

SIENA AND THE WIDOW¹

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To the City of the Virgin, what is a widow? Widows—pitiful, pious, and profligate—appear often in sources from the Christian Middle Ages. Rich and poor, young and old, in medieval society widows were everywhere.² Whereas widowhood as a status is often treated as a theme in women’s history, or examined as a social construction from the approach of comparative gender history, recent scholarship from the perspective of postmodern gender theory has recognized that meanings of widowhood were produced on the bodies of women and men from a shifting matrix of gender-specific laws, customs, and religious practices.³ I focus here on the Christian widow from thirteenth-century Siena, the central Tuscan town on the Italian peninsula known as the City of the Virgin.⁴ How was the Christian widow key to Siena as a site for the production of knowledge? What did representations of these bodies signify in the prosperous city-state, where saints and sinners graciously paid their taxes?⁵ In the light of growing academic interest in Siena’s artistic, religious, and cultural history, this paper asks the question: as Siena reframes its glorious past, how do representations of the Christian widow from the thirteenth century communicate with audiences today?⁶

Throughout the Middle Ages, representations of the Christian widow variously formed from the Biblical *vere vidua* [true or real, in the sense of deserving or respectable, widow]. The real widow, as Katherine Clark’s work in “Pious Widowhood in the Middle Ages” shows, functioned rhetorically as “a symbol for the church, a poor figure commanding human pity and divine protection, a person able to redeem her chastity that had been lost through marriage, and a real-life woman requiring pastoral care.”⁷ By contrast, representations of widowed Christian men were not formed from, as Thomas McGinn terms it, “a double typology.”⁸ They were, however, framed by a moral system that directed both women and men away from remarriage and towards service to the Church.⁹ By locating these spiritual directives as a discourse, Clark interprets the Christian widow as an embodied performance

of chastity, charity, and asceticism, and demonstrates how the ambiguous, or unstable, human sign *vere vidua* functioned in historical contexts to stabilize Christian society. Here I take up this idea and—by reading across widely diverse textual representations—I try to show how this unstable sign worked to stabilize the City of the Virgin.

One measure of how medieval feminist scholarship has changed over the past two decades is the increased diffusion of research from archival collections in Italy on forms and meanings of women in medieval society. Many scholars have contributed affirmatively to this development. Here I emphasize the most recent relevant studies, and therefore references to fundamental sources will be found in the notes and bibliographies of those works.

THE WIDOW IN BLACK AND WHITE

My first example, which concerns the conversion of a young widow to a form of lay religious life widely popular in the central Middle Ages, features Ambrose Sansedoni, a Dominican of Siena who lived from 1220-1287, and his contemporary, Recupero of Arezzo, who is both author and narrator.¹⁰ It reveals perhaps better than any other narrative of comparable length, the challenge of reconstructing the manner of living of a (presumably) sexually experienced woman to an idealized life of sexual renunciation.¹¹

In order that the effectiveness of his word be especially evident, Mrs. Mante, of Lucignano in the Florentine district, a woman connected to him by blood, religious in her clothing, customs and devotion, reported to me that when in her youth she was deprived of the solace of a husband, this father visited her as though she were a blood relative in a condition of sorrow: He told her, among other things, an exemplum which St. Gregory [the Great] reports in his book of *Dialogues* concerning a certain woman by the name of Galla, who during the time of adolescence was given to a husband and in a short interval of time she was bereaved of this husband by death: when he was dead, many encouraged her to remarry, but soon she gave herself to a monastery. By these words he incited the aforesaid kinswoman to a similar contempt for the world and placed his hand upon her: she was inflamed

by so great a devotion that soon, seeking seclusion, she poured forth tears in abundance, nor did she stop until she earned and accepted the clothing of the *vestitae* [bearers of the lay habit] of the Order of Preachers [Dominicans].

Among these *vestitae* she has advanced to such maturity of habits and prudence that the majority put her in charge.¹²

This independent religious laywoman cloaked in the Dominican colors of black and white is drawn from a late thirteenth-century text that was intended for the Church hierarchy. The approbation of Mrs. Mante's peers reported by Brother Recupero in the concluding sentence appears consistent with the revisionist view that Dominican penitent women were pious laywomen only loosely associated with the Order of Preachers until the fifteenth century.¹³ Ambrose mediates between the Word of God and the widow's body: as a divine messenger, he performs (cites) the Word of God, and the site of his performance is the body of the young widow. Her tears do not represent grief or despair. Instead, they signify her conversion to lay penitential life,¹⁴ and thus demonstrate the efficacy of his words.¹⁵ In this manner, the widow authenticates the preacher. When a black mantle and white veil of the Dominican lay habit cover her body and legitimize her choice, her weeping stops. The text/body relationship is delineated here as a closed semiotic circle that contains old relationships even while establishing new boundaries for the widow's body.

THE WIDOWS OF AGNES STREET

New boundaries for the widow's body often touch on, in the words of Barbara Hanawalt, "the spiritual bargain between the rich and poor in the salvation of the rich men's and women's souls and care for poorer neighbors."¹⁶ In this frame are the widows of Agnes Street. There is a small street in Siena today, *Via Monna Agnese* [(the lady) Agnes Street], located in the oldest section of town, a few steps away from the city's spectacular gothic cathedral. The name of the street is a modern medievalism, but Agnes d'Affretatto was indeed a real person, who, between 1270 and 1274, established a hospital at this location and governed it herself with public and private support.¹⁷ While maintaining close ties to

both sacerdotal and secular authorities, this small hospital for the poor, with its mixed community of women and men, remained an independent organization for more than two centuries, always under the direction and management of women. Historians have traditionally identified the hospital of *Monna Agnese* as serving “poor widows in childbirth,” but this was not the case, as Lucia Brunetti’s meticulously detailed archival information shows.¹⁸ Of the seventeen women who governed the hospital in succession following Agnes’ death, more than half were widows.¹⁹ The real widows on Agnes Street, in other words, were not in childbirth: they were in charge.

REAL WIDOWS/REAL KNIGHTS

Bindo Bonichi (ca. 1260-1338) was not a knight. Merchant, writer, and member of Siena’s “patriciate of public service,”²⁰ as William Bowsky terms it, Bonichi knew, as the following excerpt from one of his satirical poems shows, that real widows signify real knights.

Widows and orphans are very safe
on account of the oaths knights take,
but everyone makes sure they lock their doors.
For, though knights swear before friars
not to touch women and to live pure lives,
woe betide whoever trusts an old soldier.²¹

Bonichi, of course, was aware of the reality in his time behind the stereotypical poor widow. He was, after all, among the compilers of a new constitution for Siena’s charitable society, *Misericordia*, established in 1250.²² He writes about the knight as a form of “dominant masculinity,”²³ as Judith Halberstam puts it. The satire depends on a medieval social truism: the Christian knight has a duty “to protect the weak, women, widows and orphans.”²⁴ The body of a real widow here signifies the knight’s (dubious) authenticity.²⁵

Similarly, Florentine Franco Sacchetti (ca. 1378-1395), in a poem cited by Chiara Frugoni to illustrate the use of eyeglasses as a male prerogative in the Middle Ages, “deplores the decadence of the knightly class, because in his time even people of low condition had crept into it, ‘astute traders, wearing glasses, with pens behind their ears, doing sums in their books, making deceptive

transactions, buying and selling, trading and lending, seizing and grabbing, robbing the widows and orphans.”²⁶ We hear the echoes of Mark (12:38-44); (12:41-44) and Luke (20:45-47); (21:1-4), passages joined, as Biblical scholars have observed, by “widow” to demonstrate the authenticity of the Christian social order in protecting society’s weakest members.²⁷

THE BLACK WIDOW, OR PLEASE DON’T SHOW ME THE MONEY

Money looms large in Cecco Angiolieri’s (c. 1260-1312) sonnets, providing the underlying text, for example, in an exchange between the character Cecco and “*figura diaboli*,”²⁸ Becchina, about their different perceptions of the past (Sonnet LIV).²⁹ Since Becchina married another, Cecco calculates that, in sum, the two years that have elapsed are a hundred because of his suffering and misery. Becchina responds with a “black-widow question,” as Selby Wynn Schwartz rightly terms it, “perche non hai chi mi ti tolse spento?” [why didn’t you kill the man who took me away from you?].³⁰ In this hilarious power inversion, the idea of the profligate, or “false,” widow signifies the “false” Cecco, who is surely a Christian figuration of, as Fabian Alfie puts it, “a small, pitiful, selfish man,” with all “the incorrect priorities of the worldly person.”³¹ Without an understanding of the Christian widow as a great deal more than a recognizable type, or a modern independent woman, the social meaning of this sonnet is entirely lost. Why else would the poet conclude with Becchina reducing Cecco, the man made weak by desire, to less than zero?

“Cecco, s’una città come fu Troia
oggima’ mi donassi, a lo ver dire,
non la vorre’ per cavarti di noia.”³²

[Cecco, all the riches of Troy couldn’t
make me want to make you happy.]³³

WIDOWS IN COLOR

Aghina, widow of Lamberto di Alberto, and Olliente, widow of Ildibrandino Signorucoli, are represented in an archival document from 1243 that appears as a full-page, color reproduction in *Palazzo Sansedoni*, a recent publication documenting the history

and restoration of a significant architectural landmark in Siena.³⁴ This archival document forms a “portrait” of the two widows. Aghina and Olliente are not depicted as holy women or patrons of architecture.³⁵ Instead, they are depicted in the process of clearing up some unfinished financial transactions involving the devolution of family resources.³⁶ Historical coincidence places them in front of us now, because this particular document links, however cautiously, the father of Blessed Ambrose Sansedoni to the famous building. The Christian widow from thirteenth-century Siena, then, does communicate with audiences today. Are the widows Aghina and Olliente typical for thirteenth-century Siena?³⁷ Based on my comparison of this document with thirty similar records located in *Archivio di Stato di Siena (ASS)*, I believe that they are indeed typical. For the purposes of this paper, one image from this collection will serve to illustrate the model.

A FIRE AND THE PROTECTED WIDOW

One evening in 1250, in the *terzo* [section] of Camollia in Siena, a small cabin burned to the ground. The remaining pile of waste had once been home for a family of three, headed by Bonamico di Sinibaldo. On December 31, the widow of Bonamico, Stefania, now guardian of their son, Orlandus, was indemnified for all the household goods consumed by flames. In a document that runs approximately 300 words in Latin, the notary carefully itemizes the household goods according to the sworn testimony of Stefania. The document is not unlike a list one might prepare today for an insurance agent. For Stefania, however, producing such a list involved her sworn testimony and two witnesses “*secundum constitutum senensem*” [according to the Constitution of Siena].³⁸ Nothing extraordinary appears on Stefania’s list, which includes stores of grain, oil, wine, olives, dried legumes, and one hen. In addition are items of clothing such as a shirt, two pair of shoes, a purse containing a few coins, and one *benda* [a cloth headband]. The cost of indemnification was divided equally between the communities of Siena and Massa, Stefania’s hometown.

To return to the question I asked at the beginning: to the City of the Virgin, what is a widow? One *benda*? One hen? In short,

yes. The details that usually can only be found in unedited archival documents create a picture of everyday justice in a self-governing community. Long before Justice appears as a (female) figure in the famous Lorenzetti murals³⁹ in Siena's town hall, justice was figured in the body of the Christian widow. For various regimes in the City of the Virgin, therefore, the widow signified authenticity.

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END NOTES

1. This paper was originally presented at the 41st International Congress on Medieval Studies, 4-7 May 2006, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, MI, as part of an "SMFS at Twenty" panel on "Archives."
2. There is a steadily growing body of literature here. Good places to begin are Barbara Hanawalt, "Widows," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Women's Writing*, ed. Carolyn Dinshaw and David Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003), pp. 58-69, and Joel T. Rosenthal, "Widows," in *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Margaret Schaus (New York/London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 832-835. Notable studies include the following: Allison M. Levy, *Remembering Masculinity in Early Modern Florence: Widowed Bodies, Mourning, and Portraiture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); Emmanuelle Santinelli, *Des femmes éplorées? Les veuves dans la société aristocratique du haut moyen âge* (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Septentrion, 2003); *Widowhood and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Allison M. Levy (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003); Katherine Clark, *Pious Widowhood in the Middle Ages*. PhD Diss. Indiana University, 2002; Judith Evans Grubbs, *Women and the Law in the Roman Empire: A Sourcebook on Marriage, Divorce, and Widowhood* (New York/London: Routledge, 2002); *Widowhood in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Sandra Cavallo and Lyndan Warner (London: Longman, 1999); *Constructions of Widowhood and Virginity in the Middle Ages*, ed. Cindy L. Carlson and Angela Jane Weisl (New York: St. Martin's, 1999); *Between Poverty and the Pyre: Moments in the History of Widowhood*, ed. Jan Bremmer and Lourens van den Bosch (New York/London: Routledge, 1995); Jens-Uwe Krause, *Witwen und Waisen in Römischen Reich*, 4 vols. (Stuttgart: Verlag, 1994-95); *Upon My Husband's Death: Widows in the Literature and Histories of Medieval Europe*, ed. Louise Mirrer (Ann Arbor: U Michigan P, 1992).
3. Sarah Salih, "Margery's Bodies: Piety, Work and Penance," in *A Companion to the Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. John H. Arnold and Katherine J. Lewis (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2004), pp. 161-76; Ruth Evans, "Virginitities," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Women's Writing*, pp. 21-39; Allison Levy, "Augustine's Concessions and other Failures: Mourning and Masculinity

in Fifteenth-Century Tuscany,” in *Grief and Gender: 700-1700*, ed. Jennifer C. Vaught with Lynne Dickson Bruckner (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 81-93. On mourning practices, a standard theme in the study of widowhood, see the essays by various experts collected in Silvia Colucci, ed., “Morire nel Medioevo. Il caso di Siena,” *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria* 110 (2003-2004): 7-542. On dower law and practice, see Serena Giuliadori, “De rebus uxoris, Dote e successione negli Statuti Bolognesi (1250-1454),” *Archivio Storico Italiano* IV (2005): 651-85; Elena Brizio, “La dote nella normative statutaria e nella pratica testamentaria senese (fine sec. XII-meta sec. XIV)” *BSSP* 111 (2004/2005): 9-39; Gianna Lumia-Ostinelli, “‘Ut cippus domus magis conservetur.’ La successione a Siena tra statuti e testamenti (secoli XII-XVII),” *Archivio Storico Italiano* (2003): 3-51; *idem*, “Le eredità delle donne: I dritti successori femminili a Siena tra medioevo ed età moderna,” in Colucci, ed., “Morire nel Medioevo.” *BSSP* 110 (2003/2004): 318-40.

4. An excellent introduction to Siena is offered by Edward D. English, “Siena,” in *Medieval Italy: An Encyclopedia*, Christopher Kleinhenz, ed., 2 vols. (New York/London: Routledge, 2004), vol. 2, pp. 1036-1045. On the larger context of political, social, and religious history, see *Italy in the Central Middle Ages, 1000-1300*, ed. David Abulafia (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004); Augustine Thompson, *Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Communes, 1125-1325* (University Park, PA: Penn State UP, 2005); Frances Andrews, “Monastic Observance and Communal Life: Siena and the Employment of Religious,” in *Pope, Church and City: Essays in Honor of Brenda M. Bolton*, ed. Frances Andrews, Christoph Egger, and Constance M. Rousseau (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 357-83. On the Virgin’s special protection of Siena, see Raffaele Argenziano, “The Origins and Development of the Iconography of the Madonna in Siena,” in *The Palio and its Image: History, Culture, and Representation of Siena’s Festival*, ed. Maria A. Ceppari Ridolfi, Marco Ciampolini, and Patrizia Turrini (Siena: Banca Monte dei Paschi, 2001), pp. 99-110.

5. See Diana Webb, *Saints and Cities in Medieval Italy* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2007), pp. 1-45; 224-225; and Mario Ascheri, “Lo splendore e la maturità: la città-Stato nel Duecento,” in *Le città-Stato* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2006), pp. 93-145.

6. For an overview of recent projects and publications, see the collection of essays by Mario Ascheri in his *Siena e la città-Stato del Medioevo Italiano* (Siena: Betti, 2003).

7. Clark, “Pious Widowhood,” p. 291.

8. Thomas A. J. McGinn, “Widows, Orphans, and Social History,” rev. of Krause, *Witwen und Weisen*. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 12 (1999): 617-632, p. 632.

9. See Bernhard Jussen, “Virgins-Widows-Spouses: On the Language of Moral Distinction as Applied to Women and Men in the Middle Ages,” *The History of the Family* 7.1 (2002): 13-32; David L. d’Avray, *Medieval Marriage: Symbolism and Society* (New York: Oxford UP, 2005); Raymond of Penafort, *Summa on Marriage*, trans. with intro. Pierre J. Payer (Toronto: Pontifical Institute, 2005); Charles J. Reid, Jr., *Power Over the Body, Equality in the Family: Rights and*

Domestic Relations in Medieval Canon Law (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2004).

10. On *conversi* [converts] and *penitenti* [penitents] in the communal era, see “From Conversion to Community,” in Thompson, *Cities of God*, pp. 69–102.

11. On preaching and the body, see the insightful study by Claire M. Waters, *Angels and Earthly Creatures: Preaching, Performance, and Gender in the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: U Pennsylvania P, 2004).

12. Recupero of Arezzo, *Summarium Virtutum et Miracula [B. Ambrosii Senensis] Acta Sanctorum 9* (Mar. III), 180–239, col. 213C. *Acta Sanctorum Database*. Archived <<http://acta.chadwyck.com>>. Accessed 26 October 2003.

13. Maiju Lehmijoki-Gardner’s key discovery of a forgotten original penitent rule in *Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati* of Siena is discussed in her article, “Writing Religious Rules as an Interactive Process: Dominican Penitent Women and the Making of Their *Regula*,” *Speculum* 79.2 (2004): 660–687. See also *Dominican Penitent Women*, ed. and trans. M. Lehmijoki-Gardner, with contributions by E. Ann Matter and Daniel E. Bornstein. preface by Gabriella Zarri (New York: Paulist, 2005).

14. Piroska Nagy, *Le don des larmes au Moyen Âge: Un instrument spirituel en quête d’institution, V–XIII siècle* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2000), pp. 384–424; Katherine Ludwig Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2000), pp. 207–217. On the image of the Magdalen in thirteenth-century wall paintings, see Alessandro Bagnoli, “Alle origini della pittura senese. Prime osservazioni sul ciclo dei dipinti murali,” in *Sotto il duomo di Siena: Scoperte archeologiche, architettoniche e figurative* ed. Roberto Guerrini with the collaboration of Max Seidel (Milan: Silvana, 2003), pp. 107–147.

15. Beverly Mayne Kienzle, “Medieval Sermons and Their Performance,” *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn Muessig (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 89–124.

16. Barbara Hanawalt, “Reading the Lives of the Illiterate: London’s Poor,” *Speculum* 80.3 (2005): 1067–1086, p. 1069. On Christian charity in Siena, see Mario Ascheri and Patrizia Turrini, “La storia della Misericordia e la Pietà dei laici a Siena,” in *La Misericordia di Siena attraverso I secoli, dalla domus Misericordiae all’arciconfraternita di Misericordia*, ed. Ascheri and Turrini (Siena: Protagon, 2004), pp. 15–49.

17. Lucia Brunetti, *Agnese e il suo ospedale: Siena, XIII–XV secolo*, with preface by Anna Esposito (Pisa: Pacini, 2005). On forms of charity in the Mediterranean world, an excellent overview is Philip Gavitt, “Charitable Institutions,” in Kleinhenz, ed., *Medieval Italy*, pp. 208–210. On the history of hospitals and related institutions of welfare provision, see Peregrine Horden, *Hospitals and Healing from Antiquity to the Later Middle Ages* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

18. Brunetti, *Agnese e il suo ospedale*, p. 59.

19. Brunetti, *Agnese e il suo ospedale*, pp. 147–9.

20. William M. Bowsky, *A Medieval Italian Commune: Siena Under the Nine, 1287–1355* (Berkeley: U California P, 1981), p. 314.

21. Trevor Dean, *The Towns of Italy in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: St. Martin's, 2000), p. 151.
22. Paolo Nardi, "Origini e sviluppo della Casa della Misericordia nei secoli XIII e XIV," in Ascheri and Turrini, *La Misericordia*, pp. 64-93, p. 75.
23. Judith Halberstam, *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subculture Lives* (New York: New York UP, 2005), p. 135.
24. Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1984), p. 9.
25. An excellent "portrait" of a knight (ca. 1200-67) is Odile Redon, "Le père du bienheureux: Bonatacca Tacche, conseiller siennois et podestat impérial," *Médiévales* 34 (1998): 39-52.
26. Chiara Frugoni, *Books, Banks, Buttons and Other Inventions from the Middle Ages*, trans. William McCuaig (New York: Columbia UP, 2005), p. 23.
27. Daniel J. Harrington, "The Gospel According to Mark," and Robert J. Karris, "The Gospel According to Luke," in *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary*, ed. Raymond E. Brown, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, Roland E. Murphy (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1990), pp. 596-629; p. 623; pp. 675-721; p. 713, respectively.
28. Fabian Alfie, *Comedy and Culture: Cecco Angiolieri's Poetry and Late Medieval Society* (Leeds: Northern UP, 2001), p. 76.
29. Cecco Angiolieri, *Sonetti*, ed. Menotti Stanghellini (Monteriggioni: Il Leccio, 2003), p. 17.
30. Selby Wynn Schwartz, *Rogue Poetry: Cecco Angiolieri and the Troubadour Tradition*. PhD Diss. University of California, Berkeley, 2005, p. 72. Schwartz's translation reads, "Why don't you knock off the guy who took me away from you?" I have followed Stanghellini's modern Italian translation, which reads, "perché non hai ammazzato chi mi ha portato via a te?" This literally translates as, "Why didn't you kill who took me away from you?" The translation hinges on the various verb conjugations: "ammazzare" is the root verb meaning "to kill," and "ammazzato" is the past participle. The tenses are somewhat obscured in Schwartz's colloquial translation, but highlighted in the modern Italian version.
31. Alfie, *Comedy and Culture*, p.36.
32. Angiolieri, *Sonetti*, p. 204.
33. My translation. I realize it is not poetic, but I wanted to underscore my point, and a prose translation allows for bluntness not readily apparent in poetry.
34. See Odile Redon, "Costruire una famiglia nel Medioevo, Banchieri, Cavalieri e un Santo," in *Palazzo Sansedoni*, ed. Fabio Gabrielli (Fondazione Monte dei Paschi di Siena, 2004), pp. 19-55; the document *ASS, Diplomatico, Acquisto Gavazzi, 31 marzo 1243*, p. 26; transcription by Filippo Pozzi, pp. 393-394.
35. See, for example, Elizabeth Petroff, "Blessed Aldobrandesca of Siena," *Consolation of the Blessed* (New York: Alta Gaia Society, 1979), pp. 166-178; Catherine E. King, *Renaissance Women Patrons: Wives and Widows in Italy, 1300-1550* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1998), pp. 219-220 on Margarita Bichi (1480-1532) of Siena; Lawrence Jenkins, "Caterina Piccolomini and the *Palazzo delle Papesse* in Siena," in *Beyond Isabella: Secular Women Patrons of Art in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Sheryl E. Reiss and David G. Wilkins (Kirkville, MO: Truman State UP, 2001), pp. 77-91.

36. See here especially the studies by Giuliadori, Brizio, and Lumia-Ostinelli listed in n. 3 above.

37. For an archival study of Siena's urban development during this period, see Guglielmo Villa, *Siena medievale: La costruzione della città nell'età "ghibellina" 1200-1270* (Rome: Bonsignori, 2004).

38. *ASS, Diplomatico, Archivio Generale, 31 dicembre 1250*; transcription by Filippo Pozzi.

39. On sources and meanings of these murals, see Alberto Colli, ed., *Ambrogio Lorenzetti: La vita del trecento in Siena e nel contado senese nelle committenze istoriate pubbliche e private, Guida al Buongoverno* (Siena, 2004).