario, 12; Ronan, Tuscan Wall Tomb, 16.

14. Two female tombs belonging to the Alberti family rest near the former entrance to the friar's enclosure at Santa Croce. While prominent, burials near entrances also were viewed as modest. Osborne, "From Turtura to Alfanus," 4, states that initial intrachurch burial occurred in "peripheral" locations, such as the door, narthex, atrium, and aisles. Binski concurs, stating on page 73 of Medieval Death that "[u]ntil the twelfth century, lay burial was [thus] an affair of the threshold." (brackets mine.)

15. The church grounds of Santa Reparata in Florence proved to be an exceptionally popular place for external tombs since Antiquity; it was considered sacred not only to Christians, but also to Etruscans as a holy site. Pines, A New Sepoltuario, 13, citing P. Bargellini, Santa Reparata, la cattedrale risorta, (Florence, Bonechi, 1970), 37. She also states that the area occupied by the Duomo possibly had connections with pre-Christian religious ceremony.

16. Ronan, Tuscan Wall Tomb, 27; Pines, A New Sepoltuario, 12, 14; Fineschi, Memorie sopra il cimitero, 6-7. See also Brown, Santa Maria Novella, 102-3 and Davidsohn, Storia di Firenze, Vol. IV (Firenze, Sansoni, 1977), 720.

17. Binski, Medieval Death, 72.

18. Cohn, Cult of Remembrance, 343 and 343n.37; Gardner, Tomb and Tiara, 8-9.

19. Calzolari, "Il Libro dei morti," 28.

20. Binski, Medieval Death, 55-6.

21. For instance, the Trenta and Guidiccioni built large chapels on each side of the church of San Frediano in Lucca. The chapels actually extended the older walls outwards, creating a larger overall space. The families ornamented their holdings in a religiously appropriate fashion, but one which also made room for their own dynastic recognition. Also see Binski, Medieval Death, 57.

22. Gardner, Tomb and Tiara, 23, describing changes in attitude between the Classical and medieval periods as "profound."

23. Bishop Vaast of Arras was buried in 540 A.D.. See Ariès, Hour of Our Death, 36, 36n.16. Vaast was buried inside a church at Arras, in front, and to the right of the main altar. John Osborne, "Early Medieval Wall-painting in the Roman Catacombs: Patronage and Function," RACAR (Canadian Art Review), vol.XII nos.1-2 (1985), 197, states that Roman catacombs were abandoned as burial sites during the second half of the sixth century A.D..

24. Binski, Medieval Death, 72.

25. Osborne, "From Turtura to Alfano," 4.

26. Bargellini, Santa Reparata, 64, 66, referred to by Pines, A New Sepolcuario, 11. Pines uses Bargellini's findings to indicate that the tombs of eleventh-century bishops and popes have been found in the crypt of Santa Reparata, an area now located under the Duomo of Florence. These graves and other older tombs, including one belonging to a Medici family member, were simply covered over in subsequent rebuildings.

27. Ibid., 12.

28. Antonella Chiti, "Alcune osservazioni sulle lastre tombali dell'età gotica," in "Un corpus delle lastre tombali," 333-34. Chiti sets 1298 as the year the church received permission for lay burials.

29. Fineschi, Memorie sopra il cimitero, 2, 5. Graves were placed in the east end, at that time the only usable part of the new basilica, as early as 1300. A female tomb in this general region was recorded by Brown as dated 1303. Brown, Santa Maria Novella, 120. Di San Luigi, Delizie degli eruditi, vol.9, 123-217, gives some of the death-

dates as 1314, 1335, 1317, 1325, 1331, etc. It is not guaranteeable that all of these persons were buried within Santa Maria Novella, but indicates intriguing evidence for future research on the subject.

30. Gardner, Tomb and Tiara, 6-7, 14.

31. Ibid., 6.

32. Paoli, "Un Aspetto," 38.; Butterfield, "Social Structure," 50, speaks of plaques and slabs in Florence, but observes that these represented both communal and individual graves.

33. Paoli, Arte e committenza, 194-5, 194-5n.12, 13.

34. Paoli, "Un Aspetto," 38.

35. Gardner, Tomb and Tiara, 5. Gardner also refers (p.23) to the Council of Auxerre in 578, which forbade burial in baptisteries, although the note makes it unclear if this refers to the laity alone or to all persons. Gardner also refers to Mansi, ix, col.913, no.xiv, "non licet in baptisterio corpora sepeliri." Medieval and Renaissance burial in these sites occurred; one example to be discussed by this thesis is Padua's Buzzacarin family grave chapel. The tombs of Baldassare Cossa (d. Trecento) and Bishop Ranieri (d.1113) were placed in Florence's Baptistry.

36. Paoli, Arte e committenza, 195.

37. Binski, Medieval Death, 72. Also see Ariès, Hour of Our Death, 46. Ariès also lists Councils occurring at Mayence (813 A.D.) Nantes (895 A.D.) and Tribur (900 A.D.)

38. Cohn, Cult of Remembrance, 342n.37. Ariès, Hour of Our Death, 46, concurs, and cites that while burial in the choir area of churches proved to be a point of contention, eminent clergy and "loyal and devoted lay members of the congregation, with the permission of the bishop, priest or rector" were nevertheless allowed to be buried in this region.

39. Ibid., 342.

40. Paoli, Arte e committenza, 195.

41. Eve Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany: From Cimabue to Andrea del Sarto, 2nd Edition (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1980), xviii, and Annagret Höger, Studien zur Entstehung der Familienkappelle. (Phd diss, Bonn, 1976), 20-54, noted in Cohn, Cult of Remembrance, 343n.37.

42. Kent, Household and Lineage, 280.
43. Davidsohn, Storia di Firenze, IV, 378n; Herklotz, "Sepulcra" e "Monumenta", 191, 199, 220, 239. Referred to by Gardner, Tomb and Tiara, 7. The Rhetorica Antiqua, or Candelabrum Eloquentiae was written by Boncompagno da Signa.
44. Gardner, Tomb and Tiara, 7.
45. Ibid., 7; Binski, Medieval Death, 56.
46. Gardner, Tomb and Tiara, 7.
47. Paoli, "Un Aspetto," 38 states that royal and imperial personages could expect resting places inside churches; next in line came all other types of moneyed laity. Another good resource in this area is Ronan, Tuscan Wall Tomb, 14; the author remarks that Emperor Henry VII of Luxemburg received burial in Pisa in 1313.
48. Ibid., 38. The author notes, however, that no reliably secure certifications exist for many specific tombs thought to be from the late Duecento and Early Trecento in Pisa.
49. Ibid., 38. Between the late twelfth and mid fourteenth centuries, Pisan ecclesiastical institutions softened their attitudes. An enduring Papal statement granted to the Dominican community at Santa Caterina demonstrates this influence, expressing permission for lay burial in 1260. Pontifical attention to an individual Mendicant church broadcasts the power and acceptance by the public of this new Order, as well as the affluence and social aspirations of the elite for salvation combined with public recognition. During the Duecento and Trecento, even ancient Christian catacombs in Rome were used for interments. See Gardner, Tomb and Tiara, 24.
50. Binski, Medieval Death, 57.
51. Gardner, Tomb and Tiara, 7.
52. Ibid., 8.
53. B. Lucet, Les Codifications cisterciennes de 1237 et de 1257, (Paris, Sources d'Histoire Médiévale, 1977), 322; noted in ibid., 8. See also Binski, Medieval Death, 56-8, particularly page 57.
54. Binski, Medieval Death, 57.
55. Gardner, Tomb and Tiara, 8. Ariès, Hour of Our Death, 83, and Ronan, Tuscan wall Tomb, 17.

56. Julian Gardner, "Arnolfo di Cambio and Roman Tomb Design," Burlington Magazine, 115 (1973): 420-39, 432, 432n.79. On page 435, the author cites that the Mendicants at one time had even attempted to exclude the use of floor slabs within their churches.
57. Gardner, Tomb and Tiara, 8.
58. Ibid., 7. The burial spot of Jacopa de Settesoli was marked "by an inscription only."
59. Ibid., 8.
60. Brown, Santa Maria Novella, 95; Paatz, Kirchen von Florenz, III, 663, used by Pines, A New Sepoluario, 12. Pines describes these exterior tombs as "reaching to and leaning against the walls of the previous building" (of the 1279 edifice of Santa Maria Novella.)
61. Brown, Santa Maria Novella, 95-6. See also Pines, A New Sepoluario, 12.
62. Fineschi, Memorie sopra il cimitero, 5 and passim; another full description of the cemeteries is included in Brown, Santa Maria Novella, 94-109. Obituaries in di San Luigi, Delizie degli eruditi, vol 9, passim, also commonly list burial choice as occurring in inferiore or superiore sections.
63. Ronan, Tuscan Wall Tomb, 70. Refer to endnote 29 for a discussion of the problem of dating the first "real" intrachurch burials in Santa Maria Novella.
64. Binski, Medieval Death, 58.
65. Gardner, Tomb and Tiara, 5-6.
66. P. Ronzani, "Gli Ordini mendicanti e le istituzioni ecclesiastiche preesistenti a Pisa nel duecento," chap. in Les ordres mendicants et la ville en Italie centrale (v. 1220-v 1350): actes de la table ronde, (Rome, 27-28 April 1977) referred to by Cohn, Cult of Remembrance, 342n.36. See also Gardner, Tomb and Tiara, 6.
67. Ibid., 6.
68. Cohn, Death and Property, 97, uses a quote by Girolamo Savonarola in which the cleric refers to laymen who "desired and loved riches in life and in death, possessing them in life and wanting to be buried with them in death. They did not even want to rot unless in a luxurious place.." quoted in Munman, Sieneese Tomb Monuments, 8, and Gardner, "Arnolfo di Cambio," 432-5. Finally, see Binski, Medieval Death, 88.

69. Ibid., 74; Ariès, Hour of Our Death, 46-7.
70. J.H. Sbaralea, Bullarium Franciscanum, (Rome, 1759-68) referred to by Gardner, Tomb and Tiara, 9.
71. Gardner, "Arnolfo di Cambio," 432-5.
72. Binski, Medieval Death, 90.
73. Ibid., 89-90; B. Lucet, Les Codifications, 322; noted in Gardner, Tomb and Tiara, 86; idem, 9.
74. For a discussion of families fighting over access to a particular space, see Simons, "Tornaquinci Chapel," 210-234.
75. Cohn, Cult of Remembrance, 11. Cohn surmises that the survival rate of testaments probably reflects the incidence of testament-making in the medieval-early Renaissance period. He also cautions that the use and popularity of these documents differed over temporal and geographical expanses. D. Herlihy, Women in Medieval History and Historiography, (New York, Stuard, 1987), 14. Herlihy, in Women and Medieval History, cites information gleaned from Trecento chronicler Giovanni Villani, which estimates that between 1336 and 1338 600 professional notaries worked in Florence. See also Giovanni Villani, Cronica di Giovanni Villani, a miglior lezione ridotta col l'aiuto de' testi a Penna, vol.6 (Florence, Magheri, 1823-25), 185.
76. Diversity in notarial formula must also be coupled with rich variation across Tuscany and across generations, in Cohn's view especially those damaged by plague. Cohn, Cult of Remembrance, 12.
77. Ibid., 13-14, 123.
78. Ibid., 12, 127, 130. For instance, Pisans itemized their funeral arrangements first, as opposed to Aretines, who customarily used this section to map out the dispersal of their worldly estate.
79. Kent, Household and Lineage, 144. Accounting for the physical state of the testator might be explained both in spiritual and practical terms. The standard picture of the Renaissance testator is of a person upon their deathbed, absolved of sin and disposing of their possessions in a seemly manner. The practice might also be related to modern wills which refer to the "sound mind and body" of the testator. According to Dr. Timothy Haskett, the majority of willmakers drew up these documents anywhere from a week to a few months before they died.

80. Cohn, Cult of Remembrance, 12, 13. Obligatory bequests helped Siena's Ospedale della Scala, and the Florentine Duomo project. For a discussion of Church control of testamentary procedures, see also Richard Trexler, "Death and Testament in the Episcopal Constitutions of Florence," chap. in Renaissance Studies in Honour of Hans Baron, eds. Anthony Molho and John A. Tedeschi, (DeKalb, Northern Illinois University Press, 1971), 29-74.
81. Cohn, Cult of Remembrance, 119-59. This citation refers to a subsection of a chapter entitled "Directions From the Grave," which deals with funeral and burial customs of Florence, Siena, Perugia, Pisa, and Arezzo.
82. For "ancestor worship," see Kent, Household and Lineage, 258, 259.
83. Strocchia, "Funerals and Politics of Gender;" idem, Burials in Renaissance Florence 1300-1500, (Phd diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1981); idem, "Death Rites and the Ritual Family," chap. in Life and Death in 15th Century Florence, eds. Marcel Tetel, Ronald G. Witt and Rona Goffen, (Durham, North Carolina, University of North Carolina Press, 1985.) Finally, see idem, Death and Ritual in Renaissance Florence. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1992.)
84. Strocchia, "Funerals and Politics of Gender," passim, and especially page 155; idem, Burials in Renaissance Florence, passim. This study understands that some of the draperies mentioned by Strocchia, which bore standards of guilds or the Commune, were not used in female funerals due to the exclusion of women from political or executive guild membership. I am speaking more generally in terms of all types of ostentatious display, such as the use of horses, catafalque covers, wax, number of clerics, and orations. Although female deceased could be splendidly dressed, when overall amounts are tallied men received the greater part of material goods.
85. Herlihy assigns to medieval and Renaissance Mediterranean countries including Italy "a strong cultural prejudice against feminine participation in all aspects of public life." Herlihy, Women in Medieval History, 17.
86. Cohn, Cult of Remembrance, 16-17, 16, 26n.28. Cohn describes patrilineal inheritance as "a uniform customary law." see also Klapisch-Zuber, Women, Family, and Ritual, 213-4, and Joan Kelly, "Did Women Have a Renaissance?" in Becoming Visible: Women in European History, eds. Renata Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz (Boston, Houghton-Mifflin, 1977 and 1987), 137-64; Thomas Kuehn, "Cum Consensu Mundualdi, Legal Guardianship of Women in Quattrocento Florence," Viator, 13 (1981): 127-47.

Finally, refer to Herlihy, Women in Medieval History, 15, 22, 67-8. Herlihy argues that from the twelfth century through the Renaissance, the status of Italian women in urban society declined. By his reasoning, women living in agricultural, more subsistence-level communities had a necessarily more equal value relative to their male counterparts. Herlihy holds the same tenet as true for Northern European aristocratic women, whose power to inherit and rule was based more on feudal tradition than merchant entrepreneurship.

87. Cohn, Cult of Remembrance, 196-7; Herlihy, Women in Medieval History, 143, 144; Christiane Klapisch-Zuber also discusses how women from the fourteenth until the sixteenth centuries were defined by androcentric surroundings as separate beings to "lineages." See "La femme et le lignage florentin (XIVe- XVIIe siècles)," chap. in Persons in Groups, ed. R. Trexler, 140-151; idem, Women, Family, and Ritual, 213-4. Exclusion of women from ceremonies of honour such as funeral processions began in Florence in the fourteenth century, see Strocchia, "Death Rites," 126.

88. Cohn, Cult of Remembrance, 197.

89. Ibid., 196. These elements derive from Florentine testaments but eventually infiltrated all of the centres under the author's investigation.

90. Klapisch-Zuber, Women, Family, and Ritual, 213-14; Cohn, Cult of Remembrance, 195-200, traces the inheritance patterns of women in a subchapter entitled "Women and Lineage." Strocchia maintains that the popularity of social definition as recorded in genealogies also influenced the makeup of Trecento and Quattrocento death rituals; see Strocchia, "Death Rites," 120-124.

91. Both F.W. Kent and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber stress the ambiguous and changeable nature of women within natal and matrimonial households. Kent further describes the female testamentary custom of bequeathing goods to both sides of her family. See Kent, Household and Lineage, 74, and Klapisch-Zuber, Women, Family and Ritual, 118, 118n.74.

92. The Trecento underwent major economic upheaval before the Black Death as well as directly afterwards. For instance, the Bardi and Peruzzi banking houses collapsed during the 1340s.

93. Cohn, Cult of Remembrance, 14; Archivio di Stato Firenze, Notarile antecos, A. 981, c.25v. referred to by ibid., 14n.115, 316 notes 117-19. Two other important sources towards an understanding of the mundualdus are Kuehn, "Cum Consensu Mundualdi," 127-47, and Elaine

Rosenthal, "The Position of Women in Renaissance Florence: Neither Autonomy Nor Subjection," chap. in Florence and Italy: Renaissance Studies in Honour of Nicolai Rubinstein. (London, Westfield College, University of London, Committee for Medieval Studies, 1988), 369-379.

94. Cohn, Cult of Remembrance, 14, 342-3n. 118; Herlihy, Women in Medieval History, 15. Herlihy suggests that the use of the male guardian reveals existing discrimination against women, but a practice that also did not constitute an insurmountable avenue of oppression. The author refers to Lombardic law as the strictest form of Germanic law, but also draws attention to the fact that a type of mundualdus was installed even in the Roman period. Wills outside of Florence do not require the use of guardians to the same degree, however, and in some cases and times, not at all.

95. Cohn, Cult of Remembrance, 200. The monetary inheritance or augmentum was also listed as an ultra dos.

96. Klapisch-Zuber, Women, Family and Ritual, 213-4, 216.

97. F.W. Kent lists an example occurring in 1423 where a testator handed over an inheritance to a male "first cousin, once removed," since no other male relatives of closer status remained within the lineage. The testator, a Corsini family member, further directed that property was to pass down only through the male line, bequeathing his legacy "to the stock of Messer Filippo.. that is to say...men...not women." Kent, Household and Lineage, 75, 75n.53, quoting the Libro di ricordanze di Corsini (1362-1457), (Rome, A. Petrucci, 1965), 121. Finally, refer to Cohn, Cult of Remembrance, 196-7.

98. Orlandi, Necrologio, vol 1, 197. Donna Andreola, widow of a Ricco Aldighieri, instituted "sue erede le donne Caterina e Andreola, sue nipote e figlie di Donato, figlio suo e di Ricco." Cohn, Cult of Remembrance, 196-7. Cohn states that the 1362-3 plague epidemic exacerbated the practice of instituting men as universal heirs over women, although women were not totally neglected as heirs. He also posits Florence as the worst Renaissance city for women in which to live as far as inheritance and legal status were concerned (idem, Death and Property, 203.)

99. Cohn, Cult of Remembrance, 200.

100. Klapisch-Zuber, Women, Family and Household, 127-9. The author includes a chapter discussing "cruel mothers" who neglect their families by remarrying.

101. Ibid., 127.

102. Epstein, Wills and Wealth, 100-103, 111. See also Klapisch Zuber, Women, Family and Ritual, 125, 125n.36, 225-7, and Cohn, Death and Property, 143.

103. Rosenthal, "Position of Women," 377, 377n.40, argues towards a re-viewing of the mundualdus as a purely formal though not innocuous tradition. The author's corpus of Quattrocento wills also left out the mundualdus 17% of the time, leading her to surmise that the practice was "often a legal fiction." Rosenthal's views are criticized by Cohn, however, who labels her work as overly insular; see Cult of Remembrance, 354n.144.

104. Ibid., 377.

105. Ibid., 371-2, 374, 375, 377. Rosenthal posits that "The depiction of these women as protected and isolated from all contact except the family and church is, at best, superficial." Individual accounts of female patronage of religious services and paraphernalia, including chapels and paintings, etc. are to be found throughout the work of Cohn and Orlandi; see Cohn, Cult of Remembrance, and Death and Property, passim, and Orlandi, Necrologio di Santa Maria Novella, 2 vols, passim. Some examples found in these texts will be addressed in later chapters.

106. Strocchia, "Funerals and the Politics of Gender," 165, 165n.29. Strocchia took this data from Susanna Kerr Foster, The Ties That Bind: Kinship Association and Marriage in the Alberti Family, 1378-1428, (Phd diss., Cornell University, 1985), 124. Rosenthal lists women from two other patrician families, namely the Scolari and Brandolini, who also became involved in business ventures; see "Position of Women," 377.

107. In Florence, the percentage of female willmakers before 1363 was less than 30%. Furthermore, most of these testators were widows who, had their spouses survived, very probably might have been considered as "covered" by male decision-making. Cohn, Cult of Remembrance, 198.

108. Ibid., 16-17, 17n.128; Klapisch-Zuber, Women, Family, and Ritual, 213-15.

109. Orlandi, Necrologio, vol.2, 536. These relatives included daughters and nieces. Cohn, Cult of Remembrance, 199.

110. Cohn, Cult of Remembrance, 199.

111. Ibid., 197. Cohn writes that "[i]n Pisa...the entailment of property through the male line even among the nobility was extremely rare before the recurrence of the plague (1363).." (brackets mine.) The author stresses that Pisan tradition, though it became more agnatically-

defined, still divided property in a much more evenhanded way than that of Florence. See also Herlihy, Women in Medieval History, 143, 147.

112. Vanessa Harding portrays the use of wills to observe placement and other general issues as a "main approach." Harding, "Burial Choice and Burial Location," 121.

113. Epstein, Wills and Wealth, 145; Cohn Cult of Remembrance, 133-159. At first, testators did not specify a particular area for burial, or include directions regarding funeral services. This occurrence is found throughout Europe, becoming clarified from the Trecento onwards. Cohn believes this new clarity reflected a concern with proper Christian death rites brought about by plague.

114. *Ibid.*, 134, 135.

115. *Ibid.*, 142-3. To illustrate, the author states that in the summer 1348, during the first wave of the Black Death, the number of testators precisely noting their gravesite in their wills increased in Florence, becoming the most highly articulated in Tuscany. From this period onward, especially after the second wave of disease in 1362-3, all six cities under his scrutiny followed suit.

116. Kent, Household and Lineage, 259.

117. Cohn, Cult of Remembrance, 141.

118. *Ibid.*, 143.

119. *Ibid.*, 157. The Bardi chapel is found in Santa Croce; The Tornaquinci (Tornabuoni) and Strozzi chapels are in Santa Maria Novella.

120. Binski, Medieval Death, 71, relates that beginning in the Trecento, prayers at a communal tomb benefitted both living and dead family members in a reciprocal fashion from the dangers of Purgatory. Although speaking about elite burial placement of English families, historian Joel Rosenthal may be quoted as expressing the same sentiment: "Family members prayed for each other. It was only natural in a society which believed in bodily resurrection that they would choose to lie together where the prayers were often being said." In addition, refer to Rosenthal, The Purchase of Paradise: The Social Function of Aristocratic Benevolence, 1307-1485, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1972), 93.

121. Cohn, Cult of Remembrance, 145, 157.

122. The burial options of women have already been discussed in the Introduction and will be further addressed

in Chapter Four. However, Epstein briefly addresses the interment practices of families in Wills and Wealth, 145. Harding cites instances where English testators left burial decisions up to "God," or to the executors of their wills; see Harding, "Burial Choice and Burial Location," 122. Rosenthal, "Position of Women," 371, discusses a case in which although a woman was not named a universal heir, she was nevertheless entrusted with the funeral arrangements of her husband. Importantly, various confraternities also handled final arrangements for their members; see James R. Banker, Death in the Community: Memorialization and Confraternities in an Italian Commune in the Late Middle Ages, (Athens, GA., University of Georgia Press, 1988), and Christopher Black, Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century, (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1989.)

123. Calzolari, "Il Libro dei morti," 182.

124. Frederick S. Paxton, Christianizing Death: The Creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe, (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1990), 7-8.

125. The Bardi family established a pietanza (or "pietantia") Orlandi, Necrologio, vol.2, 399, 407; for Bice Trinciavelli, widow of Filippo Strozzi and patroness of their family chapel, see Santa Maria Novella's "Liber Novus," fol.28r, referred to by Ibid., vol.2, 532. Silvestra, wife of Ugo degli Altoviti, "fece un lascito" benefitting the Beata Villana, in 1363; *ibid.*, vol.2, 551.

126. Ronan, Tuscan Wall Tomb, 15; M. Haines, "The Sacristy of Santa Maria Novella in Florence: The History of its Functions and Furnishings," chap. in Santa Maria Novella, un convento nella città: studi e fonti, (Pistoia, Memorie Domenicane, 1980), 578- 604. Epstein concentrates upon Genoese examples, however one of his cited examples may be used here to demonstrate female dedication to the souls of her natal family and other women. A Genoese woman named Columba contracted masses on behalf of herself, her mother, and her predeceased daughter. See Wills and Wealth, 154, 154n.48. Epstein states that masses were bought by everyone who possessed even a minimal income.

127. Herklotz, "Sepulcra" e "Monumenta", 340. See also Binski, Medieval Death, 27, and Toynbee, Death and Burial, 50-1.

128. Archivio di Stato Firenze, Pergamo, 17 May 1430, 5 Jan, 5 May, 18 June, 31 July 1431. referred to by Orlandi, Necrologio, vol.2, 218. This bequest was never executed.

129. Klapisch-Zuber, Women, Family and Ritual, 75. The author recounts the case of Lena Aghinetti, a pinzochera who left a farm in Mugello to the family's parish church of San Simone, Florence. Kent, Household and Lineage, 147, remarks that women left their goods to religious causes more often than men.

130. Orlandi, Necrologio, vol.2, 218.

131. Kent, Household and Lineage, 107-8, 108n.93; Rosenthal, "Position of Women," 374.

132. Margherita Altoviti built a conspicuous and costly chapel and tomb for her brother, rather than her own overtly individual use. She was eventually buried in her father's chapel. See Cohn, Cult of Remembrance, 212, 212n.12, 356n.11. Monna Andrea, the aforementioned Cavalcanti spouse, assisted in the building of the sacristy of Santa Maria Novella, not primarily for her own advancement, but for that of her husband. See M. Haines, "The Sacristy of Santa Maria Novella," 578-604. These issues are further discussed in the Epilogue.

133. Orlandi, Necrologio, vol.2, 228-41. See also Catherine King, "Medieval and Renaissance Matrons," 385-6.

134. Archivio di San Lorenzo no.809 1369 xi 3. quoted in Cohn, Cult of Remembrance, 133. Cohn does not elaborate upon the actual wording of the plaque. At this stage of my research it is unknown whether the plaque still exists.

135. Archivio di Stato, Pisa, Diplomatico, Ospedale di Santa Chiara, no. 7588 204r- 205r, 1384 i. 3. noted by *ibid.*, 158n.126.

136. Strocchia, "Death Rites," 123, 124, 125, and *passim*.

137. L. Frati, La Vita privata a Bologna, (Bologna, N. Zanichelli, 1928), 50-3.; L. Zdekauer and P. Sella, Statuti di Ascoli Piceno dell'anno MCCCLXXVII, (Rome, 1910), 129, as noted in Strocchia, "Death Rites," 126 n.26, n.27, n.28, 127.

138. *Ibid.*, 126. Strocchia quotes Petrarch, who seems to have viewed women's reactions to death as more hysterical than ritualistic or culturally ingrained: "order that wailing women should not be permitted to step outside their homes; and if some lamentation is necessary, let them do it at home and do not let them disturb the public thoroughfares." quoted from Benjamin Kohl and Ronald G. Witt, The Earthly Republic: Italian Humanists on Government and Society, (Philadelphia, 1978), 78. Paxton, Christianizing Death, 23, asserts that

Mediterranean customs of female mourning originated in the Roman period, noting that "[f]emale relatives or hired mourners wailed and lacerated their cheeks." Female mourners in Italian art have been examined in Moshe Barasch, Gestures of Despair in Medieval and Renaissance Art, (New York, New York University Press, 1976.)

139. Klapisch-Zuber and Herlihy Les Toscans et Leurs Familles (Tuscans and Their Families), 612, quoted by *ibid.*, 126.

140. *Ibid.*, 126,127. In this way women were excluded from places of honour.

141. Generally, women were expected to remain within the home and not to go outdoors alone; see Herlihy, Women in Medieval History, 16. Boccaccio describes women mourning publicly at church doors, perhaps during the vigil or requiem; see Boccaccio's Decameron, ed. and trans. M. Musa and P. Bondanella, (New York, 1977), 7-8, referred to by Ronan, Tuscan Wall Tomb, 14-15.

142. Strocchia, "Death Rites," 123; Ronan, Tuscan Wall Tomb, 6, 10.

143. Calzolari, "Il Libro dei morti," 22.

144. Binski, Medieval Death, 51. Toynbee, Death and Burial, 44-5, 47, describes a marble relief of the Haterii family, in which women are portrayed as grieving "violently." A procession is depicted, displaying "relatives, friends, and other invited persons all wearing black 'lugubria.'"

145. Strocchia, "Funerals and Politics of Gender," 165-6.

146. Binski, Medieval Death, 56; Finucane, "Sacred Carrion," 42.

147. Strocchia, "Death Rites," 138.

148. *Ibid.*, 140, 141.

CHAPTER THREE

TUSCAN SEPULCHRAL PATTERNS- FLORENCE,
SIENA, PISA AND LUCCAINTRODUCTORY COMMENTS

This chapter documents the impact of social systematization as reflected in Tuscan funerary monuments of the Trecento and Quattrocento. As the previous chapters have tried to suggest, differences within burial systems, and access to certain rites, were dependent upon placement within a social hierarchy. Although all parishes and churches with the means to do so accepted their adherents for burial, I hope to indicate ways in which the process of artistic commemoration varied depending upon the corporate identity of the deceased.

For the purposes of this chapter, all of the tomb patrons to be discussed were in one respect equivalent, in that they belonged to the upper financial and/or social echelons within their communities. For these groups, such as the eminent clergy or nobility, ostentatious funerary art was but one of a wide range of material advantages to be enjoyed.

According to studies published by Cohn, Butterfield, Paoli, and Munman, sepulchral monuments do not conform to a specific type or pattern, either on stylistic grounds or in terms of their patrons.¹ Indeed, their research indicates that at times more dissimilarity than homogeneity exists within the area of tomb patronage, despite the close proximity of urban centres, even within a small region.

The monuments to be discussed in this context are found in Florence's Mendicant basilicas of Santa Croce and Santa Maria Novella, and in various churches in Siena, Pisa and Lucca. Importantly, recognizing the changeability of sepulchral practice helps us to understand more specific arguments which relate to gender. For the sake of clarity, however, this chapter will not discuss the theme of gender and tomb representation in each centre; this topic forms the basis of Chapter Four.

In Tuscany and throughout Europe, eminent clergymen received the most consistently prominent tombs. This privilege continued an official tradition of partiality which had permitted them burial prerogatives (such as intrachurch interment) to a greater extent than any other estate. Apart from this fraternity, favoured placement or exclusive tomb designs benefitted "noble" persons of well-established lineage, or the growing number of nouveau riche merchant families.² While each centre under scrutiny possesses examples of monuments benefitting a range of lay patrons, surviving evidence nevertheless commonly points to the prevalence of certain social or religious organizations. The social categories of interest here comprise the merchants of Florence, the clergy and nobility of Siena, and the knightly elite of Pisa. Members of all three of these groups patronized important sepulchral monuments in Lucca.

The social mores and traditions espoused by Tuscan centres developed out of their own unique governmental

systems, economies and histories. These combined factors influenced material expression, and social preferences surrounding burial. However, it is not within the scope of this present investigation to deconstruct all of the particular elements which might have influenced the preferences of patrons or tomb designs.³ This thesis instead synthesizes the corpus of published material to establish broad patterns of difference within elite burials.

FLORENCE: A. SANTA CROCE

Intrachurch lay burial occurred at Santa Croce from the late Duecento through to the nineteenth century.⁴ The basilica is unique in Tuscany in that although the church has been affected by much change and damage, numerous fourteenth and fifteenth-century tombs still survive (Figs. 10, 11). Furthermore, these objects have commonly remained in roughly the same state and architectural position in which they were first laid.⁵

A veritable parade of renowned Tuscan historical figures owned Santa Croce's many mortuary chapels and tombs. Santa Croce is known as the "pantheon" of Florence, in recognition of over one thousand burials which took place on its grounds.⁶ Within its walls, markers commemorate such noteworthy individuals as Michelangelo, Leonardo Bruni, Carlo Marsuppini, and Galileo.

Certainly, this Franciscan house of worship acquired its decidedly multilayered ambience through the gradual

accumulation of memorials and other effects of civic leaders, mercenary condottieri, and members of the mercantile patriciate.⁷ Most markers were financed through private, familial means; however, governmental coffers occasionally paid for the memorials of prominent citizens. Examples of publicly-funded markers constructed during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries include the effigial slab of Biordo degli Ubertini, an army leader, and the wall tomb of the humanist Leonardo Bruni.

The social background of tomb patrons at Santa Croce diverges from corresponding elite systems present at many other Tuscan churches. Merchants and their families represented the highest overall proportion of intrachurch burials in general.⁸ Santa Croce even accepted memorials, albeit small crests or plaques, from patrons of the middling artisanal class.⁹ In terms of ownership of figural floor markers, and other kinds of wall tombs, Santa Croce additionally displays a visible partiality towards ottimati merchants. This urban class derived its livelihood from its business acumen rather than from a feudal lifestyle.¹⁰ Three examples of tombs owned by merchant patrons include Giovanni di Sinibaldo and Francesco di Domini de' Bardi, several members of the Spinelli family, and Giovanni di Amerigo de' Benci, who was affiliated with both the Medici and Peruzzi banks. All of these men possessed slab markers.

Though it is difficult at times to separate the members of the newer elite (or gente nuova) from older

clans who increasingly engaged in trade, the majority of prestigious monuments at Santa Croce, such as portrait slabs, portrayed men in civic robes, merchant cloaks, or doctor's garments, rather than in chivalric trappings.¹¹ Newly up-and-coming families built chapels and transacted other funerary arrangements, not only as a result of their newfound financial power, but also to declare themselves as equal in stature to foreign and local elites.

The presence of other groups, most notably members of the religious community itself, is conspicuously absent. As demonstrated by Maria Grazia Ciardi Dupre dal Poggetto, graves owned by nobility and clergy comprise just 8% of the burials recorded in church sepoltuarij.¹² Slabs, or other types of markers, were nevertheless laid in respectful locations on behalf of religious brethren. To illustrate, the effigial floor tomb of a Trecentesque "Frate d'Altopascio," was set near the Baroncelli and Castellani chapels in the southwest corner of the south transept.¹³ It remains that the number of holy deceased at the church is small in comparison to the laity, and especially in relation to the level of priestly representation shown at other sites. In fact, it may be questioned whether groups such as the clergy were encouraged to curtail patronage of sepulchral art out of deference to emerging capitalistic magnates and their families. As has already been discussed in Chapter Two, the humanistic nature of Franciscan piety undeniably motivated a large number of laypersons to request burial within their edifices.¹⁴

Floor tombs (lastre terragne or lastrale) prevailed as the marker of choice in Santa Croce, and throughout the rest of Tuscany during the Middle Ages and Renaissance (Fig. 12). Historian Emma Micheletti describes the floor of Santa Croce as a "marble carpet."¹⁵ Pines declared that: "the richest and most important Florentine citizens chose this simple marker and the major sculptural workshops received commissions to sculpt and design them."¹⁶

To the average artisanal buyer, decisions involving the slab's media, image, or size hinged upon price. Cost also mediated commissions for the most distinguished form of pavement marker, the effigial slab. Other considerations, founded upon the social standing of the patron, also figure into this equation.

Effigial slab tombs proved to be a relatively rare commission when compared against the surviving collection of sepulchral monuments in Santa Croce, Santa Maria Novella, and indeed, throughout Tuscany. Of the 102 slabs made for placement in Santa Croce between 1350 and 1500, twenty three, or less than one-quarter (23.46%) were executed with an effigy.¹⁷ Of these, eleven are Trecento works; twelve can be dated to the Quattrocento.

The reality that individuals and families of middle-class origins were frequently buried in beautiful tombs seems to overrule the traditional picture of exclusive burial privileges and sumptuous display retained by the feudal aristocracy. However, recent research by Butterfield and Gardner reveals that the bourgeoisie did

not always assume, or were not necessarily accorded, the same honours enjoyed by the nobility or clergy. Therefore, even though the middle class increasingly infiltrated Tuscan churches in general, and Mendicant ones in particular, certain tomb characteristics, such as its height or use of a sculpted effigy, were reserved for clergy and only certain strata of laymen.¹⁸

The 1293 Ordinances of Justice established strict anti-magnate laws which severely proscribed the powers of feudal nobles or grandi. Concepts of courtliness and trappings of high status nevertheless lived on as ideals, and inspired the institution of communally-ordained knighthood.¹⁹ Whether high-born or popolano, conspicuous status was recognized via the ability to construct effigial floor tombs. According to Butterfield, effigies depicting members of this level of society were approved basically only within the slab format. Overall, until the later fifteenth century, other designs, such as portrait wall tombs, were generally judged to be excessively ostentatious for laymen.²⁰

"Knighthood" to post-Duecento Florence involved not hereditary fact and loyalty to one leader, but communal permission and fidelity to the city-state. It was reserved for those men, usually but not exclusively of elite background, deemed honourable and helpful to the city.²¹ However, the ability of cavalieri to effect a sepulchral effigy did not necessarily result in the production of warlike, armoured gisants. Based upon my research, this

theme belonged more to other cities such as Pisa. Though occasionally an inscription would include adjectives such as "nobili," I know of only two portraits of cavalieri or armoured guerrieri that were produced in Santa Croce.

Until the late Quattrocento and Cinquecento, the Florentine clergy alone were seen as deserving of effigial wall monuments.²² This privilege set them apart from newer, "upstart" patrons. Some families, such as the Bardi or Baroncelli, ventured to build wall tombs, but they usually eschewed portraits. The Bardi di Vernio interior avelli, located in the northern arm of Santa Croce, provide an exception to what was otherwise a rule. These two sepulchres included donor portraits, found respectively on a back wall and chest. Though rendered with paint, not sculpture, the images can nevertheless be seen as partially congratulatory and fully "permanent." I would argue that despite older ideas of status, this type of iconography indicates that certain wealthy persons felt they could rise above corporatist strictures. Merchants could commission portrait slabs, and a very few honoured civic servants received effigial wall tombs in the late Quattrocento.²³

Butterfield argues that individual graves, as opposed to more commonly established communal vaults, also signalled extraordinary status of the tomb inhabitant.²⁴ Sculptured creations by artists including Bernardo Rossellino and Desiderio da Settignano adorn the interior walls of Santa Croce, celebrating heroes of the patria such as Gregorio Marsuppini. In this fashion, the lives and

works of these men are deemed extraordinary and distinct from their peers, many of whom could otherwise have logically afforded similar splendour.²⁵

Extending Butterfield's theme further, the types of sepulchre represented within one familial mortuary complex indicated variances in social or religious approbation. Founders of dynasties, knights, and founders of family mortuary spaces profited from easily distinguished privileges, such as placement relative to altars or other holy instruments, and/or through access to different tomb types.²⁶ To this end, Butterfield describes the varying forms of commemoration given in one area to two members of the Marsuppini family.²⁷ Republican Chancellor Carlo Marsuppini merited a publicly-provided effigial wall tomb executed by Desiderio da Settignano. The other monument, belonging to Carlo's own father, lies among less conspicuous and cheaper floor slabs arranged at its foot. This type of visible ranking proves especially important in the next chapter, which involves the burial treatment of women.

FLORENCE: B. SANTA MARIA NOVELLA

As Santa Croce served as a pinpoint for the spiritual and aesthetic authority and glory of the Franciscan order in Florence, so Santa Maria Novella reciprocated on behalf of the Dominicans (Figs. 13, 14.) Traditionally, twentieth-century historical practice has labelled the Dominicans as operating the more austere and practical end

of the humanistic spectrum, in a fixed opposition of sorts to the Franciscans.²⁸

Initial assumptions may expect Dominican tombs to be very constrained and modest; as mentioned in the previous chapter, to varying degrees their churches restricted the appearance of lay sepulchres built on their property. Despite these measures, Dominicans, like the Franciscans, embraced chapels and tombs which were undeniably self-conscious.²⁹ In truth, their interior and exterior wall tombs comprise some of the most elaborate sepulchres encountered in Renaissance Italy.³⁰ Dominican houses preferred to bury their members (albeit only from the highest echelons of the hierarchy) amidst a great deal of sculptural splendour.³¹ The body of the founder of the order, the ascetic St. Dominic, was buried in Bologna ensconced within a large, detailed wall tomb which displays episodes from his celebrated life. However, St. Dominic's legacy as a founder of an entire Order, in combination with his special status as a saint, must also be taken into account to explain the monumentality of his marker.

Like Santa Croce, Santa Maria Novella asserted its own sepulchral standards. For example, both churches permitted the building of wall tombs to prominent citizens, representatives of the patria, during the Trecento and Quattrocento. At Santa Maria Novella, these tombs extended outdoors to form rows of avelli (FIGS. 5-7.) A sizeable number of merchants also had wall markers and could build wall tombs inside; however, as at Santa Croce, these

designs fundamentally did not include effigies.³² In this way, lay tombs expressed pride and piety, yet again refused to transgress hierarchic traditions which favoured churchmen. In a similar vein, Ronan states that even though merchant chapels in both basilicas often possessed enough room to install an ostentatious wall tomb, surviving evidence reveals an overwhelming usage of slab covers as a more sanctioned arrangement.³³ Some examples of exclusive lay tombs, which were made especially during the later Quattrocento, include the arcosolium niche and black marble sarcophagus of Filippo Strozzi the Elder. Strozzi's marker endures within his family chapel to the right side of the cappella maggiore.³⁴ At the turn of the fifteenth century, however, rich laymen, adherents to new knightly associations, were attempting to redefine themselves.

Importantly, Santa Maria Novella's Dominican clerics owned the majority of effigial tombs of all types. Additionally, the church allocated some of its best tombs and sepulchral locations relative to the all-important apse to high-level clerics. These personages encompassed Fra Jacopo Passavanti, a Trecento convent prior, several bishops, a Catholic Patriarch, and Giovanni Salerno, former convent prior and beatified founder of the last rebuilding project.

However, in an attitude similar to that of its local Franciscan rival, Santa Maria Novella nevertheless also represented many mercantile families.³⁵ Clans such as the Penna built wall tombs within the basilica. Outside, noble

and merchant clans such as the Ricasoli, Pilli, and Brunelleschi created avelli, which extended around the convent façade and walls.

Certain families also benefitted as historical church favourites, gaining influence via longstanding relationships with the convent. Members of this exceptional clique included the Tornaquinci family, reputed to have acted as the church's earliest supporters. As patrons of the cappella maggiore, this line waged a great deal of authority. They further possessed an avello, in which female deceased are recorded as inhabitants.

Not just any layperson could commission an avello. In his 1787 Memorie sopra il cimitero antico di Santa Maria Novella, Fineschi explained that families holding avelli belonged to Florence's knightly echelon, or Spron d'Oro (Golden Spur.)³⁶ In this way, the avello was a tomb-type which further separated factions within the rich laity; this activity paralleled effigial privileges reserved for the clergy.³⁷

The fact that certain groups of laymen were allowed to commission sepulchral and more purely religious artwork for Santa Maria Novella (and Santa Croce) gives the impression that the ecclesiastical body became a site of oligarchic private control. In truth, Tuscan church space generally became more privatized during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.³⁸ In a move refuting the idea of reckless lay exploitation of the building, friars refused to allow burial of Tornaquinci (alias Tornabuoni) within the

cappella maggiore.³⁹ The clan won the right to maintain the area and to promote themselves through the use of heraldic devices on church architecture, yet were stopped short of using it fully as their own chapel. In this way, the religious community tried repeatedly to assert its authority and overall control.⁴⁰ Along these lines, social, clerical and noble partiality is evident in Sieneese churches.

SIENA

The tomb practices in Siena differ from Santa Maria Novella in that floor slabs seem to have been preferred more fully for all classes, as opposed to wall tombs of almost any kind. Asserting this point, Munman pronounces that 75% of surviving sepulchral memorials within the city can be labelled as variants of lastre terragne.⁴¹ In a manner akin to Santa Maria Novella, evidence suggests that Sieneese monuments displayed a marked preference towards the representation of the ministerial class.

Importantly, Munman utilizes the descriptor "conservative" to define Sieneese Early Renaissance tomb art. This term alludes to historically-held stylistic theories which function to polarize the cultures of Siena and Florence across artistically biased lines. These lines hinge upon ideas of innovative "modern" style. Traditionally, the classification of Siena as "conservative" asserts a pejorative meaning, often casting Sieneese expression as stubbornly medieval in the light of

Florentine technical inquiry.⁴² In the realm of tomb sculpture, Siena nevertheless does appear to some extent as less variable, though not less talented, than its neighbour.⁴³

In publicly preparing their appropriate resting places, Sieneſe citizens appear to have been motivated by a strict mood of modesty.⁴⁴ The fact that three-quarters of all extant Sieneſe memorials made from 1300 to 1500 are floor slabs provides a strong indication that those able to afford such a commission believed it to be a suitable and decorous model.⁴⁵ Compared with the profusion of ottimati tombs on display in Florence, (the Strozzi, Medici, or Sassetti complexes providing just three examples) this more "modest" avenue of exposition might certainly be labelled as conservative.⁴⁶ In fact, Munman names the early Quattrocento Lucchese tomb of Ilaria del Carretto as the only Sieneſe-based tomb of a "monumental" status rivalling foreign collections.⁴⁷ The author considers this work to be Sieneſe based upon the fact that local-born sculptor Jacopo dell Quercia executed its carving.

To Munman and other authors including Carl Strelhke, an apparent lack of interest in commissioning family chapels also separates Sieneſe practice from those of other centres, such as Florence.⁴⁸ Indeed, hereditary mortuary chapels in Tuscan commune churches were generally very popular, recognized as one of the major areas of Renaissance patronage, and therefore historical study.⁴⁹ Confusingly, Munman's negative assessment of Sieneſe tombs

is counteracted in at least an aesthetic and anecdotal sense through the work of Enzo Carli, who discusses the history of several family chapels in city churches.⁵⁰ These spaces appear to exhibit the same amount of pride, historical consciousness, and artistic discernment as their Florentine neighbours, if not in equal numbers. Many noble families owned chapels, including the Tolomei, Salimbeni, and Piccolomini.

Why did the Sienese eschew large memorial products, leaving only a small number of life-sized monuments compared to Florence, and at times only simple plaques, "many even without coats of arms"⁵¹ Several considerations illuminate this apparently low-keyed tradition, primarily (and perhaps obviously) including the costly price of laying a slab at an ecclesiastical site.⁵² Frankly, Siena did not count among its citizens the same sheer number of wealthy families, and therefore the same level of material competition, that Florence could support. As evidenced by economic sources, the value of the Florentine elite greatly superseded their Sienese counterparts, and for that matter, standards of wealth held by all other Tuscans. Paoli reports that the richest Florentine of the early Quattrocento (who was actually recovering from an economic downfall) still possessed almost two and a half times the fortune of his nearest non-Florentine competitor.⁵³ Additionally, although Siena could boast of producing many fine prelates, Munman posits that the city suffered from another notable sepulchral lack, that of ostentatious

memorials for the highest level of Church members. The author explains that this situation arose as a result of their eventual burial in the foreign diocese in which they held power.⁵⁴

Munman further suggests that the large payments apparently required for an average upper middle-class burial at Sant' Agostino, for example, combined with a scarcity of burial space, necessitated usage of less cumbersome, simpler forms of commemoration.⁵⁵ Within this context, effigial slabs again incurred a greater cost than more demure types of monument, and so might have been rejected as a common option. To use Lucchese sculptural prices as a comparable, if not guaranteeably commensurate case, an heraldic slab in 1395 was worth twelve gold florins. The financial commitment involved in buying a portrait slab ran much higher, at around thirty gold florins.⁵⁶

Concomitant with these financial speculations, unique Sienese communal views on funerary dignity and pomp might arguably have also persuaded popular inclination towards a conservative, artistically straightforward view of sepulchral art. Therefore, though competition between various clans surely existed, and though the Sienese were viewed as a people concerned with familial devotion and public display, one-upmanship may not necessarily have amplified sensibilities to the same degree evident in Florence.⁵⁷

Unfortunately, the potential effects of sumptuary laws with regards to sepulchral monuments are difficult to interpret. Tuscan statutes concerning funerary display are not invoked in obvious correspondence to tombs.⁵⁸ Sumptuary laws were enacted in every European city to guard against excessive display of wealth, and to ensure standards of public (often female-focussed) morality were kept.⁵⁹ Authors discussing Sienese art in general (and Robert Munman in addressing sepulchral art), combined with the material record, stress that a public, traditional and negative response to progressive material competition occurred.⁶⁰ In sum, this explanation of Siena's funerary modesty must presently remain as an insecure and partial hypothesis accounting for an undeniably real difference.

Records completed before the baroque renovation of Siena's Sant' Agostino list a total of 144 tombs.⁶¹ Twenty-one pavement slabs, or 14.5% of the total, originated in the Quattrocento. Of this group, only one figural specimen endures. In the Sienese Duomo, six of only twelve remaining slabs securely dated to the Quattrocento carry effigies. 130 tombs additionally exist within San Francesco, yet over one-third of them omit dates. Though not estranging the mercantile estate, Siena appears to have exercised an option similar to that of Santa Maria Novella, in that the majority of portrait sepulchres, be they slabs or wall tombs (48.6% as recorded by Robert Munman) belong to clergymen.⁶² This prevalence

equals the average proportion of religious to lay patronage for wall tombs as calculated by Ronan in 1982.⁶³

Broken down more completely, eighteen clergymen, or seven bishops, one archbishop, six friars, two canons, one saint, and one cardinal own effigial monuments. Most of these are slabs, and are found in Sienese churches, or made by native artists. Their visibility demonstrates the ecclesiastical establishment's dedication to securing beneficent resting-places for its own; it also attests to the important role and correspondent status garnered by those who prayed, as spiritual fighters, compared with nobles, who preserved order for the physical Church. As ecclesiastical establishments competed over the winning of royal burials, social prestige no doubt would also have attended the securing of the tomb of a particularly well-known cleric.⁶⁴

13.5%, or five remaining figural slabs apiece, survive for what Munman names as "various laypersons," and for a group comprising both the operai of Siena Cathedral and rectors of the local hospital of Santa Maria della Scala.⁶⁵ Three other lay groups, consisting of "nobles, lords and their wives," "professionals" (a jurisconsult and two physicians) and "unknown persons" each have 8.1% of the overall number, with three extant portrait slabs each.⁶⁶ Additionally, it must be stated that many more nonfigural plaques or other markers of laypersons undoubtedly flourished in church space and cemeteries. It also goes without saying that tombs representing various mercantile

levels existed. Perhaps these patrons make up a percentage of the remaining "unknown persons" and "various laypersons." Alternately, these patrons may have been constrained through tradition to choosing nonfigural markers, and/or to resting in greater numbers within cemeteries.⁶⁷

Samuel Cohn states that in the later years of the fifteenth century, an increasingly wide spectrum of Sienese society began to commission intrachurch sepulchral space. He summarizes this activity as representative of "changes in seeing and dealing with death."⁶⁸ During this period, families not only of the social patriciate asserted authority over ecclesiastical territory; they built, decorated, and maintained their chapels or other spaces according to their own wishes, rather than merely accepting the jurisdiction of the religious community.⁶⁹ In sum, however, this openness did not change the fact that clerics remained the most privileged of all prospective tomb buyers.

In reply to Munman's assertion of Siena's modest refusal to build large tombs, Andrew Butterfield addresses the existence within the city of several "monumental" markers which he argues exude a noticeable type of social favouritism.⁷⁰ One political circle, specifically connected through blood or other more mercenary links to the Piccolomini family (and especially one Piccolomini, Pope Pius II, who reigned from 1458 to 1464), were able to have large tombs as an expression not only of affluence but

of authority. The people benefitting from these elaborate creations included both temporal and religiously-minded persons, such as Mariano Sozzini, Cristoforo Felici and a Piccolomini family archbishop.⁷¹ Therefore, a local papal coterie can be paralleled with some of the knightly groups active in Florence, and to a lesser extent later, to politically-motivated alterations of unpopular persons throughout Italy.⁷²

Specific career choice (aside from the cloister) also influenced not only the tomb type allowable to a person, but their choice of burial churches. Rectors of Siena's Scala hospital, the largest in Tuscany, traditionally underwent interment in the hospital church of the Annunziata.⁷³ In a macabre but interesting twist of fate, these grave markers are now attached to the emergency room wall of the hospital.

Few studiable figural graves of women remain, either as specimens set within Siena, or as examples of the work of Sieneese artists. A discussion of Lucchese tombs, of which some were executed by Sieneese artists such as Jacopo della Quercia, will follow. The following subsection, however, relates social and typological hierarchies inherent in the burial systems of Siena's neighbour, Pisa.

PISA

Pisa, located on the western coast of Tuscany, retains a studiable number of tomb slabs which date from the Trecento and Quattrocento. Many of these specimens survive

in Mendicant edifices, such as the Franciscan church of San Francesco, or the Dominican establishment of San Caterina. This phenomenon again verifies ideas of traditional Mendicant popularity in Tuscany.⁷⁴ In addition, the southern corridor of the Pisan Camposanto, first employed as a cemeterial complex in 1278, contains numerous tombstones, plaques, and slabs attributed to the latter half of the fourteenth century.

In a 1986 article, Paoli states that a "non-exhaustive" (and thus not certifiably inclusive) investigation into fourteenth-century Pisan slabs results in information regarding 41 monuments. Of these, 23 have been conserved; the others endure only in records.⁷⁵ Although other examples of different grave-types also figure into this inquiry, based upon Paoli's study, a unique patronal hierarchy can be formulated around the use of the portrait slab.

Paoli submits that patronage of sepulchral slabs hinged upon wealth, and more importantly, upon hereditary social standing. Indeed, the author states that the securing of effigial monuments "represented the most significant response to that search for social prestige always connected to sepulchral art"⁷⁶ and that "in Pisa, more than elsewhere, it was status more than economic ability (which the middle class did possess) that determined the preponderance of upper-class patronage of these tombs"⁷⁷.

More precisely, Pisan burial norms diverged from those enacted at religious houses such as Santa Croce, Sant' Agostino in Siena or, as will be addressed, Lucchese churches generally, in that for much of the Early Renaissance, more nobles, and particularly knights (milites or cavalieri) owned effigial slabs than did straightforwardly mercantile individuals. Paoli declares that until the last quarter of the Trecento, the middle class refrained from appropriating the portrait slab as a socially correct form of commemorative expression.⁷⁸

With a few notable exceptions, the general tone of Pisan sepulchral art was similar to Siena, in that the city steered away from the building of elaborate, monumental tombs. For the most part, displays of sculptural or other decorative excess occurred on behalf of important prelates or aristocratic figures.⁷⁹

Members of noble families sought to distinguish themselves as unique and privileged via the incorporation of weapons and other chivalric accoutrements into their memorial images. While the carved stone provided in itself an expression of wealth, the effigy functioned to communicate their historical social and political power. For example, an early Trecento tomb slab from Santa Caterina depicting Scolajo Scolari, the exiled Ghibelline leader of Florence, presents a full-length portrait of the deceased bedecked with long sleeves (manicottoli), spurs, a sword, falconing gloves and a tunic (guarnacca).⁸⁰ This tomb rested in the right transept of the church.⁸¹

The 1320's witnessed the first instances of funerary effigies representing the noble defunct as an actual member of the knighthood.⁸² Artisans, rendering in stone distinct and recognizable categories of dress and accessories, further distinguished warriors from more refined and courtly effigies of the mainstream nobility. For instance, warrior effigies sported a conspicuous display of swords, mail jackets, metal or leather armour, and helmets.⁸³ As with most markers, heraldic shields figure prominently; three sets of heraldic insignia emblazon the armoured figure of Giovanni di Castruccio Castracani (d. 1342.)⁸⁴ Castracani's slab was originally laid in the right transept of San Francesco.⁸⁵

Popolare individuals in Pisa were not accorded, or did not evaluate themselves to be properly symbolized by, the use of figural tombs until the end of the fourteenth century. These types of tomb effigy, representing more straightforwardly "non-noble" persons of middle class origins, did not appear in Pisa until they were already well-entrenched in other centres such as Florence.⁸⁶ One example in this category is the tomb of Domenico di Ranieri, "ricco artigiano che non poteva vantare radici gentilizie."⁸⁷ Dying in 1394, Ranieri was buried in the city Baptistry, near its northern portal.

The slab of Giovanni Gittalebraccia (d. 1383), a university master, voices neither purely high lineage, religious calling, nor military bravado. Instead, the deceased is depicted in his academic outfit.⁸⁸ Whatever

the background these instructors issued from, their effigies, though imbued with a high level of respect (as were more purely military or religious effigies) nevertheless secured their own niche in the local spectrum of sepulchral art.

The Camposanto of the Pisan Duomo complex proved to be one of the city's most popular sites for medieval and Renaissance interment. The space attracted a wide range of social backgrounds. An ancient, walled and architecturally-organized graveyard, the Camposanto is also famous throughout Europe for its great variety of sepulchral monuments, ranging from Classical sarcophagi to Renaissance and Baroque masterpieces. The Camposanto accepted a notable number of members of the artisanal class, who paid reasonable prices for graves, some ready-made.⁸⁹ In this way the area resembled outdoor Florentine cemeteries such as Santa Maria Novella, wherein the rich and poor intermingled.⁹⁰ The Camposanto is not technically the same type of sepulchral space under investigation in this thesis given its non-intrachurch nature. However, this area can still be mentioned as exemplifying gendered and other biases; gender treatment in Pisa comprises a section of Chapter Four.

LUCCA

Distinguished as one of Europe's earliest emerging cosmopolitan trading centres, during the Trecento Lucca nevertheless fell under Pisan domination. Given Lucca's

endurance of foreign control, one might assume that its tomb slabs would reflect a predilection towards glamorous commemoration of a feudal-type hierarchy as espoused in Pisa. However, recent research, again to a large extent amassed by Marco Paoli, purports that Lucca, in contrast to its Tuscan neighbours, possessed a more relaxed attitude where the reward of effigial commemoration was concerned.⁹¹ Lucchese tombs provide a sampling of religious, noble, and mercantile groups.

The effects of legal prohibition against extensive lay burial in Lucchese churches continued into the Duecento, although a consistent number of worthy clerics and important laymen had benefitted from the honour since the ninth century.⁹² Certain secular lords logically received monumental tomb designs. One of the earliest surviving grave markers, in the form of an inscribed plaque, was affixed to a church wall, in this case the city cathedral. The plaque belonged to a woman, the noble Contessa Berta, and dates from the tenth century.⁹³ Additionally, another concurrent memorial (dated 1046) remarks upon the existence of another woman, known only via her conjugal relationship to a man, the giudice e feudatorio Leone.⁹⁴ Generally, such plaques spoke of high virtues held by the deceased; the focus of this inscription extols Leone's wisdom.

During the Trecento, several Pisan families, such as the temporarily exiled Antelminelli clan, extended their influence across the Lucchese sepulchral landscape. Tombs commissioned by this family will be described in the next

chapter. During the early Quattrocento, Jacopo della Quercia executed what was originally intended as a wall tomb for Ilaria del Carretto, consort of the despotic ruler of Lucca.

As in other Tuscan communities, wealthy Lucchese nobles and merchants, such as the Guinigi and Trenta clans, offered support to the Church by constructing and refurbishing churches on a more collective basis, and by creating chapels, altars, and tombs. Some benefactors even erected their own religious houses singlehandedly. Founders of religious communities or their direct agnatic successors, such as Nicoloso Aldobrandi, son of the founder of the Certosa di Farneta near Lucca, secured the most prominent tomb position available, in front of the altar near the cappella maggiore.⁹⁵ Wealthy professionals, such as the da Silico family in the Quattrocento, epitomize wealthy, but more middle-class patrons of effigial slabs art. The sepulchral art belonging to a women of this family will be described in the next chapter.

This chapter does not intend to promote an idea that preferential treatment of one group refuted the reputations of all others. However, aside from fundamental Christian ideas of honour and worthiness which favoured the priesthood, it appears crucial to understand the specific local differences which informed traditions between different centres and in individual churches.

Aided by more and fuller descriptions of Florentine pavements and monuments, the next chapter will discuss the

tombs of women throughout Tuscany. This discussion aims to raise awareness of the complex ways in which space was divided and defined by gender. Importantly, though the cities discussed in this context diverged in their representations of elite or noble classes, they match one another in their small number of remaining tombs for females.

NOTES

1. Butterfield, "Social Structures," 47, states that: "Moreover, recent research has shown that attitudes about commemoration often differed dramatically even between towns within a circumscribed area." This reality also applies despite recognized instances of cultural and artistic trends.

Butterfield acknowledges the theories of Cohn in his work. See Cohn, Cult of Remembrance, passim, and idem, Death and Property, passim. See also Paoli, Arte e committenza, and idem, "Un Aspetto." Finally, see Munman, Sieneese Tomb Monuments. Apart from the works mentioned in the text, data used in this study was culled from reviews and works concerned with tomb markers. These sources include the writings of Enzo Carli on Siena, and Baracchini, Caleca and Settis for Lucca and the Camposanto of Pisa. See Enzo Carli, Il Duomo di Siena, (Florence, Nardini, 1979); idem, L'Arte nella basilica di San Francesco a Siena, (Siena, 1971); Massimo Carmassi, Il Camposanto di Pisa, (Roma, Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1993); Clara Baracchini and Antonino Caleca, Il Duomo di Lucca, (Lucca, Libreria Editrice Baroni, 1973), and Clara Baracchini and Enrico Castelnuovo, eds., Il Camposanto di Pisa, (Torino, Einaudi, 1996.) Information is also available in Paolo Enrico Arias, Emilio Cristiani, and C. Gabba, Il Camposanto monumentale di Pisa: le antichità, (Pisa, Pacini Editore, 1977), and Salvatore Settis, Il Camposanto monumentale di Pisa: le antichità II, (Pisa, Edizioni Panini, 1984.) Finally, Butterfield's Review, "Sieneese Renaissance Tomb Monuments," by Robert Munman, Art Bulletin, 136, (March 1994): 175, reveals much information not only on graves in this centre but on methodology in general.

2. The huge wall tomb of Emperor Arrigo (or Henry) VII of Luxemburg, which is found in the apse of the Pisan Duomo, serves as an example of an ostentatious aristocratic monument.

3. The connections between sepulchral art and political affiliation with Guelph or Ghibelline factions (to name only one area) is important and intriguing. Such as focus would be better served in its own study.

4. Pines, A New Sepoltuario, 1; Risi, "Primo censimento," 153-176, and Ettore Spalletti, "La scultura dell'Ottocento a Santa Croce," chap. in Santa Croce nell'800, eds. Angelo Calvani and Maria Grazia Ciardi Duprè dal Poggetto, (Florence, Alinari, 1986), 97-124.

5. Ciardi Duprè dal Poggetto, "Un Corpus," 332.

6. Filippo Moisé, Santa Croce di Firenze. (Florence, a spese dell'autore, 1845), 196-7; Pines, A New

Sepoltuario, 1; Ciardi Dupré dal Poggetto, in "Un Corpus," states that over one thousand graves existed at Santa Croce. The author gets her reference from Stefano Rosselli, Sepoltuario fiorentino ovvero descrizione delle chiese della città di Firenze e suoi contorni, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Firenze, Magl.II, I, 12s, 1657), via a text by F. Lumachi, Firenze, Nuova guida illustrata storica-artistica-aneddotica della città e dintorni, (Florence, 1928.) Strocchia, Burials in Renaissance Florence, 359, lists 30 chapels in 915 known tombs registered in a sixteenth-century inventory. Finally, the title alone of Luciano Berti's Il Pantheon di Santa Croce a Firenze, (Firenze, Giunti, 1993) alludes to the building as a "pantheon."

7. Ciardi Dupré dal Poggetto, "Un Corpus," 334. Famous deceased inhumed at the site include priors, gonfalonieri, and cavalieri. See also Pines, A New Sepoltuario, 1.

8. Rita Jacopino, "Le Lastre tombali del rinascimento: alcune considerazioni," in Ciardi Dupré dal Poggetto et al, "Un Corpus," 340. Jacopino states that "Da questa prima fase del lavoro è emerso che più della metà dei personaggi un tempo sepolti sotto le lastre tombali di Santa Croce è composto da mercanti, i quali, in virtù del loro patrimonio e della loro fama di cittadini...hanno rivestito le più alte cariche dello stato." Munman, Sieneſe Tomb Monuments, 14n.28, refers to Santa Croce as "special," in that the church housed the bones of thousands of rich merchants and their descendants. Butterfield, "Social Structure," 51, labels the basilica "the most popular burial church" in the city. Logically, thousands of lay burials occurred in many other Italian churches. See Garms, Die Mittelalterlichen Grabmäler, passim. Gardner, Tomb and Tiara, 7, 15, mentions that many lay burials, intriguingly including several noblewomen, occurred in Roman Mendicant churches such as Santa Maria in Aracoeli. Finally, see Strocchia, Death and Ritual, 222.

9. Butterfield, "Social Structure," 50, correlates slabs to "the majority of property holders."

10. Some Florentine merchants claimed feudal, magnatic origins. The Pazzi, Bardi, Tornaquinci/Tornabuoni, Cerchi and Scali families are examples. Others, such as the Albizzi, Medici, Peruzzi, and Strozzi, were more popolano, emerging from less elevated backgrounds. For excellent discussions of the very complex state of medieval and Renaissance nobility, see Lerner, Italy in the Age of Dante, especially pages 83-93, 113-127; Richard Trexler, Public Life in Renaissance Florence, (New York, Academic Press, 1980), especially pages 17-22; Gene Bruckner, Florentine Politics and Society, 1373-1378, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1962), 17-51; and Vincenzo Borghini, Storia della nobiltà fiorentina: discorsi inediti

o rari, (Pisa, Edizioni Marlin, 1974.) The January 1293 Ordinances of Justice cut short the political aspirations of almost all of the grandi, or feudal nobles. However, the distinction between nobility and an mercantile urban patriciate is not as clear-cut as it would appear. In a highly urban region such as Tuscany, nobles involved themselves in commerce with no loss of status. In Florence, some grandi broke away from more violent or poorer "old-style" family branches to live as law-abiding citizens and merchants. Upon their decision to renounce their status, other noble families changed their names (for example, some of the Acciaiuoli and Ricasoli did so.) At the same time, elite citizens of more modest heritage continued to want to identify themselves with chivalric ideals.

11. A small number of condottieri or knightly effigies exist (such as the Ubertini or Obizi slabs), as do portraits of friars. The remainder of the 23 portraits belong to laymen dressed in secular clothing, such as cloaks, tunics, or civic robes.

12. Ciardi Dupré dal Poggetto, "Un Corpus," 334.

13. Pines, A New Sepoltuario, 233-236, 453-547. Maestro Francesco Frate da Empoli, and Niccolo Banchi own two tombs bearing religiously-dressed subjects. Francesco was a friar, while Niccolo Banchi, whose tomb represents the oldest effigial slab in Santa Croce, was a layman, either a tertiary, or desirous of being portrayed in modest funerary garb. Maestro Francesco's tomb is found in a prestigious spot, just to the north of the cappella maggiore. Banchi's sepulchre lies in the south aisle of the church, at the foot of the seventh pier. Another example of a tomb which benefitted a deceased person of both noble and religious backgrounds is a consoled wall marker designed by Tino da Camaino for Gastone della Torre. Della Torre died in 1317; he had been Patriarch of Aquileia, and the Archbishop of Milan. He was also the son of the lord of Milan. His sepulchre is now located in a loggia on the left-hand side of Santa Croce. Data on his tomb can be found in Micheletti, Santa Croce, 37.

14. Mendicant piety has long been believed to have bolstered the sagging credibility of the medieval Church, and to have reformed some of its excesses. The popularity of Mendicantism and other initially "grassroots" organizations necessitated official Church recognition.

15. Micheletti, Santa Croce, 37.

16. Pines, A New Sepoltuario, 2.

17. Ibid., 1.

18. Butterfield, "Social Structure," 58. The author points out many cases where merchant tombs imitated noble sepulchral art. Gardner, Tomb and Tiara, refers to the fact that Santa Croce, like several other Tuscan churches, possessed an apse which was filled with lay tombs and chapels. He states that these sepulchres were humble, as befitting the status of secular patrons. Osborne, "From Turtura to Alfano," 6, does not refer to Mendicant churches (indeed, his focus is chronologically earlier) but states that wall tombs with canopies were "reserved for persons of religious or political importance" within and outside Rome.

19. Strocchia, Burials in Renaissance Florence, 37 and passim; idem, Death and Ritual, 131, 133-4, and passim; Butterfield, "Social Structure," 63-7.

20. Butterfield, "Social Structure," 59. The author states that the first effigial lay wall tomb was made in 1444 for Leonardo Bruni. Apparently, during the mid-to-late Quattrocento, the arcosolia form became popular as an exclusive, "knightly" design.

21. Ibid., 63-7; Trexler, Public Life, 16-18 and passim.

22. Ibid., 55, 58-9. The author cites only three examples of avelli which contain likenesses of male tomb founders. Chiti, "Alcune osservazioni," 337, states that during the Trecento slabs were reserved for the use of clerics and cavalieri. Paoli, Arte e committenza, 342, fig.17 cites an example of an avello-like structure which appears to incorporate a slab-effigy into its design. One example of a tomb chest not containing a portrait is the marker of Francesco Pazzi, located on the left-hand side of Santa Croce. Instead, themes such as the "Man of Sorrows" are found. Osborne, "From Turtura to Alfano," 6, describes portraits on non-Florentine arcosolia as common.

23. Ronan, Tuscan Wall Tomb, 76-77; Butterfield, "Social Structure," 55.

24. Ibid., 58.

25. Ibid., 58.

26. Ibid., 47-68, and especially page 55. For examples of founder graves, see Ronan, Tuscan Wall Tomb, 71-2. Refer also to Ariès, Hour of Our Death, 39, Ronan, Tuscan Wall Tomb, and passim, and Pines, A New Sepoltuario, 20 and passim.

27. Butterfield, "Social Structure," 58; compares the different tombs of Giugni family members. This setup is also discussed by Pines, A New Sepoltuario, 518.

28. Ronan, Tuscan Wall Tomb, 16-17. Ronan reiterates the well-known stereotype describing Dominicans as more austere in terms of their acceptance of sepulchral art. Cohn, Cult of Remembrance, 22, describes Sieneese commemorative bequests in wills of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to be decidedly "ascetic."
29. Gardner, Tomb and Tiara, 9, 15. Gardner discusses the acceptance of "decadent" tombs in medieval Italy.
30. Ronan, Tuscan Wall Tomb, 34-5.
31. Ibid., 34-5.
32. As opposed to the splendid forms available to ecclesiastics, the laity had to work within designs which Butterfield, "Social Structure," 60, describes as "secondary."
33. Gardner, Tomb and Tiara, 39; Ronan, Tuscan Wall Tomb, 71. Ronan estimates that clerics owned 48% of wall tombs in Tuscany. Outside of Tuscany, ecclesiastical wall tombs comprised 56% of the total found in Mendicant churches.
34. Butterfield, "Social Structure," 61.
35. Fineschi, Memorie sopra il cimitero, XII, XIII, XIIIIn.1.
36. Ibid., 15, 22. Fineschi describes 22 avelli around the façade, which were built for the members of the Spron d'Oro. Stefano Orlandi, Historical-Artistic Guide of Santa Maria Novella and her Monumental Cloisters, (Florence, Edition S. Becocci, 1980), 4. A description of the avelli includes a mention of Spron d'Oro shields upon the Tornaquinci and Manelli tombs.
37. Butterfield, "Social Structure," fig.21, page 65, indicates golden spurs as an accoutrement of the Florentine knighthood.
38. Robert Gaston, "Liturgy and Patronage in San Lorenzo, Florence, 1350-1650," chap. in Patronage, Art, and Society, 111-34. On page 111, Gaston refers to the sometimes overwhelming control expected by patrons of a church. In addition, refer to Martin Wackernagel, The World of the Florentine Renaissance Artist: Projects and Patrons, Workshops and Art Market. trans. Allison Luchs, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1981), passim, for a discussion of the building of chapels and whole churches by patrons such as the Medici, Rucellai, and Strozzi.
39. Simons, "Tornaquinci Chapel," 221-50; Brown, Santa Maria Novella, 254.

40. Cohn, Cult of Remembrance, 222, 358n.53. Cohn refers to many altercations between the religious authorities and ambitious patrons. Both the friars and the laity won conflicts over the control of chapels and tombs.
41. Munman, Sieneese Tomb Monuments, 6. However, the author also points to the lack of an overall corpus of surviving monuments, a factor which hinders secure stylistic or chronological attribution.
42. The work of Karen McCluskey indicates possible political reasons justifying the maintenance of traditional techniques in Siena. See McCluskey, Artistic Conservatism in the Sieneese Quattrocento, (MA thesis, Queens' University, 1997.)
43. Munman, Sieneese Tomb Monuments, 13. For example, Sieneese artists and patrons did not use the arcosolium form, or the "wall tomb set at ground level" during the Renaissance.
44. Ibid., 6.
45. Ibid., 6.
46. Butterfield labels the arcosolia form as a privileged alternative to the problem of effigial wall tombs faced by most laypersons. See Butterfield, "Social Structure," 46, 61.
47. Munman, Sieneese Tomb Monuments, 6. Such a statement is made using actual size, revolutionary use of style to rectify technical problems such as foreshortening, and overall magnificence and dignity.
48. Keith Christiansen, Laurence B. Kanter, and Carl Brandon Strelhke, Painting in Renaissance Siena, (New York, 1988), 44, referred to by ibid., 11n.20. Munman discusses Strelhke's view that the Opera of the Sieneese Duomo "seems to have pursued a policy against personal aggrandizement" which reduced enthusiasm for chapels.
49. Norman, "Those Who Pay, Those Who Pray and Those Who Paint: Two Funerary Chapels," chap in Florence Siena, and Padua, vol.2, 169-196; Lastly, Marcia Hall, Renovation and Counter-Reformation: Vasari and Duke Cosimo in Santa Maria Novella and Santa Croce, 1565-1577, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1979) treats the rearrangement and reassignment of chapels at Santa Croce and Santa Maria Novella.
50. Carli, L'Arte nella basilica di San Francesco, 16, 17, 22, 23, 24, 38-9, and idem, Il Duomo di Siena, passim. See also Gail Aronow, "Description of Altars in Siena Cathedral in 1420," chap. in Sieneese Altarpieces

1215-1460: Form, Content and Function, ed. Henk van Os, (Groningen, Egbert Forsten, 1990), 215-243. Aronow focusses upon the location of altars, but mentions many of the chapels contained in the Duomo.

51. Munman, Sieneese Tomb Monuments, 6. For example, the church of San Francesco records multiple instances in which persons were entombed in plots identified by no more than a terse inscription.

52. *Ibid.*, 6. 6n.11, 13-14. For a similar concern involving Lucchese markers, see Paoli, Arte e committenza, 195.

53. *Ibid.*, 221. Paoli compares economic values of the richest Florentine and Lucchese subjects in 1349. The Lucchese richest individual possessed 16666 florins; the Florentine counterpart, a Bardi family member, had 57236 florins. The discrepancy between the cities becomes even wider considering that the Bardi amount represents the remains of their banking fortunes after its downfall in 1343.

54. Munman, Sieneese Tomb Monuments, 8.

55. *Ibid.*, 6.

56. Archivio di Stato Lucca, Spedale di San Luca, n.180, c.94v, n.182., c.46r. as quoted by Paoli, Arte e committenza, 203-4.

57. Cohn, Cult of Remembrance, 133 and passim. Cohn states that funeral ceremonies after the Reformation could be huge productions. Munman, Sieneese Tomb Monuments, 9, mentions a Sieneese love of public display. Finally, see Christiansen, Kanter, and Strehlke, Sieneese Renaissance Painting, 1988, 20ff.

58. Munman, Sieneese Tomb Monuments, 11, 11n.20. However, the author fairly points out that sumptuary statutes ministered to such aspects of death as processions, and funeral rites. Pages 8 and 11 make it clear that it is difficult to guess whether sumptuary statutes sprang from large-scale, overt flouting of morality or taste, or out of reaction to a series of more marginal events. Since these laws were consistently reissued, it may be assumed that either a need existed to close loopholes (eg. in terms of dress), or that the initial decrees were largely ignored.

59. P.A. Riedl and M. Siedel, Die Kirchen von Siena, (Munich, Bruckmann Verlag, 1985), Band 1. Additionally, information can be gleaned from Strocchia, Death and Ritual, "Death Rites," and Burials in Renaissance Florence, as the author culls a great deal of material

based upon community standards and from sumptuary law exemptions.

60. Ibid., 11. Munman states that: "we have reason to believe that ostentation...(in building sepulchral monuments) was discouraged." (brackets mine.)

61. The figures have been taken from *ibid.*, 6n.9, 11.

62. *Ibid.*, 14.

63. Ronan, Tuscan Wall Tomb, 18.

64. Binski, Medieval Death, 75, cites that for medieval rulers "[b]urial was becoming a means of asserting specific loyalties."

65. Munman, Sieneese Tomb Monuments, 14n.28.

66. *Ibid.*, 14.

67. Sarah Blake McHam, review of Sieneese Renaissance Tomb Monuments, by Robert Munman, in Renaissance Quarterly, vol.XLVII no.4 (1995): 902-904. McHam states that Munman's text comprises an important first step in amassing a survey of information on Sieneese sepulchral art. This first initial step is necessarily flawed.

68. Cohn, Death and Property, 62.

69. *Ibid.*, 107.

70. Butterfield, Review, "Sieneese Tomb Monuments," 175.

71. *Ibid.*, 175.

72. Pro-Medicean stripping of their rival's tombs occurred during the Quattrocento and Cinquecento. Herklotz, "Sepulcra" e "Monumenta", 222-3, also discusses the impact of political violence upon monuments.

73. Munman, Sieneese Tomb Monuments, 46.

74. Paoli, Un Aspetto, 38.

75. *Ibid.*, 38. The author cautions that many such memorials have been badly damaged, some to the point of illegibility.

76. *Ibid.*, 38 as quoted in Munman, Sieneese Tomb Monuments, 14.

77. Paoli, "Un Aspetto," 39. "Anche se il genere ebbe ampia fortuna, la lapide con figura del defunto non fu tuttavia propria di tutti i ceti abienti della città. A

parte quelle realizzate per religiosi de spicco, provenienti da famiglie conspicue, la maggior parte delle lastre venne destinata a membri di casate nobili, pisane e straniere."

78. Ibid., 39. "Infatti, a giudicare dal materiale a mia conoscenza, non emergono per gran parte del Trecento raffigurazioni sepolcrali di esponenti della borghesia mercantile, come è invece osservabile in altre realtà italiane. Solo nell'ultimo quarto del secolo... si fecero scolpire il ritratto sulla propria tomba."

79. Ibid., 38, 39. Often these patrons were foreign, from outside Pisa and from outside Italy itself. The tomb of Arrigo VII (Henry VII) of Luxemburg is an example of a sumptuous tomb made for a foreign individual. Like many memorials found in the other cities under investigation, a large percentage of Trecento and Quattrocento markers consist simply of a short inscription and/or heraldic motif.

80. Ibid., 39, 40.

81. Ibid., 44.

82. Ibid., 41.

83. Ibid., 40, 41.

84. Ibid., 41.

85. Ibid., 41, 45n.19.

86. Ibid., 39. In Florence, this type of portrait did exist on slabs. Testators and heirs also displayed family armour within chapels and over graves at Santa Croce.

87. Ibid., 39, 45n.35.

88. Ibid., 42, 45n.31.

89. Archivio di Stato Pisa, Ospedale di Santa Chiara, no. 2079, 236 r-v 1310, vii II; idem, no. 2077 87 v-88r. 1309 v.; Archivio di Stato Firenze, Notarile Antecos, no.8071 166v-167v 1424 ii 6; Archivio di Stato Pisa, Diplomatico Primaziale, 1284 vii 15, 1412 iv 5, 1411 viii 14; used in Cohn, Cult of Remembrance, 158, 158 n.127, n.128, 347.

90. Calzolari, "Il Libro dei morti," passim. The Libro contains the obituaries for butchers, artisans, and lastrauoli.

91. Paoli, Arte e committenza, 204. "[S]e ne fecero promotori esponenti di tutti i ceti abbienti: religiosi di spicco, cavalieri e appartenenti all'aristocrazia feudale,

elementi della borghesia mercantile. Si trattò di un vero e un proprio "status symbol" in cui si riconobbero coloro che avevano le necessarie disponibilità economiche..." (brackets mine.)

92. Ibid., 195. 195-6.

93. Ibid., 193; also Baracchini-Caleca, Il Duomo di Lucca, 129.

94. Paoli, Arte e Committenza, 193.

95. Ibid., 131.

CHAPTER FOUR

GENDER REPRESENTATION IN TRECENTO
AND QUATTROCENTO TUSCAN TOMBSINTRODUCTORY COMMENTS

Tuscan tombs of the Trecento and Quattrocento symbolize a convergence of intersecting societal values. These forces encompass spiritual devotion, aesthetic taste, and a need to materially demarcate status within a social hierarchy. Throughout western European history, gender has constituted one of the most conspicuous and deep-seated characteristics affecting social ranking. The fact that patrilineal power systems, such as primogeniture, dominated and were maintained throughout this period attests to this bias, and, as my research into sepulchral commemoration indicates, it was an influence which extended even after death.

This chapter endeavours to study Early Renaissance Tuscan tombs belonging to women. An examination of gender representation in this brief context will limit itself to studying the monuments within the two major Mendicant churches of Florence: Santa Croce and Santa Maria Novella. The last section of this chapter analyzes known female graves found in Siena, Pisa, and Lucca.

Significantly, I will address the conspicuous absence of markers commemorating women, a scarcity which suggests that women's tombs ranked low on the list of priorities within Renaissance commemorative practice. The physical placement of tombs will be observed with regard to the

overall layout of the church proper, as well as within its smaller-scale counterpart, the family funerary chapel. Floor slabs commonly formed a part of these chapel projects. Such research may provide information about the roles the sexes and the family played in society with regard to commemoration, and its concomitant issue of public power display.

Interpretation of the placement of surviving tombs, in combination with related documents such as sepoltuarii, points to the definite existence of a gendering of space on both a large, abstract, and smaller, more specific scale. I will argue that this division resulted in (and from) a downplaying of women's memorials in favour of their male counterparts. Men evidently received many more individually-identified graves, and more distinguished positions in front of altars and audiences than female family members. The small number and often ambiguous nature of female monuments additionally appears to indicate that women's markers were seen as ancillary and optional within a family mortuary setting.

The methodologies and arguments of three different authors have assisted me in my work. Significantly, I sought to determine if the overall patterning of monuments corresponded to the employment of the tramezzo or rood-screen in separating the sexes, and privileging men, during church services.¹ This type of entitlement of one group over another parallels known systems of posthumous social

ranking occurring within Europe's medieval and Renaissance outdoor cemeteries.

Roberta Gilchrist insists that space, though changeable and highly interpretable, serves gendered functions. To Gilchrist, artistic expression is political; it may display, shape, and reshape social consciousness and hierarchy, in an active fashion, although she does indicate that people on occasion demonstrated a degree of agency that resisted these influences.² Strocchia's work, which has already been discussed above, contends that religious actions mingled with secular, social expectations. These expectations developed into customs which upheld men as public personae, while women, though neither powerless nor bereft of honour, ideally remained in the private sphere.

Monuments in Santa Croce will be described first, in order to introduce themes relevant to a discussion of female sepulchral representation. Applicable examples of tombs from Santa Maria Novella will follow, once workable analytical structures have been set up. Additional material from Siena, Pisa, and Lucca will also be addressed. I have focussed in some detail on Santa Croce as it appears to be the most representative example of gender differences in mortuary space; I also sought to reduce the repetition and overlap in describing each theme or female grave located in other centres.

Doralynn Schlossmann Pines' dissertation, A New Sepoltuario, represents the most important text concerning the Trecento and Quattrocento floor tombs housed in Santa

Croce.³ Santa Maria Novella offers a number of different resources describing sepulchres in existence before Vasari renovated it in the sixteenth century (he also renovated Santa Croce at this time.) I have therefore assembled a list of tombs from two different interpretations of the convent's Libro dei morti, a death register spanning the Trecento to the early Cinquecento. As mentioned in the Introduction, one version of this list comprises a section of the ninth edition of the Delizie degli eruditi toscani.⁴ This volume also contains an unattributed list of sepulchres and chapels. We know that this particular record must have been finished between the seventeenth and late eighteenth-centuries.⁵

Calzolari furnished another version of the Libro in 1981.⁶ Calzolari viewed his list as more accurate than the former, but it is less chronologically extensive, embracing the years 1290 to 1436. As we have seen above, Padre Stefano Orlandi's organization of the church's Necrologio provides valuable information on burials at this site between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. Among its compiled texts is a sixteenth-century church inventory by Vincenzo Borghigiani. This list proves to be more informative than the Delizie degli eruditi in describing extant tombs and chapels.⁷ Finally, Vincenzo Fineschi's Memorie sopra il cimitero antico di Santa Maria Novella supplies a detailed register of both the superiore and inferiore cemeteries at Santa Maria Novella.⁸

Generally, surviving Tuscan wills from the Trecento onwards indicate that Florentines were the most preoccupied of all Tuscans with regard to their individual grave sites.⁹ According to Kent, most persons consciously chose to be entombed alongside "close relatives and lineal ancestors."¹⁰ Initial findings point to the construction of tombs made solely on behalf of, or explicitly including Early Renaissance women. However, these examples are startlingly few in number.

Both versions of the Libro dei morti occasionally describe female burial locations. As we might expect, their choices reveal a preference for conjugal sites. Given the common nature of communal burial, the popularity of this phenomenon is not surprising; it is matched outside of Italy, reflected in female wills made in England and France, and was encouraged by religious convention.¹¹ Indeed, many testatrixes or church registrars omitted burial directives, as a matrimonial burial site for a woman must often have been considered a foregone conclusion.

A notable number of Florentine women also opted for the natal familial grave. Numerous references in both versions of the Libro dei morti portray women in this type of situation. For example, "Dom... f. Richhardi de Albizi" faced interment "in Sepultura Patris in Cemeterio Inferiori, non erat nupta."¹² Undoubtedly, this choice must have been obvious where young, unmarried women were concerned. Nevertheless, instances exist in which older women also made this decision. In another excerpt, "Dom.

Katrina uxor Ser Nicolai Manetti" was buried "...cum habitu in Cursu Adimariorum in Sepultura Patris Ser Ioannes Tozzi que est in platee veteris."¹³

Beato Alessio Strozzi, former friar at Santa Maria Novella, was buried in a grave which contained his mother, Diana Giambullari, his father, Jacopo, as well as his nurse, Godina.¹⁴ Elaine Rosenthal lists a relatively anomalous choice, in which the widow of the painter Paolo Uccello's son chose inhumation in the resting place of her married daughter, rather than opting for either of the traditional sites.¹⁵ Although a few unique cases of men choosing cognatic burial must exist in Tuscany, the only example revealed in my studies arose in England.¹⁶ It is important to note, however, that in this English case, the husband still had his own tomb, one fully identified as male and retaining his patrilineal arms.¹⁷

Opting for burial with a husband afforded the loyal wife or "good mother" treatment in a fashion deemed as honourable by the adoptive family. It guaranteed her reunion with her husband and, in certain cases, her children. Similarly, the decent burial of those widows reinstated within the family of origin was normally shouldered as a duty and honour.¹⁸ Nevertheless, testaments also survive which demonstrate that remarriage did not necessarily oblige women to follow a protocol mandating burial with one spouse over another. For example, a Florentine woman described in The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death requested interment

alongside her first husband. She further diverted her finances towards the salvation of her own soul, and those of her first husband and offspring. The will records no remaining legacy for the unlucky second mate.¹⁹

Santa Maria Novella's necrology recounts scores of material donations and directives made by women.²⁰ I have further calculated that 48% of the 1796 burials listed by the Delizie degli eruditi as occurring between the early Trecento and 1526 involved women.²¹ Calzolari's determinations posit that between 1290 and 1436, 1770 persons were buried within the property boundaries of Santa Maria Novella, many evidently in the church. Of these, 746, or 42%, involved women. It is therefore striking that very few of these women were given their own tombs, or had them made.

Where did these daughters, sisters, wives, and religious women go? On a telling note, Fineschi's description of Santa Maria Novella's monuments often link female death notices to graves extant in his time; their inscriptions overwhelmingly seem to eschew reference to women in any form.²² Although we can assume that women were buried in many graves covered by monuments, most monuments did not outwardly identify female inhabitants. This deficiency may tell us something about their status in society.²³ According to Ariès, a Church Council at Rouen in 1581 pronounced that nuns were lesser contenders for admittance into intrachurch burial space. Indeed, these

spiritual sisters were not to occupy ecclesiastical grave space unless it was absolutely necessary.²⁴

FLORENCE: THE CHURCHES OF SANTA CROCE AND SANTA MARIA NOVELLA

Thirteen known graves made at Santa Croce between 1350-1500 are known to have housed women. Out of 102 monuments, eight represent women in some way through the use of a marker. Seven are in slab form.²⁵ At this stage in my research, twelve female tombs at Santa Maria Novella exist, or are known to have existed.²⁶ Though documentation is uncertain, some women appear to have been the sole inhabitants of a grave; a large percentage of female deceased, perhaps the majority, however, are housed in communal graves owned by a family line. Of notable importance are a few tombs which supply equally descriptive inscriptions and/or other visual references (such as coats-of-arms or portraits) to both husbands and wives.

Only one female effigial slab made between 1300 and 1500 survives at Santa Croce. Firsthand research is necessary to discover if more were originally in place. The effigy in question comprises half of the Tedaldi double tomb (Figs. 15, 16) at rest in the left hand side of the fifth bay of the church, at the foot of the fourth column. Completed in 1475 by sculptor Antonio Rossellino and his workshop, the marker portrays two recumbent figures, usually accepted as the images of merchant Leonardo di Lapi Tedaldo, and Elisabetta, his wife. Beck and Pines have

studied this slab as a conspicuous and rare example of an Italian double figural marker. Rare in Italy, the double tomb represents a type more commonly found in northern European countries, where the composition was often employed for other types of monument, and for patronal groups including the high nobility and the aristocracy.²⁷

The Tedaldi tomb is unusual in that both sides of the conjugal match are illustrated. At Santa Croce, the vast majority of sepulchral portraits (indeed, all twenty-two other pre-1500 effigial slabs listed by Pines) belong to men. Seemingly, this is the case for all but one of the fourteenth and fifteenth-century markers found at Santa Maria Novella. One female effigy remains at Santa Maria Novella; however this portrait depicts a beata, and can therefore not necessarily be considered as representative in its appearance or placement.²⁸

However, the bulk of scholarship examining the Tedaldi monument focusses upon its existence as an aesthetic accomplishment, rather than a social precedent. Arguments concerning the ability of Rossellino to naturalistically portray two people in a small, narrow area have prevailed over treatments of the female effigy in its own right; the latter will be discussed below in the section that treats issues of female identity in a sepulchral environment.

To my knowledge, only one heraldic slab overtly designating a sole female occupant survives in Santa Croce. Giovanna Tedaldi, related through marriage to the aforementioned Tedaldi couple, has a full-sized memorial

(Fig. 17) found in front of the western region of the "Tedaldi pier," in the northern aisle, third bay of the church.²⁹ Her husband Tedaldo, who survived her by twenty years, possesses his own slab a few feet away.³⁰ Both bear inscriptions and inlaid stone heraldic devices involving a rampant lion within a shield.³¹ Due to their more simply detailed appearances, both of these earlier tombs must have been much less expensive than their later neighbour.

The reason for the separation of Giovanna and Tedaldo remains unclear, signalling an avenue for further study. A submission by Beck, which will be discussed later in the chapter, alleges that the double tomb was planned to house not individuals but men and women of a line. Perhaps these other two slabs were also intended to mark graves physically dividing the deceased of each sex.³²

Santa Croce's Sepoltuario of 1439 briefly remarks upon the existence of four other graves belonging to women. For instance, the grave of Mona Giovanna di Lotto Ardinghi lay on the south side of the nave of the church. Another, belonging to Madonna Bartolommea di Braccio da Montone, lay in the nave near the southern transept, and was described as without a marker, or amattonata.³³ Lastly, two dipositi, of the "donna di Francesco di Piero Dini" and "Mona Lisa da Messer Maso degli Albizi" lay somewhere within the east end of the church, outside the choir enclosure.³⁴ Available sources have not resolved whether any of these graves actually received markers. Pines' study does not account for them, leading one to suspect

that they never received coverings, or any markers eventually gained were later removed.

A nonfigural slab of the Cocchi/Carducci family (Fig. 18), made in 1479 and placed in the south aisle of the third bay, exhibits elements which should be considered in a discussion of gender and the family in Tuscan sepulchral art.³⁵ In a manner akin to the Tedaldi double sepulchre, this work includes cognatic and patrilineal heraldic devices.³⁶ Additionally, the inscription commends both the husband and wife, using the terms "suavissimo" and "gratissima" respectively. Several other Italian monuments, such as the tomb of noblewoman Ilaria del Carretto and the Trenta graves in Lucca (to be discussed), as well as foreign tombs of the hereditary ruling class in general, include the heraldic arms of the conjugal pair.³⁷ In Santa Croce, this slab with paired heraldic devices stands out as a unique example at this site.³⁸

To my knowledge, only one separate early Renaissance tomb strictly for an ordinary (though elite) woman was laid within Santa Maria Novella proper. (Two extraordinary tombs, one now apparently destroyed, belonged to female saints). In 1902, Brown wrote of the tomb of Blaxia, a wife of a Cavalcanti and daughter of the powerful Sieneſe clan of Salimbeni.³⁹ Blaxia appears to have been placed in a spot of particular honour, near the friar's choir screen. Brown suggested that this elite person rested in front of a family altar dedicated to the Magdalene.⁴⁰ The breakdown of monument-types offered in the Delizie degli eruditi

lists Cavalcanti "family" graves in the general area ("Per la nave dallo scaglione del Coro alle scaglione di mezzo la Chiesa,") but due to wear, or a lack of specific inscription, no more recent mention has been made of Blaxia.⁴¹

If they do not necessarily resort to sharing heraldic advertising, a number of tombs at Santa Maria Novella nevertheless identify both spouses. To illustrate, near the St. Thomas Aquinas chapel of the Chiostrino dei Morti, Fineschi recorded the presence of a Strozzi tomb which was dedicated partially to a woman.⁴² A somewhat uncertain, and perhaps fourteenth-century inscriptive phrase allegedly read "Sep. Domina Lisa uxor olim Giovanni, Dominici Ubertinis de Strozzi et Filiorum."⁴³ Another wife, this time by blood a Strozzi, merited rather gushing praise alongside her husband on another nearby monument: "Constant... et dulcissime Coniugi Marrietae Strozzae, ac Faelici Filiae, Ioannes Simon Tornabuonis Moetissimus Filius, Coniunx, et Pater."⁴⁴ These two graves perhaps comprised part of the Strozzi de' Mantova chapel, dedicated to the Annunciation. Brown also listed an inscription on a low arch (perhaps a wall tomb or grave decoration) in this general area for the Strozzi family. This inscription lists anonymous wives: "Sep[ulchrum] filiorum de Rossi de Stroziis et eorum discendentium et uxorum."⁴⁵ Finally, two graves in the outdoor, eastern or superiore cemetery (which held over 200 monuments) listed the names of wives, Tancia

and Francesca, in combination with those of their husbands.⁴⁶

Instead of uniting husband and wife in one space, members of the Alberti clan separated their sexes after death. (The men's tomb are visible in Figs. 10, 11, and 19). Two plain tombs were commissioned for a number of unnamed women family members in 1348; these were placed on the outside, or westward perimeter of Santa Croce's choir enclosure.⁴⁷ This placement was therefore similar to that of Blaxia Cavalcanti. The Alberti men, members of the richest family in the quartiere, owned eleven diamond-patterned slabs inside the enclosure, at the foot of the most sought-after space in the church, the cappella maggiore.⁴⁸ Nearby, outside the enclosure, the Asini family also possessed two segregated graves with marble covers.⁴⁹

The Cavalcanti clan also retained different tombs for female family members. According to Pines, the branch of the clan patronizing Santa Croce in 1439 possessed six familial graves, all vaguely located in the sixth bay of the south aisle of the church. Some tombs apparently lay adjacent to or abutted the south wall of the church, or were fixed to the eastern side of the tramezzo.⁵⁰ The Cavalcanti women exploited an unusual, parapet-shaped tomb placed physically below the sepulchral structure of a male family member.⁵¹ It is likely that this tomb did not originally have an inscription, as one is not mentioned until centuries after its creation.⁵² Although historians

recognized a women's tomb in an early twentieth-century church survey, it is possible that it was replaced by or altered into another form during refurbishment. Therefore, perhaps it has been left out of discussions, namely the work of Pines, because it is not a certifiably "Renaissance" piece.⁵³

Although not slabs, but rare examples of interior avelli, the Bardi di Vernio (or di Silvestri) tombs also presumably divided the sexes (Fig. 20). The canopied sarcophagi are found within a niched, family-chapel setting at the end of the northern transept. As discussed in Chapter Three, they display donor frescoes; one, of a male patron, adorns the back wall of the extensively-carved tomb. The other, of a female patron, is found on the burial chest itself. Due to its size, the former avello occupies the most noticeable position of the pair relative to the elite churchgoing audience. The female counterpart is smaller, and does not sport as much carving, but is brightly painted.⁵⁴

Finally, Santa Croce's "Sepoltuario of 1439" informs us that another segment of the Bardi family active at the church also separated men and women after death.⁵⁵ According to records, three family graves occupied the south transept. Of these spaces, one was reserved for Messer Ridolfo de' Bardi, another for Messer Gerozzo Domini Francisci de' Bardi. The last tomb mentioned in the Sepoltuario belonged to a number of Bardi women. Again,

like the Cavalcanti and Alberti markers, records do not identify any of the female grave inhabitants by name.

That the Bardi graves of the south transept did not receive artistic commemoration in the form of a slab or other marker is significant. The obscurity of these and other vaults can be frustrating, especially where potential minority groups (which women no doubt comprised) are concerned.⁵⁶ The fact that a number of persons were undoubtedly buried without markers can lead to skewed assumptions about the total number of deceased found within a church, especially considering that many of these situations might not be catalogued at length, and be lost over time.⁵⁷ However, this uncertainty, especially if it impacted upon female graves in particular (which is unknown), does not contradict the assertion made by this thesis, namely that women were subordinated within the funerary sphere.

In "The Tramezzo in Santa Croce, Florence, Reconstructed," Hall established that a common dividing structure known as a rood screen or tramezzo served two physical functions at Santa Croce.⁵⁸ By extrapolating data gleaned from other secondary sources, the same hypothesis may be formulated regarding its Dominican counterpart.⁵⁹ Firstly, in tandem with a secondary choir enclosure, Santa Croce's tramezzo shielded the friars from drafts and the eyes of the ordinary lay celebrant. In a spiritual sense, it divided the church into "upper" and "lower" sections, reserved for the clergy and laity, respectively. The

tramezzo necessarily formed an architectural median across which flowed all communication between the clergy and the laity by means of an attached pulpit or ambo, which in Santa Croce was located on the right-hand side of the church.⁶⁰

Secondly, Hall invokes a sixteenth-century historian of the church, Vincenzo Borghigiani, as well as the Trecento testament of Francesco Bruni, in asserting that during certain church services such as the offertory, this barrier also separated the sexes in an east-west fashion.⁶¹ A record describing a Trecento Medici burial in Santa Croce published by Strocchia, as well as a liturgical account mentioned in Filippo Moisè's nineteenth-century chronicle of the church, also bear out this type of segregation.⁶²

An appendix in Brown's book The Dominican Church of Santa Maria Novella at Florence alludes to a remark made by Padre Marchese, an earlier chronicler at the convent, which indicates the use of the tramezzo (or ponte as it is called here) as a gendered barrier.⁶³ (For unarticulated reasons, Brown then refuted this idea.) I am nevertheless considering it as a possibility, based upon the information which has been gathered from Santa Croce (and as will be addressed, at Assisi).

Historically, church practice divided the sexes in an effort to preserve virtue, and perhaps arguably a type of social and/or spiritual hierarchy.⁶⁴ Durandus of Mende, a thirteenth-century liturgical author, alluded to this activity, using St. Paul's writings which compared the lay

congregation to the body, with the men as the head, and the women architecturally (and in some ways spiritually) bringing up the rear.⁶⁵ To illustrate the practical use of this scheme in other Mendicant churches, Hall discusses the representation of a tramezzo in the fresco (Saint Francis at Greccio, Fig. 21) found at the Upper Church at Assisi. This anonymous tempera painting is crucial to this thesis, as it depicts women clustered outside the door (or reggio) of the tramezzo. Meanwhile, men move freely beyond into the space between the tramezzo and choir screen.⁶⁶ It could thus be asked if, and to what extent, these religious and social customs and pressures affected the commissioning and placement of tombs explicitly housing women.

The examination of death registers, paired with the positions of surviving tombs at both churches, produce positive results when examined for evidence of gendered systems of burial. By the term "positive," I imply that segregation occurred; however, this division functioned not on a large-scale, systematic basis approximating the tramezzo, but on a smaller scale, within contexts such as familial chapels. In Santa Croce, these divisions are clearly visible, with male graves often approaching altars or other holy objects, more closely than those of women. In other centres such as Pisa or Lucca, double effigies might also be placed in a north-south fashion, side by side in front of altars.

In both churches, evidence of at most twenty-five tombs overtly belonging to a woman or women affirms male

commemorative dominance to the point of overrepresentation. Although many tombs have been lost, had inscriptions obscured, or faced insufficient description in contemporary written accounts, I cannot foresee this imbalance being significantly modified by new discoveries. The various locations of female tombs in general offer no strict or universally applicable type of gender segregation with regard to the overall plan of the building. On a smaller scale, however, patterns of preference emerge.

A crucial factor to consider in studying gendered space is that availability of burial space, social standing, and financial power greatly influenced where an individual, or a family, was laid to rest. Over time, patrons filled some areas, while other spaces were destroyed or annexed by new patrons. A varying amount of space in sundry areas was therefore left for new or different monuments. It would be overly harsh to assume that the expressed desire of a person or organization to build female tombs constituted a major obstacle barring the reception of burial space. Yet as a rule, the majority of all tombs, most holding multiple relatives of both sexes, were dedicated to a male founding member. As has already been indicated in the preceding chapter by authors such as Butterfield, these persons also received the "best" spots.

Taken together, the texts of Fineschi and Borghigiani describe four solely female tombs as resting below the level of the ponte, as the church's rood screen was known, or outside the church body. As previously stated, two of

these held women saints. The remaining female graves, made for "Domine Francisce uxor. Francisci Michi" and Tancia Mazzuoli, lay outside.⁶⁷

At Santa Croce, the majority of female tombs from the Trecento (including a non-slab, the avello of the Bardi family) occupied space above the level of the tramezzo, an area equivalent to the sixth bay of the church.⁶⁸ It therefore cannot be said at this point that ecclesiology rendered the placement of female tombs in the space between the rood and choir screens unacceptable.

However, within the Cavalcanti funerary space, the original women's tomb rested below that of a male kinsman. Further, a male family member received an archa or wall type of marker, while the unknown and undifferentiated "women" of the family lay in a floor tomb.

In Santa Maria Novella, the famous choir chapel of Filippo Strozzi the Elder lies to the right of the cappella maggiore. The inscription on Strozzi's chiusino, or mortuary plaque, reads as: "Phil Stroz. Matthei." The other part of the inscription refers to "Coniugi et Descendentibus Eius."⁶⁹ As head of one of the most powerful Florentine families, Filippo set money aside to buy himself a beautiful black marble sarcophagus. All others, including Filippo's wives, could also expect appropriate, but less visible and aggrandizing interment "in terra," before the chapel altar.⁷⁰ The assignation of all family except the illustrious founder to honourable, yet visually secondary locations echoes Butterfield's

concept of sepulchral space, which affirms the status of one or a few over all others. The Strozzi funerary space also stands out because of its decision to separate consorts, who usually were buried with the husband, into another grave. Here, they were further designated as ambiguous Coniugi.

Within the fourteenth-century sacristy of Santa Maria Novella lies the conspicuous grave chest of Mainardo Cavalcanti. The men and women of his line, including Mainardo's wife Monna Andrea Acciaiuoli, were placed into two segregated floor graves positioned before the altar. One round slab sufficed to mark both graves.⁷¹ These graves or vaults are defined by Haines as "less conspicuous, but not less honourably situated...literally under the feet of the celebrant of services ordered for their salvation."⁷² As a widow, Acciaiuoli at one point acted as principal patron for much of the sacristy; however, she chose or felt constrained to chose interment in a seemingly very modest and unassuming fashion relative to her husband.

Men received better-identified graves than women within the choir area of Santa Croce. To illustrate, the Alberti males owned eleven nonfigural black and white marble slabs; these were aligned near the steps leading to the main chapel. The two slabs calling attention to the women of the family lie outside the place of mysteries reserved for the friars, literally waiting at the door. In addition, they were also fitted with a terser description

("Albertacci et Dom Lapi de Albertis et filiorum" versus "Dominarum Domus Albertorum.")⁷³ The Alberti females' slabs today are unelaborated, which suggests, if it does not prove, that despite possible decay the grave coverings were intended to be more modest.

Slabs set in open church spaces below the tramezzo do not appear to exhibit the same amount of hierarchic placement. Although study of more tombs is again necessary, it could be that various sites (such as the space around a column owned by the Tedaldi) were more flexible in displaying several prominent graves.

The Bardi di Vernio avelli must be examined in relation to their role within a private family chapel, a site which commanded a different audience than the exposed pavement stones of the nave and aisles. It must also be remembered that these were not slabs, and hence were executed according to different size and decorative rules, and by a supremely wealthy family. Ronan nevertheless refers to the female Bardi avello as a monument which garnered less artistic attention due to the gender of its inhabitants.⁷⁴

Throughout western Europe, communal inhumation historically prevailed over the widespread institution of individual graves. The convention was influenced by factors such as a wish for group unity, feelings of humility, and for many Florentines, the realities of poverty. Apart from families and official religious orders, Tuscan lay confraternities, pilgrims, and even

servants were separated into categories (by choice or perhaps as per involuntary arrangement) and buried separately in specialized graves.⁷⁵

We do know through sources such as sepoltuarii, excavations, and published scholarship that certain groups, such as the clergy or the poor, were buried in specific, preordained areas. Respectively, they might be assigned to designated cloister areas of a church complex, or to mass graves located in outdoor cemeteries. At Santa Maria Novella, an area to the west of the present western (or left) transept arm housed the bodies of early adherents. Church authorities also reserved eastern (or right) transept space for the inhumation of those friars who did not have ancestral tombs in or outside the building.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, initial research has not found a similar large-scale parallel among wealthier Florentine women, though they did usually chose burial with husbands or fathers.

Only two unclear instances of communal female burial have been found which hinge upon religious calling, rather than family ties. These graves are found in Santa Maria Novella, and were established in the lower or inferiore cemetery.⁷⁷ Marked with a slab, one of these graves supplied space for the female adherents of the Compagnia di Gesù Pellegrino. A corresponding space used for male members rested alongside. Both were labelled with the message "Sepulchrum Collegii Salvatoris Peregrini A.S. MCCCCLXXX."⁷⁸ Another "monument" without arms or plaque,

was found near the Strozzi Annunciation chapel of the Chiostrino dei Morti. This grave allegedly belonged to "Dominae Agnoiae de Placitis, et aliorum ullarum Dominarum."⁷⁹ Fineschi estimated that the inhabitants might belong to a group known as the Women of Penitence.⁸⁰

Communal burial, and a tendency to separate the sexes after death, exposes an overt and common experience in medieval and Renaissance culture, that of categorizing and visibly ranking people. Arrangement in medieval cemeteries, and the informative nature of inscriptions and effigies, provide our source material for these inferences.

Outdoor cemeteries exemplified the need for order within medieval civilization. Historian R.I. Moore named the medieval period, and particularly beginning in the eleventh century, as an "age of classification," whereby status affected the dead as much as the living.⁸¹

Using a standard "yardstick" of ideal spiritual prerequisites, church authorities arranged the deceased within graveyards by measuring the merit of their souls.⁸² Obvious spiritual transgressors, encompassing non-Christians, catechumens, suicides and heretics unquestionably faced exclusion from holy ground.⁸³ Burial of stillbirths or unbaptized babies occupied an enigmatic area of religious judgement, and was often dealt with by placing their graves at the limits of consecrated areas.⁸⁴ Although the specifically Italian sources which I have consulted are silent upon the aspect of outdoor burial of children, (I suspect that they were probably most often

placed with other family members), in many other areas of the Continent, their bodies often reposed within a reserved site of the cemetery.⁸⁵ I know only of three children's tombs located inside a church. Fineschi found one such grave in the Gaddi chapel of Santa Maria Novella. The other examples are Lucchese, and will be discussed later.⁸⁶

As the apse-end of a church proved especially honourable, the corresponding section of the churchyard has been noted as attracting upper-class graves.⁸⁷ The same may be said concerning the south, or "right" side of the churchyard (at least in England) which prevailed over the northern border.⁸⁸ Interestingly, many of the "best" monumental wall tombs built in Santa Croce also were built on this side.⁸⁹

Paupers ended up in mass pits, while those who had sufficient funds supplied themselves the luxury of something somewhat less anonymous. As stated in Chapter Two, thirteenth and fourteenth-century Italians of means, affected by growing emphasis upon ancestors and communal salvation, deemed access to one's own family plot a necessity.⁹⁰ As a means of identification, and religious protection, Dinn cites that Christians (in his case, English) able to erect a cross or other humble memorial, grouped their family members around it.⁹¹

One's "rights" to an interior family sepulchre were jealously guarded, a fact to which the almost exclusive use of patrilineally-based inscriptions and heraldry attests. Cohn provides an illustrative example, wherein a male

household head interred his son-in-law within his own prearranged family avello. However, this individual commanded in his testament that a separate memorial plaque accompanying the monument be made, specifically stating that he, not the man related by marriage, was the real founder and owner of this tomb.⁹² Ciardi Dupré dal Poggetto contends that individuals mentioned in slab inscriptions "nearly always" were those who had established family fortunes.⁹³

From the nuclear family to the extended consorteria, Kent remarks that women constituted the family members most often buried at sites other than an ancestral tomb or church.⁹⁴ Marriage explains this absence, and based upon the influence patrilinealism asserted within Early Renaissance Florence, it also accounts for much of the attitude motivating their omission from much sepulchral identification. Daughters leaving the family circle, and by extension, the family tomb, would naturally not merit a mention in the natal family inscription, no matter how significant their lives. Similarly, persons related by marriage, while respected, did not constitute full-blooded members of the adoptive lineage in the same manner as their offspring.⁹⁵ Consistent and concrete commemoration for family members whose status was hence not considered full or permanent was not frequent.

An identificatory inscription found in the Florentine Recco de' Capponi's incised slab aligns itself along agnatic relationships. He dedicates the chapel to the

usage of himself, his brothers, and (only) their descendants.⁹⁶

Though many anonymous men whose names will never be recovered faced systematic interment in the eleven male Alberti graves, their inscription does allude to two specific persons. On the other hand, the identification of wealthy mercantile women on monuments is consistently more vague, and dependent upon their relationship to men. This ambiguity and dependence can also be seen in listings in church registers, and in the appearance of female effigies.

In "Medieval Bodies in the Material World: Gender, Stigma, and the Body," Gilchrist researches methods by which architecture relates to the identification and reinforcement of social constructs of persons and groups, such as the sick and women.⁹⁷ Given the very small number of tombs belonging to women inside both Santa Croce and Santa Maria Novella compared to the number of women which we know underwent burial at the premises, a conclusion can be reached whereby women definitely were not seen as inhabiting the same social context or position as men.⁹⁸

The fact that separate monuments were sometimes built to house one or many women, combined with the realization that so few female tombs existed, clearly informs us that women were viewed as a "different" group unto themselves. They were apparently viewed as benefitting from segregation, honoured through familiarly-affiliated burial, yet denied individualized outward mention.

Grave inscriptions or heraldic signs which declare female deceased to have been someone's wife or "women," visibly rank females in a community. The Strozzi plaque, and Alberti and Cavalcanti epitaphs can also be applied to this end. Particular degrees of ranking are also evident within the Santa Maria Novella's death registers, where friars catalogued women buried apud ecclesiam through their affiliation with fathers and husbands. Although men used patronymics, usually one degree of labelling (via the father) occurred; women carried extra qualifiers, representing their birth and marital standing.⁹⁹ Only rarely did clerics cite female deceased as de heredibus of a man; sometimes they were cited simply as an unnamed figliuola.¹⁰⁰ It is important here to note that Christiane Klapisch-Zuber and David Herlihy have found that in some cases chroniclers recorded girls using masculinized terms.¹⁰¹

Inscriptions of most Trecento and Quattrocento slab tombs enduring at Santa Croce display a communal nature, choosing terms encompassing heredum, suorum, and descendentium.¹⁰² At Santa Maria Novella the same attitude prevails, expressed even as "etiam omnium de domo suo."¹⁰³ Construction of communal tombs for groups of wealthy, mercantile-class women proved to be a rare but valid option in Trecento and Quattrocento Tuscany. Indeed, though not analyzed in this study, a recovered tomb from Santa Reparata identifies itself as belonging to two "sisters."¹⁰⁴

Florentine patrilinealism also involved the decoration

of a chapel or monument with highly-visible patronymics and androcentric insignia.¹⁰⁵ Normally, effigial and other types of graves promoted the male deceased through only one agnatically-derived heraldic device. Those of women commonly used two, again reflecting both the power of the husband and the father (the latter is known as patria potestas.)¹⁰⁶ However, the use of a woman's natal heraldry can also be interpreted as empowering, indicating that both lines of a family are recognized.

Church spaces were thus remarkably devoid of any signs of female agency. I have encountered few inscriptions on artwork in either Florentine church that names specific women as donors. Some objects, such as the famous Strozzi altarpieces by Orcagna, are identified in a manner akin to tombs and chapels, using one set of arms.

F.W. Kent alleges that information expressed in a sepulchral inscription varied, distinguishing either an individual or a whole clan line.¹⁰⁷ Latin descriptors including et suorum or et descendantium, and inscriptions simply supplying a surname indicated a more communal type of burial arrangement. On the other hand, epitaphs listing a name and date of death frequently commemorated a lone occupant.¹⁰⁸ However, these conventions must not be considered to be totally consistent. In practice, several deceased could be deposited into a grave which seemingly housed only one person. The slab marker of Giovanna Tedaldi at Santa Croce serves as a case in point; successive listings in *sepoltuarii* make important references to

burials of male Tedaldi in her grave.¹⁰⁹ The epitaph nevertheless identifies only one occupant, "D[o]n[n]a Ioh[ann]a uxor olim Tedaldi Bartoli de Tedaldi cuius a[n]i[m]a requiescat in pace amen."¹¹⁰

Giovanna's inscription represents the only surviving tomb in Santa Croce to function as "male" graves do, naming one person as "owner" or as the focus of a communal grave. All other pre-Cinquecento tombs and sources in the church, including the Strozzi, Cavalcanti, Bardi (of the south transept), Alberti and Asini refer to female deceased as dominarum, coniugi, or donne.¹¹¹ Although this difference is noticeable in the monuments found in churches outside of Florence, several inscriptions report the presence of individual women. These will be examined in more detail below.

Significantly, Beck argues that the lack of inscription on the double Tedaldi slab signifies that the family intended its female and male portraits to represent "types," rather than a specific family unit. Instead the unusual nature of the double tomb, in combination with its lack of an inscription, leads the author to propose that the marker commemorated "the entire male line and their wives rather than Leonardo and his wife exclusively."¹¹² Therefore, Rossellino's work may be argued as functioning in a manner akin to tombs adorned with simple surnames, or the name of one founder.

More precisely, the appearance of the female Tedaldi effigy raises questions concerning the social construction

of the sexes as personified through the body. It would be interesting to see to what extent the sepulchral portraits of both sexes expressed individuality. Unfortunately, the poor state of the Tedaldi monument does not permit us to speculate about its original level of realism. As we have seen, the slab format in itself did not hinder an artist's attempt at rendering unique physiognomy.¹¹³

The degree to which any sepulchral effigy can be related to any one individual within Early Renaissance corporatist society is a contested subject. To reiterate, pre- and early modern funerary images of warriors, clerics, university doctors, and the like can be easily identified by means of their dress, accessories, and at times, pose. Exceptions to such social stereotyping have been described as "occasional."¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, descriptions or illustrations of female slabs provided by Greenhill and Norman demonstrate that women were not restricted to only a few representational types; for instance, Norman speaks of a fourteenth-century Paduan lastra which depicted a woman as a university instructor.¹¹⁵

Santa Maria Novella's effigy of the Beata Villana (Fig. 22) by Bernardo Rossellino, though created almost a century after her death, can be argued to express a realistic likeness of the deceased. In this case, however, the deceased is somewhat exceptional because of her aura of sanctity; she therefore might have merited portrait conventions or privileges uncommon for more "ordinary" patrons.

In Idealism and Realism, Henriette s'Jacob described a fifteenth-century male tomb located in the Trenta or Riccardi chapel in San Frediano, Lucca, as realistic. However, this observation is limited to remarking that the stone medium appeared "softer" than other antecedents.¹¹⁶ The effigies of Trenta and his wife (or wives) will figure prominently in future discussions of non-Florentine women's tombs.

S'Jacob advanced a rather Burkhardtian view, considering increasing realism in Renaissance sepulchral effigies as signifying an "era of human apotheosis."¹¹⁷ However, s'Jacob did not found this conclusion upon more representative graves such as the Tedaldi example; instead, she analyzed the monuments erected for popes and emperors.¹¹⁸ In this way, the case of the female effigy did not enter into her calculations.

Munman states that tomb likenesses are not portraits in a private sense of the term, although he allows that many examples attempt to record a true-to-life appearance.¹¹⁹ Roberts defines the sepulchral image of Mary of Burgundy, final Valois ruler of France, as somewhat stylized, and as an approximate likeness of this individual.¹²⁰ Gardner points out that medieval artists sought to capture a degree of naturalism, rather than the "truth" of a full-fledged portrait.¹²¹ Norman states that artists and patrons permitted a "warts and all" depiction of male images, a viewpoint not deemed honourable or acceptable for female likenesses.¹²² Instead, images of

women were idealized, made to suit a male gaze. Therefore, the generic nature of the female form, if never meant to depict anyone, may be interpreted as doubly anonymous with regard to public image and recognition of specific persons and whole groups.

The assignation of women to the private sphere may help explain the preponderance of adult male tombs in both churches as a decorous and acceptable contemporary occurrence. As will be discussed in the Epilogue, elite mercantile vocations also denied official female participation, at least publicly. Perhaps this accounts for a lack of large-scale representation of women of merchant status in these two churches, as opposed to other establishments housing the nobility and aristocracy.

A similarly subordinate pattern of commemoration appears to have awaited children. Whereas many English brasses and some German or French graves (overwhelmingly owned by the nobility) include images of children, their effigies or inscribed names remain extremely rare in Tuscany, arguably near the point of nonexistence.¹²³

Strocchia's findings help to contextualize remarks made by Butterfield and Paoli, who though they acknowledge that women were treated as different and subordinate, do not elaborate on possible social motivations or further manifestations. The following pages will briefly address the representation of women at churches outside of Florence, in Siena, Pisa, and Lucca.

SIENA, PISA, AND LUCCA: GENERAL REMARKS

In contrast to Santa Croce and Santa Maria Novella, comprehensive descriptions of obituaries or pavement layouts are not readily available for cities such as Siena, Pisa, and Lucca. Despite their comparative obscurity, however, enough material can be gathered from the more general stylistic or chronological work by authors such as Carli, Munman, and Paoli, to reveal the existence of gender differences within sepulchral space.¹²⁴

Although systems bestowing memorial pomp upon certain social groups differed in some ways within each city, posthumous treatments of upper-class women appear to have been similar.¹²⁵ As at Florence, one notices a sheer numerical deficiency of female sepulchres in each of these centres. The positioning of female markers within a religious setting, while elite and therefore deferential, may also be viewed as secondary to, and/or dependent upon, the presence of men's tombs. Whether sex separation was intended as honourable and respectful, or as a more derogatory type of social segregation, I hope to emphasize that the small number of female sepulchres would probably not have been made as lone, independent monuments. Lastly, as in Florence, identifying features such as inscriptions (and to a changeable extent, portraits) commonly render the grave inhabitants anonymous.

I have chosen to group these examples by city, rather than by these three major themes. The pages which follow discuss these themes in a systematic fashion.

SIENA

As cited in Chapter Three, the Sienese people adopted a modest approach to burial patterns, apparently eschewing "monumental" structures, family chapels, or female tombs. The small amount of available material suggests that only two enduring female effigies of laywomen are to be found within local churches: one is a floor slab belonging to a now-unknown woman; the other portrays Vittoria (Forteguerra) Piccolomini, mother of Pius II.¹²⁶

As described in the Introduction, a now-anonymous female portrait marker survives in San Francesco (Fig. 23). Munman estimates that this work was created during the years between 1460 and 1480.¹²⁷ The entire piece, originally consisting of two marble slabs, has now snapped into several shoddily-repaired fragments. Posed in a standard reclining stance, the carved figure wears a long flowing gown. A suitably "Renaissance" feature manifests itself in the shell-like niche set behind the effigy's cushioned head. Abutting the right nave wall of San Francesco, not far from its transept arm, the marker, occupies a privileged location relative to most other tombs in the church.¹²⁸ It is presently unknown whether this slab was meant as a single piece, or as part of a wider, family-based tomb programme.

In order to obtain a full-sized slab tomb, especially a Renaissance-styled specimen, the deceased woman obviously must have been a member of the Sienese patriciate. The secular style of the gown, and depiction of a specific

hairstyle, preclude official religious association. Based upon the social breakdown of tombs quoted by Munman, she very likely spent her days as the wife of a noble.

Damage has erased much of the low relief of the marble, including the ever-important inscription. Indeed, the sculpted marble appears so worn that at first glance even the sex of the effigy is cast into doubt.¹²⁹ The ruined state of the sculpture unfortunately thwarts attempts to determine whether or not the image attempted a true or generic likeness of the deceased. If it were possible, this type of classification would prove to be significant. The realism of this lastra suggests, though it does not guarantee, that a marker may have been intended with a specific woman in mind.

Writing in a context unrelated to gender, Munman cites the work of Carli and Misciatelli in mentioning that all of the few Sieneese portraits seen as "private" and "independent" portray women.¹³⁰ The idea that all public effigies represented men, while private ones depicted women, could be interpreted as artistically assigning each gender to its "appropriate" social habitat.

The second female portrait to be discussed comprises part of a double wall tomb made on behalf of the parents of Pope Pius II, Vittoria and Silvio Piccolomini (Fig. 24). First constructed between 1454 and 1459, the tomb is affixed to a wall of the holiest area of the church, the cappella maggiore. Unfortunately, the original grave marker was destroyed, and has been replaced by a

seventeenth-century copy. As he believes this remade grave to be of dubious fidelity relative to the original, Munman does not expand upon it further. Butterfield judges the Piccolomini marker to be an example of "monumental" sepulchral art, which we have seen previously, was missing from the city's material record.¹³¹

There is no doubt that the refined but not idealized portraits displayed on the tomb capture at least some of the features of Vittoria and Silvio Piccolomini. Separated from other Piccolomini gravesites, and made conspicuous through their relationship to Pius II, there is also no question that their tombs were intended as individual resting places.

Despite the celebratory aspect of Vittoria Piccolomini or Forteguerra provided by her tomb, it is important to recognize that her effigy does not dominate the piece. Instead, she takes her place as her husband's companion in the double grave. In this way, the Piccolomini tomb reflects Munman's statistics, which identify women, in the group labelled as "nobles and their wives," as members of a conjugal relationship, rather than in their roles within female-centred groups, or as individual women.

Over the course of the Trecento, the attention to ancestral and increasingly androcentric lineage which proved so pervasive in Florence also filtered into Sienese culture.¹³² Only three of a group of surviving testaments examined by Samuel Cohn dating between 1400 and 1450 wished for communal ancestral burial; within the subsequent half-

century, this number rose astronomically.¹³³ In a shocking display of this ancestral preference, the Piccolomini disinterred Pius' mother Vittoria from her original resting place in the family vault. Vittoria temporarily laid in another grave apart from the masculine line of her husband.¹³⁴

The Mendicant church of San Francesco also experienced burials within its crypt, "...una vera e propria chiesa sotterranea."¹³⁵ Carli discusses the Trecento interment of several persons in this area, including that of "la giovanetta" Valeria Ludovica, daughter of Messer Cione di Ravi.¹³⁶ Carli does not record whether any type of marker was found here, or if other identificatory measures were taken. The interior chapels were owned by families including the Petroni, Piccolomini, Tolomei and Salimbeni, who affixed heraldic devices and other ornaments to the structure.

Sienese pictures such as Sano di Pietro's 1445 San Bernardino Preaching in Piazza San Francesco attest to the partitioning of women and men at religious services by means of a barrier. At this point in my research, I have encountered no examples of families separating the sexes into different physical spaces after death, although evidence suggests that this practice did occur in confraternal burials.¹³⁷ As examples from most other Tuscan centres under scrutiny attest, segregation in highstanding mercantile and/or noble families appears to have been common. Therefore, I am confident that further first-hand

research would uncover more Sieneese instances of gendered graves.

Based upon the contents of 36 wills, Cohn alleges that between 1400 and 1450, a large percentage of women decided upon gravesites lying outside the male domains of father or husband.¹³⁸ Cohn describes this denial of conjugal burial as an action which went "against the grain of husbands' choices and the traditions of lineage."¹³⁹ In an endnote, however, Cohn advances qualifying explanations which seem to preempt this activity as proto-feminist. In this context, he concedes that other criteria such as war, and consequent issues of poverty and illegitimacy, potentially influenced women's legal powers, and thus their burial options or rights.¹⁴⁰ Given these considerations, the question might be asked whether Cohn's image of large scale, female subversion existed, as opposed to familial attempts to keep male lines unsullied or financially solvent. Cohn goes on to say that between 1500 and 1550, this feminine "independence" waned, not to be revived until the era of the Counter-Reformation.¹⁴¹

During this period, important confraternities emerged in Siena. These associations compassionately and democratically buried women of all social levels in the communal vaults of churches such as the Sieneese Duomo, San Francesco, Santo Spirito, and the monastery of San Martino.¹⁴² Here again, we hear of eastern-end burial for women.¹⁴³

Surviving evidence such as testamentary legacies indicate that women were not universally silent when it came to tomb-building. Examples of two noble women gleaned from the pages of Death and Property in Siena illustrate this point. Bartolommea, a daughter, widow, and second wife of noble background, decorated and instituted religious services at what is vaguely described as her own chapel or altar.¹⁴⁴ Another unnamed noblewoman, (unfortunately for our purposes operating in 1546), held patronal control (or ius patronatus) over a chapel located near the apse of San Francesco.¹⁴⁵

PISA

In Pisa, three records exist of fourteenth-century effigial slabs depicting women. Unfortunately, only one of these markers survives in an identifiable condition today.¹⁴⁶ In addition, a specifically female funerary sculpture deriving from the early Quattrocento may also be examined. Arias, Cristiani and Gabba also catalogue a relevant Trecento tomb located in the Camposanto. Here, an inscription includes the wife's name alongside that of her husband.¹⁴⁷

Although damage has effectively erased two of the three Trecento tombs for females, we do possess information on the proprietors, as well as the original in situ positions for some of the slabs. Paoli states that each of the women thus honoured belonged to the noble class. He adds that their markers were most likely destined as

component-pieces to those of their illustrious male consorts.¹⁴⁸ The author also cites the tradition of burying a female deceased in the tomb of her spouse, "soggetto privilegiato dell' eventuale raffigurazione sul sigillo tombale."¹⁴⁹

After 1342, Chiara, wife of cavaliere Alberto Venerosi da Mantova, was interred in the cloister area of San Francesco.¹⁵⁰ Pina, nipote of the Pisan ruler Castruccio Castracani degli Antelminelli, rested in this same area after her death in 1342.¹⁵¹ Both possessed individual tomb slabs with portraits, the likenesses of which are now unfortunately illegible. Paoli's text is not clear on how these works have thus been identified, but refers to writings which examine Pisan inscriptions.¹⁵²

The slab of Jacopa, wife of Casalei del Turco (d. 1347), provides the only Pisan example of a fourteenth-century slab still bearing a clearly visible feminine image. The stone constituted part of a recorded group of tombs located in the left transept of the church of Santa Caterina.¹⁵³ The lastra belonging to the wife of the Count of Corrado (Fig. 25) originated in the early years of the fifteenth century, and now lies in the first family chapel, directly to the left of Santa Caterina's cappella maggiore. Following a very common European tradition, this woman (or her heirs) chose to have her likeness sculpted in the humbler, more ascetic garb of a religious tertiary. We do not know the deceased woman's name; this could be a result of wear and tear, or of a decision made by survivors and

sepoltuarii writers, who felt that an individual woman's specific identity was subordinate to her more general one as a noble's wife. Nevertheless, the sepulchre originally occupied a very choice location, "davanti all'altare maggiore."¹⁵⁴

If this quote is taken literally, then the slab of this countess is one of two known female tombs placed in such a privileged area. Given the small number of effigial tombs owned by women, it is not surprising that all other graves mentioned as laid before the cappella maggiore, or in the middle of the choir in general, belonged to men.¹⁵⁵ However, it is probable that she did not occupy this space alone, although we do not know whether her husband rested nearby. It is unlikely that he is within her grave.

Cohn contends that by the Early Quattrocento, 75% of Pisans described their graves as ancestral and agnatic in nature.¹⁵⁶ Concentrating on the Camposanto alone, patrilineal emphasis accounted for approximately 50% of specifically-mentioned ancestral burial tombs found within Pisan wills.¹⁵⁷ An androcentric emphasis prevailed at this time, an attitude which defined other family members as suorum or heredum, if at all.¹⁵⁸ As stated before in the case of Florence, often a set of arms or surname stood for all members of a clan branch. As in Siena, I also expect to find, but have not encountered, instances of Pisan tombs which separated the sexes after death.

One family tomb datable to the Trecento, housing members of the wealthy Antelminelli clan, made an effort to

call attention to the female half of the marital pact (Fig. 26). Listed after her husband, Domina Selvaggia (or from the inscription, "uxor Selvage")¹⁵⁹ received noticeably more personal amount of recognition than most other women.

Additional research on less conspicuous markers and death rituals would serve to more completely define, literally and figuratively, the position of Pisan women. For example, the evidence suggests that some Pisan wives and widows, including the wife of a knight of the Lanfranchi clan, enjoyed honourable interments replete with large numbers of torches and officiating clergy.¹⁶⁰

LUCCA

Several markers designating women were created during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Lucca. A wide range of tomb-types were utilized on their behalf, including wall plaques, avelli, and floor slabs. However, the existence of these tombs should not lead us to assume that Lucca was more relaxed in its attitudes concerning representations of familial power. Even though monuments such as Ilaria del Carretto's tomb have received a great deal of scholarly attention, elite burial patterns still point to longstanding subordination of women within androcentric funerary aims.

Like the majority of their Tuscan counterparts, Lucchese tombs of elite women appear to have been made as companion pieces to the markers of men. Published material indicates that families preferred to divide the sexes at

death, employing separate tombs to further commemorate these groups. This practice is visible in three examples: the Trenta chapel (Figs. 27-29), the Guinigi chapel, and the Guidiccioni avelli (Fig. 30). However, the earliest chronological examples of female markers must also be indicated and assessed.

The effigy slab of Contessa Capoana (d. 1308), now kept in the eastern transept of San Romano, is one of the oldest enduring funerary monuments in Lucca. Both the inscription and the appearance of the marker inform us of the noble heritage of the deceased. She is also related to the audience through her association with a male line, that of her husband, Ugolino della Gherardesca.¹⁶¹ The Contessa decided to be represented in the garb of a Dominican, the same uniform in which she also chose to be buried.¹⁶²

Bertecca, wife of Percivalle Corbolani, received an inscribed plaque fastened to the eastern wall of the church cloister of San Francesco (Fig. 31).¹⁶³ Unsurprisingly, the deceased was wealthy and a highstanding noblewoman, identified as the daughter of the Pisan leader Castruccio Castracani.¹⁶⁴

The earliest surviving mercantile slab in Santa Maria dei Servi, Lucca, also belongs to a woman. Niditta, wife of "Rossinello," died in 1348, and possessed a tomb which formed a companion piece to that of her mate.¹⁶⁵ (Rossinello's slab is not extant.) Today the grave cover is located by the main entrance of the church, perhaps not

the most privileged of positions, yet one still customarily regarded as fortuitous.

Another middle-class example can be dated to the first third of the Quattrocento. Margherita, wife of Lucchese physician Antonio da Silico, was honoured by an impressive slab covering which she herself commissioned (Fig. 32). Da Silico's marker is renowned for its beautiful and naturalistic rendering of the figure.¹⁶⁶ Paoli does not mention whether Antonio owned an enjoining marker.

The floor plans of Lucchese churches refer to the existence of three other markers, of which none survive. For example, in the parish church of Ghivizzano, two fourteenth-century effigies depict a mother and child of the Castracani family. Like the Gaddi children's grave in Florence, the Castracani child's tomb stands out as a rare commission.¹⁶⁷

Only a sparse drawing remains of the effigial slab of Vanna Cerlotti, wife of Giovanni Baratella.¹⁶⁸ Finally, ancient plans of the Lucchese church of San Pier Cigoli report a now-lost Trecento effigy tomb belonging to a woman; importantly, her portrait faced "davanti all'altare maggiore."¹⁶⁹

Sculptural catalogues also list the slab tombs built for two members of the same family. The Antelminelli of Pisa owned two covers which will be discussed; originally set in the city Cathedral, both are now located in the museum of the Villa Guinigi, Lucca.¹⁷⁰ Caterina Anterminelli (Antelminelli), her name estimated from one of

these damaged slabs, died in 1372. Caterina spent her final years as the widow of the exiled noble Alderigo Antelminelli, who is named on her tomb as "strenui viri" (Fig. 33).¹⁷¹

Various theories attempt to recount the original placement and subsequent shifting of the slab's location throughout its lifetime. Another related female tomb, that of Maria degli Antelminelli, also exists; however information is scarce concerning the history of her monument.¹⁷²

Not a slab but the vestiges of a canopied wall tomb, the early Quattrocento tomb of Ilaria del Carretto, by sculptor Jacopo della Quercia, has been judged by traditional art history canons as one of the masterpieces of Early Renaissance art (Fig. 34). Ilaria, who died in 1405, had been the third wife of Paolo Guinigi, despotic ruler of Lucca. Based upon her short tenure as the most powerful woman in the city-state, her tomb assumed a more flamboyant and privileged form than a slab. However, Ilaria's monument (the remnants of a wall tomb) is relevant to this study, in that recent scholarship posits her memorial as comprising a companion piece to the marker of her husband.¹⁷³ It is this theme, the nature of sex separation and the predication of female sepulchres upon those of men, to which we now turn.

Aside from the Ilaria del Carretto monument, perhaps the best-known and most widely researched Lucchese tombs are two slabs illustrating the gold merchant Lorenzo Trenta

and his wife. Like Ilaria's portrait, the Trenta tombs (Figs. 27-29) are again by Jacopo della Quercia. Both works are found at the Trenta chapel, or Cappella di San Riccardo, in the church of San Frediano. Both Trenta tombs enjoy advantageous positions side by side in front of an altar, a situation infrequently inhabited by female graves encountered in this study.

Executed in medium relief, the grave covers have traditionally been lauded as exhibiting both innovative and technically virtuous qualities.¹⁷⁴ Like the Tedaldi double tomb at Santa Croce, the Trenta grouping signifies a rare example of a surviving double tomb; however these portraits were accomplished using two slabs, rather than by fitting two figures into one space. The Trenta graves are important to this thesis due to the possibility that the female marker served not for an individual, ostensibly Lorenzo's first wife Lisabetta Onesti, but rather as a more generic covering for two predeceased spouses.¹⁷⁵

Lisabetta Onesti is generally believed to be the original, if not sole focus of the sculpted figural slab. Lazzareschi, quoted by Munman, argues that the worn surface of the marble initially contained her heraldic symbols alongside those of the Trenta line.¹⁷⁶ Nevertheless, the tomb's inscription refers to "Dominarum et Descendentium Laurentii," plural nouns implying that more than one woman inhabited the space.¹⁷⁷ In addition, no death date (a normal inclusion on a marker of this size) identified a single deceased. These inconsistencies have led to much

argument and confusion, simultaneously suggesting both possibilities.

Lorenzo commissioned the figural slabs between 1412 and 1416, long before his own demise. This decision thus invited the possibility of Onesti's death and his own remarriage. Perhaps one also saw it as convenient to fill in plural inscriptions on the tomb's Gothic-style inscriptive band at a later date, after Onesti's potential demise. Given its completion date, this band had to have been blank while its intended inhabitant was alive. Neglecting to remove the alleged Onesti shield nevertheless remains an intriguing dilemma within such an intricately planned chapel.

Apart from these factors, the anonymous, idealized and ethereal character expressed by the effigy fits perfectly as an indicator of a generic, impersonal grave.¹⁷⁸ Lorenzo's portrait undeniably expresses a greater degree of individualism and realism than does his female companion. Scholars who have noticed this disparity have attributed this disparity to a change in artistry. For instance, della Quercia is named as the sculptor of Lorenzo's figure. Owing to the lesser sense of "plasticity" and more ethereal, stock-like appearance, the female sculpture has been attributed to an assistant.¹⁷⁹

To argue that the female component piece was rendered in an imprecise mode to facilitate plans for multiple wives seems somewhat cold-blooded. My point is rather that funerary markers, which so often bore enigmatic textual

information concerning deceased women, also did not necessarily use portraiture to ascribe a unique personality to the subject.

Adorned with heraldic devices, two large slabs or lastrone also included in the Trenta chapel speak to the issue of sex separation and the lesser standing of women in Lucca. One slab (Fig. 35) bears a sculpted message designating the sites as the resting place of "Dominarum et Peregrinorum," that is, multiple female members of the male line as well as pilgrims.¹⁸⁰ The figurative or inscriptive mixing of women with another (though still worthy) group seems to indicate a less fixed identity, and a more minor public position within the family.

Caterina Antelminelli's slab may be revisited in order to strengthen the argument of female tombs as pendants to those of men. According to Bellini, Caterina's slab might have been located in the same area as the slab of another clan member, Balduccio Parghia degli Antelminelli, in the cloister of Lucca's Cathedral.¹⁸¹ Beck suggests that the tomb of Parghia, and therefore perhaps Caterina, was conceivably placed in the Antelminelli family chapel near the altar.¹⁸² Bellini also theorizes that the slab might have also been situated in the Garbesi chapel.¹⁸³ Indeed, the two slabs are of identical size, suggesting that both connected as matching pieces of a set. Perhaps in this way, the female slab functioned in the same mode as other Tuscan female effigy tombs previously discussed, creating a counterpiece to another work.

Two avelli dating from 1290 are known to have been commissioned by Aldobrandino and Paganino Guidiccioni (Fig. 30).¹⁸⁴ An attendant inscription characterizes the constructions as exclusively accommodating male and female deceased. Although Paoli only provides one other vague example of this practice, that of the Trenta chapel of San Frediano, he nevertheless attests that many wealthy families in Lucca made it a tradition to keep their various deceased apart.¹⁸⁵

Inside the Guinigi family chapel, described by Paoli as the "most significant" chapel of the Lucchese Trecento, Francesco di Bartolommeo Guinigi, a wealthy merchant, also set aside space for tombs accommodating each sex.¹⁸⁶ The interior still incorporates two surviving sigilli tombali.¹⁸⁷ One of these markers carries a dedication to Francesco as a donor and family leader. The other site was used as "quella delle donne della famiglia."¹⁸⁸ Though it was never realized, the feminine line of the family was meant to be personified through a sculpted figure. On the other hand, Guinigi's own tomb was destined to hold the sole decoration of the familial arms.¹⁸⁹

The fact that families divided men and women after death does not inherently indicate that Early Renaissance minds considered segregation to be a necessary solution to the inferior or impure influence of women. In fact, perhaps the majority of Early Renaissance patricians believed the practice to be an honourable gesture of respect. An androcentric bias is nevertheless observable

in that one or more founders are often mentioned as important individuals, while the female chest or vault is identified in an ambiguous manner. The building of two tombs also seems to have occurred on a less frequent basis than the construction of purely male-defined sepulchres. One can find hundreds of examples of communal, familial graves designated under a man's name. Save for one Quattrocento example of a Venetian chapel, the same situation does not ring true for Italian matrons.¹⁹⁰

As we have seen, although the appropriateness of certain sepulchral art forms varied in correspondence to different groups within Tuscan communities, women in fourteenth and fifteenth-century cities consistently occupied tombs as secondary family members. Their tombs, though valid and undeniably celebratory, appear to have been optional commissions which could be utilized or neglected by androcentric aims.

Through their concrete physical natures, including their very existence in a particular spot, sepulchral monuments articulate one of the most profound and intricate themes in human experience and behaviour, that of death, and the wish for "appropriate" posthumous treatment. Visually obvious sexual segregation at work both on a large, abstract, and smaller, more definite scale, supports Gilchrist's assertion that space can be used to visually display and affirm social differences. In fact, such an attitude appears to approximate religious views which encouraged the liturgical separation of women and men in

the first place. The preeminence of men over women as evidenced in tomb art also corroborates Strocchia's argument that Renaissance men assumed the role of spokesman or figurehead of mercantile clans. In the past, grave markers have been studied overwhelmingly as affirming cults of fame or stylistic trends. Sensitivity to more recently recognized issues, such as gender, can help to flesh out our concept of history in art as cognizant of, and defined by, a broad spectrum of human interactions with material culture. In this context, material deficiency proves to be as relevant for study as a profusion of available evidence; works of art become expressions which necessarily possess tremendous political import.

NOTES

1. Hall, "The Tramezzo in Santa Croce," Art Bulletin, LVI (1974): 325-341, and especially pages 338-9; Brown, Santa Maria Novella, 119.
2. Gilchrist, "Medieval Bodies," 43-61.
3. Pines, A New Sepoltuario.
4. Di San Luigi, Delizie degli eruditi, vol.9, 123-226.
5. Ibid., 226-248.
6. Calzolari, "Libro dei morti," 15-218.
7. Vincenzo Borghigiani, Cronaca Analistica, Archivio di Santa Maria Novella, tomo III, 330-40; compiled in Orlandi; Necrologio, vol.2, 397-406.
8. Fineschi, Memorie sopra il cimitero, XII. This inventory incorporates monuments which in Fineschi's time had already been destroyed or removed.
9. Cohn, Cult of Remembrance, 137.
10. Kent, Household and Lineage, 259-60.
11. Chiffolleau, La Comptabilité de l'au-delà, discusses burial site choices for men and women across southern France during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. See also Dinn, "Mens Worth," and Harding, "Burial Choice," which have been briefly mentioned in the Introduction. Gratian believed conjugal burial to be the most proper option for women, though Pope Urban II asserted the right of women to choose their own site; see Ariès, Hour of Our Death, 74. On page 75, Ariès gave instances of medieval French conjugal interments.
12. Di San Luigi, Delizie degli eruditi, vol.9, 182.
13. Ibid., vol.9, 194.
14. Orlandi, Necrologio, vol.1, 537, 637.
15. Testamenti 1514-42, Not. Antecos., r.34 fol.382 r-v 15 Feb 1535; referred to by Rosenthal, "The Position of Women," 374. The church in question is not named.
16. Rosenthal, Purchase of Paradise, 94-5.
17. Ibid., 94-5.
18. Klapisch-Zuber, Women and Ritual, 369-71.

19. Archivio di Stato Firenze, Santa Maria Nuova, 1375 v.17, in Cohn, Cult of Remembrance, 145, n.60.

20. Orlandi, Necrologio, passim. For example, vol.2, pp. 425 of Orlandi's text describes the bequest of Guardina, a female member of the Tornaquinci family, who left a large legacy to assist the refurbishment of Santa Maria Novella's façade. This example is also included in Umberto Baldini, Santa Maria Novella: la basilica, il convento, i chiostrì monumentali, (Florence, Nardini, 1981), 40.

21. Gathered from di San Luigi, Delizie degli eruditi, vol. 9, 123-251. 1716 persons are recorded as being buried in total, 719 (41.89%) of them female, 997 (58.1%) male, and 240 (33.38%) of women in religious garb.)

22. Fineschi, Memorie sopra il cimitero, 16, 17, 67, 67n.3; 76, 76n.2; 78-9, 78n.12; 107n.2.

23. The silence with regards to women that is encountered in Renaissance markers is not matched in other historical periods. For a discussion of inscriptions found in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire, and especially of their use to define a concept of "family," see Dale Martin, "The Construction of the Ancient family: Methodological Considerations," Journal of Roman Studies, (1996), 40-60. Martin writes of several instances of inscriptions which mentioned wives, other female relatives, and even servants.

24. Ariès, Hour of Our Death, 47, described the 1581 Church Council at Rouen, at which three main categories of applicants were deemed appropriate for intrachurch burial. Of these, two were chosen "by honour," and the last "by choice." those persons of religious professions possessed the greatest rights within the church, but under this ecclesiastical rubric, nuns were advised to be included "only in cases of necessity."

25. An eighth known grave housed the female deceased for a branch of the Bardi family. It bore no marker of any kind. Three others, for Mona Giovanna di Lotto Ardinghi, the "donna di Francesco di Piero Dini," and "Mona Lisa da Messer Maso degli Albizi" are mentioned in the "Sepoltuario of 1439," ca. 1439, ASF Ms. 619, nos. 99, 55, and 56, respectively, cited by *ibid*, 630, 626, but it is unclear if slabs or other monuments marked their graves. Terms regarding graves such as amattonata (bricked over, without a slab at that time) or lapida di marmo usually follow each listing in this inventory. Neither one of these terms (or others referring to the state of a monument) are included in each of these cases.

26. A tomb made for a holy woman, Beata Giovanna Fiorentina is mentioned in Hall, Renovation and Counter-Reformation, 168, as part of a list of "renovated or destroyed" tombs. I would suggest that this tomb no longer exists, as it is not mentioned in Orlandi, Guide of Santa Maria Novella, or in the ninth volume of di San Luigi, Delizie degli eruditi, or in any other material I have consulted, such as G.G. Meerseemann's Ordo Fraternitatis: confraternite e pietà del laici nel medioevo, 3 vols. (Roma, Herder Editrice, 1977.)

27. Pines, A New Sepoltuario, 49-50. James Beck, "An Effigy Tomb Slab by Antonio Rossellino," Gazette Des Beaux Arts, XCV, 1980, 213-217. For double tombs in Northern Europe, see Chapter Nine, "Doppelgrabstein," in Bauch, Das Mittelalterlichen Grabbild, 106-119. Two or three examples of double tombs exist in Rome. For example, see the double slab representing Angela and Paolo Richizi de Baroncini in Garms, Die Mittelalterlichen Grabmäler, fig. 101, cat. XXXVI, 6. This slab is illustrated in Fig. 4 of this thesis. A good example of an Italian double tomb of a type other than a slab can be found in Julian Gardner, "A Double Tomb in Montefiore dell'Aso and Cardinal Gentile," Acta et Historiae Artium, XXV (1979), 15-25. The parents of eminent clergymen were occasionally given prominent tombs.

28. Fineschi, Memorie sopra il cimitero, 125, mentions what appear to be a few figural slabs at Santa Maria Novella. The church does possess a female effigy, that of the Beata Villana. I have chosen not to examine her portrait tomb in detail because of the extraordinary, and therefore non-representative, life that she led. I recognize the fact that another effigial tomb could have been made to represent another holy woman, namely that of Beata Giovanna Fiorentina.

29. James Beck, "An Effigy Tomb Slab By Antonio Rossellino," Gazette des Beaux Arts, XCV (1980): 214. Beck reports that records listed Giovanna's tomb as "Joanne uxor Tedaldo." Also see Pines, A New Sepoltuario, 535-6. Two allegedly female-focussed depositi also existed, and are listed on page 626 of ibid., as part of the "Sepoltuario of 1439," nos. 55, 56. However, it is unclear how or if these spaces were distinguished.

30. Ibid., 531-34.

31. Ibid., 531, 535.

32. Beck, "An Effigy Tomb Slab," 214. One could ask whether the long period stretching between the deaths of Giovanna and Tedaldo forced the building of two individual tombs. Herlihy, Women and Medieval History, 67, states that in 1427, 50% of Florentine women were widows. See

also Calzolari, "Libro dei morti," 171-2, 172n.610. Frondina Infanganti, second wife of Buonamico de' Guidalotti, outlived her husband by almost thirty years. She, and seemingly most other wives, was still buried with him before the altar in this chapter house. On the other hand, Rosenthal, Purchase of Paradise, 96, states that long intervals between the deaths of family members prevented their eventual reunion in a tomb.

33. "Sepoltuario of 1439", no.80, cited by *ibid.*, 629.

34. *Ibid.*, nos. 55, 56.

35. Pines, A New Sepoltuario, 124-127.

36. *Ibid.*, 125. The inscription is as follows: "Iacobo Cocco Viro Probo// et Civi de Rep[ublica] Benemarito// Leonarda Carduccia uxor// gratissima marito suavissimi// mo sibiq[ue] faciundu[m] curavit// obiit An[no] Salutis 1479 die 28 Junii."

37. E. Ridolfi, L'Arte in Lucca studiata nella sua cattedrale, (Lucca, Canovetti, 1882), 134, referred to by Paoli, Arte e committenza, 235n.16.

38. Pines, A New Sepoltuario, 125.

39. Brown, Santa Maria Novella, 120.

40. *Ibid.*, 120.

41. Di San Luigi, Delizie degli eruditi, vol.9, 219.

42. The Chiostrino dei Morti is located outside of the west transept of Santa Maria Novella. At one time it entirely surrounded this arm and the apse, but development around the church caused much of its northernmost space to be lost in the nineteenth century. See di San Luigi, Delizie degli eruditi, vol. 9, 241, 248. The grave of "Dom. Lisa, uxor olim Dom. Ubertini de Strozzi," was found "Ne' Chiostri, che si entra rincontro all porta di chiesa."

43. Fineschi, Memorie sopra il cimitero, 102n.1. Calzolari, "Libro dei morti," 217. One "Ubertino Strozzi" is known to have died in August 1374.

44. *Ibid.*, 98-9.

45. Brown, Santa Maria Novella, 134.

46. Fineschi, Memorie sopra il cimitero, 14, 25, 26. These tombs were divided into five files. The graves under scrutiny in this chapter belonged to the Mazzuoli and Michi clans, respectively. To my knowledge, the exact inscriptions are unknown.

47. Pines, A New Sepoltuario, 27, 368, 369-70.
48. Ibid., 372, 373. The inscription identifying the row of male Alberti reads "Albertacci et Dom. Lapi de Albertis et filiorum cuius anime requiescant in Pace an Dom. MCCCXXXVIII." That of the women's tombs read "Dominarum Domus Albertorum, quorum anime requiescant in pace anno domini MCCCXXXVIII." Finally, see Cohn, Cult of Remembrance, 141, for a description of the male Alberti tombs.
49. "Sepoltuario of 1439," no.78, referred to by *ibid.*, 629. The record reads "Una (sepoltura) apiè della cappella (Asini chapel) detta, per le donne degli Asini..." (brackets mine.) Hall, Renovation and Counter-Reformation, 179, also refers to a legal record of the Asini (Archivio di Santa Croce, vol.426, fol. 145, which describes two segregated "sepulture di huomini et donne della famiglia degl'Asini, le quali sono differente nel sotterarsi, che in una vanno li huomini et nell'altra le donne vi si sono sotterati i figliuoli et fratelli et altri banda et linea di Messer Marco degl'Asini."
50. Pines, A New Sepoltuario, 151.
51. Ibid., 151, 153. The "Sepoltuario of 1439," describes this female tomb as "di sotto a detta archa (another male grave, for Amerigo Cavalcanti) in modo di muricciuolo di macigno." (Brackets mine.) Amerigo's tomb was described as "in modo d'archa," which can be interpreted as a wall tomb. Ibid., 71, refers to this sepoltuario as describing the Bardi tombs of the northern transept as "in modo d'archa."
52. This delay would not be unusual in itself; since many sepulchral art commissions took years to finish.
53. Pines discusses only the slab of Cavalcanto di Lapo Cavalcanti (d. 1371) in detail. Recent renovations to this area occurred in the nineteenth century; see *ibid.*, 149-50, 152-3.
54. Jane C. Long, "Salvation Through Meditation: The Tomb Frescoes in the Holy Confessors Chapel at Santa Croce in Florence," Gesta. XXXIV/1 (1995), 77-87, 83.
55. "Sepoltuario of 1439," c.15v, nos.1-3. This has been included in Pines, A New Sepoltuario, 402, 402n.2.
56. Ibid., 402n.2.
57. Ariès, Hour of Our Death, 78.
58. Hall, "The Tramezzo in Santa Croce," 338-9.

59. Brown, Santa Maria Novella, 119.
60. Hall, "Tramezzo in Santa Croce," 339.
61. Vincenzo Borghini, "Della Chiesa," Discorsi, 439-40; Archivio di Stato Firenze, Conv. Sopp. 92 (Santa Croce), vol. 363, no. 207; both of these sources were used by ibid., 339. Hall remarks that use of doors (which are referred to in the quote) would have been confusing if people had been partitioned longitudinally.
62. Strocchia, "Death Rites," 120-145. On page 138 of her chapter, Strocchia describes the funeral of Vieri de' Medici in Santa Croce, an event which incorporated women, who "remained on the other side of the choir as was customary." The Bruni will, appropriated by Filippo Moisè, Santa Croce in Firenze, 108, is also referred to by Pines, A New Sepolturnario, 24, and by Busignani, Quartiere di Santa Croce, 29.
63. Brown, Santa Maria Novella, 119. Brown refutes the idea of segregation as being "without any reasonable foundation."
64. Aston, "Segregation in the Church," 237-294.
65. Ibid., 241-2. Aston states that Durandus applauded segregation as a method of reducing sexual temptation. In addition, refer to Hall, "Tramezzo in Santa Croce", 339. Segregation is also apparent in panels by Sano di Pietro, which portray the public sermons of San Bernardino of Siena. Two such panels are Bernardino Preaching in Piazza San Francesco (panel, 162 by 101.5 cm, Chapterhouse, Siena Cathedral, mid-fifteenth century), and Bernardino Preaching in the Campo of Siena, (panel, 162 by 101.5 cm, Chapterhouse, Siena Cathedral, mid-fifteenth century). These two panels originally came together as a triptych. The chronology of these paintings is recounted by Michael Mallory and Gaudenz Freuler, "Sano di Pietro's Bernardino Altar-piece for the Compagnia della Vergine in Siena," Burlington Magazine, vol.CXXXIII no.1056 (March 1991), 186-201. However, these paintings display a separation that used a barrier dividing the nave lengthways into two narrow strips, rather than into successive blocks.
66. Ibid., 333, 339.
67. Ibid., vol. 9, 241, 248. The grave of "Domine Francisce uxor. Francisci Michi," found "Quinto filare dal muro all'herba" of the cimitero superiore. The records include all of the chapel and graves created by the Vasari-Cosimo renovations. As stated before, the Michi grave is thought to have originated in the Trecento. Tancia's grave cannot be dated in a similar way. Even if Tancia's grave was built after the period under investigation by this

thesis, its isolation still proves a lack of female tombs. Fineschi also refers to Tancia Mazzuoli, providing what appears to be an inscription: "Mona Tancia, sua donna, et suorum." See Fineschi, Memorie sopra il cimitero, 25.

68. These monuments encompass the Alberti, Cavalcanti, Bardi, Dini, and Albizi.

69. Orlandi, Necrologio, vol 2, 340, 340n.2, 341.

70. Eve Borsook, "Documents for Filippo Strozzi's Chapel in Santa Maria Novella and Other Related Papers-II: The Documents," in Art Bulletin, 144 (Jan. 1995,) 800-804. The Carte Stroziane, 1162, Filza V. Testamenti contains Filippo's will, made May 14th 1491. On page 801 Borsook reproduces the text where he requests: "sepoltura per me proprio, da mettersi sotto la finestra del vreto dal, lato di drieto a detto altare, et dell'altra sepolture in terra, driet pure a detto altare, apiè di detta mia sepoltura, per gli miei discendenti." To suit these needs, Strozzi estimated his costs at "almeno fiorini mille larghi."

71. Haines, "Sacristy of Santa Maria Novella," 586-7, 587n.40. The author posits that: "This is no doubt where Monna Andrea wished to be buried and where two of Mainardo's sons had been interred before her."

72. *Ibid.*, 586, 587.

73. Pines, A New Sepoltuario, 372, 374. I made this decision based upon Pines' listing of the Alberti inscriptions in Sepoltuario of 1596, Archivio di Santa Croce, vol.450, 69rt.-70 left, and Stefano Rosselli, "Sepoltuario fiorentino," Archivio di Stato Firenze, Ms. 624, c.348-349, n.10. The "Sepoltuario of 1439" quoted by *ibid.*, on pages 371-72, lists the female graves as "2 sepolture apiè della porta del coro, lapida di marmo per le dona degli Alberti."

74. Ronan, Tuscan Wall Tomb, 75. Ronan describes the female tomb as one of the least-decorated examples of avelli encountered in her studies.

75. Ariès, Hour of Our Death, 77.

76. Orlandi, Necrologio, vol.2, 54, 55. Friar Jacopo Altoviti, who had been a prior at the church; was buried in his family tomb in 1408.

77. Fineschi, Memorie sopra il cimitero, 96, 109.

78. *Ibid.*, 96.

79. *Ibid.*, 109.

80. Ibid., 109. The Women of Penitence were a religious group which was suppressed in 1570.
81. Binski, Medieval Death, 57.
82. Ibid., 56-7.
83. Ibid., 56; Julia Barrow, "Urban Cemeteries in the High Middle Ages," chap. in Death in Towns, 78-97, specifically page 94. Barrow describes the burial places of lepers and Jews, which were usually extramural.
84. Ibid., 56.
85. Ariès, Hour of Our Death, 90; Dinn, "Mens Worth," 24. Ariès states that most children were buried in cemeteries rather than inside the church; this occurrence no doubt is predicated upon the social status and power of adults over youths. Dinn states that unbaptised infants were buried on the northern, or figuratively more "impure" side of the churchyard.
86. Fineschi, Memorie sopra il cimitero, 92. Fineschi states that "dentro alla Cappella vi si osservano due depositi, ma senza iscrizione, e per quanto si può rilevare dalla grandezza sono di piccoli Fanciulli della Casa Gaddi."
87. Dinn, "Mens Worth," 247-8. Admittedly, this practice is English; at present, I have not encountered information which states that this was the case for Italian cemeteries as well.
88. Ibid., 249-50.
89. In a somewhat offhand remark, Busignani cites in one volume of Le Chiese di Firenze that "sulla parete destra si allineano le tombe di maggiore importanza." See Busignani, Quartiere di Santa Croce, 50, describing a photo on page 51.
90. Referring to cases outside of Italy, historian John Henderson reports that lay confraternities concerned with burial rose in popularity during the Renaissance, due to the Black Death and "an increased desire for commemoration and for decent burial." See John Henderson, "Religious Confraternities and Death in Early Renaissance Florence," chap. in Florence and Italy: Renaissance Studies in Honour of Nicolai Rubinstein, eds. Peter Denley and Caroline Elam, (London, Committee for Medieval Studies, Westfield College, University of London, 1988), 194.
91. Dinn, "Mens Worth," 245, 247.

92. ASF Diplomatico, Santa Maria Nuova, 1340 x.14, cited in Cohn, Cult of Remembrance, 140, n47.
93. Ciardi Dupré dal Poggetto, "Un Corpus," 334.
94. Ibid., 262.
95. Strocchia, Death and Ritual, 37. Strocchia recounts a case in which conflict erupted over the burial of a woman in a family vault who was not a born member of the Sassetti line. As the chapter will later attest, acrimony over the rights of blood relationship versus marital bonds even caused the exhumation of the mother of Pope Pius II in Siena.
96. NAV. 297 (Ser Antonio Vespucci 1446-81) insert 4 fol.158r) referred to in Kent, Household and Lineage, 265.
97. Gilchrist, "Medieval Bodies," 43-61.
98. For a more modern focus, but still fascinating treatment of space and gender, see Daphne Spain, Gendered Spaces, (Chapel Hill, North Carolina Press, 1992.)
99. Refer to Roberts, "Tomb of Mary of Burgundy," 376-395, for a discussion of the role that both blood and marital relationships played on an aristocratic tomb. In this article, the author argues that Mary's tomb included many references to ancestors (indeed, five generations' worth) in an attempt to legitimate her power.
100. Di San Luigi, Delizie degli eruditi, vol. 9, 161, 163.
101. Klapisch-Zuber and Herlihy, Tuscans and Their Families, 266. However, these authors report no signs of conscious neglect of women in their records.
102. Pines, A New Sepoltuario, passim. These descriptors were also found in Early Renaissance Pisa; see Arias, Cristiani, and Gabba, Camposanto di Pisa, 62, 63, 111, 139.
103. Fineschi, Memorie sopra il cimitero, 93.
104. Guido Morrozzo, Franklin Toker, and John Hermann, Santa Reparata: L'antica cattedrale fiorentina, (Florence, Casa Editrice Bonechi, 1974), 22. Two women listed as "dominarum" and daughters have a slab. No husbands are mentioned, and it is recorded that they left all their earthly wealth to the church. These women could have been nuns, noble, or mercantile-class sisters.

105. H. Wills, Florentine Heraldry, (London, Thames and Hudson, 1900), 170-71.; Cavalcanti, Istorie fiorentine (Florence, Ed. Polidori), II, 435.; referred to in Kent, Household and Lineage, 257, 258.

106. Thomas Kuehn, "Women, Marriage and Patria Potestas in Late Medieval Florence," chap. in Law, Family and Women, 197- 211. Kuehn translates the term as referring to the legal control of a father over his legitimate children. A rough examination of Garms' Die Mittelalterlichen Grabmäler results in eight instances of bilineal heraldic representation on graves. Refer to category XLII (Abb.47) for one such example. See also Bauch, Der Mittelalterlichen Grabbild/Medieval Grave Image, 106-119, a chapter entitled "Doppelgrabstein."

107. Kent, Household and Lineage, 100.

108. Ibid., 100. also Pines, A New Sepoltuario, passim.

109. "The Sepoltuario of 1596," c.63 left, no.169; quoted by ibid., 537.

110. Ibid., 535.

111. "Sepoltuario of 1596," c.60; Alfredo Cirri, Sepoltuario, vol.II/Source n.15, Biblioteca Nazionale, c.910 no.428; quoted by ibid., 154, 156.

112. Beck, "An Effigy Tomb Slab," 214. Pines' thesis does not discuss this dilemma.

113. Norman, "Effigies: Human and Divine," 116. Norman states that for reasons of comfort for churchgoers, figural slab surfaces had to be somewhat flattened. This did not stop realistic portrayals, however. See the photograph of Domenico Torreglia (Plate 140, page 117) at Sant' Antonio, Padua, for an example of this realism.

114. Ibid., 178, and passim.

115. Greenhill, Incised Effigial Slabs, passim., reveals varying categories of dress and other characteristics for female effigies throughout Italy and the rest of Europe. See also Norman, "Effigies: Human and Divine," 113, 116. The university instructor in question (actually, the wife and assistant of an instructor) was named Bettina di Giovanni d'Andrea.

116. S'Jacob, Idealism and Realism, 38.

117. S'Jacob, Idealism and Realism, 12, 134, 178. On pages 58-9 the author also alludes to the use of death masks in achieving a realistic effect. Ariès posited an idea that individualism became more acceptable in the

fifteenth century. In addition, see Ariès, Hour of Our Death, 263.

118. S'Jacob, Idealism and Realism, 178-80. The tomb of Henry VII of Luxemburg at Pisa is discussed, as are those of Popes Innocent VIII, Clement VII and Leo X.

119. Munman, Sieneese Tomb Monuments, 12.

120. Roberts, "Mary of Burgundy," 377. The author adds that "[a]lthough not well represented in surveys of fifteenth-century art, Mary's sepulchre is an important achievement of late Gothic funerary sculpture."

121. Gardner, "Arnolfo di Cambio," 436-7, states that images could often be well-wrought and naturalistic, but not necessarily reflective of a true likeness. For example, aged persons could be depicted as much younger. He also cites that in some cases, artists were called upon to create portraits of long-dead persons whose features they were not acquainted with. Finally, death masks (which assisted in portraiture) might have been impractical to make, in these cases, the appearance of the deceased had to be guessed.

122. Norman, "Effigies: Human and Divine," 113, 113n.2.

123. Greenhill, Incised Effigial Slabs; Plate 66 of the book shows as brass of "Sir Ralph Pudsay, three wives and 23 children." Refer also to John Page Phillips, Children on Brasses, (London, George Allen and Unwin, 1970.)

124. Carli, Il Duomo di Siena; idem, La Basilica di San Francesco. See also Munman, Sieneese Tomb Monuments; Paoli, "Un Aspetto;" idem, Arte e committenza; idem, "Jacopo della Quercia e Lorenzo Trenta: nuove osservazioni," Antichità Viva. vol.19 no.3 (1980): 27-36.

125. This statement refers to both sepulchral representation and the other aspects of the burial process which Strocchia has discussed.

126. These examples have been taken from Munman, Sieneese Tomb Monuments, n.93, cat. 16, fig 42, 76, n.11, n.112, cat.26, figs. 43, 44. I recognize that nonfigural plaques or other types of sepulchre might contain allusions to women. I have not found information that deals comprehensively with these varieties of Sieneese markers. To my knowledge, a study of local inscriptive plaques has not yet been done.

127. Ibid., 63.

128. Ibid., 63.

129. Ibid., 63.

130. Ibid., 11n.22, 12n.23, n.24. In making this assumption, Munman refers to the work of Enzo Carli, I Pittore senese, (Venice, 1971), 204; Gertrude Coor, Neroccio de'Landi, 1447-1500, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1961), 57-61, 191 (63) and passim; Piero Misciatelli, "Un Ritratto di gentildonna senese del Secolo XV," La Diana, V (1930), 236-38. Munman also refers to Luigi Dami, "Alcuni dipinti senese sconosciuti o inediti," Rassegna d'Arte, 13 (1913): 125n.1, who asserted that a male portrait also met the criteria of Quattrocento Siense portraits. The issue of private portraiture arises in Munman's book as a means of portraying Siena as a city of very modest art patrons. Munman states on page 11 that: "This Siense attitude of public humility- or at least the desire to *appear* humble in a communal context-while certainly not unique in its time, seems to have been stronger than was common for the age and is paralleled in a rarely observed peculiarity of Siense Renaissance art: the near absence of the independent portrait....the survival of only three or four paintings and no sculptural representations at all indicates that Siena... had virtually no interest in the portrait for its own sake."

131. Ibid., 76-7. The later edition of the Piccolomini tomb is attributed to Antonio Federighi. See also Butterfield, review of Siense Tomb Monuments, 175.

132. Cohn, Death and Property in Siena, 114.

133. Ibid., 114.

134. Munman, Siense Tomb Monuments, 144-5.

135. Carli, Basilica di San Francesco, 14.

136. Ibid., 15. Her burial is reported as occurring in 1360.

137. Cohn, Death and Property, 195.

138. Ibid., 201.

139. Ibid., 201.

140. Ibid., 202, n.57.

141. Ibid., 201-2.

142. Ibid., 201-2. Confraternities involved in the burial of female adherents included the Congregation of the Conception of San Francesco, the Congregation of the Rosary at the Monastery of Santo Spirito, and the "Congregazione

delle Centurate" at San Martino.

143. Ibid., 195.

144. Ibid., 107, 107 n.20.

145. Ibid., 111, 111 n.29.

146. Ibid., 42, 45.

147. Arias, Cristiani, and Gabba, Camposanto di Pisa, 160. One of the most celebrated of Pisan tombs also belongs to a woman. In 1076, Countess Beatrice of Tuscany had a monument made which incorporated parts of a classical sarcophagus. It is treated on page 138.

148. Paoli, "Un Aspetto," 42.

149. Ibid., 42, 42n.32.

150. Ibid., 42, 45.

151. Ibid., 42, 45.

152. Paoli also directs the reader to works by M. Salvetti, "Sepolcuario della chiesa di Santa Caterina," compiled G. Modena, Pisa, Biblioteca del seminario di Santa Caterina, 17th century, n.19; G. Catanti, "Sepolcuario della primaziale e di altre chiese di Pisa," Pisa, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms 235, c.38r; B. Baroni, "Iscrizioni ed armi delle famiglie pisane che si trovano in varie chiese di Pisa," Biblioteca Statale Lucca, Ms. 1066, c.88r; P. Paganini, "Raccolta delle iscrizioni sepolcrali delle chiese di Pisa," BSL, Ms. 3093-3100, Ms. 3094, c.20r.; A. Bellini Pietri, Guida di Pisa (Pisa, Bemporadi, 1913), 232.

153. Ibid., 42, 45. The author describes her slab location as "prossima a quella originaria."

154. Ibid., 45, no.36. This slab is no longer in situ.

155. Ibid., 44, 45; The author lists the tombs of Giovanni Dadi, "sotto i gradini del presbiterio, davanti alla cappella di San Domenico," Fra Gregorio di Pisa, "davanti al presbiterio." At San Silvestro, before the main altar lay the tomb of Prior Simone. Ser Michele Rialti, nobleman, also rested "sotto i gradini del presbiterio" (although these last two locations are described as "non originaria.")

156. Ibid., Cult of Remembrance, 157.

157. Ibid., 157.

158. Arias, Cristiani, and Gabba, Il Camposanto di Pisa, 62, 63, 111, 139.
159. Ibid., 160.
160. ASF, Not. Antecos, no.8069 75v-76r 1417ii, 18, in Cohn, Cult of Remembrance, 127, 127 n.19, n.21.
161. Paoli, Arte e committenza, 205, 205n.5.
162. Ibid., 204-5.
163. Ibid., 199-200, 199n. 31.
164. Ibid., 199-200, 199n.31.
165. Ibid., 206.
166. Ibid., 210, 211.
167. Ibid., 209. The mother and child tombs, now destroyed, belonged to the wife and son of Francesco Castracani, count of Correglia. The author remarks that gisants of children were rare. Page 208 also describes a tomb made for children, this time of the Benettoni family.
168. BSL, Ms. 1565 c165r, and Ms. 760 c86r, referred to by ibid., 208.
169. BSL, Ms. 1565 c151r n.1, used by ibid., 208.
170. Barracchini and Caleca, Il Duomo di Lucca, cat. 680., taken from Munman, Sieneese Tomb Monuments, 156.
171. Ibid., 208. These terms were used to relate the family to the nobility.
172. Munman, Sieneese Tomb Monuments, 123-4.
173. Claudia List-Freytag, "Quercia in Lucca," Jahrbuch des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte, 2 (1986), 9-69. In pages 9-20, List-Freytag argues that the tomb might have formed part of a double grave design. This is included in ibid., 122.
174. Ibid., 25n.42.
175. Ibid., 126: In addition, Daniela Bruschetti, "Lastra Tombale di Lorenzo Trenta, and "Lastra tombale delle donne della famiglia Trenta," in Jacopo della Quercia nell'arte del suo tempo: mostra didattica Siena, Palazzo Pubblico, 24 maggio-12 ottobre, 1975, (Siena, Centro Di, 1975), 137 lists the female slab as covering a communal tomb.

176. Eugenio Lazzareschi and Fernando Pardi, Lucca nella Storia, nell'arte, e nell'industria, (Pescia, A. Benedetti, 1941; reprint Lucca, 1978), 97 referred to by *Ibid.*, 127.
177. Bruschettoni, "Lorenzo Trenta," 136. Pèleo Bacci, "L'Altare della famiglia Trenta in San Frediano in Lucca," Bollettino storico lucchese, 5 (1933), 233, referred to in Munman, Sieneese Tomb Monuments, 126.
178. James Beck, Jacopo della Quercia, (New York, New York University Press, 1991), 95-96; page 96 of this text is also quoted by *ibid.*, 127. Beck states that "the gender of the subjects (may) have influenced their creator to call upon alternate figural conventions."
179. Munman, Sieneese Tomb Monuments, 25. describes the male effigy as "more plastic" than that of the female.
180. Paoli, Arte e committenza, 247.
181. Fiora Bellini, "Lastra tombale di Balduccio Parghia degli Antelminelli," in Jacopo della Quercia nell'arte, 172. See also Silvia Meloni-Trkulja, "Lastra tombale di Caterina degli Antelminelli," chap. in Il Museo di Villa Guinigi, Lucca, (Lucca, 1968), no.180, 101f.
182. Beck, Jacopo della Quercia, 190.
183. Bellini, "Balduccio Parghia degli Antelminelli," 172.
184. Paoli, Arte e committenza, 200.
185. *Ibid.*, 200, 200n.32.
186. *Ibid.*, 218.
187. *Ibid.*, 218, 218 n.13.
188. *Ibid.*, 218.
189. *Ibid.*, 218.
190. Rona Goffen, Piety and Patronage in Renaissance Venice: Bellini, Titian, and the Franciscans, (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1986), 32, 186n.11. Goffen describes a Quattrocento chapel and tomb made at the Frari, Venice, on behalf of Franceschina Tron Pesaro. She describes the project as the only female-centred sepulchral complex made in Venice during this period. Goffen states that the next instance of this type of commission, for the wealthy widow Elena Giustinian, occurred generations later, in 1587. Goffen further goes on to state that "even tomb inscriptions naming a woman seem to be rare before the

sixteenth century; her presence in her husband's grave is often indicated by the terse word 'wife,' or 'woman.'" Venetian inscriptions and records are similar to those found in Florence; in that lists and rolls do not usually record women's first names, but rather the name of their fathers.

EPILOGUE

BROADENING THE PERSPECTIVE:
MATRONAL PATRONAGE WITHIN THE SEPULCHRAL ENVIRONMENT AND
THE CULT OF REMEMBRANCE

INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS

In describing the cultural agency exercised by medieval noblewomen, historian and author Merry Weisner declares:

..[noblewomen] hired architects and sculptors to transform castles designed for defence into châteaux and palaces where they could live comfortably, and to construct elaborate tombs *for their husbands*.¹ (emphasis mine.)

Art historian Catherine King can be also be quoted in a more specifically Renaissance and funerary context:

[i]f it was possible for a few rich widows of median class to have funerary altarpieces made, it seems to have been unthinkable for them to commission a funerary chapel nor apparently decorous for them to have a tomb effigy carved or cast.²

While brief, these remarks nevertheless recapitulate the principal arguments of this thesis. Importantly, they attest to the existence of gendering within patronage, citing several avenues of artistic expression which women were permitted access; as I have shown, their participation was only permitted within certain limits. As the evidence provided in this study suggests, only a relatively small number of female sepulchres existed; this thesis contends that this was a consequence of patrilineal social patterns. Women were hence dissuaded from comfortably asserting themselves publicly in monuments such as effigy tombs.

Women emerge as definite "secondary citizens" within the context of commemoration. However, to construe this silence as indicative of the overall life experience faced by an entire group in society is superficial, if not belittling to those in question. Equally relevant in this study is the acknowledgement that while constrained by social rules, fourteenth and fifteenth-century Tuscan women exerted power and choice within their culture, and perhaps more than the discourse of art history has acknowledged in the past. As I have focussed upon many grave monuments distinguished as less "monumental" by traditional academic canons, so I find it crucial to widen our scope to include alternate avenues of commemoration apart from sepulchres. Since Chapter Four reveals that unmarked graves did exist, we might assume that persons were remembered, or became benefactors, in differing ways.

Given the fact that women were apparently seen as ideally inhabiting the private sphere, it should not be surprising that most female patronage historically focussed upon home decoration, furnishings, clothing, and jewellery.³ It is thus necessary to integrate the known information about maternal patronage as focussed upon familial, domestic ends into a commemorative context.

As Chapter Two indicates, the domestic sphere in Trecento and Quattrocento Tuscany was influenced by an identification with male-defined heritage and authority. The overwhelming prevalence of androcentrically-defined funerary monuments indicates that this type of commission worked as a

central, and final way of establishing the particular identities of the cleric, nobleman, and paterfamilias.

As a consequence of highly delineated gender expectations, many non-aristocratic women evidently felt it inappropriate to commission tombs which outwardly and specifically entitled themselves. The use of an individually-focussed funerary marker involved a level of conspicuous mention not normally conferred upon, or ideally sought, by Renaissance women. Even inside the exclusive environment of wealthy nunneries, matrons or patronal groups eschewed the commissioning of portrait tombs for abbesses.⁴ On a telling note, this sort of denial was not reciprocated on behalf of male religious; clerical slabs or wall tombs have already been mentioned as composing almost half of Trecento and Quattrocento Tuscan tombs, and the majority of its effigial examples.

On the other hand, if chapels, or other "privately owned" church spaces are viewed as a special form of posthumous "home," other types of female artistic contribution become apparent. As a future avenue of inquiry, I would suggest that alternative patronage choices made by women, such as altarpieces or frescoes, be studied in relation to monuments. Though less costly than stone or metal sepulchres, these investments complemented tomb markers in important ways.⁵

MATRONAL PATRONAGE DURING THE EARLY RENAISSANCE:
AN OVERVIEW

Only within the last thirty years have art historical studies begun to sketch an outline of the cultural influence asserted by female patrons. Indeed, recent research suggests that multiple art historical "realities" coexist. In her work "Medieval and Renaissance Matrons, Italian Style," King asserts that the personal experiences and desires of female donors can be inferred through their specific artistic choices.⁶ Art historian Cordelia Warr delves even more deeply into the psychological and historical factors which influenced the wealthy benefactress Fina Buzzacarina (or Buzzacarini.)⁷ While certain elements in religious art, such as donor images, invoke issues of individual commemoration, the aim of this particular chapter is more general. The following paragraphs briefly summarize known examples of other types of material objects commissioned by women and displayed within a funerary context. In a manner akin to the work of King, I emphasize that choices within artistic patronage were informed by gendered belief systems.

This chapter does not purport to give a complete or comprehensive picture of the history of altarpieces, or of female patronage in the Trecento and Quattrocento. More simply, I aspire to draw attention to examples of artistic commissions encountered in my research of published sources, and to suggest further themes for research in relation to tomb markers. These commissions, principally, yet not exclusively comprising altarpieces and frescoes, were usually

made for use within ecclesiastical property, such as a chapel. Endowments of painting commonly coexisted with other types of religious bequests already discussed in Chapter Two, such as masses or pietanze. In spite of the various social, economic, and legal obstacles which have been documented by King and Weisner, Klapisch-Zuber, Kuehn, and Chadwick as hindering female agency, women were responsible for a significant number of artistic commissions.⁸

As these scholars suggest, several economic and legal realities combined to circumscribe the artistic activities of fourteenth and fifteenth-century Tuscan women. The experience of cultural patronage differed between the sexes most basically in that in order to transact business, women commonly needed to employ men as go-betweens. In this respect, patronage resembled testament-making, a process which required use of a mundualdus. Although women functioned as astute and capable managers of households, patronage often implied too much of an uncomfortable stretch between the ideally domestic female sphere and the goings-on of the outside, male-dominated business world. Husbands and fathers thus undertook the dominant portion of commissioning within a family of median class, and male intermediaries represented women outside of the home or convent.⁹

Economically, the vaunting of agnatic ties over all other forms of kinship restricted the flow of funds held by many daughters, wives, and widows. As has been discussed above, this constraint resulted from their existence as the "weaker links" in the chain of familial power succession. To

be sure, brides, and to a lesser extent nuns, possessed dowries. However, during their lives as spouses of men or God, these and other monetary funds were usually subject to the overarching legal control of the spouse, or were controlled by vows of pious poverty.

On the other hand, widows, who could hold rights over their dowries and other matrimonial income, exerted more agency for patronage in a financial and legal sense.¹⁰ King describes this audience as thus being the largest female patronal group. She implies that without husbands, widows had more leeway in determining their own cultural portfolios. The reality that many Florentine brides were widowed by their often much older spouses warrants additional study.¹¹

Other fundamental biases in social and religious structures limited female patronage to private, informal, and commonly individually-based endeavours. King and Weisner affirm that since women were barred from executive religious careers, they could not acquire art as officials of the Church.¹² Instead, donated funds and individual family allowances were used to improve and refurbish communal surroundings.¹³ Although females populated the ranks of guilds and lay confraternities, male authorities here too barred women from membership in decision-making panels.¹⁴ I would also further suggest that mercantile-class women would be less likely (at least initially) to draw upon histories of genealogical glory to justify a large amount of autonomous artistic commemoration of the self.

Contemporary exhortatory literature of both the secular or sacred realms should be regarded as being prescriptive in nature. Even in a more emotionally even-tempered sexual climate, it appears that Tuscans would have judged female desire for public gratification, the need to possess one's own tomb, to be aberrant. Monuments and popular accolades praised theoretically male-derived characteristics (eg. virtù towards the patria) more often, and rather than, the values expected of women. Within the context of the pastoral sermon, one criticism of vanity denigrated sepulchres as false and vainglorious, by comparing them literally to painted, superficial women.¹⁵

MATERIAL CULTURE AS EVIDENCE OF BROADER PATTERNS
IN HISTORY: ALTARPIECES, FRESCOES AND HERALDIC DEVICES
WITHIN THE CULTURE OF DEATH AND REMEMBRANCE

King labels altarpieces as funerary in scope, and providing an alternative to tombs where the need for female participation in patronage is concerned.¹⁶ In fact, altarpieces and other types of chapel decoration can be linked quite obviously to commemorative and funerary aims in two ways. Firstly, as discussed previously, belief in the intercessory powers of relics enticed patrons to physically associate their tombs with altars. Consequently, the intended location for an altarpiece was often (yet not exclusively) mortuary in intention. Secondly, much of the evidence pertaining to female patronage has been culled from testaments, a context which logically revolved around death, and the eternal health of the soul.

This section will now examine other forms of cultural legacy that remain, in relation to sepulchral commemoration. At Santa Maria Novella, a female member of the Sassetti family bequeathed an altarpiece to decorate the cappella maggiore.¹⁷ A century later, in 1569, a woman named Donna Camilla helped to finance a chapel and altar dedicated to the Madonna del Rosario.¹⁸ Outside of Florence, a Sienese woman of the Urgurgieri clan had an altarpiece created for the Minorite basilica of San Francesco.¹⁹ Other instances are known to have occurred outside of the cities under investigation in this thesis; they are nevertheless mentioned here to indicate important instances of female agency.

Some of the earliest Tuscan bequests which mention altarpieces are found in Arezzo; certain examples of these were furthermore motivated by women.²⁰ In her will of 1374, Domina Bona, an Aretine woman, consigned away half of her dowry to her heirs, with the expectation that a painting of St. John and Christ be made to mark her burial spot in the church of St. Augustine.²¹ In 1400, a Perugian woman named Angelina drew up her testament, requesting that a religious painting be created. Importantly, she directed that as donatrix, her image should be incorporated into the composition.²²

Paoli also alludes to the creation of several Lucchese altarpieces by women.²³ Clara Mughia Antelminelli, noble wife of Antonio di Francesco Totti, serves as an example of such a patron. In her 1464 will, Antelminelli arranged for the construction of an altar, complete with a sculpted panel

depicting the Virgin and Child with Saints Jacopo, Elisabetta, Filippo and Chiara. This work was to be held in a chapel at the church of Santa Maria dei Servi.²⁴

Other examples of Lucchese matrons include Mocina di Nello Beccafava, a tertiary who bequeathed an "immagine magna" as well as instruments for mass made to Santa Maria dei Servi. She also requested burial before this altar; however, Paoli, and possibly his cited source, do not reveal whether such a grave would be conjugal, individual, or paternal. In 1337, a benefactor known only as "the daughter of the nobleman Giano dal Portico" made plans for a panel to be set up at an unspecified spot in the city church of Santa Giulia.²⁵ In one last example dated to 1380, Isabella Rossiglioni, consort of the fourteenth-century ruler Lazzaro Guinigi, commissioned a panel which celebrated the Assumption of the Virgin.²⁶

Altarpieces or frescoes served essential functions in relation to tomb monuments. Images of the Madonna and Child, the Annunciation, and/or rows of associated saints helped to ensure a peaceful spiritual environment for the deceased of a family or other group. As sites designated for the concentration of prayers, performance of Mass at altars also served to assuage Purgatorial fears. Altarpieces and other types of religious funerary art accentuated sentiments of religious and familial solidarity in the afterlife. To this end, many of the devout believed that prayers and masses offered at the altar positively affected the souls of those persons buried in the chapel, as well as all the relatives

who worshipped on their behalf.²⁷ In a spiritual and social sense, a painting connected with an altar thus suited the ideal expectations placed upon women and men; it marked the donor as altruistically concerned with kin, and piously-minded.²⁸

Based upon their use within private chapels or other purchased sections of ecclesiastical space, altarpieces or frescoes additionally functioned to confer attention to the social status and cultural astuteness of the benefactor. The level of physical refinement achieved by artwork served to communicate a corresponding sense of wealth and refined taste.

King lists two fourteenth-century examples of paintings that communicate a conscious sense of apparently proto-feministic self-celebration.²⁹ Her first example involves Maria Bovolina, an upper-class woman from a rather provincial Paduan town. Bovolina commissioned a crucifix for her local church which included her likeness as a donatrix (Fig. 36). A second instance involves the patronage of Fina Buzzacarina (or Buzzacarini), wife of the Paduan da Carrara family. King and Warr argue that Buzzacarina played an instrumental role in designing the mortuary complex of the Paduan ruling house (Fig. 37).

Within Bovolina's religious commission, her image kneels beside Jesus' right side (our left.) King alludes to the positioning of this portrait as an audacious act. She qualifies her argument in citing that the area at Jesus' right was viewed as spiritually more powerful, and as the

traditional side reserved for portraits of men, either as individual donors, or in relation to donatrix wives.³⁰ Regardless, Margaret Aston, a scholar of sexual segregation in medieval churches, argues that this division is open to a number of interpretations.³¹ She argues that because crucifixes on rood screens faced outwards, towards the congregation, the female contingent of churchgoers also occupied a spot at Christ's right side. Further examination may determine whether Bovolina was asserting herself as equal to male counterparts, or taking a visible place amongst potential female celebrants.

Fina Buzzacarina and her abbess sister have been championed by King and Warr as potential designers of the da Carrara family mortuary chapel, located in the Paduan Baptistry.³² King argues that Fina's religious and social identity prevailed within the project, an influence noticeable in the above-average number of female saints painted into the Baptistry's fresco cycle. The author also argues that the pictorial orientation of the decoration highlighted Fina's image and tomb rather than the graves made for her husband and son.³³ Although the degree of proto-feminist consciousness for such acts remains a topic of debate, Buzzacarina's elaborate burial chamber goes further than many other cases in communicating a female presence.

Importantly, many altarpieces do not overtly allude to an individual donor— a factor which could be argued as attractive to, and in line with, suggestions of female humility and self-sacrifice. This modesty and self-erasure

contrasts with the androcentric bravado of many Trecento and Quattrocento family tombs, as illustrated in the inscription of the de Compagni family in Santa Maria Novella. Their external avello called out to the "figliuoli maschi tanto di Gherardo, di Bartolommeo, di Simone, di Compagno di Pisa."³⁴ It should be noted that painted donor portraits, which regularly depicted women, could be created using less money than was required for a carved likeness.

In Chapter Four, I made mention of the use of bilineal heraldic arms in relation to tombs and private church space. I include here examples from other regions of Italy in order to indicate another fruitful area of investigation. Commonly, families who were rich enough to own chapels or other forms of commemorative space used heraldic symbols to indicate the existence and contribution of women. This procedure occurred within the Trenta chapel at San Frediano, Lucca, on the tomb of Ilaria del Carretto, and on Florence's Cocchi-Carducci slab. Outside of Florence, Garms' survey of Roman slabs, and Bauch's larger European treatment contain illustrations of female graves which partake of this custom.³⁵ Bertecca, a Lucchese woman mentioned in Chapter Four, also possessed both arms on her funerary plaque (Fig. 31).

Andrea Acciaiuoli, widow of Mainardo Cavalcanti, the former Neapolitan seneschal, has already been introduced in the previous chapter as requesting masses and inhabiting a segregated floor vault. As a descendant of a family already possessing a famously-decorated ecclesiastical space at the

Certosa, Donna Andrea (or Andreola) executed her late husband's will, singlehandedly negotiating much of the adornment of Santa Maria Novella's sacristy.³⁶ Orlandi even lists her as the founder of the chapel.³⁷ On an incongruous note, although Donna Andrea requested one thousand masses for her salvation, she did not go so far as to confer upon herself a sarcophagus after the manner of her spouse. Her arms still survive, however, placed beside those of her husband on the predella of the sacristy altar.³⁸

Surviving evidence points to the existence of a few Tuscan women who also built whole chapels or other large-scale architectural projects. During the plague year of 1363, an Aretine woman named Domina Gora shouldered the responsibility and privilege of setting up a familial chapel in the city's Dominican church.³⁹ While she founded the chapel at the gravesite of a predeceased brother, from whom the chapel drew its secular dedication, Gora nevertheless afforded herself a place of honour, requesting burial "at the altar." In May of 1459 Maddalena Arnolfini, a widow of the Martini family, also spent forty florins to prepare a burial vault.⁴⁰ To reiterate, however, most founders of these sites were male.

The idea that women chose options other than tombs is highly relevant in defining activities of remembrance within a culture. From this brief survey of female patronage, it may be argued that Tuscan women of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries on occasion achieved satisfaction in commissioning art which befitted their families, God, and

their expected societal "place." As husbands identified themselves and their lineage through funerary monuments, often in front of an altar, so women, as spouses, or widows, could contribute in a complementary, yet often less socially visible sense, to the culture of death and commemoration in their commissions for altarpieces, frescoes, and coats of arms.

NOTES

1. Weisner, Women and Gender, 141.
2. Catherine King, "Medieval and Renaissance Matronage, Italian Style," Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, vol.55, no.3 (1992): 372-93, especially 382.
3. Wiesner, Women and Gender, 142. the author writes that "Though rulers (mostly male) and church leaders (all male) set the style for large public buildings, women frequently decided how private homes were to be decorated.... [t]hey ordered more furniture, small paintings of still life and domestic scenes, and silver table pieces. They also wore more jewellery, patronizing certain silversmiths and goldsmiths, and more lace and other costly fabrics."
4. King, "Matronage, Italian Style," 380.
5. Cohn, Cult of Remembrance, 111. Based upon price, the author portrays the patronage of altarpieces as a more democratic system of commemorative and religious patronage.
6. This article was expanded to form a chapter in Diana Norman's Florence, Siena, and Padua, vol.2. See King, "Women as Patrons: Nuns, Widows, and Rulers," chap. in Florence, Siena and Padua, ed. Diana Norman, 243- 262.
7. Cordelia Warr, "Painting in Late Fourteenth-Century Padua: the Patronage of Fina Buzzacarini," Renaissance Studies, vol.10 no.2 (June 1996): 139-155. Unlike King, Warr focusses solely upon Fina Buzzacarini. As the consort to the ruler of Padua, Fina had more financial and social wherewithal to commission artworks; she was also a wealthy and powerful noblewoman in her own right. Warr studies the extent to which Fina was involved in the frescoes of the Paduan Baptistery, as well as some of the motivations behind the inclusion of certain images, scenes, etc. She contends that many of the groupings are dominated by Fina as a donatrix, or revolve around Fina's son, Francesco Il Novello. The author asserts that the frescoes thus proclaim the agency of Fina, as well as expectations specifically placed upon women, such as producing male heirs.
8. Klapisch-Zuber, Women and Ritual, 214, 216, 225-7, lists legal problems plaguing the power of women to inherit, as does Kuehn, "Cum Consensu Mundualdi," passim, especially 221, 221n.47, 48, for a description of the relegation of females to the domestic sphere. Additionally, refer to King, "Matrons, Italian Style," passim, Weisner, Women and Gender, 141-2, and Chadwick, Women, Art and Society, 63. Chadwick alleges that women "had almost no role to play in a cultural renaissance

dedicated to the growth and embellishment of the city as a matter of civic pride..." Finally, Trexler, Public Life, 15-16, portrays women and children as being grouped into one intellectually subordinate category, which was to be theoretically shunned from access to political power.

9. King, "Women as Patrons," 243.
10. King, "Matrons, Italian-Style," 373-4. Widows had the right to contract business according to their own wishes, and could sue on their own behalf.
11. Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber, Tuscans and their Families, 211, discuss age disparity between wives and husbands in the Quattrocento.
12. King, "Women as Patrons," 255; Wiesner, Women and Gender, 142. On page 239 Weisner lists political and social restraints which have barred women from fuller official participation throughout history.
13. Ibid., 142; King, "Women as Patrons," 255.
14. Ibid., 243; Trexler, Public Life, 15-17. On page 15, Trexler claims that women were excluded "generally, from religious groups (ie. confraternities) until the later fifteenth century." (brackets mine.) This would of course impact upon their religious patronage.
15. Binski, Medieval Death, 88. Binski quotes master Rypon of Durham who stated: "...certain women give artificial decoration to themselves by painting their faces to please the eyes of men. In truth, whosoever do so have the likeness of harlots.... and...are well compared to a painted sepulchre in which lies a foul corpse." Dominican prior Girolamo Savonarola publicly harangued Filippo Strozzi's descendants for their allegedly self-serving construction of an apsidal chapel at Santa Maria Novella; see page 497 of Marcia Hall, "Savonarola's Preaching and Patronage of Art," chap. in Christianity and the Renaissance: Image and Religious Imagination in the Quattrocento, eds. Timothy Verdon and John Henderson, (New York, Syracuse University Press, 1990), 494-522.
16. King, "Matrons, Italian Style," 382.
17. Brown, Santa Maria Novella, 129, 131. This altarpiece was never executed.
18. Ibid., 118.
19. Carli, Basilica di San Francesco, 23.
20. Cohn, Cult of Remembrance, 111.

21. ASF Not. Antecos, no. 5882, 83v, 1374 vi, 14; in *Ibid.*, 154, 154n.103.
22. Archivio di Stato Perugia, Notarile Bastardelli, no.11 74v-77r 1390 vii 13. Used by *ibid.*, 156-7, 156-7n.115.
23. Paoli, Arte e committenza, 229-30. Paoli designates the mid-fourteenth century, a period described by Cohn as witnessing an increase in chapel-building, as an interval of similar activity in the creation of Lucchese altars and altarpieces.
24. *Ibid.*, 227.
25. Archivio di Santa Maria Novella, Libri Antichi, n.67 c24r; referred to by *ibid.*, 230n.2
26. *Ibid.*, 230, 230n.2.
27. Kent, Household and Lineage, 258. King, "Matrons, Italian Style," 373, states that an inscription on the fourteenth-century crucifix donated by Maria Bovolina in Bassano, near Padua exhorts the onlooker to pray for her soul. Occasionally chapels or other spaces advertised Purgatorial indulgence as a reward for those who prayed.
28. Herlihy, "Women and The Sources of Medieval History," chap. in Medieval Women and the Sources of Medieval History, ed. Joel T. Rosenthal (Athens, Georgia, University of Georgia Press, 1990), 137. Herlihy alleges that females as a group were believed to be more pious in nature than men.
29. King, "Matrons, Italian-Style," 373, 376, 376n.10.
30. *Ibid.*, 376; Warr, "Painting in Late Fourteenth-Century Padua," 139, states that the image of Fina Buzzacarina in the Baptistry frescoes "is in the traditional position of honour for the figure of a single donor," to our left and to the right of the depicted Madonna and Child.
31. Aston, "Segregation in Church," 241, 274-81. Aston argues that the liturgical relegation of women to the left-hand side did not necessarily imply a negative judgement.
32. King, "Matrons, Italian-Style," 376-9. The author also alludes to the existence of another chapel of which Buzzacarina was its lone patron.
33. *Ibid.*, 378-79.
34. Fineschi, Memorie sopra il cimitero, 55n.4.
35. See endnote 106, Chapter Four.

36. See Haines, "Sacristy at Santa Maria Novella," passim. Acciaiuoli's efforts at ameliorating the space of her matrimonial family are particularly apparent in the stained glass window.

37. Orlandi, Guide of Santa Maria Novella, 32. Orlandi lists Acciaiuoli as the founder of the sacristy in 1380. Conversely, Brown, Santa Maria Novella, 136, does not refer to her involvement.

38. Haines, "The Sacristy of Santa Maria Novella," 587; Warr, "Painting in Late Fourteenth-Century Padua," 150, points out that Fina Buzzacarina's arms are shown in only one spot in the Baptistry, namely on the base of a polyptych.

39. ASF Not. Antecos no.10915 81r-1363 vii 26. Referred to by Cohn, Cult of Remembrance, 149, 149n.82.

40. Paoli, Arte e committenza, 223.

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Fig. 1. Façade of Santa Croce

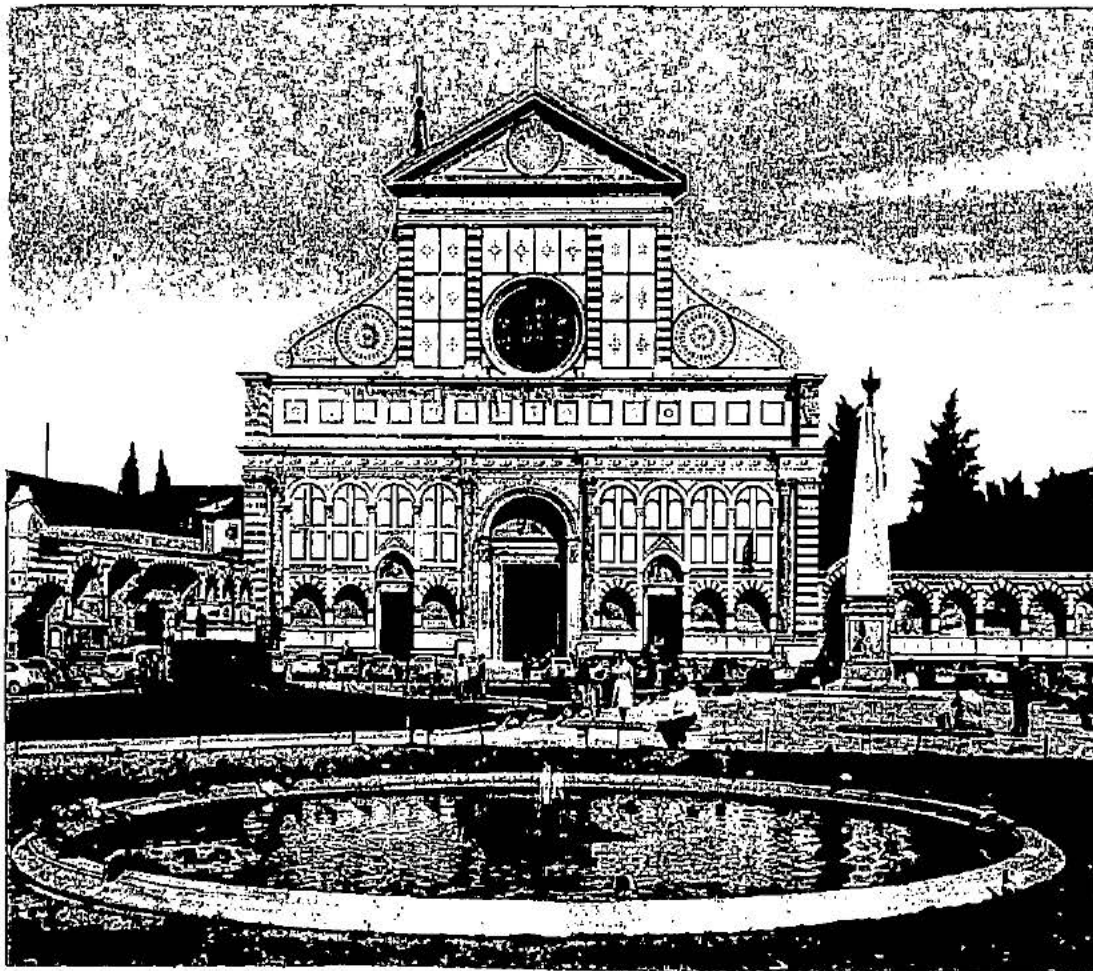


Fig. 2. Façade of Santa Maria Novella, Florence.

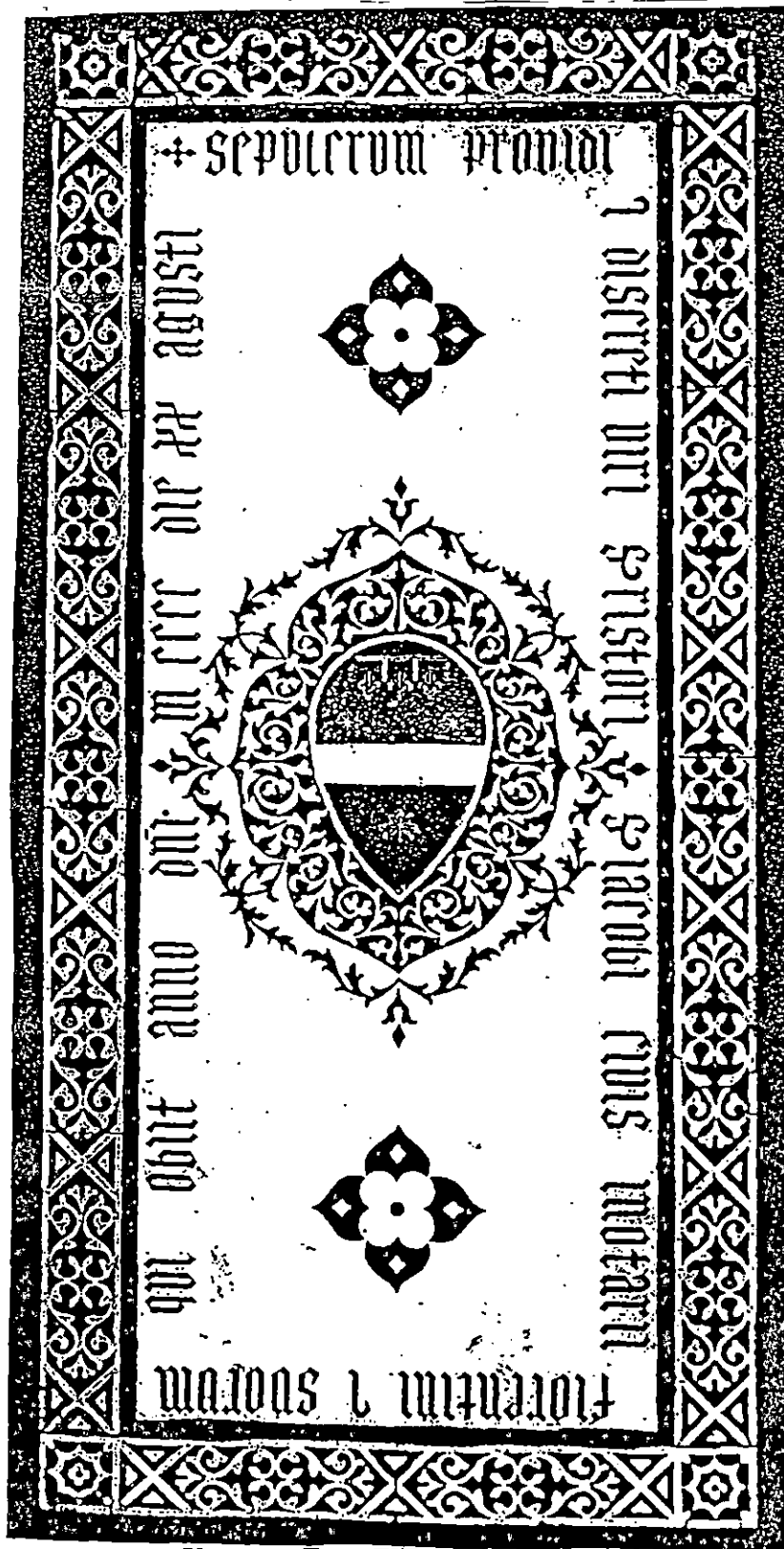


Fig. 3. Tomb Slab of the Serristori Family.
Florence, Santa Croce.

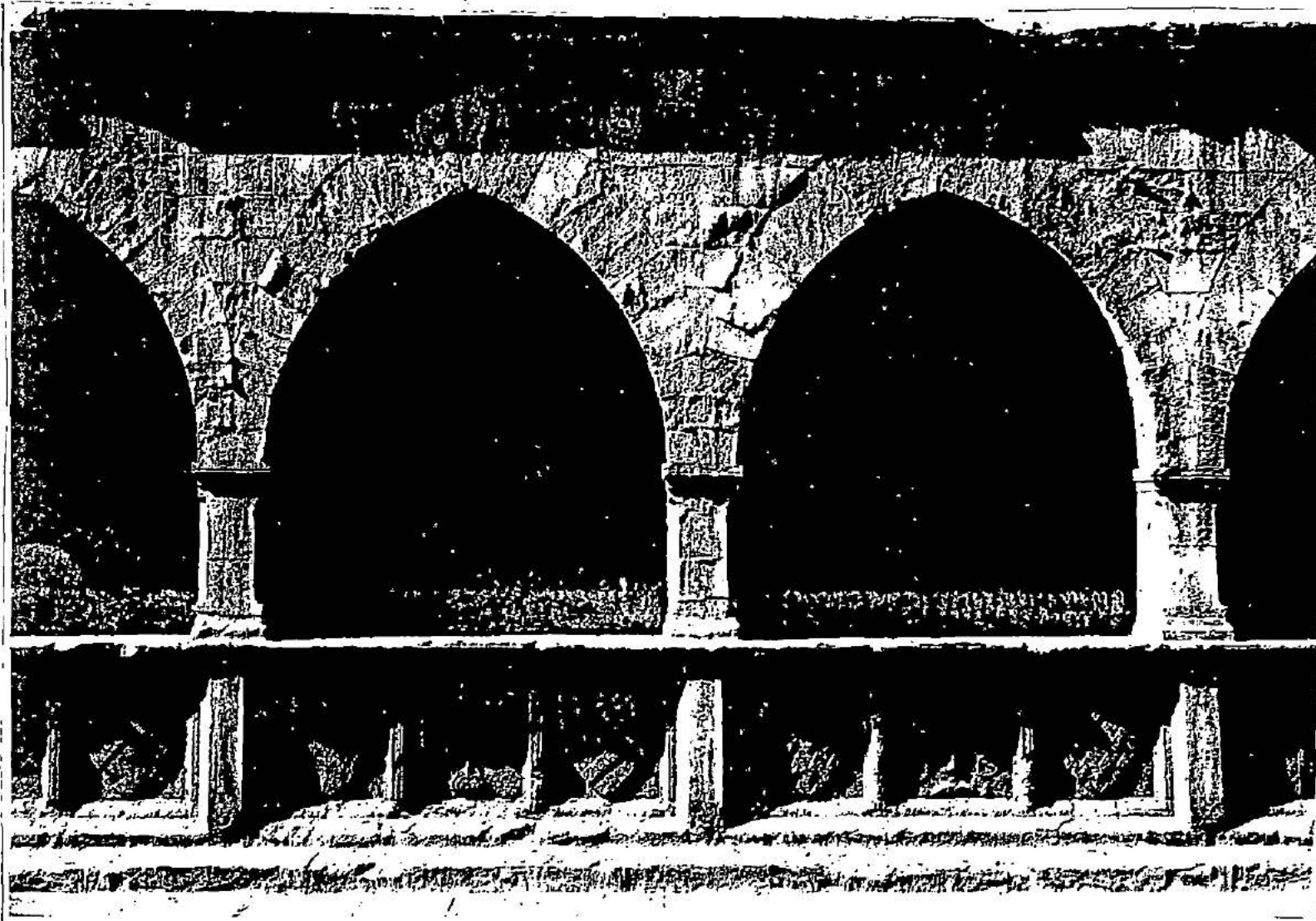


Fig. 5 Avelli, fourteenth century, Florence,
Santa Maria Novella, Florence.

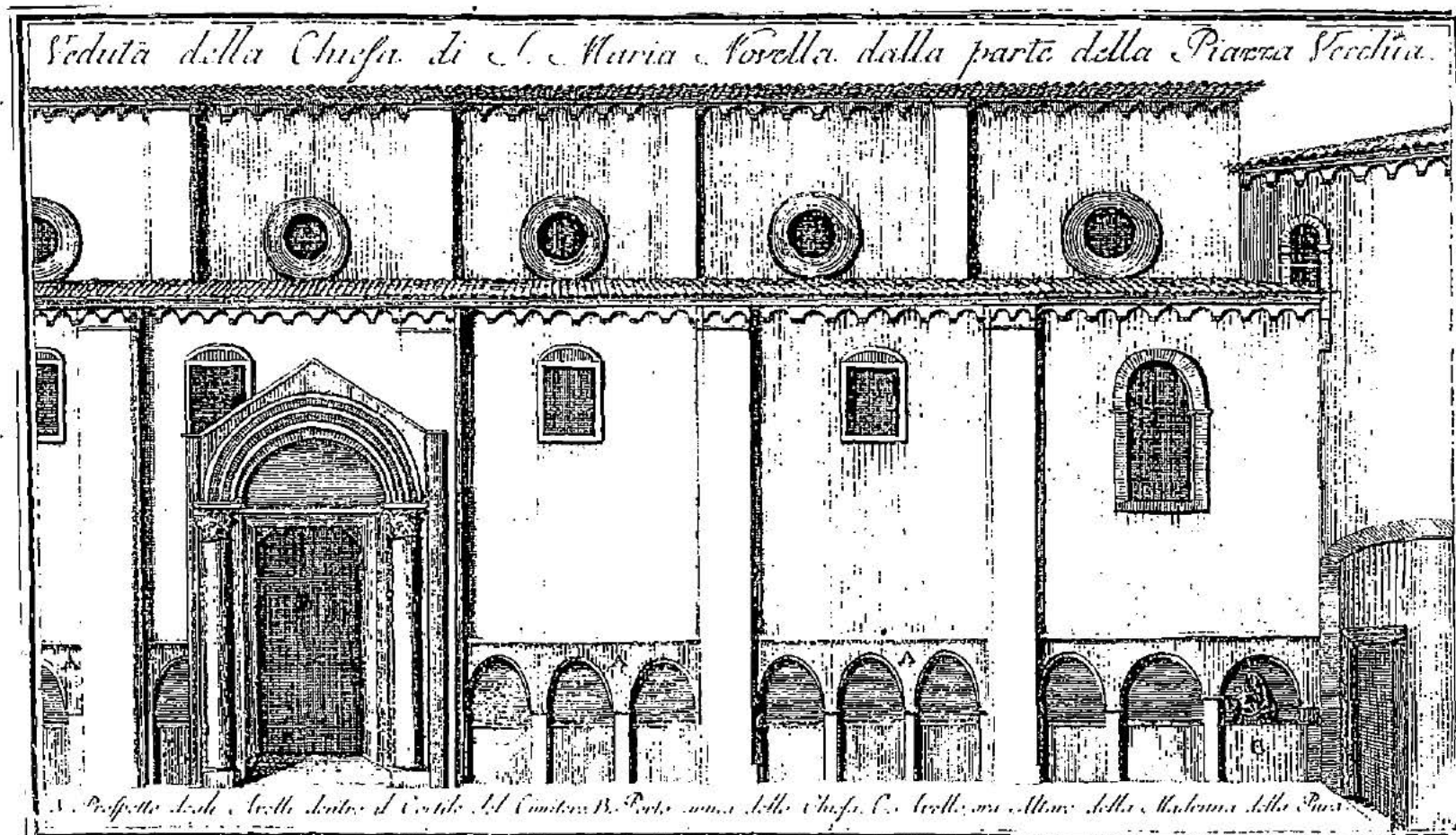


Fig. 6 Vincenzio Torchi, Veduta della Chiesa di Santa Maria Novella dalla parte della Piazza Vecchia, A: Prospetto degli Avelli dentro il Cortile del Cimitero B: Porta antica della Chiesa C: Avello, ora Altare della Madonna della Pura, intaglio print, From Vincenzio Fineschi, Memorie sopra il Cimitero Antico della Chiesa di Santa Maria Novella, (Florence, 1787, reprint Roma, Multigrafica Editrice, 1977) unnumbered plate.



Fig. 7 Avelli, fourteenth century, Florence, Santa Maria Novella.

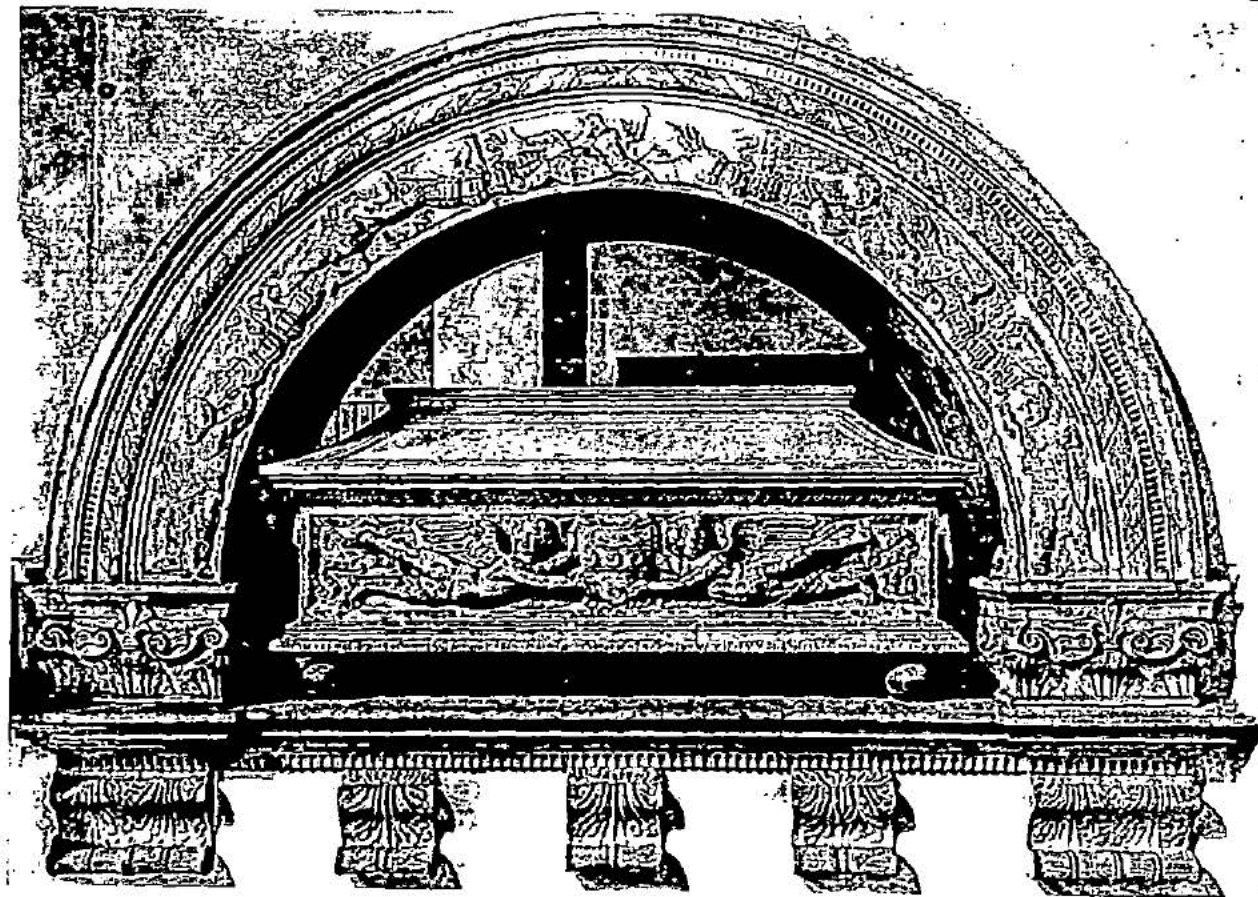


Fig. 8. Arcosolium Tomb of Onofrio Strozzi, fifteenth century. Florence, Santa Trinità

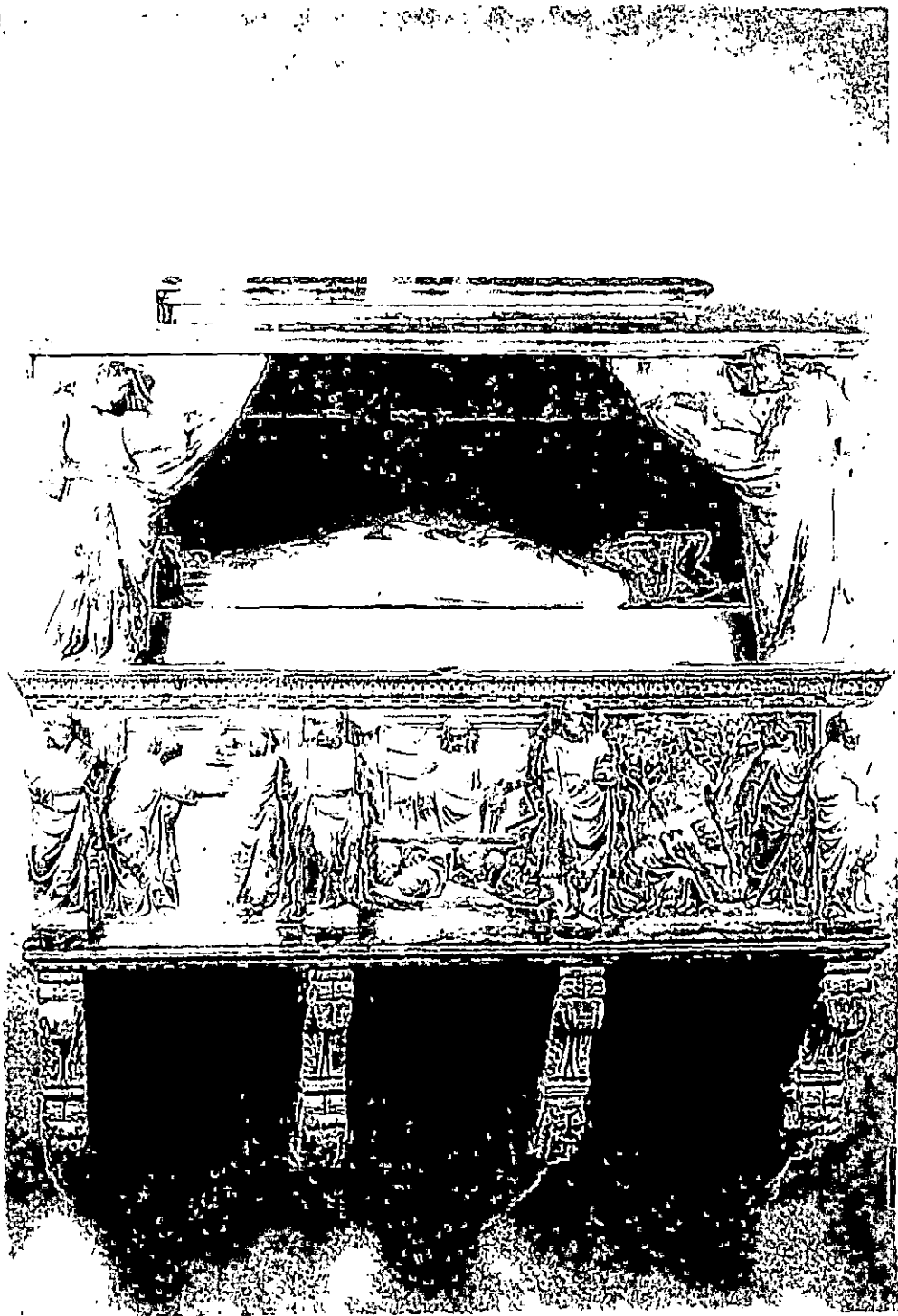


Fig. 9. Tina da Camaino, wall tomb of Gastone della Torre, fourteenth century, Florence, Santa Croce.



Fig. 10. Interior, Santa Croce, Florence.

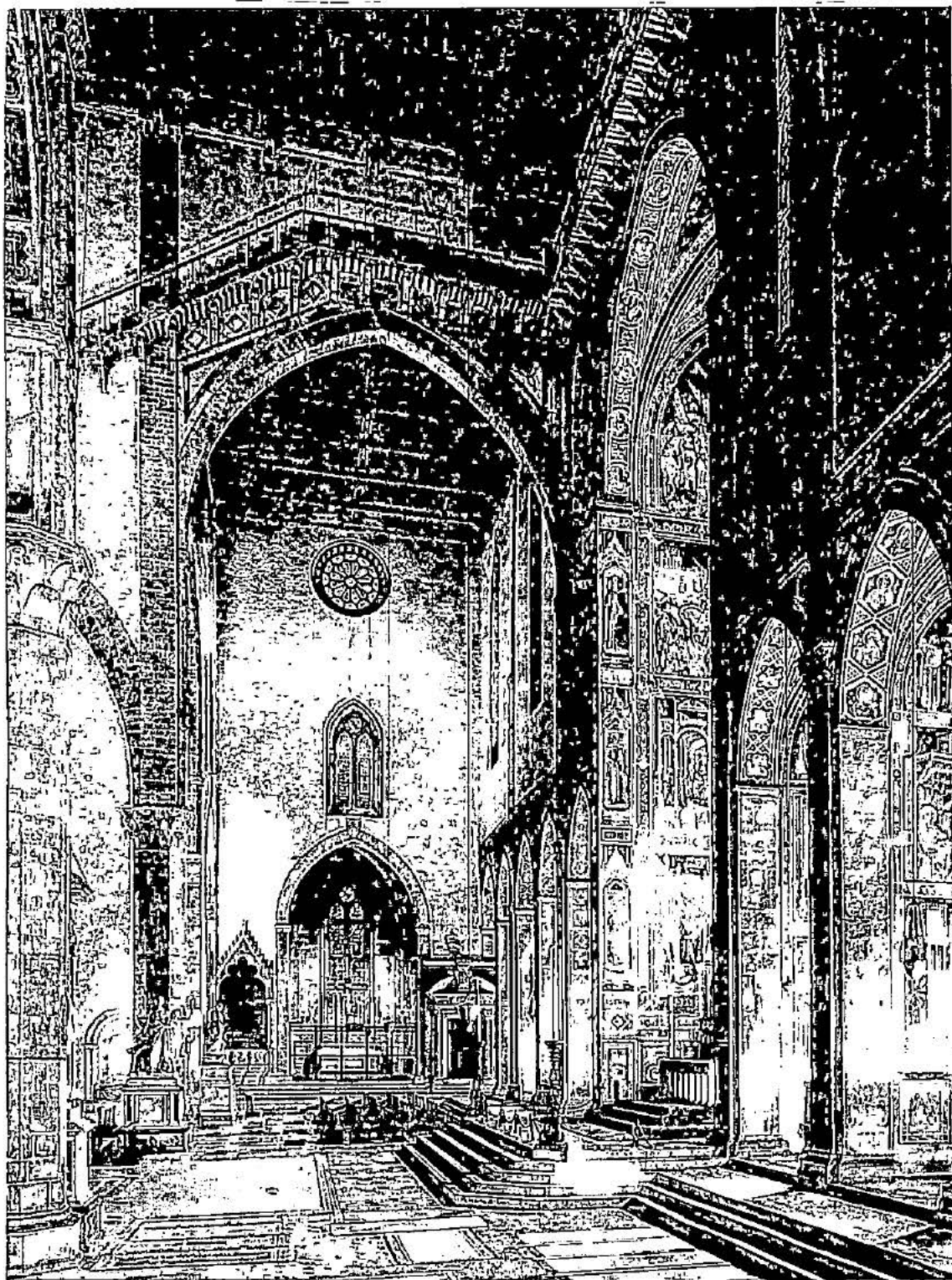


Fig. 11. Interior, Santa Croce, Florence.

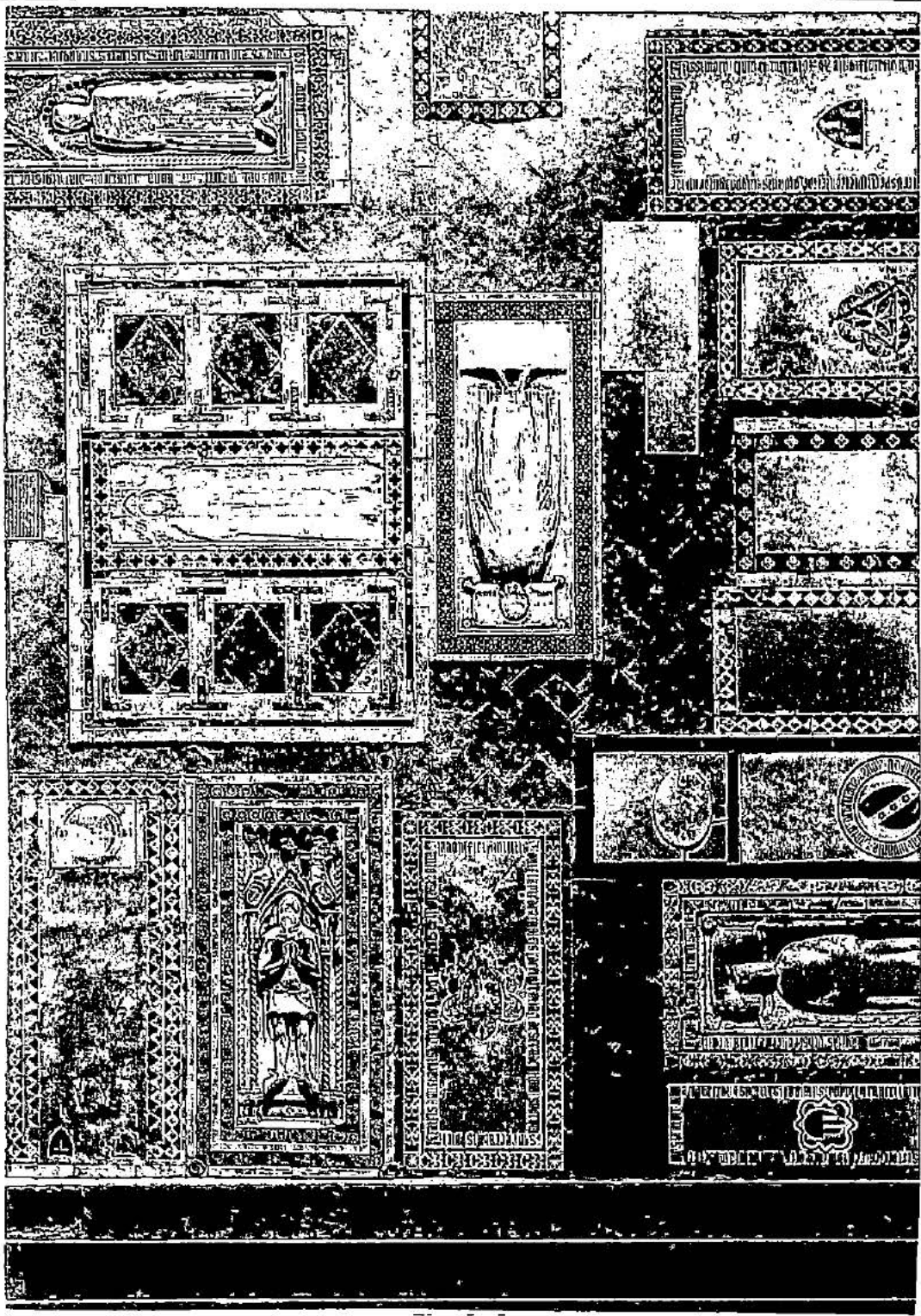


Fig. 12. Detail of floor slabs, interior, Santa Croce, Florence.



Fig. 13. Interior, Santa Maria Novella, Florence.

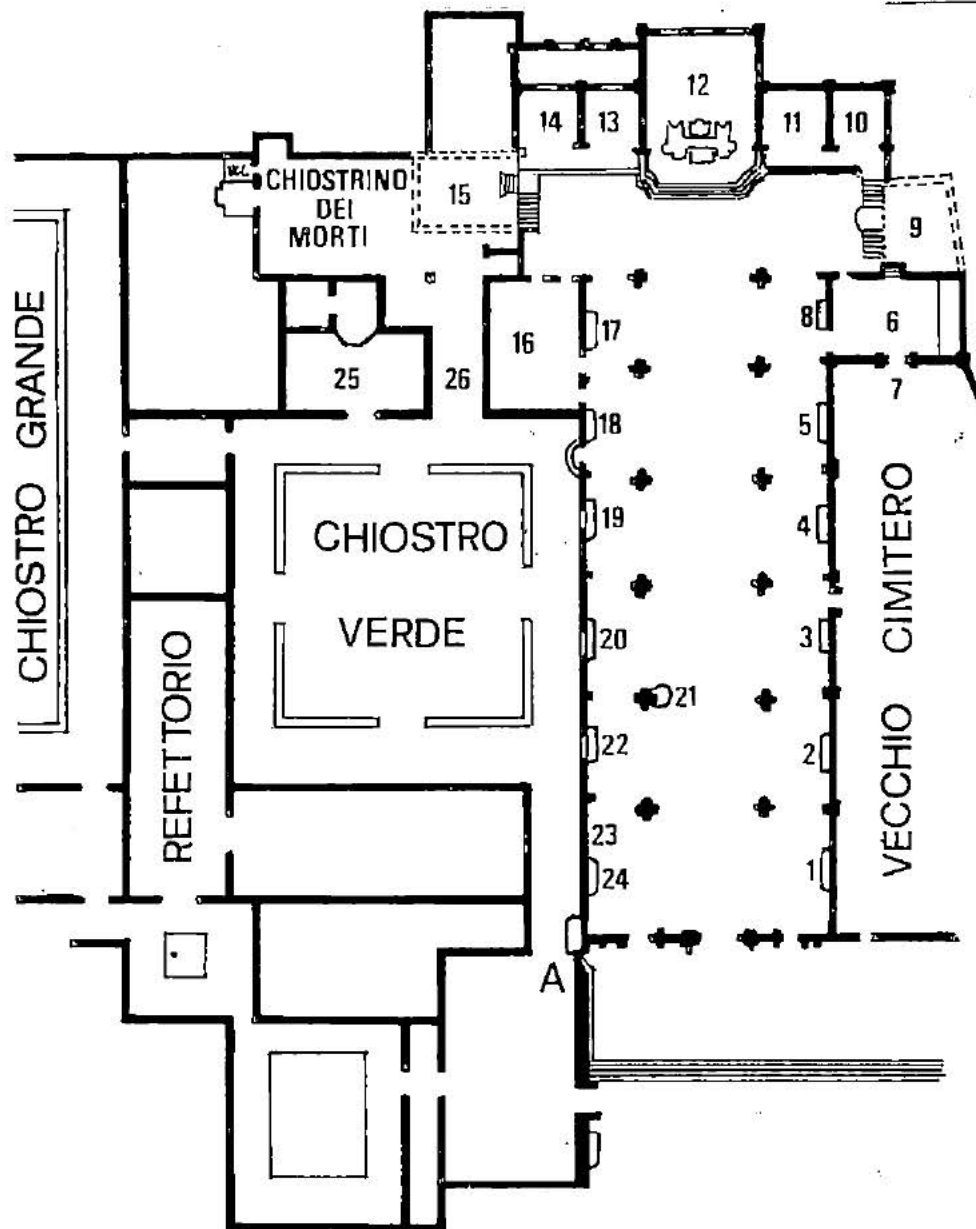


Fig. 14. Plan of the convent of Santa Maria Novella, Florence. Taken from Stefano Orlandi, O.P., Historical-Artistic Guide of Santa Maria Novella and her Monumental Cloisters, (Florence, Becocci, 1980), 2.

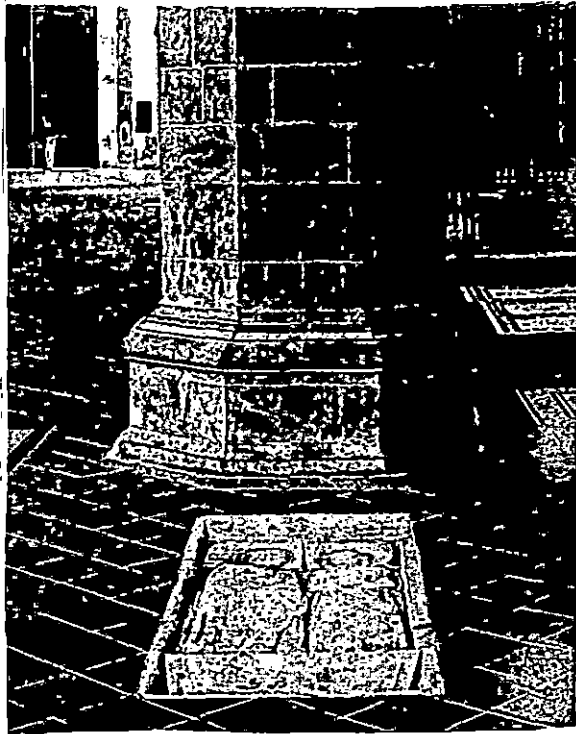


Fig. 15 Antonio Rossellino,
Double tomb slab of the Tedaldi
family, 1475, Florence, Santa Croce.

Fig. 16 Antonio Rossellino,
Double tomb slab of the Tedaldi
family, 1475, Florence,
Santa Croce.





Fig. 17 Tomb slab of Giovanna Tedaldi,
fourteenth century, detail: arms,
Florence, Santa Croce.

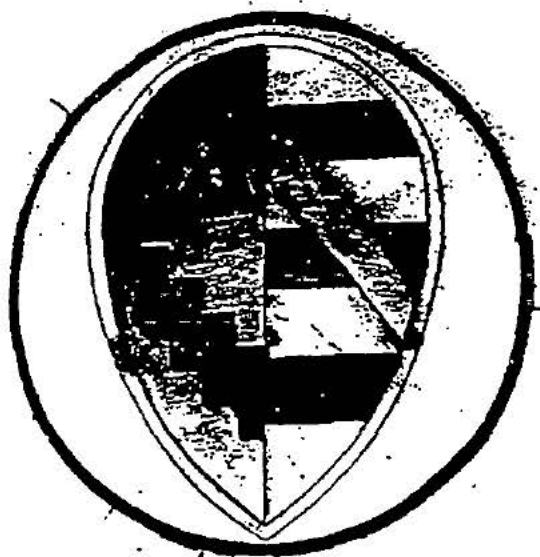


Fig. 18 Tomb slab of the Giovanni Cocchi and
Leonarda Carducci; fifteenth century,
detail: arms, Florence, Santa Croce.

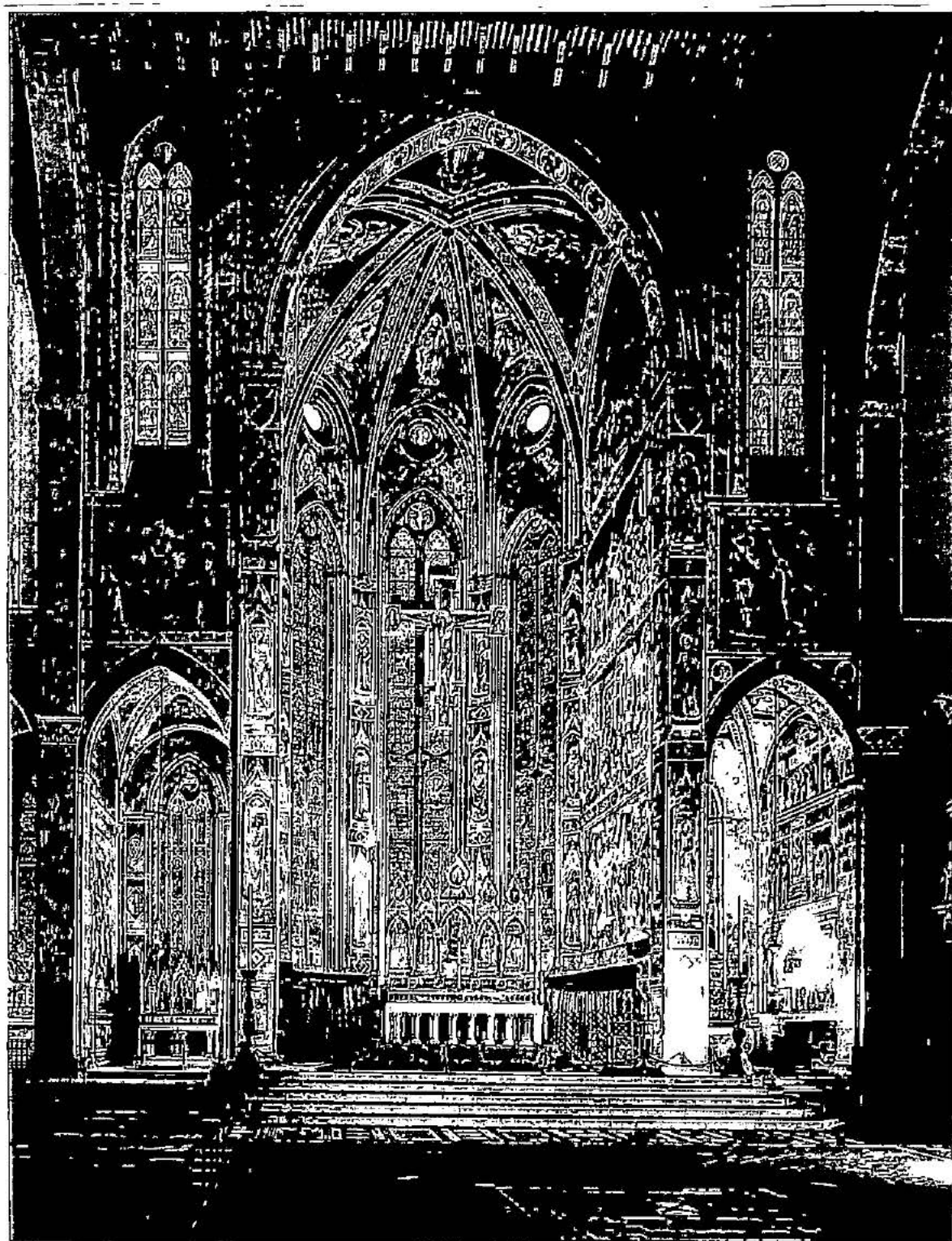


Fig. 19. Interior, towards the cappella maggiore,
Santa Croce.

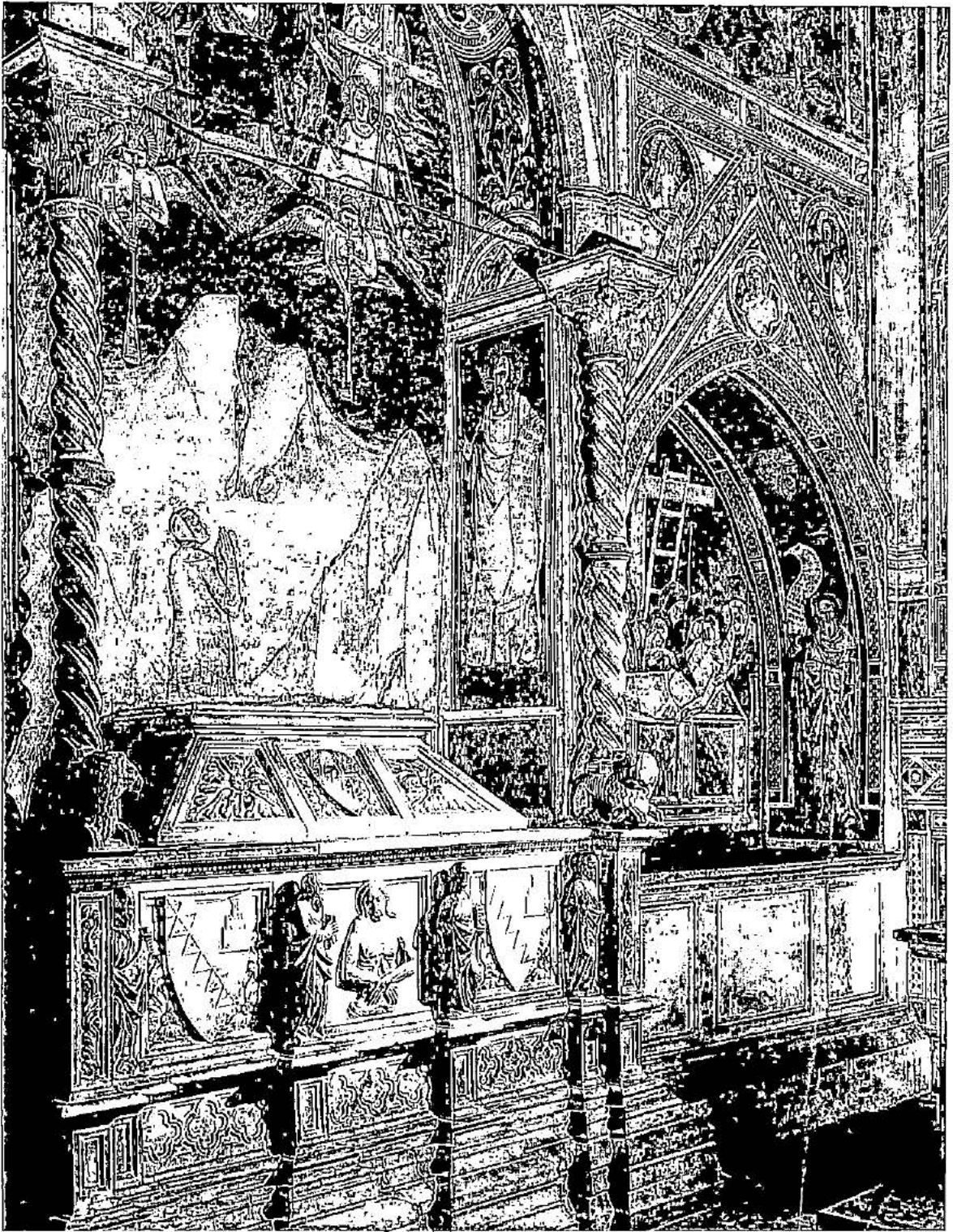


Fig. 20. Bardi di Vernio interior avelli,
fourteenth century, Florence, Santa Croce.



Fig. 21. Anonymous, Saint Francis at Greccio, fresco, fourteenth century, Assisi, Upper Church, San Francesco.

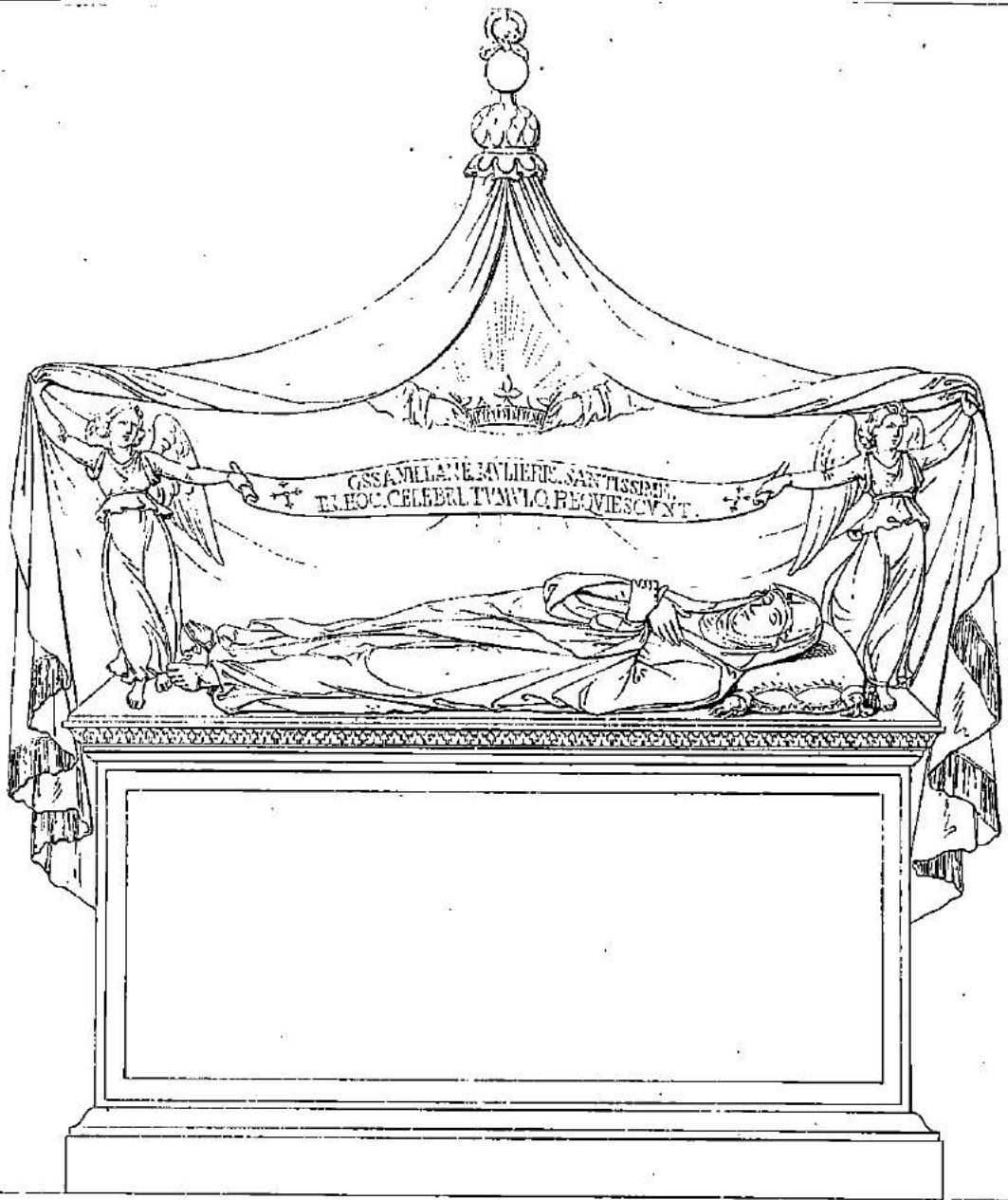


Fig. 22. V. Gozzini, Tomb design of the Beata Villana, intaglio print, V. Gozzini, G. Gonnelli, G.P. Lasinio, et al, Monumenti sepolcrali della Toscana, (Florence, Presso l'Editore, 1819, Tavola XI.



Fig. 23. Tomb slab of a now-unknown woman, fifteenth century, Siena, San Francesco.

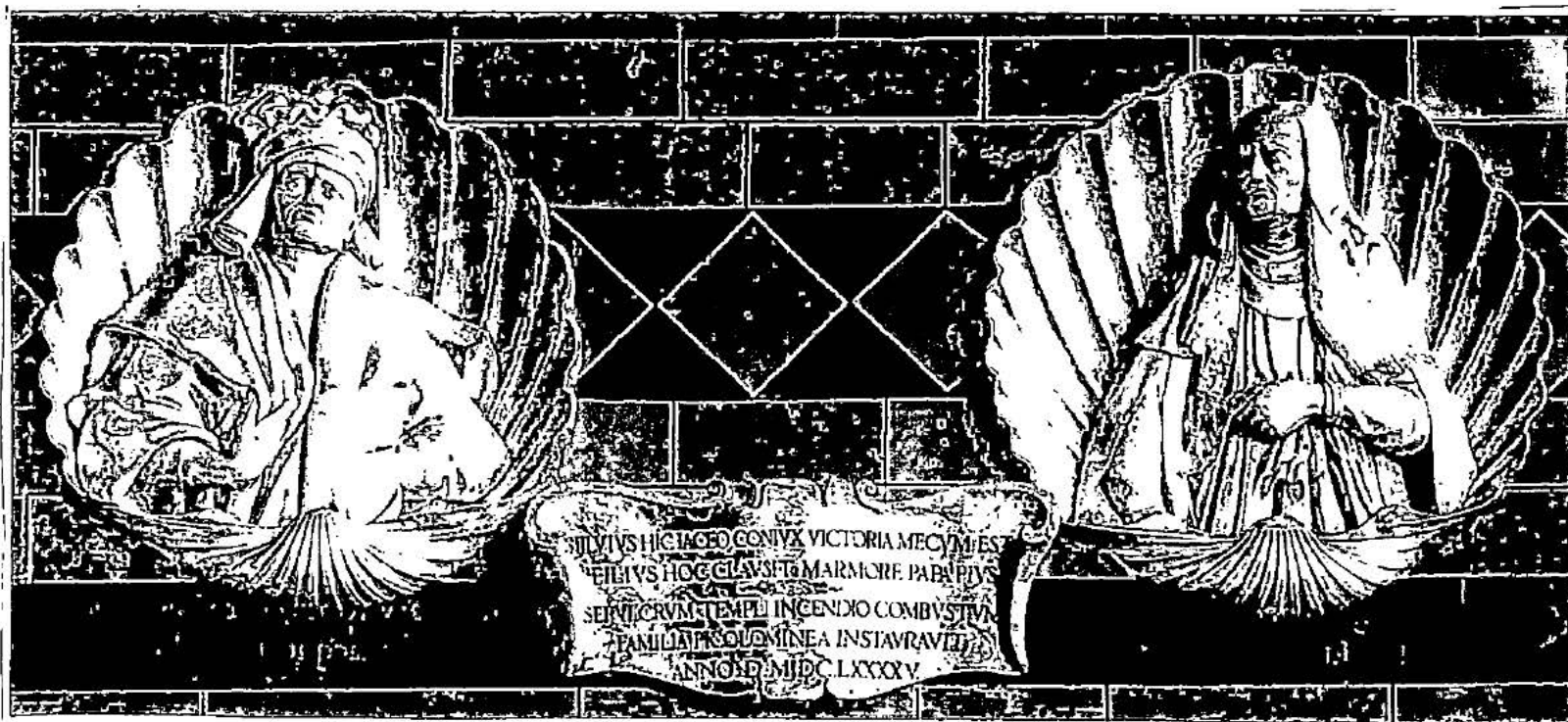


Fig. 24. Funerary monument of Silvio and Vittoria Piccolomini, seventeenth-century copy of a fifteenth-century piece, Siena, San Francesco.



Fig. 25. Tomb slab of the consort of the Count of Corrado, 1401, Pisa, Santa Caterina.

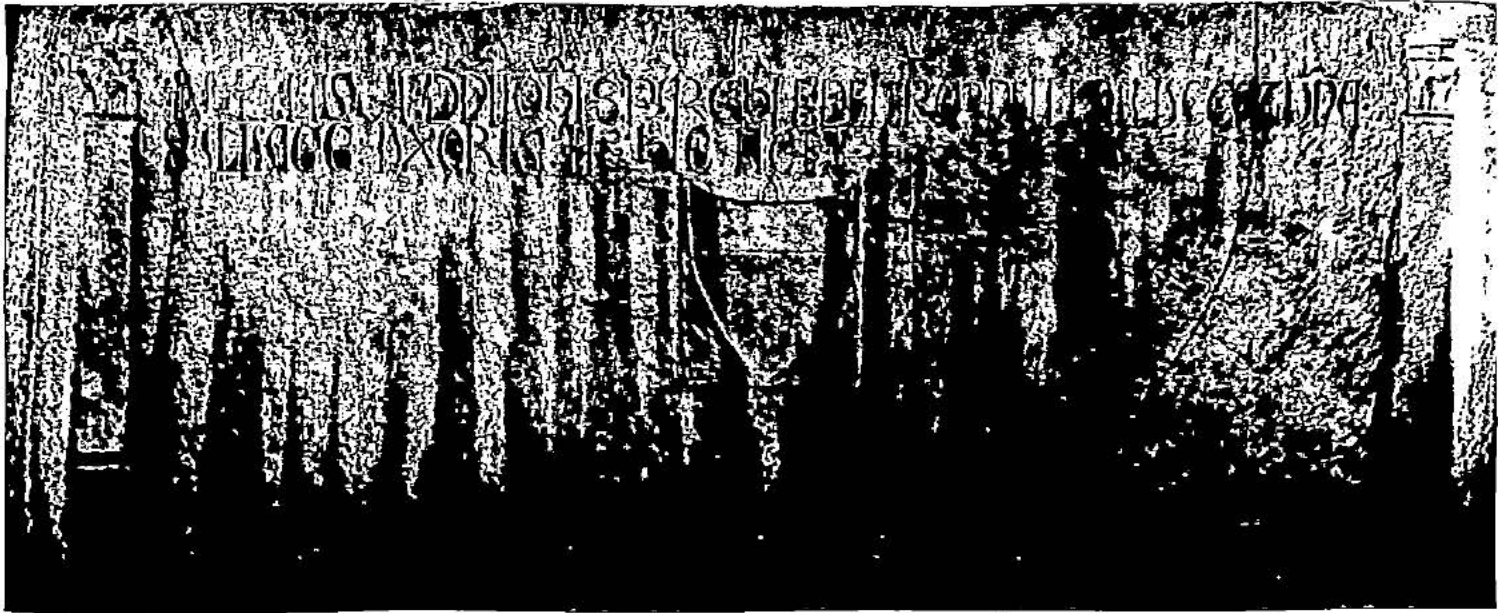


Fig. 26 Funerary monument of the Antelminelli family,
fourteenth century, Pisa, Camposanto.

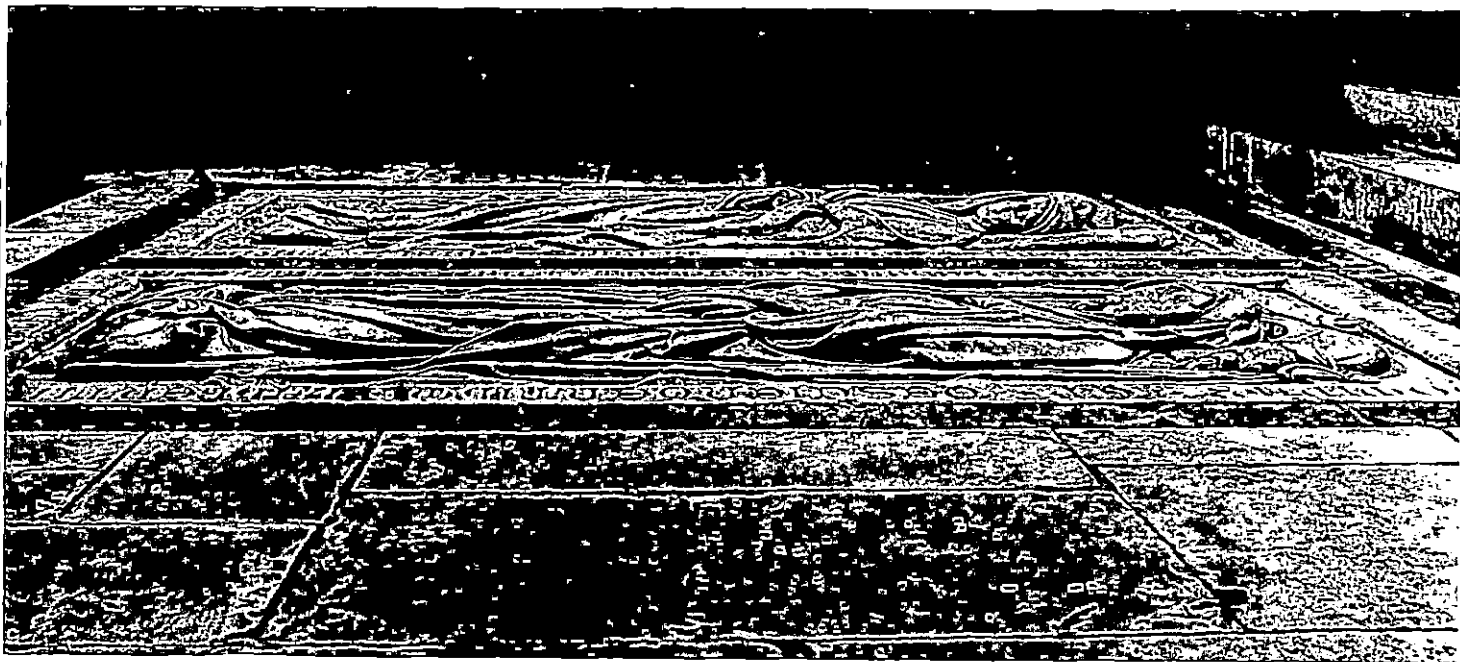


Fig. 27 Tomb slabs of Lorenzo Trenta and Wife (Wives?) 1412-1416, Lucca, San Frediano.



Fig. 28. Tomb slab of Lorenzo Trenta, 1412-1416
Lucca, San Frediano.



Fig. 29. Tomb slab of the Wife (Wives?) of Lorenzo Trenta, 1412-1416, Lucca, San Frediano.

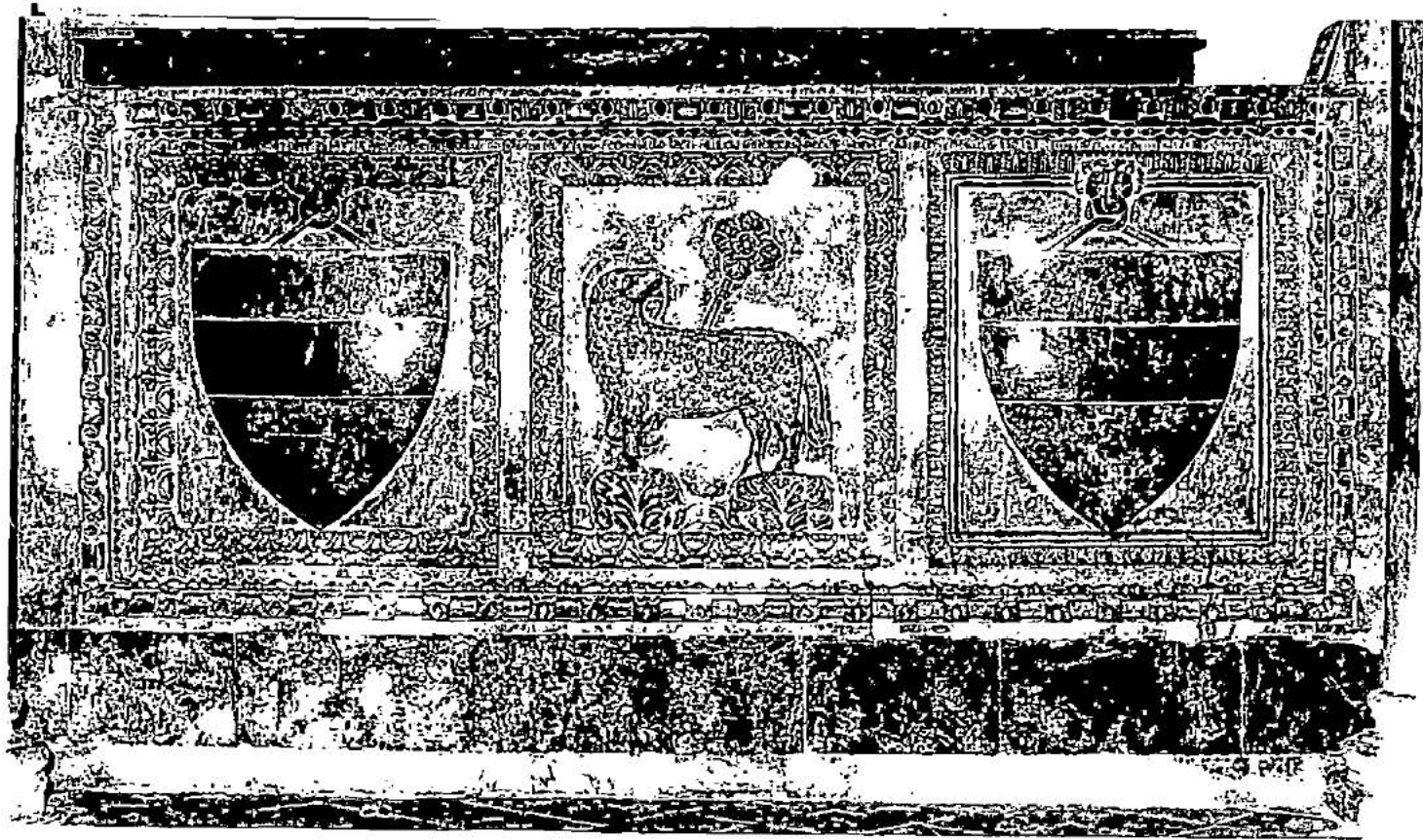


Fig. 30 Funerary chest of the Guidiccioni family, 1290, Lucca, San Frediano.

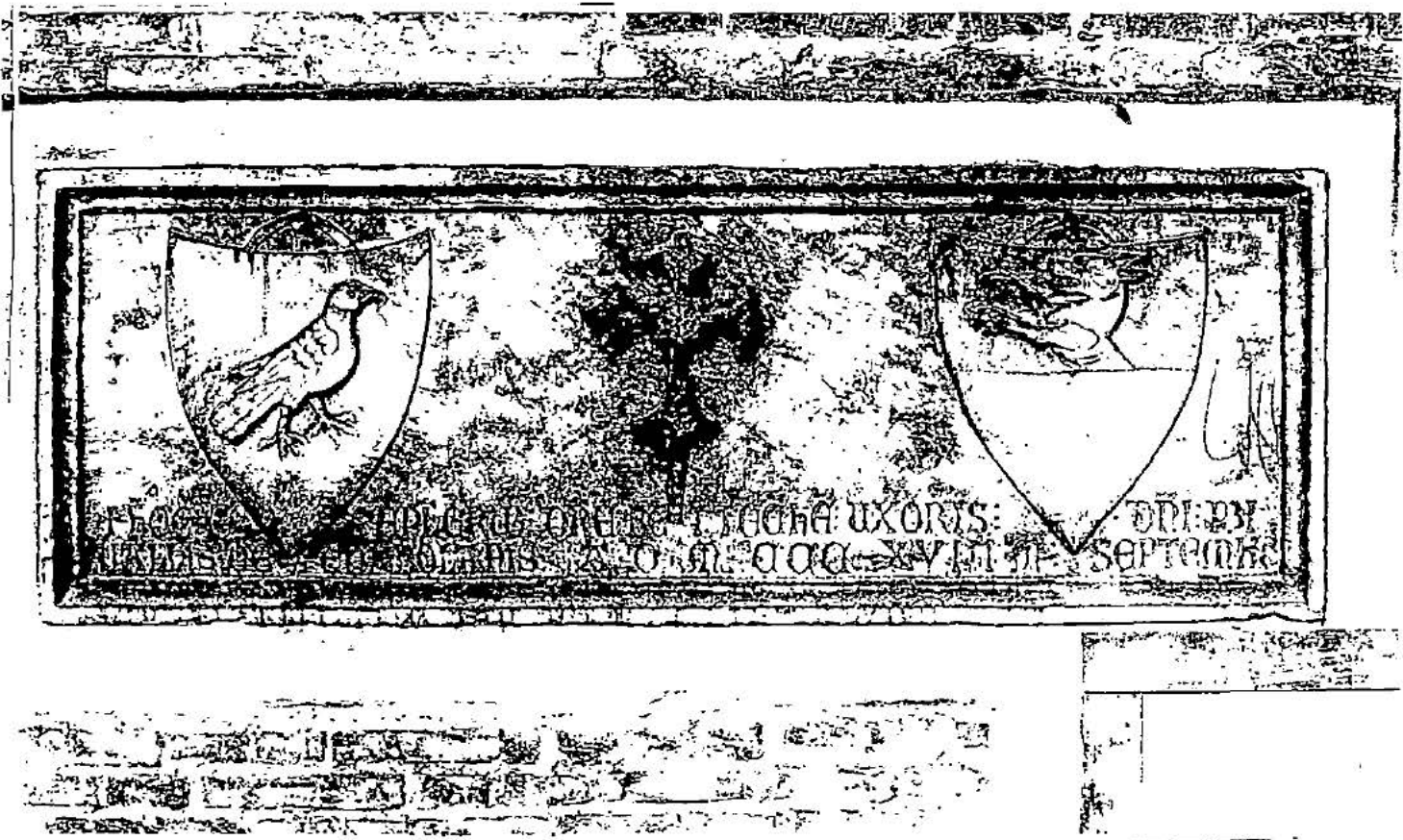


Fig. 31 Funerary monument of Bertecca Castracani, fourteenth century, Lucca, San Francesco.

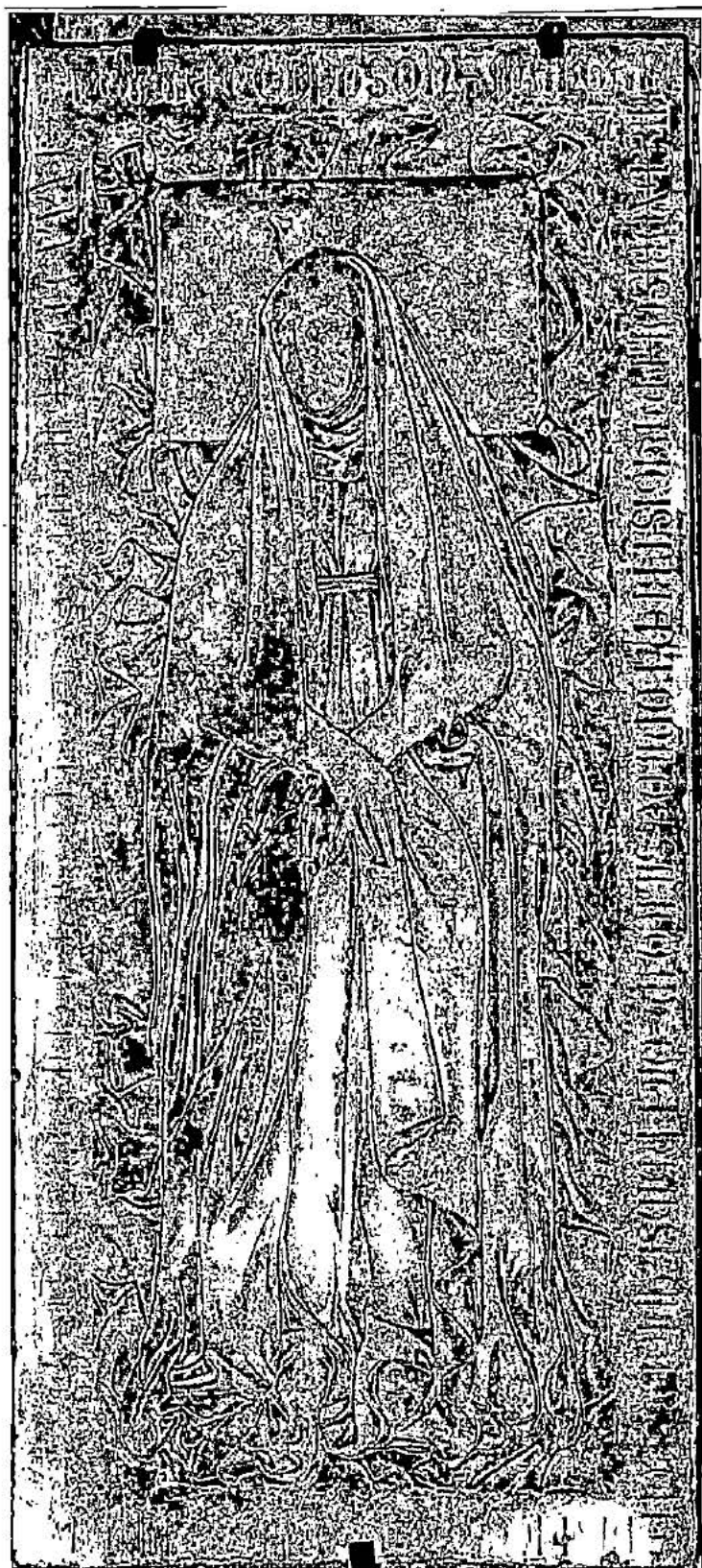


Fig. 32. Leonardo Riccomani, Tomb slab of Margherita da Silico, fifteenth century, Lucca, Santa Maria dei Servi.



Fig. 33. Tomb slab of Caterina degli Antelminelli, fourteenth century, Lucca, Museo Nazionale di Villa Guinigi.



Fig. 34. Jacopo della Quercia, Tomb of Ilaria del Carretto, Lucca, San Frediano.



Fig. 35. Communal slab tomb of the Trenta family, fifteenth century, Lucca, San Frediano.

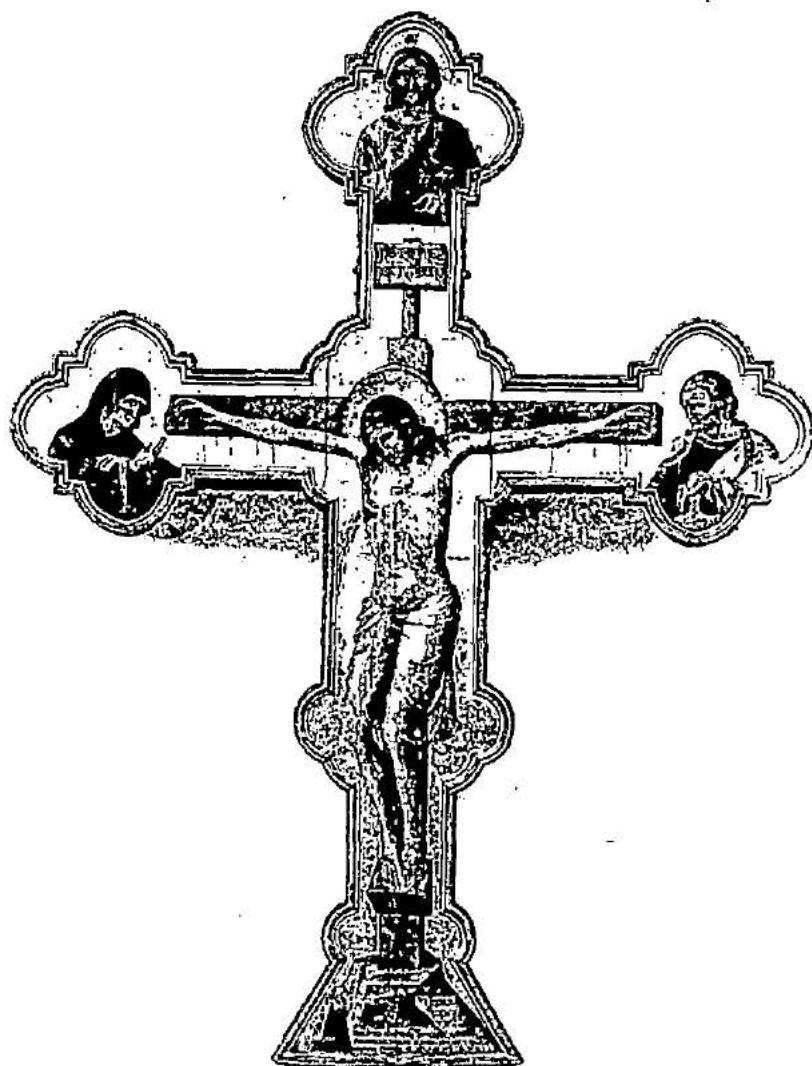


Fig. 36. Guariento, Crucifix with Donatrix, Maria Bovolina, Kneeling, c. 1360, tempera on panel, 360cm X 289cm, Bassano del Grappa, Museo Civico.



Fig. 37. Giusto de' Menabuoi, Fina Buzzacarina presented to the Virgin and Child by John the Baptist and Other Saints, late fourteenth century, fresco, Padua, Baptistry.

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Cassandra E. Getty
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