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Memorializing the Middle Classes in Medieval and Renaissance Europe

Edited by
Anne Leader

STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN CULTURE

Memorializing the Middle Classes in Medieval and Renaissance Europe

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WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY

Memorializing the Middle Classes in Medieval and Renaissance Europe

Edited by Anne Leader

Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Culture

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Introduction

Anne Leader

CARE FOR THE DEAD is as old as human civilization, and burial customs could, in fact, predate society. A Paleolithic bone pit known as Sima de los Huesos near Burgos, Spain may have been a deliberate ritual site in use over four hundred thousand years ago.¹ The 2013 discovery of the Rising Star Cave in South Africa's so-called Cradle of Humankind has raised the possibility that the segregation of the dead from the living stretches back to hominins active over two million years ago.² The history of Western art would be indeed quite short were it not for the long-standing desire of individuals and communities to commemorate their ancestors, as seen in artifacts from Ancient Mesopotamia to Egypt and across the Mediterranean.³ *Memorializing the Middle Classes in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* investigates commemorative practices in Cyprus, England, Flanders, France, Germany, Italy, Poland, and Spain between the twelfth and seventeenth centuries (map 1).

This collection of essays provides a broad overview of memorialization practices across Europe and the Mediterranean while examining local customs through particular case studies. Eleven chapters explore complementary themes through the lens of commemorative art and practice, including social status; personal and corporate identities; the intersections of mercantile, intellectual, and religious attitudes; upward (and downward) mobility; and the cross-cultural exchange of memorialization strategies.

Though not a primary focus of this book, these studies also raise questions about periodization and the semantics of discussing historical Continental and Mediterranean cultures in contemporary English. The terms medieval, Renaissance, middle class, noble, and elite do not mean the same thing at the same moment in the locales under investigation. Nor

Map 1 Map of Europe. Courtesy of Hannah Calich, GIS Services, Otto G. Richter Library, University of Miami.

do today's geopolitical boundaries illuminate the cultural identities developed during these centuries. Therefore, the authors discuss not a middle class, but rather the shifting and growing middle classes that developed in various European centers after the twelfth century. We broadly define "middle class" as neither those who were poor, indentured, or enslaved nor those whose wealth predominantly relied on income from lands passed down along family lines. Of course, many who fit into this "middle" group became immensely wealthy, often overtaking their aristocratic counterparts not only in material comforts and economic power but also, and more importantly, in the political realm, where opportunities for power and control became available to those not nobly born. Time and again we see upstarts and arrivistes taking on the conservative mantle of those they replaced as they strove to maintain and protect what they now claimed as their birthrights and came to constitute a new elite.

We find that influence is not unidirectional; nobles and bourgeois borrowed and adapted commemorative strategies from each other, while membership among elite groups was fluid, dependent on changing fortunes, governments, and family size. Aristocrats "of the sword," that is, by virtue of inherited property and the feudal titles associated therewith, and aristocrats *de la robe*, by virtue of acquisition through bureaucratic service, government reform, or outright purchase, together formed Europe's elite, though they did not always sit comfortably together.⁴ The wide range of Europeans, from merchants and bankers to professors and artisans, who invested in private memorials for themselves and their kin, reflects growing access to the signs and privileges heretofore reserved for a select few. As the pamphleteer Philip Stubbes complained in 1583, it is "verie hard to know who is noble, who is worshipful, who is a gentleman, and who is not."⁵ Members of the landed aristocracy often had only their family pride, histories, and names to distinguish themselves from the merchant-banking class, as famously quipped in 1512 by Elisabetta Gonzaga (1471–1526) in her assessment of Agostino Chigi (1466–1520) as a suitable husband for her niece Margherita: "he pleases me entirely, except for his being a merchant and a banker, which unfortunately seems to me unbecoming to our house."⁶

The vast majority of Europeans were, of course, buried in common parish graves, often unremarked beyond the moment of interment. Western societies have had difficulty deciding where to put their dead, at times restricting them to necropolises or graveyards outside city walls.⁷ Other moments have seen the welcoming, indeed avid, recruitment of

church burial, and patrons have clamored to be inside, as close to the high altar and its precious relics as possible. Church doctrine is somewhat vague on the location of burial, as seen in the numerous synods, edicts, and disputes that litter the legal landscape of the medieval and Renaissance church. Canon law makes plain that each Christian had the right to choose his or her place of burial, though with some conditions.⁸ Provided that a Christian was an adult, able to make decisions, and acted in good faith (that is, did not deprive the parish of its rightful burial income), he could request burial in any sanctified space. Exceptions to this rule were monastic residents, who relinquished their right of choice upon commitment as a monk, nun, or friar. Women also had the additional expectation that they would be buried with their fathers, if unmarried at death, or with their husbands, though we do find cases of women returning to the plot of their natal kin, often to the consternation of their in-laws.

From the start, Christians were allowed church burial, going against Roman custom of the extramural cemetery. One motivation for burial indoors, at least initially, may have been fear of tomb raiders.⁹ Stronger than concerns about potential violation, however, was the desire to be buried *ad sanctos*—that is, near the remains of saints whether in martyrs' tombs or consecrated altars.¹⁰ However, not everyone was equally welcome inside. Indoor burial was viewed as an honor, reserved for popes (beginning with Felix I in 358), bishops, and, according to St. Ambrose, priests as well, "for it is fitting that where the priest has been wont to sacrifice, there he should rest."¹¹ The early church put out numerous decrees to restrict, if not ban, church burial, relegating laypeople, and sometimes lower clergy, to the cemetery.¹²

For example, the Council of Vaison (442) ordered, "within the church itself and near the altar the dead must on no account be buried."¹³ The Council of Braga (563) repeated the ban on indoor burial, allowing graves to be placed near external church walls.¹⁴ Despite edicts like these and many that followed over the next several centuries, indoor burial persisted and even flourished, so much so that in 797 Theodulf of Orléans complained that churches had become cemeteries, and he called for an end to the practice except in cases of clergy or supremely pious laypersons.¹⁵

The Council of Mainz, convened in 813, sought to clarify the status of indoor burial, stating that no one could be buried indoors save bishops, abbots, esteemed priests, and faithful laypersons (*fideles laici*).¹⁶ In the mid-twelfth century, Gratian would reiterate the Mainz canon verbatim, adding that St. Augustine, in his *De cura pro mortuis*, stated that burials

Map 2 Map of Western Europe. Courtesy of Hannah Calich, GIS Services, Otto G. Richter Library, University of Miami.

could take place next to the church,¹⁷ essentially finding earlier precedent for what had been stated at Braga in the mid-sixth century. Unfortunately, no qualification is given to define what it meant to be a *fidelis laicus*, giving rise to controversy with canonists over subsequent centuries divided into two general groups of narrow or broad interpretation.¹⁸ Supporting a strict interpretation were jurists like Huguccio (d. 1210) and Laurentius Hispanus (d. 1248), who argued that only those worthy of sainthood should be granted indoor burial.¹⁹ Johannes Simeca Teutonicus (d. 1245), like Isidore of Seville (d. 636) before him, favored the more liberal view that all baptized Christians could enjoy burial within the church.²⁰ Numerous synods and councils would take up the issue with guidelines ranging from broad applicability to most members of the church, as in the Synods of Chichester (1292) and Rouen (1581); requiring pastoral permission, as at Angers (1279) and Tours (1583); or a more stringent ban to be broken only with permission from a bishop or vicar general, reiterated numerous times at Cognac (1255), Valencia (1262), Arras (late 1200s), Nogaro (1303), Marciac (1326), Prague (1349), Nantes (1481), Milan (1576), Reims (1583), and Bordeaux (1583).²¹

Despite lack of consensus as to who could be called a *fidelis laicus*, and repeated attempts by church officials to regulate indoor burial, in practice, most who could afford an independent tomb were able to find a church willing to place them inside. The mendicants especially were instrumental in the proliferation of indoor burial, constructing their churches with plans designed to accommodate large numbers of private tombs.²² Several bulls issued over the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries made clear that the Franciscans and Dominicans had rights of burial at their churches, despite repeated protestations from parish clergy.²³ As Philippe Ariès has noted, the frequent repetition against church burial from the earliest councils through the Counter-Reformation “betrays the extent to which the prohibitions were ignored” leading one to wonder, “whether the canonical regulation was ever actually observed.”²⁴ The essays contained in this volume document the many instances when they were not, showing European churches to be “veritable cities of the dead.”²⁵

This collection investigates the habits adopted by European patrons of commemorative art in the medieval and early modern periods. The authors explore the extensive array of relationships that existed among patronal commemorative strategies and the commissioners’ positions within societal hierarchies. The rising fortunes of merchants, lawyers, and other professionals in late medieval Europe allowed middle-class patrons

to commission private tombs in numbers not seen since Roman times. The growth of urban centers and extensive trade networks brought wealth and unprecedented communication and cross-pollination to European cities like Bologna, Breslau, Bruges, Florence, Ferrara, London, Middelburg, Nicosia, Nuremberg, Pisa, Siena, Strasbourg, Tordesillas, Treviso, and Venice (maps 1, 3, and 4).

Over the last two generations, broad historical and anthropological studies of European commemorative practices of the later Middle Ages and Renaissance have inspired numerous case studies of particular regions, cities, or cemeteries to explain broader trends in burial customs and the commemorative rituals associated with them.²⁶ Art historical studies of tombs and other commemorative monuments have concentrated on style and the development of various monument types.²⁷ Early taxonomic investigations have inspired detailed analyses of particular locales (especially England), artists, patrons, or extraordinary monuments that typically belonged to royals or clerics,²⁸ though more recently scholars have used the business of burial across social strata as a means to understand the construction, use, and decoration of architectural space.²⁹ *Memorializing the Middle Classes in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* brings these approaches together while foregrounding the importance of placing monuments in their urban and socio-economic contexts to explore how memorials contributed to both individual and corporate identities.

Indeed interested in the appearance and creation of the monuments under review, we nevertheless approach our visual material with a keen awareness of social and economic history. Commemorative markers not only reflected but also shaped social and religious practices. The essays collected herein provide a comparative analysis of the socio-cultural significance of middle-class memorialization both within particular cities and regions and across Europe and the Mediterranean. The authors explore issues of social networks, the privatization of communal spaces, individual and corporate identities, personal and public memories, the relationships between the living and the dead, and other questions regarding commemoration, the use of space, and the patronage and reception of tombs and other memorials. Our book adds to the field of patronage studies, as we examine the motivations and aspirations of those who commissioned memorials of varying kinds, from ephemeral gifts of food to (seemingly) permanent stone monuments. The following examples also demonstrate the important economic benefits reaped by the institutions that housed memorials.

Map 3 Map of Italy. Courtesy of Hannah Calich, GIS Services, Otto G. Richter Library, University of Miami.

In chapter one, Karen Rose Mathews examines the cemetery complex of Pisa Cathedral, extraordinary for its great size and lavish decoration with ancient Roman spoils (*spolia*), including numerous recycled sarcophagi. About sixty antique caskets used for the burial of illustrious Pisans survive, though now moved to the adjacent cemetery complex known as the Camposanto. Inscriptions connect these ancient coffins to particular individuals and families, and Mathews explores the reasons for their reuse. She finds that these appropriated Roman objects provided the city's merchant class, comprised of self-made men as well as nobles who pursued mercantile activity, with rich symbolic, commercial, and historical significance. Reused ancient spoils were an ideal means for Pisans to visualize their Roman history and to celebrate the commune's greatness both past and present. Ancient sarcophagi also manifested the primary source of the city's wealth—a lucrative trade with territories across the Mediterranean. The symbolic value of these sarcophagi resided not only in their Roman origins, so essential to Pisan civic identity, but also in Pisa's broad Mediterranean trade network. Mathews demonstrates how these ancient sarcophagi also referred to more recent history, connecting Pisa's late medieval merchants to their eleventh-century predecessors who had built the city's mercantile wealth and political power.

Chapter two also investigates merchant memorials, as Agnieszka Patała examines the commemorative practices of German immigrants living in Breslau (Wrocław) between the mid-fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, when the now-Polish city belonged to the Bohemian Crown (map 4). Between 1440 and 1520, the Silesian city attracted several foreign trade companies and merchants who found the river port a favorable place for commerce and permanent settlement. The largest group of foreigners, representatives of big trade partnerships who swiftly assimilated to the local community, including serving on the city council, came from Nuremberg and its environs. To gain respect in the local Silesian community of Breslau and create opportune conditions for the development of their business networks in Central Europe, these newcomers followed a path successfully introduced in other European centers. Patała shows how Nuremberg immigrants first married into respected Breslau families, thus obtaining citizenship, and then strengthened their social positions through charitable, devotional, and memorial donations intended to emphasize piety and prolong the memory of their families, including the Heugel, Imhoff, Hübner, Hornung, Scheurl, and Starczedel clans. Their commemorative strategies reflected these Nuremberg merchants'

Map 4 Map of Eastern Europe. Courtesy of Hannah Calich, GIS Services, Otto G. Richter Library, University of Miami.

positions in their adopted Breslau community, their family backgrounds in their hometowns, their complex business ties, and their memberships in different confraternities. By using local Breslau workshops, immigrant commissions differed little in terms of stylistic and formal features from the donations of native Breslau families, but despite this seeming assimilation, Nurembergians consciously highlighted their otherness by choosing specific iconography and by grouping their monuments close to each other in Breslau's most important parish church.

In chapter three, Anne Leader describes the "sepulchralization" of Florence undertaken by the city's merchant-banking class. Most know Florence's memorial culture through the extraordinary Renaissance wall monuments created for high-ranking clerics like Baldassare Cossa, the Antipope John XXIII (d. 1419), or for civic heroes like Leonardo Bruni (d. 1444) and Carlo Marsuppini (d. 1453). These tombs are acclaimed for their illustrious inhabitants; for the esteemed artists who sculpted them—Donatello and Michelozzo for Cossa (ca. 1425–1427), Bernardo Rossellino for Bruni (ca. 1445), and Desiderio da Settignano for Marsuppini (ca. 1459); and for the renowned institutions that house them—the Baptistry and the Franciscan church of Santa Croce. However, by 1400, the city's merchants and bankers had already carpeted Florence's churches with hundreds of floor slabs, marking private ecclesiastical space not simply for burial, but also to remember their lineages in perpetuity. Just as these men filled the halls of government and places of business in life, their tombs covered the floors and walls of parish, mendicant, and monastic buildings in death. While proper burial was crucial to prepare for the afterlife, Leader shows these monuments to manifest a conflicting mix of piety and social calculation that reflect tension between Christian humility and social recognition. She explores how benefactors secured intercession for their souls while promoting family honor. Decorated with coats of arms, laudatory inscriptions, and occasional portrait sculpture, middle-class tombs were ubiquitous reminders of Florence's past and offered promise of a glorious future through the honorees' descendants still walking and working in the city.

The intersection of mercantile and memorial activities also forms the heart of chapter four, wherein Christian Steer investigates English burial practices through the lens of a particular subset of London society, namely merchants, artisans, and craftsmen. By focusing on tomb commissions undertaken by members of the Merchant Tailors' Company, Steer is able to identify patterns of patronage within London's middle class and to

show how these craftsmen and merchants used fashionable monuments to display both piety and pride. Drawing on evidence from fifty-one examples, mostly known through documentary evidence rather than surviving tombs, Steer has found that many members of the Tailors' Company procured stone memorials that included sculpted portraits of the deceased, sometimes with his family, and commemorative inscriptions in brass. All fraternity members were not seen as equals, however, and their tomb markers reflect these differences. Elites within the company, namely those who rose to the rank of master and procured other honors like knighthood and high political office, broke with convention to create specialized monuments whose avant-garde forms led them to stand out among the tomb slabs, just as their honorees had attracted attention and recognition in life.

In chapter five, Ruth Wolff examines the *imago doctoris in cathedra*, an image showing an enthroned professor frequently found on North Italian tombs. Established interpretation claims that this image type represents eminent doctors of law from the university of Bologna. However, Wolff uses examples from Treviso, Bologna, and Ferrara sculpted between 1300 and 1380 to demonstrate that the *imago doctoris in cathedra* was not an exclusive prerogative for funerary monuments of law professors, but rather was emblematic of a broader intellectual class that included notaries, medical professionals, authors, and legal scholars (map 3). Wolff examines the tombs of the Bolognese notary Rolandino Passaggeri (d. 1300); the legal counselor of the Commune of Treviso, Bonincontro degli Arpo (d. 1306); the physician Albertus (d. 1317), also in Treviso; and the lawyer Pietro di Dante Alighieri (d. 1365), who wrote erudite commentary on his father's *Divine Comedy*, to show that the *imago doctoris in cathedra* was neither exclusive to Bologna nor originated by tombs dedicated to the city's law professors. While such images elevated the status of the deceased, the tombs' formal affinities with those of contemporaneous local funerary monuments dedicated to saints and bishops added further to the dignity of the individual in particular and of the class as a whole, and the *imago doctoris in cathedra* is shown to have been a widespread phenomenon in Northern Italy used by a variety of intellectuals, including Bonalbergo Bonfadi (d. 1345) in Ferrara, whose tomb and *imago doctoris* image were used to promote the development of university studies in the city.

Shifting westward, chapter six, co-authored by Ann Adams and Nicola Jennings, investigates Fernán López de Saldaña, Nicolas Rolin, and Pieter Bladelin, "middle-class" Europeans whose skills enabled them

to rise to the heights of power and aspire to nobility in their native Spain, Burgundy, and Flanders (map 2). Saldaña (ca. 1400–1456), a converted Jew, was named Chancellor of the Royal Seal and Chief Accountant to King Juan II of Castile (1405–1454) as well as member of the Royal Council in 1428. Rolin (1376–1462) rose to become Chancellor of Burgundy, while Bladelin (ca. 1410–1472) became financier and diplomat to Philip the Good (1396–1467) and Treasurer of the Burgundian Order of the Golden Fleece. These men were products of newly emerging states that needed, and rewarded, effective administrators and financiers. Their wealth enabled them to live nobly (*vivre noblement*) and to use conspicuous consumption to fashion new identities as if they were noble. They understood that investment in material culture could demonstrate status and power as well as virtue and piety. Saldaña created a splendid funerary chapel in the royal convent of Santa Clara de Tordesillas that imported Burgundian style into Castile; Rolin invested in his parish church of Notre-Dame Autun and founded the Hôtel-Dieu, Beaune; Bladelin created the new town of Middelburg, Maldegem. Adams and Jennings look at their commemorative strategies, which—in a period when the concept of nobility was a subject of great preoccupation—demonstrate not only the personal aspirations of these three men but also provide a lens to assess contemporary perceptions of class and social status and how self-made figures fit into a fluid social landscape.

In chapter seven, Sandra Cardarelli studies the case of Cione di Urbano, Count of Lattaia and Ravi, a little-known feudal landlord whose testament offers insight into Tuscan commemorative strategies in the early Renaissance, specifically those of the impoverished aristocracy in fifteenth-century Tuscany. Dated 1478, Cione's last will lays out his plans for celebrating his family and preparing for the afterlife (included here as an appendix). Art historians know Cione through his patronage of an altarpiece by the Sienese painter Sano di Pietro for the church of San Leonardo in Ravi, a small town that formed part of the Sienese *contado* (map 3). Cione's testament offers insight into late fifteenth-century attitudes toward piety, family, and social status. The holograph document details Cione's desire to fund a family sepulcher at Ravi's main church and provides detailed descriptions of his lineage's other tombs in both Ravi and Siena. In addition to suggesting family connections to important church officials, Cione's testament reveals his struggle to reconcile his family's interests with its falling social status. Interestingly, Cione stipulated that his own tomb be placed in the church of San Francesco in Siena in close proximity to that of his daughter and his

maternal grandfather. By choosing the dominant city, rather than opting for burial in one of his family's plots at the periphery in Ravi, Cione strove to honor his lineage as the last male representative of the da Lattaia. Most importantly, his testament highlights the tensions that surged in the affirmation of a new social identity that, although rooted in the old, feudal, signorial system, had to negotiate with the emergence of Siena's middle classes.

In contrast to Cione's falling fortunes, in chapter eight Meredith Crosbie investigates upward social mobility in seventeenth-century Venice through the funerary monuments of the diplomat Girolamo Cavazza (1588–1681) and the governor Bartolomeo Mora (d. 1676). These middle-class men commissioned elaborate tombs for themselves inside the city's churches of Madonna dell'Orto and San Lazzaro dei Mendicanti. Their monuments are notable not only for their Baroque splendor and allegorical sculptures, but also because they were placed directly across from monuments dedicated to the Contarini and Cappello families, both of which were ancient members of the Venetian nobility. Crosbie examines the social and cultural implications of the Cavazza and Mora monuments' strategic placement and design to show how the tombs either mirror or deviate from their noble counterparts, illustrating a dialogue between Venetian social classes and their patterns of patronage. The boundaries between the middle class (or *cittadini*) and nobility in Venice were blurry, since wealthy *cittadini* could buy their way into the nobility. Cavazza, who served as a diplomat and as secretary of the Council of Ten, was awarded the rank of Count in 1653. Similarly, Mora was active as a governor and president of the hospital of San Lazzaro dei Mendicanti, home to his sepulcher, and was elected into the nobility (after a significant donation to the government) in 1665. In light of this context, the Cavazza and Mora monuments can be interpreted as brazen declarations of status and familial pride, as well as reflections and examples of the complex social hierarchy in seventeenth-century Venice.

Chapter nine also looks at the intersection of noble and middle-class values, as Charlotte A. Stanford explores the commemorative relationship between Franciscan convents and their patrons in fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Strasbourg (map 4). Late medieval Strasbourgeois, in keeping with longstanding practice, offered Franciscan nuns numerous kinds of gifts in return for remembrances known as obits. The celebration of a patron's anniversary obit was among the most venerable monastic practices, and the rise of the mendicant orders gave a broader group of patrons access to individualized burial and commemoration. Increasing numbers of middle-class families sought, and were granted, remembrances

in the churches of the new orders. While gifts recorded in obituary books could range widely from lands to goods and cash, in late medieval Strasbourg's two Franciscan convents, a particular type of donation prevailed: food gifts (*pitancia* in Latin, or *uf den tisch* in local German dialect) often consisting of extra treats such as eggs or cheese that helped enhance the nuns' basic monastic meal.

Standford compares obit gifts to Franciscan convents with those made to the Dominicans and to the city's great hospital. The Dominicans rarely recorded *pitancia* commemorations, indicating their absence from long-term remembrance strategies for donors (if they were given at all). By contrast, *pitancia* were common gifts to the sick poor at the hospital and to the avowed poor nuns in Franciscan convents. Though donors' status varied according to each convent—the Franciscan nuns of St. Klara am Rossmarkt came from a wealthier background than their sisters at St. Klara auf dem Werth—many of the donors who gave money for *pitancia* were lay women and men of upper-middle-class status, whose arrangement of such charity foundations would have been both practical in providing comforts to the nuns and meritorious in arranging good works. Such gifts, like those to the sick poor, provided a little ease to the nuns' austere lives in return for commemorative prayers. *Pitancia*, widespread in Europe, formed an important part of European commemorative practice and offered patrons another means to perform acts of Christian charity and safeguard their souls.

In chapter ten, Barbara McNulty examines panel paintings commissioned for family commemoration on the island of Cyprus in the eastern Mediterranean (map 5). The panel-painted icon represented a premier form of devotional art from late Byzantium into the Renaissance, serving in a wide range of public and private contexts, including church interiors, civic processions, and shrines within the home. By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Cypriot patrons were commissioning panel-painted icons to commemorate family members, especially children. Significant evidence attests to this practice in the mixed Orthodox and Latin communities under Frankish rule during the Lusignan dynasty (r. 1192–1473). As Cyprus came under Venetian domination by 1474, the number of icons depicting families increased dramatically. McNulty traces the history of the family funerary icon in Cyprus, with a focus on those made in the fifteenth century. She investigates the earliest extant example featuring a family group as the painting's donors, a monumental image representing the Virgin *Hodegetria*, in which Mary holds the Christ child

Map 5 Map of Eastern Mediterranean. Courtesy of Hannah Calich, GIS Services, Otto G. Richter Library, University of Miami.

on her right arm as she gestures toward him with her left hand, now in the Byzantine Museum of the Archbishop Makarios III Foundation, Nicosia. The Nicosia icon demonstrates the changing social and cultural meanings of this commemorative art form. McNulty shows the funerary icon to have been popular among the middle classes, who did not typically have enough wealth available for the decoration of churches but found commemorative icons to be a less costly yet highly effective form of patronage.

Chapter eleven also studies the importance of the family group in commemorative monuments. Harriette Peel explores Flemish late medieval epitaphs, typically seen as tools for viewers who felt a duty of care towards souls in purgatory, as monuments to life, to personal identity, and to the fundamental value of family networks. Through an examination of their iconography, and consideration of the historical circumstances of their commissions, Peel argues that these epitaphs were highly specific monuments to both the lives and afterlives of those commemorated. The Church of Our Lady in Bruges, the city's most prominent parish church, once housed hundreds of citizen memorials. Of those from the fifteenth century, an unusual group of four epitaphs remain close to their original locations, providing valuable evidence of a typical, but now enigmatic, art form in the Burgundian Renaissance. One pair of epitaphs belonged to the de Baenst family; the second, to the van de Velde. All four date from between 1491 and 1495, and three include large portrait groups of the commemorated couples' children. They are strikingly homogeneous in both composition and style, similarities that belie the great social distinction between the two families. The de Baenst were landowning noblemen, courtiers to the dukes of Burgundy, whereas the van de Velde were middle-class merchants and civic officials. Through her study of these monuments, Peel shows that it was the elite patrons who emulated mercantile commemorative practice. She argues that this seeming reversal of influence took place at a specific historical moment. These unstudied epitaphs, and the family stories built around them, provide fascinating insights into attitudes toward civic and political position during the 1480s and early '90s when Bruges' social, dynastic, and cultural history was transformed by the Flemish civil war.

Written by an international group of scholars, the subsequent chapters are aimed at those interested in medieval and Renaissance art history, cultural history, socio-economic history, and memory studies. Additional audiences include those interested in sculpture, church architecture, funerary rituals, class structure, social self-fashioning, and

corporate identity. We offer a contextualized view of the patronage, conception, creation, and reception of European memorials from England, Flanders, and Poland to Spain, Italy, and Cyprus in order to show how middle-class Europeans regularly looked to commemorative acts with both piety and self-promotion in mind.

Notes

¹ Carbonell and Mosquera, "The Emergence of a Symbolic Behaviour"; Zilhão, "Lower and Middle Paleolithic Mortuary Behaviours and the Origins of Ritual Burial."

² For more on the hypothesis of deliberate body disposal at Dinaledi, and various dating between one and two million years old, yet to be confirmed through radiometric tests, see Berger et al., "Homo Naledi, a New Species of the Genus Homo from the Dinaledi Chamber, South Africa"; Dirks et al., "Geological and Taphonomic Context for the New Hominin Species Homo Naledi from the Dinaledi Chamber, South Africa"; Randolph-Quinney, "A New Star Rising"; Randolph-Quinney, "The Mournful Ape." For the ongoing debate on Berger's methods and findings, see Williams, "Digging for Glory: Fossils and Hype in South Africa."

³ Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*; Curl, *A Celebration of Death*.

⁴ *De la robe* refers to the long garments worn by civil servants and bureaucrats who were often rewarded with land accompanied by feudal titles from the rulers they served. Hale, *The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance*, 78–80, 372–89.

⁵ Jardine, *Still Harping on Daughters*, 147–48; quoted in Hale, *The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance*, 388, 606n72.

⁶ "Piaceme interamente, salvo che l'essere mercante et banchere [*sic*], il che purtroppo mi pare sconvenevole alla casa nostra." Hirst, *Sebastiano Del Piombo*, 32n1; translated by Yamey, *Art & Accounting*, 20–21, 139n15; quoted by Hale, *The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance*, 388, 606n74. Chigi had first married Margherita Saracini, with whom he had no children before her death in 1508. After his unsuccessful courtship of Margherita Gonzaga, he eventually wed his mistress Francesca Ordeaschi, the mother of his five children. Dante, "Chigi, Agostino"; Ferrigno, "Raffaello e Agostino Chigi," 7–9.

⁷ In ancient Rome, neither burial nor cremation was allowed within city limits, though this could be excused for eminent citizens like Emperors Augustus and Hadrian: "Hominem mortuum in Urbe ne sepelito neve urito." Johnson, Coleman-Norton, and Bourne, "The Twelve Tables," 10.1. See also Bernard, "La sépulture en droit canonique," 16; Bride, "Sépulture," 1887–88; Ariès, *Western Attitudes toward Death*, 14–15; Pines, "The Tomb Slabs of Santa Croce," 9–15.

⁸ Bernard, "La sépulture en droit canonique," 85–104; Strocchia, "Burials in Renaissance Florence," 208–9.

⁹ Bernard, "La sépulture en droit canonique," 16; Bride, "Sépulture," 1888; Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, 29–33.

¹⁰ See section on "Burial in churches" in Curran, "Cemetery"; and Bernard, "La sépulture en droit canonique," 16; Ariès, *Western Attitudes toward Death*, 16–17; Höger, "Studien zur Entstehung der Familienkapelle," 16–22; Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, 32–40; Duval, *Après des saints, corps et âme*, 194–201; Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body*, 204–5; Leader, *The Badia of Florence*, 70–73.

¹¹ "Dignum est enim ut ibi requiescat sacerdos, ubi offerre consuevit." It is notable, that Ambrose allowed his brother Satyrus, despite his lay status, to be buried indoors next to a martyr's tomb. Curran, "Cemetery"; Bernard, "La sépulture en droit canonique," 16–17; Marantonio Sguerzo, *Evoluzione storico-giuridica dell'istituto della sepoltura ecclesiastica*, 62–63.

¹² See "Burial in Church: Law vs. Practice" in Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, 45–51.

¹³ Curran, "Cemetery."

¹⁴ Canon 18: "Item placuit, ut corpora defunctorum nullo modo intra basilicam sanctorum sepeliantur, sed si necesse est de foris circa murum basilicae usque adeo non abhorret." Gonzalez, *Collectio Canonum Ecclesiae Hispanae*, 605; for a description of conciliar repetition of this edict as "monotonous" see Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, 46–47; see also Bernard, "La sépulture en droit canonique," 17–23; Bride, "Sépulture," 1888; Marantonio Sguerzo, *Evoluzione storico-giuridica dell'istituto della sepoltura ecclesiastica*, 66–67.

¹⁵ Theodulf, "Capitula ad presbyteros parochiae suae," 194, no. 9. For English translations see Thorpe, "Ecclesiastical Institutes," 472; Johnson, "Theodulf's Capitula," 457. Bernard dates the statement to 797. Bernard, "La sépulture en droit canonique," 2–3, 19; Marantonio Sguerzo, *Evoluzione storico-giuridica dell'istituto della sepoltura ecclesiastica*, 63–67.

¹⁶ C. 52: "Nullus mortuus infra ecclesiam sepeliatur, nisi episcopi aut abbates aut digni presbyteri vel fideles laici." Werminghoff, *Concilia aevi Karolini*, 1:272. See also Szuromi, *Pre-Gratian Medieval Canonical Collections*, 42–44.

¹⁷ Gratian, *Decretum magistri Gratiani*, 727–28. The canon in question, C.13 q. 2, c. 18, was added to the second, expanded version of Gratian's *Decretum*. Winroth, *The Making of Gratian's Decretum*, 213.

¹⁸ Marantonio Sguerzo, *Evoluzione storico-giuridica dell'istituto della sepoltura ecclesiastica*, 70–73.

¹⁹ Bernard, "La sépulture en droit canonique," 23–24; Marantonio Sguerzo, *Evoluzione della storico-giuridica dell'istituto sepoltura ecclesiastica*, 71; Strocchia, "Burials in Renaissance Florence," 206–7. Huguccio (Hugh of Pisa) and Laurentius Hispanus were canonists active in Bologna around the turn of the thirteenth century. Huguccio wrote a *Summa* on the *Decretum* in the late twelfth century. Van Hove, "Huguccio"; McManus, "The Ecclesiology of Laurentius Hispanus."

²⁰ Marantonio Sguerzo, *Evoluzione storico-giuridica dell'istituto della sepoltura ecclesiastica*, 71–72. Teutonicus is also known as John Zimeke. Boudinhon,

"Glosses, Glossaries, Glossarists." The more expansive view of intrachurch burial was reconfirmed by Innocent III (Decretals, 1.3.28, canons 3, 5, and 6), Gregory IX (Bulls of 26 July and 30 Nov. 1227 and 29 Apr. 1229 as well as his *Decretals* of 1234, 10.3.28); and Innocent IV (Bull of 1243). Potthast, *Regesta pontificum romanorum*, 690, 697, 721; Bride, "Sépulture," 1889–90; Pines, "The Tomb Slabs of Santa Croce," 12. Bernard notes that the bulls of 1227 allowed the Dominicans to bury members of their own order, but not outsiders. Bernard, "La sépulture en droit canonique," 76n3.

²¹ Bernard, "La sépulture en droit canonique," 25–26; Marantonio Sguerzo, *Evoluzione storico-giuridica dell'istituto della sepoltura ecclesiastica*, 74–76.

²² This is the primary thesis of Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying*; see also Pines, "The Tomb Slabs of Santa Croce," 14–19; Bruzelius, "Dead Come to Town"; Schwartz, *Il bel cimitero*.

²³ There is some confusion in the literature about when the mendicants were first allowed to bury laypersons. Gregory IX issued numerous bulls regarding mendicant burial. Those of 26 Jul. and 30 Nov. 1227 gave rights to the Franciscans and Dominicans respectively. Potthast, *Regesta pontificum romanorum*, 1:690 (7974), 697 (8067). Bernard notes that the latter bull only allowed the Dominicans to bury members of their own order, but not outsiders. Bernard, "La sépulture en droit canonique," 76n3. According to Höger, the right to bury the laity was extended to the mendicants by Gregory IX with a bull of 29 Apr. 1229, though it seems to apply only to the Dominicans. Potthast, *Regesta pontificum romanorum*, 1:721 (8386); Höger, "Studien zur Entstehung der Familienkapelle," 50. According to Bernard, 25 Feb. 1250 saw this right extended to the Franciscans by Innocent IV. Potthast, *Regesta pontificum romanorum*, 2:1151 (13923); Bernard, "La sépulture en droit canonique," 76n2, 183. The next major legislation came 18 Feb. 1300 with the bull *Super cathedram praeeminentiae* in which Boniface VIII reiterated the right of mendicant burial. This would be revoked by Benedict XI in 1304 but renewed by Clement V in 1311. Potthast, *Regesta pontificum romanorum*, 2:1992 (24913); Bernard, "La sépulture en droit canonique," 185; see also Bride, "Sépulture," 1889–90; Pines, "The Tomb Slabs of Santa Croce," 12.

²⁴ Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, 48.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 49.

²⁶ Ariès, *Western Attitudes toward Death*; Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*; Ragon, *The Space of Death*; Ariès, *Images of Man and Death*; Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance*; Strocchia, *Death and Ritual*; Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England, 1066–1550*.

²⁷ Burger, *Geschichte des florentinischen Grabmals*; Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*; Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs*; Ronan, "The Tuscan Wall Tomb 1250–1400"; Butterfield, "Social Structure and the Typology of Funerary Monuments."

²⁸ Gardner, *The Tomb and the Tiara*; Zuraw, "The Public Commemorative Monument: Mino Da Fiesole's Tombs in the Florentine Badia"; Hengerer, *Macht und Memoria*; Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England*;

Labno, *Commemorating the Polish Renaissance Child: Funeral Monuments and Their European Context*.

²⁹ Curl, *Death and Architecture*; Schwartz, *Il bel cimitero*; Cannon, *Religious Poverty, Visual Riches*, 227–49; Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying*.

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Chapter One

Recycling for Eternity

The Reuse of Ancient Sarcophagi by Pisan Merchants, 1200–1400

Karen Rose Mathews

THE CITY OF PISA, like many other Tuscan urban centers, faced a profound crisis of identity in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (maps 1 and 3). The economic interests that determined the city's wealth and prestige in the Middle Ages changed dramatically as Pisa's role in international maritime commerce diminished in the face of new mercantile and financial ventures starting around 1250. Pisa suffered waves of political unrest that brought popular governments to power interspersed with autocratic regimes. The social hierarchy within the city reflected these momentous changes, as an almost complete turnover took place within the ruling class by 1290, and a wealthy bourgeoisie established itself as a political force to the detriment of the consular aristocracy. Unlike other cities in Italy that strictly prohibited nobles from participation in civic government, the Pisan dichotomy between traditional aristocrats, or *nobiltà*, and upwardly mobile self-made men, or *popolo*, was not so rigidly defined, and the two groups regularly collaborated in political and commercial ventures.¹ The institution of the Camposanto, the cathedral's monumental cemetery, came into being in this time of great societal change, founded in 1277 by Federico Visconti, the Archbishop of Pisa. Visconti envisioned a funerary complex that would address three pressing concerns. First, the Camposanto provided a lay-controlled and democratic burial space for all levels of Pisan society. Second, the cemetery's creation also eliminated the problem of tomb overcrowding within the cathedral and around its perimeter that had begun to compromise the beauty and decorum of the city's central religious structure. Finally, the new monumental cemetery allowed the cathedral to compete with the recently established mendicant orders for the right to bury the city's elite, a prerogative that had significant economic repercussions.

Cathedral, Camposanto, and Competition with Mendicants

The establishment of a cemetery associated with the Cathedral of Pisa took place almost as soon as the church's building campaign began in 1063. The first burial, that of Beatrice, mother of Countess Matilda of Canossa in 1076, established a tradition of noble and middle-class tombs in and around the cathedral (figure 1.1).² Secular and religious elites were honored with burial inside the church, while other members of Pisan society were memorialized on the exterior (figure 1.2). Evidence for the popularity of burials around the cathedral is seen in the numerous inscriptions on the walls of the cathedral itself (figure 1.3).

Originally paired with freestanding tomb monuments (now removed to the Camposanto), these inscriptions date to the eleventh and twelfth centuries and indicate the wide array of people from various social classes who were accorded the privilege of burial at this prestigious site.³ Political reforms challenging these longstanding burial practices developed in the second half of the thirteenth century. The cathedral was the foremost civic monument in Pisa but could not function well as a place of public gathering because of the many tombs that had come to

Figure 1.1 Phaedra Sarcophagus of Beatrice (d. 1076). All sarcophagi can be found in the Camposanto, Pisa unless otherwise indicated.

Photograph by Karen Rose Mathews.

Figure 1.2 Pisa, Duomo, begun ca. 1063. Photograph by Karen Rose Mathews.

encumber the church exterior. Documents refer to the cathedral's resulting lack of decorum, which encouraged further inappropriate activities like parking carts, throwing stones, threshing grain, and playing games around the structure.⁴ It was at this time, too, that Santa Caterina and San Francesco, the churches of the mendicant orders in Pisa, began accommodating lay burials in unprecedented numbers, presenting the cathedral clergy with the dilemma of how to protect and enhance its rights against

Figure 1.3 Funerary inscriptions from exterior of Pisan Duomo, eleventh to twelfth century. Photograph by Karen Rose Mathews.

encroachments from the mendicants while at the same time restoring the church's dignity and beauty.⁵ The Camposanto was the ideal solution, for it provided a monumental cemetery in close proximity to the cathedral that could rival the monumental structures of the friars.

Legend associated the founding of the Camposanto with Archbishop Ubaldo of Pisa, who brought back shiploads of earth from the Holy Land to Pisa in 1192 after the Third Crusade.⁶ Ubaldo thus provided the sanctified ground after which the Camposanto was named, but the real impetus for the construction project came from the reformer Archbishop Visconti in 1277. Visconti played a central role in Pisan politics of the late thirteenth century as a supporter of the popular government that came into power in 1254,⁷ and the *opera*, or governing body, that oversaw the Camposanto construction and administration drew from the laity, including politically connected Pisans. From the outset, the Camposanto was defined as the prime burial site for Pisa's powerful middle class,⁸ even though elite burials continued in the Duomo and other important churches in the city. The Camposanto comprised a monumental cloister with its own church dedicated to the Holy Trinity, a consecrated space that could rival mendicant structures in sanctity and ample burial locations (figure 1.4).⁹

Figure 1.4 Camposanto, general view, begun 1277. Photograph by Karen Rose Mathews.

It had the additional benefit of possessing a relic from the Holy Land—the sacred soil brought from Jerusalem by Archbishop Ubaldo in the late twelfth century. Burial in the Camposanto began to increase in popularity in the 1330s and '40s, though the cemetery was still under construction.¹⁰ The banning of burials around the cathedral in 1349 forced those interested in cathedral burial to choose the Camposanto, for as long as the cathedral was still an option for a family tomb, the Camposanto would always be a distant second choice. The end of the fourteenth century saw funerary monuments from the cathedral transferred to the Camposanto, and new burial spaces in the cemetery became available for purchase, ranging from extravagant private chapels to humbler in-ground tomb plaques to accommodate all levels of Pisan society (figure 1.5).¹¹ The vast open spaces of the monumental cemetery provided the perfect setting for increasingly ostentatious lay burials, and the Camposanto soon became the premier location in the city for commemoration of the dead.

In a city filled with dozens of churches, medieval Pisans had a bewildering array of choices for their family burial monuments. In the fourteenth century, the four most popular burial locations were the Duomo/Camposanto, the church of Santa Chiara in the Spedale Nuovo, the Dominican church of Santa Caterina, and the Franciscan San Francesco.¹² Bitter struggles began in the thirteenth century among religious institutions about burial rights, and the cathedral jealously guarded its *ius sepulchri* and the financial compensation that came with it against the aggressive encroachment of the mendicants. The business of burying the Pisan citizenry was a competitive one, and Caroline Bruzelius has argued that the enormous size of mendicant churches was intended to house the dead rather than the living, thus resulting in elaborate indoor cemeteries.¹³ The Camposanto embodied this new preoccupation with death and earthly commemoration on the part of the city's middle-class elite, and the merchants, notaries, jurists, textile producers, and bankers that controlled civic government flocked to the new cemetery as a burial site that provided the best of both worlds, combining popular ideals with the visual trappings of power traditionally associated with Pisa's aristocratic elite.

Sarcophagi and the Mercantile Elite

Once they selected the Camposanto as their final resting place, Pisa's political elite chose to be buried in reused ancient sarcophagi in extraordinary numbers. Though the reuse of ancient sarcophagi for

Figure 1.5 Camposanto, north corridor. Photograph by Karen Rose Mathews.

medieval burials and architectural decoration was a widespread phenomenon throughout Europe, and seen in other churches in Pisa, no other site could compete with the Duomo's monumental cemetery in the number of recycled tombs.¹⁴ The city's ruling class employed a variety of different types of ancient sarcophagi, but documents indicate a preference for marble, even better when decorated with figures or narrative scenes. It was

also significant that the caskets originated from outside of Pisa; the city had been a notable urban center in the Roman period, but the majority of the sarcophagi in the Camposanto came from Rome or Ostia.¹⁵ Elite patrons thus expended considerable effort and funds to import Roman objects from distant locales. They served as status symbols, with considerable “snob appeal” as Michael Greenhalgh has noted, due to their precious material, lavish decoration, and exotic provenance.¹⁶ Medieval families and individuals personalized recycled tombs by inscribing the family name on the lid, base, or sarcophagus itself. Incorporating a newly carved crest, or *stemma*, into the decoration defined a tomb’s specificity and singularity and displayed the pride of the medieval owner in possessing such an extraordinary funerary monument. A considerable number of ancient sarcophagi were reused as burial monuments in the Camposanto in the late Middle Ages, from which a representative sample can demonstrate the appeal of this type of memorial across a wide cross-section of Pisa’s elite. These tombs belonged to individuals as well as families, members of the bourgeoisie and nobility, including citizens who practiced a number of different professions. The Pisans buried in ancient sarcophagi featured prominently in financial and political documents from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and both visual and documentary evidence provide a comprehensive picture of who these middle-class elites were and why they would elect burial in reused Roman tombs.

The Dell’Agnello, or Agnelli, family rose to prominence in Pisa in the fourteenth century, with a diversified portfolio of business ventures that included landholding and agriculture, wool production, banking, and commerce.¹⁷ They traveled extensively across the Mediterranean in pursuit of maritime trade, conducting business in Spain, France, southern Italy, North Africa, and, above all, Sardinia. Along with economic success came an increased political presence, and the Dell’Agnello held numerous government positions in both communal and signorial regimes and numbered among the leaders of the guild that controlled maritime commerce in the city, the *Ordine del Mare*.¹⁸ The family sarcophagus at the Camposanto belonged to the important civic figure Gallo Dell’Agnello, a judge, government official, and *operaio* of the Pisan Duomo.¹⁹ Gallo died in 1297 before the Camposanto was completed, so it is likely that his tomb was originally placed near the cathedral and later moved to the monumental cemetery in the fourteenth century. The marble tomb itself dates to the early third century CE (figure 1.6), and its ornamentation features two winged genies holding a round medallion in the center

Figure 1.6 Sarcophagus of Gallo Dell'Agnello, judge and *operaio*. Photograph by Karen Rose Mathews.

of the sarcophagus.²⁰ The medallion originally would have displayed a portrait of the deceased but was recut to form a shield on which the family coat of arms was placed. The medieval lid displays an inscription that identifies the sarcophagus as the tomb of Gallo Dell'Agnello and notes his professional and civic roles as jurist and lay *operaio* for the cathedral.

Guido di Benencasa was the founding member of the *popolo* Scacceri family. He successfully made the transition from being a leader of the consular government to the new popular regime in the tumultuous years around 1254. Guido's son, Michele (or Ghele), succeeded his father in key governmental positions in the city, serving as an elder, treasurer, and counselor for the commune.²¹ The Scacceri were also moneylenders for the city and leaders in the two main merchant guilds: the *Ordine dei Mercanti* and the *Ordine del Mare*. Documentary evidence exists for their commercial interests in Sardinia, Spain, and the eastern Mediterranean, where they conducted business in Acre in the 1260s.²² The tomb in the Camposanto was established by Ghele (figure 1.7), who served as *operaio* of the cathedral from 1340 to his death in 1341.²³ The sarcophagus in which he was buried dates to the late second century CE and is adorned with a marine landscape replete with tritons, nereids, and other sea creatures in a watery version of paradise.²⁴ Like the earlier *operaio* Gallo Dell'Agnello, Scacceri chose to recycle an ancient sarcophagus as his personal burial monument.

The Falconi family built its fortune through a combination of landholdings and mercantile ventures; they were also involved in banking and by the early fourteenth century featured among the most prominent

Figure 1.7 Sarcophagus of Michele Scacceri, *operaio*. Photograph by Karen Rose Mathews.

members of the *popolo*. Regardless of the type of political regime, they maintained positions of power in government and in the merchant guilds.²⁵ The Falconi commercial ventures combined local trade with a presence overseas. Their engagement in all areas of wool production incorporated them into one of the most lucrative industries of fourteenth-century Italy.²⁶ The Falconi sarcophagus (figure 1.8) is a tall tomb of the strigilated type with standing figures at the center and ends of the long side. The figural style places the sarcophagus in the mid-third century CE. Between the heads of the two males under the central aedicula is the *stemma* of the Falconi family, accompanied by the inscription “sepulchrum Falchonorum” immediately to the left.²⁷

The Scorcialupi was a noble family first seen in Pisan politics in the late thirteenth century. Despite the predominance of bourgeois families in Pisan public life, the Scorcialupi served in the government as *Anziani*, provided military assistance in defense of Pisan control of Sardinia in the 1320s, and held positions as consuls in the *Ordine del Mare*.²⁸ Their involvement in the maritime merchants’ guild and the presence of family members in Tunisia and Sardinia demonstrated the clan’s connection to international commerce. Their fusion with the bourgeoisie was complete by the early fourteenth century when the Scorcialupi had themselves declared members of the *popolo*.²⁹ By renouncing their aristocratic lineage, they could enjoy all the benefits that came with being a part of the urban middle class.

Figure 1.8 Falconi family sarcophagus. Photograph by Karen Rose Mathews.

Two reused ancient sarcophagi in the Camposanto indicate the level of wealth attained by the Scorcialupi. The first is a strigilated sarcophagus (figure 1.9), dating to approximately 260–270 CE, with a seated philosopher figure at the center. The inscription on the cover bears the Scorcialupi name and dates to the thirteenth century. The second family tomb (figure 1.10) is a richly carved mythological sarcophagus featuring the narrative of the Rape of Persephone.³⁰ In a blank space above the chariot of Ceres, a medieval sculptor carved the family's name. One member of the Scorcialupi family, Giovanni, was a central force in the Camposanto construction project. As *operaio* until his death in 1337, he oversaw the building campaign, created an altar dedicated to the Holy Trinity in the cemetery, and may have been the patron of some of the most famous frescoes to decorate the monument's walls.³¹ Though he could have been buried in any type of sepulchral monument, including one of his family's other sarcophagi, he chose a more modest in-ground burial that counterbalanced the ostentation of his other commissions for the Camposanto.³²

The Assopardi's ascent into the highest government circles followed a similar trajectory to that of the Scorcialupi. They were a noble family with commercial interests that coincided with the rich middle class. The *Ordine del Mare* served as a meeting ground for the two groups, as it

Figure 1.9 Scorcialupi sarcophagus with seated philosopher. Photograph by Karen Rose Mathews.

had been the consular aristocracy that monopolized international trade in eleventh- and twelfth-century Pisa.³³ The Assopardi had themselves declared *popolo* in the early fourteenth century, and from the 1330s to the 1360s they consistently served as *Anziani*. Their wealth and economic status were based on extensive land possessions combined with mercantile ventures that took members of the family to southern Italy and France.³⁴ The family burial monument in the Camposanto consists of a garland sarcophagus from the second half of the second century CE (figure 1.11). Putti hold lush garlands and are accompanied by centaurs and sea nymphs. The newly inscribed family name flanks the head of the central figure.³⁵

Figure 1.10 Scorcialupi family sarcophagus with *Rape of Persephone*. Photograph by Karen Rose Mathews.

Figure 1.11 Assopardi family tomb. Photograph by Karen Rose Mathews.

These Pisan families, then, consisted of nobles and non-nobles who participated in maritime ventures, traveled and resided abroad, or funded commercial activities throughout the Mediterranean. They were deeply involved in Pisan politics and in the administration of the cathedral and the Camposanto. All these families selected ancient sarcophagi as their family burial monuments, and they personalized the appropriated Roman objects with family or individual names accompanied by heraldry. Members of the city's governing class thus made a conscious decision to have themselves and their family members buried in these beautiful and luxurious recycled Roman tombs that carried great symbolic and historical, as well as practical and commercial, value.

Ancient Rome and Medieval Pisan *Romanitas*

The symbolic value of recycled ancient sarcophagi resided in their Roman origins, alluding to a *romanitas pisana* that was essential to Pisan civic identity in the Middle Ages. Pisa's connection with Rome was longstanding, officially becoming a city in the first century BCE under the

name *Colonia Opsequens Iulia Pisana*.³⁶ In the political realm, Pisa was quite early in its establishment as an independent commune with representatives already identified as consuls in the late eleventh century.³⁷ The city was a steadfast supporter of the emperor and the imperial faction, a Tuscan Ghibelline stronghold surrounded by Guelph rivals like Genoa, Florence, and Lucca. Despite the political hostility and economic disadvantages a pro-imperial position engendered, Pisa maintained its loyalty to the political figure who embodied the empire of the ancient Romans and their Holy Roman successors. The extensive Roman material reused in Pisan monuments thus referred to Roman political precedents that saw their continuation in the person of the Holy Roman Emperor.

Cultural manifestations of *romanitas* abounded as well in both textual and visual sources. Medieval texts likened the Duomo to an ancient temple, lauded Pisa as a second Rome or *Roma altera*, and compared the Pisans to Roman citizens.³⁸ The Pisans displayed pride in their Roman heritage in the extensive use of Roman *spolia* on the city's churches.³⁹ It was the cathedral, however, that possessed the most extraordinary collection of Roman sculpture that included reused ancient capitals and columns, architraves, cornices, corbels, and friezes both inside and out. The most original display of Roman *spolia* can be seen on the exterior, where hundreds of architectural fragments and ancient inscriptions were embedded into the walls. The sheer volume of ancient spoils, consciously applied and forming a central part of the decorative program of the Duomo, is impressive. No other medieval structure employs inscriptions and sarcophagi to this degree.⁴⁰ Reused ancient marble inscriptions and Roman architectural reliefs covered the exterior of the cathedral, inserted and arranged in a seemingly random and haphazard fashion. Inscriptions are often upside down or placed sideways but the writing on them is always clearly legible. The inscribed stones (figure 1.12) often featured imperial references—the titles “imperator” and “caesar” as well as the names of particular rulers, including Hadrian, Trajan, and Antoninus Pius. The secular content and political associations harmonized with and drew attention to the civic function of the cathedral. Thus, Pisa's Roman foundation, Roman style of consular government, loyalty to the emperor, and consciousness as a successor to Rome were manifested visually on the cathedral through its array of Roman spoils, complemented by the recycled ancient tombs that ringed the structure.

The ancient sarcophagi reused around the cathedral and in the Camposanto worked within the Pisan tradition of referencing ancient

Figure 1.12: Inscription with name of Emperor Hadrian from exterior of Pisan Duomo. Photograph by Karen Rose Mathews.

Rome, but also alluded to more recent, medieval history that connected Pisa's late medieval merchants to their predecessors who established the city's mercantile wealth in the eleventh century. This had been a high point for the city, when Pisan warriors went on the offensive and achieved great military victories in the Mediterranean that secured safe passage for merchant ships and brought extraordinary prosperity to the city as a whole. It was in this time period, too, that an aesthetic developed that had *spolia* at its core, and dense assemblages of appropriated objects ornamented the cathedral and dozens of other churches in the city. The first usage of ancient sarcophagi for the burial of notable figures like Beatrice (figure 1.1) occurred in this context of conscious revival of an ancient past, with tombs arranged around the cathedral like votive offerings at an ancient religious sanctuary.⁴¹ The reused ancient sarcophagi complemented the other Roman *spolia* on the cathedral, with ancient inscriptions, medieval inscriptions, and burial monuments forming a visual and conceptual whole on the Duomo's exterior.⁴² The cathedral's decoration was thus a multi-temporal ensemble, combining multiple pasts for late medieval

viewers and the patrons who erected their funerary monuments there. The reuse of ancient Roman sarcophagi in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries could have served as a touchstone for two interconnected pasts—ancient Rome and medieval Pisa as *Roma seconda*. In its early medieval manifestation, however, Pisan *romanitas* was public, civic, and communal. The glory of the city with its Mediterranean dominion and great military victories made it a fitting successor to Rome.

Sarcophagi as Luxury Commodities

The transfer of sarcophagi from the Duomo, the city's central civic monument, to the Camposanto occasioned a shift in signification for the Roman spoliato tombs. Detached from their original context, the ancient sarcophagi lost their civic associations and became personal status symbols and monuments of family pride, proclaiming individual self-aggrandizement rather than communal glory.⁴³ Sarcophagi circulated as commodities in antiquity and the medieval period, and the ancient tomb monuments preserved in Pisa were imports purchased locally or acquired internationally by the merchant families who used them for burial. The cities where Pisan merchants traded or resided—Palermo, Tunis, Naples, Marseilles, Acre, and Barcelona—offered ready access to Roman antiquities. Though no medieval documents from Pisa refer explicitly to the purchase of sarcophagi, there is evidence for commerce in antiquities from Rome.⁴⁴ Enterprising merchants would have known where and how one could procure an ancient burial monument and would have recognized the commercial significance of the objects. Skilled in assessing the quality and value of commodities, Pisa's mercantile elite would have appreciated the antiquity, beauty, and high cost of ancient Roman sarcophagi.⁴⁵ The combination of these aesthetic and economic elements made recycled caskets fitting status symbols for the wealthy bourgeoisie and nobility alike.

The association of luxury artworks and commodities was not an innovation of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, however, and the use of exotic trade goods as aesthetic objects had a longstanding tradition in Pisa. In their use of Roman sarcophagi as tomb monuments, late-medieval merchant elites were continuing a practice begun in the eleventh century and maintained by the consular aristocracy who traveled the Mediterranean as merchant-warriors. A creative and unexpected deployment of commodities as art objects can be seen in the extensive use of Muslim ceramic basins (*bacini*) as church decoration (figure 1.13) in Pisa.⁴⁶

These pottery vessels circulated widely throughout the Mediterranean and were imported into Pisa by the thousands for use as tableware in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Their simultaneous use as kitchen utensils and church ornament points to their economic status as luxury commodities as well as their aesthetic qualities and visual appeal. The Pisan *bacini* created an aesthetic that glorified a Pisan presence in international maritime commerce through the use of exotic trade goods as decoration on the city's public religious monuments.⁴⁷ The reuse of ancient sarcophagi achieved similar goals. The continuing popularity of spoliated tombs maintained Pisan artistic traditions with a retrospective, even nostalgic acknowledgment of a time in the city's history when Mediterranean commerce and trade in foreign luxury objects defined Pisa's wealth and prestige.

The realignment of the Pisan economy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries relegated international maritime trade to the margins, a traditional but no longer lucrative economic arena for the city's merchants. Pisa had already been losing market share in Mediterranean commerce to Genoa in the twelfth century as the two cities battled over trade

Figure 1.13 San Piero a Grado, Pisa, eleventh century, north exterior wall with *bacini* decoration. Photograph by Karen Rose Mathews.

with Muslim territories in the western Mediterranean. Genoa's humiliating defeat of the Pisan fleet in 1284 near Livorno at Meloria resulted in the imprisonment of much of the city's mercantile elite, and the final blow to Pisa's Mediterranean commercial aspirations came in 1326 with the loss of the island of Sardinia as a strategic port and trade center.⁴⁸ As maritime commerce in foreign commodities waned in importance, Pisan merchants sought new markets and financial opportunities in overland trade within Western Europe. Those with diversified economic interests—banking, agriculture, wool and cloth production—thrived in this volatile climate.⁴⁹ These bourgeois merchants used sarcophagi as burial monuments to forge a connection to their predecessors and to evoke the past commercial successes of Pisa's aristocratic merchant-warriors who traversed the Mediterranean, visiting distant ports and encountering exotic cultures in the pursuit of new economic and political opportunities.

Social Cohesion in the Camposanto

Pisa's new civic cemetery came into being as profound changes transformed the Pisan ruling class. Both were revolutionary, overturning older traditions and norms and forging a new society in late medieval Pisa. For all of their innovation, however, the administrators of the Camposanto and the city's new elites understood the importance of maintaining connections to the past to bolster legitimacy and popular support. The original mandate of the Camposanto thus evolved along with the city's ruling class, as bourgeois merchants superseded aristocratic merchant-warriors. However, the promise of the popular regime waned, and political compromise led to the integration of the aristocracy into governance, professional guilds, and the Camposanto originally envisioned as a celebration of the *popolo*. The burials in the civic cemetery reflected the social integration, political accommodation, and economic flexibility of Pisa's elite, which ensured the city's peace and prosperity.

Though Pisa did draft anti-magnate legislation in the thirteenth century, excluding nobles from membership in the *Anziani*, by the fourteenth century the ruling elites included both the nobility (*nobiltà*) and bourgeoisie (*popolo*).⁵⁰ The rich middle-class and noble clans forged close social connections, but the most comprehensive synthesis between the two groups took place in the economic realm, where distinct spheres of influence allowed each to prosper. The aristocracy continued its dominance in international maritime commerce, a profession practiced by noble

merchants for centuries. Middle-class merchants, whom David Herlihy called “capitalists,” monopolized overland and European trade, banking and finance, and cloth production.⁵¹ Together, *nobiltà* and *popolo* combined their economic strengths to dominate the two most important commercial guilds in the city—the *Ordine del Mare* (maritime) and the *Ordine dei Mercanti* (land-based). Within the two corporations, nobility and bourgeoisie mingled, and their joint control of the *ordini* complemented their control of civic government.⁵² Shared commercial and financial interests encouraged such social integration and political cooperation in trecento Pisa, as the city fought for economic survival in the face of stiff competition from Genoa and Florence.

The reuse of ancient sarcophagi by the city’s elite at the Camposanto reflected the fusion of *nobiltà* and *popolo* in Pisa, as these political protagonists displayed their solidarity with one another and associated themselves to past civic traditions and glory. For the rich bourgeoisie, the use of Roman burial monuments allowed them to claim prerogatives previously associated with the aristocracy.⁵³ Middle-class merchants could manifest their increased family power and prestige in a popular government and new economic opportunities. Aristocratic merchants could display their integration into political and social networks now dominated by the middle class, while also recalling, perhaps with some level of nostalgia, the past era when the consular aristocracy ruled both the city and the seas. In their ostentatious and costly burial monuments placed within the public cemetery, the ruling elite referenced ancient and medieval histories associated with civic glory and triumph while highlighting personal prestige and the new social and political fusion that stimulated Pisa’s resurgence in the fourteenth century. The positive associations that these reused sarcophagi had for late-medieval merchant elites connected them to Pisa’s illustrious Roman past, but perhaps more importantly placed them in a long line of merchant adventurers who sailed the seas and brought back exotic and luxurious goods from all over the Mediterranean, some of which may have been the very sarcophagi in which their family members were buried.

The openness of ancient Roman sarcophagi as *spolia* meant that they could be filled with a variety of associations, alluding to multiple pasts simultaneously. The elite merchant families that used them as burials purchased and owned a piece of the Roman past, and their personal acquisition of Roman spoils paralleled the widespread use of ancient Roman objects in the most important religious monuments in Pisa. Throughout the Middle Ages, Pisan *romanitas* was inextricably linked

to the Mediterranean as a source of power, prestige, and wealth. Though Pisa's merchant elite could no longer compete in maritime trade with their formidable Italian neighbors and rivals, they could still announce their status in the city to Pisans and visitors alike and designate themselves as heirs to glorious ancient and medieval pasts in burial monuments that were the fruits of Mediterranean commerce.

Notes

¹ Waley and Dean, *The Italian City-Republics*, 128–55. See also Cristiani, *Nobiltà e popolo*, 71–73, 90–91.

² Donati and Parra, "Pisa e il reimpiego 'laico,'" 109.

³ Parra, "Meditando sul reimpiego," 476; Tolaini, "I muricciuoli," 135–37; Donati, "Il reimpiego dei sarcofagi: Profilo di una collezione," 72–73; Nenci, "Le iscrizioni sepolcrali."

⁴ Ronzani, *Un'idea trecentesca di cimitero*, 75; Tolaini, "I muricciuoli," 131–32.

⁵ On the phenomenon of mendicant competition for lay burials, see Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying*, esp. 150–69.

⁶ Ronzani, *Un'idea trecentesca di cimitero*, 24; Ahl, "Camposanto, Terra Santa," 95, 98.

⁷ Ronzani, "Gli Ordini Mendicanti," 674–75; Poloni, *Trasformazioni della società*, 86–93. For a detailed discussion of Archbishop Visconti, see Lucciardi, "Federico Visconti: La Vita"; Lucciardi, "Federico Visconti: Il Vescovo."

⁸ Ronzani, *Un'idea trecentesca di cimitero*, 50; Ronzani, "Dal 'cimitero,'" 52, 54–55; Bruzelius, "Dead Come to Town," 209.

⁹ For the construction of the Camposanto in general, see Caleca, "Costruzione e decorazione dalle origini al secolo XV," 14–30; Banti, *Le iscrizioni delle tombe terragne del Campo Santo di Pisa*, 20–22.

¹⁰ For the long construction campaigns of mendicant churches, processes that could last for centuries, see Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying*, 89–90, 104–5.

¹¹ Donati and Parra, "Pisa e il reimpiego 'laico,'" 107; Ronzani, *Un'idea trecentesca di cimitero*, 33; Banti, *Le iscrizioni delle tombe terragne del Campo Santo di Pisa*, 38–39. The wealth of the patron did not always determine the extravagance of the monument, as extremely wealthy families could have humble burial plaques in the Camposanto.

¹² Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance*, 134; Ronzani, "Gli Ordini Mendicanti," 671. For Santa Caterina, see Cannon, *Religious Poverty, Visual Riches*, 234, 240–42. For more on the Dominicans and their battles with cathedral clergy over burial rights see Bruzelius, "Dead Come to Town," 206–7, 218–19; Ronzani, "Dal 'cimitero,'" 51.

¹³ Bruzelius, "Dead Come to Town," 207–9; Cannon, *Religious Poverty, Visual Riches*, 248. For the competitive aspect of urban lay burials, see Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying*, 154, 158–60.

¹⁴ The Cathedral of Modena is perhaps the medieval monument that comes closest to the Pisan Duomo and Camposanto in the number of reused sarcophagi. Parra, "Meditando sul reimpiego." In Pisa itself, a number of other churches possessed reused Roman tombs, but in limited quantities compared to the Camposanto. Parra, "Marmi romani, marmi pisani," 106–7.

¹⁵ Donati and Parra, "Pisa e il reimpiego 'laico,'" 112; Settis, "Continuità, distanza, conoscenza," 397.

¹⁶ Greenhalgh, *Marble Past, Monumental Present*, 210; Donati and Parra, "Pisa e il reimpiego 'laico,'" 112; Parra, "Meditando sul reimpiego," 478–90.

¹⁷ Both Cristiani and Poloni provide detailed documentation of the family's political and commercial activities in appendices, see Cristiani, *Nobiltà e popolo*, 442–43; Poloni, *Trasformazioni della società*, 409–11. See also Herlihy, *Pisa in the Early Renaissance*, 122–24.

¹⁸ For the relationship between commercial activities and political influence see Poloni, *Trasformazioni della società*, 256–57. For Dell'Agnello family participation in Pisan government see Cristiani, *Nobiltà e popolo*, 205, 212–13, 228, 266–67.

¹⁹ For Gallo as *operaio*, see Ronzani, *Un'idea trecentesca di cimitero*, 30, 48–49; Caleca, "La lista degli Operai," 252.

²⁰ Arias, Cristiani, and Gabba, *Camposanto monumentale di Pisa*, 1:141; Banti, *Le iscrizioni delle tombe terragne del Campo Santo di Pisa*, 273.

²¹ Poloni, *Trasformazioni della società*, 405–8; Cristiani, *Nobiltà e popolo*, 474. For the significance of Michele (Ghele) in particular, see Poloni, *Trasformazioni della società*, 320–21, 342–44.

²² Poloni, *Trasformazioni della società*, 257, 406–7; Cristiani, *Nobiltà e popolo*, 474.

²³ Ronzani, *Un'idea trecentesca di cimitero*, 40, 48; Caleca, "La lista degli Operai," 253.

²⁴ For the sarcophagus, see Arias, Cristiani, and Gabba, *Camposanto monumentale di Pisa*, 1:66–67; Banti, *Le iscrizioni delle tombe terragne del Campo Santo di Pisa*, 263. For the iconography and symbolism of marine landscapes, see Zanker and Ewald, *Vivere con i miti*, 117–34, 325–31.

²⁵ Cristiani, *Nobiltà e popolo*, 206–7, 309, 455–56; Poloni, *Trasformazioni della società*, 218, 237, 239.

²⁶ Herlihy, *Pisa in the Early Renaissance*, 119–21; Cristiani, *Nobiltà e popolo*, 455.

²⁷ Arias, Cristiani, and Gabba, *Camposanto monumentale di Pisa*, 1:113–14; Banti, *Le iscrizioni delle tombe terragne del Campo Santo di Pisa*, 268. See more recently the discussion of the Falconi sarcophagus by Huskinson, "Habent Sua Fata," 61–64, 73.

²⁸ Cristiani, *Nobiltà e popolo*, 117, 121, 123–24, 319, 432.

²⁹ Arias, Cristiani, and Gabba, *Camposanto monumentale di Pisa*, 1:104; Cristiani, *Nobiltà e popolo*, 113, 116–18.

³⁰ For both of the Scorcialupi sarcophagi, see Arias, Cristiani, and Gabba, *Camposanto monumentale di Pisa*, 1:103–4, 138–39; Banti, *Le iscrizioni delle tombe terragne del Campo Santo di Pisa*, 267, 272–73. For more on the popularity of Persephone on Roman sarcophagi, see Zanker and Ewald, *Vivere con i miti*, 90–94, 369–73.

³¹ Ronzani, *Un'idea trecentesca di cimitero*, 19, 39–40, 48, 65; Banti, *Le iscrizioni delle tombe terragne del Campo Santo di Pisa*, 157; Caleca, “Costruzione e decorazione dalle origini al secolo XV,” 20, 22; Caleca, “La lista degli Operai,” 253.

³² Scorcialupi was buried in the southeast corner of the Camposanto, an area reserved for members of the cathedral administration and clergy. His burial there indicates his interest in being remembered as a cathedral official rather than a member of a wealthy Pisan family.

³³ Tangheroni, “Famiglie nobili,” 330; Cristiani, *Nobiltà e popolo*, 47, 123, 325; Poloni, *Trasformazioni della società*, 9–10.

³⁴ Herlihy, *Pisa in the Early Renaissance*, 64; Cristiani, *Nobiltà e popolo*, 145–47, 158, 371–72.

³⁵ Arias, Cristiani, and Gabba, *Camposanto monumentale di Pisa*, 1:101; Banti, *Le iscrizioni delle tombe terragne del Campo Santo di Pisa*, 267.

³⁶ For Roman Pisa, see Pasquinucci, “Pisa romana.”

³⁷ Wickham, *Sleepwalking into a New World*, 77.

³⁸ Settis, “Continuità, distanza, conoscenza,” 432–34.

³⁹ For an excellent overview of Roman *spolia* in Pisa, see Parra, “Marmi romani, marmi pisani,” 105–11.

⁴⁰ For comparison to Modena Cathedral, which Peroni notes offers the only contemporary comparison, see Peroni, “Architettura e decorazione,” 13; Parra, “Meditando sul reimpiego.”

⁴¹ Arias, Cristiani, and Gabba, *Camposanto monumentale di Pisa*, 1:12.

⁴² Banti treats all of the inscriptions on the cathedral, ancient and medieval, as a conceptual unit. Banti, “Le iscrizioni della Cattedrale.”

⁴³ For this distinction between personal and civic pride, see Donati and Parra, “Pisa e il reimpiego ‘laico,’” 113; Parra, “Meditando sul reimpiego,” 478, 480.

⁴⁴ Cattalini, “Un capitello da Roma a San Piero a Grado,” 74; Settis, “Continuità, distanza, conoscenza,” 389–90; citing Caturegli, *Regesto della Chiesa de Pisa*, 320n460.

⁴⁵ For the idea of a particular visual skill-set associated with merchants, see Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy*, 29–30, 40. See also Huskinson, “Habent Sua Fata,” 57–58.

⁴⁶ Graziella Berti has studied Pisan *bacini* in a comprehensive manner. Berti and Giorgio, *Ceramiche con coperture vetrificate usate come bacini*; see also

Mathews, "Plunder of War or Objects of Trade?"; Mathews, "Other Peoples' Dishes."

⁴⁷ Mathews, "Other Peoples' Dishes," 19–20, 22–23.

⁴⁸ Cristiani, *Nobiltà e popolo*, 18, 22, 321–22.

⁴⁹ Poloni, *Trasformazioni della società*, 15–17, 110–12; Tangheroni, "Famiglie nobili," 329; Herlihy, *Pisa in the Early Renaissance*, 176, 179, 181.

⁵⁰ For anti-magnate legislation, see Waley and Dean, *The Italian City-Republics*, 145, 148–49; Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance*, 10. Cristiani (*Nobiltà e popolo*, 71, 73, 132–34) argues for a comprehensive fusing of noble and bourgeois interests in Pisa. Poloni (*Trasformazioni della società*, 27) emphasizes the great changes that took place when governance shifted from the consular aristocracy to the rich middle class in the thirteenth century.

⁵¹ Herlihy, *Pisa in the Early Renaissance*, 170, 176, 179. For this more expansive approach to economic ventures, see Poloni, *Trasformazioni della società*, 17, 104, 110, 112, 118.

⁵² For the mercantile guild, see Ticiati, *L'ordine dei mercanti a Pisa nei secoli XII–XIII*; for the *Ordine del Mare*, see Schaube, *Das Konsulat des Meeres in Pisa*; for the interaction between members of the two *ordini* in Pisa, see Cristiani, *Nobiltà e popolo*, 123, 159–60; Tangheroni, "Famiglie nobili," 330; Poloni, *Trasformazioni della società*, 93, 116.

⁵³ Parra, "Meditando sul reimpiego," 478.

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Chapter Two

Nuremberg Merchants in Breslau (1440–1520)

Commemoration as Assimilation

Agnieszka Patała

THE DEVOTIONAL AND COMMEMORATIVE donations made by immigrants from Nuremberg in late medieval Breslau (Wrocław), including epitaphs, altars, liturgical objects, and holy masses, demonstrate émigré social ambitions. As they strove to merge into local Silesian society, Nuremberg immigrants simultaneously accentuated their foreign roots. Commemorative donations aimed to strengthen their social position in Breslau, promoting and prolonging the memory of their families while also emphasizing their piety. The period from 1440 to 1520 in Breslau saw increased devotional and commemorative donations by South German foreigners, especially from Nuremberg, which provide an important means to explore how such donations served as tools of social self-fashioning.

Although several historians have explored the presence of Nuremberg merchants in late medieval Silesia—the Central European region along the Oder river that after 1335 belonged to the Bohemian Crown—their activity as donors of funerary monuments has enjoyed little attention (map 4).¹ Two case studies shed light on burgher *memoria* and devotional practices, demonstrating how investigation of individual families, as well as particular sites, enriches our understanding of commemorative practice in general and Breslau's immigrant community in particular. This chapter will first explore the commemorative strategies adopted by the Scheurl family to exemplify the common strategies of merchants related to Nuremberg working in Breslau. Then, St. Elizabeth's Church in Breslau will be shown to have been a sacral and public sphere intensively exploited by the newcomers from Nuremberg, especially for memorialization.

Nuremberg Merchants Abroad and in Breslau

In a letter written in 1471 to a friend, the famous German mathematician and astronomer Regiomontanus made clear why he had chosen Nuremberg for his permanent home. He was drawn not only by the availability of desired astronomical instruments but also by the fact that scholars and foreign merchants surrounded him as if he were in the center of Europe (*quasi centrum europae*)² Regiomontanus did not exaggerate—Nuremberg was one of the leading centers of European trade and craft production, attracting merchants and artisans from far and wide.³ Nuremberg merchants contributed to this cosmopolitanism by nurturing and broadening the networks connecting Franconia's capital on the Pegnitz river with the rest of the world. They supplied Nuremberg craftsmen with raw materials and subsequently marketed their goods all over Europe.

The outposts of Nuremberg commerce, scattered all around the continent, never constituted a structured organization.⁴ Nevertheless, Nuremberg merchants, as the representatives of their hometown's companies abroad, tended to stick together not only through family ties or joint commercial ventures but also via confraternal membership, as seen in Geneva, Lyon, and Lübeck, or by joint-sponsorship of chapels like at San Bartolomeo in Venice.⁵ Factors serving Nuremberg companies were also present in many other important centers of European trade, such as Vienna, Prague, Milan, Genoa, Ghent, Leipzig, Posen, Cracow, and Antwerp, where they formed loose and unstructured groups.⁶ In order to operate effectively outside the capital of Franconia, merchants representing Nuremberg companies were often made to obtain the citizenship of the towns where they were active, especially those belonging to the Hanseatic League.⁷ Subsequently, Franconian newcomers tended to blend into their new communities but at the same time maintained contact with their hometown and relatives. This duality of assimilation and immigrant identity also took place in Breslau in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, as seen through Nuremberger participation in local politics, commerce, and commemorative strategies.

In the fifteenth century, especially after the Hussite Wars, Breslau was one of the major centers of commerce and craft production in Central and Eastern Europe.⁸ Moreover, since 1000 it had served as the seat of the bishop as well as that of a local duke. In economic terms, Breslau was the best-developed town in Silesia. The city was attractive to international merchants and trading companies because of its position at the junction of

several trade routes, including the *Via Regia* that connected travelers from Kiev to Bruges, and Moscow to Santiago de Compostela. Indeed, all merchants from east of Breslau had to pass through the city, which served as a meeting place of eastern and western suppliers.⁹ Secondly, since the thirteenth century, various rulers, especially from the House of Luxembourg, had granted the town several privileges that facilitated the development of commerce during the fairs.¹⁰ Additionally, many actions taken by the city council favorable to foreign merchants further encouraged safety and freedom of trade as well as granted necessary guarantees to creditors.¹¹ Last, but not least, Breslau's dense network of international connections and relations was also the consequence of the town's membership in the Hanseatic League.¹² Indeed, Breslau attracted Nuremberg companies in large numbers, for it provided excellent trade facilities and served as the best location for trade and financial settlement with merchants from Eastern Europe.

Though trade relations between Nuremberg and Breslau date to the thirteenth century,¹³ the first merchant from Nuremberg recorded in the capital of Silesia was Konrad Gross, who arrived there in 1394.¹⁴ Through the first decade of the sixteenth century, at least eighty-three businessmen originating from the capital of Franconia followed him to Breslau.¹⁵ Like Konrad, early tradesmen visiting Silesia were primarily Nuremberg patricians, including his kinsman Hans Gross, as well as Konrad Pfinzig, Heinz Hirschvogel, Melchior and Balthasar Imhoff, and Sebald and Carl Holzschuer. In the second half of the fifteenth century, their positions were taken over by middle-class merchants from Nuremberg and other German towns, who, in the course of time, became either shareholders in their employers' enterprises or started their own businesses in Breslau.¹⁶ The growing independence of this second group mostly resulted from their business performance combined with marrying into local families and obtaining Breslau citizenship. As a result, many of them, including members of the Distler, Heugel, Hornig, Pfinzig, Sauermann, and Scheurl families, to enumerate only a few examples, penetrated the Breslau elite and held city council seats.¹⁷ Nevertheless, their ties with Nuremberg remained close. For example, Hans Hölzel, a young, aspiring Nuremberg merchant was sent by his family to his relative Sebald Hölzel in Breslau for an internship.¹⁸ Without doubt, Breslau appeared to many newcomers from Nuremberg or those representing companies from this city to be a convenient place for settlement, running their own businesses, and quick social advancement.

Famosi Mercatores—Two Generations of the Scheurl Family in Silesia

Among the representatives of Nuremberg companies in late medieval Breslau, the activity of the Silesian branch of the Scheurl family epitomizes the successful career path of initially unknown new men (*homines novi*), who within a short period of time, partially by means of memorial donations, managed to change their status into successful merchants (*famosi mercatores*) and highly respected Breslau citizens.¹⁹ Although the Scheurls were originally from Lauingen in Swabia, they were connected to Nuremberg at least since 1438 and arrived in Silesia as representatives of a Nuremberg company two years later. Throughout the whole period of their activity, the Scheurls maintained close relations with the metropolis on the Pegnitz river. These ties enabled Christoph I Scheurl (d. 1519), born in Breslau in 1457, to obtain citizenship in Nuremberg in 1480 and, except for one tragic period of imprisonment, to have a rather successful career.²⁰ His son, Christoph II Scheurl (1481–1542), the outstanding Nuremberg humanist, wrote a history of his family, the so-called “Scheurlbuch,” which includes meticulously noted financial settlements of his ancestors in Breslau, their pious donations to local churches and charitable institutions, as well as transcriptions of gravestone inscriptions and epitaphs commemorating the members of his family who lived abroad.²¹ Christoph attempted with his family chronicle to emphasize his ancestors’ image as members of an honest, affluent, trustworthy, and pious family.

The first line of the Silesian branch of the Scheurl family originated with Albrecht III. In 1439 he became a *factor* in a company belonging to Nurembergers Hans and Ludwig Gruber in cooperation with Linhard Podmayr from Salzburg. As part of his commitments, Albrecht came to settle in Breslau in 1440.²² In 1445 he married Charitas (Liebsten), the daughter of Hans Smed from Sagan (Żagań), and one year later received Breslau citizenship. Subsequently, Albrecht brought his brothers to the banks of the Oder river: Bartholomäus I (1426–1474), a merchant who started the second branch of the family in Breslau, and Johannes, who was educated with Albrecht’s help to become a canon in Glogau (Głogów) collegiate church (1451) and Breslau cathedral (1459).²³

In 1449, Albrecht started his own company in Breslau, which traded mainly in luxury goods and operated in Ferrara, Venice, Salzburg, Nuremberg, Leipzig, Lviv, Cracow, Posen, and Meissen.²⁴ Albrecht repeatedly traveled to Nuremberg and Venice, where he met papal

legate Hieronymus Lando—a very important figure in the relationship between Breslau and Rome.²⁵ This acquaintance combined with his successes in business secured him a place on the Breslau city council, where he was elected as consul in 1461, previously serving as churchwarden of St. Elizabeth's, the parish of Breslau patricians and the second most important church in the city after the cathedral.²⁶

Christoph II depicts his grandfather Albrecht III not only as a businessman, but also as a pious man, having joined a religious brotherhood in 1452 (along with his entire family). Christoph praises his grandfather as a generous Christian who supported various religious activities, especially at St. Elizabeth's.²⁷ Together with his wife, Albrecht founded services and processions in honor of the Eight Sacraments, organized from the 1450s through the 1470s.²⁸ Further, he paid for responsorial psalms performed by students of St. Elizabeth's school and *Salve Regina* antiphons in honor of the Virgin Mary to be sung on all church feasts and selected days throughout the year for his soul as well as those of his kinfolk.²⁹ In 1459 the bishop of Breslau granted Albrecht forty days of indulgence for his donation. Albrecht also furnished the church with a chasuble, two deacon robes, a choir cope, an altar cloth made of green velvet, three pearl-decorated amices, a ciborium, two stained-glass windows, and a crucifix.³⁰ What is more, due to his special devotion to St. Barbara, in 1456 he supported the building of St. Barbara's hospital, whereas in St. Barbara's Church he donated a brass monstrance, a painting featuring the Adoration of Magi, vestments made of expensive textiles, an amice decorated with the depiction of the *Vera Icon*, and a brass ciborium for the Blessed Sacrament.³¹ Additionally, he gave vestments and liturgical hangings for the Canons Regular church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Dominican St. Adalbert's, and the parish church of All Saints, providing the latter with a Venetian-glass window.³²

In March 1462 the city's scribe noted: "Albertus Schewrl civis magnificus et mercator famosus mortuus Est."³³ Albrecht III was buried in the St. Lawrence Chapel at St. Elizabeth's, and on the headstone the following inscription was carved: "Vir Albertus Schewrleyn civis et Mercator Vratislaviensis" (Albrecht Scheurl, citizen and merchant of Breslau). Both his death record and his tomb monument leave little doubt that he enjoyed high respect and esteem in the city. Only three of his sons lived to adulthood: Hieronymus (1451–1482), the aforementioned Christoph I, father of the "Scheurlbuch" author, and Valentin (1461–1492). Liebste, Albrecht's wife, known as a beautiful woman loved by her husband,

outlived him by another four years.³⁴ In 1464 she buried four of their children, who most likely died as the result of plague.³⁵ The male children were certainly inhumed in their father's grave, whereas his daughters were buried in St. Elizabeth's cemetery, just next to the St. Lawrence Chapel.³⁶ It was probably on this occasion that a now-lost painting featuring *The Martyrdom of St. Sebastian* and the Scheurl coat of arms was commissioned (figure 2.1).³⁷ Briefly before she died in 1466, Liebste transferred

Figure 2.1 *Martyrdom of St. Sebastian*, ca. 1464, now lost. Reprinted from Braune and Wiese, *Schlesische Malerei und Plastik des Mittelalters*, p. 208.

16 marks of annual rent for St. Matthew's Hospital, she also supported poor students of St. Elizabeth's School, and paid for services held on all Marian feast days, at Christmas, and the feasts of the Resurrection, St. Elizabeth, St. Valentin, and St. Sebastian.³⁸ Moreover, by the altar of St. Anne in St. Elizabeth's Church, where the family had patronage rights, she paid for services to be consecrated twice a week for the souls of her parents and relatives.³⁹

After Albrecht's death, his company was taken over by his brother Bartholomäus, who in 1461 married Dorothea, the daughter of Hans Mummler, a Breslau city councilor.⁴⁰ From 1466 until his death in 1474, Bartholomäus also served as city councilor as well as churchwarden, showing his assimilation into his adopted Breslau home. He placed a Scheurl coat of arms on the tabernacle in St. Elizabeth's Church.⁴¹ Bartholomäus had seven children, one of whom also died in the fatal 1464 plague, while three sons certainly lived to adulthood: Johannes II and Bartholomäus II—both canons at Breslau cathedral, and Albrecht IV, who did not have any male descendants. Upon Bartholomäus the Elder's death, he was buried as yet another *famosus mercator* next to his brother in the Chapel of St. Lawrence.⁴² His widow married his business partner Lorenz III Heugel from Nuremberg, and she was buried in her second husband's family chapel in St. Mary Magdalene's Church in Breslau.⁴³

Tracing the fortunes of these members of the Scheurl family in Breslau clearly shows their efficiency in business, shrewd marriage decisions, and capability to adapt to local conditions. Albrecht III Scheurl's impressive merchant career and prompt social advancement would not have been possible without embarking on a well-thought-out strategy comprising not only of intense networking and business acumen but also his broadscale charitable giving, including devotional and artistic donations. Owing to the fact that he and his spouse spared no expense to provide financial support to local hospitals and to furnish Breslau's most important parish church, as well as two convent churches with vestments, liturgical objects, and devotional images, the Scheurls became highly visible and recognizable in many different places of the city, leading clergy, friars, and laymen to pray for the Scheurls' souls awaiting salvation in purgatory. Through his munificence and success, Albrecht III paved the way for other members of the Scheurl family to obtain the highest civic and ecclesiastical posts in Breslau.

Membership in the Breslau city council, a privilege enjoyed by three members of the Scheurl family, allowed the Scheurls to have a real

impact on city policy. Moreover, having several churchwardens in the family, as well as their many generous donations to various churches in Breslau, surely helped the family obtain permission to occupy a chapel in St. Elizabeth's—a privilege available only to the city's elite.⁴⁴ Even though the St. Lawrence chapel, first erected by the Dumlose family and then managed by the Breslau merchants' guild after 1405, was never officially declared to be the Scheurls' burial chapel, it played such a role in practice. At least five male members of the family were buried inside the chapel, whereas the females were interred nearby in the cemetery adjoining the church at the south.⁴⁵ Regrettably, the fifteenth-century furnishing of the chapel remains unknown.

Although only three artworks related to the Breslau branch of the Scheurl family are known to have survived, even the most cursory analysis of extant records suggests that by means of their devotional and commemorative donations, the Scheurls were present as commissioners, benefactors, and honorees in all of Breslau's most important sacred spaces. Apart from the already mentioned churches of St. Elizabeth, St. Barbara, Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Adalbert, and All Saints, a fifteenth-century epitaph once stood in the church of St. Mary Magdalene, the parish of Breslau's craftsmen.⁴⁶ What is more, two extant epitaphs from Breslau cathedral commemorate, in all probability, the sons of Bartholomäus I—the canons Johannes II and Bartholomäus II (figures 2.2 and 2.3).⁴⁷ Additionally, around 1516 Johannes II commissioned a tombstone and a lost retable for Breslau cathedral.⁴⁸

One artwork that epitomizes the history of the Scheurls in Silesia is a third surviving epitaph (figure 2.4) commissioned in 1537 on behalf of Christoph II Scheurl by Michael Behaim—a Nuremberg merchant active in Breslau and a close friend of Christoph II—for St. Elizabeth's Church, which served as a Lutheran parish after the introduction of the Reformation in 1525 to Breslau.⁴⁹ The epitaph, executed as a painting on panel, commemorates three generations of the Scheurl family, including the Nuremberg line, in a highly inventive way—the inscriptions containing the names of both the males and females as well as their coats of arms form a triumphal arch that springs from Christoph II Scheurl on one pier and his wife Katharina Futterer on the other. This monument, designed to satisfy protestant iconography, presents a detailed genealogy of the family while specifically honoring its historian Christoph II Scheurl.

The strategy adopted by representatives of the Scheurl family, who lived in Silesia for only two generations—from 1440 until 1518 when

Figure 2.2 Epitaph of Johannes Scheurl, ca. 1516, Archdiocese Museum, Wrocław. Photograph by Agnieszka Patała.

Albrecht IV, the last male member of the Breslau branch, died—comprised of two stages. The first generation, especially Albrecht III, concentrated on finding the shortest path to upward mobility, whereas the second focused on bolstering and highlighting their recently obtained high position. In other words, the charitable, devotional, and memorial donations of the Scheurl family served both as the means of enhancing their status and as the certification of their success and power.

Figure 2.3 Epitaph of Bartholomäus Scheurl, ca. 1500, Archdiocese Museum, Wrocław. Photograph by Agnieszka Patała.

St. Elizabeth's Church in Breslau and Nuremberg-Connected Benefactors

Much evidence allows us to formulate a hypothesis that in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, St. Elizabeth's Church in Breslau was not only the parish of the richest Breslau families, the city's elite from which the members of the City Council were recruited,⁵⁰ but also the religious setting with the largest concentration of devotional and commemorative donations by merchants related to Nuremberg living and operating

Figure 2.4 Epitaph of the Scheurl family, 1537, originally St. Elizabeth Church, Breslau, National Museum, Wrocław. Photograph by Arkadiusz Podstawka.

in Silesia, usually as Breslau citizens. As has been seen, members of the Scheurl family, successful in business and highly active in local government, were active members of St. Elizabeth's and made numerous donations to the church. Their case was not an exception but rather epitomizes the effectiveness of Nuremberg merchants in infiltrating local elites.

First of all, St. Elizabeth's Church was the only place in Silesia where the cult of St. Sebald, Nuremberg's most venerated patron saint, could be found.⁵¹ In general, the appearance of this saint outside of Nuremberg, in epitaphs, altarpieces, or as the dedication of a chapel, was usually related to the initiatives of Nuremberg merchants, who worshipped him as their protector when abroad.⁵² At least three medieval missals, formerly belonging to St. Elizabeth's parish in Breslau, contain the text of the Office of St. Sebald.⁵³ Consequently, there must have been at least three altarpieces in St. Elizabeth's Church in front of which Nurembergers gathered to worship their patron saint. What is more, the liturgical commemoration of St. Sebald went hand in hand with the presence of his images in the space of this parish church.

Two altarpieces commissioned for St. Elizabeth's feature St. Sebald. First, the so-called St. Hedwig triptych (ca. 1470–80, figure 2.5) is an interesting example of a merger of local and foreign traditions, since its shrine contains sculptures of St. Hedwig, the patron saint of Silesia, flanked by St. Sebald and (probably) St. Leonard.⁵⁴ When the altarpiece is open, the sculpted figures are accompanied by painted depictions of St.

Figure 2.5 St. Hedwig Triptych, ca. 1480, originally St. Elizabeth Church, Breslau, donated by the Hübner and Hornung families. National Museum, Wrocław. Photograph by Arkadiusz Podstawka.

John the Baptist, the patron saint of the Breslau bishopric, and St. George, but when closed, the beholder saw painted images of Sebald and Leonard. Regardless of whether the altarpiece was open or closed, the base displayed two coats of arms representing the Hübner and Hornung families.⁵⁵ This combination of saints exemplifies how Nuremberg immigrants like the Hübner and Hornung families strove to blend into their new society without losing their identity and hometown traditions. The second altarpiece is more puzzling (ca. 1470–1480, figure 2.6), as it is only partially

Figure 2.6 Wing from the Corpus Christi Altarpiece, ca. 1470–1480, originally St. Elizabeth Church, Breslau. National Museum, Warsaw. Photograph by Arkadiusz Podstawka.

preserved and bears no clues concerning the identity of its patron, except for the presence of St. Sebald, which indicates his or her connections with Nuremberg.⁵⁶ As an aside, it is worth mentioning that St. Elizabeth's Church housed two retables manufactured in Nuremberg, namely the Imhoff triptych of about 1455 and the so-called Breslau Altarpiece, of which only fragments survive, created for the high altar in 1462 in the workshop of Hans Pleydenwurff.⁵⁷

St. Elizabeth's Church also housed numerous epitaphs commemorating Nuremberg merchants and their families. At least three of them, still preserved, depict St. Sebald alongside other saints, commending the deceased to God, namely the monuments to the memory of Sebald Huber (1504, figure 2.7), Sebald Sauermann (1508), and Hans Hölczel (1512, figure 2.8).⁵⁸ All three were closely connected with Nuremberg, and the presence of St. Sebald likely served as a sign of their origins, as well as a name saint in the cases of Huber and Sauermann. Another preserved epitaph featuring a scene of *Farewell in Bethany* (figure 2.9) commemorates the Starczedel family.⁵⁹ It is the only known funeral monument commissioned by Nuremberg merchants active in Breslau where the pictorial scene was based on a compositional pattern created in Nuremberg, namely in the studio of Wolf Traut,⁶⁰ rather than following local convention.

Most donors of late Gothic epitaphs commemorating Nuremberg merchants in Breslau preferred artworks executed in local Silesian workshops that depicted a devotional scene based on locally popular compositional patterns. What is more, all of them depicted a large group of saints assisting the honoree, an element typical of pre-Reformation Silesian epitaphs. Though the Starczedel epitaph used a German model, its composition was purposefully modified in order to present a group of patron saints in keeping with local Silesian convention. The consistent use of these saint groups emphasizes the importance of this local pictorial and devotional tradition to the Nuremberg immigrant community. Their preferences could result from their desire to conform to Breslau society. Such visual familiarity in their monuments would also ensure multitudinous prayers for the souls of their commemorated relatives. In pre-Reformation Breslau these pictorial epitaphs served not only a memorial purpose but also provided, through their narrative scenes, the means for inspiring acts of devotion and prayer.⁶¹ By commissioning artwork adjusted iconographically and formally to local religious and pictorial traditions, the merchants from Nuremberg increased the odds that not only their close relatives but also the broader Breslau faithful would incorporate these paintings into

Figure 2.7 Epitaph of Sebald Huber, ca. 1504, originally St. Elizabeth Church, Breslau, National Museum, Warsaw. Photograph by Piotr Ligier.

their devotions and would pray for the salvation of the commemorated Nuremberger souls.

Other Nuremberg merchant epitaphs from St. Elizabeth's known only through documents were those for Bartholomäus Holtschuer (died

Figure 2.8 Epitaph of Hans Holczel, ca. 1512. National Museum, Warsaw.
Photograph by Piotr Ligier.

in 1505), Klara Heugel (died in 1516), and Hans Hübner (died in 1506). The last monument merits consideration, for it depicted relatively rare *Five Sorrows of Mary*—an exceptional iconographical motif in Silesia,⁶² known otherwise only in an altarpiece from Breslau cathedral (1507).⁶³ In all probability, Hübner's epitaph served as a meditation guide to stimulate compassion for Mary's sorrows in an orderly and chronological sequence. Moreover, this memorial could manifest Hübner's private religious

Figure 2.9: Epitaph of Elizabeth and Hans Starczedel, ca. 1520. National Museum, Wrocław. Photograph by Arkadiusz Podstawka.

practices and his affiliation to a religious brotherhood devoted to Mary's Sorrows, whose members could thus gather around Hübner's monument to meditate on Mary and pray for Hübner's soul.

Although the general question concerning the relationship of epitaphs to graves remains open,⁶⁴ in this particular case we can assume that people memorialized with such monuments were inhumed either in St. Elizabeth's cemetery or in one of its chapels. The latter possibility, an honor usually reserved for higher clergy and ruling elites, is evidenced by Hans Hübner, who was buried together with his wife in the Krapp chapel. Sebald Sauermann was entombed in the Pfinzig chapel, whereas men from the Scheurl family were laid to rest in the St. Lawrence Chapel.⁶⁵

Finally, in the second half of the fifteenth century at least three families connected with Nuremberg obtained the right of patronage over the chapels adjoining St. Elizabeth's presbytery from the south. This circumstance can be interpreted as the most conspicuous manifestation of the presence, ambition, and evident assimilation of this particular group of merchants within the Breslau elite. The first chapel at the east belonged to the Sauermann family by the second half of the fifteenth century.⁶⁶ Sebald Sauermann was a member of the city council and in 1483 served as churchwarden for St. Elizabeth's parish, a role that likely facilitated his patronage of the chapel. The second chapel belonged to the Heugel family, which also held patronage over a chapel in the church of Mary Magdalene.⁶⁷ The third chapel certainly belonged to the Pfinzig family as early as the sixteenth century, however the presence of Sebald Sauremann's tomb has led scholars to presume that initially the chapel belonged to this powerful clan.⁶⁸ The already mentioned St. Lawrence chapel, where the mortal remains of the Scheurl family lay, is the fourth in the row. Unfortunately, we are not able to determine whether any of the above families erected these chapels, nor can we provide any details concerning their furnishings. Nevertheless, at least four out of the church's fifteen chapels were in the care of merchants connected with Nuremberg. If the interpretation of Wolfgang von Stromer is correct, a striking visual manifestation of Nurembergian presence in St. Elizabeth's Church is a house mark of Stromeir, Ortlieb, and Imhoff, a Nuremberg company, found on a coat of arms sculpted on a corbel at the second southern-eastern pillar in the church aisle.⁶⁹

Thus, although Nuremberg immigrants did not dominate the space of the most important Breslau parish church, they visibly marked their presence and position, dominating the south presbytery. According to Mieczysław Zlat, in Silesia, chapel ownership emphasized a patron's aspirations and showed how his social position had become equal to that of a feudal magnate.⁷⁰ In turn the chapels themselves, apart from their sepulchral and oratory functions, served representative purposes. Hence the

efforts of this particular group of families in Breslau can be interpreted as an adoption of a well-thought strategy. It is worth mentioning that at this time in both of Nuremberg's most important parish churches, namely of St. Sebald and St. Lawrence, obtaining a chapel for the purpose of commemorating a particular family was not allowed.⁷¹ Indeed, once in Breslau, Nuremberg merchants fell in line with the local conditions and took full advantage of them.

As previously mentioned, the Nuremberg merchants beyond the borders of their home city made efforts to keep close relations among themselves despite the lack of a fixed municipal seat in town. Taking into consideration the fact that we are not familiar with any space in Breslau that otherwise served this group as an independent meeting place, it is justifiable to reflect on the role of St. Elizabeth's in the context of their communal activity in Silesia. Their devotional and commemorative donations, especially of a liturgical and artistic nature, as well as the family chapels could serve, beside their initial purposes, as individual family signs and meeting points. The members of particular Nuremberg families who gathered in front of an altarpiece during masses for their dead relatives or around an epitaph memorializing their kinsmen in order to pray for their souls, or in a chapel for this same purpose were, of course, pious Christians, but at the same time merchants preoccupied with many business matters.⁷² St. Elizabeth's in the pre-Reformation era seems to have played a role similar to the Venetian Chapel of St. Sebald—a place where Nuremberg merchants, on the one hand, took care of their salvation, commemorated their relatives, and manifested their piousness, thus showing the vital attributes of honesty and reliability as required of every good Christian and merchant. On the other hand, they socialized, exchanged information, or perhaps even made some financial and trade arrangements when visiting the chapel in the church of San Bartolomeo. The example of St. Mary's Church in Antwerp indicates that churches served similar purposes in other cities.⁷³ It seems plausible that the space of St. Elizabeth's gave the Nuremberg merchants active in Breslau an opportunity to combine eternal matters with mundane affairs, providing an adequately solemn setting to more or less official gatherings.

Conclusions

These examples illustrate the commemorative strategies adopted by merchants related to Nuremberg in order to assimilate into their adopted

Breslau community and accentuate their social advancement while also maintaining a distinct corporate identity. By means of altarpieces, epitaphs, holy masses, and another devotional and charitable donations, benefactors not only manifested their piousness and generosity, securing prayers from the Breslau community for their relatives' souls, but also achieved recognition of their names and high positions. Members of the Scheurl family made their presence known throughout the city with several diverse visual and verbal signs and entry among the city's elite. What is more, the apparent concentration of memorial donations and monuments commemorating Breslau citizens related to Nuremberg in the space of St. Elizabeth's supports the claim that medieval *memoria* served, among other functions, as a means of constituting and consolidating social groups.⁷⁴ Finally, the adoption of patronage rights by Nuremberg families over at least three chapels in the most important parish in Breslau illustrates that this Silesian city provided many opportunities to these prosperous newcomers for quick social advancement and its visual manifestation in ways they could not have achieved at home on the Pegnitz.

Notes

¹ Fuhrmann, "Die Bedeutung des oberdeutschen Elements"; Pfeiffer, *Das Breslauer Patriziat im Mittelalter*, 234–36; Scholz-Babisch, "Oberdeutscher Handel"; Müller, *Schlesien und Franken*; Hertlein, "Die Handelsbeziehungen Nürnbergs"; Stromer, "Nürnberg-Breslauer Wirtschaftsbeziehungen"; Seyboth, "Fränkisch-schlesische Beziehungen"; Myśliwski, *Wrocław w przestrzeni*, 412–48.

² Murr, *Memorabilia bibliothecarum publicarum Norimbergensium*, 1:190.

³ Ammann, *Die wirtschaftliche Stellung*, 9–15; Kellenbenz, "Wirtschaftsleben im Zeitalter der Reformation"; Diefenbacher, "Ratspolitik und Handelsinteressen."

⁴ Ammann, *Die wirtschaftliche Stellung*, 187–88.

⁵ Ibid., 5; Eser, "In onore della città."

⁶ Schenk, *Nürnberg und Prag*; Ammann, *Die wirtschaftliche Stellung*, 188; Dollinger, *Dzieje Hanzy XII–XVII w.*, 181–84; Bauernfeind, "Beziehungen des 'Patriziats' von Nürnberg und Krakau."

⁷ Seyboth, "Fränkisch-schlesische Beziehungen," 87.

⁸ Myśliwski, *Wrocław w przestrzeni*, 21–35; Weczerka, "Breslaus Zentralität."

⁹ Weczerka, "Breslaus Zentralität," 255–56.

¹⁰ Hertlein, "Die Handelsbeziehungen Nürnbergs," 21–22; Stromer, "Nürnberg-Breslauer Wirtschaftsbeziehungen," 1080–82.

¹¹ Myśliwski, *Wrocław w przestrzeni*, 442.

- ¹² Weczerka, "Die Südostbeziehungen der Hanse," 122.
- ¹³ Stromer, "Nürnberg-Breslauer Wirtschaftsbeziehungen," 1080.
- ¹⁴ He was also known as Cunrat Groß or Conrad Grau. Ibid., 1087.
- ¹⁵ Myśliwski, *Wrocław w przestrzeni*, 413.
- ¹⁶ Seyboth, "Fränkisch-schlesische Beziehungen," 85; Myśliwski, *Wrocław w przestrzeni*, 413.
- ¹⁷ Pfeiffer, *Das Breslauer Patriziat im Mittelalter*, 228, 234, 318; Witzendorff-Rehdiger, "Herkunft und Verbleib Breslauer Ratsfamilien," 127, 131; Stein, *Der Rat und die Ratsgeschlechter*, 196–97, 199, 221–22; Pusch, *Die Breslauer Rats- und Stadtgeschlechter*, 1987, 2:236–70.
- ¹⁸ Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, E 49/III Nr. 1, 281 r.; E 56/VI Nr. 184.
- ¹⁹ Biedermann, *Geschlechtsregister des Hochadelichen Patriciats zu Nürnberg*, 441; Scheurl, "Christoph Scheurl"; Stein, *Der Rat und die Ratsgeschlechter*, 185–87; Pusch, *Die Breslauer Rats- und Stadtgeschlechter*, 1990, 4:77–85.
- ²⁰ Scheurl, "Christoph Scheurl," 13.
- ²¹ Scheurl, "Großes Scheurlbuch"; Fuchs, "Christoph Scheurl."
- ²² Stromer, *Die Nürnberger Handelsgesellschaft*; Stein, *Der Rat und die Ratsgeschlechter*, 186.
- ²³ Scheurl, "Großes Scheurlbuch," fol. 60r; Dola, *Wrocławska kapituła katedralna*, 392.
- ²⁴ Scheurl, "Großes Scheurlbuch," 41r; Scheurl, "Christoph Scheurl," 15.
- ²⁵ Drabina, *Kontakty Wrocławia*, 19.
- ²⁶ Stein, *Der Rat und die Ratsgeschlechter*, 185.
- ²⁷ Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, E 49/II vorl. Nr 363v.; Scheurl, "Großes Scheurlbuch," fol. 48v.
- ²⁸ Ibid., fols. 45v–46v.
- ²⁹ Ibid., fol. 47r.
- ³⁰ Ibid., fols. 47v–48r.
- ³¹ Ibid., fol. 47v.
- ³² Ibid.
- ³³ Ibid., fol. 51r.
- ³⁴ Christoph II records that Lasarus Holzschuher from Nuremberg recounted that his grandmother was a great beauty. Ibid., fol. 52r.
- ³⁵ Eschenloer, *Geschichten*, 1:253.
- ³⁶ Scheurl, "Großes Scheurlbuch," fols. 49r, 53v.
- ³⁷ Braune and Wiese, *Schlesische Malerei und Plastik des Mittelalters*, 87. The epitaph disappeared after the Second World War.
- ³⁸ Scheurl, "Großes Scheurlbuch," fol. 54v.
- ³⁹ Schmeidler, *Die evangelische Haupt- und Pfarr-Kirche zu St. Elisabeth*, 87.
- ⁴⁰ Scheurl, "Großes Scheurlbuch," fol. 57r.
- ⁴¹ Luchs, *Denkmäler der St. Elisabeth-Kirche*, 16.
- ⁴² Scheurl, "Großes Scheurlbuch," fol. 57v.
- ⁴³ Ibid., fols. 58v–59r.

- ⁴⁴ Niemczyk, "Kaplice mieszczańskie na Śląsku," 61.
- ⁴⁵ Scheurl, "Großes Scheurlbuch," fol. 77v.
- ⁴⁶ Scheurl-Archiv Nürnberg-Fischbach, Nr. I, 90.
- ⁴⁷ Dola, *Wrocławska kapituła katedralna*, 293; Kaczmarek and Witkowski, "Gotyckie epitafia obrazowe," 92–93.
- ⁴⁸ Dola, *Wrocławska kapituła katedralna*, 392.
- ⁴⁹ Pierzchała, "Zmartwychwstanie, 1537, epitafium rodziny Scheurl," 72–74.
- ⁵⁰ Goliński, *Socjotopografia późnośredniowiecznego Wrocławia*, 77.
- ⁵¹ Knötel, "St. Sebald in Schlesien," 12–16.
- ⁵² Bauch, "Der heilige Sebald."
- ⁵³ Recently preserved in the University of Wrocław Library: MS 8375, fol. 245; MS 8377, fol. 294; R 3057, fols. 103v–104r.
- ⁵⁴ Guldán and Ziomecka, *Sztuka na Śląsku*, 302–4.
- ⁵⁵ The Hornung arms were formerly identified incorrectly as those of the Falkenheim.
- ⁵⁶ Guldán and Ziomecka, *Sztuka na Śląsku*, 304–8.
- ⁵⁷ Freus, "Die Ikonographie der Marienhimmelfahrt," 750–52; Suckale, *Die Erneuerung der Malkunst vor Dürer*, 2:24–29.
- ⁵⁸ Kaczmarek and Witkowski, "Gotyckie epitafia obrazowe," 99, 101, 102.
- ⁵⁹ Guldán and Ziomecka, *Sztuka na Śląsku*, 198–99.
- ⁶⁰ Löcher, "Wolf Trauts 'Abschied Christi von Maria,'" 289–98.
- ⁶¹ Weckwerth, "Der Ursprung des Bildepitaphs," 176; Noll, "Begriff, Gestalt und Funktion des Andachtsbildes."
- ⁶² Kaczmarek and Witkowski, "Gotyckie epitafia obrazowe," 101; Schuler, "The Seven Sorrows of the Virgin," 17.
- ⁶³ Szewczyk, *Mecenat artystyczny biskupa wrocławskiego Jana V Thurzona*, 144–45.
- ⁶⁴ Weckwerth, "Der Ursprung des Bildepitaphs," 57; Thauer, *Der Epitaphaltar*, 3.
- ⁶⁵ Schultz, *Urkundliche Geschichte der Breslauer Maler-Innung*, 112; Niemczyk, "Kaplice mieszczańskie na Śląsku," 59.
- ⁶⁶ Niemczyk, "Kaplice mieszczańskie na Śląsku," 59.
- ⁶⁷ Ibid.
- ⁶⁸ Ibid.
- ⁶⁹ Stromer, "Nürnberg-Breslauer Wirtschaftsbeziehungen," 1098.
- ⁷⁰ Zlat, "Nobilitacja poprzez sztukę," 83.
- ⁷¹ Weilandt, *Die Sebalduskirche in Nürnberg*, 111.
- ⁷² Bärsch, "Sinngestalt und Feiargestalt der liturgischen Totenmemoria," 55–57.
- ⁷³ Thijs, *Een "Gilde" van Breslaue kooplieden te Antwerpen*, 89.
- ⁷⁴ Scheller, *Memoria an der Zeitenwende*, 21.

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Chapter Three

The Sepulchralization of Renaissance Florence

Anne Leader

And as to give the dead memorial,
We trace on many an earthly sepulcher
Figures that may their living forms recall,
The sight of which will very often stir
Men to lament them, memory being still
Piety's sharpest, or its only, spur.¹

AS DANTE (1265–1321) WAS writing his *Divine Comedy*, with its frequent references to tombs,² the citizens of his native Florence were transforming their cityscape by filling churches inside and out with personal monuments to themselves, their ancestors, and their descendants (map 3). Prior to the thirteenth century, parish graveyards were the primary place of burial while interment within churches was mostly restricted to upper clergy, nobles, founders, and prominent benefactors.³ The arrival of the mendicant orders and the ensuing opportunities and competition for burial choice led to a dramatic increase in the number of citizens who sought to establish family graves inside one of the city's friaries, monasteries, or, more rarely, the cathedral.⁴ Florentines were keenly aware of the symbolic power of place in their city, and burial location was one of the most important choices they would make. Merchants, artisans, and other professionals regularly requested extra-parochial entombment, sometimes far from their homes. Doing so caused tension with local parish churches that relied on burying their dead as a steady source of income. These disputes were partly resolved by the institution of the *quarta funeraria*, which required one-fourth of funeral dues to be paid to the home parish of those who chose burial elsewhere.⁵ As the cost of endowing a tomb, funding masses, and other burial expenses, including these fines for extra-parochial interment, were fairly consistent from church to church, burial choice seems to have had more to do with location and association with a

particular religious order and/or with certain kin, colleagues, neighbors, and associates.⁶ Burial location also allowed families to establish multiple sites of memorialization to one's lineage, as seen most clearly through the many who installed independent tombs separate from their parents, siblings, and other family.

Florence's memorial culture has been known primarily through the extraordinary Renaissance wall monuments made for elites, humanists, and high-ranking clerics, like the tomb of Pope John XXII installed by Donatello and Michelozzo in the Baptistry around 1427, the tombs

Figure 3.1 Bernardo Rossellino, Tomb of Leonardo Bruni, Santa Croce, Florence. Photograph by Sailko.

of the Florentine chancellors Leonardo Bruni and Carlo Marsuppini, mounted in Santa Croce in the mid-fifteenth century by Bernardo Rossellino and Desiderio da Settignano respectively (figure 3.1), or the monument to Piero and Giovanni, sons of Cosimo de' Medici, created by Andrea del Verrocchio in 1469 for their parish church of San Lorenzo. These memorials find precedent in medieval wall tombs known as *arche* or *avelli*, typically established by ancient, elite Florentine families, also known as *grandi*,⁷ numerous examples of which can be found both inside and out at Santa Croce, Santa Maria Novella, Santa Trinita, and other Florentine churches (figure 3.2).

However, starting in the fourteenth century, it was floor slabs belonging to the city's commercial and professional classes (figure 3.3), both wealthy elites and lower-status artisans, small business owners, and salary men, which came to dominate Florence's memorial visual culture. Large rectangular slabs, typically of marble averaging nine feet long and five feet wide (about 2.74 by 1.52 meters), with coats of arms, inscriptions, and occasional portrait sculpture, carpeted the churches of late medieval Florence in every precinct of the city. The floors and walls of crypts, cloisters, and cemeteries also contained tombs carrying the signs and names

Figure 3.2 Comi, Gianfigliuzzi, and Tucci family tombs, Santa Trinita, Florence.
Photograph by Anne Leader.

Figure 3.3 Aerial view of transept tombs, Santa Croce, Florence.
Photograph by Sailko.

of Florentine professionals. Members of the cloth and banking industries,⁸ as well as judges, lawyers, doctors, and notaries,⁹ sought to mark out private space in their city's churches and cemeteries not simply for burial, but also to honor and remember their lineages for generations to come. Stationers,¹⁰ slipper makers,¹¹ tavern owners,¹² armorers,¹³ and other seemingly less important citizens also staked out sections of church floors and walls to ensure their lasting memory. Just as these men filled the halls of government and places of business in life, their tomb markers covered the floors and walls of parish, mendicant, and monastic churches in death.

It should be noted that it was primarily men who were honored with tombs.¹⁴ Though canon law provided for women to choose their place of burial, in practice, they typically did not elect to have independent memorials.¹⁵ For example, a tomb marker simply labeled *mulierum*, "of the women," once marked a communal female grave outside the cathedral (figure 3.4), a location where many men were honored by name with individualized marker. While women did occasionally find their names and birth-family coats of arms on their monuments, they more typically

Figure 3.4 Women's tomb, Duomo, marble, Florence. Photograph by Anne Leader.

were unidentified, recognized only as generic members of the larger family group. For example, Filippo di Michele Arrighi da Empoli (d. 1403),¹⁶ whose family was a relative newcomer in the world of Florentine politics and thus relatively low on the scale of social status and prestige,¹⁷ nevertheless installed a tomb slab richly decorated with colored marbles and bronze at Santa Croce. It celebrates Filippo as a prudent man and as an honorable Florentine citizen, though it eliminates the toponym his lineage customarily used from his surname (figure 3.5), which would have signaled his clan's origins from the Tuscan countryside.¹⁸ Filippo proudly included his profession as a Florentine banker, *camporis florentini*, but, as was typical, he included his children and his wives only generically, *et suorum et uxorum*.¹⁹

Occasionally, tomb inscriptions mention both husband and wife by name and include the coats of arms of the two families united by marriage. The Strozzi/Vespucchi tomb in Santa Maria Novella's left aisle is typical (figure 3.6), with the husband's heraldry on the viewer's left, or *dexter* side, to signal the husband's greater importance. Designed by Andrea Ferrucci (1465–ca. 1526), this elaborate wall monument honored the lawyer Messer Antonio di Vanni Strozzi and his wife Antonia di Simone

Figure 3.5 Tomb of Filippo di Michele Arrighi, Santa Croce, Florence.
Photograph by Anne Leader.

Vespucci. Strozzi would have had rights to burial in the tomb of his grandfather, Francesco di Benedetto Strozzi, who had installed a floor slab in the nave of Santa Maria Novella for himself and his descendants.²⁰ Instead, he decided to install a much more elaborate wall tomb replete

Figure 3.6 Andrea Ferucci with Silvio Cosini and Maso Boscoli da Fiesole,
Tomb of Strozzi/Vespucci, marble, 1524, Santa Maria Novella, Florence.
Photograph by Sailko.

with black marble sarcophagus, relief sculpture, and a lengthy inscription that celebrates him and his wife.²¹

On floor slabs, like the Del Bene/Ricasoli tomb at Santi Apostoli, the husband's crest could be shown right side up to indicate his prominence (figure 3.7), while the wife's would be displayed upside down from the vantage point of the viewer.²² Every now and then, women had their own tombs, as in the case of Giovanna Tornaquinci (figure 3.8) at Santa

Figure 3.7 Tomb of Giovanni d'Amerigo del Bene and Francesca di M. Albertaccio Ricasoli, Santi Apostoli, Florence: Photograph by Anne Leader.

Croce.²³ Though she received the rare honor of having her own individual slab, all reference to her maiden name and birth family have been omitted, and she is honored simply as a Tedaldi wife, with their coat of arms on both the tomb and the pier above, and neither sign nor mention of her Tornaquinci roots. The tomb inscription reads: “In the year of our Lord

Figure 3.8 Tomb of Giovanna Tornaquinci Tedaldi, Santa Croce, Florence.
Photograph by Anne Leader.

1357 on the 17th day of the month of May, here lies Lady Giovanna, wife of the deceased Tedaldo di Bartolo Tedaldi, may her soul rest in peace. Amen.²⁴ Tedaldo had his own memorial at the foot of the same pier. He died in January 1379, and the slab that marks his grave (figure 3.9) makes clear that it is for him and his children.²⁵

Given that Giovanna predeceased her husband by more than two decades, it may not seem surprising that she received her own tomb. However, men frequently installed family tombs in advance of their own

Figure 3.9 Tomb of Tedaldo di Bartolo Tedaldi, Santa Croce, Florence; Tomb of Giovanna Tornaquinci Tedaldi visible at left. Photograph by Anne Leader.

burials, often in conjunction with the death of a spouse or a child, as in the case of Ser Piero da Vinci at the Badia of Florence.²⁶ Ser Piero installed a tomb in the Benedictine monastery at the time of his second wife's death in 1474, but the slab's inscription only mentioned him by name. Not only was Francesca Lanfredini da Vinci made anonymous after being placed in her husband's tomb, but also his third and fourth wives, as well as many of their children, lost their identities when they joined her over the

subsequent decades. Only Ser Piero, who was buried in 1504, received acknowledgment through his name and his coat of arms.

What is remarkable about the Tedaldi monuments at Santa Croce is that there are two of them. The reference to Tedaldo as deceased (*olim*) on Giovanna's tomb suggests that her slab was made specific to her only after his death in 1379. At that time, he was buried under a second slab honoring him as a noble and prudent Florentine merchant. The styles of the two slabs are quite distinctive, suggesting different eras of manufacture.²⁷ We do not presently know why the Tedaldi decided to honor patriarch and matriarch separately. By 1439, Giovanna's tomb was listed in a registry as for the Tedaldi women (*delle donne de' Tedaldi*).²⁸ By separating male and female burials, the Tedaldi echoed the Abati, Adimari, Alamanni, Alberti, Asini, Bardi, Caponsacchi, Cavalcanti, Frescobaldi, Pazzi, Peruzzi, Pulci, Sirigatti, Tolosini, Ubaldini, and Uberti, who also segregated their dead in Santa Croce according to gender,²⁹ as happened frequently at other Florentine churches. What is extraordinary is the fact that Giovanna Tedaldi is mentioned by name. Of the thirty-nine tombs designated as specifically for women in Santa Croce (less than 3.5 percent of the total number of known monuments),³⁰ twenty-six were for groups of women unidentified except by family name; three graves were for female members of a confraternity dedicated to Mary Magdalene;³¹ and ten monuments were known to be for specific individuals like Giovanna Tornaquinci Tedaldi.

Floor slabs with effigies, of the type Dante describes as "stones in the church floor over the buried dead bear[ing] figured what they were before,"³² in fact made up the minority of individual monuments. For example, of the 114 floor slabs installed in Santa Croce prior to 1500, only twenty-four, or 21 percent, carried portrait effigies.³³ Andrew Butterfield has speculated that commemoration with portrait sculpture was a privilege reserved in practice, if not by law, to saints and beatified, high church officials, royalty, and elites, namely knights and aristocrats, but also doctors of law and medicine, high-ranking clerics, or individuals buried at public expense in recognition of civic service.³⁴ Indeed, Dante's reference to "the prick of memory that spurs only the faithful" likely plays on the costume worn by knights on their gravestones (figure 3.10), their golden spurs denoting their status for eternity.³⁵

While proper burial was a crucial step in preparation for the after-life, tomb monuments manifested a complex and conflicting mix of piety and social calculation that reflected tensions between Christian humility

Figure 3.10: Tomb of Biordo degli Ubertini, Santa Croce, Florence. Photograph by Anne Leader.

and social recognition. Benefactors hoped to secure perpetual intercession for their souls, while they preserved and promoted their family's honor. As Doralynn Pines has noted in her work on the floor slabs of Santa Croce, "If the deceased had been concerned only for his soul, he would have given a donation or left a bequest to the church of which only he and the clerics of the recipient church would have been aware."³⁶ Along with chapels,

altars, pulpits, water fonts, altar cloths, and other liturgical objects that could be emblazoned with coats of arms, tombs encouraged recognition and remembrance. Samuel Cohn has aptly called tombs “sacred niches of family pride,”³⁷ and Richard Goldthwaite has noted that chapels, and by extension the tombs contained therein, provided “many advantages [...] for both the soul and the ego (not to mention the body), and in both this world and the next.”³⁸ Tombs offered a ubiquitous reminder of Florence’s past and promise of a glorious future through the honorees’ descendants still walking and working in the city.

A broad look at the thousands of monuments recorded in tomb registries as installed in Florentine churches between the thirteenth and early sixteenth centuries reveals the significant role that merchants, lawyers, and other professionals held in this important sphere of artistic patronage, which was much more abundant than surviving monuments might indicate. For example, the pavement along the front of Santa Maria Novella was once home to rows of tomb slabs, almost 150 in all, that provided a cemetery-like setting for the *avelli* that still grace the church façade.³⁹ Even though Santa Croce retains many of its original slabs indoors, most of its 550-plus outdoor monuments are lost or survive only in small fragments.⁴⁰ Documentary evidence reveals that the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries saw a boom in tomb production, with a steady, if much smaller, stream of new monuments in the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries.⁴¹ In Florence, merchants and other professionals clamored to install their monuments indoors alongside the tombs of clerics and civic heroes. By subsuming places of honor traditionally reserved for ecclesiastics, soldiers, and saints, members of the Florentine political and commercial classes transformed the cityscape of late medieval Florence. This resulting topography of tombs demonstrates an intense parceling of church property into private memorials to individual professionals and their families.

For example, the transept of Santa Croce was “owned” through sepulchralization by the Arnolfi, Arrighi, Barberini, Bellacci, Biffoli, Fortebracci, Giugni, Monachi, Mozzi, Pazzi, Torelli, Viviani Franchi, and Ubertini families. Though two of these tomb slabs honored members of the Pazzi and Ubertini families as knights and were associated with Florence’s magnate class, the others were installed by professional men, including merchants, bankers, jurists, and notaries. While the chapels that framed these floor slabs belonged to families primarily from the ranks of the elite, besides the Pazzi, only the Giugni were considered to be part of the older ruling elite of Florence known as *grandi*. One family, the Bellacci,

acquired rights to the south transept's penultimate chapel in 1426.⁴² They had traditionally been a family of butchers, of a significantly different status than the elite Giugni and Velluti clans who owned the chapels on either side of theirs. In the early decades of the fifteenth century, Bellacci men began to leave the meat business, enrolling in the *Arte del Cambio*. Whether they were bankers or less prestigious local moneychangers remains unclear, but we know that while Niccolò di Giovanni di Bellaccio carried on his father's butcher trade, his much younger brother Giovanni, as well as their nephew Antonio, had transitioned into the financial sector.⁴³ Their acquisition of a transept chapel not only exemplifies the ability of newer families to take advantage of the misfortunes of older lineages but also shows how such privatization of church space served both spiritual and social needs. Though the Bellacci would never match the Giugni in terms of social status, from their induction into the priorate in 1342 to their acquisition of a chapel and tomb in the 1420s they saw their esteem rise. In 1427, Niccolò and Giovanni Bellacci ranked in the top one hundred wealthiest households in Florence.⁴⁴ By mid century, the tomb at the foot of their chapel honored "Nicholai. Iovanis. Anto. de Bellacis. suor. a. d. m. ccccxxi."⁴⁵ Though the slab records the year 1431 (possibly the year of Niccolò's death), by 1439 the tomb was still described in church records as "ammatonata," meaning that its marble slab had yet to be installed,⁴⁶ a project seemingly completed by Antonio prior to his death around 1452.⁴⁷ By the end of the century, despite their humble beginnings, the Bellacci commanded some degree of status in the city and were deemed worthy of inclusion by the poet Ugolino "il Verino" (1438–1516) in his celebration of the city's great clans, *De nobilitate et origine prolium Florentinorum*.⁴⁸

While new tombs can be identified in large numbers in late medieval and early Renaissance Florence, the surviving evidence does not always allow us to determine identity, social status, or occupation of particular tomb owners. Tomb registries, or *sepoltuari*, were kept as a means to keep track of who was buried where and when tombs changed hands. Tombs were most typically passed down through the generations of a family, though they were regularly recycled, with "ownership" transferred from one family to another, when lineages died out or could no longer afford to keep them, as seen with the Bellacci. For example, the Bastari family, though an old and prestigious family, fell on hard times towards the end of the fourteenth century with their last election to the priorate in 1386. Filippo di Cionetto Bastari, one of Florence's leading statesmen in the later fourteenth century, paid for the completion of his family's tomb in the Badia Fiorentina in 1393,

part of his family's support of the monastery that stretched back several generations. Together with the Giuochi, in 1330 the Bastari had dedicated one of the Badia's three presbytery chapels along with tombs for each clan, demonstrating not only their piety but also their dominance in the neighborhood. However, the Giuochi sold their rights and their tomb to the Boscoli in 1396.⁴⁹ Filippo Bastari would die in exile and be buried in a Franciscan church in Rimini,⁵⁰ and it is unclear whether any of his family members took advantage of their tomb after its completion. The Bastari family also owned three tombs in Santa Croce, two of which eventually passed to Florentines eager to have their spots. Cionetto di Giovenco Bastari, despite his family's chapel in the Badia, installed a family tomb in the crypt of Santa Croce sometime before 1363, lost in later renovations.⁵¹ His son Filippo, in addition to paying for adornment to the family sepulcher at the Badia, also purchased two burial spots in Santa Croce's north aisle. Likely because of his exile in 1394, Filippo never commissioned memorials, and his plots remained unadorned, unfilled pits in 1439. In 1491, Ser Giovanni di Michele Marchi gained the rights to one of these "fosse ammatonate," while Sandro di S. Martello Sermartelli obtained the other.⁵²

In addition to the sale or loss of memorial rights, many tomb inhabitants were forgotten to the ravages of time, weather, and foot traffic. When custodians lost track of who owned certain tombs, they would leave the relevant *sepoltuario* entry blank, assess its condition as *consumata* (worn away), or note the lack of certainty as to who was buried therein, with the notation: "non si sa di chi sia"—we do not know whose it is.⁵³ If church officials and antiquarians were at a loss to identify a tomb's owner, it is that much harder for historians to reconstruct now. Renovation, restorations, repaving, and in the case of Santa Maria Novella, the fabrication of neo-Gothic tombs in the late nineteenth century, have further disrupted medieval burial grounds, and surviving *sepoltuari* make us regretfully aware of numerous tombs, especially those in outdoor cemeteries, that are all but gone save occasional fragments.

Tomb registries typically list the owner of a tomb (though not necessarily its original founder), a brief description of its form, and reference to the inscriptions it carried with varying degrees of accuracy. For example, Gherardino di Giano installed a tomb for himself and his children in the crypt of Santa Croce, as recorded in a *sepoltuario* written on parchment in the fourteenth century. This record only gives us Gherardino's name and patronym: "S[epulcrum] Gherardini Giannis et filiorum."⁵⁴ Gherardino belonged to at least one guild, for he was elected to the signory four times

before 1330 and once to the advisory council of the Twelve in 1332.⁵⁵ A late sixteenth-century registry gives additional information about the tomb, including the date of 1334 and that ownership of the tomb had passed to Gherardino's grandson, the Calimala merchant Astorre di Niccolò.⁵⁶ The surviving tomb fragment (figure 3.11), now inserted into the wall of Santa Croce's significantly renovated crypt, shows the family coat of arms and an additional inscription at the bottom, indicating the tomb's restoration in the early eighteenth century. Astorre, together with his brother, also inherited rights to a tomb in Santa Croce's aisle that had been installed by his father and a cousin.⁵⁷ In addition, Astorre dedicated a chapel with a tomb in his family's parish church of San Niccolò oltr'Arno

Figure 3.11 Tassello of Gherardino Gianni, Santa Croce, Florence. Photograph by Anne Leader.

in 1405. Though we know he was buried in Santa Croce upon his death on July 17, 1449, we are not sure which family gravesite he chose.

Despite the difficulties of analyzing tomb data to discern patterns among patrons, we can draw some general conclusions.⁵⁸ Among a sample of 3,180 monuments in Florentine churches, 754 (about 24 percent) belonged to someone with a known occupation.⁵⁹ While most Florentines identified with a single occupation or trade, some engaged in multiple professions and belonged to more than one guild. Moreover, tombs were frequently shared, and multiple social groups could claim a single tomb. For example, in the church of Santa Felicità the cousins Francesco di Nero and Bernardo di Simone del Nero dedicated a slab for themselves and their descendants around 1450. Francesco was a linen cloth dealer (*rigattiere*), like his father before him. His second cousin Bernardo was also the son of a *rigattiere* and is listed in early records as a member of the linen drapers' guild. However, once he reached maturity, he was matriculated in the more prestigious silk guild. For the purposes of the following discussion, the Del Nero tomb would be counted both as a linen merchant's tomb and as a silk merchant's tomb.

Of these 754 tombs that can be associated with a particular occupation, about two-thirds (506) belonged to men we might call professionals. The overwhelming majority of these so-called professionals were, unsurprisingly given the nature of the Florentine economy, merchant-bankers (66 percent), like the aforementioned Del Nero cousins. The remainder were divided among lawyers, judges, and notaries (25 percent); medical doctors and barbers (5 percent); innkeepers (2 percent); and mercenary soldiers (2 percent). After professionals, artisans and manual laborers claimed the next highest percentage of tomb ownership with 142 monuments; ecclesiastics owned 92. Other tomb owners included those working in the agricultural industry (44), nobles (23), scholars (15), salesmen (12), and state personnel (7).

In Florence, social status and political power were determined primarily by whether one had a record of political service, came from an old family, or was a member of one of the city's seven major guilds (Lawyers and Notaries; Great Merchants; Money Changers; Wool Masters; Silk Masters; Doctors and Apothecaries; or Furriers and Leather Masters). Wealth was another important factor but did not always correlate with social status or political impact. Those who sold linen, used cloth, oil, wine, and other foodstuffs, as well as various artisans, belonged to one of the so-called minor guilds. While the major guilds commanded more power

than the fourteen minor ones, they were not seen as equal to each other. Imbalances were found within the guilds as well, as notaries grouped with judges; painters with spice merchants; stationers with doctors, and goldsmiths with silk merchants, to name only a few examples. It was the city's lawyers, international merchants, bankers, and wool and silk manufacturers who dominated Florentine politics and upper elite and, not surprisingly, often installed individual tomb monuments. Judges, notaries, doctors, and soldiers, as well as innkeepers and those who sold food, oil, wine, wax, and soap, also shaped the tomb economy.

Within the sample of 754 tombs installed by those with a known occupation, 475 (63 percent) belonged to members of one of the seven major guilds: 132 tomb owners matriculated in the *Arte dei Giudici e Notai*, almost 70 percent of whom were notaries. The next most represented guild was the *Arte della Lana*, with 99 tombs owned by its members. Sixty-two owners matriculated in *Arte del Cambio*, with bankers owning over four times as many monuments as moneychangers. The remainder was owned by 53 silk merchants, 49 Calimala, or great, merchants, 46 spice merchants, and 10 furriers. Merchants whose guild has yet to be identified owned another 40 tombs, almost all of which included reference to their honorees' mercantile activity in their inscriptions. For example, Giovanni Cambi was honored as a prudent "merchant of Florence" (*mercatoris de Florentia*) on his Santa Croce slab dated 1383.⁶⁰ Other tombs specify the profession of the deceased, as in an undated example from S. Felicità whose inscription reads: "The tomb of spice merchant Matthew, son of Anthony, and his descendants" (*S[epulcrum] di Matteo d' Antonio spetiale e[t] su[orum]*).⁶¹ The merchant Giovanni Giani da Gangalandi announced his profession in the silk trade on his memorial at Santa Maria Novella.⁶² The aforementioned banker Filippo Arrighi (figure 3.5) specified his membership in the moneychangers' guild in his tomb's inscription, which lauded him as an honorable Florentine citizen and banker (*honorabilis civis et campsoris Florentini*). A group of thirty-three merchant tombs ranging in date from 1348 to 1450 includes reference to the profession of the deceased.

Coats of arms are usually the focus of each tomb, (figures 3.5, 3.7, 3.8, and 3.9) providing an instantly recognizable claim to the sepulchral space. Medieval tomb inscriptions tend to follow the perimeter of the slab or the circumference of the arms and more rarely read from left to right at the foot or top of a tomb slab. As Andrew Butterfield has suggested, only ecclesiastics, knights, and citizens honored by the republic seem to have

included effigies on their tombs, less than 1.5 percent of the sample (figure 3.10). The overwhelming majority chose to place their tombs in the floor—likely for the same reasons of tradition and decorum that guided the use of effigies. About 45 percent were placed in the church proper and spaces like the sacristy or chapter room, while about 18 percent went into crypts and the remaining 37 percent into the cemetery or other space like a cloister or church piazza.

While most Florentine churches were filled with tomb slabs inside and out, it was the mendicant churches of Santa Croce and Santa Maria Novella that drew the largest crowds, and their large building complexes were designed to accommodate thousands of tombs. Unlike monks, who kept themselves cloistered within monastery walls, supported by income drawn from vast land and property holdings, mendicant friars were reliant on alms and bequests, and tombs and memorial masses provided a steady source of revenue. Mendicants competed not only with each other, but also with monasteries and parishes. Laypeople, on the other hand, typically patronized multiple churches, satisfying their spiritual needs in a variety of venues. Florentines typically left money in their wills to several religious institutions.⁶³ But, they could be buried only in one place, and the rights of interment were thus jealously guarded. Frequently, the prize went to the mendicants.

Santa Maria Novella had served as a parish burial site long before the arrival of the Dominicans in the early thirteenth century.⁶⁴ Of the 828 monuments known to have been installed in the new church prior to the early seventeenth century, 74 percent belonged to men with last names, indicating that established families were the primary patrons of the church's memorials. Of this group of men with last names, 11 percent were magnates, that is, disenfranchised old aristocracy; while another 23 percent had entered communal government prior to 1342, earning them the distinction as the elite of the ruling elite, another 17 percent were elected at various points between 1343 and the mid-fifteenth century. Almost half, however, despite their surnames, were never seated in the government at all, one of the key criteria for social status in late medieval and Renaissance Florence.

Though the number of tombs at Santa Croce was higher, over 1,100, the breakdown of tomb owners with and without surnames, and with and without social status, is remarkably similar to that of Santa Maria Novella. Among elite tomb owners at Santa Croce, 16 percent were magnates and 24 percent had entered government service before 1342, which means that they were merchants, bankers, lawyers, and so on, like the guildsmen

installing tombs at Santa Maria Novella. Indeed, the social distribution of tombs at each convent is nearly identical. Tomb owners at each church were a mix of old aristocrats and self-made elites—bankers, merchants, lawyers, and notaries, as well as the occasional butcher, artisan, or shopkeeper.

How, then, did an individual decide where to install his tomb? Why might a person prefer the Dominicans to the Franciscans, or a monastery, or their parish? (We have at least one extraordinary case of a woman named Margherita Manfredi, who was buried in the Dominican church of Santa Maria Novella in 1370, but who requested in her last will and testament to be wearing a Franciscan habit!)⁶⁵ Proximity to home may have been a factor. For example, the majority of tomb owners at Santa Croce came from the quarter of the same name, though frequently not from the same parish. The next largest group of tomb owners lived in the neighboring districts of Vaio and Chiavi in the quarter of San Giovanni, and also in Scala just across the river in the Oltrarno.

For example, as previously mentioned, Gherardino di Giano installed a tomb for himself and his children in the crypt of Santa Croce (figure 3.11).⁶⁶ Gherardino belonged to at least one professional association, since he was elected to the communal government five times before 1332.⁶⁷ He lived with his family in the Oltrarno district in the parish of San Niccolò. Thus, in choosing Santa Croce as his final resting place, Gherardino was abandoning his home parish and incurring additional fees for his burial, as the Franciscans would have to turn over one quarter of these funds to San Niccolò.⁶⁸ Moreover, Gherardino's choice meant that his family members would have to travel a greater distance, including crossing the river Arno, to attend his funeral and those of his kinfolk who were also buried in the family plot (figure 3.12). This may, however, have been seen as advantageous, for the longer the funeral procession, the greater the recognition, attention, and opportunity for intercessory prayer.

Similarly, some tomb owners at Santa Maria Novella came from its eponymous parish, while many more came from its home district of the White Lion as well as elsewhere in the Santa Maria Novella quarter. The neighboring district of the Golden Lion in San Giovanni also provided a large number of constituents. However, each church had its share of tomb owners who came from all quarters of the city. Further complicating this picture is the fact that 97 different families installed tombs in both churches, five of which had sons profess as friars at each institution.

Figure 3.12 Map of Florence, divided into quarters and gonfalon.

The desire of individual Florentines to commemorate themselves transformed their cityscape. Stone monuments kept the dead ever present, at least in theory, on the minds and in the prayers of the living. Poignantly however, many markers, designed for permanence, have not survived. Some have had their inscriptions worn away; others were sold off by impoverished descendants to newcomers eager to take on the rights to a prestigious burial spot, like the butcher-turned-banker Bellacci family (see figure 3.3). Further research into the full tombscape of Florentine burial is needed to answer a number of remaining questions about how Florentines chose their tomb locations and decorations. We can, however, conclude with certainty that Florentines were attracted in large numbers to the friars and monks of the city, inviting them to care for their remains and to pray for their salvation.

Notes

¹ “Come, perché di lor memoria sia, / sovra i sepolti le tombe terragne / portan segnato quel ch’elli eran pria, / onde lì molte volte si ripiagne / per la puntura de la rimembranza, / che solo a’ pii dà de le calcagne.” The quoted translation is by Sayers in Alighieri, *Purgatory*, 12.16–21, 158; for original Italian and prose translation, see Alighieri and Singleton, *Purgatorio. Text*, 120–23.

² Dante refers to tombs (*tombe*) in *Inferno* 6.97–99, 9.127–29, 10.40–42, 19.7–9, and 34.127–29 and, as noted above, *Purgatorio* 12.16–21; he refers to burial (*sepolto*) in *Inferno* 9.130–33; *Purgatorio* 3.25–27, 7.4–6, 12.16–18, and 31.46–48; and *Paradiso* 27.133–35. Cited from the *Commedia*, edited by Giorgio Petrocchi (Milan: Mondadori, 1966–67), as found on Dante Lab, <http://dantelab.dartmouth.edu>.

³ Tension between laymen who wished to be buried within church walls and clergy who sought to restrict the privilege and prevent their churches from becoming graveyards, as Theodulf of Orléans (d. 821) would complain, can be dated to the Early Christian period. Broader access to indoor burial was provided by the mendicants, who received permission to bury the dead several times over the course of the thirteenth century, first to bury their own (1227) and then to bury laypersons (1229), thus giving them a privilege previously enjoyed by parishes and monasteries. See introduction for further discussion of the gap between church doctrine and practice regarding indoor burial, as well as Bernard, “La sépulture en droit canonique,” 15–23, 183–84; Höger, “Studien zur Entstehung der Familienkapelle,” 20–22, 50; Dyggve, “The Origin of the Urban Churchyard”; Strocchia, “Burials in Renaissance Florence,” 205–9; Hassenpflug, *Das Laienbegräbnis in der Kirche*, 40–57; Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying*, 151–54, 201n73.

⁴ The area between the baptistery and S. Reparata was long used as a cemetery, perhaps as early as the Etruscan era, until the removal of monuments in 1293. Burials inside the cathedral can be dated as early as the seventh century, and repeated injunctions against lay burial attest to ongoing success for private citizens to attain the right of sepulture inside, as in the case of Messer Vieri de' Medici in 1392. Pines, "The Tomb Slabs of Santa Croce," 12; Toker, *On Holy Ground*, 73–83; Toker, *Archaeological Campaigns*, 84–170; for more on fourteenth-century slabs with effigies see Tigler, Neri Lusanna, and Chiti, "Medieval Sculpture"; for more on Vieri's tomb and other Medici honors at the cathedral see Strocchia, "Burials in Renaissance Florence," 212–13; Strocchia, *Death and Ritual*, 91–92; Paoletti, "Medici Funerary Monuments in the Duomo," 1147–50.

⁵ Repeated institution and relaxation of the *quarta* over the twelfth and thirteenth centuries point to ongoing tension between parish clergy and those at mendicant and monastic churches. Disputes over funeral dues find their origins in 475 with Pope Simplicius. The bull *Super cathedram* promulgated on 18 February 1300 by Boniface VIII required that a quarter of burial receipts be granted to the parish, seeking to end exemptions and settle the matter. This edict was quickly revoked by Benedict XI on 17 February 1304 but reinstated by Clement V at the Council of Vienne in 1311/12. The Florentine synodal constitutions had adopted the *quarta* in 1310. Dunford, "Funeral Dues"; Bernard, "La sépulture en droit canonique," 77–78, 164–70, 183–85, 197; Strocchia, "Burials in Renaissance Florence," 114–16, 206–8; Strocchia, *Death and Ritual*, 94–95.

⁶ Strocchia, *Death and Ritual*, 94–104.

⁷ For more on the distinction between *grandi*, also known as *ottimati*, namely wealthy international bankers, traders, and landowners, and the *popolo*, made up of local merchants, artisans, and other professionals, see Najemy, *A History of Florence 1200–1575*, 5–6, 35–36.

⁸ See, for example, the floor tomb of the brothers and wool merchants Bernardo and Niccolò di Domenico Giugni, originally at the foot of their family chapel in Santa Croce, whose inscription celebrates them as "honoratissimorum civium et mercatorum." Archivio di Stato, Firenze, hereafter ASF, Manoscritti, 624, p. 313, no. 140; Pines, "The Tomb Slabs of Santa Croce," 347–51; Iacopini, *Le lapidi terragne di Santa Croce*, 2:316. For an extraordinary example of a banker's tomb, see that of M. Orlando di Guccio de' Medici at Santissima Annunziata, whose inscription focuses on his knighthood and civic service rather than mercantile activity. ASF, Manoscritti, 625, p. 1283, no. 25.

⁹ For notaries' tombs see, for example, those of Ser Jacopo di Bartolomeo Bottegari or Ser Piero da Vinci at the Badia Fiorentina. ASF, Manoscritti, 624, pp. 618, no. 70 and 610, no. 23. See also Leader, "In the Tomb of Ser Piero." An example of a judge's tomb is that of M. Ugo di M. Altovito Altoviti in Santi Apostoli. ASF, Manoscritti, 625, p. 947–48, no. 17. For a doctor's tomb see that of Mag. Giovanni di Mag. Ambrogio Solosmei in the crypt of Santa Maria Novella. ASF, Manoscritti, 812, p. 264.

¹⁰ For the tomb of a stationer see that of Giovanni di Michele Baldini at the Badia Fiorentina. ASF, Manoscritti, 624, p. 611, no. 28.

¹¹ For example, Bartolomeo di Tello *pianellaio* installed a tomb and possibly the altar that stood over it at his parish church of Sant'Apollinare. ASF, Manoscritti, 624, p. 596, no. 6.

¹² Among the inn keepers and tavern owners known to have installed monuments in Florence, Andrea d'Ugo *tavernaio* placed his tomb marker at the entrance of the Alfieri chapel in the crypt of Santa Maria Novella towards the middle of the fourteenth century. ASF, Manoscritti, 812, p. 240.

¹³ Michele di Jacopo Cittadini, who served as consul of the armorers' guild six times between 1430 and 1443, installed a tomb for himself and his descendants at the cathedral, the inscription of which is now in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo. ASF, Manoscritti, 625, p. 1120, no. 4.

¹⁴ Butterfield, "Social Structure and the Typology of Funerary Monuments," 54n15.

¹⁵ Bernard, "La sépulture en droit canonique," 85–86, 90–91; Strocchia, "Burials in Renaissance Florence," 208–9; Strocchia, *Death and Ritual*, 198–201.

¹⁶ Pines, "The Tomb Slabs of Santa Croce," 206–10; Chiti, *Le lapidi terragne di Santa Croce*, 1:156–57.

¹⁷ Filippo was the first member of his lineage to be elected prior in 1382. His son Giovanni would serve twice in 1423 and 1430, and his grandson Andrea would be elected once in 1472. ASF, *Priorista Mariani*, 252, fol. 1079.

¹⁸ These Arrighi used "da Empoli" as a means to distinguish them from another Florentine clan of the same name. Filippo was drawn for election several times with his first name, patronym, and toponym but no surname. Only when elected to lead the bankers' guild (Arte del Cambio) in 1401 was he listed on election slips as Filippo di Michele Arrighi. Otherwise they recorded him as Filippo di Michele da Empoli. ASF, *Priorista Mariani*, 252, fols. 1078v–1079; Herlihy et al., *Online Tratte of Office Holders*. Pines and Chiti noted, but did not remark on, the discrepancy between Filippo's name in common practice and that on his tomb. Pines, "The Tomb Slabs of Santa Croce," 208; Chiti, *Le lapidi terragne di Santa Croce*, 1:156.

¹⁹ Tomb registers indicate that ownership passed to Filippo's grandson Francesco di Michele di Filippo Arrighi da Empoli. Study of burial records would confirm who joined Filippo in his grave, possibly including his second wife Niccolosa di Bernardo Covoni and sons Antonio, Bartolomeo, Giovanni, Michele, and Tommaso. See ASF, Grascia, and ASF, Medici Speciali.

²⁰ ASF, Manoscritti, 628, no. 179, p. 417; 624, no. 179, p. 726; and 812, p. 144.

²¹ White marble reliefs depicting the Virgin and Child and angels were designed by Andrea Ferrucci and sculpted by Silvio Cosini and Maso Boscoli da Fiesole.

²² The slab marked the grave of Giovanni d'Amerigo del Bene (act. 1363–87) and Francesca di M. Albertaccio Ricasoli (d. 1373). ASF, Manoscritti, 628, no. 24, p. 105.

²³ Pines, "The Tomb Slabs of Santa Croce," 535–38; Chiti, *Le lapidi terragne di Santa Croce*, 1:82–83.

²⁴ "An[n]i D[omi]ni M CCC LVII die XVIII mensis Ma[ii] hic iacet D[omi]na Ioh[ann]a uxor olim Tedaldi Bartoli de Tedaldis cuius a[n]i[m]a requiescat in pace amen." Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century records describe the inscription as "consumata," suggesting that it has been recut. Pines, "The Tomb Slabs of Santa Croce," 535–37; Chiti, *Le lapidi terragne di Santa Croce*, 1:82.

²⁵ "Sepulcrum nobilis e[t] providi viri Tedaldi Bartoli de Tedaldis mercatoris de Florentia e[t] filior[um] qui obit an[n]o d[omi]ni M CCC LXXVIII die primo genuarii cuius a[n]i[m]a requiescat i[n] pace." Pines, "The Tomb Slabs of Santa Croce," 531–34; Chiti, *Le lapidi terragne di Santa Croce*, 1:178–81.

²⁶ Leader, "In the Tomb of Ser Piero."

²⁷ Pines dates each tomb to the deaths of their respective inhabitants. Chiti argues that each was made several decades after death, dating Giovanna's tomb ca. 1370–80 (though she also suggests Tedaldo's death as a *terminus post quem*) and Tedaldo's between 1425 and 1430. Pines, "The Tomb Slabs of Santa Croce," 531–37; Chiti, *Le lapidi terragne di Santa Croce*, 1:82, 178–81.

²⁸ ASF, Manoscritti, 619 (Sepoltuario di Santa Croce), fol. 17.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 3, no. 52; fol. 5, nos. 154, 157, 158; fol. 12, no. 2; fol. 14, nos. 17, 21, 25, 28, 30, 32, 35, 39, 41, 47; fol. 15v, no. 2; fol. 16v, no. 55; fol. 17, no. 75, 78

³⁰ According to various sepoltuari, the total number of tombs in the church and surrounding complex of Santa Croce totaled 1,152 by 1657, with 1,026 of those in place by 1439. ASF, Manoscritti, 619 (Sepoltuario di 1439); ASF, Manoscritti, 618 (Sepoltuario di 1596); ASF, Manoscritti, 624 (Sepoltuario Rosselli).

³¹ According to a *sepoltuario* dated 1596, three tombs for women stood at the doorway of the meeting space used by the Compagnia della Maddalena. ASF, Manoscritti, 618, fol. 43.

³² Alighieri and Singleton, *Purgatorio. Text*, 121.

³³ Pines, "The Tomb Slabs of Santa Croce," 28–50.

³⁴ Butterfield, "Social Structure and the Typology of Funerary Monuments," 55. The men honored at Santa Croce with effigies on their floor slabs were: Jacopo di Francesco Arrighi (wool merchant, d. 1400); M. Francesco di Neri Barberini (lawyer and author, 1246–1348); Giovanni di Amerigo Benci (banker, 1394–1459); Fra Tommaso Biffoli (Hospitaler of St. James); Magister Jacopo di Filippo Bisticci (doctor, d. 1468); Bishop John Catterick (cleric, d. 1419); Fra Francesco da Empoli (Franciscan friar and scholar, d. 1370); Filippo di Niccolò Giugni (wool merchant, d. 1434); Giovanni di Francesco Magalotti (one of the "Eight Saints," d. 1377); M. Gregorio di Domenico Marsuppini (lawyer, d. 1444); Ludovico di Giovanni degli Obizzi (mercenary soldier, d. 1424); Milano di S. Arrigo Rastrelli d'Asti (mercenary soldier, d. 1396); Niccolò di Banco Raugi (tertiary, d. 1343); Niccolò di Vanni Ricoveri Caccini (cloth merchant, d. 1399); M. Tommaso di Jacopo Sacchetti (wool merchant, d. 1405); M. Forese di M.

Giovanni Salviati (wool merchant, d. 1411); Magister Agostino di Stefano Santucci da Urbino (doctor, d. 1468); Leonardo di Papi Tedaldi (cloth merchant, d. 1474) and his wife Lisa di Francesco Alberti; Giovanni di Niccolò Tegliacci (merchant, d. 1454); M. Torello di Niccolò Torelli (lawyer, d. 1417); M. Biordo degli Ubertini di Chitignano (mercenary soldier, d. 1358); Bartolomeo di Niccolò Valori (wool merchant, d. 1427); Fra Giuliano Verrocchi (theologian, d. 1442); and S. Viviano di Neri Viviani Franchi (notary, d. 1414).

³⁵ Singleton cites the commentary of Francesco da Buti, who first noted in the late fourteenth century that Dante was referring to effigial tomb slabs carrying inscriptions, heraldry, and portraits “as a judge, doctor, or knight.” Singleton also notes the metaphor of the spur but does not connect it to the knights represented on tomb slabs. Alighieri and Singleton, *Purgatorio. Text*, 123; *Purgatorio. Commentary*, 245.

³⁶ Pines, “The Tomb Slabs of Santa Croce,” 21.

³⁷ Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance*, 242; for the same point see also Giurescu, “Trecento Family Chapels,” 17.

³⁸ Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence*, 99; Giurescu, “Trecento Family Chapels,” 18; Burke, *Changing Patrons*, 103–5.

³⁹ Originally, seventeen *avelli* adorned the southern side of the complex, and five more overlooked the piazza on its western side. In the late nineteenth century, the Via degli Aveli was widened, and the last three southern *avelli*, which belonged to the Nardi, Giandonati, and Buondelmonti families, were moved from the south/ façade side to the eastern flank. At that time, false *avelli* were created *ex-novo* to match the repositioned tombs. Schwartz, *Il bel cimitero*, 145–52, 417, pl. 15.

⁴⁰ ASF, Manoscritti, 619; Pandolfini and Papa, “Il portico settentrionale della basilica.”

⁴¹ Evidence for tomb building exists in testaments, church records, and private family documents as well as *sepoltuari* compiled in the seventeenth century by Francesco della Foresta (ASF, Manoscritti, 628) and Stefano Rosselli (ASF, Manoscritti, 624–625). See also Pines, “The Tomb Slabs of Santa Croce”; Giurescu, “Trecento Family Chapels”; Bruzelius, “Dead Come to Town.”

⁴² The Lupicini clan was the first to have *jus patronatus* of the chapel through Federigo and Giotto di Lapo Lupicini. A family of notable status in the early decades of the republic, they earned their first priorate in 1295 through a cousin Gherardo Lupicini. His son Guglielmo held that office in 1342 and 1345 and was Standard-bearer of Justice in 1353 and 1355. Another cousin, Francesco di Niccolò di Giovanni, was the clan’s last prior in 1394 and left part of his fortune to S. Croce in his 1400 testament. For reasons that remain vague, the chapel was sold by Donna Bilia, widow of Lapo di Giotto Lupicini, in 1348, rather than passing to other Lupicini relatives. Niccolò and Martino di Simone Guardì purchased patronage rights, but similarly sold them before the end of the century to the Capiardi di Fronte, who in turn sold it to Niccolò di Giovanni Bellacci in 1426. Niccolò is named as the owner of the chapel in a S. Croce *sepoltuario* dated

1439, but the tomb is listed as belonging to his father Giovanni (d. 1381) and uncle (act. 1411). ASF, Man. 619, fol. 1v, no. 16 and 15v, no. 12. For earlier patronage history see: Paatz and Paatz, *Die Kirchen von Florenz, ein kunstgeschichtliches Handbuch*, 1:566; Giurescu, "Trecento Family Chapels," 51–54.

⁴³ Niccolò (b. 1363) and Giovanni (b. 1384) shared a house in the parish of San Romeo (Remigio) in 1427. Their nephew Antonio di Andrea, then age 13, formed part of their household, his father having died around 1415. ASF, Catasto, 72, fol. 169, 172v. The *sepoltuario* record regarding this tomb is confusing. An entry kept among Santa Croce papers clarifies that the tomb, set up by the brothers Niccolò and Giovanni Bellacci, was also for the use of Giovanni's children, and his grandson Antonio di Andrea di Giovanni del Bellaccio. ASF, Corp. Rel. Soppr. 92, 363. See also Pines, "The Tomb Slabs of Santa Croce," 337n2.

⁴⁴ Niccolò di Giovanni, together with his brother Giovanni and nephew Andrea, claimed a total wealth of 13,313 florins, ranking 94th among the 137 households with a total assessment of 10,000 or more florins out of 9,780 households assessed. Herlihy et al., *Online Catasto*; Molho, *Marriage Alliance in Late Medieval Florence*, 380.

⁴⁵ The tomb has likely been restored on at least one occasion. The earliest *sepoltuario* (1439) listed the tomb as belonging to Niccolò and Giovanni, while later lists suggest a dedication to Niccolò di Giovanni and Antonio. Giovanni's son Niccolò acquired the nearby chapel in 1426 but had not yet installed a tomb slab by 1439, an undertaking that seems to have been completed by his nephew Antonio prior to mid-century.

⁴⁶ Documents suggest that the brothers and fellow butchers Niccolò and Giovanni di Bellaccio di Puccio Bellacci, were also buried in the tomb. ASF, Manoscritti, 619, fol. 15v, no. 12; Pines, "The Tomb Slabs of Santa Croce," 340; Iacopini, *Le lapidi terragne di Santa Croce*, 2:326.

⁴⁷ A *sepoltuario* dated 1596 is the first documented reference to the slab and its inscription. ASF, Man. 618, fol. 71v.

⁴⁸ "Unde sit ignoro, vetus est Bellaccia proles / Dives et in pretio nunc est; extantque, caduntque / Ut fuerit virtus prolium, aut fortuna sinistra." The poem, which discusses Florentine families after a history of Florence and biographical sketches of illustrious citizens, was written in the 1480s. Verino, *De illustratione urbis Florentiae. libri tres*, 88; Lazzari, *Ugolino e Michele Verino*, 185–87. See also Molho, *Marriage Alliance in Late Medieval Florence*, 366, 380, who includes Bellacci among the middle ranks of the Florentine Ruling Class and with three households among the city's 1,502 wealthiest.

⁴⁹ It is unclear whether the Bastari's tomb also passed to the Boscoli or remained in the family. ASF, Manoscritti, 628, fol. 1; Uccelli, *Della Badia Fiorentina*, 65; Leader, *The Badia of Florence*, 71–72.

⁵⁰ For more on Filippo Bastari's burial in Rimini see Uccelli, *Della Badia Fiorentina*, 65; for more on the family's exile see Martines, *Lawyers and Statecraft in Renaissance Florence*, 147–54.

⁵¹ ASF, Manoscritti, 619, fol. 5, no. 161; ASF, Manoscritti, 618, fol. 12v, no. 161; Sebregondi, *Santa Croce sotterranea*, 14–17.

⁵² A registry dated 1439 describes two “sepulture amattonate di Filipo di Cionetto Bastari, apie della porta delle Pinzochere, una è di Ser Giovanni di Michele di Ser Giovanni.” ASF, Manoscritti, 619, fol. 17, no. 83. A later register, dated 1596, records how the graves were given back to Santa Croce in 1491 by Tommaso di Simone Bastari and his brothers Don Niccolò and Fra Agostino, who then sold them to Marchi and Sermartelli. ASF, Manoscritti, 618, fol. 53v, no. 156.

⁵³ See for example, ASF, Manoscritti, 619, fol. 5v, no. 200 (S. Croce) and ASF, Manoscritti, 812, p. 221 (S. Maria Novella).

⁵⁴ ASF, Manoscritti, 619, fol. 5. This register is dated 1439 but contains a gathering of folios (2–5v) dated 1298.

⁵⁵ Guild membership was required for election to one of the governing bodies. There is a Gherardino Gianni (also known as Mangioni) who represented S. Pancrazio in the 1290s. This may be the same man who represented Oltrarno after 1300. Herlihy et al., *Online Tratte of Office Holders*.

⁵⁶ Astorre served as consul to the Caliamala guild in 1418, 1432 and 1436 and represented the guild at the Mercanzia in 1430 and 1433. *Ibid*.

⁵⁷ Santa Croce’s 1439 register lists a bricked grave belonging to the cousins Piero di Filippo and Niccolò di Gherardino Gianni. A register dated 1596 says that Niccolò’s sons Astorre and Piero moved the tomb from the aisle to the nave where it was renovated in the late sixteenth century. ASF, Manoscritti, 619, fol. 16, no. 43; ASF, Manoscritti, 618, fol. 51, no. 102. See also Chelli, *Le lapidi terragne di Santa Croce*, 3:588.

⁵⁸ Data presented here comes from ongoing, systematic investigation of extant *sepoltuari* kept in various Florentine archives. Though specific numbers will change as work continues, the broad patterns and categories will likely shift at the margins but not in general outline. Leader, “Digital Sepoltuario.”

⁵⁹ At present, 238 additional tomb owners can be identified with certainty as belonging to a guild given their election to one or more of the city’s primary magistracies. Florentine men could have their names placed in city election bags only if they were citizens, not magnates, and a member of one of the city’s twenty-one guilds.

⁶⁰ ASF, Manoscritti 618, fol. 75 and ASF, Manoscritti 624, p. 305, no. 108. See also Pines, “The Tomb Slabs of Santa Croce,” 187–90; Chiti, *Le lapidi terragne di Santa Croce*, 1:174.

⁶¹ ASF, Manoscritti, 628, p. 81, no. 69.

⁶² “S. Joannis Giani setaiuoli de Gangalandi.” ASF, Manoscritti, 628, p. 424, no. 197; ASF, Manoscritti, 812, p. 196. The tomb was remade in the nineteenth century.

⁶³ Will-making, which allowed Christians to make provisions for prayers after their death, rose in popularity concomitantly with the rise of the mendicant orders to become a ubiquitous practice by 1350. “Donors [...] were careful to

diversify requests for intercessory prayer [at] multiple mendicant foundations.” Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying*, 144, 146.

⁶⁴ Santa Maria Novella began its life as a canonry (after 983) and parish church (consecrated 1094). It passed to the Dominican Order in 1221. Brown, *The Dominican Church of Santa Maria Novella at Florence: A Historical, Architectural, and Artistic Study*, 94–95. The chronology has recently been revised by Schwartz, *Il bel cimitero*. The new, Dominican church was built in phases, beginning with the transept, on a plan designed to accommodate large numbers of individual tombs. Bruzelius, “Dead Come to Town”; Schwartz, *Il bel cimitero*; Canon, *Religious Poverty, Visual Riches*, 319–26.

⁶⁵ ASF, Manoscritti, 625, p. 781.

⁶⁶ ASF, Manoscritti, 619, fol. 5. This register is dated 1439 but contains a gathering of folios (2–5v) dated 1298.

⁶⁷ Guild membership was required for election to one of the governing bodies. There is a Gherardino Gianni (also known as Mangioni) who represented S. Pancrazio in the 1290s. This may be the same man who represented Oltrarno after 1300.

⁶⁸ For more on the *quarta* system see Strocchia, *Death and Ritual*, 94–95.

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Chapter Four

“Under the tombe that I have there prepared” Monuments for the Tailors and Merchant Tailors of Medieval London

Christian Steer

SIR STEPHEN JENYNS, MERCHANT TAILOR of London, died on May 6, 1523. He was buried in the Chapel of St. Francis in the Grey Friars church “under the Tombe that I have there prepared.”¹ Jenyns was one of at least ten members of his craft to be buried in this Franciscan church, but all their monuments, like many others from medieval and early modern London, are long gone. The Reformation destroyed much, but it was the Great Fire of 1666 which swept away almost two-thirds of the city, engulfing townhouses and mansions, shops and warehouses, alongside eighty-seven parish churches and the old cathedral of St. Paul. In spite of this tremendous loss, the written evidence on tomb monuments commissioned by the “middling sort” of medieval Londoner, that is merchants, artisans, and craftsmen, is revealing.² This chapter examines the memorials for one particular city craft, the Tailors, known, after their royal charter of 1503, as the Merchant Taylors’ Company,³ and considers patterns of burial and commemoration for them. Such investigation reveals the extent of a standard commemorative practice in which many craftsmen commissioned stone monuments with a figure of themselves, and sometimes their family, with an inscription made of brass, fixed into the marble. For the elite within the craft, however, other patterns emerge. The monuments for two former masters of the Company, Sir Stephen Jenyns and Sir William Fitzwilliam, will be taken as case studies to reveal how particularly successful merchant tailors used state-of-the-art tomb monuments as expressions of piety and self-image.

The Fraternity of St. John the Baptist and the Tailors of Medieval London

The origins for many London companies are obscure, and only four, the Mercers, Grocers, Goldsmiths, and Tailors, have any surviving records from before 1400. Yet many craftsmen, who traded in like goods, formed mini-centers in thirteenth-century London: the vintners, for example, lived and worked in the parishes of St. James Garlickhithe and St. Martin Vintry, close to their wharves on the Thames, while the butchers had their slaughterhouses near the markets in Newgate and Eastcheap.⁴ The tailors were different and lived throughout the city, though a small cluster could be found in the parish of St. Dunstan in the West. It was during the fourteenth century that collective groups of tradesmen and artisans who practiced the same craft came to form fraternities, or brotherhoods, with common charitable and professional interests.⁵ They were effectively co-operatives, administered by wardens, and with robes, or liveries, worn by the brethren to denote their membership. The earliest record of such a fellowship for the tailors, according to the London antiquarian John Stow (d. 1605), himself a merchant tailor who presumably had access to much of their now-lost archive, dates from 1300, when Edward I confirmed the jurisdiction of the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist over the city's tailors and linen-armorers.⁶

The evidence from the fourteenth century is shadowy, but by the 1330s the tailors and linen-armorers were formally united under the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist by letters patent granted on March 10, 1327. This, their first surviving charter, granted them the right to hold an annual assembly,⁷ confirmed in 1341.⁸ There are no surviving company accounts from before 1398, but a third royal charter of July 30, 1390 confirmed its organizational structure, with the annual election of a master and four wardens, and provides the earliest reference to the celebrations that followed their election on June 24, the feast of St. John the Baptist.⁹ Two years later the master John Orewelle and his wardens were obliged to purchase a license from the Crown to enable property to be granted to the fraternity in mortmain. This grant contained the first reference to the mansion known as "Taillourshalle" on the south side of Threadneedle Street together with other property in the neighboring parish of St. Peter Cornhill.¹⁰

One of the most striking features of this particular city fraternity is the large number of other crafts among its membership. In the period

1398 to 1445, almost 68 percent of members were not themselves tailors.¹¹ One noted member was the wealthy grocer, John Churchman (d. 1413), whose devotion to the fraternity was such that he gave it the advowson of the church of St. Martin Outwich together with four tenements and seventeen shops within the parish, which were later to form the first almshouse in London.¹² The royal family, including Henry V's brothers John, duke of Bedford, and Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, were influential members of the fraternity alongside nobility, knights, courtiers, and esquires, such as Thomas Chaucer, son of the poet, who was Speaker of the House of Commons. In fact, the majority of the St. John brethren were from other crafts, for example John Mapleton, a marbler (d. 1406), and city merchants Richard Whittington (d. 1423) and Geoffrey Boleyn (d. 1463), both mercers. They all wished to enjoy the spiritual benefits of membership of this important fraternity. By the early years of the fifteenth century the fraternity employed two chaplains, one of whom served in their chapel on the ground floor of Tailors' Hall in Threadneedle Street, and the second in the Chapel of St. John the Baptist in St. Paul's Cathedral. It was here, in the north transept, that the fraternity established a perpetual chantry in memory of their brother Thomas Carleton, an embroiderer, who had died in 1389. In his will Carleton had bequeathed his property in Wood Street to the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist whose members were to employ a priest to celebrate daily mass for Carleton's soul close to where he was to be buried within the same chapel.¹³ At the time of the 1548 Chantry Certificate, the Carleton bequest provided a return of £9 8s. for the priest's wages with a surplus of £3 4s. 8d. to be used towards the upkeep of the properties supporting this endowment.¹⁴

In spite of the popularity of the fraternity, and the spiritual benefits available for its members, the tailors remained something of a poor relation among the city's craftsmen. It was not until 1429 that a tailor, Ralph Holland, was elected sheriff. He was later the first tailor to serve as an alderman of the city, albeit dismissed from office in 1444.¹⁵ Thirty years later another tailor, Robert Colwich, was elected alderman of Coleman Street ward. And in 1498, and at his fourth attempt, Sir John Percyvale became the first tailor of London to be elected city mayor.¹⁶ Their craft was, at last, "on the up" and, with expanding market opportunities, increased royal patronage, and a period of economic and (relative) political stability, the Tailors of London were granted a new royal charter on January 6, 1503 as the newly named Merchant Tailors' Company. The Fraternity of

St. John continued to provide intercessory care for company members, but the growing wealth of particular tailors now provided access to a range of other complementary, and bespoke, commemorative strategies to aid their spiritual well-being.

Monuments for the Tailors and Merchant Tailors of London

The evidence for grave monuments from medieval London is drawn from three important written records of the city's lost tombscape. The first is an account of tombs in Grey Friars church, near Newgate, compiled in the 1520s, which records some 682 monuments of the dead.¹⁷ There were undoubtedly many others lost through wear and building works in the previous centuries. Those monuments that had survived were sold off in 1545/6 when the church was stripped of its assets. In his great *Survey of London*, first published in 1598, John Stow copied down the names of the dead from inscriptions in those city churches that had survived mid-sixteenth-century destruction.¹⁸ A generation later the epigrapher, John Weever, published his own selective account of notable epitaphs, which form another important record of London's lost commemorative landscape.¹⁹ These three accounts collectively record some fifty-one funerary monuments commemorating tailors or merchant tailors, their wives, and members of their families, who died before 1550 and were buried in City of London churches.

There was no particular cluster of burials at any one place (figure 4.1). The largest number of recorded graves is to be found in the Grey Friars' church, reflective of a more complete record of monuments than in any other city church but not necessarily indication that the Franciscans could claim the highest number of tailors' souls. The Grey Friars' register reveals ten memorials for tailors and merchant tailors of which seven were buried at the western end of the church, in the nave and south aisle, two in the Chapel of St. Francis, and one in the cloister. Many of these graves, for example the tomb of John Tresawell (d. 1520), a former master of the Merchant Taylors' Company, and his wife Margaret, who had died ten years before, were described as "sub lapide."²⁰ This description, "under a stone," does not necessarily mean that they were commemorated with an incised slab of marble. Though London graves were frequently marked with stone slabs carrying an inscription usually accompanied by an effigy of the deceased, by the early sixteenth century it was general practice for

Figure 4.1 Map of the City of London in the later middle ages and the parishes of St. Dunstan in the West, St. Martin Outwich and the Franciscan (Grey Friars) church near Newgate. © Olwen Myhill/Centre for Metropolitan History, Institute of Historical Research (University of London).

most patrons to commission a monumental brass, which had become more affordable to well-off Londoners and would be the more likely form of Tresawell's memorial. The term "sub lapide" had simply become standard notarial practice and cannot be relied upon as a reflection of materials used.

Instructions left by Tresawell in his will make clear that he wished for both an effigy and a memorial inscription, "Item I will that myne Executours do make the daye yere and moneth of my deceas to be graven and putt in my epithafe upon my stone before it be layde on my grave agayne."²¹ He had evidently organized the monument for Margaret and himself with the funerary inscription largely complete. The anniversary of his own demise was sufficiently important to warrant careful instruction in Tresawell's will, as seen in two particular legacies he bequeathed to the Grey Friars. The first was the sum of 20 marks to pay for his anniversary celebration, at 13s. 4d. a year, for twenty years. A second bequest of £23 6s. 8d. was left to the warden of the Grey Friars to found a chantry, at £3 6s. 8d. a year, whereby a friar was to sing for the souls of the testator, his

wife, their parents, benefactors, and all souls, for seven years. Recent studies of commemorative practice have revealed the importance of the tomb during the liturgical celebrations, and evidently Tresawell had this in mind when he made arrangements for his date of death to be added to his tomb's inscription.²² Tresawell was not the only merchant tailor to provide for his monument in the Grey Friars during his lifetime. Elsewhere in the church were the tombs of the aforementioned Stephen Jenyns, whose tomb will be returned to shortly, and Hugh Acton (d. 1530), both merchant tailors who organized their memorials in the Chapel of St. Francis.²³

Three monuments for tailors are known from the parish church of St. Dunstan in the West, in Fleet Street, the earliest of which commemorated the tailor William Chapman, who died in 1446. His monument was later moved and reused as a palimpsest (that is, turned over and re-engraved) at the church of John the Baptist in Little Missenden (Buckinghamshire).²⁴ In his will Chapman requested burial in the north part of the chancel at St. Dunstan's near the Chapel of St. Katherine.²⁵ The original inscription read as follows (in translation):

Here lies William Chapman, lately citizen and tailor and sheriff of the City of London, and Alice his wife which William graciously arranged for a chaplain to celebrate mass here for ever, and also for a candle to burn in the presence of the Blessed Sacrament before the high altar of this church: in addition an anniversary mass to be performed for ever. And the same William died on the first day of the month July, the year of our Lord 1446; on whose souls may God have mercy. Amen.

Chapman had made his will on May 13, 1446 and left 100 marks for a chaplain to celebrate divine service for ten years at the altar of Our Lady and St. Anne in St. Dunstan's in the Lady Chapel, in the southern part of the church, to which he bequeathed a missal, which he had recently commissioned. Chapman also left property to provide an annual quit rent of 4 marks to pay for a light to burn in perpetuity on the high altar in a basin given by Chapman especially for this purpose. He directed that other candles were to burn at his tomb during his anniversary service held every July 1. The perpetual chantry referenced in his epitaph was a default endowment to be commissioned should Agnes, his only surviving child, die without heirs. This city tailor went to some lengths to be appropriately commemorated in his parish church; his tomb, which played an important role at his memorial obit, was a public statement of his benefaction and charity.

Figure 4.2 Brass of Henry (d. 1539) and Elizabeth (d. 1530) Dacres, St. Dunstan in the West. © Crown copyright. Historic England Archive.

The only medieval monument for a merchant tailor to survive in St. Dunstan's is the memorial brass for Henry and Elizabeth Dacres (figure 4.2). Elizabeth died in 1530 and Henry nine years later. It is from Henry's will that we learn that their brass was already in place "made at myn owne costes to the honour of almighty god and the blessed sacrament."²⁶ Dacres, like many other Londoners, used his memorial as one of many pieces of a broader commemorative strategy. In his will, for example, Dacres set out the terms of a perpetual anniversary bequeathing 10s. to fund the service with a further 20s. to be spent on charitable good deeds, namely the purchase of sacks of coal for the poor of the parish. He likewise set up a ten-year chantry which, like that celebrating Chapman's soul, was to take place at the altar of Our Lady and St. Anne. Unlike Dacres, his neighbor Thomas Broke, another merchant tailor (d. 1546), left the commissioning

of his monument in the hands of executors, which was later recorded in the Lady Chapel.²⁷ Broke directed that his monument, which he described as a “Tombe of marbell,” should be placed over his grave with images of himself and his wife Alice with an inscription requesting prayers for their souls.²⁸ Testators rarely asked for brass specifically, with wills commonly referring to them as marble stones. Given this convention, and particularly the request for images and an inscription, Broke’s monument was probably a monumental brass similar to that ordered by Dacres a decade or so before. However, this request was only partly fulfilled, and the provocative clause “Pray for my soul” was ignored. The executors instead commissioned a conventional “Here lieth” biographical text for the inscription, no doubt in response to the religious changes of the times.²⁹

In spite of the strong association between the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist and St. Martin Outwich, only three monuments for tailors were recorded in this city church. The earliest was for Richard Naylor, master in 1475, who died in 1483, having requested burial in “oure lady chauncell” (the Lady Chapel) on the south side of the choir.³⁰ He left no instructions as to the form of his memorial but directed that his executors were to provide a chaplain, who was to receive £6 13s. 4d. per annum for his salary to celebrate daily for six years after Naylor’s death. A second, four-year chantry was to be established in the church of St. James in Wigan, Lancashire, Naylor’s birthplace. His widow Elizabeth went on to re-marry, first Robert Bassett and then George Neville, Lord Abergavenny. In her own will of 1500, Elizabeth requested burial in the same vault as her former husband Naylor.³¹ A memorial brass commemorated them, and glazing placed in the east window of the chapel close to their grave displayed the arms of Naylor impaled with those of her third husband Neville with the year of Naylor’s death, 1483.³² The church inventory of 1515 recorded Lady Abergavenny’s gift to St. Martin’s of a silver and gilt cross, which contained images of Our Lady and St. John the Evangelist.³³ It is possible that this was to be placed on the altar during Naylor’s chantry celebrations.

Elsewhere in St. Martin’s were monuments for the tailor Hugh Pemberton (d. 1500) and his wife Katherine (d. 1508)—now in St. Helen Bishopsgate—and for their son Matthew who died in 1517.³⁴ In his will, Hugh requested burial in the choir before the image of Our Lady,³⁵ where his widow Katherine was to join him eight years later.³⁶ An engraving made shortly before the church was taken down in 1797 shows the Pemberton tomb at the east end of the church,³⁷ indicating Hugh’s

Figure 4.3 Canopied monument with brass indents for Hugh Pemberton (d. 1500) and his wife Katherine (d. 1508) formerly St. Martin Outwich and now St. Helen Bishopsgate. Photograph © Martin Stuchfield.

wishes for burial in the choir were evidently granted. The striking canopied tomb commissioned for the Pembertons (figure 4.3) was a new form of tomb design fashionable among successful Londoners and popular in the city and the Home Counties from the closing decades of the fifteenth century.³⁸ Their son Matthew Pemberton, also a tailor, was to be buried in the Chapel of St. Lawrence where he was accustomed to sit.³⁹ It was left to him and his brother Rowland,⁴⁰ as their mother's executors, to buy sufficient property to endow a perpetual chantry for their parents at the altar of St. Lawrence with an income of £20 a year. The chaplain was to

be known as “the chauntrey preest of hugh pemberton and Kateryne his wif” and the chantry administered by the Merchant Taylors’ Company.⁴¹ The 1515 inventory also recorded Hugh Pemberton’s gift of a pair of silver and gilt candlesticks, but whether these were to be used at this chantry or more generally in the church is unclear.⁴² Nonetheless, the Naylor and Pemberton tombs at St. Martin Outwich—like that of William Chapman at St. Dunstan’s—reveal how these particularly successful tailors, and their executors, used their wealth to commission new forms of late medieval memorials, perhaps a little more eye-catching than the floor brasses marking their contemporaries, to achieve salvation. Their tomb monuments were intended to serve as a perpetual reminder for generations to come.

The Sculptured Splendor of Sir Stephen Jenyns (d. 1523)

Stephen Jenyns was born in Wolverhampton (Staffordshire) around 1450, apprenticed, aged twelve, to the city tailor Thomas Pye, and on completion of his training admitted to the aforementioned Fraternity of St. John the Baptist.⁴³ It is thought Jenyns served as their warden in the early 1480s and their master 1489–1490. He was later to be city sheriff (1498–1499) before election as ward alderman of Castle Baynard (1499–1505), Dowgate (1505–1508), and Lime Street (1508–1523). Jenyns was elected mayor for 1508–1509 and led the city’s representatives in the funeral cortege of Henry VII. On coronation day, June 23, 1509, as city mayor, he was knighted when he again led the city in the celebrations for the newly crowned Henry VIII. He was married three times, to Margaret, Joan, and a second Margaret. He outlived them all, leaving as his heir a daughter, Elizabeth, wife of the merchant tailor William Stalworth (d. 1519). Sir Stephen was enormously successful and sufficiently affluent to embark on a commemorative spending spree in his old age. During his mayoralty, for example, he and his third wife Margaret donated a lavishly illustrated two-volume lectionary to their parish church of St. Mary Aldermanbury. Each of these volumes contained the donors’ nameplate requesting prayers for their souls during their lifetime and thereafter “when they shall have migrated from this light.”⁴⁴ Sir Stephen established a grammar school in his birthplace Wolverhampton in 1512 (map 2);⁴⁵ eight years later he was the principal benefactor of the rebuilding of the city church of St. Andrew Cornhill (also known as Undershaft) in Aldgate ward.⁴⁶

It was perhaps about the same time as the rebuilding of St. Andrew’s church that Jenyns organized his tomb monument at Grey Friars in

London.⁴⁷ The chance survival of a colored illustration made in the 1520s by Sir Thomas Wriothesley, Garter King of Arms, reveals the richness of the design with a sculptured effigy of Jenyns wearing plated armor beneath his aldermanic scarlet gown of office (figure 4.4), recumbent and at prayer on a tomb chest decorated with heraldry.⁴⁸ The colors were presumably copied directly from the original monument. The Grey Friars' register

Figure 4.4 Monumental effigy of Sir Stephen Jenyns (d. 1523), formerly in the Chapel of St. Francis, London Grey Friars. Reproduced from London, British Library, Add. MS 45131, f. 86r by permission of the British Library Board.

reveals that the Chapel of St. Francis, which Jenyns chose as his last resting place, was enclosed by a *parclose* screen behind which an inner space was reserved for an altar dedicated to St. Francis and burial spots for a number of worthy knights and esquires.⁴⁹

Why did Jenyns choose the Grey Friars instead of his parish church of St. Mary Aldermanbury? Throughout the fifteenth-century, and the early decades of the sixteenth, it had been an established practice for City of London aldermen to organize their burials and tomb monuments in the parish church where they worshipped. Sir Stephen, on the other hand, was the first London alderman to organize his burial and tomb commemoration in this Franciscan church in almost 150 years. His choice was, in part, devotional and—like his contemporary John Tresawell—a sign of the popularity the Franciscan friars enjoyed. But Sir Stephen's place of burial was probably influenced by the appeal made in 1514 by the Franciscans' warden, Dr. John Cutler, who petitioned the Court of Aldermen to resume their ancient status as "patrons and founders" of the London house by attending the annual procession to the church on the Feast of St. Francis, October 4.⁵⁰ The request was granted, and the mayor and aldermen henceforth proceeded to the Grey Friars church every October 4 wearing their scarlet gowns, where they would conclude their visit with prayer in the Chapel of St. Francis. It was here, on the right-hand side of the western entrance to the chapel, that Jenyns organized his monument, and where his colleagues, and successors, would walk past every year on St. Francis day.

Sir Stephen's will is silent on the liturgical celebrations for his soul. He evidently made separate arrangements for these. On January 24, 1527 John Benett of the Merchant Taylors' Company set down a detailed series of instructions concerning Jenyns' postmortem requirements.⁵¹ Jenyns' executors, John Kirton and John Nicholls, had conveyed Jenyns' wishes to Benett, an important reminder of the trust placed on executors. Benett, who was in possession of the Jenyns estate, bequeathed a portfolio of property to the master and wardens of the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist of the Merchant Taylors' Company who were to arrange for a priest, a brother of the Grey Friars house, to celebrate forevermore at the altar of St. Francis in the chapel of the same name. This chantry was to be carried out daily with eight young friars in attendance around Sir Stephen's "herce." This hearse, containing an arrangement of candles set upon a frame, would have been placed over Jenyns' tomb during these obsequies. Furthermore, an anniversary service was to be celebrated every May 6, attended by the master and wardens of the fraternity together with the mayor, sheriffs, and

other dignitaries. We know that the Merchant Taylors honored the legacy, for in the ministers' accounts in the Court of Augmentations for the year ending September 1540, a payment of £4 was recorded "from the Taylors of London for the anniversary of Sir Stephen Genynnes."⁵²

The tomb of Stephen Jenyns is a striking memorial to a merchant tailor of London, who had made good, including knighthood, and had held high office in the city as sheriff, mayor, and alderman. Jenyns' monument became an important prop in the liturgical celebrations on the feast day of St. Francis and on the anniversary of his own death. His tomb monument in Grey Friars church is significant, for it represents a renewed relationship between the city fathers and the Franciscan friars. Moreover, the placement of the tomb, along a processional route at the entrance to the Chapel of St. Francis, allowed Sir Stephen to benefit for many generations to come. The detailed instructions concerning his chantry and anniversary masses reveal the importance of the tomb in these celebrations.

"As shalbe devised by myne executours": The Canopied Tomb of Sir William Fitzwilliam (d. 1534)

William Fitzwilliam, like Jenyns, was a migrant to London where he had made his fortune. He was born around 1460, a son of John and Ellen Fitzwilliam of Milton and Greens Norton (Northamptonshire).⁵³ He married Anne, the widow of a city tailor (whose identity is unknown), and was admitted to the livery of the Tailors' Company in May 1490, served as warden in 1494 and 1498 and was elected master in the following year. He entered city politics and was alderman of Broad Street ward from 1503 to 1511. His was a complicated relationship with the city fathers who refused to accept his election as sheriff in 1506, even though Henry VII had sponsored it. Tensions remained, for when Fitzwilliam was elected sheriff in 1510, this time against his will, he refused to serve and was stripped of the freedom of the city: the dispute was finally resolved in July 1511 when the Star Chamber overturned the penalties imposed by the City. Shortly afterwards this disgruntled merchant tailor left for his estate at Chigwell, in Essex, and in 1515, through his service to Cardinal Wolsey as treasurer and high-chamberlain, William Fitzwilliam was accorded knighthood. The new Sir William, unlike his colleague Stephen Jenyns, received his honor for service to the Crown and not to the City. By the early 1520s, William had returned to his county of birth where, in 1523–1524 and

again in 1528–1529, he served as sheriff of Northamptonshire. It was here that Fitzwilliam had already begun the acquisition of another estate for in 1503 he had purchased the estates of Milton and Marholm. He maintained his links with London, and it was in the parish of St. Thomas the Apostle, in Knightrider Street, that he leased his townhouse from Rewley Abbey. He was married three times, to Anne (by whom he had four surviving children), Mildred (mother of another five), and finally to Jane who outlived him and who died in London in 1542.

In his will, Sir William asked to be buried in the new chancel at St. Mary the Virgin, Marholm (now in Cambridgeshire), “which I have of late caused to be made and newly edified,” and furthermore, “I will that myne executours cause a tombe of marble to be made there *with* a scripture making mencion of my name as shalbe devised by myne executours.” These were his brother-in-law Sir John Baker, Recorder of London (d. 1558), his son-in-law Anthony Cooke (d. 1576), and his nephews Richard Ogle (d. 1555) and Richard Waddington (d. 1565?).⁵⁴ This wealthy merchant tailor chose to be buried close to his country estate, away from London, in the church that he had largely rebuilt and funded. The chancel dwarfs the nave of the church, and it was here, on the right-hand side of the high altar, that Sir William was to be buried. He, like Jenyns a decade or so before, had a broader set of commemorative strategies which he organized separately from his will. Shortly before Sir William’s death in 1534, he settled 1,200 marks on the Merchant Taylors’ Company to endow an anniversary service at nearby Crowland Abbey and, further, to provide the funds for the building and maintenance of four almshouses in Marholm and the endowment of a chantry in the parish church.⁵⁵ This was set up, as instructed, and in 1549 was known as “William Fitzwilliam’s’ Charity,” which paid out an annuity of £7 to the priest, Adam Potts, and 5*s.* 4*d.* to each of the four almsmen.⁵⁶ Sir William perhaps followed the example set by John Churchman whose own commemorative initiative had paved the way for the construction of a set of almshouses in Threadneedle Street under the management of the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist.

Fitzwilliam’s monument in Marholm church is of great magnificence (figure 4.5).⁵⁷ The foot inscription, attached to the wall of the tomb beneath figures of Sir William and his first wife Anne, records Fitzwilliam’s date of death on August 9, 1534 and his burial in the vault underneath. An analysis of the script reveals that it was composed some twenty years or so after Sir William’s death and engraved between 1548 and 1564, which suggests construction during the reign of Queen Mary

Figure 4.5 The restored canopied monument for Sir William Fitzwilliam (d. 1534) and his first wife, Anne (died before 1516), church of St. Mary the Virgin, Marholm, Cambridgeshire. Photograph © Martin Stuchfield.

(1553 to 1558).⁵⁸ The original male effigy has been lost and a replacement added (probably) during a restoration of 1674. The canopy has a second layer and it is possible that the super-canopy, which is today

painted gray, was added at the time of the 1674 restoration. The four arches are supported by three frontal columns which are patterned and twisted, but only the columns on the left and right are original: the central column is a well-cut copy, added during the restoration. The plate used for Anne is original and of similar design to other figure brasses of the late 1550s and early 1560s such as, for example, Edith widow of Sir John Russell (d. 1556) at Strensham (Worcestershire). Stylistically the monument is dated to the mid-sixteenth century and shares similar characteristics to the retrospective tomb of 1555 for Geoffrey Chaucer in Westminster Abbey. Coincidentally, a monument for another Sir William Fitzwilliam (d. 1559), of like design, is to be found in the Bray Chapel at St. George's Chapel, Windsor.⁵⁹ All have four arches within the canopy, and variants of this distinctive design survive elsewhere in the Thames Valley.⁶⁰ Fitzwilliam's executors bought the very latest in funerary fashion for their dead kinsman, but they were cautious. These four men, eyewitnesses to an unparalleled age of tomb destruction, waited until calm was restored and arrangements could safely be made before commissioning Sir William's grand funerary monument.

Monuments for London's tailors and merchant tailors were varied in form but similar in intent. Descriptions offered in the Grey Friars register and surviving wills suggest that many tailors, like other London artisans, were commemorated by monumental brasses. By the mid-fifteenth century this form of memorial was affordable and popular among the "middling sort." Yet economic and political success in the city, and in the royal court, enabled members of the Tailors' and Merchant Taylors' Company—and their executors—to buy the very latest in funerary fashion; the Pemberton and Fitzwilliam monuments were innovative new "models," used by the wealthiest of tomb consumers. Status and identity were important to self-made men such as Stephen Jenyns who chose to be commemorated in armor alongside other worthy knights resting nearby in Grey Friars church. And we know that tomb patrons, such as Chapman, Tresawell, and Jenyns, employed their monument as an important prop in the theater of memory and particularly in their anniversary and chantry celebrations. Studies on urban commemoration continue to reveal the important interplay between "the spirit and the stone" but this case study also suggests how the gift giving of books and plate could mark the donor's presence within the liturgical celebrations in their parish church. This commemorative armory was only as effective as those left behind to fulfill

the wishes of the dead. For the tailors and merchant tailors of London, their trust was well made.

Notes

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¹ The National Archives (TNA), London, PROB 11/21 fols. 60–61; Kingsford, *The Grey Friars of London*, 94.

² On civilian monuments more generally see Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages*, 238–68.

³ In this essay capitalization is applied to the company name as Tailors and later Merchant Taylors (the *i* was replaced by *y* in the charter of 1503). Members of the craft are referred as tailor, before 1503, and as merchant tailor after 1503.

⁴ Veale, "The 'Great Twelve,'" 237–63; Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages*, 199–200.

⁵ Barron, "The Parish Fraternities of Medieval London," 13–37.

⁶ Stow, *A Survey of London*, 1:181; Davies and Saunders, *The History of the Merchant Taylors' Company*, 8–9.

⁷ *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 1327–30*, 29.

⁸ *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 1340–43*, 125.

⁹ *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 1388–92*, 321–22.

¹⁰ *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 1391–96*, 139; Davies and Saunders, *The History of the Merchant Taylors' Company*, 14–16.

¹¹ Davies and Saunders, *The History of the Merchant Taylors' Company*, 22.

¹² Davies, "The Tailors of London," 161–90.

¹³ London Metropolitan Archives (LMA), CLA/023/DW/01/117 (100); Rousseau, *Saving the Souls of Medieval London*, 22–23, 29.

¹⁴ Kitching, *London and Middlesex Chantry Certificate*, 87.

¹⁵ Barron, "Ralph Holland and the London Radicals," 160–84.

¹⁶ Davies and Saunders, *The History of the Merchant Taylors' Company*, 71.

¹⁷ Kingsford, *The Grey Friars of London*.

¹⁸ Stow, *A Survey of London*. Two later editors of Stow's *Survey* were Anthony Munday (1560–1633) and John Strype (1643–1737) who updated the Stow editions by including details of surviving inscriptions and heraldic accounts of other, earlier lost tombs.

¹⁹ Weever, *Ancient funerall monuments*.

²⁰ Kingsford, *The Grey Friars of London*, 113.

²¹ TNA, PROB 11/20 fols. 15v–16.

²² For example, see Steer, "For Quicke and Deade Memorie Masses," 71–89; Burgess, "Obligations and Strategy," 289–310.

²³ Kingsford, *The Grey Friars of London*, 94 (Jenyns), 98 (Acton). For Acton's will, where he reveals he had made "a memory" for himself, see TNA, PROB 11/23 fols. 204v–206.

²⁴ Rutter, "A Palimpsest at Little Missenden, Bucks," 34–36.

²⁵ TNA, PROB 11/3 fols. 240–242.

²⁶ TNA, PROB 11/27 fols. 224–224v.

²⁷ Strype, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, 1:258.

²⁸ TNA, PROB 11/31 fols. 307–308v.

²⁹ Strype, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, 1:258.

³⁰ TNA, PROB 11/7 fols. 52–52v; Stow, *A Survey of London*, 1:180.

³¹ TNA, PROB 11/12 fols. 58–59v.

³² Wilkinson, *Antique Remains*, 3. No evidence has been found to suggest Elizabeth was a Neville by birth and the armorials in St Martin's church evidently commemorate her husbands.

³³ LMA, P69/MTN/3/B/004/MSO 6840 fol. 3.

³⁴ Stow, *A Survey of London*, 1:181.

³⁵ Canterbury Cathedral Archives, DCc-Register/F, fol. 21.

³⁶ TNA, PROB 11/16 fols. 15v–17.

³⁷ Wilkinson, *Antique Remains*, pl. 11.

³⁸ Cherry and Grant, "New Types of Late Medieval Tombs in the London Area," 140–54.

³⁹ TNA, PROB 11/19 fols. 43–43v.

⁴⁰ In his own will Rowland Pemberton requested burial in his parents' tomb in St. Martin's, TNA PROB 11/19 fol. 42v. There is no evidence he had his own memorial.

⁴¹ TNA, PROB 11/16 fols. 15v–17; Kitching, *London and Middlesex Chantry Certificate*, 88.

⁴² LMA, P69/MTN/3/B/004/MSO 6840 fol. 3v.

⁴³ On Jenyns see Furdell, "Jenyns, Sir Stephen (c.1450–1523)"; Davies, *The Merchant Taylors' Company of London*, 293–94. The context of this monument is discussed further in Steer, "The Order of St Francis in Medieval London," 172–98.

⁴⁴ British Library (BL), London, Royal MS 2, B. XII–XIII, discussed in Lindenbaum, "Literate Londoners and Liturgical Change: Sarum Books in City Parishes after 1414," 394–97.

⁴⁵ Davies and Saunders, *The History of the Merchant Taylors' Company*, 111–15.

⁴⁶ Stow, *A Survey of London*, 1:145.

⁴⁷ Kingsford, *The Grey Friars of London*, 94.

⁴⁸ BL, MS Add. 45131 fol. 86.

⁴⁹ Kingsford, *The Grey Friars of London*, 92–100.

⁵⁰ LMA, COL/CA/01/01/002 fol. 185; also recorded LMA, Letter Book M, fol. 224.

⁵¹ LMA, CLA/023/DW/01/242 (10).

⁵² TNA, SC6/HenVIII/2396 (mm 62r-v), fol. 62v. I thank Nick Holder for this reference.

⁵³ For a succinct biography of Fitzwilliam, see Davies, "Fitzwilliam, Sir William (1460?-1534)." The Fitzwilliam family are discussed in Finch, "Wealth of Five Northamptonshire Families," 100-134. On the tomb see Steer, "The Language of Commemoration," 240-50.

⁵⁴ TNA, PROB 11/18 fols. 240-241.

⁵⁵ Ancient Deeds, No. 11, Merchant Taylors' Company, London, reprinted Hopkinson, *Ancient Records of the Merchant Taylor's Company*, 63-65. These alms-houses were later rebuilt by his descendant, the second Earl Fitzwilliam. I am grateful to Stephen Freeth, archivist of the Merchant Taylors, for his assistance and comments on this endowment.

⁵⁶ Bridges, *The History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire*, 2:521-22.

⁵⁷ Lack, Stuchfield, and Whittemore, *Monumental Brasses of Huntingdonshire*, 84-88; Owen Evans, "The Brass of Sir William Fitzwilliams and Wife at Marholm, Northants," 155-62; Bridges, *The History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire*, 2:519.

⁵⁸ Page-Phillips and Bayliss, *Monumental Brasses*, 22-24 Script 6, with an appendix of other examples, 46-48.

⁵⁹ Bond, *The Monuments of St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle*, 79-80. This Sir William Fitzwilliam, courtier, was son of Thomas Fitzwilliam of Ireland, and a member of Edward VI's household.

⁶⁰ Monument of Robert Pecke (d. 1510), clerk of the royal spicery of Henry VI, and his wife Annes, at Holy Trinity, Cookham, and of Sir Thomas Englefield (d. 1514) at St. Mark, Englefield.

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Chapter Five

Tombs and the *imago doctoris in cathedra* in Northern Italy, ca. 1300–1364

Ruth Wolff

ACCORDING TO ERWIN PANOFSKY, the so-called professors' tombs of Bologna were a "preliminary stage" in the development of the Renaissance funerary monument, united as a group through their use of the *imago doctoris in cathedra*,¹ an image type that consisted of a male figure sitting on a thronelike chair (*cathedra*) with armrests and backrest and a desk in front of him with an opened book. The figure's right hand is always raised in a gesture seen as a sign of teaching. The entire scene was interpreted as a frozen moment of teaching as testified by a seal that includes a contemporary description of the *imago doctoris in cathedra*.² Very often, but not necessarily, smaller male figures sitting on benches complete the scene. Contrary to current scholarship, however, the *imago doctoris* is not merely a reflection of Bologna as the earliest and most important university town in Northern Italy and its doctors of law, but was adopted by a wide stratum of primarily legal intellectuals in various cities in Italy. Indeed, the *imago doctoris in cathedra* was not exclusive to Bologna, especially in its initial phase of development. Instead, a broader group of funeral monuments in several locales can be shown to use this motif. These tombs form part of a dense network of relations interwoven with the most important funerary monuments of each town, whose formal language they either adopt or influence. Four monuments exemplify these reciprocal relationships: the two earliest tombs of this genre to be preserved, namely the prominent but misinterpreted pyramidal tomb of Rolandino Passaggeri in Bologna and the contemporary yet neglected tomb of Bonincontro degli Arpo in Treviso. The tomb of Bonalbergo Bonfadi in Ferrara, dating to the middle of the fourteenth century, and the funerary monument of Dante's son Pietro Alighieri in Treviso (d. 1364) develop in their iconographic programs the representational

and semiotic aspects of the *imago doctoris* adduced by Panofsky as unique to Bologna's professors and so important to the development of Renaissance wall tombs.

The Power of Notarial Publication: The Tomb of Rolandino Passaggeri in Bologna

The earliest surviving monument using an *imago doctoris* is the tomb of Rolandino Passaggeri, which was in front of the church of San Domenico in Bologna (figures 5.1 and 5.2) by 1306.³ Despite the form of his monument, Rolandino was not a doctor of law as Panofsky and later researchers have assumed.⁴ He was a notary and therefore belonged to a professional group firmly separated from and hierarchically subordinated to lawyers (*doctores legum*).⁵ On the other hand, Passaggeri did play a central role both in the history of the *notariato*, or profession of the public notary in Italy, and in the political life of the city-state of Bologna.⁶ The principle tasks and consequent merit of notaries in medieval Italy was to write (or "publish," in medieval terms) documents, and to confer public credibility to these documents by their signature and notarial sign. Their power of publication made notaries guarantors of public trust. Not by chance, Rolandino's tomb was publicly commissioned and erected by the guild of notaries, whose president he was, as stated proudly in its inscription.⁷ Rolandino's tomb is chronologically the latest in a series of five pyramidal monuments to survive in Bologna. Its four predecessors were, interestingly, erected for leading doctors of law at the University of Bologna, like Odofredo Denari (d. 1265) in the cemetery of San Francesco or the canon Egidio Foscherari (d. 1289) in Piazza San Domenico,⁸ but none displayed the *imago doctoris*, with the notary Rolandino being the first known tomb to use the motif.

Unlike its present situation, Rolandino's pyramidal tomb, at the time of its erection and long afterwards, did not stand in an isolated position in the burial ground of San Domenico but was one of more than six hundred tombs present by the end of the thirteenth century, typical of the medieval convention to use church squares as cemeteries.⁹ The *sepultuarium*, or tomb registry, of San Domenico dated 1291 mentions three rows of tombs parallel to the church façade. It specifies that the first row contained ten tombs, including one belonging to the Bolognese commune, in which the city's leading civic magistrates, or *podestà*, were buried right next to the entrance to the church.¹⁰ In the first row of tombs that ran along the north side of the church, intersecting the first row in front of the

Figure 5.1 Tomb of Rolandino Passaggeri, ca. 1305, Piazza San Domenico, Bologna. Photograph courtesy of Paola Stiberc

façade where a pulpit was situated on its corner, the *sepultuarium* notes the tomb of the otherwise unknown Mezzovillano Mezzovillani.¹¹ The 1291 registry does not mention Passaggeri's tomb, for the *sepultuarium* was compiled at least nine years before its erection. A fifteenth-century *sepultuarium* does include those of Mezzovillani and now Rolandino,

Figure 5.2 Tomb of Rolandino Passaggeri, ca. 1305, sarcophagus, front view, *imago doctoris*. Photograph courtesy of Paola Stiberc.

whose funerary monument had been placed in the first row of tombs immediately in front of the façade.¹² A ground plan of the church and piazza dated 1601 shows that both tombs were built on the same alignment.¹³ Rolandino's tomb had a distinguished place in this row, in close proximity to the aforementioned pulpit.¹⁴ In height it must have reached almost as high as the pulpit itself, just like the adjacent tomb of Mezzovillano, which has hitherto remained wholly ignored in the scholarly literature even though it was illustrated together with that of Rolandino in an engraving of Floriano dal Buono (1599–1647) (figure 5.3).¹⁵ Like the tomb of the notary, Mezzovillano's monument consists of three stories. The lowest one is a simply profiled, brick podium with a cross on its front. Its middle storey was closed and box-like, but for a pointed-arch niche, which is now empty, but that possibly held a sarcophagus.

The fifteenth-century *sepultuarium* describes Mezzovillano's tomb in greater detail than all the other funerary monuments outside the church, praising it as large, elevated, and beautiful with a roof made of red-painted *masegni*, the rectangular trachyte paving stones of the kind used for the streets and squares of Venice.¹⁶ Since it is already mentioned in the

Figure 5.3 Floriano dal Buono (1599–1647), engraving, Biblioteca comunale dell'Archiginnasio, cart. Gozzadini, n. 164, Bologna. Reprinted from Rubbiani, “La Chiesa di S. Domenico,” 366, fig. 1.

1291 *sepultuarium*, Mezzovillano’s tomb was surely not erected after that of Rolandino Passaggeri, as D’Amato opines, but built at least nine years before.¹⁷

The Mezzovillani seem to have been a rich mercantile family.¹⁸ During the regime of the *popolo* they belonged to Bologna’s ruling class. There is no evidence, however, of any family involvement at the University in Bologna or in any other academic activity.¹⁹ So even before the notary Rolandino chose a pyramidal tomb, the type was not the exclusive prerogative of the great doctors of law at the University of Bologna but could signify the importance of merchants in Guelf Bologna as well as erudition. Bankers and merchants, who had hitherto supported the old, aristocratic ruling class, had thrown in their lot with the *popolo* as early as 1228.²⁰ Rolandino assumed the leadership of the *popolani* in 1274, and worked to expel the Ghibelline aristocracy as well as Guelf magnates from the city,²¹ playing an important political role to secure the independence of the Bolognese *popolo*.²² In Rolandino’s view, power should rest in the

hands of those who pursued the *artes liberales* and *mechanicae*, hence merchants, bankers, butchers and craftsmen, under the leadership of notaries like himself.²³

The notaries' guild marked Rolandino's monument with an image that ennobled it, enhanced its status, and differentiated it from other pyramidal tombs: namely, with the *imago doctoris in cathedra*. With this image the guild visually expressed, and publicly proclaimed, its claims to leadership, founded on the power of its learning and teaching: the power to publish charters and hence to confer public credibility (*publica fides*) on its members.

Dual Publicity: The Tomb of Bonincontro degli Arpo in Treviso

The first surviving tomb of a doctor of law with the *imago doctoris* is not found in Bologna, as scholars have previously maintained, but in Treviso (figures 5.4 and 5.5). The tomb of Bonincontro degli Arpo, *legum doctor* (d. 1306) was originally situated adjacent to the portal on the façade of San Giovanni Battista.²⁴ Later dismantled, the sarcophagus front is now displayed in the Museo di Santa Caterina in Treviso. Roberta Gubitosi, who first published it, did not recognize its primacy as the first tomb of its type, led astray by the received idea that the first tombs of doctors of law with the *imago doctoris* were located in Bologna, Italy's most important university city.²⁵

Figure 5.4 Tomb of Bonincontro degli Arpo (d. 1306), Museo Civico of Treviso, Treviso. Photograph courtesy of Museo Civico of Treviso.

Figure 5.5 Tomb of Bonincontro degli Arpo (d. 1306), Museo Civico of Treviso, Treviso. Photograph courtesy of Museo Civico of Treviso.

The next surviving tomb with an *imago doctoris* was also erected in Treviso: the tomb of the medical doctor, or *magister fisicae*, Alberto (d. 1317). It was formerly located on the cathedral façade adjacent to the portal and is now re-installed in the crypt (figure 5.6). Hitherto nothing was known of the physician Alberto, though documentary evidence indicates his presence in Padua in 1290.²⁶

At the end of the thirteenth century the city-state of Treviso called Bonincontro degli Arpo and a doctor of medicine, likely Alberto, to Treviso for instruction in law and medicine.²⁷ But it was not until 1314 that a modest university was founded in Treviso; it was provided with a privilege by the German claimant to the crown of Holy Roman Emperor Ludwig IV of Bavaria in 1318. Despite these initiatives, soon afterwards the fledgling university of Treviso failed to thrive and closed.²⁸

In the funerary monuments of Bonincontro degli Arpo and Alberto, the *imago doctoris* is limited to a small oblong relief. But in contrast to Rolandino's sarcophagus in Bologna, these tombs have richly decorated

Figure 5.6 Tomb of Alberto, magister fisciae, ca. 1317, Cathedral, Treviso.
Reprinted from Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica*, vol. 2, fig. 32.

frames. This form of relief was frequently adopted in Treviso in subsequent years, as for example in the tomb of Bishop Salomone della Torre (figure 5.12). The sitting figure of the doctor is not represented in full in the Trevisan tombs, but rather in three-quarter profile, just as the cathedra and desk are represented not only from the side but also three-dimensionally; setting them into space (figure 5.5). In the *imago doctoris* for the jurist Bonincontro, what looks like the brick façade of a house is shown in relief; its upper termination is crowned by two swallowtails, while a roof covered with interlocking convex and concave tiles is shown between them, and a bifora window pierces the wall below. What is represented here is clearly the façade of a secular building. An example of just such a brick façade with bifora windows and crenellated roofline in Treviso can

be found at the Palazzo del Governo, which opens onto Piazza del Monte. In Bonincontro's time it formed part of the Palazzo Comunale and housed offices of the government and the residence of the *podestà*.²⁹ Bonincontro's tomb is the only known example whose *imago doctoris* provides a spatial setting for the "doctor in cathedra" scene. The brick architecture of the Gothic Palazzo Comunale seems not to represent Bonincontro's teaching activity but rather symbolizes the seat of his public role and his activity for the *signoria* of Treviso. Bonincontro is attested as consul of the town as early as 1277.³⁰ While in the service of Gherardo da Camino, the Guelf *signore* of Treviso in office from 1283 to 1306, Bonincontro compiled civic statutes, accompanying his teaching activity as *legum doctor* with the official role of legal adviser to the *comune*. His tomb thus claims a dual publicity: on the one hand, as a monument erected on a Trevisan church façade, and on the other hand as an image that represents the Palazzo Comunale as the seat of the town's political ruling class, in whose service Bonincontro degli Arpo was officially employed.

Ambitions: The Tomb of Bonalbergo Bonfadi in Ferrara

The tomb of the doctor of canon law Bonalbergo Bonfadi (d. 1345) in Ferrara is adorned with an *imago doctoris* in a tall format, on a small relief on the front side of an imposing sarcophagus (figures 5.7 and 5.8). The tomb is now in the atrium of the Cathedral of Ferrara and has largely been

Figure 5.7 Tomb of Bonalbergo Bonfadi (d. 1345) Cathedral of Ferrara, atrium, Ferrara. Reprinted from *La cattedrale di Ferrara*, pl. LXXV.

Figure 5.8 Tomb of Bonalbergo Bonfadi (d. 1345), *imago doctoris*. Cathedral of Ferrara, atrium. Photograph by Ruth Wolff.

ignored in the scholarly literature, with the exception of a short contribution by Ernesta Tibertelli de Pisis in 1917.³¹

During Bonalbergo's lifetime Ferrara had no university in the sense of a *studium generale*, which was not founded until 1391 at the wish of Alberto d'Este (1347–1393) and the Ferrarese *comune*. Its foundation

was solemnly promulgated by the bull of Pope Boniface IX “In supreme dignitatis,”³² closely related to another bull issued one year later, in which the Ferrarese bishop’s extensive territory was exempted from any liability to pay taxes. Both papal bulls were inscribed on eight large stone panels on the façade of Ferrara cathedral (figure 5.9).³³ Through these two bulls, Pope Boniface IX was the benefactor both of the Ferrarese clergy, whose large number was explicitly referenced, and of the local community of students, who, by the foundation of the new university, were now given access to higher education in their own town instead of expensive study abroad.³⁴ Bonalbergo Bonfadi was not yet able to enjoy these

Figure 5.9 Façade of the Cathedral of Ferrara, Detail, bull of Boniface IX. Reprinted from *La cattedrale di Ferrara*, pl. XXVII.

privileges—he must have studied in another city and undertaken an expensive promotional process.

Bonalbergo came from Bergantino, a little town to the northwest of Ferrara.³⁵ In the mid-twelfth century the Bishop of Ferrara had purchased this strategically important locality along with Bariano and Trecenta from the monastery of Nonantola. They remained in the possession of the bishopric of Ferrara until the early fourteenth century when they were transferred to the Este.³⁶ Yet still in Bonalbergo's lifetime, Bergantino declared its complete feudal dependence on the Bishop of Ferrara.³⁷ The bishops of Ferrara knew how to reward those Bergantine citizens who had performed services for them, including not least Bonalbergo, who returned to Ferrara after studying abroad and to whom Bishop Guido transferred a fief in Bergantino in 1332.³⁸

On the tomb, Bonalbergo is frontally enthroned *in cathedra*. His right hand is raised in the typical magisterial gesture, while his left draws attention to his students sculpted below. Unlike Rolandino Passaggeri's sarcophagus in Bologna, where the *imago doctoris* is of monumental effect, Bonalbergo's tomb, by contrast, shows the doctor of law alone as monumentalized, towering over the students below him, who do not even reach up to the height of his knees. According to the funerary inscription, Bonalbergo was a canon in Ferrara with a degree in canon law and permission to teach in civil law, *doctor decretorum* and *jure civilis peritus*.³⁹ His tomb was originally placed in the cathedral chapel dedicated to Saints Lawrence and Mary Magdalene, endowed by Bonalbergo himself. From there it was transferred to a cloister of the Certosa of Ferrara,⁴⁰ and then re-installed in the atrium of the Cathedral in 1932.⁴¹ The sarcophagus of this *doctor decretorum* was formerly raised over four columns,⁴² like Paduan tombs of saints.⁴³ After the monument was taken apart in 1680, the sarcophagus was opened, in order to take out the doctor's corpse and have it re-buried below the chapel floor. A contemporary, Girolamo Baruffaldi, reported, in a way as similar to reports on the opening of saints' tombs, that Bonalbergo's cadaver was found to be perfectly preserved, even after 335 years, and clad in his canonical vestments⁴⁴—like those shown in the portrait relief on his sarcophagus.

Thus, Bonalbergo's sumptuous funeral monument formerly erected inside the cathedral of Ferrara and adorned with a self-assured *imago doctoris in cathedra* does not reflect Ferrara as an excellent place for studies in law, as some contemporary Bolognese professor's tombs might praise Bologna and its famous *studium generale*. Bonalbergo's tomb, on the

contrary, reflects his university past and his *licentia docendi* obtained in another city. The image of the teaching doctor might concurrently be understood as the doctor's postulate for the erection of a university in Ferrara.

The Funerary Monument as Commentary: On the Tomb of Pietro di Dante in Treviso

The tomb of Pietro Alighieri (d. 1364), son of the famous poet Dante, was originally located in the first cloister of the convent of Santa Margherita, of the order of Augustinian hermits in Treviso (figures 5.10 and 5.11). It was placed to the right of the smaller portal leading into the church, high on the wall. After the deconsecration of the church, part of the tomb was moved to the cathedral portico, while the panel with an inscription

Figure 5.10 Tomb of Pietro di Dante (d. 1364), San Francesco, Treviso. Reprinted from Coletti, "Il monumento sepolcrale di Pietro Alighieri."

Figure 5.11 Tomb of Pietro di Dante (d. 1364), San Francesco, Treviso. Reprinted from Coletti, "Il monumento sepolcrale di Pietro Alighieri."

and two coats of arms were installed in the Biblioteca Capitolare in 1865. The tomb has now been reconstructed and re-installed in the church of San Francesco. The original components that survive include the life-size recumbent figure of Pietro, two curtain-drawing allegorical figures of virtues and part of their curtain, a tablet with an inscription, now placed on

the wall below the sarcophagus, and the coats of arms of the Alighieri, which originally would have been placed on the sides of the sarcophagus.⁴⁵

It was presumably in the years 1339 to 1341 that Pietro di Dante wrote a Latin commentary on his father's *Divine Comedy*, for during this period he had to limit his activity as a jurist in the *signoria* of Verona due to the war of the Scaliger against the powerful league formed against them and led by Florence and Venice. Pietro wrote an enlarged, new edition between 1344 and 1349 and his definitive version in the years 1353 to 1364.⁴⁶ Towards the end of his life Pietro is documented in Treviso, where he drew up his last will and testament in 1364 and soon after died. A unique document relating to his tomb has been preserved that permits insight into its planning. Discovered by Luigi Bailo and published by Gerolamo Biscaro, this record formed the basis of the current reconstruction of the tomb.⁴⁷ The document in question consists of a protocol drafted by the Trevisan notary Ottone da Castagnole dated December 8, 1364. It records in exhaustive detail the commission for the tomb that the two executors of Pietro Alighieri's will entrusted to the stonemason *magister Zilbertus quondam Mauri sancti* from Venice.⁴⁸ Magister Zilbertus was the last member of the Venetian De Santi family of stonemasons, whose workshop may also have created the funeral monument of Bonalbergo Bonfadi in Ferrara.⁴⁹ Pietro's notarial protocol was drafted "in the Cathedral of Treviso close by the tomb of Bishop Castellano di Salomone." The citation of the bishop's tomb is not casual (figure 5.12), for it was to provide the direct model for Pietro di Dante's funerary monument in its measurements, materials, structure, ornamentation, and iconography.

The protocol describes in detail both tombs, so that missing parts of each can be reconstructed on the basis of this text. Pietro's sarcophagus was to be of the same length as that of the bishop. It was to rest on large lion consoles sculpted from *pietra d'Istria* and was to show on its front corners the Madonna of the Annunciation on one side and the Angel Gabriel on the other "ad formam et similitudinem" of its model. The two angels, or rather deacons, according to Wolfgang Wolters, who draw open the curtains in front of the mortuary chamber of the bishop's tomb, were, the document stipulates, to be replaced by two white marble figures of virtues on Pietro di Dante's tomb. Pietro's head was to rest on a cushion and the sarcophagus to be ornamented with dentils and foliations.⁵⁰ But in the place where Bishop Castellano di Salomone is represented with the crozier in his hand on the sarcophagus frontal, a marble figure of Pietro Alighieri enthroned *in cathedra* in the guise of a doctor was to be sculpted instead:

Figure 5.12 Tomb of Bishop Castellano di Salomone (d. 1322), Cathedral, Treviso. Reprinted from Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica*.

In medio vero dicte ache ubi est figura dicti q. dni dni Castellani in manu tenentis baculum pastorale, debet esse quidam figura marmorea ipsius dni petri dantis sedentis in cathedra, ad modum doctoris.

Through this appropriation and emulation, Pietro Alighieri consciously elevated himself to the same social importance as a bishop, with mitre and crozier exchanged for the chair and book of a doctor of law.

Coletti already pointed out that the famous grammarian Moggio de' Moggi from Parma immortalized Pietro Alighieri in a poem in which he described how he had declaimed a verse epitome of the *Divine Comedy* in the *volgare* before a huge throng of people in the market square in Verona.⁵¹ The funerary inscription on the tomb also recalls Pietro's exegesis of the *Divine Comedy* with words that cite the preface to Pietro's

commentary.⁵² In fact, the same intellectual concept lies behind the funerary inscription and the preface: just as Pietro's body lies sealed in the dark grave, so the book of the *Comedy* had remained sealed until Pietro di Dante had opened it through his commentary.⁵³ What is still downplayed in the prooemium of the commentary through *topoi* of authorial modesty could be proudly and openly flaunted in the funerary inscription:⁵⁴ it proclaims that, thanks to the outstanding achievement of his commentary on the *Divine Comedy*, Pietro di Dante flew with his father, its author, over the stars. For Pietro was, as his funerary inscription declares, learned in both canon and civil law, won many court cases, and found written sources in order to open his father's book to a wider audience, elucidating its obscure passages. The author's modesty was summed up as follows in his introduction to his commentary: He, Pietro, is a pure and minor jurist ("purum pusillumque iuristam, ut sum").⁵⁵ Clearly, therefore, Pietro was proud of having studied jurisprudence and of his activity as a jurist: he commented on his father's *magnum opus* with the means he had acquired through his juristic learning.

In the fourteenth century, Pietro Alighieri's commentary would undoubtedly have been familiar to Pietro d'Asolo, who composed the inscription for the author's tomb based on its metrical couplets.⁵⁶ The grammarian Pietro d'Asolo was teaching in Treviso when Pietro Alighieri came to live there.⁵⁷ His inscription refers not only to Pietro's commentary on the *Divine Comedy*, but also to the form of the tomb itself, in particular to the two allegorical figures of virtues that draw back the curtains in front of the mortuary chamber with the "body" of the dead jurist laid out on his bier. The two figures are crowned; they are dressed in long robes and hold scrolls, whose texts would presumably have identified them, though only one now has a surviving inscription: it praises Dante's son for his *pietas* and *iustitia*. These two virtues play a central role not only in Dante's *Divine Comedy*, but also in his other writings, first of all in the *Monarchia*.⁵⁸ They attest to the moral distinction of Pietro Alighieri and his exegesis on the *Divine Comedy*. They thus express Pietro's basic aptitude as a man of learning that qualifies him in his interpretation of the poem. Pietro's moral stature and his learning are both expressed on his tomb: the one by the two sculptures of the personified virtues, and the other by the *imago doctoris* relief. In this sense the two parts of the funerary monument complement each other. In the upper part, the "real" body of the dead Pietro Alighieri is visualized in his mortuary chamber, while two symbolic, allegorical figures in the form of personifications of virtues

prophesy the flight of his *anima* over the stars. In the lower part, two figures of the “real” salvific event, namely the angel of the Annunciation and the Virgin Mary, are represented on the sarcophagus frontal; they frame the *imago doctoris* as the symbolic, allegorical presence of Pietro Alighieri in his teaching role. It is only in its relation to the real, salvific event of the Annunciation, to the *sensus literalis* of the biblical message of salvation, that the allegorical image of the scholar Pietro Alighieri, enthroned in his *cathedra* and blessed by Bishop Castellano Salomone with his mitre and crozier, acquires its full sense.

Conclusion

The *imago doctoris in cathedra* on tombs is the image of a broad intellectual class with legal or notarial training and involved in many and varied activities. It is a constant but at the same time very flexible image. While it remains unchanged in its basic elements of doctor, cathedra, open book, and raised right hand, the image can take on the face of hieratically ennobled learning as in the tomb of the Bolognese notary Rolandino Passaggeri; or an empty, frozen *ex cathedra* gesture, as in the image of the doctor of law Bonincontro degli Arpo in Treviso, which on closer inspection reveals the teaching gesture’s dependence on a local network of political and social ties. The *imago doctoris in cathedra* can also appear as a proud and boastful enunciation of the deceased and his achievement, as in the funerary monument of Bonalbergo Bonfadi in Ferrara, though the boast in this case is more proleptic than real, presenting a situation that has yet to be realized. The multi-layered connotation of the *imago doctoris in cathedra* is shown most clearly in the tomb of Pietro di Dante, in terms of its close interrelations with the other figural sculptures of the monument. Here both the literal and allegorical levels of meaning are stressed; and it is on the reciprocity of both that the exegesis of the scene must rest. The image conforms to the tomb on which it is placed, and the tomb to the image that it embodies. Both image and tomb respond at the same time to the locality of their erection. A dense network of relations is thus created between tombs with the *imago doctoris* and other funerary monuments in the same civic or local area, in terms of type, location, ornamentation, and figurative images. It is the respective *civitas*, in this case Bologna, Ferrara, and Treviso, that defines the framework of relations, within which tombs compete with each other and respond to each other.

Notes

¹ Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, 69–71.

² The notary Gentile da Figline describes the seal of the doctor of law Porrina (d. 1308/9) as follows: “inter circumferentiam litterarum cuius sigilli erat impressio cuiusdam hominis sedentis in cathedra tenentis ante se librum apertum super pulpito quasi legeret et tenentis manum dextram erectam et unum digitum elevatum quasi vellet per actum sive gestum aliquid innuere vel docere.” See Wolff, “Das Grabmal des Porrina in Casole d’Elsa,” 183.

³ Wolff, “Zur ‘Gruppe’ der Gelehrtengrabmäler”; Fanti, “La tomba di Rolandino”; Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, 70. Gibbs has recognized that Rolandino “was not a doctor of laws at all but a notary.” I wish to thank John Richards for providing me with this information. Gibbs, “Images of Higher Education in Fourteenth-Century Bologna,” 270.

⁴ Renzo Grandi considered Rolandino Passaggeri to be a doctor of law. Only in 2008, without reference to Wolff (2007) did Grandi recognize Rolandino as a notary. Grandi, *I monumenti dei dottori*, 72–74, no. 7; Wolff, “Zur ‘Gruppe’ der Gelehrtengrabmäler”; Grandi, “Il mausoleo di Rolandino Passaggeri.”

⁵ Palmieri, *Rolandino Passaggeri*; Petrucci, *Notarii*, 35–36; Weimar, “Zur Doktorwürde der Bologneser Legisten,” 429–35; Tamba, *Una corporazione per il potere*, 315.

⁶ Rolandino Passaggeri’s *Summa totius artis notarie* was until the eighteenth century the basic text for the legal training of public notaries. Passaggeri, *Summa totius artis notariae*; Sinisi, “Alle origini del notariato latino.”

⁷ AUTORE MAGNO NATURE – LEGE VOCATO – PATRE ROLANDINO CETUS – PRECONSULE PRIMO HUNC HIC SCRIBE LOCANT – OCTUBRIS TERTIA DENA MILLE TRECENTENIS CELESTIS – PRO LIS AB ANNIS. Several centuries later, the following directors of the notary guild were buried in Rolandino’s tomb: Obizzo Vizzani (1581), Giacomo Zoppi (1592), Leonardo Crescimbeni (1594), Cesare Scuderi (1608) and Silvestro Zucchini (1685). Ricci, *Monumenti sepolcrali*, 10–11.

⁸ On the occasion of the 800th anniversary of the University of Bologna in 1888, the late Baroque porticus of San Francesco in Bologna with its bricked-up pyramidal tombs was torn down, and the tombs were re-erected. Rubbiani, “Ristauro delle tombe”; Rubbiani, *La chiesa di S. Francesco*; Medica, Tumidei, and Hubert, “Alfonso Rubbiani, Restaurierungsprojekte.”

⁹ For the cases of Pisa, Florence, and Siena, see Wolff, “Grabmäler, Platzgestaltung und Stadtstatuten.”

¹⁰ Archivio di San Domenico, Bologna (hereafter ASDB), 3, 72900, Sepulchuarium 1, fol. 11. Gelichi, “Il Sepolchuarium del 1291”; Breveglieri, “I repertori di sepolture degli ordini mendicanti”; Breveglieri, “Le aree cimiteriali,” 168–69.

¹¹ “[Vic]esima domini Mezovilani dei Mezovilanibus de strata maiori.” ASDB, Sepulchuarium 1, fol. 26.

¹² ASDB, 3, 73000, Sepultuarium 2, fol. 14–14v. See also Breveglieri, “Le aree cimiteriali,” 181.

¹³ Biblioteca comunale dell’Archiginnasio, Bologna, cart. Gozzadini. See also Gelichi, “Il Sepoltuario del 1291,” 134.

¹⁴ On the occasion of the translation of Saint Dominic’s relics to the newly erected sarcophagus by Nicola Pisano (1267), the bishop of Vicenza, Bartolomeo da Breganze, on 5 June 1267 presented the head reliquary of the saint from the pulpit. D’Amato, *Le reliquie di S. Domenico*, 11; Alce, “Il Convento di san Domenico in Bologna nel secolo XIII,” 163–64; D’Amato, “La piazza di San Domenico,” 235–63, 238–39.

¹⁵ Biblioteca comunale dell’Archiginnasio, Bologna, cart. Gozzadini. For the engraving see Gelichi, “Il Sepoltuario del 1291,” 102; Rubbiani, “La Chiesa di S. Domenico,” 366, fig. 1.

¹⁶ “Octavum iuxta predictum et infra merlum predictum elevatum et magnum ac pulcrum cum testudine desuper cooperta masegnis et rubeum, un quo sepultus fuit ser Gulielmus de Nobilibus qui temporibus meis illud restauravit, licet Mezzovilani dicant illud esse suum; nescio an ed eum pervenerit propter socrum suam quam credo fuisse de predictis.” ASDB, Sepultuarium 2, fols. 14–14v. By way of comparison, see the description of the funeral monument of Rolandino Passagieri: “Nonum iuxta predictum elevatum super marmoreas columnas et preciosum domini Rolandini de Pasagusiis copilatoris [*sic*] summe notarie, sibi fabricatum a societate Notariorum ut patet ex armis et epigramate; nam instituit eos heredes et ut dicitur in ipso sepeliuntur correctores predictae societatis.” *Ibid.*, fol. 14v.

¹⁷ “Vicesima d(o)m(ini) mezzovilani d’mezzovilanis d’strata maio(r)i.” ADSB, Sepultuarium 1, fol. 26.

¹⁸ The pyramidal tomb of the Mezzovillani, wealthy members of the wool weavers guild and members of the Guelph party since 1228, later belonged to the Nobili and then to the Della Torre families. Guidicini and Guidicini, *Cose notabili*, 1:1:44, 154, 472; Gozzadini, *Delle torri gentilizie di Bologna*, 379; Di Crollanza, *Dizionario storico-blasonico*, 2:99.

¹⁹ No Mezzovillani is mentioned in Sarti and Fattorini, *De claris Archigymnasii bononiensis professoribus*; Fantuzzi, *Notizie degli scrittori bolognesi*; Mazzetti, *Repertorio di tutti i professori*.

²⁰ On the “popolari” in Bologna in 1228 see Hessel, *Storia della città di Bologna*, 174.

²¹ Milani, “Il governo delle liste.”

²² Giansante, *Retorica e politica nel Duecento*, 21–49.

²³ Pini, “Manovre di regime in una città-partito.”

²⁴ “Alterius Boninc. de Arpo mem. Nob. ad muros Templi D. Io. Baptiste super caemeterio cathedralis, ubi arca operosa valde cum Doctoris effigie praelegentis à suggestu. S. DOMINI BONINCONTRI DE ARPO DOCTORIS LEGVM. QVI OBIIT MCCCVI. INDICTIONE QVARTA, DIE QVINTO INTRANTE AVGVSTO. BONAE MEMORIAE.” Burchelati,

Commentariorum memorabilium, 339. See also Burchelati, *Epitaphiorum dialogi septem*, appendix, 320; Cima, "Le tre faccie di Trevigi. Notizie storiche, letterarie, artistiche, fine secolo XVII o inizio XVIII," 2:112–49; Gubitosi, *Il Duomo Di Treviso Nel XII Secolo*, 111; Gubitosi, *Treviso, la memoria incisa*, 170–75, no. 16.

²⁵ Gubitosi, *Treviso, la memoria incisa*, 172.

²⁶ "Presentibus - mag. Alberto physico q. d. Andree Bertramini de Vicentia. mag. Petro scriptore q. Marchexii qui fuit de Comis et stat Pad. in contracta Putey Gatharum - (Apogr. del 1309, ivi, n. 3511)." Gloria, *Monumenti della Università de Padova (1222–1318)*, 426n2.

²⁷ "Estratto dal libro degli statuti della cancelleria del comune: Statuimus quod dominus Bonincontrus doctor legum possit et debeat stare et habitare in civitate Tervisij ad docendum scholares in legibus et teneatur premere consilium in omnibus factis comunis Tervisii, si requisitus fuerit et habere debeat a comune Tervisii pro suo salario et labore quolibet anno quattuor libras venetas grosorum, hoc est duc. ven. aureos circiter XLIV." Marchesan, *L'università di Treviso*, 2:111–12.

²⁸ Varanini, "Come si progetta uno Studium generale"; Schmidt, "Päpstliche und kaiserliche Universitätsprivilegien," 147–48.

²⁹ Coletti, *Treviso. Catalogo delle cose d'arte e di antichità d'Italia*, 30.

³⁰ Archivio di Stato, Venice, San Matteo di Mazzorbo, b. 2 pergg., n. 53, Tavisii (Treviso), 3. 7. 1277.

³¹ Tibertelli de Pisis, "L'arca sepolcrale di Bonalbergo"; Reale Accademia d'Italia, *La cattedrale di Ferrara*.

³² For the original bull kept in the Archivio Storico dell'Università di Ferrara, see Balboni, "La bolla di fondazione," 24–25.

³³ The panels are signed by German goldsmith, Heinrich from Cologne.

³⁴ On the high cost of studies, especially for those who could not frequent the university in their home town, see Pini, "Scolari ricchi e scolari poveri," 162.

³⁵ Franceschini, "Inventari inediti di biblioteche ferraresi del sec. XV," 14n33.

³⁶ Dean, *Land and Power in Late Medieval Ferrara*, 42.

³⁷ Franceschini, *Giurisdizione episcopale e comunità rurali altopolesane*, 284.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 289.

³⁹ "Hic jacet D. Bonalbergus de Bonfado, Canonicus Ferrariae, Doctor Decretorum, et in jure civilis peritus, et obiit anno 1345 die 5 exeunte Madio, et hanc capellam fecit construi, et dotavit, cujus anima requiescat in pace." Ferrante Borsetti, *Historia almi Ferrariae gymnasii* (Ferrara: Pomatelli, 1735), 2:3. For a different version of the inscription: "D[ominus] Bonabegus DC ... hic iacet D[ominus] Bonabergus de Bonfado Canonicus Ferrarie, doctor decretorum et in jure civili peritus, et obiit anno 1345 et hanc capelam fecit construi et dotavit: cuius anima requiescat in ..." see Giglioli, "Il Duomo di Ferrara," 230.

⁴⁰ Ughi, *Dizionario storico*, 78.

⁴¹ Giglioli, "Il Duomo di Ferrara," 230.

⁴² “e fu sepolto in Duomo entro un magnifico tumulo di marmo bianco sostenuto da quattro ben intagliate colonne con appostavi l’iscrizione.” Ughi, *Dizionario storico*, 78. “Le sarcophage en marbre blanc est supporté par quatre colonnes. Il est orné d’un bas-relief qui nous montre Bonalberto assis dans sa chaire de professeur et entouré d’élèves.” Gruyer, *L’art ferrarais à l’époque des princes d’Este*, 1:506.

⁴³ On tombs of saints and doctors of law on columns see Wolff, “Le tombe dei dottori al Santo.”

⁴⁴ “In questo Cassone tutto al difuori di varii lavori adornato, era già stato seppellito, fin l’anno 1345, Bonalbergo Bonfadi, Canonico, e Giureconsulto celebre, erettore della contigua Cappella, e vi fu trovato dentro, nell’appirirsi, il suo Cadavero intiero, ed incorrotto, così mantenutosi per lo spazio di 335. anni, con gli abiti suoi canonicati nella guisa antica, e come apunto era la sua Efigie scolpita al difuori, che in Cattedra mostrava di addottrinare alcuni, che d’intorno ad esso sedevano [...]” Baruffaldi, *Dell’istoria di Ferrara*, 294.

⁴⁵ Biscaro, “La tomba”; Coletti, “Il monumento sepolcrale di Pietro Alighieri a Treviso”; Coletti, *Treviso*, 53–54; Coletti, *Treviso: Catalogo delle cose d’arte e di antichità d’Italia*, 135, no. 246; Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica (1300–1460)*, 1:195–96, no. 96; 2: fig. 298. Di Crollanza describes the Alighieri coat of arms as “ARMA: Partito d’oro e di nero, alla fascia in divisa d’argento attraversante sul tutto.” Di Crollanza, *Dizionario storico-blasonico*, 1:34.

⁴⁶ Ginori Conti, *Vita ed opere di Pietro di Dante Alighieri*, 132; Procaccioli, *I commenti danteschi dei secoli XIV, XV e XVI*; Chiamenti, *Pietro Alighieri, Comentum super poema Comedie Dantis*.

⁴⁷ Biscaro, “La tomba,” 425, fig. 6a.

⁴⁸ Biscaro, “La tomba,” 430–31, doc. 10; see also Piattoli, *Codice diplomatico dantesco*, 312, no. 229.

⁴⁹ For bibliographical indications on the funeral monument of Pietro di Dante, see Wolters, “De Santi,” 327.

⁵⁰ “Primo namque facere et construere debet archam huiusmodi longitudinis cuiusmodi est archa dicti q. dñi Castellani de lapidibus infrascriptis vid. mudiglonos magnos cum capitibus leonum de lapide vivo sive Istriano, fundum dicte arche de lapide vivo cum rotundo retorto, in medio vero dicte arche ubi est figura dicti q. dñi dñi Castellani in manu tenentis baculum pastorale, debet esse quedam figura marmorea ipsius dñi petri dantis sedentis in cathedra, ad modum doctoris, a capitibus autem dicte arche facere debet duas figuras marmoreas albas cum duobus colonetis marmoreis retortis secum tenentibus uterque ab uno capite figuram Virginis gloriose et ab alio capite figuram angeli ipsam annunciantis ad formam et similitudinem illarum arche predictae q. bone memorie dñi dñi Castellani cum spondis de marmore alabaustri nuvoladi cum listadellis de ante de marmore albo cum dentibus et foleis laboratis in ommibus et per omnia prout listadelle arche dicti q. dñi dñi Castellani sunt evidencius laborate, sponde autem, dicte arche cum listadellis eisdem necessariis que debent poni in capitibus dicte

arche de lapide vivo debent cum armis dicti q. dñi petri intus factis, cujus arche coperculum de vivo lapide esse debet, super quo debet facere et ponere quandam ymaginem magnam dicti dñi petri cum uno cusinello subtus capite de lapide vivo dicte arche conveniente. Item ubi archa dicti q. dñi dñi Castellani habet quoddam supercellum cum duobus angelis marmoreis tenentibus in manibus teribulos et cultrinas, dictus magr. Zilbertus promisit facere dicte arche dicti q. dñi petri unum supercellum de lapide vivo et dentatum cum capitibus de lapide vivo cum suis mudiglonis longis usque super archam et cum duabus figuris de marmore albo in formam virtutum in manibus cartam tenentium et curtinas, quam archam cum omnibus supradictis figuris cusinello listadellis supercello spondis mudiglonos et omnibus aliis necessariis dicte arche." Piattoli, *Codice diplomatico dantesco*, 312, no. 229.

⁵¹ For Moggio Moggi's poem in couplets, see Ginori Conti, *Vita ed opere di Pietro di Dante Alighieri*, 135–36. See also Moggi, *Carmi ed epistole*.

⁵² CLAUDITVR · HIC · PETRUS · TUMULATUS · CORPORE · TETRUS / AST · ANIMA · CLARA · CELESTI · FVLGET · IN · ARA / NAM · PIVS · ET · IVSTVS · IUVENIS · FUIT · ATQVE · UETUSTUS / AC · IN · IVRE · QVOQVE · SIMVL · INDE · PERITVS · VTROQVE / EX · TITIT EX · PERTVS · MVLTORVM · ET · SCRIPTA · REPERTUS / VT · LIBRVM · PATRIS · PVNCTIS · APERIRET · IN · ARTIS / CVM · GENITVS · DANTIS · FVERIT · SVPER · ASTRA · VOLANTIS / CARMINE · MATERNO · DECVRSO · PRORSVS · AUERNO / MONTE · QVE · PVRGATAS · ANIMAS · RELEVANTE · BEATAS / QVO · FAME · DIVE · GAVDET · FLORENCIA · CIVE. Coletti, "Il monumento sepolcrale di Pietro Alighieri a Treviso," 322.

⁵³ Pietro Alighieri, *Inferni probemium* (third redaction): "Quamvis poema Comedie Dantis Alagherii de Florentia, mei Petri gratissimi genitoris, dudum nonnulli calamo temptaverint aprire ita in suo integumento clausum et absconsum, licet in parte, nondum tamen in totum, iudicio meo, illud utique peregerunt. Nitar et ego nunc post eos, non tam fiducia alicuius scientie mee, quam quodam zelo filiali accensus, in alia qualiquali particula illud, si potero, per modum comenti, ulterius reserare."

⁵⁴ See, for example, Pietro Alighieri's third redaction of the commentary on *Paradiso* 33, 142–145: "quanto magis ego Petrus premissus, dissuadente michi ingenii parvitate et materie difficultate, cum Materias grandes ingenina parva non sufferant, ut ait Yeronimus, id facere debeo in hoc comentulo meo." Procaccioli. I commenti danteschi dei secoli XIV, XV e XVI.

⁵⁵ Pietro di Dante, *Inferni probemium* (first redaction): "non tantum nempe considerantes purum pusillumque iuristam, ut sum, ad talem sarcinam sufficientes humeros non habere, quantum, ut quia filius, praetendentes in me de vigore paterna, quod procul dubio adest, adesse." In the third redaction he writes: "Quamvis poema Comedie Dantis Alagheriis de Florentia, mei Petri gratissimi genitoris, dudum nonnulli calamo temptaverint aprire ita in suo integumento

clausum et absconsum, licet in parte, nondum tamen in totum, iudicio meo, illud utique peregerunt." Procaccioli, Paolo. *I commenti danteschi dei secoli XIV, XV e XVI*.

⁵⁶ Biscaro, "La tomba," 426.

⁵⁷ Gargan, "Giovanni Conversini e la cultura letteraria a treviso nella seconda metà del trecento."

⁵⁸ Lanci, "Pieta." On the widely discussed *justitia* in Dante see, for example, Sullivan, "Justice, Temptation, and the Limits of Princely Virtue in Dante's Conception of the Monarch."

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Chapter Six

“Middle-Class” Men Who Would Be Nobles in Fifteenth-Century Castile, Flanders, and Burgundy

Ann Adams and Nicola Jennings

FERNÁN LÓPEZ DE SALDAÑA (ca. 1400–1456), Nicolas Rolin (ca. 1376–1461), and Pieter Bladelin (ca. 1410–1472) were men born into the “middle classes” who by their own agency were buried and commemorated as nobles.¹ Saldaña was *contador mayor* (chief treasurer) under Juan II of Castile, Rolin was Chancellor of Burgundy, and Bladelin was treasurer and governor general of Burgundian state finance under Duke Philip the Good. Despite different political and cultural landscapes, high office was a means for all three to achieve considerable financial reward as well as to penetrate the ranks of the nobility.² Saldaña, Rolin, and Bladelin used material display as part of carefully crafted commemorative strategies in their bids to be remembered as noble.

Saldaña, who was a *converso*, or Jewish convert, commissioned a funerary chapel in the Franciscan convent of Santa Clara de Tordesillas (figure 6.1), long favored by the Castilian monarchy.³ Described as one of the “purest” manifestations of Burgundian influence in Castile,⁴ the chapel (figure 6.2) included a central tomb with three alabaster effigies, a carved altarpiece with painted wings in the Netherlandish style, and several copies of the coat of arms recently created by Saldaña for his new lineage. Rolin was buried in the collegiate church of Notre-Dame Autun but was also commemorated at his foundation, the Hôtel-Dieu, Beaune, through his image on a brass, several stained-glass windows, and the wings of the *Last Judgment* altarpiece commissioned from Rogier van der Weyden. Bladelin was buried in the collegiate church of Saint Peter and Saint Paul in the town he had created, Middelburg, Maldegem, near Bruges (figure 6.3); the evidence for whether and how his image was represented—by effigy and/or within an altarpiece—is problematic and will be discussed later. Saldaña died in exile while Rolin and Bladelin remained in ducal

Figure 6.1 Convent of Santa Clara de Tordesillas, with Saldaña Chapel on far right. Photograph courtesy of Jesús Muñiz Petralanda.

favor. Saldaña married twice within opposing political factions and had children by both spouses; Rolin married three times, with children from his last two wives; Bladelin married once, prior to entering ducal service, and remained childless. Despite these differences, similarities in their commemorative strategies emerge that illuminate the constants understood by their contemporaries to constitute “nobility.”

Saldaña was the son of a tax collector, one of many Iberian Jews to convert to Christianity following violent attacks and legal restrictions in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. A number of these “new Christians” formed the backbone of Juan II’s court bureaucracy.⁵ In one of the most unstable periods in Castilian history—the “old nobility” hostile to Juan II’s Trastámara dynasty, the “new nobility” demanding constant rewards⁶—the *conversos* provided a loyal and highly educated workforce. They were particularly favored by the king’s infamous power broker and *condestable*, Álvaro de Luna.⁷ Saldaña became secretary to the king in 1422 and soon afterwards married Elvira de Acevedo, the daughter of an “old Christian” member of the Royal Council.⁸ Accumulating lands, goods, and chattels, Saldaña was in 1427 named *camarero mayor de la Cámara de los Paños* (Lord of the Bedchamber)⁹ and *canciller del Sello de la Poridad*

Figure 6.2 Saldaña Chapel, Santa Clara de Tordesillas. Photograph courtesy of Patrimonio Nacional

(Lord Privy Seal).¹⁰ In 1429, and at Luna’s instigation, Saldaña was named *contador mayor*.¹¹ The following year work started on his chapel at Santa Clara de Tordesillas.¹² In 1433 Elvira died prematurely, and by 1436 Saldaña was betrothed to Isabel Vélez de Guevara. Isabel came from one of Castile’s most prominent noble families and her uncle was Álvaro de Luna’s sworn enemy. The couple was forced to flee Castile after siding with the rebels against the king in the 1445 Battle of Olmedo. Although Saldaña was by then *señor* (sire) of Miranda del Castañar—one of few individuals in this period to be granted an entailed estate—he was never made a duke or a count.¹³ That his nobility was questioned by contemporaries is clear from the description of him in Fernán Pérez de Guzmán’s widely read *Generaciones y Semblanzas* as a “pequeño e raez onbre” of “baxa condiçión” (a small and base man of low birth).¹⁴

Nicolas Rolin came from an established family in Autun with sufficient finances and contacts to send him to learn and practice law in

Figure 6.3 Church of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, Middelburg.
Photograph by A. J. Adams.

Paris. In 1408 he was appointed advocate to John the Fearless, the second Valois duke of Burgundy, at the Parlement of Paris, and the Duke stood godfather to his son, Jean, later Cardinal, Rolin. In 1419 John the Fearless was assassinated, after which Rolin represented the new duke, Philip the Good, at the judicial inquiry. Duke Philip appointed Rolin as Chancellor in 1422, a role he held until his death in 1461, and knighted him in 1424.

Pieter Bladelin, the son of a wealthy burgher from Bruges,¹⁵ was the city's treasurer between 1436 and 1440.¹⁶ In 1440 Duke Philip appointed Bladelin general receiver of finances and, in 1444, to the newly created post of Treasurer and Governor General.¹⁷ Philip the Good's rationale for

promoting non-nobles like Bladelin was different from that of Juan II but equally compelling. As the Burgundian state had expanded from the initial grant of the Duchy of Burgundy to encompass Flanders, Brabant, Hainaut, Holland, Limburg, and Zeeland, effective centralized government of the geographically diverse territories required professional administrators and financiers.¹⁸ Cities such as Bruges and Ghent were, furthermore, dominated by powerful urban elites, and the duke strategically appointed men from their numbers in an attempt to secure their loyalty.¹⁹ In 1444 the duke assembled Bladelin's accumulated lands into a single property and gave it to him as fief and manor. The concept of public service, "*la chose publicque*," was highly valued, and it was ducal policy to grant top administrators important fiefs to enable them to achieve noble status.²⁰ In 1446 Bladelin was appointed *maître d'hôtel* of the ducal household, and in 1447 he was appointed successor to the Treasurer of Duke Philip's noble Order of the Golden Fleece. Between 1468 and 1470 Bladelin was knighted.²¹

Rolin's knighthood coincided not only with his chancellorship but also followed his marriage in 1423 to Guigone de Salins, a member of the ancient noble families of Salins and Vienne.²² Bladelin, on the other hand, was knighted only late in his career. Although this may reflect ducal pragmatism—Bladelin's role was principally as a mediator between government and the cities,²³ whereas Rolin's required him to be the equal of the high-ranking nobles within and outside the Burgundian state²⁴—the timing of Bladelin's accolade may also reflect the status of his wife, Margaretha van de Vageviere, who came from another Bruges burgher family rather than the nobility. Marriage both retained possessions within a social group and contributed to that group's self-definition, and there was a high degree of endogamy among nobles.²⁵ René d'Anjou's *Le Livre des Tournois* describes three offenses even worse than speaking ill of women: one of these was marriage to a commoner.²⁶ Bladelin's marriage will be discussed further in the context of his will and burial.

What did it mean to become a member of the nobility and how was it demonstrated? In Castile, nobles, or *hidalgos*, were defined, according to the thirteenth-century statutory code known as the *Siete Partidas*, by "good lineage."²⁷ The extravagant heraldry symbolizing this was a constant feature of funerary chapels, and new arrivals used invented heraldry to suggest distinguished origins.²⁸ The unwritten requirements of *patrimonio* (estate) and *privanza* (favor),²⁹ as well as exemption from certain taxes, served both as a privilege and as proof of noble status. A successful court administrator like Saldaña could meet all these require-

ments. His heraldry was appropriated from a thirteenth-century *hidalgo* to whom he was not related—although it would take at least three generations for a new coat of arms like this to be recognized as noble.³⁰ His *patrimonio* included his imposing funerary chapel, visible from the bridge into Tordesillas and built by craftsmen from northern Europe out of expensively worked stone.³¹ This chapel was very different to the brick and plasterwork Mudejar structures commissioned by his contemporaries, perhaps reflecting the newly appointed *converso*'s desire to be seen as a different—if equally magnificent—kind of noble. Saldaña's *privanza* was clear from the shield of Álvaro de Luna on his chapel's exterior wall and the inscription within proclaiming Saldaña's position as "*contador mayor* of the virtuous king don juan and his chamberlain and his chancellor and part of his council."³²

In this period, Burgundian nobility was not defined by explicit legal rules and could vary by region.³³ As described by historian John Bartier, three things nevertheless appeared indispensable for such status. The first requirement was possessing a certain *fortune immobilière*, in other words, real estate. This criterion was easily satisfied by Rolin and Bladelin. Rolin rebuilt and elevated his baptismal church of Notre-Dame Autun into a collegiate church and founded the Hôtel-Dieu, Beaune.³⁴ Bladelin, through his income from office, built both a mansion in Bruges and the entire town of Middelburg, Maldegem.³⁵ Bladelin bought the land for his foundation in 1440. The town and castle (with its own moat) were constructed after 1448; a hospital dedicated to Saint John was founded in 1452; the church of Saint Peter and Saint Paul was established between 1452 and 1460; and in 1470 Bladelin received permission to add a chapter of six canons, a parish priest, and two chaplains.

According to Bartier, the second requirement was *vivre noblement* (to live nobly). Wealth allowed conspicuous consumption of lavish clothing, tableware, jewelry, textiles, and even building materials. The tremendous luxury of the Burgundian court was a source of amazement in other European countries.³⁶ The Castilian traveller and diarist Pero Tafur, who returned from a tour in 1439, was clearly impressed:

This knight showed me the Duke's palace as well as the city and everything in it, but nothing could surpass in majesty the persons of the Duke and Duchess and the state in which they live, which is the most splendid I have ever seen[...]. The multitude of people and their refinement and splendour can scarcely be described.³⁷

Archaeological excavations at Middelburg have revealed tin-glazed floor tiles that came from the Valencia region of Spain, following a pattern set by Dukes Philip the Bold and Jean de Berry who had imported craftsmen from Spain to make tiles for their castles and palaces.³⁸

The final requirement for nobility was, in fact, an absence—a nobleman did not practice commerce or any form of manual labor.³⁹ In a 1408 trial concerning contested nobility, twenty-one witnesses (noblemen and commoners) were asked to answer "*Quid est nobilitas?*" and "*Quid est nobiliter vivere?*" All agreed that *vivre noblement* was first and foremost living from one's revenues and property rather than manual labor.⁴⁰ Several said it involved going to war on behalf of a lord or prince, crusading, dining and entertaining in grand style, wearing elegant clothes, and frequenting tournaments. Only the nobles themselves mentioned the courtly virtues of probity, goodness, mildness, and good manners as defining criteria. None of the witnesses, either noble or common, appear to have mentioned charity.⁴¹ *Vivre noblement* almost always had a military dimension,⁴² and Werner Paravicini has identified a close connection between the Burgundian court and knights.⁴³ Although the relationship between knighthood and nobility was not straightforward in either Castile or Burgundy, it is clear that Saldaña and Rolin wished to be remembered as knights, and, presumably, as noble.⁴⁴

The noble lifestyles constructed by Saldaña, Rolin, and Bladelin were reflected in their provisions for commemoration including burial, tomb monuments, and altarpieces. Saldaña's will has not survived, but his contract with the convent in Tordesillas stipulated that on the day the remains of Saldaña and his first wife arrived at the convent, they would be given "the exequies and honors pertaining to their status [...] and all the offices associated with these would be fully celebrated not only by [the nuns] at the convent but also by all the clerics and chaplains and friars associated with it and from all the churches of the town of Otordesillas [...] giving them food on that day," and so on.⁴⁵ Nicolas Rolin's will, dated January 16, 1462, provides no detail about his burial wishes.⁴⁶ The chronicler Georges Chastellain tells us that for three days of public display and the subsequent burial, Rolin was adorned with sword, dagger, and spurs, the accouterments of a knight:

He was dressed in a white shirt, rich doublet, hose, new shoes, a velvet robe, a sword buckled on one side, a dagger on the other, golden spurs on his feet, a hood at the neck, a hat on his head, and a gold brooch on the front of his hat.⁴⁷

Pieter Bladelin's will, dated March 17, 1472, goes into great detail about his burial wishes. If he should die outside Middelburg, he should be carried to the church by a procession of forty torchbearers drawn from Middelburg's poor. Each torch was to display a little shield with his coat of arms. Black clothing was to be provided for the torchbearers and his household. The church was to be draped in black cloth for thirty days and gifts of money offered to the poor who came to the funeral. Memorial and anniversary masses were specified in detail. All debts were to be paid and bequests made to relatives and servants.⁴⁸

Saldaña, Rolin, and Bladelin also commissioned, during their lifetime, tombs in front of the altars of their chapels in Tordesillas, Autun,⁴⁹ and Middelburg.⁵⁰ Rolin's is no longer extant and neither of the other two monuments survives intact. Saldaña's tomb was made of alabaster and included effigies of both himself and his first and second wives watched over by seated patron saints (figure 6.4).⁵¹ An alabaster tomb directly facing the altar, with the donor often accompanied by his wife (or wives), was the preferred choice of high-status Castilians of this period.⁵² Although the effigies and seated saints from the Saldaña tomb survive, the base was later destroyed and the effigies moved into niches in the chapel's left and right walls.⁵³ Saldaña's effigy wears a knee-length *ropa* with short sleeves, belted at the waist as was fashionable in the late 1430s and 1440s.⁵⁴ Under it he wears mail, and at his left side is a sword that he holds with both hands, his right hand crossed over his body to rest on its hilt. The effigy's legs are broken off (probably occurring when the tomb base was destroyed) so it is impossible to know what he wore on his legs and feet. The wearing of armor represented Saldaña as a *caballero* or knight. Saldaña had distinguished himself in the 1431 Battle of Higuerela near Granada, commanding an army of 150 horsemen, which likely led to his accolade as a *vasallo del rey*, a type of *caballero* appointed and paid for by the king. A band over the effigy's right shoulder may furthermore signify membership of the Order of the Band, an early fourteenth-century chivalric order revived by the Trastámara dynasty to strengthen legitimacy.⁵⁵

No visual evidence remains of either Nicolas Rolin's tomb in Autun or that of his wife, Guigone de Salins, in the Hôtel-Dieu, Beaune.⁵⁶ There are no eyewitness descriptions of Rolin's tomb but Abbé Bredault was in a position to have seen Guigone's tomb prior to its destruction in 1794. According to him, Guigone was buried "under a magnificent tomb of copper on which she was represented in the costume of a widow at the side of her husband as a knight in full armor."⁵⁷ The exact nature of the tomb is not

Figure 6.4 Proposed reconstruction of central tomb with alabaster effigies and seated saints, Saldaña Chapel. Photograph by Basil Jennings.

known, but it was more likely to have been a floor brass than a brass on a tomb chest, in order not to block the sight line of the sick in the ward of the Hôtel-Dieu to the altar adorned with van der Weyden's *Last Judgment*.⁵⁸ In the eighteenth century, Claude Courtepée said that the Chancellor's body resided "under a brass slab."⁵⁹ Charles Bigarne, a nineteenth-century French historian, described it as "a tomb in copper, on which he was represented beside his wife, with his coat of arms (three golden keys on blue) on a shield surmounted by a helm with mantling, and his device *Deum Time*."⁶⁰ Knowledge of the representation on Guigone's tomb appears to have combined with the documented burial of Rolin in the accouterments of a knight, and the use of the term "chevalier" in his epitaph⁶¹ to produce the assumption, which may well be correct, that Rolin was represented on his own tomb as a knight and Guigone as a widow.⁶²

Bladelin's effigy (if he had one) no longer survives. The church in Middelburg was badly damaged during iconoclasm in 1581.⁶³ When major repairs were undertaken in the early seventeenth century, what was left of the tomb was moved to its current position in a stone chest within

Figure 6.5 Bladelin tomb, church of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, Middelburg.
Photograph by A. J. Adams.

an arch in the north wall of the choir (figure 6.5). At the same time, the bones of Pieter Bladelin and his wife, Margaretha van de Vageviere, were put in the basement below.⁶⁴ The tomb base has been painted and shows Bladelin's coat of arms and the inter-twined symbols of P and B that have been uncovered on floor tiles during archaeological excavations.⁶⁵ These are not original but may replicate the original design. It is not known whether there was anything originally on top of the tomb. Charles Verschelde, who transcribed Bladelin's will, provided no evidence for his suggestion that there may have been a single effigy of the founder.⁶⁶ This must remain speculative. While the tomb slab bears no trace of fixings for an effigy or of an indent for a monumental brass, this is not conclusive as

the slab, although not new, is probably not original. If an effigy did exist, the probability is that it was made of stone and hence more vulnerable to destruction.⁶⁷ While it is impossible to be certain how Bladelin might have chosen to be commemorated on his tomb, both Saldaña and Rolin were portrayed as knights. Bladelin—like Rolin—never engaged in military activity, but he used the term for knight, *ruddere*, as the first word defining his identity in the introduction of his last testament.⁶⁸

A further comparison is possible between the donor figures in the altarpieces associated with Saldaña, Rolin, and—perhaps—Bladelin. Saldaña's altarpiece consists of a carved and polychromed *Passion* with folding wings painted with scenes of the infancy of Christ on the outside and the Resurrection on the inside. Saldaña himself is represented in one of the interior panels, kneeling in prayer towards the central carved *Crucifixion*. Rolin commissioned at least two commemorative paintings: in the first, *The Madonna and Chancellor Rolin* (a single panel by Jan van Eyck, court painter to Duke Philip the Good),⁶⁹ he is represented kneeling before the Virgin; in the second, *The Last Judgment* by Rogier van der Weyden (official town painter of Brussels, who worked often for the dukes) for the Hôtel-Dieu in Beaune, he appears in a wing kneeling at a prie-dieu.⁷⁰ Bladelin may be the kneeling donor in the central panel of Rogier van der Weyden's *Middelburg Triptych*, which has been associated with Bladelin since the early seventeenth century.⁷¹ In the absence of coats of arms or documentary evidence confirming either Bladelin's commission or the work's presence in the church, the case for Bladelin being the kneeling donor in the *Middelburg Triptych* remains probable but unproven.⁷² The altarpiece is not mentioned in Bladelin's will. The triptych is dated ca. 1445–1450, which fits with the consolidation of land to create the town of Middelburg; it may have been commissioned with the intent of having it ready for the church that was built between 1452 and 1458 and consecrated in 1460.

Saldaña's representation in his altarpiece is very close to his representation as a *caballero* in his alabaster effigy. In the altarpiece it is possible to see his legs, which—like Rolin's in the description of his burial—are dressed in hose and golden spurs, further symbols of Saldaña's status as a knight. Rolin in van Eyck's *The Madonna and Chancellor Rolin* is dressed in a gold brocade robe, and the removal of the purse, which was present in the underdrawing,⁷³ implies a deliberate attempt by Rolin to portray himself as a noble rather than a ducal officer.⁷⁴ Similarly, in the Beaune *Last Judgment* he is dressed in a black, hooded robe trimmed with fur. It was rank, not office, that Rolin wished to convey to posterity.⁷⁵ The donor

figure in the *Middelburg Triptych* is dressed as a courtier in a short black gown of velvet or damask worn over a doublet, a white linen shirt, hose, and a burlet-chaperon. This costume, fashionable in the 1440s is almost identical to that worn by Philip the Good in the presentation miniature in the *Chroniques de Hainaut*.⁷⁶

It is significant that Saldaña and Rolin (and possibly Bladelin) commissioned altarpieces. Jean Wilson suggests that paintings, particularly those including portraits, functioned as a means by which patrons could give visible form to their social and political aspirations.⁷⁷ Hanno Wijsman furthermore proposes social stratification in art patronage, dividing “high noblemen” (members of the most important noble families, including dukes) from “court office-holders”: the former tended to commission illuminated manuscripts; the latter—including figures such as Rolin—were more likely to commission painted altarpieces (although both groups commissioned portraits).⁷⁸ Of the eleven altarpieces identified by Wijsman, two belonged to Rolin and one, perhaps, to Bladelin.⁷⁹ Rolin was depicted with his wife, Guigone, in the wings of the Beaune *Last Judgment*, as seems to have been customary for married couples.⁸⁰ He was, however, shown without Guigone in *The Madonna and Chancellor Rolin*.⁸¹ Saldaña and Bladelin (on the assumption that he is the donor in the *Middelburg Triptych*) also chose to have themselves represented without their spouses. In Saldaña’s case this may be because he commissioned the work after his first wife, Elvira de Acevedo, had died and before he married Isabel Vélez de Guevara.⁸² Rolin and Bladelin, however, were both outlived by their wives. Wall-mounted memorials could take the form of panel paintings, and *The Madonna and Chancellor Rolin* has been interpreted as being created to serve as the Chancellor’s de facto “epitaph” in Notre-Dame Autun.⁸³ Portrayal of Bladelin on his own may indicate that the painting was intended to function in conjunction with his tomb or, perhaps more plausibly, given the format of a winged retable rather than a single panel, a wish to distance himself from Margaretha whose continued good health caused him to remain tied in one crucial respect to his own non-noble origins. Although the reference in Bladelin’s will to Margaretha as “legal wife,” in contrast to the “very dear and much loved companion” used by Rolin for Guigone de Salins,⁸⁴ may reflect simply a difference of convention between Flanders and Burgundy,⁸⁵ Bladelin refers also to his burial place in the first person singular: “Asking my burial-place and burial in the church of Saint Peter and Saint Paul in Middelburg above-mentioned, at the place I have chosen and ordered a long-time ago.”⁸⁶

Did Bladelin remain in the eyes of his contemporaries tied to the "middle class"? Georges Chastellain clearly respected Bladelin—calling him a great man in riches and judgment—but nevertheless referred to him as "only a bourgeois of Bruges."⁸⁷ The mentions of Saldaña in contemporary chronicles are equally instructive. In 1428, having recently been named *camarero de los paños*, Saldaña appears in a group of *grandes* making a ceremonial entry with Álvaro de Luna.⁸⁸ By 1434, however, he is not named as one of the thirty *cavalleros* from major noble families attending a joust organized by the king, nor is he listed among the nobles at the entry of the Queen of Navarre in 1440.⁸⁹

What then was it that distinguished "proper" nobles from "would-be" nobles? There were different types of nobility, as is clear from a number of texts circulating at both Burgundian and Castilian courts. Diego de Valera's *Espejo de Verdadera Nobleza* (*The Mirror of True Nobility*), completed in 1441, followed Bartolo da Sassoferrato in listing three main types of nobility: *nobleza theologal* (theological nobility), *nobleza natural* (natural nobility), and *nobleza civil* (civil nobility).⁹⁰ Like Saldaña, Valera was a Jewish convert, who grew up at and wrote for the court of Juan II. He also lived at the Burgundian court, and the *Espejo* was translated for Philip the Good by Hugues de Salve. It is significant that Valera focused most attention on *nobleza civil*, granted by the ruler on the basis of virtue to men like himself and the other Castilian court *conversos*. He devoted several paragraphs of the *Espejo* to examples of *homines novi*, men "of low birth who were upright, excellent and noble" such as Gaius Marius and Marcus Porcius Cato.⁹¹ It was clearly no accident that the topos of nobility derived from virtuous service to the *res publica* was also repeated in the works of other *converso* courtiers such as Alonso de Cartagena, with whom Saldaña served on the Royal Council. Furthermore, these *conversos* claimed noble lineage through their own Jewish ancestors:

If we want proof of the nobility of the Jews, we can find a great deal of it, as it is written in the fourth chapter of Deuteronomy where speaking of the Jews it is said, 'which other nation is so noble?' [...] If we think about theological nobility, in which nation could so many noblemen be found as in that of the Jews, from which came the prophets, all the patriarchs and holy fathers, all the apostles and finally our most reverend lady Saint Mary, and her blessed son God and our true redeemer, who chose this lineage as the most noble.⁹²

In 1449, Philip the Good's secretary, Jean Miélot, produced *La Controverse de noblesse*, a translation of Bonaccursius de Montemagno's *Orationes de vera nobilitate*, which debated the concept of nobility of virtue versus nobility of blood.⁹³ Nobility of virtue put the *nobles de la robe* (the ennobled court officials) on a level playing field with the *nobles de l'épée*; the latter reacted to Miélot's text by emphasizing the one aspect that, according to them, could be neither earned nor purchased: noble ancestry.

In practice, it did not take "new" nobility long to transform into "old." Once established, nobility could be consolidated and confirmed within a few generations. As Paul de Win underlines, "Elevation was often only a pledge for the future," with full realization in the third generation.⁹⁴ In Spain, as Angus MacKay explains, "the basic requirements for hidalgo status [...] were a blood-lineage qualification over three generations, the continuous enjoyment of hidalgo privileges, especially with respect to tax generation, and an ability to prove that these matters were of public knowledge in the area where the hidalgo lived";⁹⁵ in the Burgundian state it was implicit in the marriage choices and lifestyles of the children. Of Rolin's children, Jean became a cardinal, and Louis, Lord of Persilly, died fighting at the Battle of Grandson.⁹⁶ Bladelin was childless, and in his will he left Middelburg and the bailiwick of Aardenburg to his great-nephew, Jan de Baenst, heir to the Seigneurie de St. Georges ten-Distele.⁹⁷ What was left to posterity, in the absence of children, was memory. In Bladelin's case, this was not only his funerary monument and putative triptych but also the city of Middelburg itself. Having achieved noble status, it would appear that Bladelin sought to maintain it intact for future lords of Middelburg: in his testament he gave remission of all the loans he had made to everyone living in Middelburg provided they continued to reside and keep their assets there.⁹⁸

Although Saldaña appeared rich in descendants, and the four niches in the chapel in Tordesillas indicate that he intended it as a mausoleum for his new lineage, his plan was never realized.⁹⁹ All Saldaña's children, except possibly his son Pedro Vélez de Guevara (by his marriage to Isabel) appear to have been buried elsewhere, possibly on account of attempts to confiscate Saldaña's assets after his exile to Bureta in Aragon. None of his children with Elvira de Acevedo married, and his only grandchild (by Pedro) was born out of wedlock. It is likely that Saldaña's memory as a noble would have been stronger had these descendants occupied the chapel. This was certainly the case for Saldaña's disgraced patron, Álvaro

de Luna, whose daughter's rebuilding of his chapel in Toledo reclaimed for her father the noble status to which he so strongly aspired.¹⁰⁰

What then can we conclude about the commemorative strategies used by Saldaña, Rolin, and Bladelin to secure social ascendancy? Saldaña, like many high-status Castilians of the early fifteenth century, built a funerary chapel not only with a view to salvation but also to confirm legitimacy, alliances, and dynastic ambitions. Unlike his contemporaries, Saldaña adopted a new northern-European stylistic language that reflected the nexus between magnificent expenditure, materials, and nobility in the manner of the dukes of Burgundy and Valois kings. He commissioned a tomb made out of alabaster with an effigy representing himself as a knight. The inscription on the Saldaña Chapel's walls and the portrait in the altarpiece further confirmed this newfound status. Saldaña seems to have realized that the task he faced to secure noble status was greater than that faced by his "old-Christian" contemporaries. He needed an ensemble that was not only magnificent but also was remarkable enough to enable his new lineage to join the already-established bloodlines.

Rolin, knighted earlier than Bladelin and married early to a noblewoman, was commemorated with images as knight and noble in the collegiate church of Notre-Dame Autun, of which he was regarded as a founder, and in his foundation of the Hôtel-Dieu, Beaune. Bladelin's aspiration may have been to be commemorated alone, in a church he had built, within a city he had built, in a tomb marking his noble status, and with his representation in a triptych as lord of Middelburg.

Saldaña, Rolin, and Bladelin deployed huge wealth to "live nobly" but also realized the importance of foundations and funerary monuments in sealing their elevation from commoners to nobles. They fixed in stone and paint the way they wished to be remembered after death. Although contemporaries may have questioned their elevation to the nobility, these men are remembered today on account of the Hôtel-Dieu in Beaune, the magnificent chapel in Tordesillas, and—with the once grand Middelburg now a shadow of its former self—the enigmatic work known as the *Middelburg Triptych*.

Notes

¹ Although "middle class" was not a term used by contemporaries, it is used in this chapter to define wealthy, well-educated individuals, whose birth placed them outside the established nobility but who were clearly distinguished from

laborers and craftsmen. See introduction to this volume for more on the use of the terminology “middle class.”

² Bartier, *Légistes et gens de finances*, 2:266–68.

³ On the increasing influence of Franciscans under the Trastámara dynasty, see, for example, Nieto Soria, “Franciscanos y franciscanismo”; Rucquoi, “Los franciscanos en el reino de Castilla.”

⁴ “Sus esculturas son una de las manifestaciones más puras del influjo borgoñon en Castilla.” Ara Gil, *Escultura gótica en Valladolid y su provincia*, 164.

⁵ Ruiz, *Spain's Centuries of Crisis*, 162–63.

⁶ The most comprehensive account of the political history of this period is by Suárez Fernández et al., *Los Trastámaras de Castilla y Aragón*; see also Suárez Fernández, *Nobleza y monarquía*. On the rise of the “new nobility,” see Moxó, “De la nobleza vieja a la nobleza nueva.”

⁷ The *condestable de Castilla* was second only to the king. Several historians have discussed the close relationship between Luna and the *conversos*. See, for example, Márquez Villanueva, “Conversos y cargos concejiles,” 510.

⁸ Archivo Histórico Nacional, Consejos Suprimidos, legajo 34.318.

⁹ Foronda, “La privanza, entre monarquía y nobleza,” 116.

¹⁰ Cañas Gálvez, *Burocracia y cancellería*, 403. Fernán managed to hold the lucrative position of *camarero de los paños* until 1434 when Luna took it back and gave him another equally lucrative position. At some point Fernán was also named *tenedor de las llaves de los sellos de los Reinos de León y Castilla* (keeper of the keys to the seals of the kingdoms of Leon and Castile).

¹¹ He was one of three treasurers responsible for all Crown finances. See Ceballos-Escalera Gila, “Generación y semblanza de Fernán López de Saldaña,” 174.

¹² Pope Eugenius IV granted indulgences to visitors to the chapel in a bull dated 29 April 1431. The contract between Saldaña and the convent of Santa Clara concerning the chapel's construction was signed in May 1432. Archivo de Santa Clara de Tordesillas (ASCT), Caja 2, Expt. 22.

¹³ This was in contrast to some of his contemporaries, such as the chamberlain Pedro de Velasco who was named *conde de Haro* by Juan II in 1430.

¹⁴ Pérez de Guzmán and Domínguez Bordona, *Generaciones y semblanzas*, 106.

¹⁵ Studies focusing on Pieter Bladelin include Braekevelt, *Pieter Bladelin*; Bolle, *De erfenis van Pieter Bladelin*; Cauchies, “Deux grands commis bâtisseurs”; De Clercq, Dumolyn, and Haemers, “Vivre Noblement”; Milis-Proost, “Pieter Bladelin.”

¹⁶ De Clercq, Dumolyn, and Haemers, “Vivre Noblement,” 4–5. Pieter's father was known as the ‘Leestmakere’ after a chateau, called ‘De Leeste’ which he built near Bruges.

¹⁷ Blockmans and Prevenier, *The Promised Lands*, 143.

¹⁸ De Clercq, Dumolyn, and Haemers, “Vivre Noblement,” 2.

¹⁹ Blockmans and Prevenier, *The Promised Lands*, 100.

²⁰ Vanderjagt, "Qui Sa Vertu Anoblist," 45; De Clercq, Dumolyn, and Haemers, "Vivre Noblement," 9.

²¹ De Clercq, Dumolyn, and Haemers, "Vivre Noblement," 6.

²² Maurice-Chabard, *La splendeur des Rolin*, 21. Rolin's first marriage, in Autun, was part of a triple wedding. His widowed mother married Perrenet le Mairet, and he and his brother married his new stepfather's two daughters. He was widowed not long after and practiced law in Paris. Prior to 1407, he married Marie des Landes, daughter of Berthaud de Landes, master of the mint and guard of the jewels of Charles VI.

²³ De Clercq, Dumolyn, and Haemers, "Vivre Noblement," 6. In 1452, Bladelin prevented the people of Bruges from joining Ghent in rebellion against the Duke; in 1464, 1465, 1467, 1468, and 1472 he was one of the ducal officers commissioned to appoint new mayors and aldermen in Bruges.

²⁴ Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, 8. For example, Rolin conducted early negotiations with Philip's uncle, Duke Amadeus VIII of Savoy, which resulted in the policy (post Treaty of Troyes) of playing off England against France for material advantage. See also, for example, Blockmans and Prevenier, *The Promised Lands*, 123.

²⁵ Janse, "Marriage and Noble Lifestyle in Holland"; Nierop, *The Nobility of Holland*, 67–92.

²⁶ "Le iijje cas est d'ung gentil home qui se rabaisse par mariage, et se marie à femme routurière et non noble." René d'Anjou, *Le livre des tournois*.

²⁷ "e por esto sobre todas cosas cataron homes que fuessen de buen linaje, e porque se guardassen de facer cossa porque pudiessen caer en vergüenza, e porque éstos fueron escogidos de buenos lugares [...] por eso les llamamos fijosdalgo demuestra tanto como fijos de bien." (and for this above all were men chosen who were of good lineage, and because they refrained from doing anything which would cause shame, and because they were chosen from good places [...] and for this we call them *fijosdalgo* (sons of substance) which shows that they are sons of good.) (Translation: N. Jennings.) Alfonso, King of Castile and Leon, *Las siete partidas del rey*, 2:199.

²⁸ On the prominence of heraldry in fifteenth-century Castilian funerary chapels, see, for example, Bango Torviso, "El espacio para enterramientos privilegiados," 120; Yarza Luaces, "La capilla funeraria hispana"; Menéndez Pidal de Navascués, "Heráldica funeraria en Castilla," 150–55.

²⁹ Moxó, "De la nobleza vieja a la nobleza nueva," 12.

³⁰ This type of practice was also found in northern Europe. In Flanders, for example, the Brederodes pretended—without foundation—to be descended from the counts of Holland. Nierop, *The Nobility of Holland*, 77.

³¹ Saldaña's contract with the convent (referenced above in note 12) specifies that the chapel will be "vna capilla de piedra e obra muy polida e costosa" ("a chapel of stone which is well-dressed and expensive.") (Translation by Nicola Jennings.)

³² “contador mayor del virtuoso rey don juan e su camarero e su canceller e de su consejo.” (Translation by Nicola Jennings).

³³ De Win, “The Lesser Nobility of the Burgundian Netherlands,” 96.

³⁴ Notre-Dame Autun was in a state of disrepair by the early fifteenth century. Rolin created a new choir, collateral chapels and a gallery connecting his hôtel to the church. His first foundation was in 1426 and in 1450 Cardinal Jean Rolin authorized the church’s elevation to a collegiate church, confirmed by a papal bull of Nicholas V dated November 23, 1450. Fontenay, “Notre Dame,” 1879; Kamp, “Le fondateur Rolin,” 68.

³⁵ De Clercq, Dumolyn, and Haemers, “Vivre Noblement,” 9, 14.

³⁶ Paravicini, “The Court of the Dukes of Burgundy,” 89. On the significance of *vivre noblement* at the Burgundian court, see also Wilson, *Painting in Bruges*, chap. 2 and 3.

³⁷ Tafur, *Travels and Adventures, 1435–1439*, 194–95.

³⁸ De Clercq, Dumolyn, and Haemers, “Vivre Noblement,” 24.

³⁹ Bartier, *Légistes et gens de finances*, 2:198–99.

⁴⁰ Kaminsky, “Estate, Nobility and the Exhibition of Estate,” 700–1; Mourier, “Nobilitas, Quid Est?” These criteria were repeated in a fifteenth-century case brought in the *Hof van Holland* (Court of Holland); see Janse, “Marriage and Noble Lifestyle in Holland,” 117.

⁴¹ Kaminsky does not comment on this, but suggests elsewhere that good works were viewed in relation to individual salvation, and that actions such as endowment of chantries were the result of “norms of status-specific behavior.” Kaminsky, “Estate, Nobility and the Exhibition of Estate,” 703.

⁴² Bartier, *Légistes et gens de finances*, 2:198–99.

⁴³ Paravicini, “The Court of the Dukes of Burgundy,” 87.

⁴⁴ In Castile, for example, *hidalgos* were nobles by birth, whereas *caballeros* (knights) were originally townspeople above a certain level of wealth who were obliged to provide mounted military service. However, as elsewhere in Europe, knightly status became increasingly desirable and by the fifteenth century the highest status was reserved for *caballero hidalgos*. See, for example, MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages*, 160–62; Pardo de Vera y Díaz, “El hidalgo y el caballero.”

⁴⁵ ASCT, Caja 2, Expt. 22.

⁴⁶ These were probably expressed verbally to his son, Cardinal Jean Rolin, Bishop of Autun, who was present as a witness to the will. Kamp, *Memoria und Selbstdarstellung*, 344–47. The original will was lost; there are two copies: 1462-7 (ADSL 10 G 1) and 1775 (ADCO G 2388).

⁴⁷ Fontenay, “Notre Dame,” 1879, 403. Chastellain, *Oeuvres*, 4:214, Ch. LXVIII. “il fut revestu de chemise blanche, de riche pourpoint, de chausses, de nouveaux soliers, d’une robe de velour, l’espée chainte au costé et la daghue de l’aulture, les esporons dorés aux pieds, le chaperon en gorge et le chapeau en teste, atout une enseigne d’or au front de chapeau.”

⁴⁸ Verschelde, "Testament de Pierre Bladelin." The original will is held by the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, Middelburg.

⁴⁹ The location of Rolin's tomb within Notre-Dame, Autun, is not without dispute. It is marked as "the tomb of the patrons" in front of the high altar on a 1774 plan. Fontenay, "Notre Dame," 1879, 396. Helène Adhémar has argued for burial in his chapel of Saint Sebastian on the basis that Colette Rolin demanded in 1507 to be buried in the same chapel as him, which she called the chapel of St Anthony and that in 1689 the chapel was known by both names. Adhémar, "Sur la Vierge du chancelier Rolin de Van Eyck," 14n35.

⁵⁰ That Bladelin's tomb was commissioned during his lifetime is indicated by the wording in his will: see note 86 below.

⁵¹ This is based on a reconstruction proposed by Jennings, "The Chapel of Contador Saldaña," 115, fig. 5.18.

⁵² It was the choice made, for example, by Gómez Manrique and Sancha de Rojas (who died in 1411 and 1438 respectively, and whose tomb is now in the Museum of Burgos,) and of Aldonza de Mendoza (who died in 1435, and whose tomb is now in the Museum of Guadalajara).

⁵³ This occurred at some point between the late fifteenth century and the late eighteenth century although there is no documentary evidence of when or why. The niches must have been empty until the effigies from the destroyed tomb were placed in them, as the heraldic shields carved into the limestone above the niches are blank, uncarved and unpainted. The earliest description of the interior of the Saldaña Chapel, by Antonio Ponz in around 1780, specifies, "quatro sepulcros con estatuas echadas en sus nichos (four tombs with effigies placed in their niches)." Ponz, *Viage de España*, 8:138.

⁵⁴ Bernis Madrazo, *Indumentaria medieval española*, 44–45. Belts had been worn lower down from 1420–1435.

⁵⁵ On the Orden de la Banda, see, for example, Riquer, *Heráldica castellana*, 27; Fernández de Córdova Miralles, "Las divisas del rey"; Menéndez Pidal de Navascués, "Símbolos de identidad," 388.

⁵⁶ Both fell victim to the French Revolution: Nicolas Rolin's tomb disappeared in 1793 as part of the destruction of Notre-Dame Autun while the tomb of Guigone de Salins was destroyed in 1794. The baptismal font and Easter candlestick, both donated by the Chancellor, were sent to the foundries. It seems probable that the same fate befell Rolin's brass, although it cannot be confirmed by documentary evidence. Aubertin, "Note sur le monument funéraire de Guigone de Salins," 9, 12.

⁵⁷ "elle choisit sa sépulture devant le maître-autel où elle a été inhumée sous une grande et magnifique tombe de cuivre sur laquelle elle étoit représentée en habit de veuve à côté de son mari vêtu en chevalier et armé de toutes pièces," Abbé Bredault (1737–1816) quoted in Aubertin, "Notice sur la sépulture de Guigone de Salins," 11.

⁵⁸ Guigone de Salins died on December 24, 1470 and was buried in the

Hôtel-Dieu, Beaune, in front of the altar, a location confirmed by the excavation of her bones. Aubertin, "Notice sur la sépulture de Guigone de Salins." The crypt was excavated in 1876 and the skeleton of a female discovered, together with three male skeletons. Guigone de Salin's bones were re-interred in 1877.

⁵⁹ "Le corps du Fondateur de cette Eglise repose au choeur sous une table d'airain: il y fut inhumé en 1461, revêtu d'une robe de velours noir, fourrée de martre, son chaperon en gorge, le chapeau sur sa tête, les housseaux chaussés avec ses éperons dorés, l'épée ceinte au côté, & sa dague de l'autre, ainsi qu'il avoit été mis sur le lit de parade au jour de son décès." Courtépée and Béguillet, *Description historique et topographique du duché de Bourgogne*, 3:451.

⁶⁰ "Sa tombe en cuivre, sur laquelle il était représenté à côté de sa femme Guigone, contenait ses armoiries: d'azur à trois clefs d'or, posées 2 et 1; l'écu timbre d'un casque avec ses lambrequins, et la devise: DEVM. TIME." Bigarne, *Étude historique sur le chancelier Rolin*, 24.

⁶¹ The Autun and Beaune epitaphs were recorded. Aubertin, "Notice sur la sépulture de Guigone de Salins," 8–9.

⁶² "La dalle funéraire, située au milieu du choeur du Notre-Dame d'Autun le représentait en chevalier avec sa cuirasse, son épée et son casque sur la tête." Kamp, "Le fondateur Rolin," 76. His burial place was covered with "une grande lame de cuivre sur laquelle il est représenté en habit de chevalier avec l'effigie de Guigone à son côté." Berthier and Sweeney, *Guigone de Salins*, 152.

⁶³ The church was also damaged during the Second World War, and new brickwork is clearly visible.

⁶⁴ Bolle, *De erfenis van Pieter Bladelin*, 50–52. The tomb was also opened in 1865 when it was found to have been violated. The walls of the tomb were painted with angels and a calvary. In the 1980s, when new heating was being installed, the bones of two people were found in the same location.

⁶⁵ De Clercq, Dumolyn, and Haemers, "Vivre Noblement," 23.

⁶⁶ Verschelde, "Testament de Pierre Bladelin," 11.

⁶⁷ Bladelin had given employment in Middelburg to a number of copper workers following the sack of Dinant. De Clercq, Dumolyn, and Haemers, "Vivre Noblement," 12. Copper-alloy effigies, however, were in practice reserved for the ducal family and the highest nobility, examples being the tombs commissioned by Duke Philip the Good for Louis de Mâle in Lille in 1454/55; by Louis de Gruuthuse, knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece, for himself and his wife, Margaret van Borsele (after 1472); Mary of Burgundy commissioned bronze effigies for her mother, Isabella of Bourbon, in Antwerp (ca. 1477), and her uncle, Jacques de Bourbon, in Bruges (ca. 1477/79). While monumental brasses were a common form of commemoration in Bruges, they were invariably on the ground and not on a tomb chest. Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten te Brugge voor 1578*.

⁶⁸ Verschelde, "Testament de Pierre Bladelin," 9–32.

⁶⁹ Paris, Louvre, Inv. 1271. Oak panel. Painted surface 65 × 62.3cm. For detailed information on the condition, provenance and iconography of the

painting, as well as a comprehensive bibliography, see Comblen-Sonkes and Lorentz, *Corpus de la peinture: Louvre*, color plates 2–3, black-and-white, IX–L.

⁷⁰ Guigone de Salins is represented in the opposite wing. Illustrated in Jacobs, *Opening Doors*, color plate 12.

⁷¹ Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie, Cat. 535. Oak, wings 93.5 × 41.7/41.2 cm; center 93.5 × 92 cm, painted surface 92.0 × 91.0 cm. Illustrated in Campbell and Van der Stock, *Rogier van Der Weyden*, 112. On the picture's association with Bladelin, see note 72.

⁷² The arguments in favor of it being Bladelin are: a) its connection to Middelburg. Provenance can be traced back to 1630 to the Bruges home of the Duchess of Izegem, heiress to Middelburg. Antonius Sanderus, who used it as the basis for his illustration of Middelburg castle, must have seen the painting there and must have been convinced—perhaps by a verbal tradition—that it truly represented Middelburg Castle, see Sanderus, *Flandria illustrata*; b) the dates are right for Bladelin. Dendrochronology gives the likely date of the painting as ca. 1445, see Kemperdick and Sander, *The Master of Flémalle and Rogier Van Der Weyden*, 340n19. This is corroborated by the dress of the kneeling figure, which closely resembles that of Philip the Good in the frontispiece to the *Chroniques de Hainaut*, dated 1448. The style changed a few years later; c) if not Bladelin, then who? The kneeling figure is not wearing the Order of the Golden Fleece which rules out Duke Philip the Good who consistently wears the collar in his portraits. The only other Burgundian noble connected with Middelburg was William Hugonet who in 1476 bought out Bladelin's heirs. The year of 1476 is too late for the style of dress.

⁷³ Van Asperen de Boer and Faries, "La 'Vierge au Chancelier Rolin' de Van Eyck."

⁷⁴ The purse was an indicator of worldly wealth and position. A drawing in the Roger de Gaignières collection of the tombstone of one of Rolin's predecessors as Chancellor, Jean de Saulx (d. 1420), shows a prominent purse. Adhémar, "Les tombeaux de la collection Gaignières," 191. Gaignières no. 1075. BN Est. Rés, Pe 4, fol. 41. A purse is also found on the statue of Dino Rapondi, financier to Duke Philip the Bold, formerly in the Sainte Chapelle, Dijon. Drawing after the lost votive statue of Dino Rapondi, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 3901, illustrated in Dhanens, *Hubert and Jan Van Eyck*, 277, fig. 174. Ralph, 3rd Baron Cromwell, and Lord High Treasurer to King Henry VI of England, incorporated a purse into the decoration of Tattershall Castle.

⁷⁵ Kamp, "Le fondateur Rolin," 76.

⁷⁶ Van Buren-Hagopian, "Dress and Costume," 113.

⁷⁷ Wilson, *Painting in Bruges*, 2, 9, 70. Christian de Mérindol and Javier Martínez de Aguirre point out that interest in portraiture developed hand-in-hand with increasing use of funerary monuments as elements in the enhancement of prestige and legitimacy. Mérindol, "Art, spiritualité et politique," 94; Martínez de Aguirre, "Perceptions of Individuality."

⁷⁸ Wijsman, "Patterns in Patronage." Wijsman looked at two types of illuminated manuscript—illustrated library manuscripts and books of hours—as well as at portraits and altarpieces.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 64–66. The other altarpieces were: Jan van Eyck, *Madonna with Chancellor Rolin*, Paris; Rogier van der Weyden, *Last Judgement*, Beaune; *Seven Sacraments*, Antwerp; *Lamentation*, Hague; *Diptych of Jean de Gros*, Tournai and Chicago; Hugo van der Goes, *Monfort Altarpiece*, Berlin; Hugo van der Goes and Dirk Bouts, *Saint Hippolyte Triptych*, Bruges; South Netherlandish, *Holy Family*, Wallraf Richartz; Adriaan Isenbraandt, *Presentation in the Temple*, Bruges; Master of the Legend of Mary Magdalen, *Charles de Clerq Triptych*, Newark.

⁸⁰ Examples are: Robert Campin's *Merode Triptych*, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art; Hans Memling's *Last Judgement*, Gdansk, Muzeum Narodowe, his *Donne Triptych*, London, National Gallery, and *Moreel Triptych*, Bruges, Groeningemuseum; and Hugo van der Goes' *Portinari Triptych*, Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi. Rogier van der Weyden's *Abegg triptych*, Riggisberg, Abegg-Stiftung, inv. 14.2.63, features a single donor in the wings but as he has not been identified, it is not possible to know whether he was married.

⁸¹ Rolin married Guigone in 1423. Dendrochronological analysis carried out in 1983 concluded that *The Madonna and Chancellor Rolin* was probably painted between 1436 and 1441. Comblen-Sonkes and Lorentz, *Corpus de la peinture: Louvre*, 78–79, doc. 13.

⁸² Elvira died in April 1433. Isabel was named in a document in 1436 as Saldaña's new wife although the marriage contract was not signed until October 20, 1441.

⁸³ Brine, *Pious Memories*, 181. For a discussion of a painting designed to function in connection with a tomb see Brine, "Jan van Eyck."

⁸⁴ "notre tres chiere et tres aimee compaignie Guigone de Salins," Kamp, *Memoria und Selbstdarstellung*, 345. "mijner voorseide wettelicker gheselnede," Verschelde, "Testament de Pierre Bladelin," 31.

⁸⁵ For example, Louis de Gruuthuse, knight of the Golden Fleece, used the same terminology as Bladelin in his will, "wettelicke ghesellenede." Testament dated August 18, 1474 transcribed in Gailliard, *Inscriptions funéraires*, 34–37.

⁸⁶ "Begheerende mijn Sepulture, ende begraven te wesene in de Kerke van Sente Pieter en Sente Pauwels te Middelburch voerscreven, ter plecke daar ic die overlanc ghecoren ende gheordeneert hebbe." Verschelde, "Testament de Pierre Bladelin," 11. Blum has suggested that Bladelin may have intended his wife to be buried in Notre-Dame, Bruges, in the chantry chapel dedicated to his wife's patron saint, St. Margaret. Blum, *Early Netherlandish Triptychs*, n52. The St. Margaret chapel was founded in 1448 by Bladelin's sister, also named Margareta. There is no mention of Bladelin's wife in the foundation document, which mentioned specifically his sister's burial and that of her sons-in-law, Josse van Joosenaere and Jan de Baenst, although this does not exclude the possibility. Gailliard, *Inscriptions funéraires*, 271.

⁸⁷ "ce renommé et grand home en richesse et en sens [...] et n'estoit que un bourgeois de Bruges." Chastellain, *Oeuvres*, 5:44.

⁸⁸ Carrillo de Huete, Pérez de Guzmán, and Carriazo, *Crónica del halconero de Juan II*, 8:7, 344.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 8:157.

⁹⁰ Valera, *Tratados de Mosén*, 92–94.

⁹¹ "De los que nascidos de baxo lugar fueron fechos claros, excelentes e nobles, escrie diversos exemplos." *Ibid.*, 95. Vanderjagt notes that these ideas were also implicit in Christine de Pizan's *Livre du corps de policie*, of which Philip the Good bought two manuscript copies. Vanderjagt, "Qui Sa Vertu Anoblist," 45–65.

⁹² "Ca si de la nobleza de los judíos abtoridades queremos, muchas podemos fallar, ca escripto es en el quarto capítulo del Deuteronomio, onde fablando de los judíos dize: 'quál es otra nasción así noble?' [...] Pues si a la teologal nobleza avemos respeto, en cuál nasción tantos nobles fallarse pueden como en la de los judíos, en la qual fueron todos los profetas, todos los patriarcas e santos padres, todos los apóstoles e finalmente nuestra bien aventurada señora Sancta María, y el su bendito fijo Dios e onbre verdadero nuestro redemptor, el qual este linaje escogió para sí por el más noble..." Valera, *Tratados de Mosén*, 103.

⁹³ Willard, "The Concept of True Nobility," 41–42. Other notable texts were *Instruction d'un jeune prince*, attributed at various times to both Georges Chastellain and Ghilbert de Lannoy; *Lettres envoyés par Jehan seigneur de Lannoy a Lojs son filz*, written between Oct 1464 and May 1465, and the *Traité de noblesse* by Diego de Valera.

⁹⁴ De Win, "The Lesser Nobility of the Burgundian Netherlands," 107. New nobles were often denied fiscal advantages and immunities; the second generation gained more rights; the third generation became established nobility.

⁹⁵ MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages*, 162.

⁹⁶ In the Low Countries, many nobles entered the clerical estate. In the prince-Bishopric of Liège, all the bishops, without exception, were of noble or even princely parentage. Two illegitimate sons of Philip the Good, David and Philip, successively occupied the see of Utrecht. De Win, "The Lesser Nobility of the Burgundian Netherlands," 99–100.

⁹⁷ Jan's mother was Bladelin's niece, Marguerite, who had married Jan de Baenst, Seigneur de St Georges ten-Distele. The de Baensts were a noble family in Bruges. Peel, "The Image of the Family" and ch. 11 in this volume. The bequest was conditional on Jan de Baenst taking his father's advice before marrying. Verschelde, "Testament de Pierre Bladelin," 25.

⁹⁸ Verschelde, "Testament de Pierre Bladelin," 29.

⁹⁹ Jennings, "The Chapel of Contador Saldaña," 111–12.

¹⁰⁰ In Álvaro da Luna's example, his funerary monument ensured that he would be remembered as Master of the Order of Santiago. Lenaghan, "Commemorating a Real Bastard."

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Chapter Seven

Remembering the Dead, Planning for the Afterlife in Fifteenth-Century Tuscany

The Case of Cione di Ravi

Sandra Cardarelli

CIONE DI URBANO, COUNT of Lattaia and Ravi (1418–1505), was a local feudal lord in a small town situated in the *contado* of Siena, in Southern Tuscany. Historians mainly know him for his involvement in the Aragonese war in the area and the siege of Piombino in 1447–1448,¹ which is included in Sigismondo Tizio's *Historiae Senenses*.² The publication in the 1990s of Tizio's account as well as the Statutes of the commune of Ravi,³ Cione's ancestral home, shed light on Cione's life and on how his difficult relationship with Siena affected his privileges and the future of his family.⁴ Further information can be gleaned from Cione's holograph testament, written by one of the last feudal lords of the time. It reveals his attitude toward the afterlife and shows how his views reflect the social and political changes that led to his decline. An article published by Lodovico Zdekauer in 1904 first brought serious attention to the life of Cione and the history of the da Lattaia family.⁵ Zdekauer details the commission for an altarpiece intended for the parish church of Ravi, a small but strategic center in Siennese territory (figure 7.1), and also recounts Cione's childhood. Although Cione was the heir of a local feudal family, his role and that of his kin were subject to an abrupt decline after the premature death of his father Urbano in 1418. Significantly, the civic statutes of Ravi, the seat of the da Lattaia, were rewritten in 1447, coinciding with the Aragonese conflict then raging in the Siennese *contado*.⁶ Siena continued to grant some seigniorial rights to Cione, likely in order to exercise control over the town of Ravi,⁷ and more generally in that area of the Maremma then in turmoil. However, Cione's holograph testament, written in 1478,⁸ highlights tensions created by his new social identity that, although still rooted in the old feudal seigniorial system, had to negotiate a new status in contemporary society.⁹ Elsewhere in Tuscany, the transfer

Figure 7.1 Map of Tuscany. Courtesy of Hannah Calich, GIS Services, Otto G. Richter Library, University of Miami.

of power and status from the old feudal nobility to a new class of self-made citizens elected to communal government had already occurred over the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹⁰ Cione's testament, which details the plan for his own family tomb, as well as provisions left to secure his daughters' futures, provides evidence of his declining position in society and shows the persistence of changing social fortune in Tuscany in the fifteenth century. It also demonstrates his attitude to the afterlife, offering insight into his relationships with individuals, the family group, and the wider community.

An assessment of Cione di Ravi's memorial strategies relies on the work of Robert Munman, Silvia Colucci, and Samuel Cohn to place him within his social context, balanced between the upper-middle classes and the fallen nobility.¹¹ The work of Munman and Colucci on Renaissance tombs and attitudes to death in Renaissance Siena are pivotal to our understanding of how social hierarchy continued in the afterlife in fifteenth-century Siena, shedding light on Cione's relationship to contemporary society vis-à-vis his chosen forms of commemoration. As neither Cione's tomb monument nor that of his family seem to have survived, his last will presents the only testimony of these projects. Cohn's volume *Death and*

Property in Siena helps us to contextualize Cione's attitude to piety and to gain a better understanding of the value of his bequests to churches and other institutions.¹²

One extraordinary aspect of Cione's will is that he wrote it with his own hand. No specific study on holograph testaments in fifteenth-century Italy has been undertaken, and even Cohn did not examine this phenomenon in his penetrating studies of Renaissance testamentary practices. Cione's will provides comparative material for a wider analysis on testamentary practices in fifteenth-century Siena and reveals his plans for his own burial in Siena, a second family tomb in Ravi, provisions for his next of kin, and various other pious bequests.

Cione, His Family, and His Time

Cione wrote his last will while confined at home during an outbreak of plague.¹³ It was subsequently registered by the notary Ser Mino di Niccolò Trecherchi,¹⁴ with whom Cione had drafted documents on previous occasions.¹⁵ While this holograph document is revealing of the testator's attitude toward death, it is important to contextualize these records with other relevant material. Crucial information on Cione's life can be elicited from the *Libricciuolo del Pasco*, a book where Cione recorded the sale of pasture as well as excerpts of family history starting in 1390, today, unfortunately, known only through Zdekauer's 1904 publication.¹⁶ It is evident the da Lattaia suffered a setback in 1390, when the family had to surrender Ravi to the Malavolti, one of the magnate families of Siena, together with their most treasured personal possessions. When Cione was born in 1418, a few months after his father's premature death, the position of the family was in decline, with the main source of income coming from the sale of pasture.¹⁷

Cione's will reveals that his maternal grandmother was the daughter of Francesco di Bartolomeo Casini, who was a personal doctor to Pope Gregory XI in 1377.¹⁸ It was probably thanks to his privileged position that Casini was entrusted with important political missions as an ambassador between his native Siena and the Holy See.¹⁹ Cione's kinship with the Casini family through matrilineal lineage also meant that he was first cousin twice removed to Cardinal Antonio Casini,²⁰ Bishop of Grosseto from 1427 until his death in 1439. Antonio who was the son of Giovanni Casini, also a doctor and the twin brother of Francesco.²¹ Archival records show that Francesco di Bartolomeo Casini had a daughter—Petra—who became wife to Meo d'Antonio Buonfigli. Buonfigli had made his fortune

as a merchant and banker in Siena.²² The couple had at least two daughters: Lucrezia and Lodovica, both of whom married members of the da Lattaia family: brothers Giacomo and Urbano, Cione's father. The marriage between Petra and Meo likely replenished the depleted coffers of the da Lattaia.²³ In his last will Cione mentions a house in Siena, in San Cristoforo, that constituted the dowries of his maternal grandmother and great-aunt and had been sold in 1434.²⁴ Cione's matrilineal lineage must have acquired particular importance as he lost most of his father's relatives at a young age.

It is therefore not surprising to learn that his beloved daughter Valeria Lodovica, who had died prematurely at the age of 16, was buried in the church of San Francesco in Siena in close proximity to his grandfather Meo Buonfigli.²⁵ In spite of his tense relationship with Siena, Cione resided in the city at the time when he drafted his last will, and it is in this document that he mentioned he resided in a house at Ponte San Maurizio. This location corresponds to the Porta di San Maurizio al Ponte (figure 7.2), in the modern via di Pantaneto, and thus originally on the thirteenth-century city walls. Cione noted that at the time when the last will was drafted, in June 1478, there was a "spaventosa pestilentia," a dreadful outbreak of plague that likely confined him to the city.²⁶ He reveals, however, that the house did not belong to him but was rented from his sister-in-law Maddalena and her husband Giovanni for the price of twenty-six *lire* per year.²⁷ This arrangement gives an indication of Cione's troubled finances at the time.

Zdekauer noted that after the death of Cione's father Urbano, the dispute between the da Lattaia and the Malavolti over certain possessions in the Maremma caused such bitter antagonism with the commune of Siena that even the intervention of Pope Pius II could do nothing to resolve it.²⁸ Cione's list of debtors shows that the problems that his family experienced with the Malavolti still persisted after the death of Orlando Malavolti,²⁹ as Cione called for his heirs Troilo and Galeazzo Malavolti, and their supporters, Antonio and Petrino Bellanti, to be held responsible and pay for the damage and harassment they caused.³⁰ Clearly, at the date of 1478, the disputes that he had with these parties had not been resolved. It also appears that at the time when the document was drafted, although he retained seigniorial rights, he did not have sufficient assets to fulfill his bequests.³¹

Tizio's chronicle reveals that Cione conspired with the Tegliacci family in favor of the Medici, and that he had been a spy on behalf of the Florentines in 1447 at the time of the war of Piombino.³² A letter dated October 24, 1470 from Lorenzo il Magnifico shows that he continued to have a friendly relationship with the house of Medici.³³ Therefore Cione

Figure 7.2 The arch of San Maurizio in via di Pantaneto, Siena. This was originally the city-gate of San Maurizio al Ponte, close to where Cione lived in 1478.
 Photograph by Sandra Cardarelli.

appears embroiled in a complex network of political alliances oscillating between Florence and Siena.³⁴ While concerned with political intrigue and warfare, his finances continued to worsen, and it is only at the very end of Cione's last will that it becomes evident that the only way he had to

fulfil his dispositions was by reclaiming moneys and properties that other individuals or institutions owed him.³⁵

Plans for Cione's Own Tomb in San Francesco, Siena

After the usual formulaic opening dedication and prayers for his patron saints' protection, Cione's testament expresses his immediate concerns by designating the church of San Francesco in Siena as the location for his tomb. More specifically, Cione wished to be buried at the site of his maternal grandfather, Meo d'Antonio Buonfigli. The Franciscan church was a popular burial choice for the Sienese, and the church was filled with tombs.³⁶ In the will, Cione sketched his grandfather's coat of arms (figure 7.3), as well as the da Lattaia heraldic device (figure 7.4), to complement

Figure 7.3 Archivio di Stato di Siena, Notarile Antecosimiano, 556, Filza F. The coat of arms of the Buonfigli family. Detail of fol. 2r. Reproduced by permission of the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali, Archivio di Stato di Siena, n. 1119/2017.

Figure 7.4 Archivio di Stato di Siena, Notarile Antecosimiano, 556, Filza F. The coat of arms of Cione di Ravi, Count of Lattaia. Detail of fol. 2v. Reproduced by permission of the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali, Archivio di Stato di Siena, n. 1119/2017.

the description of the burial place (figures 7.5–7.6), and as a way to make the identification of the family tombs as easy as possible.³⁷

In fact, Meo's tomb had already been used by Cione as the burial site for his beloved daughter Valeria Lodovica, who had died prematurely in July 1469. The presence of the coats of arms of the Buonfigli and the da Lattaia acquire particular importance in the context of the manuscript, as they are the only drawings in the document and they purposefully function as a strong visual reminder of the family identity and rank. From Cione's description it is not clear where these tombs were located in the church.³⁸ The Siense historian Vittorio Lusini mentions Meo's tomb as housed "sotto i voltoni."³⁹ According to Colucci, the word "voltoni" was also used to indicate the crypt under the east end of the church, where many tombs were placed.⁴⁰ The church of San Francesco underwent a series of changes that re-shaped both the interior of the church and the annexed areas. Faluschi's description of the church complex indicates that while the first cloister of the convent was rebuilt in 1517, the other two

Figure 7.5 Archivio di Stato di Siena, Notarile Antecosimiano, 556, Filza F, fol. 2r. Full page folio from Cione's last will, including the coat of arms of his maternal grandfather, Meo di Dante Buonfigli. Reproduced by permission of the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali, Archivio di Stato di Siena, n. 1139/2017.

cloisters, adjacent to the oratory of San Bernardino and including the cemetery of San Gherardo, were built in 1487, thus eighteen years after the death of Valeria Lodovica and almost ten years after Cione's testa-

Figure 7.6 Archivio di Stato di Siena, Notarile Antecosimiano, 556, Filza F, fol. 2v. Full page folio with the coat of arms of the da Lattaia. Reproduced by permission of the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali, Archivio di Stato di Siena, n. 1139/2017.

ment.⁴¹ These changes suggest that the tombs of Cione's kin might have been repositioned already in the course of Cione's life, and what Lusini saw might have been a substantially different setting from the original.⁴² Some observations on burials in Franciscan churches made by Caroline

Bruzelius support this hypothesis, for she notes that while these buildings contained a large number of tombs, the sepulchers of the nobility and the urban patriciate tended to be placed in the choir area and in the nave of the church, thus reproducing the hierarchy of living society.⁴³ As Meo's and Valeria Lodovica's tombs appear to have been lost after Lusini's visit in the late nineteenth century, and in the absence of tomb registries, or *sepoltuari*, for the Franciscan church, it is impossible to trace their original location. However, Lusini reports that an inscription was placed on the fourth pilaster on the right wall of the crypt, which read "S[er] Mei Buonfigli et heredum. Anno Domini MCCCCLI."⁴⁴ Another coat of arms, likely that of Cione, was followed by another inscription, as recorded with the incorrect date of death by Lusini:

Valeriam Ludovicam pudicam virginem Patris delitiam mors immatura preripuit. Anno aetatis XVI. Nobilis Cionis ex Ravi genitor—solamen doloris pium—dicavit sepulchrum sibique et posteris. Anno Domini MCCCCLX.⁴⁵

The closing words of the epitaph, to himself and his heirs, indicate that Cione was likely buried here, possibly with other members of his family. A clause in his will suggests that his personal space in the burial had already been prepared, as he wrote of his wish for his tomb to be restored or one or more slabs to be made *ex-novo* with his arms and an epitaph by his friend, the humanist Agostino Dati, or another learned friend.⁴⁶ Cione's plan to be buried in the Franciscan church is exemplary of a growing preference in favor of the mendicant orders for burial in the course of the Middle Ages. However, as the last male representative of his family, it would have been the most natural choice for Cione to be buried in the family church at Ravi or in the Franciscan church at Grosseto, the main city of the *contado*. While the choice of Siena might have been due to his deteriorating health and threats of plague in the area, there is no indication of his desire to be moved to Ravi at a later date.⁴⁷ His choice might have been dictated by his troubled personal relationship with the local communities in various centers of the *contado* and by his weakened social and financial position, as the final part of his last will shows.⁴⁸

The identity of the young female carved in the dilapidated tomb slab in the church of San Francesco, has been the object of speculation.⁴⁹ Conflicting evidence makes it difficult to reach any definite conclusion on whether the tomb generically acknowledged as the "tomb of an anonymous young woman" (figure 7.7) could belong to Cione's beloved daughter Valeria Lodovica.⁵⁰ However, there are indications that this might be the

Figure 7.7 Urbano da Cortona? Tomb of a young woman, ca. 1460–1480, marble, Siena, church of S. Francesco. Photograph © Photo Lensini.

case. The slab, which carries an effigy, is located next to the wall tomb identified by Enzo Carli as belonging to the Tolomei family, carved in a retardataire fourteenth-century style.⁵¹ The date of Valeria Lodovica's

death in 1469 is consistent with the dating of the tomb slab of the “Young Woman” between 1460 and 1480.⁵² The slab is too worn to allow a thorough examination, and Colucci was also unable to find any traces of the inscription that was originally carved on the tomb.⁵³ This is the only tomb specifically dedicated to a woman in the church, and the portrait relief suggests that this tomb belonged to a person of high social status. The figure is quite damaged, and any traces of the family coat of arms have disappeared, but the contour of a saddle-shaped headdress adorned with a veil that touches the shoulders are still visible at close examination. Dress codes and headdresses were considered markers of women’s social status in medieval and Renaissance Italy.

Cione’s last will shows that while he had devised to house the remains of his young daughter at the burial site of his maternal grandfather, her tomb carried the coats of arms of the da Lattaia and an epitaph that functioned as a permanent reminder of Valeria Lodovica as the descendant of an important family. Over the centuries, the tombs that were housed in the church have been moved several times in order to accommodate the changing needs of its community. The tomb of the Young Woman is likely to have been part of these changes, and it is now situated at the top of the nave, by the south wall. According to Munman, tomb slabs by their nature were easily moved within the space of the church during renovations. Such changes were prompted by necessary restoration work and sometimes by calamities. A big fire in 1655 must have had a dire impact on the church and the tombs that were housed there, and it is therefore unsurprising that many of the surviving monuments were moved several times within the church complex.⁵⁴ Lusini’s description suggests that in 1897 Cione’s family tombs were positioned in the wall—*nella muraglia*.⁵⁵ This could rule out the possibility that the tomb of Cione’s grandfather, and possibly that of Valeria Lodovica, were floor slabs, indicating marble wall plaques or wall monuments similar to those marking the tombs of Silvio and Vittoria Piccolomini on the left wall of the *cappella maggiore* of the church of San Francesco, and dated 1454–1459.⁵⁶ Or, it could mean that by Lusini’s day the monuments had been removed from the pavement and installed on the wall, a habit frequently seen in remodeled Italian churches. Indeed, Lusini’s vague description and the confusion generated by his twice incorrectly dating of the tomb of Cione’s daughter, leave open the question of whether the tomb of Valeria Lodovica can be identified with the “Young Woman” effigy attributed to Urbano da Cortona.

The da Lattaia Burial in Ravi

Cione's document details his intention to provide a communal memorial for his ancestors in the family church at Ravi. The sepulcher was to house the remains of Cione's father Urbano, uncle Jacomo, and their mother Madonna Gemma. Cione's own mother, Madonna Lodovica and maternal grandmother, Madonna Petra, were also meant to be reinterred there. Unfortunately, the parish church of Ravi was heavily refurbished in the early decades of the nineteenth century, and there is no trace of anything in the current building to indicate whether Cione's plan was ever realized. Although we do not have drawings that can give us a more precise idea of what the family tomb might have looked like, if it was ever accomplished, Cione's description of the project sheds light on his desire to reiterate the importance of his family in Ravi and to reassert their rights with the commune of Siena and against the Malavolti. His last will also details very clearly the position of the original burials of his ancestors within the church building and thus of the da Lattaia's status in the local community.⁵⁷

Figure 7.8 Church of San Leonardo in Ravi, interior. Photograph by Sandra Cardarelli.

Cione planned for the family tomb to be placed centrally. Given the relatively small dimensions of the church, the monument would have been prominently visible in front of the main altar (figure 7.8). The burial pit had to be made with bricks and had to be deep and wide. The tomb was to be covered with a marble slab of the size of three *braccia* (about 180 cm), carved with the family coat of arms.⁵⁸ The floor of the church is raised by about twenty centimeters in proximity to the altar, which rises an additional two steps, giving the presbytery a total elevation of about fifty centimeters.⁵⁹ Furthermore, the whole church is accessed by a flight of four steps for a total of another sixty centimeters. Although no archaeological excavations have been carried out within the church, it is likely that following the example of other medieval churches, San Leonardo in Ravi had a crypt (figure 7.9).

Figure 7.9 Church of San Leonardo in Ravi, exterior. Photograph by Sandra Cardarelli.

The position of the tomb planned by Cione should therefore be considered in light of other contemporary monumental tombs completed in the second half of the fifteenth century in Tuscany, where the actual burial is placed in the crypt and the name of the deceased is recorded in a marble slab on the floor of the main church correspondent to the burial underneath. An illustrious precedent can be found in the tomb of Cosimo the Elder in San Lorenzo, Florence (ca. 1464–1467).⁶⁰ Cosimo had acquired the right to be buried there in 1442, when he contributed 40,000 florins for the completion of the church, and documents show that the high altar chapel and part of the nave were allocated to him and his heirs.⁶¹ It is likely that through his connections with the Medici, Cione had become acquainted with Cosimo's burial, and wished to create a tomb that functioned similarly as a celebratory monument. Cione's family monument aimed to reassert the da Lattaia role in the local community's past and present, and as Cione was the last male heir of the family, the funereal monument would have functioned as a permanent reminder of their lineage in the town. Cione's plan also featured an epitaph with the names of the deceased. However, although his last will detailed the amount of money to be spent in various pious bequests in Ravi, Siena, and other churches of the *contado*, he did not mention the sum he wished to spend on the family tomb.⁶² It is only at the end of the will that Cione clarifies his financial difficulties, and comparison of the sums listed in his will show that Cione's calculations do not add up correctly. Purchases and commissions made by Cione and listed in the *Libricciuolo del Pasco* show that he was a prodigal spender, and although he sold the *Pasco* to Mariano di Paparino for the sum of 950 ducats in 1468, his finances remained troubled.⁶³ The *Libricciuolo* was in fact part of the material confiscated by the newly established (1472) Monte dei Paschi bank from debtors.⁶⁴ It is therefore likely that in 1478 when Cione drafted his will, he was still in financial difficulties and thus was not in the position to quantify a sum for the project that he desired to celebrate his family. This idea seems to be confirmed by the allocation of twenty-seven *lire* for the purchase of forty pounds (*libre*) of wax, with a specification for two large candles (*doppiieri*) weighing eight *libre* with holders (*staggioli*) painted with the family coat of arms. This expense was supposed to complement the celebration of a divine office with masses, vigils, litanies, and an office of the dead and be followed by alms to the clergy and friars of the community.⁶⁵ Further provisions were allocated to purchase a black chasuble, a cope, and a cloth antependium for the altar to be used for the divine office. Two bells were

to be commissioned at his expense from Giovanni and Niccolò di Rofano di Magio to replace the existing ones in the bell tower of the church. The bigger one had to include the figures of St. Leonard, St. Andrew, and St. Francis, while St. Jerome was supposed to appear in the smaller one. Both had to include Cione's arms and were supposed to be placed in the bell tower during the said divine office for the salvation of his soul. The cost of the bells was also not specified, another indicator of Cione's turbulent financial situation.

Cohn has argued that in the course of the fourteenth century there was an increase in the habit of selling portions of the testator's patrimony to support pious and non-pious bequests.⁶⁶ The lack of such clauses in Cione's last will once again points to his poor finances. In only one instance in the testament, Cione stipulates that a piece of his land measuring four *staia*, a relatively small plot, should be left to the church of San Leonardo.⁶⁷ Even considering the fluctuations of currency and the changes in attitude of testators through a period of time spanning two centuries, Cione's bequest to the church in Ravi still appears a rather small donation for a person who prided himself as the last member of a noble family, and who requested an elaborate burial and commemoration.⁶⁸

Provisions for His Family and Pious Bequests

As discussed, the testamentary document begins by listing pious bequests towards churches and only in the second half of the will, in clause thirty-four, does Cione discuss provisions for his family. Starting from the least important, from the point of view of monetary value, Cione stipulates that the sum of eighty *lire*, comprising money and possessions, should constitute the dowry for Agnola, a maid in the service of his family.⁶⁹ Albeit a relatively modest sum allocated for the purpose, it is indicative of a growing attitude towards piety in Siena, whereby the testator chose to deploy resources towards the creation of dowry funds for certain girls.⁷⁰ He then continued with his dispositions for family members by providing two hundred florins for his daughter Petra, a nun known as Suor Alessandra in the monastery of Ognissanti.⁷¹ He continues by providing three hundred florins for his other daughter Laura, who was also considering becoming a nun.⁷² While Cione granted provisions to each of his four daughters, Caterina and Cassandra were his main beneficiaries. Elena Brizio has observed how *ius commune* allowed Siennese women to inherit in the absence of direct male heirs.⁷³ From Cione's will we

cannot elicit whether all four daughters were legitimate. It is possible that Cassandra and Caterina were favored as offspring of his marriage to Stefana. However, despite the fact that Caterina was the first-born and her marriage to Antonio di Credi had already provided offspring to the household, with two boys and a girl, she had equal inheritance rights as her sister Cassandra.⁷⁴ Although Cassandra's marriage to Danese di Jacopo de' Saracini had yet to produce children, Cione dedicates four detailed, sometimes confused, clauses, to specify the terms according to which Cassandra's dowry and inheritance should be provided. Danese had not yet reached the age of majority, nonetheless, Cassandra's marriage to a member of the Saracini family must have given Cione hope to re-instate the importance of the da Lattaia within the Sienese elite.⁷⁵

Cione declared that his eldest daughter Caterina would receive the sum of fifty florins to supplement her dowry of about seven hundred and fifty florins, granted on her marriage to Antonio di Credi, who had to confirm Caterina of her dowry by using properties that he had at the time when the contract of marriage was stipulated.⁷⁶ Further dispositions covered the welfare of their sons Girolamo and Dionigi, who were granted money for clothing and to complete their studies. Their daughter Eustochia was also granted a dowry of two hundred florins to be received at the age of fourteen.⁷⁷

The position of Cione's other daughter Cassandra seems to revolve around the possession of the rights to Ravi or the possible sale thereof.⁷⁸ The portion allocated to her should constitute her dowry, although at that date she was already married to Danese, thus suggesting that Cione's daughter had married on the promise of providing her husband-to-be with the revenue from the sale of Ravi.⁷⁹ An appendix to the statutes of the commune of Ravi recorded in 1517 shows that at that date Cassandra and Danese di Jacopo Saracini's daughter Cornelia was granted her dowry partly in the form of a donation *inter vivos* and partly by purchase of one-quarter of the rights of the pasture land of Ravi.⁸⁰ To his wife Madonna Stefana, Cione granted the restitution of her dowry of five hundred florins and the usufruct of his possessions.⁸¹

Cione's last will also details bequests to a number of clergymen and churches in Siena, Grosseto, and other smaller towns in the contado. The sum of ten *soldi* was set aside for the Bishop of Siena *per sua canonica portione*. Similarly, the same amount was arranged for the Bishop of Grosseto.⁸² Five *soldi* were left to the monk of the little church of San Maurizio, close to Cione's house in Siena, and to the priest of San

Leonardo in Ravi. He also ordered that masses, vigils, and divine offices be celebrated in the church of San Francesco, specifying that the *Dies ire die illa*, a Gregorian chant traditionally ascribed to Thomas of Celano and part of the Mass of the Dead and the Office of the Dead, should be sung.⁸³ The amount of money set aside to fulfill this request is not specified, but in a later clause Cione returns to this point by requesting thirty masses of Saint Gregory to be recited for the salvation of his soul on the anniversary of his death in the church of San Francesco, and he left eight *lire* for alms in the form of bread, wine, meat, or fish. Equally, he bequeathed five *lire* for the same masses to be recited in the church of San Maurizio in exchange for alms. In the latter church, the smaller donation was boosted with eight *lire* for the purchase of two *doppiieri* of wax with *staggioli* featuring Cione's arms, and a painted silk cloth (*drappellone* or *palio*) with the figure of St. Michael for the price of five *lire*. Similarly, five *lire* were granted to the Jesuate friars of the church of San Girolamo at Porta Peruzzini in Siena.⁸⁴ He continues his list of pious bequests with similar provisions for the monastery of Ognissanti, the churches of Santo Spirito, San Bernardino, Sant'Agostino, Santa Maria de' Servi, the friars of San Bernardino in the convent of Vetreta (near Massa Marittima), San Donato at Scarlino, Santa Lucia in the valley of Scarlino, and the church of San Leonardo in Ravi, home to his planned family memorial.⁸⁵

From his instructions, it becomes clear that the bequests to these churches were not only dictated by personal convenience or geographical vicinity, but were related to people, institutions, and communities dear to him.⁸⁶ In a further clause, he specifies that he wished the priest at San Leonardo in Ravi to celebrate the feasts of St. Jerome, St. Francis, and St. Bernardino, thus highlighting a special devotion for Franciscan saints.

Conclusion

The holograph last will of Cione di Ravi sheds light on the life of one of the last feudal lords in fifteenth-century Tuscany and his provisions for the afterlife. This unique document also highlights the contradictions of his role in contemporary society, in the constant endeavor to honor his lineage while struggling for his very survival. By envisioning a family tomb that functioned also as a commemorative monument, Cione tried to restore his family prestige as local feudal lords in Ravi.

While we will probably never be able to prove whether the plan for his family tomb in Ravi was fulfilled or whether he was indeed buried

in Siena, Cione's last will shows that although Ravi and its parish church represented the very roots of his family history and lineage, his choice to be buried in Siena must have been dictated by serious financial difficulties as well as by old political animosities that ultimately contributed to his decline. The document also shows that his daughters Caterina and Cassandra were designated to inherit the seigneurial rights of Ravi, as a last attempt to preserve his family ties with his ancestral home. In spite of Cione's lengthy list of pious bequests to churches and other members of the family or the wider community, it becomes apparent that his intentions might have never been fulfilled, as he struggled with debts. This rich document represents both a testimony of Cione's mentality as well as a recollection of his family's history in the broader context of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Siena.

Appendix

Testament of Cione di Ravi, Notarile Antecosimiano, 556, Filza F, 29 Giugno 1478

THE DOCUMENT THAT FOLLOWS is an extract of the holograph testament of Cione di Ravi, written by his own hand and later deposited with the notary Mino di Niccolò Trecherchi in Siena. Dates have been left in their original form. In Siena the year started on 25 March, feast of the Annunciation. Therefore 29 January 1478 should be understood as 29 January 1479 according to the Modern / Gregorian calendar that was only introduced in 1582.

Cione begins with an opening prayer to his patron saints and then he explains that he is writing his last will while he is recovering from an illness that brought him to his deathbed. The document is long and complex. It is divided in two parts: the first one comprises fifty-one clauses dealing with soul and body. He begins with the “Soul” clause where he recommends his soul to God almighty, the Virgin Mary and the celestial court, and especially the patron saints he mentioned in the opening.⁸⁷ The section on “Body” deals with dispositions about his tomb—to be located in the church of San Francesco in Siena—and money to be bestowed on churches in Siena,⁸⁸ Ravi, and other centers of the *contado* that are associated with him or his family, as well as to religious orders and monasteries.

In the context of this section Cione discusses instructions regarding the construction of a monumental tomb for his family in the parish church of San Leonardo in Ravi, where the remains of members of both the paternal and maternal lines should be reinterred.⁸⁹ Contrary to the other dispositions of Cione in the context of this document, neither the disposition regarding his own tomb in San Francesco, Siena, nor for the family tomb in Ravi specify the amount of money that should be set aside for these purposes. Specific sums are defined for the commission of chasubles and other artifacts, including new bells for the church tower, in

the parish church of San Leonardo in Ravi. His munificence to this local church comprises also a piece of land for the support of the church and the clergy. All donations are made as a personal plea for the remedy of his soul.⁹⁰

From clause 37 to 51 Cione deals with money and properties that should go to his family, namely and in this order: his wife Stefana, their maid Agnola, his daughters Petra (known as Suor Alessandra, nun in the monastery of Ognissanti), Laura, Caterina, Cassandra, and Caterina's children Girolamo, Dionigi, and Eustochia. Provisions are also made for a female servant and other local people connected to the family.⁹¹ Provisions for his daughter Caterina, the only one that had offspring at that date, and for the dowry of his recently married daughter Cassandra, are dealt with in greater detail. It is in this context that the real state of Cione's finances starts to appear in their bleak reality.

The dowry of Cassandra in particular is dependent on the sale of part of the castle of Ravi. The last clauses dealing with the division of rights over the castle are particularly long and confused. However Cione makes clear that his debts were the consequence of the poor advice that was given to him by the administrators of the hospital of Santa Maria della Scala in Siena with whom he entertained business relations. The rivalry with the Malavolti family of Siena and the robberies Cione claimed he was subjected to were also among the reasons given for his decline. The recent outbreak of plague and consequent famine compelled him to take action and appoint a board of trustees that should act as executors.⁹²

The second part of Cione's last will was probably written at a later time, and similarly to the *Libricciuolo* that was found by Lodovico Zdekauer at the end of the nineteenth century, it constitutes a biographical account of his relationship with the commune and citizens of Ravi and the Malavolti. In this section he provides the name of his debtors that include the commune and citizens of Ravi for unpaid rents; the citizens of Gavorrano for damage caused to his land; the hospital of Santa Maria della Scala for unpaid *pasco* (pasture land); and a number of people from various locations who had not paid their rent or *pasco*. He also mentions the rent that Cione owes to his sister-in-law Maddalena and that should be settled discreetly. Cione then entrusts the execution of his will to the notary Mino di Niccolò Trecerchi.⁹³ The choice of Trecerchi is particularly important, as he was a powerful and influential figure in quattrocento Siena, who also served in the magistracy of the *Biccherna*.⁹⁴

The publication of this document —although partial—is of great importance for historians and art historians alike. Firstly, it shows the complexity of Sienese social structures in the second half of the quattrocento through the history and decline of one of the last feudal families of the region. As the document progresses, it becomes apparent that political struggles, ill-advised decisions, and inconsiderate expenses contributed to Cione's downfall. However, Cione retained ownership and partial control over the castle of Ravi, likely because Ravi had low economic profitability but was nevertheless in a geographically strategic position in the *contado*. The document also gives the reader a detailed overview of the testator's provisions for his afterlife, including money bestowed to churches and various religious orders in exchange for the salvation of his soul. Cione's plans for his tomb in Siena, although probably made necessary by the recent outbreak of plague, signal the end of the da Lattaia both due to the lack of direct male descendants and his destitute financial position. Nevertheless, his plans for the monumental family tomb in his native town of Ravi show that he was eager to commemorate his family and the illustrious past of his lineage in the very place where their history unfolded. Ultimately, this document gives a unique account of the history of a fading figure in the life of the *contado* and how his relationship with Siena and some prominent contemporary political and cultural figures shaped his outlook on the future of his family and his attitude to the afterlife.

Notarile Antecosimiano, 556, Filza F.

[f.1r]

MCCCCLXXVIII

Testamento di Cione di Ravi.

[f.2r]

Al nome dela sancta et individua: Madre. Padre. Figliuolo i spirito sancto et dela gloriosa madre Vergine Maria, di Sancto Michele Arcangelo, di Sancto Andrea Apostolo, di Sancto Leonardo, di Sancto Giorgio, di Sancto Jeronimo, di Sancto Francesco, di Sancto Bernardino, di Sancto Biagio, di Sancta Caterina del Monte Synay, di Sancta Katerina da Siena e tutta la corte celestiale di paradiso, amen.

Sia a ciascuna persona manifesto come io Cione di Urbano di Cione da Ravi de nobili da Lattaia cittadino di Siena antiquissimi servidori fedeli i humilissimi figliuoli de la Republica senese pensando che lo

Omnipotente et eterno dio statui che ogni homo che nasce debba una volta morire si come scrive lo apostolo Pauolo agli hebrei. [...]

Et inpertanto dovendo io una volta fare questo cammino i non sapendo quando el Signore eterno mi voglia ad se chiamare, pensando che dela mia giornata io ho già passato el vespro essendo come si vede giunto a li 59 anni con molte fadighe, tribulationi, affanni i pericoli con più varie i genuissime infirmità, malatie et extrani accidenti i ardui casi. Et immaginando spezialmente la recente malatia tanto furiosa dela prima settimana d'Aprile anno 1476 che la domenica d'ulivo con due di innanzi i uno doppio pur diffidato i giudicato per morto [^] da medici ^{^95} i hebbi le sacre untioni i fecesi le preparationi de la sepoltura poi al piissimo Dio piacque restituirmi l'intelletto i li vitali spiriti i quali da morte a vita resucitato i reducto a la sanità per stima dela mente forse per speziale gratia prestatomi 'l tempo i mostrarmi la via di potermi meglio aparecchiare i star parato non sapendo a di nel'hora come ne mostra Cristo Yeshu per il suo Evangelio. Unde con la gratia i adintorno d'esso .S. Dio prestandomi il sentimento così procurai, ordinai i disposi dell'anima mia, di me, i de miei beni i rede.

1. Anima.

Per lo presente testamento i mia ultima volontà di mia mano scripto in questo modo cioè in prima considerato quanto varrà e più nobile i più digna chel corpo i prevale a tutte le cose mondane. Cominciandomi dala cosa più nobile essa mia anema racomando al'Omnipotente Dio i ala sua gloriosa madre Vergine Maria i tutta la corte celestiale di paradiso, i spezialmente a li miei sopra nominati advocati, santi beati.

2. Corpo.

Item giudico i lasso quando sarà volontà di Dio che l'anima mia sia separata dal corpo i habbi finito questa vita che esso mio corpo sia seppellito ala chiesa de Frati Minori di sancto Francesco sotto le volte. Nela sepoltura antequam di Meio d'Antonio Buonfigli mio avolo materno, dove sta la sua arme con tre lune così intagliata. In el quale avello ultimamente fu seppellita la mia dilectissima [f.2v] Figliola Valeria Lodovica del mese di Luglio 1469, dove sta la mia arme con lettere i epitaphyo del nome di Valeria.

3. Item giudico i lasso al Reverendissimo Monsignore Cardinale di Siena dignissimo arcivescovo ala chiesa catedrale soldi dieci per

sua canonica portione, i acciò che più non possa domandare i per remedio dell'anima mia. £0 s. 10.

4. Item per simile modo i ragione lasso a Misser lo Vescovo di Grosseto soldi dieci. £0 s. 10.
5. Item giudico i lasso al padrino di Sancto Mauritio soldi .v. o se d'altra parrochia io fusse a quel tempo. s.5.
6. Item lasso al prete dela chiesa di sancto Lonardo di Ravi soldi .v. – s.5
7. Item giudico i lasso che la decta mia sepoltura si racconci i facciansi di nuovo una o più lapidi di marmo colla mia arme, i con lettere i epitaphyo come io sono l'ultimo maschio de nobili de Lactaia da comporsi per Magistro Agostino Dato o altro amico docto. Et lasso i dichiaro che non si facciano e portino le bandiere ^ma solo l'arme per l'ultimo da Lactaia i di Ravi^.
8. Item giudico i lasso che si faccino celebrare le messe, le viglie i li divini officii ^ per l'ultimo da Lattaia di Ravi^ i la novale a la chiesa di Sancto Francesco i di sancto Maurizio secondo la comune usanza i divotione, per remedio dell'anima mia, i che si faccino cantare le seguentie videlicet dies ire dies illa re[quiem].
9. Sancto Francesco.
Item giudico i lasso a la decta chiesa di Sancto Francesco per remedio dell'anima mia lire cento [dugento – cancelled] di denari di miei beni da spendersi in questi modi. Cioè lire cinquanta [cento – cancelled] ala sacrestia, la metia in una pianeta di drappo coll'arme, i la metia in uno calice con la patena, i lire 50 per mattonare i scialbare di sotto nele volte allato i dintorno ala decta sepoltura. Per tempo di .4. anni £25 per anno...£100.
10. Sancto Francesco.
Item giudico i lasso che si faccino dire le 30 messe vulgarmente chiamate di Sancto Gregorio ala decta chiesa di Sancto Francesco per remedio dell'anima mia. Infra uno anno con limosina di pane, vino, carne, o pesce, di spesa di lire sette in tutto in fino otto lire...£8.
11. Sancto Mauritio.
Item giudico i lasso a Ser Veri padrino dela chiesa di Sancto Mauritio o altro padrino chi dica i faccia i faccia dire le 30 messe di Sancto Gregorio per remedio dell'anima mia, i che gli facci limosina i piatanza di spesa di cinque lire...£5.

12. Item giudico i lasso ala decta chiesa di Sancto Mauritio uno paio di doppieri i staggiuoli coll'arme mia di spesa di £8, i 1 drappellone con la figura di Sancto Michele Arcangelo di spesa di £5...£13.
13. Yhesuati.
Item giudico i lasso ala chiesa di San Girolamo de frati romitelli gesuati de la porta peruzini che vi si dichino le trenta messe di sancto gregorio in fra uno anno i che se le facci limosina i pietanza di spesa di lire cinque. Item uno paio di doppieri con staggiuoli d spesa di soldi otto. Item uno drappellone di seta con la figura di sancto Girolamo di spesa di lire cinque per remedio dell'anima mia...£18
14. Ogni santi
Item giudico i lasso ala chiesa del monastero d'Ogni Santi vi si faccino dire le 30 messe di Sancto Gregorio con limosina di £.V. i uno paio di doppieri i staggiuoli di libre otto. Et uno drappellone di seta con la figura di Sancto Gregorio di lire otto, per remedio dell'anima mia...£18
- £162.10
- [f.3r]
15. Sancto Spirito.
Item giudico i lasso a la decta chiesa di Sancto Spirito per remedio dell'anima i per remissione deli miei peccati vi si dichino le 30 messe di Sancto Gregorio con limosina i pietanza di lire cinque, uno paio di doppieri con staggiuoli di libre otto, uno drappellone di seta con la figura di Sancta Caterina da Siena di spesa di cinque lire in tutto...£18. s. 0.
16. Sancto Bernardino.
Item giudico i lasso a' Frati di Sancto Bernardino dell'Osservanza di Sancto Francesco dala Capriola per remedio dell'anima mia i remissione de miei peccati si dichino le 30 messe di Sancto Gregorio con limosina i pietanza di cinque lire. Item uno paio di doppieri i staggiuoli di spesa di otto lire, i uno drappellone di spesa di lire cinque...£18. s.0.
17. Sancto Agostino.
Item giudico i lasso ala chiesa di Sancto Agostino di Siena. Vi si dichino le 30 messe di Sancto Gregorio per remedio dell'anima mia

i remissione de li miei peccati, con limosina i pianza di lire cinque. Item in altra mano le 30 messe di Sancto Gregorio con pianza pure di lire .v. per remedio dell'anima di Bindo i Lonardo di Nello da Sticciano, i uno paio di doppieri i staggiuoli di valuta di lire otto, i uno drappellone di seta dipinto con la figura di Sancto Agostino di lire cinque per remedio dele anime nostre, con l'arme mia i di Sticciano...£23. s.0.

18. Frati de' Servi.

Item giudico i lasso per remedio dell'anima mia ala chiesa i frati de Servi di Sancta Maria che vi si dichino le 30 messe di Sancto Gregorio con limosina i pianza di lire cinque. Et uno paio di doppieri con li staggiuoli di spesa di lire otto, i uno drappellone di seta con la figura de la Vergine Maria di spesa di lire cinque...£18. s.0.

19. Frati vetreto Monte di Muro.

Item giudico i lasso ala chiesa i frati di Sancto Bernardino di Vetreto presso Massa, i ala chiesa i frati di Sancto Bernardino da Monte di Muro di Scarlino che a ciascuna vi si dichino le 30 messe di Sancto Gregorio per remedio dell'anima di Bindo i Lonardo di Nello da Sticciano. Con limosina i pianza di lire .v. item in altra mano pure le 30 messe di Sancto Gregorio per remedio dell'anima mia con detta limosina di lire cinque. Item 1 paio di doppieri i staggiuoli a ciascuna di decte chiese di valuta di lire otto, con l'arme mia i di Sticciano...£26. s.0.

20. Sancto Donato.

Item giudico i lasso a la chiesa di Sancto Donato di Scarlino che vi si facci uno bello officio divino nel quale si celebrino in una mattina .xii. messe co la messa solepne i cole seguentie de' morti, con spesa di lire .xvi. di cera, i lire .xii. di denari per la spesa et victo de' frati i preti, per remedio dell'anime de' miei parenti i consorti da Lactaia i da Sticciano sotterrati nele decta chiesa, e dell'anima mia...£21. s.0.

21. Sancta Lucia.

Item giudico i lasso ala chiesa di sancta Lucia del bosco i valle di pianora di Scarlino, che vi si facci dire 3 messe in una mattina per remedio dell'anima mia con spesa d'una lira di cera i soldi .xx. di denari per collatione a preti...£1. s.11

£125.11.

22. Sancto Lonardo de Ravi

Item giudico i lasso ala chiesa di Sancto Lonardo da Ravi che visi facci i celebri uno bello officio divino in nel quale vi si dichino in una mattina almanco xii messe con le vigilie, letanie i sequentie de morti videlicet dies ire dies Illa. Con spesa di libre 40 [f.3v] di cera a peso tra la quale sia uno paio di doppiieri di peso di libre otto di cera i uno paio di staggiuoli con l'arme di spesa di lire cinque di denari per remedio dell'anima mia i di tutti li miei parenti sepolti in quella chiesa...£27. s.0.

Et che si facci le spese honorevoli ali preti i frati i la limosina i carità al'usanza i secondo la conditione dele persone i possibilità del luogo.

23. Avello.

Item giudico i lasso che prima che si facci el decto officio nela chiesa di Ravi che si debbi fare nel mezo dela decta chiesa uno monumento, overo avello murato di mattoni cupo i amplo [con gli archetti – cancelled] convenientemente. In nella quale si mettino i porghino le ossa che si travaranno nele sepulture del mio padre, zii, madre, avole, i altri miei parenti sotterrati in decta chiesa, spezialmente gl'infrascritti i in questi luoghi. Cioè, Urbano mio padre i Giacomo mio zio sotterrati dal tramezzo in su a mano dritta dela chiesa allato al muro et a pie' la scalella dell'altare Maggiore. Madonna Gemma loro madre [^]e mia avola[^], dal tramezzo in giù dela chiesa a mano dritta alato al muro, a pie' la figura di Sancta Petronilla i di Sancto Lorenzo. Madonna Ludovica mia madre, Madonna Petra sua madre mia avola materna, nel lato dentro a mano manca dall'uscio del cimitero. I che 'l decto monumento sia coperto con le lapide del marmo a giusta misura di 3 braccia in circa con l'armi.

Con lettere i epitaphyo che denotino come nel decto avello saranno recondite l'ossa di più antenati di Cione di Urbano di Cione de nobili da Lactaia, spezialmente di Urbano suo padre, Giacomo suo zio, Madonna Gemma degli Arighetti loro madre, Madonna Lodovica di Meio Buonfigli, madre del decto Cione, Madonna Petra dell'excellentissimo doctore Magistro Francesco, medico del Papa, avola materna di decto Cione, i similia.

Et facto et compito che sarà il dicto monumento si debbe immediate fare il decto officio per le mie redi e per remedio dell'anime de decti miei passati i mia.

24. Pianeti.

Item iudico i lasso ala decta chiesa una pianeta nera da officio di morti, uno piviale, 1° davanzale da altare di comune spesa di fiorini 10 di lire 4 per fiorino con la stola i admicto le quali cose sieno facte quando si farà il decto officio, i che si salvino per le mie rede [in casa mia – cancelled] i facciarsi la mia arme...£40. s.0

25. Campane.

Item giudico i lasso per remedio dell'anima mia ala decta chiesa di sancto Lonardo da Ravi con ciò sia cosa che Giovanni i Niccolò di Rofano di Magio campanai havesso già molti anni ala loro bottega. Una campana rotta dela decta chiesa di Ravi, di peso di libre dugento xx...di metallo, i più una campanella rotta di peso di libre. xii. in circa siccome appare al mio libro B a folio 241, i al loro libro rosso a folio 139. Mando che li facci rifare la decta campana i la di peso di libre xii i la dicta campana di peso di libre 240 in fino libre 250 con la mia rme ale mie spese, Sancto Lonardo, i Sancto Andrea, i Sancto Francesco inprontati nela maggiore, i sancto Girolamo nela piccola, i che sieno poste quando si celebrerà il decto officio divino per l'anima de miei passati i mia.

26. Sancto Andrea

Item iudico i lasso per remedio dell'anima mia che deli debiti che le donne i homini di Ravi hanno con meco d'affitti, paschi e altre cagioni, se ne faccino fare i coprire la chiesa di Sancto Andrea dal abavaratoio di Ravi per tempo di 3 anni i pagarsi la mia arme, i che quelli due campi di terra allato ala decta chiesa si lavorino i frutino a terratico per essa chiesa i per lo prete di Ravi lo quale vi debba dire ogn'anno la messa per Sancto Andrea et che 'l dominio d'essi terreni i la proprietà sia in perpetuo de le mie eredi, i il patronato dessa chiesa, in simile dell'altre chiese di dicta corte.

[f.4r]

27. Sancto Giorgio

Item giudico i lasso che per simile modo si faccia rifare la chiesa di sancto Giorgio i distribuire la spesa agli homini di Ravi i scontare deli debiti che hanno con meco da farsi per tempo di 5 anni, i ponervi la mia arme. Et dicansi la messa cantando il dì di sancto Giorgio i faccivisi la processione per lo prete i preposto di Ravi.

28. Sancto Girolamo, Sancto Francesco

Item giudico i lasso che lo prete che per li tempi starà a Ravi a officiare la decta chiesa di Sancto Leonardo debbi ogn'anno comandare la festa di Sancto Girolamo i di Sancto Francesco i di Sancto Bernardino i per quanto sta a lui farle guardare et debba la mattina dele decte feste dire la messa festiva di quel sancto i il di seguente dire la messa de morti con le seguentie, per remedio dell'anima mia e deli miei passati. Et che le mie rede i successori i possexori diffarsi che per li tempi che saranno debbino fare la festa di sancto Francesco con quelli preti che facilmente potranno avere, in fino 3 o 4 messe i fare la collazione a li preti giusta posse. Et in caso non si trovasse a Ravi in quelli tempi tali miei successori che facessero la decta festa debbino le mie rede fare la limosina i offerta ali frati di Sancto Francesco secondo la mia comune usanza i secondo la loro facultà, i simile observino per sancto Girolamo per tempo d'anni .xxv. i darne illa a loro discrezione i devotione.

29. Terra ala chiesa

Item giudico i lasso a la decta chiesa di sancto Lonardo per remedio dell'anima mia uno pezzo di terra in fino staiali quattro posta dala fonte al bruscarello che sia contigua i confinata col capo da sancto Andrea sopra noialtro, da postersi lavorare i frucatre per la decta chiesa i debbasi segnare agiusta misura di .4. staia i confinare i dividere congruamente metie dall'altre mie terre circostanti.

30. Frate Mastro Benedetto [...]

31. Sancto Spirito [...]

32. Yhesuati [...]

[f.4v]

33. Servi—Carmine [...]

34. Agnola

Item giudico i lasso a Agnola di Guasparre i di Madonna Lorenza da monte benichi nostra fanciulla e al nostro servizio stata già più anni 80 lire fra denari e beni per sua dote quando si maritarà per merito i salario del suo servizio i per remedio dell'anima mia. Lire 80 soldi 0

35. Legati. [entire entry cancelled, but legible]

Item giudico i lasso cheli detti legati pii ecclesiastici ^satis^ si faccino ^i adempino^ di doni i beni che debbo havere dal comune i huomini

di Ravi, d'affitti, paschi i altre rendite i cose dovute come apare per li miei libri i scripture i d'altri miei debitori con quella habilita di tempo che parra conveniente a le miei redi i fedeli commissari. Cioè per la metia de decti legati a ciascuno per la rata sua. Et per l'altra metia debbino in questo mezzo fare i adempire le mie redi di fede i carita de frutti i entrate o beni mobili con piu discretione che si può con molto [in the margin – illegible]

36. Suor Alessandra

Item giudico i lasso a Petra Marra, mia religiosa figliola, oggi suor Alexandra monaca del monastero d'Ognissanti 200 fiorini di lire 4 per fiorino sopra li sui ducento chiedere de miei capitali et 'l monte li quali fiorini acciò le lasso per sua ragione i portione, i che più no possi dimandare a quastare o havere de li dicti miei beni ne venire in parte, venanche Caterina o Caxandra mie figliuole o loro figliuoli o nipoti, li quali denari laxo che se le comperi uno lecto fornito conveniente i uno breviario, con questa conditione i pacto che doppo la sua morte di quello che ara avuto ritorni ale mie erede per ogni migliore modo che fare si può. fiorini CC°

37. Laura.

Item giudico i lasso a Laura Marra mia benigna figliuola i devota oratrice fiorini trecento de' miei beni per sua parte i cagione in caso che si volesse fare religiosa con buona volontà di lei i col parere de la madre e de le sorelle di quale religione più le piacesse o de le povare di Castelveccchio o di Campansi o de le monache di Sancto Abundio a d'altro monastero con questa conditione i pacto finalmente che doppo la sua morte la metia di quello che avrà avuto ritorni alle mie redi i l'altra metia rimanga ala religione. Ma mentre che lei si contenterà di stare al secolo i a Dio piacerà di prestarle vita, le lasso fiorini quattrocento per sua parte i ragione a godere i fructare mentre che viverà di miei denari del monte mentre che resteranno o su la poxexione di Ravi o altri miei beni, la quale raccomando benignamente ala madre i ale sorelle con chi più si contenterà di stare. Et chi doppo la sua morte li tre quarti rimanghino ale mie redi ^i a loro figlioli^ uno quarto ala chiesa di Sancto Francesco per remedio dell'anima sua i mia i de' miei passati. fiorini CCCC°

38. Giomo i Gigi [Girolamo i Dionigi]

Item giudico i lasso a Girolamo filiolo di Caterina i d'Antonio di Credi fiorini cinquanta, la metia per comprare libri perchè possa

andare ala scola i imparare lettere in quale facultà meglio parrà, i l'altra metia per vestirsi di tempo in tempo con pacto che sia buono constumato i reverente a la madre, i li decti libri i vestiti sieno poi d'uso al'altro figliolo se piacerà a Dio prestarlo a vita.

[f.5r]

39. Caterina.

Item giudico i lasso a Caterina Hersilia mia primara figliuola dele viventi i dopna di Antonio Credi, fiorini cinquanta di lire 4 per fiorino per li quali sieno per suplemento di fiorini ottocento di dote da fiorini settecento cinquanta in su che furono le sue dote. Rogato Ser Agnolo di Mezo di Gano. Et più non le lasso per dote o in nome di dote per non fare contra la nuova legge che parla che non si possi dare di dote più che ottocento fiorini, refermatele le ragioni hereditarie come c'avea dichiarato di facto per lo presente testamento. Et lasso che Antonio Credi debbi quiettare de la dote et etiam fiorini che si ricavi sopra li beni liberi che haveva al tempo del contracto matrimonio per confermare Caterina de le dote sue.

40. Eustochia

Item giudico i lasso pro rimedio dell'anima mia fiorini duecento de' miei beni per maritare fanciulle, le quali da hora di dichiaro i voglio che si per dote a Eustochia figliuola di Caterina sopra decta quando sarà all'heta di xiiii anni o a un altra sua figliola nascitura, considerato la impotentia del dicto Antonio, dei quali de lo paghi la metia in denari contanti i la metia de miei capitali del monte. Fiorini CC.

[...]

44. Spedale

Item giudico lasso i dichiaro che le mie redi i li fedeli commissari s'ingegnino con diligentia di decidere i finire la materia delo contracto di Ravi tra me i lo Spedale di Madonna Sancta Maria dela Scala o per mezo del concestoro i de consigli o d'amici o con la ragione che ne segua de due parti l'uno. O che la vendita facta rogato per Antonio Pini vada innanzi i habbi effecto, i che lo Spedale paghi ale mie redi el prezzo di fiorini seimilia lodato per misser Francesco Luti i Bartolomeo di Landuccio. Rogato per Ser Antonio da Bagnaia i li fructi conessi i correcti gli errori del capitolo non licito che parla de la provigione ^de senesi ^. O veramente si

facci che lo dicto contracto sia annullato i restituito i che le mie redi sieno restituite i nel pristino stato i in tutte le ragioni che ero prima ^innanzi ^ che lo facesse la dicta vendita i obligate qualunque cosa facta in contrario i che lo Spedale satisfaccia ale mie rede de fructi i dapni dovuti, i di massaritia i scripture i d'ogni cosa debita per qualunque miglior modo fare si possa, i come parrà più expediente inteso bene la condizione de la cosa i la verità del facto i quello che e giusto i equo come é notorio.

[f. 5v]

45. Caxandra—dote.

Item giudico i lasso che se averrà che dicto contracto de la vendita di Ravi vadi innanzi i habbi effecto con lo dicto Spedale che allora in qual caso del dicto prezzo si paghino i dieno per dote in nome di dote a Caxandra mia dilecta figliola i a Danese di Jacomo Saraceni suo novello sposo i marito ottocento fiorini di lire iiiii° per ciascuno fiorino i più fiorini cinquecento per sopra dote i per donatione a la dicta Casandra propria i più tutte le donamenta alicuis date i consegnate come apparire debba per inventario di mano di dicto Danese i di mia mano o predetto di Cassandra medesima i de la madre i di Caterina i Laura sue sorelle.

46. Dote.

Item giudico i lasso che in caso che la dicta vendita i contracto non havesse luogo i effecto col dicto Spedale allora sieno i essere s'intendino la dote di Caxandra mia figliola i di Danese mio genero ante dicti il quarto per non diviso de la dicto luogo i porzione di Ravi con pacto modo i forma come fu rogato per Domenicho di Ser Cristofano de mese di Genaio 1477. Et un'altro quarto per non diviso ne sia venduto al dicto Danese si come appare rogato il dicto Ser Domenico di Ser Cristofano per lo dicto prezzo in [?] allogazione dicti sei mila fiorini, cioè per fiorini 1500 nonostante che per lo dicto contracto aparisse essersi facta rimessione del prezzo in Misser Borghese Borghesi i in Misser Ricchi, fu fatto per honore deli ^doctori [cancelled]^ Con ciò sia cosa che dal primo di che ci parliamo Iacomo Saracini i io del contrare del dicto parentado rimanemo d'accordo [cancelled] che se la vendita fatta di Ravi alo Spedale havesse luogo, Io dovesse dare la dote a Cassandra in denari fiorini mille trecento tra dote i sopradote in per sono fiorini 200 di donamenta non contrafacendo ala nuova legge che parla dele dote

che non si possi dare più che fiorini 800 sicche da uno in su fussero donationi di Caxandra o veramente se la dicta vendita non havesse luogo che lo dovesse dare la dote sul quarto di Ravi per non diviso per la dicta stima di fiorini 1500. Come detto e un altro quarto ne dovessi vendere al dicto mio genero Danese i lui comprare per lo dicto prezzo si come di tutto e bene informato Misser Borghese dicto genero del dicto Jacopo i frate Misser Benedecto da Viterbo priore stato di Sancto Spirito che furono li primi mediatori a richiedermi di fare 'l dicto parentado. Ala cui fede in coscienia mi rimetto i a la scripta che di mia mano dei a Misser Benedicto i lui la mostrò i de' a Iacomo i Orlando Seracini suo fratello apresso de quali debba ancora essere la dicta scripta i sicome e anco informato Francesco di Tancredi et così prego ciascuno de' prenominati et specialmente Misser Borghese che voglia dichiarare, hoperare i ordinare che segua i habbi effecto parentevolmente con buona fede come è dovuto.

[f. 6r]

47. Beni hereditari

Stente ferme le cose predette ne li tre precedenti capitoli giudico i lasso ne la mia redità gli altri due quarti del detto luogo i possessione di Ravi [per non diviso – cancelled]. Cioè l'altra metia per non diviso. Lo quale lasso che se per [chi] la vuole comperare per sé i per Caxandra i suoi figlioli i heredi, se li debba vendere per cuota de lo dicto prezzo di 6000 fiorini che così fu [di – cancelled] ragionamento i di pacto el primo di i così mi promise i offerse Iacomo suo padre di comprare il quarto i il tutto come meglio mi piacesse per lo dicto prezzo i rata di fiorini vi mila già ragionato con lo Spedale. Et così offerse i promise in effecto a Mastro Benedetto soldo che mercefizi nel principio i progresso de' ragionamenti più volte i così ad me promise i affermò presente Mastro Benedetto i absente per più riprese col dirci che tutto quello che havevano ale serre era di Danese, i beni dela madre i che ne poteva havere fiorini settemilia a più di tutte le possessioni che noverano se le voleva vendere. Et concludiamo in forma che scoperto che havessimo il parentado in tra noi et annullato i mozzo il contracto dalo Spedale Io rivendessi per immediate uno quarto d'esso luogo di Ravi per dicto prezzo di fiorini 1500 et lui per havere li dinari parati dovesse vendere solamente dele lor possessioni la poxessione chiamata del

Saxo [a Massarino di Iacomo – cancelled] per investire nel dicto quarto i conservarsi l'altre possessioni i così vendè a Massarino di Iacomo Massarini per prezzo di [fiorini 6606 come – cancelled] duo milia secento rogato Ser Bartolomeo Pecci del 3 di Maggio 1477 come è noto i così fu detto i affermato per dicto Iacomo a più persone i anco per Orlando suo fratello che vendevano la dicta possessione per rinnestare sul quarto di Ravi fiorini 1500 per lo dicto Danese. Et già allora era conchiuso il parentado tra me i Iacomo i datovi la fede in nele sacrate mani del reverendo vescovo di Foligno in nela chiesa de frati [romanelli – cancelled] jesuati di Sancto Girolamo i nela sua stanza i habitatione di tre mesi innanzi. Ma habiavamo composto di tenerlo secreto i non scoprirlo per fino ala tornata di Misser Borghese i di Danese che era con lui. Si come di tutto sono informati li sopradicti Misser lo vescovo, Misser Benedicto, Misser Borghese i danese stesso, i come sa ancora i e noto a Misser Ricco et a Francesco di Tancredi i più altri parenti i amici li quali tutti sieno pregati i strecti a far fede de la verità bisognando acciò che a luce venga essa verità.

48. Entire entry cancelled. [...]

48. Dichiarazione.

Item giudico i lasso per simile modo i dichiaro che se si allegasse io havesse promesso donare o lassare doppo la mia vita a essa mia dilecta figliola Caxandra i Danese un altro quarto di Ravi dico i affermo che nel tempo che facemo il dicto parentado Iacomo non me ne richiese mai i io non glieli profersi ne promissi ne per presentia ^{^mentre^} ne per mezzani. Ma Iacomo sempre mi disse di non voler nulla più che Io me volesse Io i che in me si rimetteva lixamente. I io li profersi i permissi mai cosa certa i lui non me ne richiese, ma solamente quella che fusse la volontà di Dio sicome apareva per la minuta de la scripta di mia mano debba esse la quale de[tt]i a Mastro Benedicto i lui a Iacomo i Orlando la de[tte] in loro mano debba esserci ala quale me referisco i rimetto i richieggoli le fedi che la presentino i che siche si ^{^palesino^} per loro s'allegasse alcuna cosa incontrario o che Io havesse promesso o facto scripta del mese di agosto 1477 al dicto effecto. Dirò quella che nulla diminuiva efficacia o valore i essere stato sub tracto poi a camino tirato i acalapiato [con fraude i inganno – cancelled] i quasi sforzato i violentato per paura di scandalo i timore di gogna i d'infamia i per desiderio di

honore i per l'amore che già posto havevo al nobile giovane Danese, confidandomi nela sua discretione i bontà lo qual ma più volte permesso star contento ala mia pura volontà i no voler più la che voglia Io proprio i renunpciare i annullare la dicta offerta scripta a mia petitione dovutosi con meco degli pretacchi che mi so stati mossi dal padre o da altro doppo le fede data i le molte bugie dettemi esse stato contra la sua voglia i intentione. I dimostrato voler mi per padre all'lato al padre i al zio i amare Caxandra di buono core i vedersi amato da lei con buono amore i così prego Dio lo conceda gratia di seguire i continuare virtuosa mente con pace, amore i sanità i procreatione di figli per longhi tempi amo et prego dolcemente il detto Danese che voglia renumptiare ala dicta scripta et stare cotesto i a questo mio testamento i spezialmente al capitolo numero che segue della institutione dele heredi che Caterina i Caxandra sieno herede mie egualmente con le conditioni che in esso capitolo saranno dichiarate pregandolo etiam Dio che gli sia racomandata Caterina i gli figlioli et anco prego Misser Borghese i Ricco i Orlando che lo sia raccomandato Danese de la ragione i operare che Iacomo non gli externi ne manchi più li suoi beni i la sua robba ma che li facci el debito i trattilo come buono padre al buon figliolo.

[f. 7r]

49. Stefana

Item giudico i lasso Stefana mia cara donna i coniuge stata già d'anni xxxvi Dopna i Madonna usufruttuaria di tutti i miei beni mentre che viverà i che non se le debba fare inventariare de miei beni ^excepto che de libri carte i scripture^ ne sia tenuta a cedere ragione più che lei si voglia i possi stare in compagnia de le mie figliole o starsi con Laura mentre che Dio lo prestarà vita come meglio lo parrà i più si contenteranno. Et più lasso che le sieno date i consegnate le sue doti che furono fiorini cinquecento rogato Ser [Iacomo da Massa?] con gli antifatii a ogni sua petitione, la quale raccomando ali miei generi spezialmente a Danese ali fidii commissarii. Et più le lasso ogni ragione che io dovesse havere da li suoi fratelli di resto dela sue dote i li alimenti i qualunque altra ragione ho con loro come appare con li miei libri i scripture i spezialmente a libro B a folio 245. Li quali miei cognati conforto i pago le vogliono fare 'l debito a soldi ii per lira, et in caso non la pagassero lasso tutta la dicta ragione con gl'altri miei beni. Fiorini 550.

50. Redi.

In ogni i ciascuno altri mei beni mobili i immobili in qualunque luogo sono o trovare si potessero i qualunque vocabolo i confino, spezialmente la sopra dicta metia dello castello i corte di Ravi i li denari del monte che son fiorini seicento sexantotto in circa. Li terreni di Montemassi, le ragioni de la casa da Sancto Cristofano che fu dote di mia madre i di mia zia. Nomi di debitori gli huomini di Ravi e di qualche altro logo. Ragioni i actioni, Libri, Carte, i scripture i qualunque altra cosa i beni, Katerina i Kaxandra sopradette i di Madonna Stefana mia dopna filiole legittime i naturali instituisco egualmente i con egual parte [con le conditioni dette di sopra – cancelled] mie universali heredi. Con questa conditione i pacto che per tolleri via ogni cagione di differentia i discordia che nascea potesse tra Antonio di Credi i Danese, giovani miei generi pre nominati voglio i mando che Caterina dicta o suoi figlioli che sieno tenuti ad vendere a essi Danese i Cassandra i loro di comprare la sua parte i ragione che le preferisse o toccasse del dicto castello i corte di Ravi per prezzo dovuto da ^chiarirsi^ farsi per conto dei fideli commissari che esso prezzo si debbi investire almeno li due terzi in beni mobili per la dicta Caterina soprascritta i suoi figlioli. Et l'altro terzo possino tenere i spendere in beni mobili i per victo i vestito di Caterina i de' figlioli come meglio parrà i visto il bisogno i necessità. Con questa dichiarazione che Antonio Credi marito di Caterina non possa havere né aquistare per verrun tempo per ragione alcuna proprietà o dominio de beni o ragioni di Caterina excepto solamente de le dote. Et che lei non possa per alcuno modo donare alcuna cosa né alienarli o trasferirli né darli administratione senza maturo consiglio et consentimento di dicto Jacomo frati Danesi i di due altri de' fidi commissari i si contrafacesse non vaglia ne [?] per veruno modo possi bene i sia licito [f. 7v] de' seguenti d'essi beni dargli con discretione parte di victo i vestito in caso di necessità o bisogno e per honore di lui i de' figlioli dichiarando ancora se avvenisse che a me sopravvivesse Caterina i a li figlioli, che esso Antonio non possa redare né succedere in alcuna cosa o ragione di dicti beni di Caterina o de' figlioli. Ma che succedi ^i pervenghi^ a Caxandra i ali figlioli se sopravviveranno a quelli di Caterina [Cancelled] et se piacerà a Dio che Caterina sopravvivesse a Antonio suo marito prima che lei

passi l'età di .36. anni, lasso che si cerchi di rimaritarla con le sue ragioni honorevolmente i a huomo dabene i convenientemente più che si potrà con buona volontà di lei i col consiglio di Jacopo di Credi i due altri fidi commissarii. Con questa dichiarazione infra le dicte mie rede che se alcuna d'esse mie rede i figliole Caxandra i Caterina morranno senza figlioli i nipoti, allora in quel caso, l'altra mia figliola sopravvivate i suoi figlioli i nipoti che sopravviveranno sostituisco vulgarmente i pupillamente per fideicommissari in schiatta sicche quello sia l'ordine nela subcessione i in questa substitutione come nelle altre si observa ab intestato, ma dopo la morte di tutte i due dicte mie figliole i loro figlioli i nipoti in fine teza generatione, se non rimanesse alcuni figliuoli o figliuole legiptimi i naturali voglio che allora in quel caso tutti li miei i loro beni succedino i pervenghino all'Opera ^per heredità^ dela chiesa cattedrale del duomo di Siena per la metia, et ala chiesa di Sancto Francesco per l'altra metia. Li quali beni hereditari mando i voglio che si spendino i distribuiscino in acconcimi i hornati dele dicte chiese i in paramenti, calici, argenti i libri dele sacristie come meglio parrà a chi deli mei fidi commissari viverà overo all'Operaio del duomo i suoi consiglieri, al guardiano sacrestano i operai di sancto francesco che per li tempi saranno deputati ali decti luoghi.

51.

Item giudico, lasso i dichiaro che concio sia cosa che e sieno più anni passati che ordinai questo mio testamento con sopra detti legati pii per rimedio dell'anima mia. Et allora erano tempi più pacifici i quieti i meglio fructavo la mia possessione di Ravi i con più speranza vivevo, i hora trovandomi gravato i carico di molti debiti i interessi per colpa de li rectori consiglieri i ministri de la devota casa de lo Spedale sopra notato per lo contracto mi fu facto fare codesto Spedale [loro – cancelled] de la vendita di Ravi poichè nebbro presa la porxione tiratosi in dietro [cancelled and illegible] et messomi in prato come e noto. Et le persecutioni turbationi i violentie factimi ingiustamente ma arbitrariamente da Antonio Bellanti come è manifesto i que sopravvenuti hora li temporali forti i contrari de la carestia stata i non finita, la pestilentia già dilatata in Siena i pel grado, i li pericoli i minacce de la guerra humana apparecchiava.. Voglio i mando che li sopra detti miei legati pii si satisfacciano con più abilità i con manco gravezza i incomodo de le

mie redi che si può. Principalmente si faccino i legati dele messe i del li diurni officii, secondo l'ordine del testamento [...]

[f. 8r]

Fidi Commissari.

Et per mandare a executione tutte i ciascune cose di sopra scripte. Et li detti legati pagare i satisfacere con fide i diligentia i con buona discretione secondo la dispositione deli tempi. Faccio, ordino i con esso voglio miei fideli commissari i executori di questo mio testamento i ultima volontà

Stefana mia dopna con uno de fratelli Galgano o Lorenzo

Misser Guidantonio Buoninsegni

Misser Alexandro Aringhieri

Misser Ricco Ricchi

Iacomo Credi o Antonio

Danese Saracini quando sarà maggiore di 25 anni i mentre che sarà minore in suo luogo Jacomo suo padre o Orlando suo zio.

Domenico o Salvestro Montucci l'uno di loro due et ser Mino Trecherchi ali quali miei fideli commissari do i concedo per li dicti miei ligati i lassiti et mia ultima volontà mandare a executione piena libera potestà i balia i ogni facultà deli miei beni alienare permutare i vendere a colui i coloro i per quello prezzo, prezzii i modi quale i quanti meglio lo parrà i piacerà. [...]

[...]

[f.8v]

Si trovano a questo segno S al quadernuccio a folio

Inventario.

[...]

Ravi.

Prima riformatione i chiarezza chel castello i corte di Ravi è stato per longhissimi tempi più di CC.L. anni de miei antenati de Lactaia i di me, appare al Kaleffo Vecchio di Concestoro li primi Capitoli i accomandigia di l'anno 1262 a folio 7 e 8. Et de l'accomandigia i capitoli facti per madonna Gemma mia avola in anno 1404. Appare ale Riformagioni a libro dele submissioni a folio 131. Et dela confirmatione d'essi pacti facta ad me per lo comune di Siena

dell'anno 1439. Appare allo statutello rosso da Regolatori a folio .7.
et per le scripture di casa.

Comune di Ravi.

Item de le ragioni che ho col comune i homini di Ravi. Appare per li decti pacti i capitoli, et per carte di lodi, sententie i compositioni date i facti tra loro i me. Et per li sopra decti libri i scripture. Et vedesi che loro sono fictavoli, sudditi i vassalli, e devono esser fedeli et non tengano beni propri immobili i sono miei debitori di grosso come dirò più innanzi.

Contro Troilo e Galeazzo Malavolti

Item dele ragioni che ho con Troilo e i Galeazzo di Francesco Malavolti a dichiarazione che loro non hanno a fare nulla di Ravi i non possano havervi alcuna ragione sinchè per li decti pacti i per più carte i scripture i libri di casa, Ma bene mi son debitori in buone somme di denari i cose. Come redi di Messer Orlando Malavolti loro avolo dal tempo dela sua rebellione. Et come redi di Giovanni Malavolti loro zio per la metia i di Francesco loro padre. Et come appare la mio libro S a folio 231–232–233–234, i a folio 140–41, i 42. Et per più miei libri i scripture. Et così lasso selo domandi i sieno convenuti per lo miglior modo che si può.

Troilo, Galeazzo, Antonio Bellanti

[...]

[f.9r]

Item giudico i lasso gli'ingrascritti nomi di debitori infra gli altri, cioè:

Ravi.

Comune i homini di Ravi per gli affitti che sono stati in mora già molti anni sono più di moggia cento xxx di grano solamente d'affitti come apare al libro degli affitti segnato. A. i per più scripture, sentenze i capture. Rogato ultimamente Ser Nero de Marzi notaio al potestà del mese [di marzo – cancelled] d'agosto 1476.

Ravi.

Item per piu' some di denari e altre cose liquidi i non liquidi hordinari i extraordinari per pascoli terraticchi, pigioni, cabelle, i altre entrate i cagioni come appare per mei libri segnati. S. B. C. Bastardelli i libricciuoli segnati N.M.O.P.A.R.S. i per più miei libri,

carte i scripture. Et le loro extranezze presso di me non meritano gratia ma ragione pure traghisene quello che si può da chi può i facciselò ragione giusta possa.

Gavorrano.

Homini di Gavorrano per molti debiti liquidi i per moltissimi dapni i turbationi factemi del decto mio pasco i corte di Ravi i come è notorio i appare gran parte pe mei libri i scripture i pure iscripture di vicari i offitiali.

Giuncarico.

[...]

Forestieri.

[...]

Spedale.

Lo Spedale di Madonna Sanctissima Maria dela Scala sopra nominato per cagione de frutti di Ravi per lo primo anno che presero e tennero la possessione i goderono i fructaron el pasco fiorini trecento per li frutti del prezzo [?] di milia fiorini come appare al bastardello R a folio .53. [...] Et più demandare per dapni i interessi ho sostenuti poi tre altri anni i per li fructi vacati per colpa di dicto Spedale, quello che sia giusto. fiorini CCC°.

Menco da Pistoia.

[...]

[f. 9v]

Segue più debitori

[...]

[f.10r]

Montemassi.

[...]

Excomunicazione

I giudico i lasso per ricordo considerato i molti i gravissimi dapni furti i rubbarie che mi sono stati facti a Ravi i in più luoghi palesi i secreti già longhi tempi i dala guerra del Re Alfonso in qua dico i mando che si faccia una excommunicatione generale in piena forma di Corte Romana la quale si stenda pienamente ali miei beni propri i et dio per li beni della heredita di Bindo i Lonardo da Sticciano. Et

faccisi per la diocesi grossetana, Siena, Massa, Volterra i Pistoia. Et generaliter.

Madalena.

Madonna Madalena mia cognata i Giovanni [Cristonelli?] per la ragione de la casa habiam tenuta da loro a pigione dall'anno 1443 in qua per lire 26 all'anno. Veggasi la loro ragione. Comincia al bastardello N a folio 56 i segue in più bastardelli i libriccioli come ma avuto di contro di mia mano, parmi sieno pagati in fino a questo anno pur veggasi di contro per li fratelli i per chi le piacerà i faccisi el debito discretamente.

Et io Cione di Urbano da Ravi sopra detto ho facto questo testamento i mia ultima volontà o vero codicillo i di mia mano lo scripsi i fornii di scrivere a dì 29 di Giugno 1478 in Siena in camera dela casa de la mia habitazione dal ponte a Sancto Mauritio al tempo de la spaventevole pestilentia sano però nel corpo et la mente, pregando che ci salvi i liberi dala decta influentia con salute dell'anima. Amen.

Del quale testamento i mia ultima volontà voglio i mando che sia rogato Ser Mino di Niccolò Trecherchi lo quale mando che si stenda i corregga i remedi se errore alcuno ci fusse come parrà i piacerà ala sua prudentia i solo o insieme con uno o due et gl'altri fideli commissari come meglio giudicarà esso più conveniente non mutando però il senso i l'effecto.

[Note of the notary Mino di Niccolò Trecherchi]

Notes

I discovered Cione's last will in the course of my PhD, during a research trip to the Archivio di Stato of Siena in 2008, and this article developed from there. I would like to thank Anne Leader for providing me with the opportunity to further develop my research on Cione's will and examine the broader context of this document in the social and political reality of quattrocento Siena.

¹ In 1447 King Alfonso of Aragon cast his eyes on the principality of Piombino. The conflict that ensued was however directed against Florence and aimed to Aragonese hegemony in Tuscany. The position of Siena during the Aragonese invasion of the Maremma was rather ambiguous. Siennese political life revolved around five factions or *Monti* comprising of the *Gentiluomini*, the *Nove*, the *Dodici*, the *Riformatori*, and the *Popolari*. Being part of the *Monti* entitled members to participate in the government of the city, and many of the *Noveschi* families were

in favor of the Aragonese presence in the area. Law, "Communes and Despots"; Shaw, *The Politics of Exile in Renaissance Italy*.

² Tizio's *Historiae* includes Cione's account of these events. Tizio, *Historiae Senenses*; see also Dati, *Plumbinensis historia*, esp. 58–63.

³ Brogi, "Lo statuto di Ravi di Maremma (1447)."

⁴ At the time of the Aragonese war Cione supported the Florentines, and later entertained commercial relations with the Medici family for the sale of pasture between 1457 and 1461. Medici, *Lettere*, 1:225.

⁵ Zdekauer, "Sano di Pietro e messer Cione di Ravi." Grottanelli had also outlined the history of the da Lattaia. Grottanelli, *La Maremma toscana*, 77–84.

⁶ As I have already argued elsewhere, the statutes of many centers of the Sienese *contado* were rewritten in the course of the fifteenth century, probably to renegotiate the terms of allegiance of each town with the dominant city. Cardarelli, "Siena and its contado," 7.

⁷ Ravi is referred to by Cione and in the statutes as "castello" (castle), rather than "città" or "paese" (town or village). This refers to the old feudal system that developed to include the Seigneurial palace and ordinary housing into fortified settlements and also concerned the reorganisation of the land system.

⁸ June 29, 1478.

⁹ The transcript of relevant excerpts from the document are published in the appendix to this chapter.

¹⁰ The figure of Simone of Battifolle, count Guidi of Poppi, near Arezzo, demonstrates such complexity already in the first half of the fourteenth century. Simone secured his role in contemporary society by becoming an elected Podestà in Siena in 1321, and then Captain of War in the same city in 1326. Tura, *Cronaca senese*, 387–88, 433.

¹¹ Munman, *Sienese Renaissance Tomb Monuments*; Colucci, *Sepolcri a Siena tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*. In the changing political and economic context of fifteenth-century Siena, strict categorization might not be always possible, as the affiliation to political factions became indicative of noble status as well as a requirement to hold civic positions. Marrara, *Storia istituzionale della Maremma senese*, 75.

¹² Cohn, *Death and Property in Siena, 1205–1800*.

¹³ Cione's testament comprises of ten, minutely written folios and is laid out in two main parts. The first is the actual last will (fols. 1r–8r), while the second (fols. 8v–10r) is a list of debtors and ultimately a memorial of the torts that he received from various individuals and communities. This seems to have been the case also in the *Libricciuolo* found by Zdekauer. See Zdekauer, "Sano di Pietro e messer Cione di Ravi," 141, 145.

¹⁴ The way in which the document is laid out suggests that his memoirs and the will as such were probably written on two separate occasions and only later assembled.

¹⁵ See Archivio di Stato di Siena (hereafter ASS), Notarile Antecosimiano, 558, fols. 24r–26v. Trecerchi's records refer to bonds and other documents dated 1454, 1461, 1463, and 1465.

¹⁶ Zdekauer, "Sano di Pietro e messer Cione di Ravi." Unfortunately I could not find any trace of the "Libricciuolo del Pasco" or book of records written by Cione in the Archivio Storico del Monte dei Paschi di Siena. This little book recorded his personal expenses and his memoirs written between 1467 and 1473.

¹⁷ Ibid., 144.

¹⁸ ASS, Notarile Antecosimiano 556, filza F, fol. 3v.

¹⁹ Uginet, "Casini, Francesco."

²⁰ Zdekauer claims that the Cardinal of San Marcello, Antonio Casini, had died in 1419 leaving Cione's mother and grandmother as his universal heirs. Zdekauer, "Sano di Pietro e messer Cione di Ravi," 143. It is unclear whether Zdekauer elicited this information from Cione's *Libricciuolo* or elsewhere, but Casini in fact died twenty years later, in 1439, and in his last will there is no mention of Petra or Lodovica. An appendix to Casini's original last will written on December 29, 1431 was drafted on January 20, 1433. In one clause Casini mentions a donna Checha daughter of doctor Francesco da Siena and wife of the goldsmith Pietro di Bandino. Checha seems a pet name for Francesca, who must have been Petra's sister, and was already dead at the time of Casini's testament. For the integral transcript of Casini's last will see Israëls, *Sassetta's Madonna della Neve*, 213.

²¹ On Francesco Casini, University docent and doctor to the Papacy see Uginet, "Casini, Francesco," 356–59; Trapani, "Docenti senesi"; Nardi, "Le università nei secoli XIV–XV"; Nardi, "Curialitas e legalitas di Ugolino Scrovegni." On Cardinal Casini's family lineage see Israëls, *Sassetta's Madonna della Neve*, 111n317.

²² Nardi, *Maestri e allievi giuristi nell'Università di Siena*, 55.

²³ Maginnis explains the dynamics that saw the raising of a new social elite of the upper middle class whereby members of financial and commercial houses in Siena often married into the nobility and did business with them in the course of the thirteenth century. Maginnis, *The World of the Early Sienese Painter*, 21.

²⁴ However, Cione hoped that some rights on the property could still be claimed by him or his heirs. ASS, Notarile-Antecosimiano 556, filza F, fol. 3v and Zdekauer, "Sano di Pietro e messer Cione di Ravi," 143.

²⁵ ASS, Notarile Antecosimiano 556, filza F, fols. 2r–2v.

²⁶ ASS, Notarile Antecosimiano 556, filza F, fol. 10r. On this epidemic see Corradi, *Annali delle epidemie occorse in Italia*, 609–10.

²⁷ ASS, Notarile Antecosimiano 556, filza F, fol. 9v. This must have been his wife Stefana's sister, as Cione did not have siblings. It is unclear if Cione was debtor towards them, as he claimed he was unsure on whether he had paid the rent due in its entirety.

²⁸ Zdekauer, "Sano di Pietro e messer Cione di Ravi," 143.

²⁹ Not to be confused with the historian Orlando Malavolti. He acquired the lordship over some centers of the Sienese *contado*, including Gavorrano through

family inheritance. He fought against the Visconti and the Florentines to whom he will capitulate in 1392. He was killed in Siena in 1403. See Repetti, *Dizionario geografico, fisico, storico della Toscana*, 2:417–18.

³⁰ ASS, Notarile Antecosimiano 556, filza F, fol. 8v.

³¹ I am not aware of changes to the statutes of Ravi until 1633 (see ASS, Riformagioni), but further research on Siennese civic documents might highlight elements in support of this hypothesis.

³² Tizio, *Historiae Senenses*, 3: 10, col. 199. See also Pertici, *La città magnificata*, 55, 112. The Tegliacci were a family of bankers who belonged to the *Dodici* that came into power after the financial and political crisis of 1355, and ruled Siena until 1368. They were exiled to Florence in 1403 and it was only thanks to their acquired kinship with the Medici that they could return to Siena in the late 1450s.

³³ A letter from Lorenzo de' Medici to Cione is contained in Medici, *Lettere*, 1:225–26. The position of the Medici however, appears ambiguous. Equally friendly correspondence occurred between the Medici and the Malavolti. It is likely that by supporting both local Signori, the Medici sought to politically destabilize the area and thus Siennese dominance in Maremma. For more on the relationship between the Medici and the Malavolti see Cardarelli, "Saints Cosmas and Damian at Gavorrano," 147–68.

³⁴ Zdekauer, "Sano di Pietro e messer Cione di Ravi," 140–50.

³⁵ ASS, Notarile Antecosimiano 556, filza F, fols. 7r–9v.

³⁶ Colucci, *Sepolcri a Siena tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, 32.

³⁷ Also, by doing so he reiterated the importance of the coat of arms as indicative of his family position in society.

³⁸ According to Cohn, it was only in the latter part of the quattrocento that Siennese citizens started to provide more specific indications of where they wanted to be buried within the church, as even members of the nobility seem to have neglected this aspect when disposing of their bodies in the course of the trecento. Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance*, 137.

³⁹ Lusini, *Storia della basilica di S. Francesco in Siena*, 85. However, Lusini mistakenly records Valeria Lodovica as buried in 1360 instead of 1469 (see Cione's testament, section 2, on p. 210), and the wrong date was reported later by Carli. Carli, *L'arte nella Basilica di S. Francesco a Siena*, 15.

⁴⁰ On this see Colucci, *Sepolcri a Siena tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, 97, 308–9.

⁴¹ Faluschi, *Breve relazione delle cose notabili della città di Siena*, 144.

⁴² Colucci mentions neither Bonfigli's nor Valeria Lodovica's tombs, and so these must have been moved or demolished in the course of the previous century. Colucci, *Sepolcri a Siena tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*.

⁴³ Bruzelius, "Dead Come to Town," 215. See also her latest publication Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying*, 58.

⁴⁴ "Sir Meo Buonfigli and heirs. Year of the Lord 1351." Lusini, *Storia della basilica di S. Francesco in Siena*, 258.

⁴⁵ “Valeria Lodovica pure maiden and delight of her father, was taken away prematurely aged 16. Cione of the nobles from Lattaia her father—as a pious consolation to his pain—devoted this tomb to himself and his heirs. Year of the Lord 1460.” Lusini, *Storia della basilica di San Francesco in Siena*, 258. Cione’s testament states clearly that Valeria Lodovica died in July 1469; Lusini’s transcription of her epitaph gives an incorrect year of 1460. Elsewhere in his book he mistakenly gives the date as 1360. See note 39 above.

⁴⁶ It is evident that Cione had been confined in his home for a while, as Agostino Dati had died on April 6, 1478 and Cione’s will was drafted on June 29 of that year, thus three months later.

⁴⁷ There is evidence that Cione outlived his last will for many years. Zdekauer reports Cione alive at least until 1500: Zdekauer, “Sano di Pietro e messer Cione di Ravi,” 140. Fubini postpones Cione’s death to 1505: Medici, *Lettere*, 1:225. Moreni provides the date of death at March 21, 1505: Moreni, *Bibliografia storico-ragionata della Toscana*, 1:270.

⁴⁸ ASS, Notarile Antecosimiano 556, filza F, fols. 9r–10r. For example, he claims that the “men” of Ravi, Gavorrano, and Montemassi were perpetrators of various offences against him.

⁴⁹ The slab was attributed to Urbano da Cortona by Robert Munman. Munman, *Sienese Renaissance Tomb Monuments*, 63n93; Bagnoli, “Donatello a Siena,” 166–69.

⁵⁰ Cardarelli, “Siena and Its Contado,” 183.

⁵¹ Carli, *L’arte nella Basilica di S. Francesco a Siena*, 15, fig. 32.

⁵² Munman, *Sienese Renaissance Tomb Monuments*, 135; Colucci, *Sepolcri a Siena tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, 309.

⁵³ Colucci, *Sepolcri a Siena tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, 309.

⁵⁴ Munman, *Sienese Renaissance Tomb Monuments*, 6n9.

⁵⁵ This is further supported by Cione’s description of Meo’s tomb as “avello,” thus a niche tomb. Bruzelius, “The Architecture of the Mendicant Orders in the Middle Ages,” 376.

⁵⁶ Joanna Cannon observed a similar development in burial practices in Dominican churches, particularly in Siena and Florence. See Cannon, *Religious Poverty, Visual Riches*, 180.

⁵⁷ ASS, Notarile Antecosimiano 556, filza F, fol. 3v.

⁵⁸ 1 braccio senese = c. 58 cm.

⁵⁹ This must have been the case also at the time of Cione, as he mentions a “scalella” at the foot of the main altar. ASS, Notarile Antecosimiano, filza F, fol. 3v.

⁶⁰ The Medici palace was considered a model for other patrician palaces in Florence and beyond. See Tönnemann, *Der Palazzo Gondi in Florenz*; Goldthwaite, “The Building of the Strozzi Palace.” Similarly, the Old Sacristy became the reference building in contemporary church development. See Trachtenberg, “On Brunelleschi’s Old Sacristy as Model for Early Renaissance Church Architecture.”

⁶¹ Reiss, “Pope Clement VII and the Decorum of Medieval Art,” 298.

⁶² ASS, Notarile Antecosimiano 556, filza F, fol. 3r–v.

⁶³ While Zdekauer recorded Cione's expenses for jewelry, clothing, and other expensive items, a note to a copy of the *Purgatorio*, from Dante's *Divine Comedy*, shows that he was also a learned man. The volume bears written "Da Cione di Urbano da Ravi de' Nobili de' Lactara, in anno 1446 e fu suo già da più anni in Ravi." See Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigi LV 168, c. 327v.

⁶⁴ Zdekauer, "Sano di Pietro e messer Cione di Ravi," 141.

⁶⁵ ASS, Notarile Antecosimiano 556, filza F, fol. 3r–v.

⁶⁶ Cohn, *Death and Property in Siena, 1205–1800*, 68.

⁶⁷ One *staio* corresponded to about 1,300.75 m.²

⁶⁸ Cohn, *Death and Property in Siena, 1205–1800*, table 6.6 on gifts to parishes.

⁶⁹ ASS, Notarile Antecosimiano 556, filza F, fol. 4v.

⁷⁰ Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance*, 18.

⁷¹ This consists of a suitable bed and a breviary, which will be repossessed by the family after her death.

⁷² ASS, Notarile Antecosimiano 556, filza F, fol. 4v. Cione also considers the possibility that Laura may choose to stay with the family, thus sparking questions on whether she was considered unsuitable for marriage.

⁷³ Brizio, "In the Shadow of the Campo," 123; Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance*, 196–97.

⁷⁴ For whom Cione provided in separate clauses.

⁷⁵ It is evident from the document that Cassandra had married Danese on the promise that her dowry would have been obtained from the sale of Ravi to the hospital of Santa Maria della Scala of Siena, or failing this, from the rights over one quarter of the town/castle.

⁷⁶ ASS, Notarile Antecosimiano 556, filza F, fol. 5r. He claimed that the current law prevented anyone from granting dowries above eight hundred florins, however I have not been able to find this disposition. On dowries in quattrocento Siena see Brizio, "In the Shadow of the Campo," 122–36.

⁷⁷ Cohn shows a steady increase in the value of dowries in the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with the average dowry worth 376.44 florins between 1451 and 1500. Cohn, *Death and Property in Siena, 1205–1800*, 126. While the other daughters appear to have been granted sums below average for their status, Caterina seems to have benefitted from a particularly generous settlement.

⁷⁸ Cione specified that he was ill advised by the rectors of the *Spedale* of Santa Maria della Scala in Siena, but he hoped to sell Ravi to the charitable institution to replenish his debts and fulfil his testamentary bequests.

⁷⁹ ASS, Notarile Antecosimiano 556, filza F, fols. 5r–v.

⁸⁰ Brogi, "Lo statuto di Ravi di Maremma (1447)," 390. This was from Angelo di Ludovico Tondi, the owner of half of the rights on the castle at the time. "[3 Octobris 1517] [...] Ad instantiam et requisitionem spectabilis viri Angeli Ludovici de Tondis ut patroni et domini medietatis pro indiviso curie fortiliti nemorum pasquorum possessionum jurisdictionis et terrarum tenimenti Ravi

maritime [sibi] Angelo concesse partim pro dotibus Corneliæ filie nobilium virorum Danesi Jacobi de Saracenis et donne Cassandre eius uxoris et filie olim nobilis viri Cionis Urbani de Ravi predicto. Et partim vigore contractus emptionis et venditionis sibi Angelo facte ab dictis Danese et domini Cassandra eis uxore. Ac etiam iurium pro indiviso fortillii curie possessionum [n]emorum pasquorum, jurisdictionis domini franchigiarum et pertinentiarum de Ravi predicto sibi Angelo ab supradictis Danese et donna Cassandra concessarum vigore donationis inter vivos sibi facte pro indiviso bonorum prenominatorum. [...]" The monetary value is not specified, but it is the formulaic clause "emptionis et venditionis," that acknowledges the acquisition by purchase, which was probably quantified in another ad-hoc document.

⁸¹ ASS, Notarile Antecosimiano 556, filza F, fol. 7r.

⁸² For an overview of this practice in the *contado* of Siena see Ceppari Ridolfi, *Le pergamene*.

⁸³ "Dies irae, dies illa, solvet saeculum in favilla [...]," "That day of wrath, that dreadful day, shall heaven and earth in ashes lay [...]" Cione does not specify how often this should occur. It is likely that it was intended to take place only at the time of his funeral or on a one-off basis.

⁸⁴ For the thirty masses of St. Gregory with the alms. Two *doppiieri* with *staggioli* of the value of eight lire and a silk *drappellone* with the image of St. Jerome were also listed.

⁸⁵ Cione spelled this Tuscan town Vetreto, but there is no doubt that he refers to Vetreta of Massa Marittima and not Vetreto in Emilia-Romagna. ASS, Notarile Antecosimiano 556, filza F, fols. 2v–4r.

⁸⁶ His connection with the Jesuates for example was due to his friendship with the Bishop of Foligno, the Siennese Antonio Bettini (1396–1487), who was also a member of that order. His tomb in San Girolamo, Siena, is discussed in Munman, *Siennese Renaissance Tomb Monuments*, 63.

⁸⁷ Fol. 2r.

⁸⁸ These include: [In Siena] San Francesco, San Maurizio, the Jesuates, Ognissanti, Santo Spirito, Sant'Agostino, Servites, [In the *contado*] The friars of Vetreto at Monte Muro, San Donato, and Santa Lucia, all near Scarlino. [In Ravi] San Leonardo, Sant'Andrea, and San Giorgio.

⁸⁹ Fols. 2r; 3r.

⁹⁰ Fols. 3v–4r.

⁹¹ Fols. 4v–8r.

⁹² Fol. 8r. These are his wife Stefana with one of her brothers: Galgano or Lorenzo (their surname is never mentioned in the document), Guidantonio Buoninsegni, Alessandro Aringhieri, Ricco Ricchi and Giacomo or Antonio Credi. Buoninsegni and Ricchi were prominent figures in Siena political life. They were both doctors of Law but they were branded as rebels in 1483 at the time of the exile of the Noveschi party from the city. See Shaw, *The Politics of Exile in Renaissance Italy*, 177–78.

⁹³ Fol. 8r.

⁹⁴ Trecherchi recorded (among the other things), the deliberations of the *Concistoro*, the high magistracy of the commune of Siena (1460; 1466; 1470), and a large number of contracts and other documents, which are indexed as follows: ASS, Notarile antecosimiano, 546–558 (years 1452–1490). He also had interests in the *contado*.

⁹⁵ Words added to the margins of the document are indicated with framing ^ ^ marks.

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Chapter Eight

Noble Aspirations

Social Mobility and Commemoration in Two Seventeenth-Century Venetian Funerary Monuments

Meredith Crosbie

GIROLAMO CAVAZZA (1588–1681) AND Bartolomeo Mora (1621/2–1676) were contemporaries in seventeenth-century Venice, who commissioned monuments to honor themselves and their families. They occupied a distinctly Venetian gray area between the middle and upper classes because they both bought their way into the ranks of the nobility. This social ascension is apparent in their funerary monuments, vibrant examples of Venetian Baroque tombs, which are located in the churches of Madonna dell’Orto and San Lazzaro dei Mendicanti. In addition to the design of these two monuments, their spatial relationships to other noble monuments are also noteworthy from art historical, spatial, and socio-economic perspectives. Cavazza’s and Mora’s new social status was reflected (and even over-emphasized) by the decoration and placement of their monuments within these churches directly opposite the tombs of noble families. These two monuments can therefore be seen as manifestations of the complex social relationships that existed between new and old nobles in seventeenth-century Venice.

The Cavazza and Mora monuments are notable, but the entry of their owners into the patriciate is not in itself unusual. Donating a substantial sum to the Venetian government in exchange for hereditary noble status was an increasingly common practice in the seventeenth century. Between the years 1646 and 1718, a total of 128 families paid the required amount of 100,000 ducats to the Venetian treasury and were thus aggregated into the nobility.¹ Many members of old noble families disliked this practice, for they felt that Venetian nobility was not something to be purchased, and, as Alexander Cowan has stated, they felt that purchasing social position “undermined long-held beliefs about the sources of noble status by introducing new criteria” for membership.² Nevertheless the

new nobles (many of whom were originally middle-class Venetians, or *cittadini*), despite having paid to enter, were allowed to serve in the *Maggior Consiglio* (major council), and their names were added to the *Libro d'Oro* (Gold Book), signifying their official patrician status. This phenomenon of buying into the patriciate was encouraged by the state, as it desperately needed funds for the wars against the Turks over Venice's island colony of Candia (present-day Crete) and other territories in the Mediterranean. Indeed, the timespan in which new families were added (1646–1718) coincides with the Wars of Candia, also known as the Cretan War (1645–1649), and Morea (1684–1699). These Venetian colonies were the last vestiges of Venice's once great empire, and so the lagoon city fought vigorously to defend them.

Unfortunately, such donations helped the Venetian navy only temporarily since they ultimately lost the war and their territories to the Ottomans. These donations did nevertheless secure the donors' acquired noble status within Venice, ensuring that it would be passed down through their families for generations. To celebrate their social ascendance, many of these new nobles commissioned elegant homes known as *palazzi* on the Grand Canal and lavish monuments in churches around the city. Cavazza hired Giuseppe Sardi to design a Grand Canal *palazzo* for his family that no longer exists. Cavazza's ambition does survive through his funerary monument, as does Bartolomeo Mora's. They are both located in churches that were famous among Venetians and tourists alike in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as sites of noble patronage, sumptuous artworks, and choral concerts.

The Mora Monument

The church of San Lazzaro dei Mendicanti is now the chapel for the Venice city hospital, but in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was renowned for its famous girls' choir. Both the church and hospital of the Mendicanti (one of the four *Ospedali Grandi* in early modern Venice) were built in the early seventeenth century, and were run by a board of governors who oversaw their daily activities.³ Bartolomeo Mora served on the board of governors for twelve years, and commissioned a funerary monument there to himself and his two brothers in 1667.⁴

The tomb was designed by Baldassare Longhena and erected on the left nave wall of the church between 1676 and 1677, with sculptures by Giusto Le Court (figure 8.1). It is located directly across the nave from an

Figure 8.1 Baldassare Longhena and Giusto Le Court, Monument to the Mora family, 1676–1677, San Lazzaro dei Mendicanti, Venice. Photograph courtesy of Bohm archive.

earlier monument dedicated to the Cappello family—an old noble family, whose roots stretch back for centuries in Venice.⁵ The Mora, however, were not an old noble family but were aggregated to the patriciate following Bartolomeo's donation of 100,000 ducats to the Venetian government in 1665.⁶ Thus, Bartolomeo had many reasons for commissioning his

monument, including commemoration of his family, his newly acquired noble status, and his role as governor of the Mendicanti.

The design and placement of the monument were dictated by an explicit instruction from Bartolomeo that it should resemble the Cappello monument across the nave. This instruction is found in the records of the governors' meetings, known as *catastici*. It reads: "He was granted the place where the pulpit is, in the church of this hospital there shall be constructed a monument in the form of that one directly opposite belonging to the Excellent Noblemen of the Cappello family."⁷ Nicolò Cappello, who had commissioned a monument for himself and his two brothers, also served on the board of governors, so there is a clear parallel between the careers of Bartolomeo Mora and Nicolò Cappello. This equivalence is manifested visually in the nave of the church itself, as the two monuments are almost mirror images of each other in terms of color scheme and concept (figure 8.2).

Figure 8.2 Monument to the Cappello family, ca. 1660–1668, San Lazzaro dei Mendicanti, Venice. Photograph courtesy of Bohm archive.

Each monument features three portrait busts, multi-colored decorative marble revetments, and inscriptions detailing the accomplishments of all the men portrayed. Each is topped with family coats of arms. With their similar design and mirroring placement across the nave, Mora's desire to emulate a more illustrious nobleman and his monument is evident. In addition to the Cappello monument, a monument to the famed admiral Alvise Mocenigo stands in the Mendicanti church. Bartolomeo's monument was the final addition to an already impressive amount of sculptural decoration in the church. Because the governors had control over church decoration, they strove to preserve stylistic unity in the interior. In the *catastici*, they officially declared approval for Bartolomeo's mirror-image monument because of its close resemblance to that of Cappello.⁸

This type of twin-tomb or mirror-image tomb is not revolutionary in itself, and variations of this type can be found in churches across Europe from earlier centuries. The first famous instance of the twin-tomb in Italy was at the church of Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome, where the tombs of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza and Cardinal Girolamo Basso della Rovere were erected across from one another in the choir (ca. 1505–1509).⁹ Designed by Andrea Sansovino, they both feature an architectural framework in which sculptural figures are placed; in the center is the figure of the cardinal, and in the flanking niches are Virtues and other allegorical figures.¹⁰ The placement of these identical tombs is all the more significant when one considers the personal rivalry that inspired their erection. Girolamo's cousin Giuliano della Rovere was a fierce competitor of Sforza, and both men vied for the papacy, but it was Giuliano who won, becoming Pope Julius II in 1503. Cardinal Sforza died two years later, and Julius commissioned the monument for him in what might be interpreted as an attempt at reconciliation, especially considering that Julius then erected a mirror-image tomb across the choir for his cousin Girolamo when he died.¹¹

Bartolomeo Mora and Nicolò Cappello were not rivals, but it does seem that Mora was hoping to equate himself and his family with the eminent Cappello clan, both in his actions and in his funerary monument. As the third commemorative wall memorial in the Mendicanti, Mora's monument emphasizes that he is the equal of the noblemen Nicolò Cappello and Alvise Mocenigo, and that Mora's family has earned a place among Venice's oldest families, his new noble status preserved in stone for posterity.

The Cavazza Monument

The church of San Cristoforo was founded in 1365, but beginning in 1377—after one of its sculptures of the Madonna and Child was associated with various miracles—it began to be known as the Madonna dell’Orto.¹² It was closely associated with the cult of San Lorenzo Giustiniani, the first Patriarch of Venice, and was decorated throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with painted altarpieces by Bellini, Titian, and Jacopo Tintoretto, the last of whom is also buried there.¹³ Since its foundation both *cittadini* and noble Venetian families (like the Morosini, the Valier, and the Vendramin) sponsored funerary chapels and monuments in the interior, but the two that are the focus of this discussion are the chapel dedicated to the Contarini family, and the monument dedicated to Girolamo Cavazza.

Cavazza was born in Venice in 1588, and he served as a non-noble diplomat in Madrid, Monaco, Paris, and Zurich.¹⁴ He then was secretary to the Council of Ten, one of the highest ruling committees in the Venetian government. In 1652, at the age of 64, he petitioned the Venetian government to become a member of the nobility.¹⁵ Alongside his petition, he paid 200,000 ducats to the Venetian treasury, double the required amount. Just one year later, in 1653, his petition was approved, no doubt helped along by his doubled donation to the government’s coffers, and he was awarded the rank of Count. He then commissioned a funerary monument in Madonna dell’Orto, albeit somewhat prematurely, as it was finished in 1657 but he would live for another twenty-four years, dying in 1681 at the age of ninety-three.¹⁶

The Canons of Maddona dell’Orto approved his plans for a monument in the church, and—after demolishing an earlier monument to a Venetian *cittadino*—Cavazza’s tomb was erected in the center of the right nave wall.¹⁷ According to Michael Douglas-Scott, there was also a sixteenth-century commemorative structure dedicated to the Cavazza family on this wall, probably a sarcophagus, which explains Girolamo’s wish to be buried here.¹⁸ But his decision to completely remove and redo his family’s earlier monument, and in the process destroy the adjacent *cittadino* monument, is a bold expression of his desire to commemorate his new patrician status publicly.

The shape of the monument reflects this new confidence, since it evokes a modified triumphal arch (figure 8.3). The central section is attenuated to accommodate a large pediment that carries a portrait bust

Figure 8.3 Giuseppe Sardi, Santo Cassarini, Francesco Cavrioli, and Giusto Le Court, Monument to Girolamo Cavazza, 1657, Madonna dell'Orto, Venice.
Photograph by Meredith Crosbie.

of Cavazza by Santo Cassarini. A Latin inscription extolls Cavazza's long years of dedicated service (figure 8.4).¹⁹ In the niches to either side of the pediment are allegorical sculptures by Francesco Cavrioli and Giusto Le Court, two of the most famous sculptors at the time.²⁰ These depict, from left to right, *Virtue*, *Prudence*, *Generosity*, and *Honor*. All of these are meant to be personifications of those qualities that made Cavazza an exemplary Venetian, and they echo the Virtues painted by Tintoretto that surround the high altar of the church. (They also recall the tradition of allegorical figures on funerary monuments like those on the twin-tombs at Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome.) Further displaying Cavazza's wealth

Figure 8.4 Santo Cassarini, Detail of bust and pediment on monument to Girolamo Cavazza, 1657, Madonna dell'Orto, Venice. Photograph by Meredith Crosbie.

and familial pride are three different types of colored marble, festoons of flower and fruit garlands, and a large Cavazza coat of arms at the top.

To either side of the monument are framed busts of his two brothers, Francesco and Gabriele. Both were also civil servants in Venice, with

Gabriele acting as secretary to several ambassadors, the Venetian Senate, and also the Council of Ten (like Girolamo himself), while Francesco served as assistant to the governor of Candia during the Ottoman-Venetian wars.²¹ Both Gabriele and Francesco predeceased Girolamo. Thus, it seems Girolamo was consciously making his monument (and the surrounding area of the wall) a family monument, especially since he died childless.

In the sixteenth century the canons who oversaw the church began to give preference to patricians as the sponsors of its chapels and monuments, even transferring ownership of some chapels from *cittadini* families to noble ones as a way to enhance the reputation of the church.²² This decision influenced the appearance of the church interior as well as its status as a popular destination for Venetians and tourists alike, and it likely influenced the canon's approval of Cavazza's seventeenth-century monument, since he had just joined the ranks of the nobility. It is likely that Cavazza was directly involved in the design and placement of his monument, given that he was alive through its construction, and for another twenty-four years after its completion.

Cavazza was also interested in other arts patronage. His palace near the now-destroyed church of Santa Lucia held an esteemed collection of painting and sculpture, and he commissioned the façade of the nearby Scalzi church. Cavazza's palace, the Scalzi façade, and his funerary monument in the Madonna dell'Orto church were all designed by the architect Giuseppe Sardi, one of the most skilled and prominent architects working in seventeenth-century Venice. So Cavazza's taste and knowledge of the arts would surely have informed his decision in designing his funerary monument.

The monument stands, therefore, as a marble-encrusted tribute to Cavazza, his family, his rarefied artistic taste, and his new noble position. Even its height is impressive, for the monument reaches up to the wooden ceiling. Martin Gaier has observed that the central plinth resembles an obelisk, and can therefore be associated with symbolic meanings such as triumph, victory, and a sense of eternity, all of which can be linked to Cavazza's newly acquired—and now hereditary—noble status.²³ He rose up from the *cittadini* to join the ranks of the oldest families in Venice, evident not only in his monument but also in the tomb's relation to the Contarini chapel across the nave.

From the perspective of the Cavazza bust (figure 8.5), one can see Girolamo's sincere attempt to place himself and his family on an equal level—figuratively and physically—with the Contarini. This family, as

Figure 8.5 View of Contarini monument from the Cavazza monument, Madonna dell'Orto, Venice. Photograph by Meredith Crosbie.

Elizabeth Gleason has noted, was “at the center of Venice virtually from the beginning of the city’s existence.”²⁴ Domenico Contarini was the doge who first began construction of the Basilica of San Marco in the eleventh century, one of eight total doges in the family.²⁵ Cardinal Gasparo Contarini, one of the most famous members, was buried and commemorated in the family chapel in Madonna dell’Orto.²⁶

The Contarini family chapel was begun in 1557, and was in use for burial by 1563 (figure 8.6).²⁷ It is located in the middle of the left nave wall, and extends out from the nave. It centers on a painted altarpiece of the chapel’s dedicatee St. Agnes by Tintoretto, but the altarpiece is

Figure 8.6 Monument to Contarini family, 1557–1688, Madonna dell’Orto, Venice. Photograph by Meredith Crosbie.

somewhat overshadowed by the memorials to several generations of Contarini. The design is simple but dignified, with white marble portrait busts of six Contarini men. They are placed on pedestals that bear inscriptions extolling each man’s accomplishments and give the date of his death. The dates range from the mid-sixteenth century to the late seventeenth century when the last male member of this branch died in 1688.²⁸

In a basic sense, the Cavazza monument and Contarini chapel are very similar: both feature portrait busts and commemorative inscriptions in black and white marble. The position of the Cavazza and Contarini busts is especially telling. All the busts are placed high up on the wall, putting the viewer in a subordinate position. The inscriptions are at eye-level to facilitate reading. Douglas-Scott has argued that Cavazza’s use of black marble for the inscriptions on his monument is a direct imitation of the Contarini inscriptions.²⁹ The obelisk-shaped plinth that carries Cavazza’s bust appears to have been elongated for symbolic as well as practical reasons, as it also serves to lift his bust to the same height as the Contarini busts across the nave. The fact that Cavazza also included busts of his brothers further connects his monument to the Contarini chapel, with its six portrait busts of the most illustrious Contarini men.³⁰

Figure 8.7 Detail of Contarini monument with bust of Carlo Contarini looking towards the Cavazza monument, Madonna dell'Orto, Venice. Photograph by Meredith Crosbie.

By 1657, when Cavazza's monument was built, four of the six Contarini busts were already in place, including the portrait of the aforementioned Cardinal Gasparo. His monument, along with Tintoretto's sixteenth-century altarpiece, had made the Contarini chapel one of the

principal attractions of the church in the seventeenth century.³¹ Therefore, Cavazza's monument would have been vying for attention in the nave, and this could account for its fairly ostentatious display of wealth and family pride.

The penultimate bust added to the Contarini chapel depicts Alvise II; it was added in 1653, when Cavazza was still alive.³² The last Contarini bust depicts Carlo and was added in 1688, seven years after Cavazza's death.³³ These final two Contarini busts are placed at the entrance to the chapel, and Carlo's faces enthusiastically outwards into the nave, seemingly initiating a dialogue with the high altar and the other monuments in the rest of the church (figure 8.7). Cavazza's bust, as mentioned earlier, stares directly at the Contarini chapel, perhaps as another way of emphasizing Cavazza's social aspirations. Yet, ironically, despite the exaltation of both the Cavazza and the Contarini, the male lines of both families were extinguished after the deaths of Girolamo Cavazza and Carlo Contarini.³⁴ Their memorials have succeeded, however, in preserving their names and reputations for posterity.

The Cavazza/Contarini dialogue between monuments, families, and social classes echoes that seen at the Mendicanti church with the Mora and Cappello tombs. Both examples illustrate the complex and fluid social hierarchy that was at work in seventeenth-century Venice. The Cavazza and Mora monuments are bold declarations of familial pride and new patrician status. Replete with portrait busts, allegories, and colored marbles, they serve to commemorate their patrons and their families, as well as their rise through the ranks into the nobility. Their monuments stand as immortal testaments to their lives, their noble aspirations, and their successful arrival in the aristocracy.

Notes

¹ Cowan, "New Families in the Venetian Patriciate, 1646–1718," 55. This essay is indebted to Cowan's work on the fluidity of social status in seventeenth-century Venice.

² Cowan, *Marriage, Manners and Mobility in Early Modern Venice*, 3.

³ For the history of the Mendicanti church and hospital see: Meijers, "I Mendicanti"; Moretti, *Dagli Incurabili alla Pietà*; Bamji, Borean, and Moretti, *La chiesa e l'ospedale di San Lazzaro dei Mendicanti*.

⁴ Archivio dell'Istituto di Ricovero e di Educazione, Venice (hereafter ASI-REVe), *Mendicanti B* 2, 19 luglio 1668, c. 333v, cited by Meijers, "I Mendicanti,"

262; see also ASIREVe, *Mendicanti B 2*, 12 gennaio 1664mv, 103r; 7 agosto 1676, 178v.

⁵ Archivio di Stato di Venezia (hereafter ASVe), *Ospedali e luoghi pii diversi*, b. 451, vol. V '[...] Nobil Huomo Bortolamio Mora Libro di Cassa,' 26 maggio 1677.

⁶ ASVe, *Barbaro, Tasca*, vol. V, b. 21, b. 247, b. 249.

⁷ ASIREVe, *Mendicanti B 2*, 8 settembre 1675, 164v. The original line reads: "li fosse concesso il loco ove è il pulpito, nella chiesa di questo ospedale per dover lui far costruire il deposito nella forma del dirimpetto delli Nobil Huomi Eccellentissimi Cappelli." See also ASIREVe, *Mendicanti B 2*, 12 gennaio 1664mv, 103r; 7 agosto 1676, 178v.

⁸ Moretti, *Dagli Incurabili alla Pietà*, 65–66n25; Meijers, "I Mendicanti," 255.

⁹ Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, 82.

¹⁰ Huntley, *Andrea Sansovino*, 63–64.

¹¹ Ibid.; Pope-Hennessy, *Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture*, 452–53; Baldini and Giulietti, *Andrea Sansovino*, 70–71 docs 60–61; see also Shaw, *Julius II*. Julius did not fund the commission out of his own pocket, however, and used money from Sforza's estates, which were seized by the papacy after his death; Woods, Richardson, and Lymberopoulou, *Viewing Renaissance Art*, 235.

¹² Douglas-Scott, "Art Patronage and the Function of Images," 3, 28–29.

¹³ Ibid., 14–15, 163–81, 245–81.

¹⁴ De Vincenti, "La facciata degli Scalzi," 116; Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano*, 334. ASVe, *Notarile Testamenti*, Alessandro Contarini, b. 1167, n. 200, cc. 11r–11v, as cited in Rossi, "Il monumento a Girolamo Cavazza," 43–44n23.

¹⁵ ASVe, *Avogaria di Comun*, b. 181, as referenced in Rossi, "Il monumento a Girolamo Cavazza," 44.

¹⁶ A roundel underneath the inscription on the monument reads "MDCLVII."

¹⁷ Douglas-Scott, "Art Patronage and the Function of Images," 223.

¹⁸ Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Fondo Veneto II, Madonna dell'Orto, 796 & 27, as cited in Ibid., 223–24.

¹⁹ The Latin inscription on the pediment reads: "D.O.M. Hieronymo Cavaccio Qui Totius Fere Euorpae Regibus, Ac Principibus Aditis Tractandis Aulae Ingeniis, Et Summae Rei Negotiis Inveteratus, Difficilimis Temporibus Septem, Et Quadraginta Annos Variis Expeditionibus Impendit Fidei, Ac Solertiae Auctoramento Comitibus Titulo Insignitus, Et Inter Patricios Allectus Incentes Opes Levando [Or]ario (?), Templiusque Regio Sumptu Decorandus Erogans Tra Novillissime Consenvit, Ut Exacta Ad Extremas Seculi Metas Aetate Immaturo Funeri Praereptus Omnibus Visus Sit. Hieronymus Leonius Cavaccius Ex [S]anguineti (?) Comitibus Haeres(?) Avvunculo Magno Eiusque Cognatis Cineribus H.M. Panno MDCLXXXI."

²⁰ The Cavazza monument was Le Court's first major commission after he arrived in Venice via Amsterdam/Antwerp. By the time he was hired to sculpt the Mora portrait busts, he was the foremost sculptor in Venice, and would go on to be known as the "Praxiteles of our age, and the Adriatic Bernini." Lupis, *Il corriere di Antonio Lypis*, 417–18; as cited in De Vincenti, "La facciata degli Scalzi," 114n2. For more on Le Court's early works, see Guerriero, "Di tua Virtù che infonde spirto a i sassi," 48–67; Crosbie, "Giusto Le Court."

²¹ Rossi, "Il monumento a Girolamo Cavazza," 44.

²² Douglas-Scott, "Art Patronage and the Function of Images," 139n45.

²³ Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano*, 332.

²⁴ Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini*, 1.

²⁵ The Contarini family was so large that by the sixteenth century they occupied the most positions of any noble family in the Senate. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS It. Cl. VII, 90 (=8029); and Sanuto, *I diarii*, 45:569–72; both cited in Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini*, 2n6.

²⁶ Douglas-Scott, "Jacopo Tintoretto's Altarpiece of St Agnes," 2–3. There were three branches of the family in Venice in the later sixteenth century, and the branch that lived nearest the church of Madonna dell'Orto also owned the chapel in its nave.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 137.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 149–51.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 224.

³⁰ Only two of the busts have been attributed. From left to right, they depict: Carlo, Gasparo, Alvise, Tommaso (ca. 1614), Tommaso (ca. 1578), and Alvise. The bust of Tommaso Contarini (ca. 1578) was sculpted by Alessandro Vittoria (1525–1608), and the bust of Gasparo was sculpted by Danese Cattaneo (ca. 1512–1572).

³¹ Douglas-Scott, "Jacopo Tintoretto's Altarpiece of St Agnes," 141. But the chapel was also a source of mystery within the church, as it was not readily accessible to the congregation or to visitors. Douglas-Scott revealed there is a nineteenth-century record of a marble balustrade at the entrance to the chapel, which would have restricted access, and that the altarpiece by Tintoretto was also covered with a curtain, whose hooks can still be seen today.

³² *Ibid.*, 151.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 150; Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini*, 3n9.

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Chapter Nine

Commemoration through Food

Obits Celebrated by the Franciscan Nuns of Late Medieval Strasbourg

Charlotte A. Stanford

THE LATE MEDIEVAL CITY of Strasbourg supported a multitude of religious institutions that participated extensively in the economy of salvation through the practice of *memoria*. Sites for commemoration included the city's cathedral, nine parish churches, and more than two-dozen monastic institutions,¹ as well as béguinages, private chapels, and charity institutions like hospitals (figure 9.1). Each of these sites could offer something special to patrons who wished to be commemorated there. Although obit remembrances in all these venues shared common traits, individual institutions offered particular aspects to their celebrations to attract patrons. One late medieval practice common to two of the city's Franciscan convents was the donation of a *pitancia*, or food gift, as seen at St. Klara am Rossmarkt and St. Klara auf dem Werth. These food gifts for the Poor Clares were an important commemorative practice within the city's social and religious milieu, and they have much to say about the nuns who received and the donors who gave these items to the Franciscan sisters.

The term *pro pitancia* specifically refers to a gift of extra food, such as fish or wine, typically on holidays.² The term is usually rendered in the vernacular as a gift *uf den tisch*, for the table, though sometimes the donation records saw scribes using both terms. For example, Frow Anne, the wife of Her Johannes des Heldes, left one pound to the nuns of St. Klara am Rossmarkt "for a pitancia at the table."³ The exact type of food to be purchased for these treats was usually unspecified; indeed, most such gifts were given in cash. Some donors, however, were particular, like Frow Metze von Bischovesheim, whose tomb was in the convent church, and who arranged a feast for the nuns of St. Klara am Rossmarkt on the anniversary of her death, at which fish, wine, and bread were to be served. On

Figure 9.1 Map of Strasbourg. Map by Charlotte Stanford.

the seventh and thirtieth days after her death, however, a pound each was given “for the table [...] that the sisters might truly thank her.”⁴

While not all entries employ the same frank language as Frow Metze, the implication of all such gifts in the obituary record was clear. The sisters’ thanks—and prayers—were the expected return for a donation of any kind, the common coin of exchange for all medieval obituary lists. The names of the dead were kept and read in return for financial support. The kinds of commemoration offered depended not only on the wishes of the donors and the price they were prepared to invest for their spiritual returns, but also on the institution to which the gift was given. Burial and prayer were two of the most commonly expected services from convents. While burial privileges required a clear and specific request, prayer did not: it was the unwritten expectation of all donations.

The efficacy of prayer, and especially prayers by holy women, above all mendicant women, was particularly attractive to a small but enthusiastic group of supporters in late medieval Strasbourg (map 4). The

importance of daily prayer has sometimes been overshadowed by scholarly emphasis on masses.⁵ While masses were significant—and indeed, could be requested even at convents where hired priests performed the sacraments—the salvific power of nuns’ prayers was also highly desired. As Carolyn Walker Bynum has shown, noted mystics like Mechtild of Magdeburg were credited with having released thousands of souls from purgatory through their prayers.⁶ On a more domestic scale, as Anne Winston-Allen has noted, the German sister-book of the Dominican cloister Töss (near Winterthur, Switzerland) demonstrates a similar belief that the nuns’ daily rounds of prayer would relieve many souls from purgatory.⁷ In the case of Strasbourg, support for religious women was considerable. Not only did the city support two (or possibly three) Franciscan nunneries, but there were no fewer than seven Dominican convents, as well as some eighty-five *béguinages*, known as “god’s houses,” by the end of the fourteenth century.⁸ Indeed, hundreds of Strasbourg women belonged to communities actively solicited for prayers.

The communities themselves, however, differed widely. Some were cloistered while others allowed their members to live in the world. Some recruited almost exclusively from well-to-do families while others accepted poorer candidates. It was just such an economic divide that separated the city’s two houses of Poor Clares.⁹ St. Klara am Rossmarkt, the more aristocratic and affluent house, was founded in 1251 within the city center as an independent institution. Its sister foundation, St. Klara auf dem Werth, was almost a half-century younger, and it settled across the canal at the city’s edge, under the control of the wealthy canonesses of St. Stephen. The convents had separate administrators and both were suppressed shortly after Strasbourg embraced the Reformation in 1525.

Very little in the way of commemorative exchange or overlap has survived between these convents, and we know very little about practices shared by or between the convents. Moreover the archival record for each convent has significant losses, and the surviving two obituary documents each have distinct qualities that emphasize different aspects of commemoration. The record of the poorer convent of St. Klara auf dem Werth dates to the late fourteenth century and was kept in Latin (figure 9.2). Its liturgical calendar function is evident by the fact that limited space is given to obit entries, many of which appear squeezed in as afterthoughts. The convent book of the more elite St. Klara am Rossmarkt, on the other hand, was created about half a century later and is written in German (figure 9.3). The space of an entire page is allotted to each day, optimistically ready

Figure 9.2 Obit ledger, St. Klara auf dem Werth, parchment. Photograph courtesy of Archives de la Ville et de l'Eurométropole de Strasbourg.

for floods of donor commemorations. The scale of each ledger varies considerably as well, for the Werth book has large stiff pages of less expensive, coarse parchment, while the Rossmarkt book is rather small, with finer, whiter leaves of vellum. Though both books record donor anniversaries, there are far fewer for St. Klara auf dem Werth, despite its larger ledger,

Another distinction between the two accounts is the focus on the sisters themselves. While both convent ledgers follow typical obituary format in providing a calendar with anniversary names on the relevant dates, the Rossmarkt book prefaces and concludes its calendar pages with lists of the sisters' names. The list at the end records the fifty-three original founding sisters of the convent. The opening list names the choir nuns, educated women from local noble families, who could have afforded the requisite dowries to support these sisters in their profession. The surnames in these lists read like rolls of the city's elite *Constofler* class—upper-class patricians who, while not Alsatian high nobility, were wealthy landowners, bankers, and merchants that had consciously separated themselves from artisans and other guild members during the city's fourteenth-century political reforms.¹⁰ Families like the Zorn and Grostein counted many daughters among the nuns at St. Klara am Rossmarkt. A notable member was the nun Kettrine Twinger, the daughter of the city's first *Ammeister* (chief alderman), Strasbourg's most honored and influential civic post, created in 1332 as part of the city's government reform. Her parents left two pounds to mark their death anniversary at their daughter's cloister, in order that she and the sisters might celebrate prayers for their soul, demonstrating a preference for family commemoration often shown in the records of this late medieval city.¹¹ The convent's more humble supporters were not neglected, however, and equal space is given to individuals like the mother of Frow Elie, "our lay sister" (*unsers convers müt[er]*), who left no recorded gift.¹²

In contrast, the sisters of St. Klara auf dem Werth were, in general, recruited from less affluent backgrounds, but since these sisters did not keep lists of their choir nuns, it is harder to discern their origins. Many of the names that appear in the Werth obituary calendar fail to give any surname, an indication that the nuns were not of proud family lineage. Indeed, this convent seems to have served the daughters of artisans and lesser merchants rather than the *Constofler*. Nevertheless, it did find some supporters among the local elite. About ten percent of the donors to the convent are identified with the honorific *domina* (lady), suggesting upper-class status. In both convents, women patrons outnumbered men two to one. The Werth records show glimpses that emphasize female control and initiative. For example, August 21 commemorates Lady Adelheidis Zollerin with her husband, who gave four measures of rye. August 22 remembered Lady Elyzabeth Richin of Hagenau, who gave all her property and goods to the convent.¹³ The generosity of giving all one's goods

was repeated by eight other donors, half of them men, who for their devotion were given the name of “brother” to the convent, like “our brother Konradus de Baldeburne, layman, who gave all his property and goods to the convent, and 10 shillings to be divided among the sisters.”¹⁴ The clause regarding the ten shillings indicates that personal distributions to the sisters were a separate issue from the main gift, which was probably intended for the church rebuilding campaign undertaken between 1370 and 1376.¹⁵ Indeed, this priority is emphasized by a bilingual entry for one Heinrich von Scherwiler, noting in Latin, and repeated in the vernacular, that his gift comprised “all his goods for building our choir, and a yearly anniversary, and annually two pounds to the women at the table.”¹⁶ The balance between paying for the costly reconstruction of the church while also providing for the sisters’ physical needs was ensured by the inclusion of the gift’s terms in a vernacular phrase.

Gifts given to the table—including those specifically noted as *pitancia* donations—comprised 118 of the 296 gift entries to the cloister, that is, almost forty percent of all gifts to the convent of St. Klara auf dem Werth. By contrast, only six gifts were marked specifically for choir rebuilding. Comparison with St. Klara am Rossmarkt shows that their total number of gifts for the table numbered eighty-two. Not only was the absolute number of food gifts lower at the wealthier convent, but also the Rossmarkt nuns’ table received a far lower portion of overall donations, less than ten percent. This discrepancy likely indicates donors’ response to a real need, based on the greater poverty of the Werth community, to give the sisters much-needed food supplements. However, the richer convent, unsurprisingly, received much richer donations overall.

While poverty was of course a monastic ideal, the stringencies at a female convent in the late medieval period were usually far greater than those of their male counterparts. Not only did nunneries typically own less property, but also they had to bear additional costs, such as hiring priests to perform masses. In Strasbourg in the fifteenth century, a mass cost one shilling. Donors who gave a pound for their death anniversaries at one of these convents would thus, at the utmost, expect their memorials to be celebrated for twenty years, although given additional associated costs such as candles the period of remembrance was likely to be of shorter duration. Mass requests, however, were far less common than *pitancia* bequests—with less than one percent of donors requesting masses as compared to twenty percent of donors giving *pitancia* gifts to St. Klara am Rossmarkt and thirty-seven percent to St. Klara auf dem Werth.¹⁷

The frequency of *pitancia* gifts for these Franciscan nuns demonstrates a gap between the letter of the rigorous Clarissan rule and its practice. Fasting was strictly to be observed by all who could endure it. The relaxation of the rule at Christmas, which allows the nuns to eat twice “no matter on what day it falls,” highlights the austerity of the ideal, although the abbess was given discretion to relax this policy for those who were young, who were weak, or who served outside the convent.¹⁸ In practice, however, Christmas was not the only day for additional food. Anne Winston-Allen’s study of convent life has demonstrated how special fare was often—or sometimes solely—served on days celebrating patrons’ memorial anniversaries.¹⁹

Documents rarely specify exactly which foods were served as *pitancia*. The majority of these table gifts were given in cash, probably due to market uncertainties, or to allow the nuns greater discretion in their choice of food. Sometimes the donors were sisters themselves, who knew firsthand the rigors of the convent’s normal diet, like Sister Hedewig von Rorswilre of the Rossmarkt convent who gave one *livre* of money so that she should be remembered at the table on her death anniversary.²⁰ Other donors envisioned a *pitancia* in terms of simple grain, like Conrad Cattel, who gave two measures of rye “pro pitancia” to the Werth convent.²¹ According to Christopher Dyer’s studies of late medieval England, such a measure of grain could make about 250 loaves, thus providing extra food that could be spread out over more than one day.²² A few entries specify that the meals should contain fish or wine, though such luxury is only found at St. Klara am Rossmarkt.²³ Spices like saffron, cinnamon, and ginger were also greatly desired, especially since they could be used on fast days when the diet was more stringent.

Such foods would have been allowable under even a strict interpretation of the Benedictine Rule, which prohibited meat for all but the sick.²⁴ Meat, defined in the Rule as the flesh of quadrupeds, was a high-status food unsuitable for those of a monastic profession, as indeed was wine, although St. Benedict reluctantly conceded that wine could be drunk in moderation. While the stricter orders, including the Clarissan nuns, held to this pattern, the Benedictines themselves had long parted ways with it. By the late medieval period, traditional Benedictine houses had a well-established set of glosses softening these unpopular bans. In wealthy houses, not only might a monk drink wine but he might eat “meaty” dishes composed of meat scraps rather than actual roasted flesh; he might even eat the latter, provided that it was not served within the refectory.²⁵ But

even in such a relaxed house, meat could not be served on a fast day. Other treats would have been sought as *pitancia* dishes when the donor's anniversary fell on such unfavorable days as Wednesdays, Fridays, Ember Days or during the whole of Lent or Advent. At Westminster Abbey, custards, flans, and other dairy-based items were very popular and could prove to be acceptable alternatives.²⁶ Fresh fruit was also considered a treat, as were specialty breads or buns. Seasonal distribution of food as gifts to the needy or as part of salary agreements was a time-honored practice that appears in the Strasbourg records. For example, the cathedral's workshop gave bread and fruit compote to the poor while the city hospital gave Christmas gifts of gingerbread to officials of affiliated institutions.²⁷

The hospital of St. Erhard in the city's southern quarter is the only other Strasbourg religious institution to have surviving records that mention the practice of *pitancia*.²⁸ It was the largest hospital within the city and took in both paying patients and charity cases. The latter "sick poor" (*armen kranken*) were valued especially as providers of commemorative prayers, and a good number of anniversary foundations attest to the hospital's attractiveness for this purpose.²⁹ Many of the donors were noted as *civis*, and prominent family names such as Twinger, Wurmser, Mullenheim, and Bock appear regularly throughout the records, indicating a certain sense of *noblesse oblige* toward the hospital's poor among the city elite.³⁰ One of the surviving account books contains references to food donations, and they comprise only a minority of entries (some twenty percent). The details provided are, however, sometimes rather specific, as the following passage for September 28, St. Wenzelas' day, attests:

Every year a bequest by Lady Margrethe Wurmesserin, widow of the deceased Peter Voltz, a citizen of Strasbourg, who gave during her lifetime for herself and her and her husband's parents (and others) 3 Strasbourg pounds for her anniversary, provided from the town of Owenheim [...] so that every year the sick might have cooked meat as a food treat.³¹

Cooked meat was thought healthy for the sick, as was wine, and white bread—all refined foods that were believed to be warm and humid, and thus promote the creation of good blood within the body.³² That these were also eagerly desired treats is made clear by the manuscript's insistence on fair distribution for at least one of the food days, that of St. Martin, when the hospital matron was exhorted to purchase an appropriate number of capons to serve the sick and to see that each patient received a

quarter of a roasted chicken, or, if that was not possible, its equivalent in money.³³ Other specialty foods included meat jelly (*galrey*), white bread, and wine, with particular emphasis on food gifts at the end of fasting periods, like eggs and lamb at Easter, pork on the Sunday after Epiphany, and fish spiced with pepper on Christmas Eve.³⁴ Such food treats added welcome variety to the monotony of a diet focused on stock fish, herring, and vegetable soup.³⁵ (This at least was the diet for the poor, although paying residents evidently enjoyed a richer diet, including a fair quantity of wine, which helped give rise to the hospital's later reputation as a center of heavy drinking.)³⁶

The records for food offerings at St. Erhard's hospital are more detailed than for the convents, showing the range of culinary possibilities available within a (semi-)religious institution. Except for the monastic prohibition on meat, there is no reason to suppose that the Clarissan nuns' diet differed greatly from that of the hospital poor in its emphasis on bread, soups, and stock fish for daily meals, enlivened by occasional fresh fish or poultry, white bread, or an extra measure of wine. The *pitancia* offerings at both St. Klara convents were spread across the year in relatively even increments ranging from four to fourteen a month, rather like the hospital's own record. Unlike many of the food treats at St. Erhard, the nuns' extra rations were not usually keyed to saints' feast days, but rather to donor memorial anniversaries.³⁷ Though these fell where chance decreed, sometimes donors clearly wished to be remembered on an important day, like Jungfrow Ellin Bettemennin, who gave to the convent of St. Klara auf dem Werth "a half measure of the best wine for Sundays in Advent."³⁸ But the sheer number in the records of these *pitancia* days is somewhat misleading; we should not imagine that the sisters sat down to special meals several times a week. Even St. Klara am Rossmarkt was not as wealthy or relaxed as a great Benedictine establishment like Westminster Abbey.³⁹ For the most part, the amounts of the gifts at both Clarissan convents make it clear that such memorials were no more perpetual than mass endowments or any other financial donation. The gifts, which range from five shillings to several pounds, probably were allotted over the course of a few years until the money was exhausted, and they remained no more than a memory and a line or two in the obituary books. Except for the few gifts that specify renewal, like the gift of ten shillings for the Rossmarkt convent table "every year on St. Clare's day,"⁴⁰ most of them were probably one-time gifts. Many were likely recorded in other account books, as most appear in the same script throughout, indicating that the records were

probably copied from other ledgers. The nuns, therefore, would have been lucky to have one or two *pitancia* meals a month; the rareness of the treat would have made them appreciate it all the more and, hopefully, inspire sincere prayers for the donors.

Sources are not clear about exactly when these records were read or by whom. Donor names were likely to have been mentioned during the daily liturgy, or possibly in chapter meetings. But whenever the names were mentioned, the time that the sisters themselves most would have appreciated these gifts was at the table. This was a communal context peculiar to monastic institutions, and helps explain why food gifts were suitable for convent memorials, as they would not be for parish church communities, for example. While parishes could and did have communal meals (the English example of church fundraising ales has been well documented, for instance), these were of a decidedly more secular character.⁴¹ The sixteenth-century Strasbourg preacher Johann Geiler of Keyzersberg flatly condemned the scandalous drunkenness prevalent in the communal drinking party held annually in the city's cathedral to celebrate the anniversary of its consecration.⁴² Monastic meals, unlike these rowdy secular gatherings, were to be taken in silence with only the voice of the daily reader allowed, providing a much more effective atmosphere for contemplation and remembrance. Like the sick of the hospital, who also adhered to a strict regimen of prayers, a community of nuns could be also be considered "Christ's poor," and therefore both meritorious recipients for the corporal works of mercy as well as proper executors for a donor's spiritual investment.⁴³

The limited reality of the special *pitancia* meals, compared with their frequent mention in the record, would have heightened appreciation for these donors, which was surely the intent. The specific relationships between nuns and donors are indicated only in a minority of entries, but there are frequent glimpses of interactions between these convents and the outside world. Blood ties are common, as parents, siblings, and even nephews made arrangements to have their memorial anniversaries celebrated through remembrances at the sisters' table.⁴⁴ Marriage ties were important too: Mechtild, the wife of Dietherich Gastman, was called our sister (*unser swester*), although it appears to have been her husband who had a relative in the convent, Sister Adelheit Gastmenin, who served as sacristan (*custin*).⁴⁵ Convent servants also made donations, ranging from "Peter our smith" to "Herr Goetze von Grostein our procurator," at St. Klara am Rossmarkt.⁴⁶ Still others are noted by the familiar terms "vassal" (*famulus*) or servant (*dienst*).⁴⁷ Then, of course, there were the sisters

themselves, whose gifts were likely offered as they came into the cloister. Not surprisingly, the richer convent of St. Klara am Rossmarkt had a larger proportion of these. Wealthier Clarissan nuns were able to bequeath property after death as well, giving an interesting glimpse into how well the rules were kept—or in this case, adapted—for daughters of prestigious families. One such example is Sister Agnes von Erstheim, who lived in the cloister of St. Klara am Rossmarkt for sixty-four years, upon her death left forty-two pounds to her convent in general, and four pounds, fourteen shillings specifically for a light in the church, ten shillings to celebrate St. Clare's day, and a final ten shillings for the table "in order that she be truly thanked."⁴⁸ Even in a wealthy convent, the nuns themselves must have known what privation was like, and they, their families, and their friends clearly wanted to ease the rigor of the rule and instill gratitude through the most basic of gifts, food.

Notes

¹ The most thorough listing of Strasbourg's churches is still Kraus, *Kunst und Alterthum in Elsass-Lothringen*.

² For the pittance as a side dish, see Paxton and Cochelin, *The Death Ritual at Cluny*, 247. In other contexts the term "pitancia" sometimes refers to a funeral or anniversary meal with bequests to feed the poor; see Sánchez Ameijeiras, "Monumenta et Memoriae"; the term appears in both contexts in Harvey, *Living and Dying in England*, 10, 36.

³ "Das sol men dem convent uf den tisch gen zû einre pitancien." Strasbourg Archives de la Ville et de la Communauté urbaine Archives Hôpitaux MS 769 (hereafter referred to as AH MS 769), 171. Both this manuscript, which dates to ca. 1400, and that of its sister convent, AH MS 7337, dating to the fourteenth through the fifteenth centuries, are paginated by a postmedieval archival hand. All translations are mine.

⁴ "an dem ersten dage vische und win un[d] brot uf den tisch und an dem siebenden j. lib. und an dem drissigsten j. lib. wir haut ouch ein phunt geltes von ir. daz sol men und die swest[er]n teilen an irme iargezite und súllent ir getruwelichen gedencken. sú ist ouch in unserre kirchen begraben." AH MS 769, 306. Bracketed letters indicate those omitted by the scribe; 1 *lib.* (*libras*) was equivalent to one *phunt*; both are terms roughly equivalent to the English "pound." Frowe Metze also gave a worn green chasuble (*grune gerüchte karsuckel*), a good alb (*güte albe*), and fifty pounds of wax to the nuns. On clothing donations and terms for late medieval Strasbourg, see Stanford, "Donations from the Body for the Soul."

⁵ For a discussion of this trend, see Cohn, "Triumph over Plague."

⁶ Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, 242.

⁷ Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles*, 60.

⁸ Phillips, "Beguienes in Medieval Strasburg; a Study of the Social Aspect of Beguine Life," 19.

⁹ Kraus (*Kunst und Alterthum in Elsass-Lothringen*, 548) mentions a possible third house of Franciscan nuns, St. Barbara, though this has disappeared without further trace. For general information on the two St. Klara convents, see Pflieger, *Kirchengeschichte der Stadt Strassburg*, 88.

¹⁰ For a discussion of the *Constopler* and these reforms, see Dollinger, "Émancipation de la ville"; Stanford, *Commemorating the Dead*, 124–46.

¹¹ AH MS 769, 133. For a discussion of the founding of the post of *Ammeister*, see Dollinger, "Émancipation de la ville," 80.

¹² AH MS 769, 259.

¹³ "O[biit] d[omi]na adelheidis d[ic]ta zollerin cu[m] suo marito de d[ic]tibus heinricus iiij q[ua]rt[alis] silig[inis] [...] o[biit] domina elyzabeth d[ic]ta richin de hagen[au] que dedit nob[is] om[n]ia bona sua mobilia et im[m]obilia." AH MS 7337, 16.

¹⁴ "[frate]r n[oste]r Konradus layc[us] qui dedit nob[is] om[n]ia bona sua mobilia et immobilia et de quo [hem'] × S qui divide[n]t[ur] in sorores." AH MS 7337, 10.

¹⁵ Pflieger, *Kirchengeschichte der Stadt Strassburg*, 89.

¹⁶ "o[biit] heinric[us] de sch[er]wilre q[ui] dedit nob[is] om[n]ia bona sua ad edificiu[m] n[ost]r[um] chori et he'm anuatim' 2 lib[ras] pro pitanc[ia]m/Heinricus von Scherwiler der gab unß allaß sin gûtt zû unser chor und jerliche[n] [...d] iore ij lib[ras] den frowe[n] uff de[n] tisch." AH MS 7337, 16.

¹⁷ The majority of donor gifts do not specify any particular commemorative treatment, although the inclusion of the gift in the obituary book indicates that the sisters would have prayed for them on the recorded date of their death, according to the liturgy common to the house. In instances that do not state how a bequest was to be used, presumably the convent could allocate those resources in whatever way the abbess or treasurer saw fit.

¹⁸ La Corte and McMillan, *Regular Life*, 105.

¹⁹ Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles*, 48.

²⁰ "1 livre geltes daz sol men uf den tisch an irme iargezite." AH MS 769, 52.

²¹ AH MS 7337, 3. It is, however, possible that such grain was considered as surplus to be sold for additional, less basic foodstuffs, as some rents and payments continued to be made in grain or kind, despite the overwhelming shift to a cash economy in Strasbourg by the fifteenth century.

²² Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages*, 57.

²³ See for example AH MS 769, 54, 158, 194, 224, 229, 301, and 306. Only the last entry mentions fish (the rest are for wine).

²⁴ "The Rule of Benedict," chap. 39. Specifications on monastic drink are given in chapter 40.

²⁵ Harvey's study of the monks of Westminster discusses such elastic interpretations of the Benedictine Rule in detail, including the construction of not one but two extra eating rooms where meat legitimately could be served. Harvey, *Living and Dying in England*, 41–42.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 61.

²⁷ For the cathedral workshop or Oeuvre Notre-Dame's gifts of bread and cherry and berry compote (*Kirschenmus* and *Schlehengumpost*) see Schock-Werner, "Das Straßburger Münster im 15. Jahrhundert," 58. The hospital record (AH MS 585, ca. 1493), notes the respective making and giving of gingerbread on St. Lucy's day and Christmas Eve, both to hospital patients and to friends of the hospital such as the cathedral preacher (fols. 9v and 95v).

²⁸ The vernacular term *imbs* (or *ymbis*) is more commonly employed in AH MS 585, as it is kept primarily in German, although some entries are still recorded in Latin and preserve the term *pitancia*.

²⁹ Over 100 anniversary foundations are recorded for this hospital; see Stanford, *Commemorating the Dead*, 273.

³⁰ As no register of patients survives from this era, it is impossible to tell what personal connections the donors may have had with hospital patients, some of whom were paying residents, or *consuetudinares*.

³¹ "An[ua]ti[m] d[omi]n[a]e Margrethe Wurmesserin r[e]licte q[uo]n[d]am petri Voltzen ciu[is] Arge[ntinensis] q[ua]e legauit viviente corp[or]e pro se [et] om[n]i p[ro]genitore necno[n] viri [et] [...] suore iij libre d[en] arge[ntinensis] anni[versari]os cens[us] sup[er] com[muni]tatem [et] villam Oûwenheim vt [...] [huius] hospi[ta]l[is] und[er] git man[n] den siechen ein gebrotte fleisch zû nach Imbß)." MS AH 585, fol. 72v.

³² Albala, *Eating Right in the Renaissance*, 171.

³³ "Oûch das die siechen haben vff sant Martins tag zû Imbs yedem ein fiertel eins gebrotte cappens. Item Man sol sich nit verlassen vff die z[ins] cappens wan[n] ettlich gelt dar fûr wirt geben." MS AH 585, fol. 84.

³⁴ AH MS 585, fols. 4v, 103v, 5 and 95v.

³⁵ The hospital diet for fast days, including the Ember days (held quarterly through the year on a Wednesday, Friday and Saturday of a given week), rigorously lists a menu based on two meals a day, which consist almost solely of fish or soup (especially *grienerbsupp*); AH MS 585, fol. 101. For the use of spices to enliven convent food, see the excellent study by Schleif and Schier, *Katerina's Windows* (which came to my attention as this chapter was in its last stages).

³⁶ By the eighteenth century at least, the daily allowance for a patient was two liters of wine a day. Bousingen, "La santé par le vin," 12.

³⁷ This apparent difference may, however, be the result of the records' character, since we have no documentation for the convents' diet beyond the *pitancia* mentions in the obituaries.

³⁸ "ein halb fûder weines des besten [...] alle sunendags zu nâht in dem advent." AH MS 7337, 6.

³⁹ Harvey's study of the Westminster monks indicates frequent *pitancia* dishes in addition to a substantial basic portion as high as 6,000 kcal per day (with the leftovers given to charity). Harvey, *Living and Dying in England*, 65.

⁴⁰ "Alle ior uf Sante Clare dag," AH MS 769, 143.

⁴¹ Parish ales were not commemorative meals *per se* but generally fundraisers or community gatherings. On this practice of parish "ales" in England, see French, *The People of the Parish*, 13.

⁴² This ceremony, celebrated on August 29, included nocturnal revels of singing and dancing, food and drink (the last to excess, thanks to a large barrel of wine kept in the St. Katherine chapel). Grandidier, *Essais historiques et topographiques*, 74. It is possible that the cathedral's fraternity, which did enjoy gift exchanges including food items, might have invoked some kind of commemorative aspect in an annual banquet, although this can be but speculation, as no documentation on this topic survives.

⁴³ On the sick as Christ's poor, see Saunier, "*Le pauvre malade*."

⁴⁴ For example, AH MS 769, 102.

⁴⁵ AH MS 769, 217 and 121. Of course Mechtild might have had relatives of her own at the convent, or possibly she had been educated there.

⁴⁶ AH MS 769, 287 and 360.

⁴⁷ AH MS 7337, 10 and AH MS 769, 262.

⁴⁸ "Und sullent ir getruweliche gedencken." AH MS 769, 230.

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Chapter Ten

The Panel Painting as a Choice for Family Commemoration

The Case of Fifteenth-Century Patrons on Cyprus

Barbara McNulty

CYPRIOT COMMEMORATIVE PANEL PAINTINGS provide visual manifestations of piety, wealth, and cultural allegiance. Trends and patterns in the ways in which these donors sought to be remembered provide clues for representations of what might be considered the family “ideal” to these middle to upper classes of Cypriot society. They also show a strong attachment to the family unit, as seen in the numbers of children portrayed compared to other areas of production in the Levant. The medium of the portable wooden panel painting commissioned for the dead, here called the commemorative icon, was a prevalent art form, especially in its use to commemorate children and families on the island of Cyprus.¹ With origins in the fourteenth century and a proliferation during the sixteenth century, two fifteenth-century examples provide case studies of Cypriot commemorative practice through funerary icons.

Strategies for memorializing the deceased during the Middle Ages include a range of adornment connected to a burial site, and there has been increasing interest among scholars to explore the enactment of memory, yet few have explored cases on Cyprus.² Artwork at such sites was the means by which monument, setting, and visitor interacted. Commemorative icons maintained the presence of the dead among the living.³ Side altars within church interiors belonging to a family group often contained commemorative tombs in the form of floor slabs or caskets along the walls.⁴ Difficulties in reconstructing the total complex of a memorial site for those buried in churches result from the scattered and partial remains that survive from such locations. As Michalis Olympios has shown, attributing the function of works of art such as altarpieces is complicated when they are no longer located in their original

settings.⁵ He convincingly identified several Cypriot rectangular relief slabs previously thought to have been sarcophagus fronts that might instead, based on their iconography, have adorned altar fronts. Sites dedicated to *memoria* might include the tomb itself with a stone plaque; a chapel or funerary niche designated for that specific usage; and icons, donor gifts, and other liturgical objects that may have originally been part of the complete setting. Commemorative icons were just one aspect of a larger burial commission or may have been created independently to be included as part of a funerary chapel or niche.

The Practice of Burials in Churches on Cyprus

Evidence of medieval tombs on Cyprus survives as carved slabs, sarcophagi, and painted tombs (map 5).⁶ According to Camille Enlart, sarcophagi were usually placed in arcaded niches within the church.⁷ Consequently, many niche chapels on Cyprus have been interpreted as funerary, even though they may have been side altars.⁸ One surviving niche, likely a funerary space, dates to the fourteenth century and is located in the southern arm of the transept of St. Nicholas Cathedral in Famagusta.⁹ Funerary niches can also be detected in the ruins of St. George of the Greeks in Famagusta.¹⁰ Another dated to the fifteenth century is the tomb of St. Mammas at Morphou, which includes a marble sarcophagus within a niche.¹¹

Burials within churches were part of the Latin tradition and were brought to Cyprus with the Franks.¹² The Latin Cathedral of St. Sophia in Nicosia, begun in the early thirteenth century, has several niches in its decorated porch that may have housed icons, as does the nearby building known as the Bedestan, formerly the church of the Panagia Chrysotheistria.¹³ There is a variety of written accounts of burials within churches.¹⁴ The chronicle of George Boustronios records numerous burials during the fifteenth century of royalty and nobility in such places as the aforementioned St. Sophia (now Selimiye Mosque), the monastery of the Dominican friars, and St. Nicholas Cathedral in Famagusta.¹⁵ Eventually, Orthodox churches adopted the custom of burial in churches. Annemarie Weyl Carr notes the earliest evidence of the presence of Latin burial within a Greek church was the tomb slab of Simone Guers (1302) at Panagia Angeloktisti in Kiti.¹⁶

Incised Figures

Incised figures on tomb slabs are the earliest evidence we have for commemorative portraiture on Cyprus.¹⁷ These began to appear in 1302 shortly after the 1291 fall of the Crusader city of Acre (Syria) to the Mamluks, which resulted in a substantial number of Crusader refugees, including patrons and artists, settling on the island. The iconographic sources for fourteenth-century family portraiture on Cyprus can be detected in these early effigies.¹⁸

A tomb slab dated 1322 shows Marie, the twenty-eight-year-old daughter of Gautier de Bessan, one of the oldest Frankish families in Cyprus (figure 10.1).¹⁹ Her father came from a noble family with origins in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and her mother was part of the influential

Figure 10.1: Marie (28), daughter of Gautier de Bessan, Armenian Church, Nicosia, 1322. Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs*, vol. 2, plate 138c.

Ibelin family on Cyprus, one of the most important noble families in the Crusader states.²⁰ Marie's hands are crossed over her chest, supporting an open book resting on her bosom—possibly a Book of Hours. This crossed-arms pose parallels that of the body prepared for burial according to Byzantine ritual practice. One such custom was to bind the arms across the chest, suggesting the possibility that the pose shown in the slab was intended to depict a properly prepared corpse.²¹ Although Marie is identified as an offspring of the Bessan family, by her age she is an adult, not a child. To date there has not been a scholarly assessment of the presence and number of children's depictions in tomb slab portraiture, although the total number does appear to be low.

Another option for commemorating the deceased on Cyprus was in the form of fresco painting. At the church of St. Theodosius, south of Akhelia, two deceased male figures are portrayed on the south wall of the west arm of the church. Dated to the thirteenth century, they are painted with their arms crossed over their chests, as is seen in many contemporary effigies. Towels that appear to be made of locally woven textiles, and are believed to be funerary accessories, hang from loops on their garments at hip level.²² An accompanying inscription over the head of one of the figures reveals its funerary context "the servant of God George fell asleep."²³ A fifteenth-century exterior fresco, located on the lunette above the south door of the Church of the Panagia Kanakaria at Lythrangomi, appears to contain a rare depiction of a donor's deceased family member within a painting of the Virgin Hodegetria.²⁴ The image type of the Virgin Hodegetria is based on an icon that was housed in the Hodegon monastery in Constantinople depicting the Virgin holding the Christ child in her left arm and gesturing to him with her right hand as she looks directly at the viewer.²⁵ A domed porch has somewhat protected the Lythrangomi fresco from the elements.²⁶ In the lower left of the fresco is an image of a deceased female, along with a bearded man wearing a dark cloak over a white garment, both kneeling in prayer. Much smaller than the man, the woman, or girl, dressed all in white, including her veil, has her arms crossed over her chest in the manner in which the deceased were portrayed in tomb effigies and on Cypriot icons from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. A. H. S. Megaw and E. J. W. Hawkins have suggested that she is either the donor's wife or daughter dressed in a shroud and that the lunette was most likely commissioned in her memory.²⁷ Above the donor is his undated dedication in two short lines of which only a few letters were legible to Megaw and Hawkins who recorded that "it seems to start

with *Deesis*, followed by Christian name(s) and family name (or rank).²⁸ Another painted example thought to be a funerary fresco portrays a Latin woman and two young men on either side of the Virgin of Mercy in an apse at the church of Panagia Phorbiotissa, Asinou.²⁹ Mary portrayed as the Virgin of Mercy is found in Orthodox church decoration under Latin rule. The image portrays an enthroned Mary with her maphorion opening out, as if to shelter or protect the donor under her cloak, a type known in Italian as the *Madonna della Misericordia*.³⁰

By far, painted panel icons commemorating the deceased have survived in greater numbers than frescoes with donors on Cyprus. Hans Belting has suggested that the late medieval period ushered in the era of private images—introducing new image functions such as “the portrait, the donor’s image, the altarpiece, and the devotional image.”³¹ This transformation was seen as meeting the needs of “a new type of piety and a new private taste.”³² Indeed, with the advent of the Franks in 1192, the number of portraits on the island increased. It has been argued that even though Cyprus is where they made their home, the Franks still identified with Western Europe.³³ It is in the thirteenth century that donor portraits begin to appear in Italian paintings.³⁴

Historical Context

The fifteenth century was not kind to the island of Cyprus. War with Genoa had been raging since 1373 when the Genoese annexed Famagusta and the surrounding area.³⁵ By the end of the fourteenth century, economic decline can be detected in Cypriot coinage under the reign of James I (1382–1398), for fewer coins were being struck and artistic quality diminished.³⁶ His successor Janus (1398–1432) issued a new, less expensive denomination: a *sizain* of six *deniers* minted in copper, rather than silver, indicative of pressures on royal finances.³⁷ In 1426, the Egyptians invaded and took King Janus prisoner, demanding a large ransom for his return. Plague struck the population several times during the late fourteenth century, with outbreaks continuing to occur periodically in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. After the pestilence of 1409, there was an attack of locusts that ruined crops for several years. When Constantinople fell to the Turks in 1453, refugees flooded the island.

Nevertheless, the fifteenth century saw a burgeoning of artistic patronage in the production of funerary icons. What led to this increase in patronage during a time of such devastation? After the demise of the

Crusader kingdom in 1291 and the appearance of Venetian and Genoese commercial colonies on the island, the economy began to recover and grow. Even though the Mamluks had invaded Cyprus in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, it was the Cypriots who were the winners, according to Nicholas Coureas, in terms of commercial exports to Egypt.³⁸ By the fifteenth century, it was the Venetians who traded in the greatest numbers on Cyprus.³⁹ Cyprus had become a primary exporter of such commodities as cotton and sugar, as well as salt, grain, silk, and camlets.⁴⁰ Cypriot products such as sugar were exported to Egypt, and Venetian merchants particularly benefited,⁴¹ more so than the Genoese even though they had annexed Cyprus' eastern port city of Famagusta.⁴² By the time Cyprus became a Venetian colony in 1489, not only did the island's nobles enjoy prosperity, but substantial numbers of middle-class merchants and townspeople also benefited from growing economic opportunities.⁴³ Originally made up of the Frankish elite who adhered to the Latin Church, the boundaries of Cypriot nobility had become more fluid by the end of the fourteenth century.⁴⁴ Current scholarship has noted the social complexity on Cyprus, making it a blending of cultures.⁴⁵ James Schryver has postulated that though communities on the island developed within their own boundaries, it was across the boundaries of administration, industry, and religion that interaction could occur.⁴⁶

Icon Production in the Fifteenth Century

The growing prosperity of upper-middle class merchants and townspeople provided the means for increasing patronage of commemorative icons along with a desire to create devotional images expressing personal concerns, as seen in several changes in modes of icon production.⁴⁷ First, there are fewer examples of royal patronage and more examples of private sponsorship often found in smaller churches throughout the island, not just in the cathedrals of Famagusta and Nicosia, traditionally loci of royal commemoration. Stylistic taste was oriented to the Palaiologan style, a high style of the late Byzantine courts, and the icons include Western European elements, rather than those derived from the Crusader Holy Land.⁴⁸ Carr asserts that funerary icons with distinct inscriptions are mostly found in Cyprus.⁴⁹

Cyprus became a crucial link in the Venetian mercantile empire in the Mediterranean and its domination of Levantine trade with Western Europe. Genoese sources document numerous ethnic groups present on Cyprus

in the city of Famagusta during the fifteenth century, including Genoese, Venetians, Armenians, Franks, and other European immigrants living alongside local Byzantine-Greek communities.⁵⁰ They forged a hybrid culture where Renaissance Italian and Byzantine traditions were brought together in unique ways, creating what Justine Andrews has called “borderland” visual culture reflecting the complex interactions of such “spheres of influence,” as described by Schryver.⁵¹ Jill Caskey aptly uses the term “*mercatantia*” to explain the production of art by the merchant culture in Amalfi. Borrowed from Boccaccio, who had used it to refer to commercial transactions,⁵² *mercatantia* describes these “borderland” productions, pointing to the web of economic, social, and political currents arising from the numerous and varied contacts possible within a coastal, commercial society like that found on Cyprus.⁵³ The bustling Cypriot trade activity comes to life through commercial letters transcribed and published by Benjamin Arbel, such as the lengthy letter written by Alvise Foscari to his brother, Giovanni, in Famagusta dated August 18, 1473.⁵⁴ In the letter he mentions transaction details of spices, jewelry, cotton and woolen cloth. Spices were one of the most lucrative trade items, with sugar and cotton being typical of Cyprus.⁵⁵ An understanding of the economic opportunities within this vast network of Levant trade and the hybrid nature of its material culture helps to explain the access to Renaissance thought during this period and provides the context for developments in commemorative icons.

Beginning around the year 1300, both Orthodox and Latin Christian patrons on Cyprus began to commission panel-painted icons to commemorate their family members, with deceased children being included more frequently. The production of icons of all sorts had flourished on the island of Cyprus in the preceding centuries. The burgeoning of the commemorative icon seems to have developed with the advent of the iconostasis or icon screen with its multiple tiers for the placement of panel paintings.⁵⁶ By the end of the century, when Cyprus was under Venetian domination, the number of surviving commemorative icons depicting families increased dramatically, presumably due to greater numbers of bourgeois patrons and the rise in the production and use of the wooden iconostasis, with its ability to house a greater number of icons. The total number of children portrayed in panel paintings of all kinds almost tripled during the Venetian period, with at least thirty-seven such images surviving.⁵⁷ This significant increase in children’s commemorative icons, as opposed to adult portraits, is a local phenomenon on Cyprus that deserves focused consideration.

The Sanctuary as a Liminal Space for Icons and Salvific Wishes

Sophia Kalopissi-Verti has described the three thresholds found in Byzantine churches as liminal zones of graduated holiness: the exterior entrance to the church, the passage from narthex into the nave, and the doors to the sanctuary, usually within the iconostasis. The devotional imagery found on screens flanking the openings between these areas served as important devotional aids.⁵⁸ Entryways to churches often contained images of Christ and the Virgin as intercessory images. *Deesis* imagery, typically on the iconostasis, shows the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist acting as intercessors on behalf of the supplicant, thus providing a direct appeal for salvation. The narthex as a liminal site for burials and having a funerary context has been attested through archaeological, textual, and physical evidence.⁵⁹

Premature death was a frequent visitor to the island due to ill health and disease among the general population, and Cyprus was greatly impacted by the devastation of the Black Death.⁶⁰ It is believed that in the first outbreak of the plague in 1347 and 1348, one-fifth to one-third of the population of Cyprus perished.⁶¹ After 1348, the production of tomb slabs with effigies dramatically rose from less than ten percent of all slabs to more than ninety percent.⁶² Studies have shown that following the initial outbreak of plague, wealthy Europeans built tombs that included full-sized effigies of themselves, a trend that lasted around two centuries.⁶³ Given the vast number of people buried hastily in unmarked graves during the height of the pestilence, this custom may indicate desire to ensure that individuals and their family lines would not be forgotten.⁶⁴ Most of the other surviving incised slabs on Cyprus date to the latter half of the fourteenth century, with a few from the beginning of the fifteenth century. After this time, their numbers decrease significantly, and the few examples that do survive from the Venetian period display low-relief sculpture.⁶⁵ Tassos Papacostas sees this low-relief funereal sculpture of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries as evidence of “echoes of the Renaissance.”⁶⁶

Cypriot commemorative icons share a number of salient features.⁶⁷ The main element indicating when persons are deceased is the gesture of arms crossed over the chest.⁶⁸ Crossing the arms over the chest continues to denote the deceased as seen in the icon at Vitali where we have an inscription that indicates that the individual is dead. Dedicatory inscriptions for deceased individuals often begin by telling us that a certain person “fell asleep,” a common Byzantine convention for acknowledging a person’s

death.⁶⁹ In fourteenth-century icons, figures are portrayed frontally as if standing and, in some cases, are represented on a larger scale than living family members, whose arms rest at their sides.

The earliest known icon to contain a funerary inscription is an elongated panel dedicated by the Xeros family. The panel honors the couple's daughter, Maria, who had died a virgin in 1356 (figure 10.2).⁷⁰ This icon is painted in a late Byzantine style, typical of fourteenth-century Constantinople, yet blending both Greek and Latin elements as seen in at least two other similarly large, elongated icons that were thought to be designed for a Gothic architectural setting.⁷¹ The family's name, the Greek inscriptions, and their clothing all indicate that the Xeros were Greek Orthodox. Migration of commemorative portraiture from tombs to panel paintings may be best understood by considering that icons may have been placed within areas of the church that contained tombs. The large size of Byzantine panel paintings of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries has been attributed to the placement of such panels between the columns of the icon screen and in areas beyond it.⁷² Carr suggests the long, narrow shape of the Xeros icon, 2.52 by 0.43 meters, indicates that it was designed for a Gothic church on Cyprus, possibly to fit into a niche.⁷³ Several large Cypriot icons have pointed arched tops, supporting this hypothesis.⁷⁴ The father, Manuel, and mother, Euphemia, kneel in three-quarter view to the left and right of the midsection of the icon. The deceased young girl, who is almost twice the size of her parents, is shown frontally with her arms crossed over her chest. The girl is dressed in what has been characterized as her wedding clothing, identifying her as approximately thirteen years old, the customary age for a Byzantine girl to marry.⁷⁵

Typical of Byzantine funerary practices meant to honor the dead, Maria is shown dressed in the finest clothing of silk and gold.⁷⁶ She is crowned with a wreath of flowers that was a Byzantine burial custom for all unmarried persons.⁷⁷ Significantly, all family members are named in the surviving inscription, attesting to the importance of women and children in the family unit. Although Maria's commemorative icon contains some characteristics of Frankish tomb effigies, such as her frontal pose with arms crossed over her chest, the very Byzantine character of her elegant dress has not been found on Cypriot incised effigies, demonstrating that the clothing is more typical of women on Cyprus.

On such fourteenth-century commemorative icons, the patrons of the image were shown along with the deceased, a feature wholly absent in tomb slabs. As with the Xeros example, the earliest of these surviving

Figure 10.2 The icon of Christ, Angel, and Donors (Xeros family), 1356, formerly the Church of the Virgin Chrysaliniotissa, Nicosia. Reproduced by permission of the Byzantine Museum of the Archbishop Makarios III Foundation, Nicosia.

commemorative icons include only the parents and the deceased child. A similar example from the fourteenth century painted in the Byzantine tradition on a large, narrow, vertical panel is an icon of St. Eleutherios with three figures at his feet in the crossed-arm pose.⁷⁸ Over time, Cypriot commemorative icons began to include not only the mother and father of the deceased, but also other living siblings. With the introduction of living children, these memorials became family portraits.

The *Virgin Hodegetria and Donors* is the earliest extant example featuring a family group as the painting's donors (figure 10.3).⁷⁹ This is one of the first panels still intact to include a living sibling and one of the latest images on a panel painting that imitates the way the deceased are depicted in tomb effigies. The donors kneel according to a formula found in thirteenth-century Frankish art, as seen in a wall painting at the Cypriot church of Asinou near Nikitari.⁸⁰ A mother, father, and child kneel at the right in front of Mary. On the left are the faint remains of a girl with her arms crossed, shown frontally and on a much larger scale than the rest of her family. The motif of the kneeling family can be traced to manuscript painting made in the Crusader territories.⁸¹ The figures are portrayed in a predominately Western European style, seen in the rounded, Italianesque forms of the Virgin and Child and the treatment of the family's clothing with soft, naturalistic folds of fabric.⁸²

Unique to Cyprus is the *pastiglia* ornamentation in use by the thirteenth century to imitate costly embossed precious metal revetment.⁸³ Such revetments are used on the most treasured icons, particularly those containing images of the Virgin.⁸⁴ The specific background pattern of small rosettes or crosses in squares has also been noted in South Italy and is present on a large St. Nicholas icon and this icon of the Virgin Hodegetria.⁸⁵ The use of revetment on icons was seen as an act of piety, and the *pastiglia* likely served the same function for patrons of more modest means on Cyprus.⁸⁶

Commissioning an icon of such large size and high quality would no doubt have been very expensive, and it is unlikely that the donor intended to display the panel in a domestic context. While an inscription does not survive, the honoree's dress indicates her high status. Though it is difficult to see her clothing clearly in the now shadowy image of the deceased young girl, traces of extravagant materials are detected in the bodice of her dress, and she wears a necklace. Her mother's black veil and low-cut dark red gown can be compared to several Frankish portraits of nobility found

Figure 10.3 Virgin Hodegetria and Donors, fifteenth century, formerly the Church of the Virgin Chrysalinotissa, Nicosia. Reproduced by permission of the Byzantine Museum of the Archbishop Makarios III Foundation, Nicosia

in Cyprus, fashions seemingly introduced on the island after the fall of Acre, the last possession of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, when many Western aristocrats relocated to Cyprus. An icon of St. Sergius made in thirteenth-century Syria shows the female donor wearing a black veil in the same style, suggesting the Crusader origins of this fashion trend.⁸⁷ This type of headdress is seen on the Latin woman in the fresco at Asinou and the tomb slab of Simone Guers (1302) in Kiti.

In the kneeling family grouping on the left, the father wears a dark blue robe and a dark peaked cap, similar to the one worn by Manuel Xeros in the icon commemorating his daughter Maria.⁸⁸ Xeros is identified in Greek as “lord” and “lector” of the church.⁸⁹ Like Xeros, the otherwise unidentified man is bearded, in the Greek fashion, unlike the clean-shaven style prevalent in late medieval and early Renaissance Western Europe. Thus, it is possible that the man in this icon served his church in a similar capacity.⁹⁰ The young girl kneeling beside him is portrayed in a bright red dress with her blond hair uncovered and flowing. She is the only living girl in the surviving donor portraits who does not have her head covered by a veil, cap, or crown.

The *Virgin Kamariotissa* (figure 10.4) commemorative icon—dated to the fifteenth century—has several characteristics in common with the *Virgin Hodegetria and Donors* icon, including its monumental size, funerary context, and living donors portrayed alongside deceased family members.⁹¹ We see two groups of donors with inscriptions to the left and right side of the icon. On the left is a mother, older daughter, and young son. The inscription above the mother reads, “Prayer of the servant of God, Bella, daughter of Lord Nicholas, Bishop of Nicosia, of blessed memory, and of her children. And pray for them to the all-pure Mother of God.”⁹² According to David Talbot Rice, this Orthodox bishop was present at the coronation of the Venetian Caterina Cornaro as queen of Cyprus in 1473.⁹³ Consequently, this icon must have been created around the time of the newly enacted Venetian rule in 1489.

On the right side of the panel painting (figure 10.5), the inscription above the adult male figure, presumably the father, reads, “Lord, remember your servants Lord Eustathios and his daughter Helen. May those who read this bless them.”⁹⁴ Even though the inscriptions do not make clear whether this group comprises a single family, the crossed arms over the chest of the daughter at the left and the father at the right indicate that these two are the deceased persons mentioned in the accompanying inscriptions.⁹⁵ The color white has been used for the Greek letters in the inscription for the deceased Eustathios and his daughter Helen. A large Cypriot icon of St. Mamas made around 1500 also uses white lettering to identify one who has died, a useful way to differentiate the living donors’ inscriptions from those who were being commemorated.

The mother wears a long blue dress and a heavy black veil that covers most of her clothing (figure 10.6). This conservative type of clothing for married women is seen on Cypriot female donors that predate 1500.

Figure 10.4 *Virgin Kamariotissa*, end of the fifteenth century, formerly the Church of the Virgin, Chrysaliniotissa, Nicosia. Reproduced by permission of the Byzantine Museum of the Archbishop Makarios III Foundation, Nicosia.

Figure 10.5 Detail of donors (Eustathios and sons) on the right side of *Virgin Kamariotissa*, end of the fifteenth century. Reproduced by permission of the Byzantine Museum of the Archbishop Makarios III Foundation, Nicosia.

Italian heritage is suggested by the mother's name, Bella.⁹⁶ If Bella's father, as Orthodox bishop, was present at the coronation of Caterina Cornaro, the family likely had close ties to Venice.

The deceased daughter, Helen, who faces the center in a three-quarter profile and whose arms cross her chest, is dressed in a vibrant red gown. She wears a white veil, embroidered in gold. She also wears a chain of gold links around her neck. Her apparent age, and the luxury of her

Figure 10.6 Detail of donors (Bella, Helen, and son) on the left side of *Virgin Kamariotissa*, end of the fifteenth century. Reproduced by permission of the Byzantine Museum of the Archbishop Makarios III Foundation, Nicosia.

dress and its red color, indicates that she, like Maria in the Xeros icon, had not yet been married and was clothed in her wedding garments.⁹⁷

Bella's husband Eustathios wears a dark robe, with the edges of a brown shirt visible at the neck and wrists, typical of the dress of Venetian gentlemen.⁹⁸ His hair is cut in the shorter Venetian fashion, and he does not have a beard—unusual for male donor portraits on Cyprus. His three sons are also dressed in the Venetian style, with their hair cropped to shoulder length, and wearing short cloaks and tights. The large size and quality of the icon, their fine clothing, Bella's father Nicholas' identification as Bishop of Nicosia, and the father's address as "Lord," all help to establish the wealth and high status of this family.

Conclusion

There is another commonality among these donor families that deserves attention. These patrons were not merely generous, wealthy churchgoers. It appears that the sponsoring families had a close connection to the church, with family members serving the ecclesiastical hierarchy in some official capacity. In the *Kamariotissa* icon, Bishop Nicholas of Nicosia is mentioned as the father of the female donor. Although there is no identifying inscription, the *Virgin Hodegetria* contains a portrait of a father who appears to wear the same cap and clothing as Manuel Xeros, who was identified as the lector of his church. These families used public commemoration of deceased relatives to bring attention to their lineage, to their status in the community, and to their positions within the church, as well as a concern for the blessing of a religious donation through an icon.

This pair of commemorative panel paintings from the fifteenth century reveals important evidence for changing social and cultural meanings. Specifically, these icons inform us about the family ideal of the middle to upper strata of Cypriot society. By making the deceased present for the bereaved, these family portraits not only provided opportunity for intercessory prayers but also allowed members of the family, especially young girls whose potential for marriage alliances went unfulfilled, to contribute to their family's social self-fashioning. These family icons echoed their tastes and ambitions as well as the transition from a Frankish regime to a Venetian one. Due to the lack of information or provenance for many of these icons, the art historian must rely solely on visual evidence, such as the style of painting, the clothing of the donors, and the way the icon has been composed in comparison to other known, dated icons. These

fifteenth-century icons show an increasing presence of Western European traditions, a mixing of Latin and Orthodox families, a growth of prosperity and wealth, a desire to display that wealth, and an increased esteem for women and children within the family and Church on this island set in the crossroads between East and West.

Notes

¹ For funerary icons on Cyprus, see Carr, "Cypriot Funerary Icons," 1:153–73; Carr, "Art," 320. Carr suggests the roots for funerary icons were in the fourteenth century.

² For types of artwork connected to tombs during the Middle Ages, see Valdez del Álamo and Pendergast, *Memory and the Medieval Tomb*, 1–2.

³ Ibid., 4.

⁴ Bacci, "Side Altars and 'Pro Anima' Chapels."

⁵ Olympios, "Stripped from the Altar." An example of a late fourteenth- / early fifteenth-century sarcophagus is one that was built into the façade of the church of St. John of Bibi. Most interesting are the bas-relief kneeling figures in the outermost arcades of the sarcophagus containing Christ on the Cross, the Virgin Mary to his left, and St. John to his right in the three center arcades, all separated by columns. The figures are in profile and kneeling, each on a resting lion couchant, their hands raised in prayer. The woman wears a veil seen in many donor portraits of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the gentleman has a sword attached at his waist and is clean-shaven with hair to his shoulders.

⁶ For tombs on Cyprus, see Enlart, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus*, 361–72, figs 333, 335, 361, 367, 369. See also Imhaus, *Lacrimae Cypriae*.

⁷ Enlart, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus*, 366.

⁸ Bacci, "Side Altars and 'Pro Anima' Chapels," 20.

⁹ Enlart, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus*, 370, fig. 335.

¹⁰ Carr, "Art," 320.

¹¹ Enlart, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus*, 367–68, fig. 333.

¹² Severis, "St. Mamas in Morphou."

¹³ Andrews, "Conveyance and Convergence," 427; Carr, "Byzantines and Italians on Cyprus," 340–41. For the Bedestan, see Bacci, "Some Remarks on the Appropriation, Use, and Survival of Gothic Forms," 154–55.

¹⁴ Enlart, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus*, 372.

¹⁵ Voustrônios, *A Narrative of the Chronicle of Cyprus, 1456–1489*, 68, 89, 129, 160, 174, 251.

¹⁶ Carr, "Art," 320.

¹⁷ Three major catalogues that include Cypriot funerary sculpture include: Chamberlayne, *Lacrimae nicossenses*; Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs*, 1:41; Imhaus, *Lacrimae Cypriae*.

¹⁸ Carr, "Cypriot Funerary Icons," 157.

¹⁹ Imhaus, *Lacrimae Cypriae*, 1:64–65.

²⁰ For information on the Ibelin family in Cyprus see Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades*, 33, 35, 51, 53–70, and 79; Imhaus, *Lacrimae Cypriae*, 1:64–65, fig. 128, pl. 62. See also Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs*, 2: pl. 139a, 77. Armenian Church, Nicosia. For the family lineage, see Nielen, *Lignages d'outremer*, Le Vaticanus Latinus 4789, no. 337, p. 99; no. 346, p. 110. The Lords of Bethsan (Bessan) were a noble family with origins in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and Marie was a child by Gautier's second wife Alice Ibelin, daughter of Philippe Ibelin, constable of Cyprus.

²¹ Kyriakakis, "Byzantine Burial Customs," 48–49.

²² Stylianou and Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus*, 407–8, fig. 245.

²³ *Ibid.*, 407.

²⁴ Megaw and Hawkins, *The Church of the Panagia Kanakariá*, 158–59.

²⁵ Kazhdan et al., *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3:2172.

²⁶ Papageōrgiou, *Christian Art in the Turkish-Occupied Part of Cyprus*, 257. Compare fig. 1 (before 1974) and fig. 2 (2010).

²⁷ Megaw and Hawkins, *The Church of the Panagia Kanakariá*, 159.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ See discussion of these donors in Carr and Nicolaïdès, *Asinou across Time*, 125–29.

³⁰ Kalopissi-Verti, "Representations of the Virgin in Lusignan Cyprus," 307; Carr and Nicolaïdès, *Asinou across Time*, 128.

³¹ Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 432.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Coureas, "How Frankish Was the Frankish Ruling Class of Cyprus?," 61.

³⁴ Pope-Hennessy, *The Portrait in the Renaissance*, 257.

³⁵ Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel, *Cyprus: Society and Culture*, 2.

³⁶ Metcalf, "The Monetary Economy of Cyprus (1184–1489)."

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 83.

³⁸ Coureas, "Losing the War but Winning the Peace," 351.

³⁹ Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages*, 365.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 351.

⁴² Coureas, "Losing the War but Winning the Peace," 361.

⁴³ For the prosperity of Greek-Cypriot nobles, see Arbel, "Greek Magnates in Venetian Cyprus," 326.

⁴⁴ Arbel, "The Cypriot Nobility from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century," 175–76.

⁴⁵ Schryver, "Colonialism or Convivencia in Frankish Cyprus?," 154–55.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 159.

⁴⁷ Carr, "Art," 325–26.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 327–28.

⁴⁹ Carr, "Cypriot Funerary Icons," 163.

⁵⁰ Balletto, "Ethnic Groups, Cross-Social and Cross-Cultural Contacts on Fifteenth-Century Cyprus."

⁵¹ Andrews, "Cyprus in the Medieval Mediterranean"; Schryver, "Spheres of Contact."

⁵² Caskey, *Art and Patronage in the Medieval Mediterranean*, 4–5.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 5–6.

⁵⁴ Arbel, *Venetian Letters, 1354–1512*, 74–87.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 2, 22.

⁵⁶ Papageōrgiou, *Icons of Cyprus*, 77.

⁵⁷ McNulty, "Cypriot Donor Portraiture," app. B, 303. This does not include offspring who are adults.

⁵⁸ Kalopissi-Verti, "The Proskynetaria of the Templon and Narthex," 128–30.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 130.

⁶⁰ Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel, *Cyprus: Society and Culture*, 2.

⁶¹ Nicolaou-Konnari, "Greeks," 16.

⁶² Carr, "Cypriot Funerary Icons," 157. For funereal icon as Western European source, see Carr, "A Palaiologan Funerary Icon from Gothic Cyprus," 606; Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs*, 2:69–81. Out of 197 surviving effigial slabs on Cyprus recorded in Greenhill's catalog of slabs containing human figures found in Europe and Outremer, fewer than ten percent date before 1348.

⁶³ Byrne, *The Black Death*, 91.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs*, 1:43.

⁶⁶ Papacostas, "Echoes of the Renaissance in the Eastern Confines of the *stato da mar*," 141–44.

⁶⁷ Carr, "Cypriot Funerary Icons," 161. Carr notes that at least twelve published icons have funerary inscriptions.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 158.

⁶⁹ Kyriakakis, "Byzantine Burial Customs," 41. Even scenes of the Virgin Mary's death on wall paintings are known as the *κοιμησις*, or the "falling asleep." See Taft and Carr, "Dormition."

⁷⁰ Carr, "Cypriot Funerary Icons," 153–73.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 154–56.

⁷² Carr, "Images," 143–45.

⁷³ Carr, "Cypriot Funerary Icons," 157; Papageōrgiou, *Icons of Cyprus*, 32, 92. Papageōrgiou has suggested this type of icon may have been intended for the facing of a pillar in the church.

⁷⁴ Carr, "Cypriot Funerary Icons," 163–64, fig. 9.5.

⁷⁵ Parani, "Byzantine Bridal Costume," 202–3.

⁷⁶ Kyriakakis, "Byzantine Burial Customs," 49–51.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 54. Kyriakakis states that Symeon Metaphrastes said that it was for all persons. Kyriakakis also notes that it was a Greek practice for people who hadn't married.

⁷⁸ Papageōrgiou, *Icons of Cyprus*, 32. This icon measures 204 cm × 38 cm (80.3149" × 14.9606").

⁷⁹ The wall plaque at the Byzantine Museum of the Archbishop Makarios III Foundation Cultural Center. Nicosia labels this as #96 *Virgin Mary Hodegetria Enthroned with Donors*, from the Church of the Virgin Chrysaliniotissa, Nicosia, fifteenth century. See Ibid., 39, 113. Papageōrgiou notes the donors are painted realistically in the Western European manner in contrast to the Byzantine formula of the holy figures.

⁸⁰ Carr and Nicolaïdès, *Asinou across Time*, 124–27; Carr, "A Palaiologan Funerary Icon from Gothic Cyprus," 604–5.

⁸¹ Carr, "A Palaiologan Funerary Icon from Gothic Cyprus," 604–5.

⁸² Despite its clearly Italianate forms, evidence of which can be found in fifteenth-century Cypriot art, many scholars see icons like these as "late Gothic." Ēliadēs and Papageōrgiou, *Guide to the Byzantine Museum*, 64.

⁸³ For the use of *pastiglia* in Cypriot icons, see Frinta, "Raised Gilded Adornment."

⁸⁴ Carr, "Art," 319. For information on the custom of covering icons with revetments, see Durand, "Precious Metal Icon Revetments."

⁸⁵ Frinta, "Raised Gilded Adornment," 338. Other icons that contain this particular type of *pastiglia* pattern include one of St. Paul from the Chrysaliniotissa at Nicosia, a Madonna also from this church, a *Kykkostisa* variant from Asinou, and some panels from the Deesis iconostasis at Agios Ionannes Lambadists at Kalopanagiotis. Also at the monastery of Kalopanagiotis is a double image of SS. Andronikos and Athanasia with this type of gilt.

⁸⁶ Durand, "Precious Metal Icon Revetments," 246–47.

⁸⁷ For a discussion of this female donor from Syria, see Hunt, "A Woman's Prayer to St. Sergius." For Cypriot examples, see Christoforaki, "Female Dress in Cyprus," 16. See also Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, 339–40, fig. 199.

⁸⁸ See Carr, "Cypriot Funerary Icons," 153–73.

⁸⁹ Christoforaki, "Patronage, Art and Society in Lusignan Cyprus," 164–65. Christoforaki notes that the word "kyr" to distinguish Manuel indicates an elevated social status.

⁹⁰ For funerary icons on Cyprus see Carr, "Cypriot Funerary Icons," 154–56.

⁹¹ This icon is labeled #8 in the Byzantine Museum, Nicosia. This icon was published in black and white in Karageorghis, *Trésors de Chypre*, 96; Papageōrgiou, *Icons of Cyprus*, 68.

⁹² Carr, "Cypriot Funerary Icons," 159.

⁹³ Rice, *The Icons of Cyprus*, 231. Here Rice refers to Hackett, *A History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus*, 327. Nikolaos, the Greek Bishop of Nicosia, was present for the proclamation of Caterina as queen in 1473. See also Voustrōnios, *The Chronicle of George Boustronios, 1456–1489*, 33, no. 102.

⁹⁴ Carr, "Cypriot Funerary Icons," 159.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Parani, "Byzantine Bridal Costume," 185–216.

⁹⁸ Newton, *The Dress of the Venetians*, 9. Marin Sanudo recorded that by the age of 25, Venetian gentlemen had to wear a long black toga and a black cap.

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Chapter Eleven

The Knight and the Merchant

Familial Commemorative Strategy in the Wake of the Flemish Revolts ca. 1482–1492

Harriette Peel

AS A DECADE OF civil turmoil drew to a close in Flanders in the early 1490s, two high-ranking citizens from Bruges were making commemorative provisions for the ends of their lives. These men, Jan van de Velde, salt merchant, and Lodewijk de Baenst, courtier to the dukes and duchesses of Burgundy, died in 1493 and 1494 respectively. While the anniversaries and charitable bequests that Jan and Lodewijk instituted at this time have long since expired and been forgotten, the works of sculpture with which they were physically commemorated can still be found today in the parish church for which they were originally intended. This chapter concerns the four wall-mounted memorials that depict Lodewijk, Jan, and their families in the Church of Our Lady in Bruges and investigates the political, social, and cultural contexts that led these two men to take such unexpected commemorative courses. Both men commissioned a pair of memorials. One memorial commemorated themselves with their wives, and showed them with any children they had; the second was dedicated to their parents and, in Jan van de Velde's case, one of his brothers as well. The retrospective memorials to their parents also show the patrons themselves as children, surrounded by their other siblings.

All four memorials are to be found in the small de Baenst family chapel in the Church of Our Lady (figure 11.1). Their current disposition belies the fact that Lodewijk and Jan were unrelated to each other: their memorials may have been stylistically, compositionally, and iconographically alike, but the van de Veldes had no familial connection to the de Baensts. Lodewijk de Baenst made a specific testamentary request for his pair of memorials to be sited in his family's chapel, and there is no evidence of them ever having been moved (see appendix—discussed below). Jan van de Velde's pair of memorials, however, was not originally located

Figure 11.1 Floor plan of the Church of Our Lady, Bruges. Reprinted by permission from Gailliard, *Inscriptions funéraires & monumentales*, 2: frontispiece.
© Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Figure 11.2 The de Baenst chapel (exterior): view through to the interior, with the van de Velde memorials visible on the left of the picture, and de Baenst memorials on the right of the picture. Photograph © Harriette Peel.

in this chapel. The van de Velde pair was relocated to the de Baenst chapel at some point between 1867 and 1918,¹ quite possibly as part of their restoration in 1912.² However, Jan van de Velde's memorials were originally installed only meters from the de Baenst chapel, on the wall immediately to the left of the choir's northwest entrance.³

That Lodewijk de Baenst and Jan van de Velde's memorials (figure 11.2) have been viewed alongside each other in the same small chapel for so long has contributed to a conflated historiographic treatment of these two pairs of objects as a single group. In addition, the striking stylistic and aesthetic similarities of the memorials are enhanced by an inevitable visual repetitiveness uniting a group of adjacent objects that present couples flanked by large groups of unindividualized generic offspring. The smaller corpus of sculptures from late-medieval Bruges has received little scholarly attention overall, in marked contrast to the city's numerous and well-known panel paintings and manuscripts from the same period. Current scholarship consists primarily of catalogues of extant works with an emphasis on charting stylistic progression. The limits of such an approach are stretched firstly by a relatively small group of works;⁴ and secondly, in this case, by the fact that the de Baenst and van de Velde memorials were not the products of a particularly distinctive workshop. As a result, these memorials—restored⁵ and re-polychromed,⁶ but in otherwise unusually good condition, given the partial or total destruction suffered by the majority of fifteenth-century Bruges sculpture⁷—have only received superficial stylistic assessment in the limited scholarship to have considered them.⁸ This examination aims to redress the epitaphs' contextual dislocation from their individual patrons and commissions, not least

Figure 11.3 Memorial of Jan van de Velde (d. 1493) and Anthonyne van de Gheinste (d. 1511), polychromed stone, 102 × 89 cm, Bruges, Church of Our Lady. Photograph © Harriette Peel.

the results of having been mislabelled in the church for many years. By adopting a historical and biographical approach to these objects and the people that they depict, the de Baenst and van de Velde memorials will be reframed as important and unusual monuments in a particular period in Bruges' history.

Of his two memorials, Jan van de Velde had commissioned one that commemorated himself and his wife, Anthonyne van de Gheenste (d. 1511) (figure 11.3), and a second, slightly smaller one (figure 11.4) that

Figure 11.4 Memorial of Jacob van de Velde (d. 1464), Catherina de Keyt (d. 1483) and their son Jacob II van de Velde (d. 1490 n. s.), Church of Our Lady, Bruges. Photograph © Harriette Peel.

commemorated his parents, Jacob van de Velde (d. 1464) and Catharina de Keyt (d. 1483), and his brother Jacob van de Velde II who died in 1490 (new style).⁹ Two inscription panels, below the figurative part of the memorials, are the main source of information about who was being commemorated. Jacob, Catharina, and Jacob II's states:

Here lies Jacob van den Velde son of Jacob the spice
merchant who died in the year M CCCC and
LXIII the third day in October.

Here lies lady Kateline, widow of Jacob van de Velde,
daughter of Jan de Keyt, who died in the year M
CCCC LXXXIII the 11th day in August

Here lies Jacob van den Velde, son of Jacob the spice
 merchant, who died in the year M CCCC
 LXXXIX, XXVIJ of March.¹⁰

Jan van de Velde (d. 1493) and Anthonyne van de Gheinste's (d. 1511) inscription is shorter, being only for two people, and reads:

Here lies lord Jan van den Velde, son of
 Jacob the merchant who died in the year
 M CCCC XCIIJ the VIII day of May.
 Here lies lady Anthonyne daughter of Stevin van de
 Gheenste, who was wife of lord Jan van den Velde, she
 died in the year XV[C]XI (?) the XIIIJ of May.¹¹

The two couples being commemorated in these memorials were further identifiable within the figurative part of the memorials themselves. First, their family names can be established from the coats of arms that are held up by angels that are placed in the top left and right corners. Second, their first names are known from the inclusion of name saints, in this case St. James and St. Catherine, and St. John the Evangelist and St. Elizabeth of Hungary.¹²

The commemorated figures are joined by representations of Jacob and Catharina's four daughters and five other sons. One of these other sons was Jan himself, who is shown twice in this commission: once as one of his parents' offspring and again as father to his own three sons and three daughters. The figures kneel in prayer either side of an elaborately enthroned Virgin Mary, shown with the Christ Child in Jacob, Catharina, and Jacob II's memorial; and as a girl with St. Anne and the infant Christ Child in Jan and Anthonyne's; long-winged angels bear a richly hung canopy, parting it to reveal the devotional figures seated at center upon architectural thrones. The family is segregated by gender, with male figures to the Virgin's right and female figures to her left.¹³ The figures are all set in a fictive exterior landscape by means of a highly textured ground surface and a painted landscape scene at the back of the tablet, although it is uncertain whether this painted background was added as part of the re-polychromy in 1912. Both memorials contain a deeply inset internal frame of twisted thorns, and are bound externally with a double-set border of short plinths and stylized pillars.

The de Baenst memorials similarly comprise one memorial commemorating the patron, Lodewijk (henceforth referred to as Lodewijk II) (d. 1494), though without his wife, Margareta Boulangier (figure 11.5);

Figure 11.5 Memorial of Lodewijk II de Baenst (d. 1495 n. s.), Church of Our Lady, Bruges. Photograph © Harriette Peel.

and a second that commemorates his parents (figure 11.6), Lodewijk de Baenst (d. 1454) (and henceforth referred to as Lodewijk I de Baenst) and Clara Losschaert (d. 1459). Both memorials bear additional family emblems in the form of the distinctive de Baenst motif of a hand clasping fire, which lines the inner frame. However, in the younger Lodewijk's own memorial the figures are presented in an interior, rather than exterior, space without the textured ground seen in the van de Velde memorials and the memorial to his parents. Moreover, the background of his own memorial is painted not with a landscape scene but a repeated geometric wall covering. Lodewijk II and his wife Margareta did not have any children, so none are shown in the memorial, but this is a practical rather than an aesthetic difference. Lodewijk I and Clara Losschaert are accompanied by their patron saints, St. Louis and St. Clare. Lodewijk II de Baenst's inscription reads:

Here lies Lodewijk de Baenst
Knight, son of Lodewijk,
who died in the year M. CCCC. XCIV
on the V day of October.¹⁴

The missing inscription panel that originally accompanied his parents' memorial may be the panel described by Gailliard, which was displaced prior to the memorials' restoration in 1912. It is recorded thus:

Figure 11.6 Memorial of Lodewijk I de Baenst (d. 1454) and Clara Losschaert (d. 1464), Church of Our Lady, Bruges. Photograph © Harriette Peel.

Sepulchre of lord Lodewijk de Baenst / who departed this world / on the XII day of July in the year MCCCCLIIII / Sepulchre of lady Clara / daughter of Anthonis Losschaert / widow of lord Lodewyc de / Baenst who departed this world / in the year MCCCCLVIII.¹⁵

Both of the de Baenst text panels were removed at one point, according to the visible physical damage to the walls of the chapel, possibly to reflect the change in these objects' value as sculptures rather than memorials to forgotten late medieval individuals.

Among the de Baenst and van de Velde memorials' most visually striking features is their inclusion of large groups of the patrons' offspring. The inclusion of children in individual patrons' commemorations was increasingly common in Flemish memorial culture by the end of the fifteenth century.¹⁶ It explicitly presented patrons within a filial network of current and future commemoration and was, at its simplest, an

exhortation to remembrance through prayer. The devotional continuum between deceased and living family members also extended to a family's financial maintenance of anniversaries established by those individuals being commemorated. This expectation was often formalized through *injunctio* clauses. These increasingly made their way into documents outlining such services, in which the founder's heirs or other surviving relatives were obliged to support the foundation and observe the agreements.¹⁷ As part of Margareta Bladelin's bequest of her chapel in the Church of Our Lady to Lodewijk's uncle, Jan III de Baenst, a lengthy text plate detailing the terms of the transfer of ownership was also installed there. This detailed her foundations in the Church of Our Lady, as well as other charitable bequests.¹⁸ Here Margareta made explicit the demand for her children and grandchildren's commemoration and prayer, referring to "haerliden kinderen en kindkinderen."¹⁹ The way in which she publically bound her heirs within the network of close family that she had created in the chapel is unusually instructive as to the evident ideal of a close network of familial commemoration.

There is no similar traceable archival information relating to Jan van de Velde's commission. Information about its date must therefore be extrapolated from physical evidence of the two inscriptions. The script on both inscriptions is identical, and there has been no later addition of Jacob II van de Velde's date of death (1489), which is certainly commensurate with the rest of the epitaph. The last section of Jan van de Velde and Anthonyne van de Gheenste's memorial, where Anthonyne's date of death (May 14, 1511) is in a markedly different script, was clearly added in at a later point. The memorials have a terminus post quem of 1489, and were clearly both commissioned in relation to Jan's death (1493) rather than the later death of his wife (1511). The same physical analysis cannot be applied to a dating of the de Baenst memorials since Lodewijk I de Baenst and Clara Losschaert's text plate was lost at some point after Gailliard transcribed it for his 1861 publication.²⁰

However, Lodewijk's will, now in the Bruges Rijksarchief, sheds new light on how he conceived of his commemoration.²¹ Lodewijk initially requested that he and his wife both be interred "in the Our Lady church in Bruges in the chapel where Lodewijk de Baenst his father, and Segher de Baenst his uncle are interred; or elsewhere at the discretion of his executors" (see appendix). He also instructs that he and Margareta were to have a gravestone "in the same manner as the gravestone of his father" and painted with the four quarters of his coat of arms.²² It is

probable that he made this will close to when he established a new foundation in the Church of Our Lady, June 9, 1492.²³ Most interestingly, at some point after having made this original will, Lodewijk had a change of heart about the nature of his burial and commemoration. In the margin beside the original instruction for his interment and gravestone, a later note states that he would be content to be buried with his father and share his gravestone, but with new “epitaphy.”²⁴

The modern placement of these two families’ memorials side by side in the de Baenst chapel certainly has prioritized their remarkable visual homogeneity over the examination of their history and original context (figure 11.6). Over the centuries, the clear differences between the memorials—especially the families’ distinctly different styles of dress, and therein their social status—have been overlooked. Stylistically very alike, all four memorials were sculpted with an emphasis on physical volume, the texture and heavy folds of voluminous fabric, and the fictive exterior ground. Figures are physically believable, carved in the round with some refinement. Fabrics have been modeled with a lightness of touch to emphasize the figures’ physical volume and a concern for the representation of texture in their hair and the feathers of the angels’ wings. The faces are not individualized, although they all appear animated and youthful, suggestive of life rather than the stasis of death. For example, while the children on either side of Lodewijk and Clara have strikingly identical facial features, they nonetheless look around animatedly, craning their necks at differing angles in an effort to see the central devotional figures. Less appreciated today is the great care taken to use dress to signal these men’s identities as knights or as merchants. Their differing costumes define the van de Velde and de Baenst patrons as socially distinct entities in fifteenth-century Bruges.

Lodewijk de Baenst “rudder / f(i)lius Lodewijk” (“knight / son of Lodewijk”), came from a family of landowning knights who had served as courtiers to the Burgundian dukes John the Fearless, Philip the Good, and Charles the Bold.²⁵ It was a commemorative commonplace for knights to depict themselves in armor on funerary monuments in this period.²⁶ Lodewijk I is shown in a suit of armor under a ceremonial tabard that is emblazoned with his family emblem of the swan, and his son wears a fringed surcoat also accompanied by a close-helm and pair of gauntlets, with rowel-spurs,²⁷ sabatons, and a gilt-buckled sword belt,²⁸ demonstrating the younger man’s active military service.²⁹ Lodewijk was a member of the noble and highly selective chivalric Orders of Jerusalem, St. Catherine,

and The White Bear,³⁰ and is recorded as taking part in a tournament in Bruges on April 28, 1479, at which he was awarded a lance by Mary of Burgundy.³¹

By contrast, Jan van de Velde, “f(ilius) Jacob de meercenier” (“son of Jacob the merchant”), came from a family of Bruges merchants. His father is shown in the long dark robes typically worn by men of his profession and status, and similar to those worn by another merchant, Pieter Bultinc, in Hans Memling’s *Seven Joys of the Virgin* altarpiece of ca. 1480.³² Jan’s professional status is made more explicit, as he and his three sons are shown wearing the same long dark robes, but also red caps with shallow crowns and narrow brims with attached tippets hanging over their shoulders,³³ of a type commonly associated with merchants.³⁴ Their harp-framed purses are much more atypical, and were part of the fifteenth-century taxonomy of high-ranking merchants and others in positions of financial authority.³⁵ Jan was a prominent salt merchant,³⁶ making him part of one of fifteenth-century Europe’s most lucrative trades.³⁷ Moreover, a regulation of June 14, 1487 that designated the reorganization of the pilotage system in Bruges, identified Jan as the sole Bruges representative in the group of the city’s leading international merchants, which included various men from England, Spain, and Portugal.³⁸ There were certainly several points of intersection between the two families during the lifetimes of Lodewijk I and II de Baenst and Jacob and Jan van de Velde. For example, in 1449 Lodewijk I de Baenst, Jacob van de Velde, and his brother Cornelius van de Velde were listed among the twenty-four founding members of the confraternity of the Holy Blood in Bruges.³⁹ However, there is no evidence of the de Baenst and van de Velde families themselves having intermarried, unsurprisingly given their very different backgrounds.

What reasons then could there have been for a knight and a merchant to choose such aesthetically similar memorials? It is clear that the four memorials were commissioned from the same workshop, one that was evidently also responsible for a memorial believed to be for the canon Pieter de Blicckere that was also installed in the Church of Our Lady around 1500.⁴⁰ Given how much attention was being directed to the construction of Mary of Burgundy’s tomb in the Church of Our Lady, it is possible that this group of five memorials—which comprised almost the sum total of the other objects installed in the church during the period—were assigned to the same workshop in the absence of other available sculptors.⁴¹ It has not been possible to identify which workshop this might have been, but given the limitations on their sculptural quality

this is not especially problematic. We must above all address the issue of why this particular type of memorial was chosen by Lodewijk II de Baenst and Jan van de Velde, rather than from where or whom they engaged the commissions.

The differences in the social context of the two patrons' choices of near-identical wall-mounted memorials now begin to sharpen. In line with his family's elevated status, Lodewijk II de Baenst's markers were intended for his family's private chapel. Here Lodewijk's memorials were installed alongside Jan III de Baenst and his wife's inset wall tomb with its extensive epitaph and marble effigies, as well as his father and uncle's floor tombs and epitaphs.⁴² This is correctly indicative of the existence of social delineation between most different types of commemorative and funerary objects in this period in Bruges.⁴³ Of the thirty-one known freestanding or wall-set tombs that were installed in Bruges churches in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries for example, only one does not seem to have been the burial place of a noble or particularly high-ranking clerical patron.⁴⁴ The choice of effigial material for these tombs was also delineated, with only the ducal family and highest-ranking nobility commissioning bronze effigies. Notable examples of this type of funerary monument from the highest echelons of late fifteenth-century Bruges society include Mary of Burgundy's bronze effigy (discussed above) and the monument that she commissioned for her uncle, Jacques de Bourbon, in St. Donatian's, as well as the bronze effigies commissioned after 1472 by the courtier and Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece, Lodewijk de Gruuthuse, for himself and his wife. These contrast with the stone effigies commissioned by the slightly lower-ranking nobles, Jan III de Baenst and Margareta Fevers, in the de Baenst chapel.⁴⁵ Lower down the social scale, tombstones made of brass or stone inlaid with brass covered the floors of late medieval churches, and were commissioned by the nobility—such as Lodewijk I de Baenst and his brother, Segher—and the mercantile classes alike.

The wall-mounted type of memorial that Lodewijk II de Baenst and Jan van de Velde commissioned was far less common than floor-set tombstones. This was in large part due to limited availability of church wall-space and the added expense of creating an object with sculptural rather than relief carving. Wall-mounted memorials were consistently commissioned in Bruges from the early years of the fifteenth century, and were particularly popular among clerics; nine of the fourteen wall-mounted memorials were identified as belonging to members of the clergy.⁴⁶ By contrast, of the 224 wall-mounted memorials extant in the southern

Netherlands, noble patrons commissioned just twelve.⁴⁷ Although I have also identified two further wall-mounted memorials with noble patrons in Bruges this only takes the known total in the region up to fourteen, or just six percent.⁴⁸ Two of the fourteen noble wall-mounted memorials were Lodewijk II de Baenst's but the rest of this outlying group dates from decades earlier; with one exception, all of the other wall-mounted memorials of noble patronage in the southern Netherlands date from the first half of the fifteenth century. The decreasing incidence of noble patronage of this type of object could indicate a downward spread of influence from the nobility as the initial patrons of these types of objects to consequent broader emulation by the merchant classes. However, early wall-mounted memorials in the southern Netherlands were commissioned by a mix of middle-class and noble patrons from the start, suggesting instead that their commemorative preferences were shared.

The noble de Baenst's commission was distinctly outlying in this context, for no other wall-mounted memorials of noble origin included representations of children. Lodewijk II de Baenst's commission of such an object was, so far as we know, entirely unprecedented among southern Netherlandish memorials. Of the two hundred and twenty-four extant wall-mounted memorials catalogued by Douglas Brine, fifty-two, almost a quarter (twenty-three percent), include depictions of the patrons' offspring.⁴⁹ Except for Lodewijk's, all of these belonged to families from the middling classes. As far back as the mid-thirteenth century, middle-class patrons in Bruges were commissioning funerary monuments that included figurative representations of their children.⁵⁰ However, almost all twenty-four known figurative family group memorials from Bruges were floor-set tombstones.⁵¹ Noble and ducal patrons certainly included representations of their children in a wide range of other commemorative objects such as kinship tombs, tombstones, and painted panels. These images have typically been interpreted as an indication of noble preoccupation with lineage and genealogy, though scholars like Ann McGee Morganstern have shown the commemorative utility of commending oneself to surviving family members who might recognize themselves on such a monument.⁵²

Lodewijk II and Jan's commissions of pairs of memorials for themselves and their parents were a highly unusual approach to family commemoration. It was much more common for subsequent generations to simply add their own names and coats of arms to extant monuments to parents or even grandparents: for example in 1485 Jan Moscroen co-opted his parents' brass memorial in the Church of Our Lady by adding

an inscription that commemorated himself and his wife.⁵³ Atypically, Lodewijk II de Baenst and Jan van de Velde were concerned to project an image of close nuclear family in the second generation within the public environment of their parish and community, which they executed with considerable thought to the nature of their memorials.

For the nobleman Lodewijk II de Baenst, his commemorative approach was, as previously mentioned, unusual for a patron of his class. It was also not his initial preference. As his will demonstrates (see appendix), at a point later in his life, Lodewijk sought out an alternative mode of commemoration to the traditional tomb and epitaph that he had originally favored. The decision suggests a last-minute change of approach to his interment and commemoration that would tie him physically closer to his father. As he did not have any legitimate children of his own with Margareta, this necessarily backward—as opposed to forward-looking association—may have provided Lodewijk with a desired familial network that he was unable to generate via his own offspring; by commissioning a pair of figurative memorials in which he was depicted twice, once with his parents and siblings, and then again with his wife, he further consolidated this association within a nuclear family network.⁵⁴ The two memorials are not mentioned as part of his will, which speaks for the more personal attention they received by Lodewijk as patron, in contrast to a more straightforwardly funerary request of gravestone and sepulcher. Jan van de Velde died a year before Lodewijk II de Baenst; it is possible that Lodewijk knew about and thus actively chose to emulate the merchant's recent commission, especially given how few other memorials were being installed in the Church of Our Lady in this period.

By closely interrogating Lodewijk and Jan's biographies during the period leading up to their memorial commissions and deaths, we can introduce the more immediate context of their commissions. This investigation also brings into focus the extraordinary upheaval that Bruges and its citizens were experiencing as a specific framework for understanding the form and function of the four memorials. By the time that Lodewijk and Jan had died, in 1493 and 1494 respectively, the city of Bruges had declined sharply from its position as the trading center of the European economy in the 1450s–1470s. The Flemish Revolts that overwhelmed the region between about 1482 and 1492 had an immediate and far-reaching effect on Bruges. During this period, Flanders was divided between supporters of Maximilian of the house of Habsburg, the future Archduke of Austria and Holy Roman Emperor, who was the widower of Mary of Burgundy

(d. 1482) and regent for their son Philip the Fair, and those who demanded a regency council to uphold the Burgundian legacy. A document of 1494 describes how Maximilian allowed Bruges to reschedule its immense debts and mentions 4,000 to 5,000 vacant or dilapidated houses in the city,⁵⁵ an extremely high number, particularly given that in 1477—not long before the start of the bloody revolts—Bruges' population was an estimated 42,000.⁵⁶ So great was Bruges' distress that in October 1493, Maximilian admitted the town's "great poverty" and agreed to remit its taxes.⁵⁷ Bruges also lost its commercial supremacy in this period through a process of economic and structural decline that had begun earlier in the century as a result of the growing competition from Brussels and Antwerp.⁵⁸ The Flemish Revolt exacerbated these tensions, causing major trade disruption in Bruges in the years 1484, 1488, and 1489, but it was Maximilian's dismissal of all foreign merchants from Bruges in 1484, and reiteration of this act in 1488, that sealed Bruges' fate:⁵⁹ citing the Flemish city's "disobedience," Maximilian ordered its merchants to transfer their operations to Antwerp, one of the few towns to support the Habsburgs during the war.⁶⁰

Bruges' support for, or rejection of, Habsburg authority had ruptured along broadly professional and social lines; by and large it was the merchants and craft guilds that dominated anti-Habsburg feeling while the nobility and courtiers supported Maximilian. But this is overly reductive, and it is rarely acknowledged just how fractured Bruges was by the "plague of violence" within social groupings, professions, and even families.⁶¹ Opponents of the prince included members of the political, social, and financial elite of the town. It is even possible to identify a number of prominent Bruges families whose foundations were riven by political disagreement. Within the influential and landowning Metteneye family for example, Pieter Metteneye's participation in the anti-Maximilian factions set him in direct ideological opposition to other members of his family, namely his cousin Cornelis Metteneye, another White Bear jousting, whose support for Maximilian was sufficiently stalwart that it saw him rewarded with an official position in Bruges in the 1490s after Maximilian had finally suppressed the Revolts.⁶²

As one of the city's leading merchants, Jan van de Velde's opposition to Maximilian was perhaps inevitable, indicative of how greatly Flemish trade had suffered as a result of Maximilian's economic and military policies after his marriage to Mary of Burgundy in 1477. Jan acted as *chef-homme* of the city council in 1488,⁶³ indicating his anti-Habsburg stance

during this two-year period of sustained separation from Maximilian's authority during which the future emperor was imprisoned for three and a half months in the Cranenburg house on the Markt.⁶⁴ His brother Marc was the first city alderman of the anti-Habsburg council of 1477, which they led, and subsequently formed part of the city-bench that was appointed after Maximilian's imprisonment within Bruges in February 1488.⁶⁵ Both were nephews of Jan de Keyt—another leading figure in Moreel's faction.⁶⁶

Lodewijk II de Baenst's activity was far less easy to predict. Like his father, Lodewijk was a loyal courtier of the Burgundian duchy in the 1470s and was rewarded with a knighthood in 1479 for his loyal service to Maximilian.⁶⁷ His brother Paul de Baenst, a councilor to Maximilian in 1483 and the future emperor's principal adviser during his imprisonment in Bruges between December 1487 and March 1488, was also closely involved with the Habsburg administration in Bruges, which led to his arrest in 1488 by anti-Habsburg factions. He narrowly avoided execution by the rebels.⁶⁸ However, Jan IV de Baenst, Lodewijk's first cousin, was not as loyal as Paul de Baenst, and he was arrested in 1477 for his part in a revolt against Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian.⁶⁹ And here we encounter signs that the de Baenst family suffered similar political divisions to the Metteneye family. Lodewijk II de Baenst—brother to a loyal supporter of Maximilian, but first cousin to a supporter of the radical anti-Habsburg factions—deepened these fissures when he chose to oppose both his brother and the future emperor, and align himself with the anti-Habsburgs. His service as *chef-homme* in Bruges in 1480 and 1482 suggests that even at this early point in the revolts, and just a year after Maximilian knighted him at Guinegate, his loyalties lay with the anti-Habsburg elements of the city, because both years were unambiguously periods in which Willem Moreel and his powerful anti-Habsburg faction took charge of the city council.⁷⁰

There is no evidence as to why Lodewijk's sympathies moved from those of loyal courtier to political opponent.⁷¹ Although his actions were not the norm for members of the Bruges nobility during the Flemish Revolts, it was an entirely plausible course of action once the conflict began to grip the city and other formerly loyal courtiers switched their allegiances. Lodewijk's political position was confirmed when, in 1490, he was part of a large contingent of Bruges' elite, and primarily noblemen, who left Bruges in response to the renewed conflict brought on by Philip of Cleves' last-ditch revolt against Maximilian at the nearby port town of

Sluis.⁷² The records are unclear as to whether these men were exiled owing to their rebellious position, or whether they had simply had enough of the turmoil in Bruges. The list is made up of some of the most high profile, anti-Habsburg figures in 1480s Bruges, however, such as Jan van Nieuwenhove *fs*. Klaas, Pieter II Metteneye, Karel Lem, Karel van Halewijn, and Jan IV de Baenst, Lodewijk's cousin, and it can thus be assumed that these men's defections were a profound expression of their continued and intensifying opposition to the Habsburg regency.⁷³

Among the names included in the defecting group of 1490, Pieter II Metteneye's is of particular interest: it was Metteneye who commissioned a tomb slab commemoration for himself and his wife, and his parents, prior to his death in 1495. In an equivalent model to his contemporaries, Lodewijk II de Baenst and Jan van de Velde, Pieter II Metteneye commissioned a new brass floor-slab that would depict two couples; one represented Pieter and his wife, Margareta de Baenst, sister of Lodewijk II, and the second couple represented his parents, Pieter I Metteneye (d. 1469) and Adrienne van Waterganghe.⁷⁴ The brass was completed prior to Margareta de Baenst's death, as indicated by the space left blank for a later inscription. That this monument was commissioned in relation to Pieter II Metteneye's death in 1495 is commensurate with the foundation in that year of three different masses in St. Donatian's: one on April 19 that celebrated his mother and father, one on February 26 that celebrated himself and his wife, and, very unusually in this period, a further mass on February 28 that celebrated both couples together.⁷⁵

Could Metteneye, whose name appears repeatedly alongside Lodewijk's in the groups of rebellious noblemen in Bruges, and who died only a year after de Baenst, have shared similar motivations behind his commemorative strategy as his anti-Habsburg compatriots, Lodewijk II de Baenst and Jan van de Velde, who had died in the two years before him? As well as tools of commemoration and salvation, the de Baenst, van de Velde, and Metteneye monuments appear as earthly constructs of individual, familial, and civic identity, and key to this was the way in which the patrons projected these political positions onto their parents, siblings, and children who are presented in these monuments. Robert Wheaton has argued that family group images were "ideological statements by the family's members, emphasizing a set of interlocking values: cohesion, cooperation, unity, fidelity, piety, and respect."⁷⁶ The commissions promoted a close family network in the face of a difficult period in Bruges' civic, political, and economic history, even if—or perhaps because—in

Lodewijk's case, this imposed his own position onto the image of pro-Habsburg brother, Paul.

The mid to late 1490s in Bruges was a period of social, economic, and political recuperation, and Bruges' commemorative culture expressed an amalgam of highly personal concerns. The previous decade of civil turmoil had divided citizens from their ruler as well as against each other. These divisions did not neatly appear along class lines, and Bruges' citizens reformed their allegiances based on political rather than social or professional associations. For the former courtier Lodewijk II de Baenst and salt merchant Jan van de Velde, who died not long after Maximilian's eventual subjugation of Flanders in 1492, their unusual and highly personal commemorative commissions may have been an attempt to tie their families together, as well as to reassert their former civic status. The circumstance of these two sets of commissions commemorated the politically active lives of their patrons and their families as well as ensuring commemoration in death. By the time that they had commissioned these pairs of memorials, Lodewijk II de Baenst and Jan van de Velde had become deeply involved in the anti-Habsburg rebellion in Bruges, and their social differences were second to their political accord.

Appendix

Lodewijk's memorial requests

Bruges Rijksarchief inv. 57, no. 25, fol. 2v:⁷⁷

Transcription of the second *item* and third *item* on fol. 2v, and accompanying marginalia, concerning Lodewijk's requests for his funerary and commemorative monuments

*Item hij beghert begraven te zijne met vrouwe
Margerete Boulengiers zijne gheseluede Indien
dat lijude also ghelieft in onser liever vrouwen
kercke in brugghe inde cappele daer lodwijn
de baenst zijn vader en zegher de baenst zijn
son begraven ligghen of elders ter discrecie van
zijnen testamentarissen*

*Item hy begheyt dat men make inde zelve
cappelle een zarck van zulke fatsoene als
tsarck van zynen vader te wetene met zyne
wapene up een zyde en met de wapenen van
hem en van mer voors[yde] vrouwe zyne gheseluede
tvoors[yde] zarck ghestoffeert met zyne vier gnaertoen*

[Marginalia beside the first *item*, above:]

*Imer Lode[wyc] de baenst testatent es
tevreden dat men gheenen
nieuwen zarc en [leggeh]
maer dat zijn dode lichame
bgraven zij onder den
zarcke en sepultue van
zijnen vadere en dat men*

stelle een epitaphy met gouden leteren gelijc zijn
vader

Translation of the second *item* and third *item* and marginalia on fol. 2v:

He desires to be interred with his wife
Margerete Boulengiers his spouse if
this was thus wished in the Our Lady
church in Bruges in the chapel where Lodewijc
de baenst his father and Shegher de Baenst his
uncle are interred or elsewhere at the discretion of
his executors

Item he orders that one makes in the same
chapel a gravestone in the same manner as
the gravestone of his father, knowing with his
crest on one side and the crest of
him and his said wife his spouse
the said gravestone decorated with his quarters.

[Marginalia beside the first *item*, above:]

Lode[wyc] de Baenst will-maker is
satisfied that one does not lay
a new gravestone
but that his dead body
is interred under the
gravestone and sepulcher of
his father and that one
adds his epitaph with
golden lettering as for his
father.

Notes

¹ The last reference to their location here is that by Jean Jacques Gailliard, a Bruges antiquarian, in 1867; Gailliard, *Inscriptions funéraires & monumentales*, 2:53.

² Selschotter, "Gebeeldhouwde grafsteen en uit de XV^e en XVI^e eeuw te Brugge," 181.

³ Beaucourt de Noortvelde, *Description historique*, 238. It is not certain that this was their original site, but the fact that three further van de Velde memorials

were added to this site in the early seventeenth century suggests that the fifteenth-century pair were already there and thus account for the continuation of this wall as a site for van de Velde family commemoration: Lucas van de Velde (d. 1609) and Cathelyne van Blommeghem (d. 1637), Jacob van de Velde (d. 1620) and Joanna Baceliers (d. 1612), and Frans Legillon (d. 1614) and Cathelyne van de Velde (d. 1622); on these see Gailliard, *Inscriptions funéraires*, 2:52–53.

⁴ Selschotter, “Gebeeldhouwde Grafsteen en uit de XV^e en XVI^e Eeuw te Brugge,” 179–88; Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten te Brugge voor 1578*; Steyaert, *Late Gothic Sculpture*; van Belle, *Vlakke grafmonumenten en memorietafereelen*; Brine, “Piety and Purgatory”; Brine, *Pious Memories*.

⁵ A number of renovations are known to have occurred in the Church of Our Lady at the start of the twentieth century, that of the Overtvelde Chapel in 1911 and of the Chapel of the Holy Cross in 1929, but no overall renovation history for the church has been found. It is likely that most renovations occurred in conjunction with the end of military turbulence in the region after the French Revolutionary wars (1792–1802), Napoleonic wars (1803–1815) and the two World Wars; Martens, “Artistic Patronage in Bruges Institutions,” 218–26.

⁶ The head of the Christ Child in Jan van de Velde’s own memorial has certainly been replaced in its entirety, being of a markedly different style to the other faces and hairstyles. Selschotter, “Gebeeldhouwde grafsteen en uit de XV^e en XVI^e eeuw te Brugge,” 181.

⁷ Bruges’ religious institutions suffered particularly badly at the hands of the French between 1795 and 1805. Of the thirty-two churches, chapels, convents, and monasteries extant in 1795, eleven, or almost one-third were destroyed in the subsequent decade; see Gilliodts-van Severen, *Bruges Ancienne et Moderne*.

⁸ See especially Selschotter, “Gebeeldhouwde grafsteen en uit de XV^e en XVI^e eeuw te Brugge,” 180–81. Vermeersch’s entry on the four memorials is more extensive but primarily discusses bibliography and the inscriptions; Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten te Brugge*, 2:352–64.

⁹ New style (hereafter n.s.) refers to the fact that in Flanders, until 1582, the “Easter Style” was used for dating. This meant that the beginning of the year was not 1 January but Easter. So dates falling before Easter in a given year are converted forward a year.

¹⁰ “Hier. Voren. Licht. Jacob. Van. Den. Velde. F(s). Jacob. De. Crudenier. / Die staerf. Int. Jaer. M. Cccc. En(de). Lxiii. De. Derden. Dach. In. October. / Hier. Voren. Licht. Joncvrouwe. Kateline jacob. Va(n). De(n). Velde. wedewe. Jan. De. Keyt. Dochter. Die. Staerf. Int. Jaer. M. Cccc. Lxxxiii. Xi. In ougst. / Hier Voren. Licht. Jacob. Van. Den. Velde jacobs. Zuene. Den. Crudenier. Die staerf. int. jaer. M. Cccc. Lxxxix. XxviJ. I(n).” Gailliard, *Inscriptions funéraires & monumentales*, 2:53.

¹¹ “Hier woren licht dheer jan venden Velde . F(s) / Jacob de meerckenier de Overleedt int Jaer. / M CCCC . Xciii den viii . Sten da(ch) va(n) meye / Hier vore(n) licht joncvr. Anthonyne . F(a) stevin va(n)de / Gheenste dheer jan va(n) den velde wijf was die / Starf int jaer xv(c)xi [unclear] xiiiij meie.” Ibid., 2:47.

¹² It is not entirely clear why Anthonyne is commemorated with St. Elizabeth of Hungary (distinguished by her crown and Franciscan habit) rather than St. Anthony. It was not unheard of for female donors to be shown with male patron saints, see for example: Follower of Gerard David, *St. Paul and a Donatrix from Two Shutters of a Diptych*, ca. 1515, London, National Gallery inv. NG 657.1. However, in the van de Velde case, St. Elizabeth's presence is probably reflective of a devotion to the Franciscans, as well as possibly reinforcing the visual and literal gender divide within the family group.

¹³ Schleif, "Men on the Right—Women on the Left."

¹⁴ "Hier . vooren. Leghet . mer . Lodewijk de Baenst / rudder f(s) lodewijk . die / staerf int jaer m . cccc . xciv . / de . v(sten) dagh . van wedemaent;" Gailliard, *Inscriptions funéraires et monumentales*, 2:235.

¹⁵ "Sepulture van / Heere Lodewyc de Baenst / die starf van deser weirelt / den xij dach van hoyemaent in 't jaer mccccliiii / sepulture van Joncvrouwe Clara / f(a) Anthonis Losschaert / weduwe van sheer Lodewyc de / Baenst die starf van deser weirelt / in 't jaer mcccclviii;" *ibid.*, 2:425. Philologically it is marginally different, beginning "sepulture van" rather than "heer vooren leghet." However, there are also slight, if less noticeable, differences between the two van de Velde memorial inscriptions as well.

¹⁶ Peel, "Commemoration of the Family," introduction.

¹⁷ Bossuyt, "Founding a Memory," 132. An example of one such formalized enforcement from the period once again involved the children of Willem Moreel and Barbara van Hertsvelde, patrons of Hans Memling's *Moreel Triptych* (begun ca. 1478, Groeninge Museum, Bruges). As well as having to pay the church of St. James to move their parents' bodies back into the church from the churchyard in 1505, a record of 1507 from the archive of the Church of Our Lady notes how the church authorities there were also forced to step in and enforce maintenance payments for the 1477 memorials to Barbara's brother, Jan van Hertsvelde, and his wife; as Jan's closest surviving relatives, his sister's children were liable "in default of payment of the annuity of twenty-two *livres gros*": "Testament de Jean van Ertsvelde et de Catherine sa femme, daté du 1 Mai 1477, par lequel est ordonnée la fondation d'une messe diurne perpétuelle; en suite du même testament les maîtres de la table des pauvres de l'église de Notre Dame avaient à faire toutes les semaines une distribution de 20 proven aux pauvres, chaque prove de la valeur de 4 escalins parisis. Les enfants de Guillaume Moreel et de Barbe van Ertsvelde, étant en défaut du paiement de la rente annuelle de 22 livres de gros destinée à l'exonération des susdites fondations, le magistrat de Bruges, à la requête de ceux de l'église de Notre Dame, intervint et ordonna, par lettres du 7 Juillet 1507, aux enfants Moreel de satisfaire à la prédite obligation"; Gailliard, *Inscriptions funéraires et monumentales*, 2:XXX, *littera* no. 180.

¹⁸ The bequest included distributions of bread to the poor: "il fonda pour le repos de l'âme et de son père qui fut enseveli dans la même chapelle, une messe perpétuelle qui devait être célébrée tous les jours pendant la grand'messe, par un

prêtre attaché au chœur, ainsi qui deux anniversaires avec distribution de pains pour les pauvres"; Gailliard, *Bruges et le franc*, 1:27.

¹⁹ Lines nine and ten of Margareta Bladelin's inscription: "Voorts dat de voors(e) joncvr(auwe) haerliden kinderen en kindkinderen also langhe/ Als eenigh va hemlieden sa valt de selve capelrye ghehelick in de collatie van den selve myne heere den proost"; *ibid*.

²⁰ Lodewijk II de Baenst's extant text plate differs to the van de Velde examples by commemorating Lodewijk alone and not with his wife Margareta, who died in 1526. They were married in 1486, and after Lodewijk's death Margareta remarried Jan van Vlaanderen, Lord of Beveren (d. 1523); their own memorial, now lost, was illustrated in Selschotter in 1932; Selschotter, "Gebeeldhouwde grafsteenen uit de XVe en XVIe eeuw te Brugge," 183–84.

²¹ "Testament van den edele heer Lodewyc de Baenst Ridder"; Bruges Rijk-sarchief, Inv. 57, no. 25, fols. 1v–6r. Baldass, *Jan van Eyck*.

²² Brine, *Pious Memories*, 137.

²³ Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten te Brugge*, 2:291 cat. 297.

²⁴ When Gailliard described the de Baenst chapel in 1847 he noted that Lodewijk's memorials were either side of a painting of the Trinity on top of a marble altar; it is not known whether this was the original fifteenth-century altarpiece, but there was almost certainly always an altarpiece of some kind on this east wall, heightening the prominence of Lodewijk's memorials that flanked it; Gailliard, *Éphémérides brugeoises*, 195–96.

²⁵ On the de Baenst family in general, and Lodewijk II de Baenst in particular, see: Gailliard, *Bruges et le franc*, 1:24–27; 2:526 (errata); Verschelde, "Testament de Pierre Bladelin fondateur de Middelbourg en Flandre," 9–32; Gilliodts-van Severen, *Coutumes des pays et comté de Flandres*, 1:198; Buylaert, "Sociale mobiliteit bij stedelijke elites," 205–56; van Hoorebeeck, "La Ville, le Prince et leurs officiers."

²⁶ Brine, *Pious Memories*, 34.

²⁷ Blair, *European Armour*, 187. With thanks to Ann Adams for this reference.

²⁸ Lodewijk II's armor is most similar to that shown in the following images from the 1470s: Claudio Villa's representation in *The Passion Retable*, Brussels workshop, ca. 1470, wood, 260 × 252 × 30 cm (Brussels, musées Royaux d'art et d'histoire); knights in a miniature of a tournament in the *Jouvenel pour Philippe de Cleves*, miniatures by Alexander Bening in Cod. Gall. 9 (L.213), T 146–48, Ghent 1486, (Munich Staatsbibliothek), 150–56; and the figures in battle from Ms. Fr. 6440: *Histoire d'Alexandre le Grand*, by Vasco de Lucena, fol. 173 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale).

²⁹ Lodewijk II de Baenst was knighted by Maximilian after the fighting in the Battle of Guinegate against the French in 1479. See Vegiano and Herckenrode, *Nobiliaire des Pays-Bas*, 81 and Buylaert, "Sociale mobiliteit bij stedelijke elites," 221.

³⁰ The number of participants in a White Bear joust was between four and eight per year in the years 1450 to 1587; Brown, *Civic Ceremony and Religion*, 144.

³¹ Gailliard, *Bruges et le franc*, 4:90.

³² De Vos, *Hans Memling*, 20.

³³ Scott, *A Visual History of Costume*, 124.

³⁴ The van de Velde purses are most similar to those worn by Jacob de Sagher (d. 1464) and Arnould de Gheldres (d. 1499); Brine, "Piety and Purgatory," 2:356 cat. WV2 and 2:364 T24. There are far more English than continental examples of men commemorated as merchants; see, for example, *Monumental brass of a merchant*, English school, ca. 1480, Victoria and Albert Museum Inv. no. M.122-1922.

³⁵ The only other southern Netherlandish memorial to feature one of these purses is that of Colard de la Court in Baudour, near Mons, but it is also worn by the tanner Pieter Bultinc in his aforementioned Memling altarpiece, for he had achieved significant civic prominence as city alderman and inspector of the Tanner's Guild; Martens, "Artistic Patronage in Bruges Institutions," 231. See also the decision to remove the under-drawn purse from Chancellor Nicolas Rolin's portrait by Jan van Eyck. See especially Van Asperen de Boer and Faries, "La 'Vierge au Chancelier Rolin' de Van Eyck," 37-49; Dhanens, *Hubert and Jan Van Eyck*, 274-76; Kamp, *Memoria und Selbstdarstellung*.

³⁶ Gailliard, *Bruges et le franc*, 6:276.

³⁷ Spufford notes that the large salt production concerns at Salins made a profit—after enormous bills for wood and wages—of around 58,000 *livres tournois*, a sum comparable to the combined revenues of the county and the duchy of Burgundy for Philip the Good; Spufford, *Power and Profit*, 302.

³⁸ "1221, 1487, 14 Juin"; Gailliard, *Bruges et le franc*, 6:274-76.

³⁹ On Lodewijk I de Baenst see Buylaert, "Sociale mobiliteit bij stedelijke elites," 205-6 and Gailliard, *Bruges et le franc*, 1:27. On Jacob van de Velde see *ibid.*, 3:368.

⁴⁰ Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten te Brugge*, 3:425; Gailliard, *Inscriptions funéraires et monumentales*, 2:91. Gailliard additionally notes the now lost inscription of "Sepultura Domini Petri de Blicquere Cappellani de Gremio Chori huius Ecclesie et quondam curati prime portionis de Oudenburgh." For de Blicckere's various foundations, 2:91n1.

⁴¹ There were only two other memorials installed in the Church of Our Lady between 1490 and 1495 with certainty: the memorial of Herman Ruughe (d. 1493) and his son Rutger Ruughe, and the memorial to an unnamed canon (d. 1493); Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten te Brugge*. There were then no known funerary monuments installed in The Church of Our Lady between 1495 and 1500, likely due to the restoration work and work on Mary of Burgundy's tomb that was going on at this time; Roberts, "The Chronology and Political Significance of the Tomb of Mary of Burgundy."

⁴² Gailliard, *Inscriptions funéraires et monumentales*, 2:271; Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten te Brugge*, 2:177–78 cat. 192.

⁴³ The cataloguing of Flemish funerary monuments by van Belle (2006), Vermeersch (1976), Gailliard (1840s–1870s) and Beaucourt de Noortvelde (1773), and southern Netherlandish wall-mounted memorials by Brine (2006), has proven invaluable in surveying the demography of these commissions.

⁴⁴ These figures were reached by analyzing Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten te Brugge*, vols. 2 and 3.

⁴⁵ A similar stratification between the patronage of the Burgundian ducal family and high nobles, and lesser nobles and courtiers, has been identified within the patterns of patronage among Burgundian courtiers for illuminated manuscripts as opposed to painted altarpieces. See chapter six in this volume by Adams and Jennings, and see Wijsman, “Patterns in Patronage.”

⁴⁶ The first wall-mounted sculpted memorial appears to be a retrospective memorial to a cleric, Everelmus (d. 1060, but whose memorial was constructed 1427/8); see Malcolm Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Craft*, 52–57. Other memorials to clerics include that to Willem de Niepa, canon (d. 1460) in St. Donatian’s; see Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten te Brugge*, 2:139. Also that to Frans Busleyden (d. 1502) provost of St. Donatian’s and Archbishop of Besançon; see *ibid.*, 2:225. Also that to Canon Libert van Weyborst (d. 1523, but whose memorial is dated 1511) was in St. Donatian’s as well; *ibid.*, 2:425–429.

⁴⁷ The two de Baenst memorials in Bruges depict noble male donors who have had themselves depicted as knights. For other examples of this see Brine, “Piety and Purgatory,” 2:264 AR6, 2:272 BU1, 2:272 BU2, 2:281 CE1, 2:290 IP1, 2:301 LL3, 2:310 M4, 2:316 MB1, 2:324 O2.

⁴⁸ The memorial to Raoulet de Boussu, *schildrager* to the Duke of Burgundy, d. October 7, 1449, in St. Donatian’s; Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten te Brugge*, 2:153–155.

⁴⁹ Where groups of multiple (secular) figures are depicted, interpretation as to whether they are a family or not, and in the absence of any direct information, is based on scale and by dress. It is also done by assessing if it is in fact a husband with multiple wives (quite common), or a wife with multiple husbands (uncommon), or a man with his wife and another male relative (uncommon). Furthermore, the depiction of two men and two women suggests two generations of the same family, whereas the depiction of one man and two women suggests a man and his first and second wives. See also the following examples: 2:262 AG3 ca. 1454; 2:263 AR1 ca. 1457; 2:264 AR5, ca. 1442; 2:264 AR6 ca. 1377–1380; 2:265 AR7 ca. 1425–1430; 2:265 AR8 ca. 1440; 2:266 AT1 ca. 1500; 2:267 BS1 ca. 1501; 2:268 BD1 ca. 1443; 2:270 BN1 ca. 1520; 2:274 BR2 ca. 1490–1500; 2:275 BR5 ca. 1490–1500; 2:275 BR6 ca. 1490–1500; 2:276 BR9 ca. 1450; 2:283 DO1 mid-fifteenth century; 2:284 E2 mid-fifteenth century; 2:289 HD1 ca. 1420–1440; 2:290 IP1 ca. 1420; 2:291 IP5 ca. 1456; 2:301 LL1 1479; 2:302 LL6 pre-1479; 2:304 MA1 1475–1500; 2:306 ME1 ca. 1410; 2:308

MG1 mid-fifteenth century; 2:308 MG2 early fifteenth century; 2:310 M5 ca. 1430–1470; 2:314 M18 1425–1450; 2:322 NH1 ca. 1470–1477; 2:325 P1 pre-1412; 2:327 RB1 post-1457; 2:334 S3 ca. 1497; 2:337 S11 ca. 1455; 2:338 S15 ca. 1439; 2:340 T2 ca. 1422; 2:342 T11 pre-1442; 2:343 T13 ca. 1471; 2:343 T14 after 1400; 2:344 T16 ca. 1420–1426; 2:344 T18 ca. 1454; 2:346 T22 after 1427; 2:364 T24 after 1499; 2:348 T28 1434–1436; 2:348 T30 ca. 1400–1410; 2:349 T32 after 1453; 2:353 VL7 after 1433; 2:353 VL8 ca. 1413; 2:356 WV2 ca. 1464; 2:356 WV3 mid-fifteenth century; 2:357 WV4 ca. 1468; 2:357 WV5 1400–1425; 2:358 X2 ca. 1404; 2:360 X7 ca. 1450. Brine, *Piety and Purgatory*, vol. 2.

⁵⁰ The figurative floor plate memorial to Jan Gailliard, his wife Catharina van de Walle, and their son Adriaen (d. 1281) depicted the parents and commemorated the son; the ca. 1328 figurative floor plate memorial to Jacob van Coukelare, his wife Margareta and their son Willem, showed Margareta between her husband and son; Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten te Brugge*, 2:24 cat. 6; 2:36 cat. 26.

⁵¹ The first wall-mounted memorial to depict children was a painted panel that commemorated Jacob Canneel and Elisabeth van Axel from ca. 1418; *ibid.*, 2:121 cat. 127.

⁵² McGee Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France, the Low Countries, and England*.

⁵³ In the case of the figurative floor slab memorial of Alexandre de Moscroen (d. 1485) and his wife Jeanne Lootyns, and their son Alexandre de Moscroen and his wife Jossine van den Brande in the Church of Our Lady, only Alexandre I de Moscroen and his wife Jeanne Lootyns were depicted; Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten te Brugge*, 2:313 cat. 316.

⁵⁴ Provisions for his wife are not mentioned in the amended instruction. It is possible that Margareta remarried fairly soon after Lodewijk II de Baenst died in 1494, and that the shift of focus away from her in her former husband's memorials reflected a feeling that it was not appropriate for her to be commemorated as a widow of one man when subsequently remarried, or about to be re-married, to another.

⁵⁵ Blockmans, "Living and Working in Bruges," 29.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Munro, "Bruges and the Abortive Staple in English Cloth," 1150.

⁵⁸ Limberger, "No Town in the World," 44.

⁵⁹ Munro, "Bruges and the Abortive Staple in English Cloth," 1149.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Haemers, "Factionalism and State Power," 1009; Brown, *Civic Ceremony and Religion*, 2.

⁶² Brown, *Civic Ceremony and Religion*, 193; Buylaert, *Repertorium van de vlaamse adel (ca.1350–ca.1500)*, 482. May 9, 1486, "notre bien ame Cornille Metteneye, escuier" (ARA. GR. Procesbundels tot 1504, no. 79).

⁶³ Blockmans and Prevenier, *The Promised Lands*, 202.

⁶⁴ Haemers, "Factionalism and State Power," 1015.

⁶⁵ "Marc van de Velde and Steven van der Gheinste (brother of Antoinette van de Gheenste, Jan's wife and so Marc's sister in law) were made part of the city-bench that was appointed after the imprisonment of Maximilian in February 1488"; *ibid.*, 1036n72.

⁶⁶ Jan de Keyt, son of Jan I de Keyt, brother of Catharine de Keyt—Jacob van de Velde's wife.

⁶⁷ Gailliard, *Bruges et le franc*, 1:27; de Vegiano and Herckenrode, *Nobiliaire des Pays-Bas*, 81.

⁶⁸ Unlike Jan van Nieuwenhove (*fs.* Michiel) and Pieter Lanchals, he was not executed in February 1488 and he continued his employ as a Habsburg diplomat until his death in 1497; Buylaert, "De Baenst, Paul."

⁶⁹ In 1483, Jan IV de Baenst's affiliation to the radical anti-Maximilian council saw them grant him the right to live in the castle of Middelburg. This was his right as heir to Margareta Bladelin (his grandmother), but it came at the expense of Willem Hugonet, its pro-Maximilian occupant. De Clercq, Dumolyn and Haemers, "'Vivre Noblement': Material Culture and Elite Identity in Late Medieval Flanders," 7–8; Brown, *Civic Ceremony and Religion*, 192n99.

⁷⁰ SAB: *Wetsvernieuwingen stadsmagistraat*, Sept. 2 1483, RW 1468–1501 fol. 134v; Haemers, *For the Common Good*, 43, 58–59, 92–93.

⁷¹ This includes others who were knighted at Guinegate in 1479 (Jan *fs.* Klaas van Nieuwenhove) and those who had also been White Bear jousters (Pieter II Metteneye, Karel van Halewijn); Brown, *Civic Ceremony and Religion*, 193.

⁷² Koenigsberger, *Monarchies, States Generals and Parliaments*, 68.

⁷³ "En 1490, les Brugeois révoltés, ayant fait une alliance avec Philippe de Cleves et les Gantois, et déclarant couloir se soustraire à l'autorité de la magistrature, beaucoup de magistrats et d'autres personnes notables, qui prévoyaient les suites fâcheuses de cette nouvelle sédition quittèrent la ville." Gailliard, *Bruges et le franc*, 4:92.

⁷⁴ Figurative floor slab memorial of Pieter Metteneye and Adrienne van Waterganghe, and Pieter II Metteneye and Margareta de Baenst. See also Gailliard, *Inscriptions funéraires et monumentales*, 1:52–53, and Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten te Brugge*, 2:367.

⁷⁵ "Planarium ecclesie sancti Donatiani ex antiquo libro": February 26 "Domicelle Margarete de Baenst, uxoris Petri Mattinee, suppretoris Brugensis, militis"; part IV "Plarium ecclesie sancti Donatiani ex novo libro": February 28 "Domini Petri Matinee militis," and April 19 "Domini petri Metteneye" here also with his wife, Adrienne van Waterganghe; Gilliodts-van Severen, *L'obituaire de Saint-Donatien de Bruges*, 3:317–27.

⁷⁶ Wheaton, "Images of Kinship," 389.

⁷⁷ With thanks to Liesbeth Corens of Jesus College, Cambridge for help with this transcription and translation.

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