ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: "YOU'VE REALLY GOT A HOLD ON ME": POWER AND EMOTION IN WOMEN'S CORRESPONDENCE IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY ITALY

Nicole Lynn McLean, Master of Arts, 2012

Thesis directed by: Professor Janna Bianchini
Department of History

This thesis examines the lives of Alessandra Strozzi and Lucrezia de'Medici of Florence. The fifteenth-century in Italy saw women's power declining, and patrician women used letter writing to enter the public sphere and exert power. This study analyzes socially constructed emotional themes in women's correspondence which is in concert with scholars like Barbara Rosenwein in that it seeks to instead situate emotions in specific historical contexts. For Alessandra, we see how she successfully employs the emotions of guilt and shame to manipulate her sons into behaving properly, as these emotions were closely connected to Italian culture. Second, in the patronage letters written to Lucrezia by potential clients, we see the use of motherly emotions by clients in hopes that Lucrezia will essentially fill a mother's role, helping them with their hardships. Even though client's letters represent a "fictive" mother/child relationship, they are a testament to Lucrezia's power as a mother.

"YOU'VE REALLY GOT A HOLD ON ME": POWER AND EMOTION IN WOMEN'S CORRESPONDENCE IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY ITALY

By

Nicole Lynn McLean

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Advisory Committee:

Professor Janna Bianchini, Chair

Professor Antoine Borrut

Professor Philip Soergel

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Chapter 1-Introduction

> I am willing to say that *every* document and text that we have reveals social practice. If emotions figure in those documents (and even if they do not) we have the right to ask what emotional structures are revealed by them *in their proper context*, taking into account all we can about the linguistic, social, economic, intellectual, and political processes and structures that make up that context, while not neglecting the audience and the range of ways in which it might have received the texts in question.[1]
>
> -Barbara Rosenwein, "Writing Without Fear About Early Medieval Emotions."
>
> What is an emotion? We are all experts on emotion—we used them to influence others before we could talk, we have been thinking about what they are and what they mean ever since we could reason. . .contemporary work tends to focus on the processes that generate emotions, the signs and symptoms of emotion, the intrapersonal and social regulation of emotion.[2]
>
> -Stephanie A. Shields, *Speaking From the Heart*

The history of emotions is a particular area of social history that has been on the rise during the last few decades, especially research on the medieval period. Until recently, this field of research was seriously neglected by historians and often relegated to other fields of study including sociology, anthropology, and psychology. Yet, there are an abundance of historical sources just waiting to be analyzed to gain an understanding of what the cultural norms were in regards to emotional behavior or how to understand why people may have used certain emotional expressions in their writings. In the early decades of the twentieth century, the medieval period was understood to either be one of a cold and emotionless age or one in which people acted in a "childlike" manner.[3] After

[1] Barbara Rosenwein, "Writing Without Fear About Early Medieval Emotions," in *Early Medieval Europe* 10 (2001): 233.
[2] Stephanie A. Shields, *Speaking from the Heart: Gender and the Social Meaning of Emotion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 4-5.
[3] Barbara Rosenwein, "Worrying About Emotions in History", in *American Historical Review* 107 (June 2002)

Norbert Elias and Johann Huizinga published their works in the early to mid twentieth century, which described medieval emotions (and consequently anything pre-modern) as either non-existent, unrestrained, or "childlike", many future historians followed suit.[4] Scholars continued the theory that the premodern period did not exactly express emotions, while the modern period can be understood as one of complex feelings.[5] Historians also continue to argue that the medieval period is one of unrestrained emotions in which no societal norms existed to make people conform to certain standards; in comparison, the modern period has cultural norms that regulate the expression of emotions.[6] However, while examining documents of the medieval period, historians can find great examples of emotional expressions that completely debunk the myths of an unloving and unrestrained period of history. Sources ranging from laws to literature to letters can "reveal social practice" whether or not emotions are explicitly expressed throughout each particular source.[7] In addition, letters from the Middle Ages, which will be the focus of this study, can tell us much about social norms in regards to parent-child relationships, the power women could exert through correspondence, and how emotions could be performed through the letters of patronage.

The period that this project is interested in is the *quattrocento* because of the availability of sources, especially ones written by women. Women had greater access to learning how to read and write, but this is not to argue that the female population of

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[4] For a list of these see Chapter 2 below.
[5] See section on Edward Shorter and Lawrence Stone in Chapter 2.
[6] See Peter N. Stearns and Carol Z. Stearns, "Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards," *American Historical Review* 90 (1985): 813-836. Their theory, called "emotionology" argues that until the appearance of advice manuals of the nineteenth century, Western society had nothing to regulate its emotions. See more on this in Chapter 2.
[7] Even if a source does not express emotions, we have the right to ask why (Barbara Rosenwein, "Writing," 233.

Europe was illiterate before the fifteenth century.[8] This project examines the epistolary genre, and more specifically, the personal letters of wealthy patrician Italian women, but also of a variety of men writing to Lucrezia Tornabuoni de'Medici.[9] The women of this elite group were typically more educated than women of lower levels of society because their parents could afford tutors for their daughters[10]; often, their parents "went out of their way to educate promising daughters" like the case of Alessandra Scala, whose father hired renowned humanist Angelo Poliziano to tutor her.[11] Of course, not all parents chose to educate their daughters in this way, but some patrician families gave their

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[8] For more on defining literacy see Franz Bäuml, "Varieties and Consequences of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy," in *Speculum* 55 (1980): 237-265; Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300-1600* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989); *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). What exactly does it mean to be literate during the medieval period? For one to be literate is be knowledgeable in Latin and to be able to read and write it. This is one working definition for the period, but it severely "limits" literacy as a whole as it neglects the "complex relationships between Latin and the vernacular language," Bäuml, 239. Being literate can mean just having the ability to read, memorizing a text or what someone says, or being able to write (this ranges from the ability to just duplicate a given text or actually compose one); in addition, "literacy. . .has different connotations according to the context in which it is considered. . .[and] the functions of literacy need. . .to be established in relation to a particular society's needs," McKitterick, 2-5.

[9] Epistolary genre usually falls into three separate categories: The first are "letters of eminent men and women, written as literary, pedagogical, and spiritual documents, composed with great care and subsequently preserved and collected." The next category is letters that fall under "business", whether this may have been "secular or ecclesiastical", and the third are personal or family letter collections. See most recently Joel Rosenthal, "Letters and Letter Collections," in *Understanding Medieval Primary Sources: Using Historical Sources to Discover Medieval Europe*, ed. Joel Rosenthal (London: Rutledge, 2012), 73. The work on the epistolary genre is quite extensive, but Rosenthal's piece is the most recent scholarship on the topic. For more on pre-modern letters see also Giles Constable, *Letters and Letter Collections* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976); Michael Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 2nd ed. (New York: Blackwell, 1993); *Dear Sister: Medieval Women and the Epistolary Genre*, ed. Karen Cherewatuk and Ulrike Wiethaus (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993); *Women's Letters Across Europe, 1400-1700: Form and Persuasion* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).

[10] It was extremely rare that young girls would learn at schools in their neighborhood, even those who came from the upper echelons of society. Most often, parents (especially mothers and sometimes women tutors) would fill in as educators if they could not afford a tutor. Women belonging to the lower classes usually did not have the time to teach their daughters before she left the house to become a servant, but it seems that women did attempt to teach their daughters some basic reading and writing skills. Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300-1600* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 96-102.

[11] Jane Stevenson, *Women Latin Poets: Language, Gender, and Authority, from Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 142; Grendler, 87, 93-95.

daughters more than a typical female education[12]; some women had the ability to learn Latin and Greek and write extensive poetry among other literary genres in addition to writing letters.[13] Lucrezia Tornabuoni is one of these women for whom it is quite evident that she could actually read Latin[14]; the letters that she wrote (and those who wrote to her) were often addressed in the Latin language.

Letter collections can "cover all [types] of subjects: personal, domestic, commercial, family gossip, and so forth", thus making this particular genre an excellent source to help historians understand the private lives of men and women (and how families operated in general).[15] Historian Joel Rosenthal discusses that "letter-writing [in the medieval period] provided [women] an opportunity for so many forms and styles of self-expression, for so many personalized comments. . .for a glimpse at women playing many roles with dignity and success, [that] we can understand why they sought to master the medium and to take advantage of the opportunities it offered."[16] The previous quote summarizes exactly what this project hopes to accomplish; examining letters to see how women "took advantage" of correspondence and what kinds of emotional expressions can

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[12] A typical women's education consisted of learning to read and write in the vernacular, basic arithmetic, and Biblical study.

[13] For more on women and writing see *Lucrezia Tornabuoni de'Medici: Sacred Narratives*, trans. Jane Tylus (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); Lucrezia Marinella, *The Nobility and Excellence of Women and the Defects and Vices of Men*, ed. and trans. Anne Dunhill (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1999); Jane Stevenson, *Women Latin Poets*. Stevenson notes "that women scholars and writers were very definitely valued [in various Italian cities]: by the sixteenth century, for a city to harbor a handful of women poets and scholars was perceived by literati as an index of civilization, a view which can be seen establishing itself during the previous century," 142. Surprisingly, women writers were often extolled by men, including poet and humanist Poliziano, and many could be found in a variety of Italian cities (including Venice, Florence, Pesaro, Urbino, and Milan), 143. Of course, this is not to argue that women were even close to equal footing with men in regards to education; there were no women who obtained the status as a professional humanist, nor did they manage to earn a position as a university professor; in addition, "no fifteenth-century patron retained a woman scholar as a secretary, tutor, or court poet," 144. But their involvement in scholarly circles should not be diminished.

[14] Francis W. Kent, "Sainted Mother, Magnificent Son: Lucrezia Tornabuoni and Lorenzo de'Medici," *Italian History and Culture*, 3, 1997, 10.

[15] Ibid, 73.

[16] Ibid, 83.

be found in them. This study will be examining the correspondence of patricians Alessandra Macinghi Strozzi (1407-1471) and Lucrezia Tornabuoni de'Medici (1427-1482) with their family members as well as others, especially in the case of Lucrezia; as we will see, these women truly took the advantage correspondence could provide to accomplish a great deal in their lives.[17]

So why examine these specific letters? First, the fifteenth century, especially in Italy, provides great collections of patrician family letters, particularly ones written by women (most if not all were written in the vernacular language, Italian of a Tuscan dialect).[18] Italian families during this period often saved diverse types of documents including the correspondence between a range of family members, political figures, business associates, and those seeking patronage.[19] Luckily, many of these letters have survived and can provide a great deal of information regarding everyday life; what is even more important is that these letters provide historians with access to personal relationships, how people communicated their feelings with each other, the type of language they used, and how emotions could be performed in seeking patronage from a benefactor. The letters of Alessandra Macinghi Strozzi and Lucrezia Tornabuoni

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[17] Unfortunately, for the case of Alessandra Strozzi, the letters written by her sons Filippo and Lorenzo to Alessandra have not been published. Financial and time constraints have limited traveling opportunities and thus I have relied on edited copies and secondary research done on Filippo and Lorenzo's responses by other scholars. Their letters can be found in the Archivio di stato di Firenze located in Florence, Italy. A visit to the archives might have illuminated this subject even more. For more on the topic of women's correspondence see Barbara Hanawalt's article entitled "Lady Honor Lisle's Networks of Influence" in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988).

[18] One of the biggest issues, though, of medieval European documents about and/or written by women is that "they do not survive in large quantities until the twelfth century [and] women seldom wrote such texts themselves." Katherine L. French, "Medieval Women's History: Sources and Issues" in *Understanding Medieval and Primary Sources: Using Historical Sources to Discover Medieval Europe*, ed. Joel Rosenthal (London: Routledge, 2012), 197.

[19] In addition to this, households often kept what is known as the *ricordanze*, a daily record book with personal notes on business and family affairs; this particular source can also tell us a great deal of family life during the *quattrocento* and sometimes goes hand-in-hand with letter collections.

de'Medici are an interesting case study for examining women's informal usage of power as well as looking at emotional expressions and how they are socially constructed in the *quattrocento*.

This particular project will look at the social construction of emotions during the fifteenth century by analyzing the correspondence of patrician family members including the Strozzi and Medici. In addition, major emotional themes like shame and guilt for example will be examined as well as how emotions can be performed through letter-writing. This work will specifically look at the letters of Alessandra Strozzi to her sons Filippo and Lorenzo and letters written to Lucrezia Tornabuoni de'Medici from various clients. The reason for choosing these two women is because they both were quite similar in numerous ways. Lucrezia and Alessandra were from the patrician class and belonged to some of the wealthiest families of Florence. Both were highly educated women who were heavily involved in their family's financial affairs, business endeavors, and political concerns. Despite the Strozzi's political situation during Alessandra's lifetime, both she and Lucrezia's life experiences were quite similar.

In comparison to men's letters to their wives and sons, the use of emotional language does not seem as strong, especially when contrasting them with the letters of Alessandra and Lucrezia. Alessandra also used extensive emotional language throughout her letters, which will be discussed more in depth in chapter three. Even though Lucrezia's letters to her sons and husband will not be fully examined in chapter four, the type of language she used in addressing them used salutations like "dearest son." Of course, I was only able to look at the letters of some of the Medici men who do not seem to use similar emotional language in letters to their sons; therefore, I do not want to make

general assumptions about how all patrician men expressed emotions in letters to family members.

Analyzing these letters can provide historians with an understanding of a woman's role within the family and what realities patrician women faced in everyday Italian life during the *quattrocento*. Jacob Burckhardt wrote about Renaissance women that "to understand the higher forms of social intercourse at this period, we must keep before our minds the fact that women stood on a footing of perfect equality with men."[20] Of course, this particular viewpoint of women's status in *quattrocento* Florence is far from accurate, as women lost privileges that were not denied their male counterparts.[21] In comparison to women of surrounding territories including female rulers from Ferrara and Mantua who were duchesses and princesses, patrician women from Florence could not exercise the type of power those women held; females who belonged to the ruling classes could "in certain cases legally assume the formal positions held by their men [but], in the Renaissance republics, indeed, women thought to be becoming too powerful, even (or especially) by indirect means, were usually subject to virulent criticism."[22]

However, this is not to say that women could not find ways to assert control over certain aspects of their life and reclaim some of the power they were refused by the civil, political, and religious institutions. Patrician women "were powerful: they were eloquent, persuasive, and influential. What they were not was authoritative; they lacked

[20] Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S.G.C. Middlemore (London: Macmillan, 1904), 395. http://books.google.com/books?id=2EZdAAAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=Jacob+Burckhardt&hl=en&sa=X&ei=K77rTqukIMLL0QGdvsCpCQ&ved=0CDAQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=Jacob%20Burckhardt&f=false (accessed December 16, 2011).
[21] For more on the discussion of women's status in the Renaissance, see Joan Kelly, "Did Women Have a Renaissance," in *Feminism and Renaissance Studies*, ed. Lorna Hudson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), Samuel K. Cohn Jr. *Women in the Streets: Essays on Sex and Power in Renaissance Italy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).
[22] Kent, "Sainted Mother," 8.

the means to make their desires more than the motive force behind a request, petition, or plea; for the most part, they were excluded from those institutions that would have given their positions legitimacy[23];" nonetheless, despite being kept from institutions of authority, research within the last few decades on Italian legal matters of the *quattrocento* demonstrates that patrician women could and often did, exercise power over their dowries and inheritance, their family, many issues regarding their the business and household, and through the networks of patronage.[24] Women like Alessandra and Lucrezia could also exercise power "because of [their] familial connection. . .[thus, this power] cannot be under-estimated or trvialised [sic.]" when analyzing women's roles in the Middle Ages.[25] Because of their name and wealth, these two women could use this to their advantage to exert power in both their household but also the public life in Florence.

We can gain insight into how women could use letter writing as a means of exerting power, especially over other family members. In the case of Lucrezia, she was often the go-between to her husband Piero and son Lorenzo; therefore, those who were exiled often wrote to her asking if she could intercede on their behalf. The employment of emotions in correspondence in regards to women's indirect power in Florentine society will also be examined. Because of the decline in women's status during the fifteenth century in Italy, women's power was dramatically impacted in the "public" sphere[26];

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[23] Constance Jordan, "Listening to "The Other Voice" in Early Modern Europe," in *Renaissance Quarterly* 51 (1998): 186.

[24] Thomas Keuhn, *Law, Family, and Women: Toward a Legal Anthropology of Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Stanley Chojnacki, "The Power of Love: Wives and Husbands in Late Medieval Venice" in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988); Kent, "Sainted Mother," 7.

[25] Natalie R. Tomas, *The Medici Women: Gender and Power in Renaissance Florence* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2003), 4.

[26] I use the term "public" sphere loosely here using the argument by Jürgen Habermas that before the 18th century, the public and private spheres overlapped (this will be discussed more thoroughly below). However, in terms of "public" institutions of authority, like the government and the Catholic Church,

therefore, women could use letter writing as a means of employing emotions, controlling their sons, husbands, and the family business, and of course, exercising power they might not otherwise be able to exert in public.

One important aspect to keep in mind is that this work is analyzing the experiences of women who belonged to the patrician class who "had more in common with elite men than they did peasant women living within the same region. . .discussions of women's roles must be qualified by carefully attending to the other markers of social identity that determine privileges, responsibilities, and privations."[27] We have to remember that Alessandra's and Lucrezia's experiences are not like those of women belonging to lower social standings, and we cannot generalize that women of all statuses were able to use letter writing as a way to assert power. Many women of lower social standing were not as educated, mainly because they did not have the time or money to learn, and therefore, could not use this particular form to gain influence and power.[28] Neither could women from the lower classes provide patronage, thus excluding them from this particular form of power; even in the late Middle Ages, most women who did not belong to the patrician or ruling class could not exercise power in this way.[29]

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women's participation within this realm changed significantly in Italy from the fourteenth to the fifteenth century.

[27] Meg Lota Brown and Kari Boyd McBride, *Women's Roles in the Renaissance* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2005), 2.

[28] Being able to attend school or hire a teacher to teach children was usually based on economic standing. Therefore, those who were considered poor usually could not read or write. And when we add gender into the equation, women typically were educated for less years than their male counterparts (for the higher classes), or were not at all. Women who could read and write usually came from upper classes, but were also the wives of merchants, lawyers, and printers. Rates for the ability to read, though, were significantly higher than for writing across most of Europe. R.A. Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800* (New York: Longman Group, 1988).

[29] By the end of the Middle Ages, only a handful of 'bourgeois' women were active in providing patronage. McCash, "Cultural Patronage," 7.

Emotional expressions in letters, especially ones written to Lucrezia, also demonstrate the power she held as a woman. Lucrezia was often involved in the patronage networks of Florence, obviously because of her wealth and status; nonetheless, this patronage was an opportunity for women to be active within the public sphere. Patronage could be in many forms and is "defined as the support or backing of a prosperous or powerful benefactor for an artist, an artifact, or an institution in the form of gifts, money (sometimes in the form of a household position for an artist), political influence, personal encouragement, or assistance in helping gain currency for a particular work, idea, or project."[30] For women such as Lucrezia, those who were involved in patronage typically had the "means and relative independence [and] who could control their own fortunes to a significant extent. . .most frequently, important female patrons were widows who had gained control of their dower properties;"[31] after the death of her husband Piero, Lucrezia acquired serious power over her dowry (as well as other items attained during their marriage), and the majority of her activities as benefactor began after 1469.[32] Men often addressed her as "honored mother," or used the term *amore* (love) when writing to her. Using these particular emotional expressions that invoke the relationship of the mother-son bond is quite interesting, because it is as if they are almost performing the emotional role that is involved between a mother and her son.

What is even more valuable is the glimpse into the emotions expressed by people of the past, which when thoroughly examined, can help us understand social constructs. Why do people of the fifteenth-century express certain emotions? Are there reasons why

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[30] June Hall McCash, "The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women: An Overview," *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. June Hall McCash (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996), 4.
[31] Ibid, 7.
[32] Lucrezia's patronage started well before Piero's death in 1469.

Alessandra often used shame and guilt when writing to her sons? Why do men address Lucrezia as a mother or use love in their letters to a woman they hardly know? Are these individuals trying to achieve something by using emotional expressions and language? I argue that all of these questions can be answered through the understanding of social construction and a theoretical framework called "emotionology." This particular concept will be discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 2, but the basics of this term state that each society has their own norms and standards in terms of emotional expression; the types of emotions that are articulated reflect what is determined by society as socially acceptable.[33] Therefore, I will make my case below that the letters represent societal norms of fifteenth-century Florence.

In addition the above questions, do humans "perform" emotions and if so, what is the purpose behind the performance or the reason for performing particular emotions in specific situations? Of course, when discussing the idea of "performing" emotions, I am using the theoretical framework of philosopher Judith Butler who argues that "performativity is not a singular act, but a repetition and a ritual. . .[that is] culturally sustained."[34] In regards to patronage letters, both men and women use similar language and syntax when appealing to his/her benefactor; men and women perform emotions in the letters that are in essence "culturally sustained." Their letters act like a script acting out certain emotional expressions. These performances of emotions are often tied into manipulation and influence, and as we will see in the particular case studies below,

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[33] Peter N. Stearns and Carol Z. Stearns, "Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards," *American Historical Review* 90 (1985): 813.
[34] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 2006), xv.

individuals could use letters to manipulate or pressure people into helping them or correcting behavior.

The majority of published literature (which of course was by learned and patrician men, mostly of humanist teachings) generalized the ideal woman (of all economic and social standings) to be "chaste, silent, and odedient. . .[and] not [involve herself in] business conduct"[35]; but, even though Alessandra and Lucrezia did reflect many of the ideal qualities a woman was supposed to embody, they were rarely silent and often involved themselves in the family business. In the case of Lucrezia, she found herself acting as the intermediary for many exiled people even the Strozzis. Especially after her husband, Piero's, death, she continued to act as an intermediary for her son Lorenzo until her death. Lucrezia was also active in providing patronage to many individuals, and she also was free to purchase her own land to fix up (see the section on the *Bagno a Morba* below in chapter four). Both knew the going-ons of Florentine society, both in the public and private sphere, and they were active in asserting their role as mothers. In general, the writings of the period that dealt specifically with women were not always a representation of their real lives.

In regards to legal matters, women's power over their children (and of course aspects of the family business, ecetera), was not like that of a father's. Unlike men, who "by law possessed complete control over his children and their property until they were formally emancipated [released from paternal control-*patria potestas*]", women's power over their children was more informal[36]; Alessandra, despite being widowed, did not have

[35] Brown and McBride, 4.
[36] Crabb, 109. *Patria potestas* derived from Roman law and "was the power of a Roman male ascendant, normally father or grandfather (*paterfamilias*), over descendants through males (*liberi*), provided that his marriage was valid in Roman law", *The Oxford Classical Dictionary: The Ultimate Reference Work on the*

legal authority, and as a result, she used emotional manipulation to assert power and control her sons. "[The] distinction between power and culturally legitimated authority, between the ability to gain compliance and the recognition that it is right, is crucial to our understanding of women" in history, since women were barred access to formal, recognized positions of authority as previously stated.[37] Power and authority, while usually understood to be a public affair exercised by males[38], informal power could be implemented in private by mothers and wives (and sometimes publicly, as was sometimes the case of Lucrezia), giving them access to substantial control, not only over others, but also their own lives. Even though "women could not vote or run for public office, nor could they participate fully in other power structures such as the Church, the military, or the guilds. . .[or gain] access to institutions of higher learning" and so on, women were still able to find ways to affectively assert power.[39] It is outside these

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Classical World, ed. Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth, third edition revised (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 1122.

[37] Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo, "Woman, Culture, and Society: A Theoretical Overview," in *Woman, Culture, and Society*, ed. Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 21. For more readings on power and authority and the study of gender see Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume I: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, 1978).

[38] Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski argue that "traditionally, power has been equated with public authority; the getting and spending of this legitimated and sanctioned power have in fact provided the main subject of the discipline of history. This limited view of power as public authority carries two corollaries: it assumes that women were largely powerless and thus marginal, and it discourages investigation of women's actions in society as seemingly inconsequential", Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski, ed., introduction to *Women and Power in the Middle Ages* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1988), 1. But one thing to keep in mind in the study of women is that the situation in fifteenth century Italy is representative of all of Europe throughout the Middle Ages. Women's ability to exercise power fluctuated over the *longue durée*; power was not always increasing over time, and Italy in the Renaissance represents a contraction of women's power.

[39] Erler and Kowaleski, *Women and Power*, 1; Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski, "A New Economy of Power Relations: Female Agency in the Middle Ages", in *Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 15. Stanley Chojnacki's work cited above demonstrates not only the affection husbands held for their wives, but also the power women held in the family. On the topic of gossip as a form of women's power see Megan Moran, "Patriarchies in Practice: Women, Family, and Power in Late Medieval and Early Modern Italy" (PhD. diss., Vanderbuilt University, 2008), in ProQuest Dissertations and Theses, http://proquest.umi.com.proxy-

institutions of authority that we must look to find the various ways in which women could assert control and coerce others.

The public sphere as discussed in this work needs some further defining and explaining. The way in which the public sphere is to be understood fits with the argument that Jürgen Habermas makes for premodern society in a Western context. Essentially, before the seventeenth century in Europe with the emergence of salon culture and the republic of letters (letters exchanged by upper class white men concerning politics), the public and private were not completely separate.[40] *Quattrocento* Florence is a good example of how the public and private spheres "overlapped. . .where family affairs controlled much of the political system, economic functioning, and social interactions."[41] To be more specific, the public and private are identified as follows by historian Ann Crabb (who has published several works on the Strozzi family): the public sphere is "defined as public spaces and the institutional aspects of government, religion, and the economy" and the private is "defined as household, family, kinship, and personal relationships."[42] Often, these spheres interacted with each other, but contemporaries argued that women should not be involved with activities or institutions associated with the public sphere.

Moralists and humanists agreed that a woman's role was distinctly relegated to the private sphere; hence, the laws enacted in later medieval Italy demonstrate the desire to keep women out of civic and political life. Women's influence in the public sphere

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um.researchport.umd.edu/pqdweb?index=1&did=1840126251&SrchMode=1&sid=2&Fmt=2&VInst=PROD&VType=PQD&RQT=309&VName=PQD&TS=1327523911&clientId=41143 (accessed November 11, 2010).

[40] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991).

[41] Moran, 12-13.

[42] Crabb, *The Strozzi of Florence*, 57.

was much less than that of men, and when it came to women's participation outside the home, they normally had to have a male guardian (*mundualdo)* to represent them in civil court or just to sign government papers (i.e. tax documents), especially in the case of *quattrocento* Florence; before the fifteenth century, this was not a part of Florentine law, thus demonstrating a decline in women's power.[43] Women were also barred from running for public office, and in general, were seen less in the streets of Florence than in the previous centuries.[44] Samuel Kline Cohn traces law cases throughout the Renaissance and demonstrates that women's access to the court system drastically changed by the time the Medici claimed significant power (the Medici came to power around 1435 when most of the Strozzi family were exiled); the number of women going to the courts even by the end of the *trecento* decreased to as few as forty per year after 1374.[45] In essence then, broadening how we look at the way people exercised power can help us understand how women were able to find ways to exert authority; Erler and Kowaleski argue that power also "encompasses the ability to act effectively, to influence people or decisions, and to achieve goals."[46] Alessandra also wrote often to other Strozzi family members, especially her deceased husband's cousins who were helping Lorenzo and Filippo in their business dealings; she kept strong connections with them and used letter writing as a way to get other family members to control her sons.

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[43] Ibid, 56-59.
[44] Samuel Kline Cohn, *Women in the Streets: Essays on Sex and Power in Renaissance Italy* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1996). Even though Cohn's research focuses mainly on the artisan and peasant classes, he argues that in general "the latitude that women possessed for redressing grievances shrank radically in the fifteenth century in at least two arenas: the streets, where they had used their own hands and curses to resolve conflict, and the criminal law courts of the city", 1.
[45] Ibid, 20-22.
[46] Erler and Kowaleski, 2.

As we can see above, women could hold powerful roles throughout the fifteenth century, and the follow work will demonstrate how. But in addition to this, a look at the scholarship on emotions should be addressed first. The following chapter will provide a historiographical survey on the field of emotions and how exactly this work will add to the growing research in the field. I will further outline the theoretical concepts that will assist me in my arguments on the social construction of emotions and societal norms pertaining to their expression. Chapter three will delve into the letters of Alessandra Macinghi Strozzi to her sons Filippo and Lorenzo. This section will analyze how she used letter writing as a means to assert power and much of how she did this was through the employment of emotions like shame and guilt. In hopes to curb her sons' behavior (among other items of business), Alessandra provided counsel and advice to them through serious emotional expression; in a sense, she was performing her role as a patrician woman. Finally, chapter four will examine how men and women wrote to Lucrezia Tornabuoni de'Medici, what this tells historians about social standards concerning emotional expression, as well as how these letters demonstrate the Lucrezia's power. Essentially, my argument will be that her clients were performing throughout their letters, playing on the emotions she held as a woman as well as the love she had for her own children. A way to demonstrate this performance is to examine and compare letters of patronage to contemporary love poetry, as they were almost exactly the same in nature.[47] This will further help us understand the emotional norms concerning emotional expression as it was perfectly natural to address women in patronage letters almost as if

[47] Jane Stevenson, *Women Latin Poets: Language Gender and Authority, from Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 145.

they were expressing their love for their own mother. And on that note, we can now "throw ourselves into the study of emotion."[48]

[48] Scott McLemee, "Getting Emotional," in *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 49/24 (2003): 14.

Chapter 2-"Sweet Emotions": A Historiographical Look at the History of Emotions

> When the world was half a thousand years younger all events had much sharper outlines than now. The distance between sadness and joy, between good and bad fortune, seemed to be much greater than for us; every experience had that degree of directness and absoluteness that joy and sadness still have in the mind of a child.[49]
>
> -Johan Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, 1919
>
> The general paradigm established by his [Ariès] seemingly convincing arguments implies that medieval people had no real understanding of children and treated them without the emotional intensity as was to become typical—at least in the opinion of Ariès and his myriad followers—since the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. More poignantly, the medieval world was allegedly fixated on adults and cared little about emotions at all, except for erotic feelings between heterosexual adults.[50]
>
> -Albrecht Classen, evaluation of Philippe Ariès' *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime* (published in 1960).

We live in a period that can be called the "age of emotion" in which we have the ability to not only receive information immediately, but also react instantly. Our technological advancements have given us immediate viewing access to everything happening in the world; we instantly react to outcomes of trials, murders, and horrible acts that humans do every day, often without taking the time to think before we react. We sometimes call for people to be murdered or harassed if we do not agree with the outcome of court cases; in recent memory, the Casey Anthony ruling from July 2011 clearly demonstrates public reaction on a case in which so many people across the world developed an emotional investment. Decision making (especially by government

[49] Johan Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, trans. Rodney J. Payton and Ulrich Mammitzsch (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), 1.
[50] Albrecht Classen, "Philippe Ariès and the Consequences: History of Childhood, Family Relations, and Personal Emotions-Where Do We Stand Today?" *Childhood in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*: *The Results of a Paradigm Shift in the History of Mentality*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005), 3-4.

officials) is often based on how we feel at the moment or how we can possibly capitalize on the horrendous deeds of the few. Government policies and laws are produced in days, playing on the emotions of the public; mainly, this is how political figures can advance agendas on the exploitation of victims by demonstrating to their constituents that they did "something."[51] In the past year alone (in the U.S.) people have tried enacting laws based on the Casey Anthony trial mentioned above. Many were so emotionally invested in what happened to Casey's daughter Caylee, who had been allegedly murdered by her own mother; after the trial and acquittal of Casey Anthony, politicians and government officials were pressured by the public to pass laws to try to protect children in similar circumstances to Caylee.[52] The proposed federal bill (known as Caylee's law) "would charge parents with a felony if they fail to report a missing child within 24 hours, or if they fail to report the death of a child within an hour." The person who actually proposed this bill, Michelle Crowder, did not seek advice from "a single law enforcement official before coming up with her 24-hour and 1-hour limits" nor with forensic pathologists over

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[51] See Radley Balko, "Why 'Caylee's Law' is a Bad Idea," *Huffington Post*, July 13, 2011 http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/07/11/caylees-law-casey-anthony-_n_893953.html (accessed November 23, 2011). Another recent incident happened in southeastern France in November 2011, when 13 year old Agnès Marin was raped, murdered, and then burned by a fellow 17 year old classmate. Her murder has caused serious reactions within the French government. They are currently in the process of enacting regulations and laws that would provide schools with the details of student's previous crimes before they are allowed to enroll in a particular school. The biggest issue with this case is that it is on the eve of a presidential election and the case "is becoming more and more politicized. . .Marine Le Pen, president of the far right party the Front National (FN), said that she supported the death penalty for 'those who kill our children.'" Another politician, Rachida Dati, who belongs to President Sarkozy's party, said she "had 'made clear proposals on the judicial treatment of minors' that were not followed by the prime minister." This case that has made people both full of grief, but also anger, is now being used to advance political careers at the expense of the victim. Constance Jamet and Marc de Boni, "France Calls for Reform After Murder of Girl, 13," *Le Figaro*, trans. Brenna M.T. Daldorph, November 23, 2011, http://plus.lefigaro.fr/note/france-calls-for-reform-after-murder-of-girl-13-20111123-607566 (accessed January 13, 2012).

[52] Caylee Anthony's body was found in a wooded area near Orlando, Florida after she had been missing for 31 days. No one had reported her missing, not even her mother.

how to determine the death of a person.[53] This particular response to a court trial is based more on emotions than reasoning which many historians argue only the modern world has developed.

One of the major issues that will be addressed in this chapter is the outdated paradigm that the pre-modern world is one of simplicity and no emotional control, while the modern is complex and restrained, making decisions based on reason, not emotion; of course, if we really analyze human behavior in the modern world, emotions play quite a large role in our decision making every day. If the modern world is so different from the pre-modern in terms of the belief that we have restraint over ourselves and emotions, how exactly do we explain the majority of our behavior, especially like the actions of those so invested in the above-mentioned trial? In addition to breaking down this incorrect view, this chapter will examine some of the major trends of emotional research in a variety of fields from approximately the past two centuries, as well as look into the recent historical analysis of different emotional expressions. Furthermore, we will take a look specifically at the scholarship pertaining to the medieval field and the disputes among historians on how emotions could/should be analyzed. In regards to this work, I am using several different theories and ideas that I believe make this work unique; I argue that the theory of performativity (the one proposed by Judith Butler) can also be used to analyze the epistolary genre, not just literary sources, because emotions are "not a singular act, but a

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[53] Balko, "This raises some questions. How *did* she come up with those cutoffs? Did she consult with any grief counselors to see if there may be innocuous reasons why an innocent person who just witnessed a child's death might not immediately report it, such as shock, passing out, or some other sort of mental breakdown? Did she consult with a forensic pathologist to see if it's even possible to pin down the time of death with the sort of precision you'd need to make Caylee's Law enforceable? Have any of the lawmakers who have proposed or are planning to propose this law actually consulted with anyone with some knowledge of these issues?"

repetition and a ritual."[54] Moreover, I will claim that the concept of "emotionology" (while used by historians analyzing the modern period) can also be adapted to fit the pre-modern world, as these societies also had norms about emotional behavior. It is these two ideas and my scholarship on the women's letters that will add to the already burgeoning historiography of emotional research.

While the field of emotions is a growing discipline, studying them, whether they be past or present, can be prove to be difficult to historians; we have think outside the realm of history and delve into a range of disciplines including sociology, anthropology, and even neuroscience. Moreover, historians have some key questions to ask themselves before tackling sources. How does one actually study the emotions of the past? What questions should a historian ask when analyzing source material? Are certain types of emotions common amongst all societies? Hence, are they 'universal'? Are emotions solely a physiological response or are they socially and culturally constructed? Do some societies suppress certain emotions, while championing others? Are emotions 'gendered'?[55] Thus, are women and men expected to express certain emotions, while not being allowed to articulate others? The questions posed above are some of the major inquiries into emotions that have been explored by historians, sociologists, anthropologists, and psychologists, amongst others. This particular chapter will investigate the theoretical trends of emotion research to gain an understanding of where the field stands today and what particular conceptual framework will be used in analyzing the correspondences of patrician Italian families.

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[54] Butler, XV.

[55] More on gendered emotions see also Stephanie A. Shields, *Speaking from the Heart: Gender and the Social Meaning of Emotion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

History of Emotions: The Big Picture

In this section, I will provide a limited survey of the more important methods on the topic that have influenced the study of emotions in the last one hundred and fifty years and how some of these paradigms have become obsolete. Of course, emotions have been examined by the ancient philosophers, including Aristotle's works in which emotions are seen as inhibiting man from thinking rationally. But the way in which Aristotle approached the examination of emotions actually "bears close resemblance to the most advanced cognitive emotion theories of today."[56] Aristotle's definition of emotions is that "all those feelings that so change [people] as to affect their judgements [sic], and are also attended by pain or pleasure."[57] Belgian historian Jeroen Deploige notes that "in [Aristotle's] definition of the Greek work *pathos* cultural aspects—judgements—as well as bodily experiences—pain and pleasure—are implied"[58]; emotions are "also [to] be understood in cognitive and social terms, because all emotions arise from judgement. For anger, the judgement is that one has been wronged; for shame, it is that what one has done puts on in danger of falling into disrepute. It is because emotions arise from judgements that they can have moral relevance."[59] Barbara Rosenwein, a leading medieval scholar on historical research about emotions mentions in her work that "the topic is paradoxically very old—historians have *always* talked about emotions." Even though Aristotle was writing over two thousand years ago, his

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[56] Jeroen Deploige, "Studying Emotions, The Medievalist as Human Scientist?" in *Emotions in the Heart of the City, 14th-16th Century*, ed. Elodie Lecuppre-Desjardin and Anne-Laure Van Bruaene (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 3.
[57] *The Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation*, ed. Jonathan Barnes (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 1378.
[58] Deploige, 3.
[59] Rom Harré and W. Gerrod Parrott, "Introduction: Some Complexities in the Study of Emotions," in *The Emotions: Social, Cultural, and Biological Dimensions*, ed. Rom Harré and W. Gerrod Parrott (London: Sage Publications, 1996), 2.

recognition that emotions are both social influences and physiological responses is the exact debate that has been happening for the last few centuries between scholars, and this argument will be analyzed further below.

Although the study of emotions goes beyond Ancient Greece[60], the majority of research methods done in the last one hundred and fifty years of the medieval period have been misleading. However, the major issue at hand is that most of the discussion "has been either unfocused or misguided", especially concerning the research on the pre-modern world.[61] Within the field of emotions research, two major debates exist amongst scholars. The first one concerns the foundation of emotions. One of the earliest arguments made (especially by Charles Darwin) is that emotions are solely a part of our biology and that we have certain physiological responses in regards to different emotions.[62] The other side to the biology argument is that our emotions are all socially constructed so that we will behave in a certain way according to society's norms (i.e. men not allowing themselves to cry due to social constraints[63]), and the last line of reasoning is that emotions are a combination of both physiology and social construction.[64] What makes the argument even more complex is the subset of this particular debate over whether or not certain emotions can be deemed "universal", essentially existing across the temporal divide and all cultures and societies.

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[60] See more on this below on page 24.

[61] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 1. Her work will be analyzed more thoroughly in the next section as her research is extremely important to the study of emotions within the medieval field.

[62] Charles Darwin, *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals,* with an introduction, afterword, and commentaries by Paul Ekman (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

[63] Tom Lutz, *Crying: A Natural and Cultural History of Tears* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999). Lutz outlines the two groups of criers, those who are called "the criers and the dry." Men usually fall into the 'dry' category and this group "feel[s] a certain contempt for tears, seeing criers as oversentimental, hysterical, manipulative, or 'emotionally disturbed,'" 28.

[64] A great deal of scholars believes in this idea, but ones relevant to this work are Barbara Rosenwein, Keith Oatley, and Sarah McNamer.

The second topic of debate is the theory that medieval peoples "cared little about emotions at all", that the pre-modern world did not really love, and they were completely violent and out of control.[65] Despite the recent research demonstrating the extensive range of emotions expressed in the medieval period, many historians continue to try to demonstrate a "black and white" idea between the pre-modern and modern periods; the pre-modern was dark where adults did not love children or each other for that matter, while the modern period is starkly different from its predecessors. One of the biggest issues in writing about emotions of the past is not putting our own understandings of emotions on societies in the pre-modern world; social expectations on how one expresses emotions can change over time as well as from one society to the next.[66] Just because we might express love in different ways than past societies does not equate that culture with having the inability to love nor should they be marked as societies that treat each other with "coldness".

Historians of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century have consistently written either that, no emotion really existed in the Middle Ages or that adults acted in child-like ways, expressing emotions in outbursts; another common misconception of the pre-modern world is that people could not control their own emotions (especially anger).[67] Scholars like Johan Huizinga, Norbert Elias, and Philippe Ariès, who wrote

[65]Deploige, 4. Obviously, this idea has been seriously debunked by historians no matter how many scholars try to demonstrate that people of the pre-modern world did not care about emotions.

[66] Another issue connected to this is the idea that emotions are the same in all cultures and across time spans, when in fact they often are not. Emotions like anger can be expressed differently from one society to the next and do not exist in a vacuum. Scientists and anthropologists (often referred to as 'universalists'), like Charles Darwin (and later scholars like Paul Ekman) for example, have argued that there are basic emotional expressions that *all* humans communicate in the same way, but this is still up for debate in the field. This particular topic will be discussed further below in the section on physiological responses and social construction.

[67] Historians like Peter Brown have written about the control of anger among pre-modern societies. His work analyzes the Roman Empire during the late antique period (ranging from 300-450) in which society

during the early to the middle of the twentieth century, argued that childhood, marital affection, and the family did not really exist until after the sixteenth century.[68] Furthermore, humans had absolutely no restraint on the emotions they expressed, and Elias argued that people were just not "civilized"; Elias argued that until the modern period man was brutal in his behavior or what "we are accustomed to regard as typical or as the hallmark of 'civilized' man."[69] Elias' *The Civilizing Process*, published in 1939, was not translated into English and French until the 1970s, but still maintained influence within the field of emotions into later decades (and still does even today). In his work, he provided a framework that posited the pre-modern to modern in terms of (the pre-modern world's) simplicity concerning emotions. Elias' thesis claims that a "civilizing process" began around the later Middle Ages when courts began to restrain the behavior of knights; in addition, the courtly love literature of the twelfth century demonstrated the so-called beginnings of love (especially romantic love).[70] However, the finished product, the restrained and civilized man and a society that was starting to understand how to love each other, would not be reached until under the absolutist states of modern Europe. These modern states would begin controlling most emotional behavior, but feelings that

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lauded self-control over the expression of anger in public, especially for men in positions of power; controlled speech in public was essential, and the expression of anger was often seen "as a failure in decorum," 55. Peter Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992). For more on restraint in the pre-modern world see Robert Kaster, *Emotion, Restraint, and Community in Ancient Rome* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

[68] Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of the Family*, trans. Robert Baldick (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962). Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*.

[69] Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners*, trans. by Edmund Jephcott (New York: Urizen Books, 1978), xi.

[70] Shorter and Stone (discussed below) have argued that romantic love, however, would not fully flourish until the modern period in Europe when the rise of individualism and having a choice in selecting a marriage partner would allow people to feel romantic love towards their husband or wife; of course, this begs the assumption that those who had little choice of a spouse (in the past and even today) never developed feelings of love for their partner after marriage.

should be expressed, like love, would be articulated more in the modern age than past societies; the once violent medieval man would finally become a refined man who repressed his emotions.

Unfortunately, these scholars' ideas still influence some of the modern scholarship (even in the most recent decades) on emotion studies and childhood in history. Historian Albrecht Classen notes that

> there is a disconcerting tendency even among recent scholars of psychology, social studies, and anthropology, not to speak of lay persons, to disregard growing evidence which seriously challenges Ariès paradigm because the clear divide between the medieval past and our present—the first projected as a dark time in which children bitterly suffered, and the second presented as a positive contrast—continues to be seductively appealing, though ultimately entirely misleading.[71]

Historians Edward Shorter and Lawrence Stone, writing in the 1970s, both argued that the medieval period was one of coldness, which people did not really express emotions. Stone analyzed marriages before 1700 in England, and he concluded that "emotional satisfaction" was not on par with "the ambition for increased income or status."[72] They both argued that it would not be until the modern period when families would communicate feelings to each other and husband and wife would share a companionate marriage.[73] The argument for companionate marriage only existing after 1700 in Europe is incorrect. Different types of evidence proves that men and women either married for

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[71] Classen, "Philippe Ariès and the Consequences", 5. On the continuation of these old paradigms see William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: The Framework for the History of Emotions* (Oxford: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Chris Schilling, "The Two Traditions in the Sociology of Emotions," in *Emotions and Sociology*, ed. Jack Barbalet (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002); Keith Oatley, *Emotions: A Brief History* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004).

[72] Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex, and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (New York: Harper & Row, 1979), 217-219. Even if marriages were arranged strategically, couples had a choice of who they would marry, and judging by correspondence that survives, these couples often grew to love each other and have great respect and affections for one another. Furthermore, these historians make the assumption that because marriages were often arranged that companionship within marriage is not attainable.

[73] Edward Shorter, *The Making of the Modern Family* (New York: Basic Books, 1975); Stone, *The Family*.

love or had loving relationships even if their spouse was chosen for them, well before the modern period.[74]

As far back as the ancients we can see relationships between husband and wife that clearly demonstrate loving bonds, especially ones that indicate companionate marriage. Historian Jack Goody has analyzed the expression of love across cultures and centuries, and he demonstrates in *The Theft of History* that love has been written about in a variety of ways from the ancient Chinese to the Muslim courts to the Hebrew Bible, many of which were the "influence on troubadour poetry" of twelfth century Europe.[75] The following tomb inscriptions created by husbands about their wives from the Ancient Roman world suggest that companionship existed well before 1700, that love was not just a new idea in the High Middle Ages or a product of individualism of the modern period; the following inscription, despite its shortness of length, demonstrates bonds that husband and wife shared in Ancient Rome:

> To Urbana my sweetest, chastest, and rarest wife. Surely no one more distinguished ever existed. She deserved honour also for this reason, that she lived every day of her life with me with the greatest kindness and the greatest simplicity, both in her conjugal love and the industry typical of her character. I added this so that those who read may understand how much we loved one another.[76]

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[74] Jack Goody, *The Theft of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

[75] Ibid, 269-275. Goody's chapter called "Stolen Love: European Claims to the Emotions" debunks the common Eurocentric belief that love originated in the high Middle Ages with the development of courtly love and troubadour poetry; he outlines the research (both past and present) devoted to the study of love and shows how much was written on the topic (in letters, poetry, and other sources) as far back as Ancient Egypt ("Keith Hopkins found love poems in Ancient Egypt written between sister and brother, where they were permitted partners", 268). For more on this see Keith Hopkins, "Brother-Sister Marriage in Roman Egypt," in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22 (1980): 303-354. Goody finds that "there is [no] evidence of new feelings in general. . .[and no] overall change in man's consciousness. . .the claim that it arose for the first time in feudal Europe is quite unsustainable", 268.

[76] *Lives and Voices: Sources in European Women's History*, ed. Lisa DiCaprio and Merry Wiesner (Boston: Houghton Miffling Co., 2000), 79-84.

One of the longest inscriptions found from the Roman period is about a man's love for his wife; this inscription is known as the "Turia" from the first century B.C.E. The "Turia" outlines the woman's entire life, her characteristics and virtues, love she showed to her in-laws, and the feelings her husband held for her. He writes about her death, "But along with you I have lost the tranquility of my existence. . .natural sorrow wrests away my power of self-control and I am overwhelmed by sorrow. . .I seem to be destined to long mourning."[77]

For the medieval period, we see fewer inscriptions claiming undying love but other sources like wills and letters clearly demonstrate how couples felt about each other. One of the major ideas to keep in mind for pre-modern societies is that love (as well as other emotions) can be expressed in a variety of ways, and just because societies of the past expressed them differently than we do, does not make those actions insignificant or less complex. Hence, it does not mean that couples did not have companionate relationships. Historian Stanley Chojnacki argues for very loving relationships between husbands and wives during the fifteenth century in Venice. One of the ways he tracks these relationships is by studying the role of women as the executors of their husbands' wills.[78] Men often chose their wives instead of a man's brother or son, which demonstrates that they trusted their spouses to fulfill their wishes after death; also because women held almost no authority in the realms of institutions (i.e. government and the Church), they gained significant power over family decisions. Furthermore, the language men used in describing their wives and children was very affectionate and

[77] Ibid, 83-84.

[78] Stanley Chojnacki, "The Power of Love: Wives and Husbands in Late Medieval Venice" in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988).

which were often included in their wills. They did not just use the term "wife" but usually wrote "my endearing wife" or "my dear and beloved wife." Chojnacki continues to argue for the increase use of "expressions of sentiment. . .display a greater male concern with the feelings of wives and children and more openness about sentiment in general."[79] In Florence, the letters of Lorenzo de'Medici concerning the death of his wife Clarice in 1488, clearly reflect his love for her and also his pain. The following section is from a letter he wrote to Pope Innocent VIII: "but the death of my Clarice, my dear and sweet wife, it has happened to me once again, and it's been so much damage, harm and suffering for countless reasons" ("ma la morte della Clarice, mia carissima e dolcissima consorte, nuovamente successa me è stata ed è di tanto danno, pregiudicio e dolore per infinite cagioni").[80]

In the 1980s, French historian Jean Delumeau and Austrian historian Peter Dinzelbacher continued Huizinga's misguided thesis; they believed that medieval society acted in a child-like way "in their goals and behaviors."[81] Even within the last decade, Albrecht Classen demonstrates that scholars, including Peter Linehan and Janet Nelson (their work being published in 2001), are still neglecting to fully analyze not only childhood, but emotions as well, especially in works concerning the family and private life; in their edited work, *The Medieval World*, Classen argues that they "neglect the topic

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[79] Ibid, 135.

[80]Corinna Salvadori, "Introduction," *Lorenzo de'Medici: Selected Writings*, ed. Corinna Salvadori (Dublin: Belfield Italian Library, 1992),19. The "once again" refers to the second death (which was his daughter's) he suffered within weeks of each other. Lorenzo lost both his twelve year old daughter Luisa and his wife Clarice within just a couple of weeks

[81] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 6.

of 'childhood' and by the same token many aspects we now consider essential in our investigation of emotions in the pre-modern period."[82]

In addition, another major debate is whether or not emotions can be understood to exist across cultures and the temporal divide; some scholars argue for universal emotions, which can include anywhere from six to ten emotions.[83] Further within the topic of universality, some scholars actually argue that all humans have the same facial expressions for these universal emotions; psychologist Paul Ekman, writing in the 1960s, continued Darwin's theory of universality when he began studying the facial expressions of tribes in New Guinea. His work, however, has been met with great criticism because he had these cultures act in response to situations he posited to them and "the result is not the photographic portrait of emotion, but the photographic portrait of acting—often bad acting."[84] These particular issues over physiological responses will be addressed further below, but definitions concerning emotions needs to be discussed first.

A further complex issue in studying emotions is dealing with copious definitions. Scholars cannot agree on one exact definition of what an "emotion" is, or if there are "basic" emotions. Frequently, words like "emotion, feeling, sentiment, etc. are very often used as quasi synonyms" and many scholars do not always differentiate between these words; plus, are the words mentioned above that much different from each other?[85] In 1981, psychologists Paul and Anne Kleinginna attempted to sort out the ninety-two wide-

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[82] Classen, 4.
[83] Deploige, 6.
[84] *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotions*, ed. Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe, and Mary Floyd-Wilson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 7. Deploige also notes that Ekman's work was influenced by the "fierce polemics against cultural relativists"; Ekman saw "the cultural aspect of emotions [as either] taboo for him [or] least a topic of marginal importance," 10.
[85] Deploige, 5.

ranging definitions and classify them into eleven different categories "on the basis of the emotional phenomena or theoretical issues emphasized."[86] Some scholars also argue that there is a difference between an "emotion" and a "feeling" because emotions occur quickly (then subside), while feelings (including love) last for long periods of time.[87]

In addition to not having a clear-cut meaning, some researchers actually argue for basic emotions. Several scholars (like Charles Darwin and Paul Ekman to name a few) argue that at least six basic emotions exist, including happiness, sadness, surprise, fear, anger, and disgust, while some argue for more which include emotions like shame and guilt. Many of those who argue for these so called "basic" emotions typically believe in the universality of emotions, and that essentially emotions can exist across time and space. These particular scholars will be addressed more in depth below.

Scholars have outlined different subsets of emotions furthering the complication of coming up with one specific definition. Psychologist Michael Lewis argues that some emotions, including embarrassment, pride, shame and guilt can be considered "complex" or secondary emotions because they "require classes of events" or "specific situations"; "cognitive processes must be the elicitors of these complex emotions. It is the way we think or what we think about that becomes the elicitor of pride, shame, guilt or embarrassment."[88] So not only do scholars have to deal with a variety of definitions of emotions, the issue of classifying and categorizing emotions in subset groups has also entered the field. Despite the various arguments for defining "emotion," "feeling,"

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[86] Paul R. Kleinginna Jr. and Anne M. Kleinginna, "A Categorized List of Emotion Definitions, with Suggestions for a Consensual Definition," in *Motivation and Emotion* 5 (1981): 345.
[87] For more information on this topic see *Handbook of Emotions*, 3rd edition, eds. Michael Lewis, Jeannette M. Haviland-Jones, and Lisa Feldman Barrett (New York : Guilford Press, 2008).
[88] Michael Lewis, "Self Conscious Emotions: Embarrassment, Pride, Shame, and Guilt", in *Handbook of Emotions: Third Edition*, ed. Michael Lewis, Jeannette M. Haviland-Jones, and Lisa Feldman Barrett (New York: The Guildford Press, 2008), 742-743.

"sentiment," and so on, this work will use the word "emotion." As Barbara Rosenwein points out, while the word "emotion" is used for its "convenience," it is "a constructed term that refers to affective reactions of all sorts, intensities, and durations. . .it is serviceable, even for the medieval world."[89]

About twenty-five years ago, a group of scholars began attempting to outline a definition that explains the cultural standards concerning emotions; as mentioned above, Peter and Carol Stearns have tried to establish a classification called "emotionology." The Stearns define this as,

> the attitudes or standards that a society, or a definable group within a society maintains toward basic emotions and their appropriate expression; ways that institutions reflect and encourage these attitudes in human conduct, e.g., courtship practices as expressing the valuation of affect in marriage, or personnel workshops as reflecting the valuation of anger in job relationships.[90]

However, their particular attempt at having understandable jargon has not been received well by some medieval scholars, most notably Barbara Rosenwein. She argues against the Stearns' definition because of how they use it; the Stearns' use the term to explain emotional control in the modern period against the backdrop of the pre-modern world as one that did not have restraint. However, I find the Stearns' definition useful as it can be adapted to fit the medieval period; pre-modern societies had "attitudes and standards" concerning certain emotions and how they could be expressed, hence why this term can be very practical for examining medieval sources.

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[89] Barbara Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 4.

[90] Peter N. Stearns and Carol Z. Stearns, "Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards," in *American Historical Review* 90 (1985): 813.

Emotions: Physiological Responses, Social Construction or Both?[91]

One of the other most important debates within the field of emotions is whether emotions are solely physiological responses driven by biology or constructed by social and cultural environments. But, can they be both? Emotions as a study of scientific research began in the nineteenth century and the debate over these inquiries has been happening for well over a hundred years; Charles Darwin began the debate in the early 1870s when he published *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*. This influential book examines the physiological origins of emotions, and Darwin came to the conclusion that emotions "like suffering, anxiety, grief, despair, joy, love, devotion, hatred, and anger all have a same physiological origin" that essentially is passed in a hereditary manner.[92] Rom Harré, philosopher and anthropologist (who will be discussed more in depth below), remarks that Darwin, and even most of his colleagues (including Darwin's predecessor Charles Bell), believed in the following: "This research, as represented by biological and phylogenetic theories [theories of evolution amongst organisms], shared the prevailing philosophical conception of emotion as an essentially non-cognitive, involuntary phenomenon which, though capable of influencing intelligence, language and culture, was not itself essentially dependent upon these complex and historically conditioned factors."[93] In summary, these scholars believed that

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[91] See Figure 1 below. While many other scholars could be discussed in this particular section, this would be almost impossible. This segment will attempt to outline a few of the major theoretical trends and the scholars associated with them.

[92] Charles Darwin, *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*, with an introduction, afterword, and commentaries by Paul Ekman (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Deploige, 7. For more recent works on the belief of universal expression see S.S. Tomkins, "Affect as the Primary Motivational System," in *Feelings and Emotions: The Loyola Symposium*, ed. M.B. Arnold (New York: Academic Press, 1970); Carroll Izard, *Human Emotions* (New York: Plenum Press, 1977); Ernst Mayr, *What Evolution Is* (New York: Basic Books, 2001).

[93] Rom Harré, "An Outline of the Social Constructionist Viewpoint," *The Social Construction of Emotions*, ed. Rom Harré (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 2.

emotions were solely biological and were not "dependent" upon any other factors (e.g. social, linguistic, etcetera).

Of course, this major belief in universal biological response did not completely dominate emotion research for long. In the early twentieth century, Sigmund Freud added to the mix the idea of social construction (in addition to the biological responses) and that emotions were affected by cultural and social environments; Freud is "considered to be one of the first important go-betweens" of the physiological versus cultural debates.[94] The figure listed below (see page 39) provides a great outline of the major theoretical trends concerning emotions research; the chart demonstrates the types of analysis (biology, society, or combination of both) and the response of scholars to previous research, the first one being Margaret Mead. She began producing her work in the early 1920s to counter Darwin's universalism by arguing for cultural relativism.[95] Cultural relativism is the belief that all cultures should be studied independently and neutrally from our own cultures, and that no values and emotions are universal across cultures. Each society constructs its own language and emotions and is "moulded by culture and cultural experience."[96]

A few decades later, Paul Ekman responded to Mead's cultural relativism with another study that argued for universal emotional expression, continuing Darwin's initial trend. Ekman's initial work focused on studying villages in New Guinea (and eventually

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[94] Deploige, 7-8.

[95] Although Mead is an influential scholar from this theoretical approach, Franz Boas is considered the pioneer of cultural relativism, publishing his work titled "The Limitations of the Comparative Method of Anthropology" in 1896. "According to the tenets of cultural relativism, there are no inferior or superior cultures; all cultures are equal. To order cultures in an evolutionary scheme is unfeasible. All premises of good and bad and/or upper and lower are culture bound and ethnocentric. Put that way. . .[the] schemes of evolution are ethnocentric not objective." Mark Glazer, "Cultural Relatvisim" http://www.utpa.edu/faculty/mglazer/Theory/cultural_relativism.htm (accessed January 13, 2012).

[96] Deploige, 10.

all over the world) and how these groups expressed emotions. He analyzed a variety of pictures and videos of these groups and came to the conclusion that there are six basic human emotions: anger, disgust, fear, happiness, sadness, and surprise.[97] All of these groups, he argued, displayed these emotions and also had the exact same facial expressions.[98] Even in the last decade, Ekman has not changed his stance on universalism. Recently in 1998, he wrote the introduction to Darwin's *The Expression of Emotions*, in which Ekman continues arguing for the universal facial expressions of emotions.[99]

In the 1970s and 1980s, scholars bridged the gap between both universalism and cultural relativism. Dutch psychologist, Nico Frijda, developed three categories to describe the "emotional": the "phenomena of behavior, of physiological response, and of subjective experience" and these three "phenomena" are the result of a type of stimulus within our environment that "elicits" emotions.[100] Thus,

> different emotions—different action tendencies or activation modes—are evoked by different stimulus constellations, as these are appraised by the subject. Relevant variables in those constellations regard both what the stimulus even may do to the subject (relevance evaluation) and what the subject may do to the event or is (or is not) allowed to do by the entire situation concerned (context evaluation). . .The emotion process. . .is subject to regulatory processes in each of its components. Those regulatory processes range from involuntary inhibitory processes over cognitive transformations to voluntary suppression and input regulation.[101]

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[97] Paul Ekman and Wallace Friesen, "The repertoire of nonverbal behavior: Categories, origins, usage, and coding," *Semiotica*, 1, 49-98. http://www.paulekman.com/wp-content/uploads/2009/02/The-Repertoire-Of-Nonverbal-Behavior-Categories-Origins-.pdf (accessed January 13, 2012).

[98] This idea has been thoroughly criticized by scholars because he only studies muscular responses. Deploige asks "But when do facial expressions arise? Which cultural contexts provoke them? How do peoples of different cultural backgrounds cope with their emotions?" 11. The other major issue is the use of language; Ekman is using English words and neglecting to understand other cultures and what these words actually mean for them.

[99] Paul Ekman, "Introduction to the Third Edition," in *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*.

[100] Nico Fridja, *The Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 2-4.

[101] Ibid, 6.

Frijda both recognizes the importance of cultural environments in the development and expression of emotions (especially what a person is allowed to do or not), but he was also aware of the significance in physiological responses of the body.

Shortly after Frijda developed his theory on emotions, the social construction theory saw the rise of another influential scholar. Continuing some of the similar work done by Margaret Mead decades before, Rom Harré published on the theory concerning the role of social construction on human emotions. His work critically challenges the ideas of universality by claiming that "many emotions can exist only in the reciprocal exchanges of a social encounter" and that the language of the community is one of the most important aspects in the study of emotions.[102] Harré argues (similar to Mead's thesis) that scholars need to analyze each individual culture and their language. In addition to the language aspect argued by Harré, anthropologist Catherine Lutz looks at emotional language in political discourse. She also argues for the examination of language and discourse in a variety of documents and social interactions (including poetry, different types of narrative sources, even every day greetings) and how the emotions found in those sources play a role in political life.[103] Some emotions are suppressed in some cultures, while championed in others; there is no universal expression of emotions across all societies.

About fifteen years ago, though, Harré published an edited work building on his original publication from 1986. In this book, Harré seems to be bridging the gap between

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[102] Rom Harré, "An Outline of the Social Construtionist Viewpoint," 5-9.

[103] *Language and the Politics of Emotions*, ed. Catherine Lutz and Lila Abu-Lughod (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). In this edited work, a variety of essays can be found ranging from Bedouin love poetry to the topic of praise in India. The major thesis of this edited work is that "all [the authors] approach emotion through language and understand language as inescapably and fundamentally social," 10.

cultural studies of emotions (and the role they play in social control) and the neural science behind our physiological expressions. He states, "[We are] taking the two lines of investigation together, we are looking at the way patterns of social control enhance the natural human responses and develop specific cultural action patterns, thereby creating the neural basis on which those very responses and patterns depend."[104] This idea will become the major trend in emotions research, and most scholars agree that both social and physical aspects are involved in our expression of emotions.

Eight years ago, psychologist Keith Oatley bridged the gap on emotions between biology and culture when he published his work entitled *Emotions: A Brief History*, which is exactly what he tries to provide. Oatley gives a fairly comprehensive outline on the history of emotions (from Aristotle to Spinoza and Darwin to Reddy and several others in between). He analyzes different case studies[105] concerning how the brain works by examining different layers of the brain, but he also looks at a variety of social and cultural factors and even at different societies all over the world. Unfortunately, Oatley fails in one major aspect: the main issue with his work is that he continues the old paradigms of Elias and Huizinga mentioned above. Oatley's work lacks any new evidence concerning the medieval period nor does he include any work done by Barbara Rosenwein or other historians working in the field.[106]

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[104] Rom Harré and W. Gerrod Parrott, "Introduction," 2.

[105] Oatley includes an analysis on a man named Phineas Gage who lived in Vermont. His brain (specifically the prefrontal cortex) was damaged with a tamping rod; this area of the brain controls emotions (as well as a variety of other decision making factors), and after his accident, his behavior changed drastically. He was often more angry and was not as friendly as he had been before the accident; 58-61.

[106] Keith Oatley, *Emotions: A Brief History* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004). Oatley makes the case for recent publications including Peter and Carol Stearns and William Reddy (*Navigation of Feeling*, 2001), but as far as medieval evidence and sources, he only mentions Elias and Huizinga. Even though Rosenwein's major work on emotions was not published until 2006, she had several articles and edited books published well before Oatley's work in 2004.

While the debate over whether emotions are solely physiological responses (and more importantly that these expressions are universal) or social construction still continues among some scholarly circles, the majority of the academic world has come to the consensus that both can exist collectively.[107] Most scholars tend to agree that physiological responses like blushing or shaking occur, but that whether one can express certain types of emotions is often controlled by what is socially and culturally acceptable. Barbara Rosenwein notes that "nearly everyone agrees that there is a biological substratum to emotions that simply cannot be denied, but emotions themselves are extremely plastic. Given the myriad shades, levels, and admixtures, notions, and social uses of emotions, it is very hard to maintain, except at an abstract level, that emotions are everywhere the same."[108] The majority of the recent research within the field usually analyzes both aspects. Even though this paper will not specifically analyze the physical responses in regards to the study of emotions, I recognize this as being extremely important to studying emotions of the past. Several recent works have been published on the examination of physiological responses, especially in regards to medieval and early modern sources. In a work edited by Jennifer C. Vaught, the articles examine the emotion of grief and how it is gendered in late medieval and renaissance Europe; this particular work includes the examination of some physiological responses like tears (or weeping) and feelings of sickness tied with the death of loved ones.[109]

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[107] Of course, the idea of the universal expression of emotions is much debatable, it has been shown that all humans have some sort of physiological response when expressing emotions.

[108] Rosenwein, "Writing Without Fear", 231.

[109] *The Representation of Women's Emotions in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, ed. Lisa Perfetti (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005); *Grief and Gender, 700-1700*, ed. Jennifer C. Vaught with Lynne Dickson Bruckner (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

Unfortunately, the particular sources that I will be analyzing do not exactly provide a particular way to examine physiological responses; analyzing personal correspondence does not always allow the historian to look closely at topics like blushing, crying, or shaking. However, what the Strozzi and Medici letters do provide is a look into the different types of emotions which are culturally constructed during

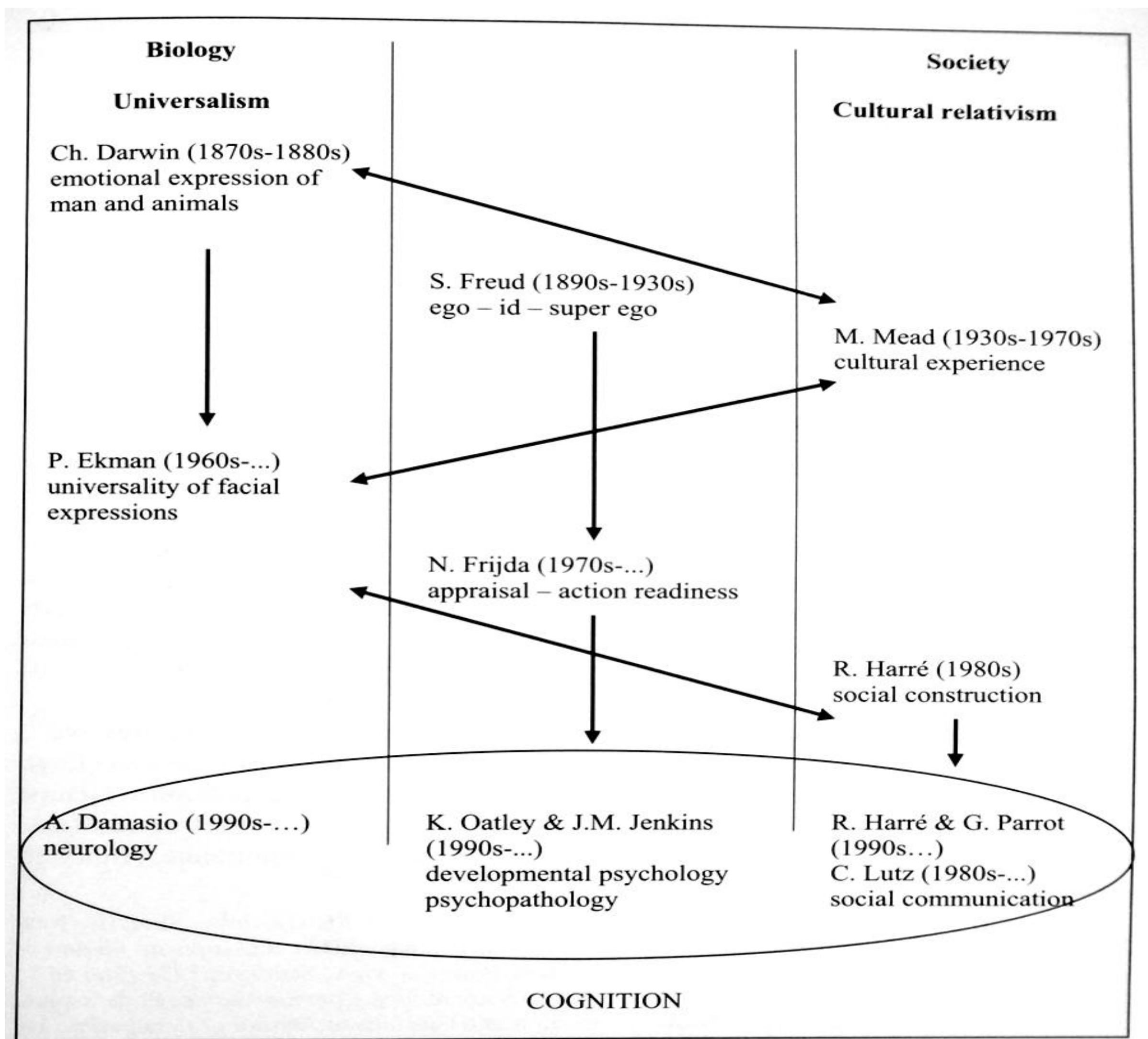

Figure 1—Jeroen Deploige, "Main Trends in the research on emotions from Charles Darwin till today"[110]

[110] Deploige, 9.

quattrocento Florence and how women used emotions in personal correspondences to assert authority within the family. Furthermore, the letters written to Lucrezia Tornabuoni demonstrate the emotional language of patronage, another aspect of social life in fifteenth-century Italy. The importance of studying these socially constructed emotions is that historians can discover "the emotional standards of societies change in time rather than merely differ, constantly across [time and] space. [These] changes in emotional standards can in turn reveal much about other aspects of social change and may even contribute to such change."[111] Since women's status (especially of the patrician class) was decreasing in the public sphere, women could use letter writing as a means of exerting authority over husbands and sons, as well as controlling aspects of their family's businesses.[112] Within this letter writing we see women using certain emotions in response to the change in their social status in Florence; since women do not have as much influence in the public sphere, personal correspondences became an avenue for women to exert power.

[111] Stearns, "Emotionology", 814. For further readings on this subject see Allison Levy, "Augustine's Concessions and Other Failures: Mourning and Masculinity in Fifteenth-Century Tuscany," in *Grief and Gender, 700-1700*, ed. by Jennifer C. Vaught with Lynne Dickson Bruckner (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003): 81-93. Levy analyzes the mourning rituals of Tuscany and how they are gendered; more importantly she examines the change the expression of grief from one of "ritual sound" to one of "ritual silence" in which women lose their roles in mourning the dead. Women, especially in previous centuries, were the leaders of the funeral oration, in which they screamed or wailed in lament for the dead. By the fifteenth century this drastically changed, and women were removed from the public sphere concerning this ritual. Male rhetoric in the form of humanist oration came to dominate the funeral, and women had to find another way to demonstrate grief (now typically through a "private consolatory letter). Also see Carol Lansing, *Passion and Order: Restraint of Grief in the Medieval Italian Communes* in which she closely analyzes women's roles in the funeral oration during the thirteenth century in Orvieto.

[112] Another area in which women became influential in letter writing was through different forms of patronage. For more on this, see chapter four below.

Emotional Research and the Medieval Field

Even though some scholars are still neglecting to fully examine emotions or continue to use outdated paradigms (like Ariès, Huizinga and Elias), much has been done to advance our understanding of how to analyze emotions of the past.[113] Leading historians, especially those working on the medieval period, most notably Barbara Rosenwein among others, have been pushing the study of emotions to the forefront of historical research in the medieval field; within the last ten to fifteen years, emotions have become a major trend in the field of history. In addition to research on the family with regards to emotions and parent-child relations, scholarship concerning a variety of emotion topics has been increasing considerably in the last fifteen years. Unfortunately, it would be impossible to give a completely comprehensive survey of all the scholarly work being done in the field, but this section will take a look at some of the more recent scholarship within the medieval and early modern fields.[114]

As already mentioned above, the general consensus among scholars is that both physiological and social factors play a role in how we express emotions. Barbara Rosenwein is one of the leading medieval historians on emotions and has published numerous articles and books on a variety of "emotion" topics.[115] Rosenwein's most

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[113] For research on emotions in other fields, see William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) for emotions during the French Revolution. For American history see the Stearns' work on emotional control in American society, *Anger: The Struggle for Emotional Control in America's History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

[114] Other works worthy of mentioning are C. Stephen Jaeger's *Ennobling Love: In Search of a Lost Sensibility* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999); Stanley Chojnacki, "The Power of Love: Wives and Husbands in Late Medieval Venice" in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988); *Medieval Families: Perspectives on Marriage, Household, and Children*, ed. by Carol Neel (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004); *Medieval Mothering*, ed. John Carmi Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler (London: Routledge, 1999).

[115] See also *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, ed. Barbara Rosenwein (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998). This influential book became the first work to be devoted specifically to analyzing anger as an emotion in a historical context.

recent work (2006) on "emotional communities" examines the early medieval period (approximately 500-700), using sources from funeral inscriptions to letters of Pope Gregory the Great to anonymous works; within these sources she analyzes the various types of "emotional communities" that existed. Rosenwein argues that the emotional standards, or how those living in communities think they should feel, can change over time. Thus, she explains,

> Imagine, then, a large circle within which are smaller circles, none entirely concentric but rather distributed unevenly within the given space. The large circle is the overarching emotional community, tied together by fundamental assumptions, values, goals, feeling rules, and accepted modes of expression. The smaller circles represent subordinate emotional communities, partaking in the larger one and revealing its possibilities and its limitations. They too may be subdivided. At the same time, other large circles may exist, either entirely isolated from or intersecting with the first at one or more points.[116]

These communities are also not based around only one or two types of emotions but include a variety of them, and the particular emotions communities "emphasize" also help us to understand the ones in which they "denote. . .or do not recognize at all."[117]

Linda Mitchell, who works on late medieval England, and more specifically women, family, and marriage, demonstrates that our modern world is not much different than the medieval period. Mitchell argues that the

> complexities of human nature have not changed all that much in the last seven hundred years. . .the emotions that motivate human action, whether they be desire for money, fame, stability, or human companionship have not been transformed by the coming of the computer age. . .all people are

[116] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 24.

[117] Ibid, 26. In the past decade, Rosenwein has criticized modern European historian William M. Reddy whose work entitled *The Navigation of Feeling* (2001) argues for "emotional regimes", in which one set of emotions is dominant (or what he refers to as a "regime") in society. He defines it as "the set of normative emotions and the official rituals, practices, and emotives that express and inculcate then; a necessary underpinning of any stable political regime," 129. These "emotional regimes" were created by the laws that were enacted by the bodies of government in charge (specifically France during the French Revolution); those that did not fit within the laws enacted essentially becomes an "emotional refuge", one who "threaten[s] the existing emotional regime," 129.

> motivated by emotional responses and those responses are limited by our own chemistry: attraction, fear, hate, delight, love, lust, anxiety, are all consistent with the human animal no matter the time or the place. . .the differences lie in how these emotions are expressed and repressed by culture. . .[medieval people] experienced emotions that we would recognize and with which we could empathize.[118]

Modern people still deal with similar issues in regards to the family that those of the pre-modern world did; are we really more "complex" than medieval European communities?[119] Mitchell continues to argue that "marriages were arranged for various reasons—yet popular literature extolled "romantic" love as an ideal. . .Husbands mourned the death of wives, and wives the death of husbands. People divorced. . .on the basis of incompatibility. Is this all that different from the emotional issues with which we struggle today?"[120] I agree; there is no difference. We may express some emotions in different ways in the twenty-first century, but this does not mean that our society is more complex than those of the past. And for the most part, Mitchell is right in the fact that we completely empathize with experiences of past peoples. For example, when Alessandra Strozzi's youngest son Matteo died in his early twenties, the emotional outpour is clearly visible in her letters, clearly demonstrating the love she had for her children. She was

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[118] Linda Mitchell, *Portraits of Medieval Women: Family, Marriage, and Politics in England, 1225-1350* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003), 4-5.

[119] The one issue to keep in mind is that while communities of the premodern and modern world feel in complex ways, emotions are not socially constructed in the same manner.

[120] Ibid, 5. This is not to argue that all marriages were compatible or ideal. Often times, Lucrezia's son Lorenzo would fight with his wife Clarice Orsini, and after she dismissed their children's tutor, humanist Angelo Poliziano, Lorenzo became absolutely furious with his wife; nonetheless, Clarice won this "fight" as she held considerable amount of power within their relationship. We have letters from Lucrezia Tornabuoni de'Medici's daughter, Nannina, upset over the fact that her husband (Bernardo Rucellai) "sent away their children's tutor in spite of her protests," Natalie Tomas, *The Medici Women: Gender and Power in Renaissance Florence* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 24-25. Nannina wrote to her mother "I must tell you that Bernardo has dismissed the tutor to my great sorrow, as I do not know where to send him. At Figline, from whence he comes, the plague is very bad ; in his house two of his brothers are dead and his father is ill. Vincenzo has not a farthing, if he had anything he spent it here in clothes, and now we repay him with "Go in peace." Nothing could be more displeasing to me. Whoso wants to do as they wish should not be born a woman," *The Lives of the Early Medici as Told in Their Correspondence*, trans. Janet Ross (London: Chatto and Windus, 1910), 223-224.

completely devastated by the loss of her twenty-three year old son, which is confirmed in her writing[121]; on the other hand, some scholars still want to argue that parents did not care for their children despite the obvious evidence that debunks their theory.

Gail Kern Pastor, Katherine Rowe, and Mary Floyd-Wilson's recent publication on emotions incorporates essays that analyze a variety of sources including lyric poetry, tragic comedies, paintings, and music to understand some of the physiological aspects of emotion research.[122] Lisa Perfetti's edited collection of works is more related to the field of women and gender history. These scholars analyze the representation of women's emotion in the medieval and early modern culture; understanding emotions through a gendered lens can help historians understand if certain emotions are to be comprehended as either "feminine" or "masculine." As noted below, the public expression of grief concerning the dead through wailing and screaming by women in medieval Italian culture made this expression "feminine"; by the fifteenth century (especially in Florence), men actually took this performance away from women, turning the process into male forms of rhetoric.

Carol Lansing's recent work *Passion and Order* is related more specifically to Italian history. This book examines the Italian communes and how grief was demonstrated by men and women during funerals. She analyzes thirteenth- and fourteenth- century Orvieto, located approximately eighty miles north of Rome, and just like most of the other communes in Italy, civil disorder (by expressions of public grief) was often seen as a common threat. Lansing writes that "given sharp socioeconomic and political divisions" within the city, the governing body looked to "maintain 'the good and

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[121] For more on this, see chapter three below.

[122] *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotions*, ed. Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe, and Mary Floyd-Wilson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

peaceful state of the commune'" by enacting laws that controlled the expression of emotions, mainly grief, in the realm of the city.[123] Lansing argues that Italians were becoming uneasy about how they expressed grief within the community and the emotions relating to keeping public order. Around 1250, she claims, Orvieto became increasingly aware of Stoic ideals that saw intense and irrational emotional expressions as a serious threat, and that both internal and communal restraint were necessary for civic order.[124] Women (but sometimes men) were noisy, weeping and lamenting for the dead, and women often were seen ripping their hair out or scratching their cheeks; all of these actions were seen to disrupt civil order. The city, therefore, came preoccupied with enacting mourning laws to control how men and women expressed emotions in public.

By the fourteenth century, Lansing demonstrates that men demonstrated "dignified restraint" at funerals, while women solely took on the major role in loud weeping and lamenting; but even this did not last, as women began to be fined for continuing to be disruptive in public. Allison Levy's piece, published before Lansing, demonstrates how women (especially in Florence) were relegated to writing letters of consolation to the family and "were excluded from the particularly masculine convention of the funeral oration."[125] So not only did Orvieto and other Italian cities look to control the public display of grief with mourning laws, but grief became more gendered as women took on the primary role of expressing grief in a loud (and sometimes disturbing)

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[123] Carol Lansing, *Passion and Order: Restraint of Grief in the Medieval Italian Communes* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 1-3. Similar laws can be seen in other Italian cities as well including San Gimignano, Bologna, and Siena. Allison Levy, "Augustine's Concessions and Other Failures: Mourning and Masculinity in Fifteenth-Century Tuscany," *Grief and Gender, 700-1700*, ed. Jennifer C Vaught with Lynne Dickson Bruckner (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 87-88.
[124] Ibid, 3-6.
[125] Levy, "Augustine's Concessions," 89.

manner in public, while men took on the more reserved role of orator during the mourning ritual.

Sarah McNamer's recent publication (2010) discusses the history of emotion in religious texts, specifically on the emotion of compassion and how it is performed by female anchoresses (those who withdrew completely from society to live a life focused on prayer and the ascetic) in late medieval England; the particular sources she uses are meditative texts (these became very popular in the eleventh century and lasting until the middle of the sixteenth) which were written for women in general.[126] McNamer notes that this genre known as "affective meditations on [Christ's] Passion—[are] richly emotional, script-like texts that ask their readers to perform compassion for that suffering victim in a private drama of the heart."[127] She also examines how emotions are gendered by using Judith Butler's theory of performativity to explain this. Her analysis shows that compassion was actually feminine, not masculine. One of the ways in which anchoresses performed compassion was through the *Sponsa Christi*, or becoming the bride of Christ; women would "woo" Christ through a variety of intimate emotions, compassion being one key emotional theme.[128] The other major theme is that of marital affection, which is one of the most important aspects in a marriage;[129] Gratian, who was a twelfth century jurist, argued in his work on canon law (*Concordia discordantium canonum*) consistently

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[126] Sarah McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010). Despite Rosenwein's influential works on emotions, McNamer is critical of her (among others like Carolyn Bynum and Sarah Beckwith who specialize in affective devotion) for not including compassion in their work on emotions or making it the central topic of religious devotional studies, 4-5.
[127] Ibid, 1.
[128] Ibid, 25-27.
[129] Sarah McNamer, "University of Maryland English Department" (paper presented at the Theory Colloquium, English Department, University of Maryland, College Park, MD, October 7, 2011).

for marital affection as being one the essential components to a marriage, and in the anchoresses marriage to Christ, marital affection played a key role.[130]

So, where exactly will this work fall into the historiography of emotions research on the medieval period? Both Rosenwein and McNamer have been influential in the construction of my work, especially McNamer and her ideas about emotional scripts and Butler's theory of performativity. Even though her particular works analyze performance of emotions in literary sources, I think that this particular theory can also be adapted to fit the epistolary genre. Emotions can also be performed in letters. Also, Rosenwein's work has provided me with the tools to understand the emotional debates within the historical field as well as supplying a framework about what emotions can be emphasized; Stearns' work on emotional norms and standards has also been influential on this topic as I am seeking to understand what emotional expressions were standard for fifteenth-century Florence.

A final thought by Rosenwein summarizes the work being done on emotions in the medieval field:

> It is thus evident that many medievalists have moved beyond the paradigm of an emotionally childlike and impulsive Middle Ages. They have carved out arenas—love in the monastery, love in the courts, stage anger in ceremonies of lordship and kingship, love in the twelfth century—where the model does not apply. Since the 1970s they have found strong theoretical ground for their assertions, as a number of them explicitly

[130] Even though Gratian did not argue for marital affection to be the first aspect of a marriage (the first two were consent and consummation), but his writings reflect a "sense of emotional bond between the spouses, a mutual attachment and regard for the well-being of one another that seems closely related to the qualities poets invoked in their descriptions of love", James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 238-239. Brundage believes that the courtly literature and poetry of Gratian's time possibly affected how he viewed love within a marriage. Obviously fictional courtly literature was not exactly based on real life, but there is debate on whether or not this literature was a reflection of real life ideals concerning marriage and love. For more on this debate see, Bernard O'Donoghue, "The Reality of Courtly Love," in *Writings on Love in the English Middle Ages*, ed. Helen Cooney (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006).

> recognize, because of the revolution in the way in which emotions came to be conceptualized by psychologists, anthropologists, and sociologists.[131]

And where do historians go from here? Following the advice of McNamer, medieval historians should begin looking more closely at other emotions (i.e. compassion and affect) with a keener eye to include more emotions into critical approaches of research and analysis. In addition, examining emotions as a way of performance can also open up the door to new ways of understanding social norms regarding the expression of emotions. Only in doing this will we be able to fully comprehend how emotions were understood in medieval society.

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[131] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 13.

Chapter 3-"The Shame of Life": A Mother's Power Over Her Sons in the Quattrocento

> May it please God to let me see you again safe and well before I die. In the past year you've made me very unhappy with your bad behavior. Above all my son, you must behave better and give me comfort instead. . .And I say this out of love for you, because you have a greater obligation to him than to your father or mother, when I think of all he's done for you, which no one else would have done.[132]
>
> -Alessandra Macinghi Strozzi, 24 August, 1447

The above quote from Alessandra Machingi Strozzi (1407?-1471)[133] to her son Filippo demonstrates a variety of social norms of fifteenth-century Florence. As will be analyzed more thoroughly below, the bad behavior that Alessandra is referring to could easily bring shame to their wealthy patrician family in Florence during the fifteenth century; thus, hurting the family's capability for succeeding in business, achieving good marriage prospects, and keeping their status within Florentine society. In general, the letters of Alessandra Macinghi Strozzi can reveal much about life in late medieval Florence; historians gain insight into the political struggles between powerful families like the Strozzi and Medici, the workings of the merchant life and the problems business can bring, and the networks of kin and friends that are ever important to improving the social status of one's family during the *quattrocento*. We know an extensive amount of information concerning the most powerful families in late medieval Italy on the above topics, but what is lacking in major research is understanding relationships between

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[132] Alessandra to Filippo, 24 August, 1447, *Selected Letters of Alessandra Strozzi*, trans. Heather Gregory (Berkley: University of California Press, 1997), 35. For the Strozzi lineage, see Appendix B at the end of this work.

[133] I use the year 1407 with hesitation as many historians are in debate over the year of her birth. It has been listed from 1406-1408 in various secondary sources.

parent and child and the emotional strategies used by mothers as a way to assert power.[134] In addition, the lack of analysis on emotions, how they can be performed, and of course their social construction in various societies is also disconcerting. Furthermore, what is absent in the analysis of Alessandra's letters to her sons is the rich emotional bonds that she had with her children, even when they lived in exile or traveled for business; while she may have employed the use of shame and guilt because of their importance in Italian society, Alessandra's letters to her sons also show her deep affection for them and their siblings.

Ann Crabb, one of the leading scholars analyzing the Strozzi clan, has examined the family in depth, and she asks questions about love and emotional bonds in her introduction to *The Strozzi of Florence*; in addition to this work, Crabb has also written an article entitled "How to Influence Your Children" that does seek to understand some of the emotional exchange between Alessandra and her children. Ann Crabb analyzes Alessandra's role as a mother and the power she held over her children, but there is a lack of a theoretical framework to scrutinize why Alessandra would use certain emotions[135]; therefore, this chapter will address the need to understand the different emotions like guilt (*colpa*), shame (*vergogna*), and love (*amore*) used by Alessandra and why she used these extensively when writing to her sons Filippo and Lorenzo.

In regards to the sources being analyzed, almost seventy-five of Alessandra's letters have been preserved and from these letters (mainly to her sons Filippo and

[134] The study of emotions, which has been in existence for well over a hundred years, has really just become a major trend of historical research within the last ten to fifteen years. As already mentioned, historian Barbara Rosenwein is one of the leading historians in the field and has expressed to historians the importance of studying emotions of past cultures through examining a variety of documents.

[135] Ann Crabb, *The Strozzi of Florence: Widowhood and Family Solidarity in the Renaissance* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2000).

Lorenzo) we can see a variety of emotions that she communicated with her sons.[136] Often, we find that mothers wrote more often to their sons because "women were culturally predisposed to invest their emotional capital in their relationship with their sons, if they had any" as their daughters (and any male offspring produced through their marriage) "continued someone else's family"; a mother's main focus, therefore, was with her sons who would continue the patriarchal line.[137] But in addition to this, Alessandra's daughters lived close by with their husbands, and therefore, were not separated from their mother by large distances; this is another reason why we do not find many exchanges of letters from Alessandra to her daughters.[138]

This chapter will examine the relationship between Alessandra and her children (mostly her sons) and how those of the patrician class chose to express emotions to one another in *specific* social circumstances; I will argue that she chose to use certain emotional expressions for different situations and understood that she could persuade her sons to do as she wished. In a sense, Alessandra was performing the emotional roles of a mother, and even a father (since her husband died well before the children reached

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[136]Ann Crabb, "How To Influence", 30-33. Ann Crabb notes that the reason why we do not have any letters between Alessandra and her daughters (Lessandra and Caterina) is because they lived much closer to her and also the girls may not have received enough education which would have enabled them to correspond with their mother; however, another major reason is the listed above concerning a mother's investment into the continuation of the male family line.

[137] Gregory, "Introduction", *Selected Letters*, 13. This is not to say that Alessandra cared less about her daughters. From the letters that she wrote to Filippo and Lorenzo, it becomes quite obvious that she cared deeply for them and their well-being. She even reminded Filippo to make sure he wrote to his sister Caterina so that they knew he cared for her: -"Caterina has got the flax and she and Marco think it's good and fine. I haven't told them you're giving it to her; do write them two lines and tell her so, and it will seem as if you're really thinking of her. That way, although she has lost most of the comfort of having a brother (because they've waited a long time for you to come back, since before your disasters) if you write two lines to her, with that and the gift of the flax it will make her happy and she won't feel she's entirely without a brother's love. It will give them a bit of affection from you, when they can't get any in person", 115.

[138] For studies on mother's correspondence with their daughters, see Barbara Hanawalt, "Lady Honor Lisle's Networks of Influence" in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, eds. Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988).

adulthood), in fifteenth-century Florence. These particular emotions such as shame demonstrate the social world of the *quattrocento*, a society known as a "shame culture" built around honor and reputation.[139] A family's honor (and reputation), and more importantly a man's honor[140], was based on status (i.e. belonging to the patrician class), good business dealings (honor vs. profit[141]), and virtue.[142] The ideas of honor were consistently discussed in the humanist writings of the *quattrocento*, especially in Leon Battista Alberti's *I libri della famiglia*; his work, despite being based on a fictional family, addresses the concept of honor and how a father must instill this in his sons. For a woman like Alessandra, whose sons have no father, she must fill this role in raising her sons. Alessandra often employed shame when discussing her sons' behavior as she knew if they did not mend their ways, they could bring dishonor upon their family name; she worked diligently, both like a mother and a father, to curb her sons' conduct.

Nevertheless, we must also keep in mind that her utilization of guilt, which is an internalized emotion, was useful because it would make her sons feel bad about not taking care of themselves or letting her keep the youngest brother at home longer. In essence, guilt can also be used as a means for social control; Alessandra's sons would

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[139] *Honour and Shame*: *The Values of Mediterranean Society*, ed. J.G. Peristiany (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966). For more recent work on shame cultures outside of the Mediterranean see *Honor and Grace in Anthropology*, eds. J.G. Peristiany and Julian Pitt-Rivers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

[140] Female honor was based on "high moral virtue; an honourable and virtuous reputation, [showing] obedience to their husbands." Natalie Tomas, *The Medici Women: Gender and Power in Renaissance Florence* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 14. Another key component to female (and family) honor was the "centrality of. . .chastity and material elegance of women." McLean, 65. Shame in Mediterranean cultures is "understood as modesty, shyness, or deference. It was these virtues, often construed as feminine, that enabled a woman to preserve her chastity as well as her obedience to the male head of the family in which she was embedded." Halvor Moxnes, "Honor and Shame," in *The Social Sciences and New Testament Interpretation*, ed. Richard Rohrbaugh (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 2003), 21.

[141] The basic idea of this was a man should never make a profit if it will diminish his honor. For instance, this could mean making a business dealing with someone who is already not seen as "honorable," and if the public knows a man is doing this, he could also be seen by others as not honorable either.

[142] McLean, 64; Frank Henderson Stewart, *Honor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 46.

most likely feel sad/upset (thus internalizing this emotion) for upsetting her, and thus try to conform their behavior to live up to her expectations.[143] In the case of her son Matteo (the youngest of all the children) leaving to begin his training in the banking world, Alessandra is quite good at employing the emotion of guilt because, as will be seen below, she is successful at keeping Matteo at home for almost an additional year. This particular internalized emotion is understudied due to the fact that fifteenth-century Italy is a society based on shame that can be seen publicly; being guilty about something is not typically a public expression, especially in this particular circumstance. Therefore, this work will provide an analysis on the importance of how internalized emotions, like guilt, were often employed by mothers in addition to the already highly utilized emotion of shame.

The context of Alessandra's letters clearly demonstrates that she understood her role as a patrician mother living in *quattrocento* Florence. Not only was she in charge of running the finances of the Strozzi household after her husband's death, but she was also responsible for raising the remaining children (who were quite young)[144], arranging her children's marriages, giving advice to her sons, and keeping them informed of the social and political happenings of Florence.[145] I will further argue that the emotions Alessandra used were socially constructed because the emotional language in the letters reflects the type of world she lived in, one of a mercantile society that champions family honor, reputation, and dedication; she knew that by employing emotions such as shame,

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[143] Jonathan H. Turner, *Human Emotions: A Sociological Theory* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), 11, 64.
[144]When her husband Matteo died in 1434, Filippo was 6, Caterina 3, Lorenzo 2, Lessandra an infant, and Alessandra was pregnant with Matteo.
[145] Ann Crabb, *The Strozzi of Florence: Widowhood and Family Solidarity in the Renaissance* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2000). The types of activities Alessandra involved herself with will be examined more thoroughly below.

disappointment and guilt, that her sons would most likely do as she asked since family honor was one of the most important aspects of Florentine society. In addition to this, Alessandra mentioned that her sons' behavior could easily "harm" their family, which also goes along with the concept of shame.

Honoring parents, even mothers, was expected of children even into adulthood; "the duty and responsibility of mothers to care for, advise, and educated their children could extend into their sons' adulthood when, in addition to receiving the respect and reverence due them as a parent, they could exert a degree of authority in the relationship through the giving of advice," which is exactly what Alessandra did in her correspondence with Filippo and Lorenzo.[146] Alessandra knew that the choice of words used throughout each letter would provoke certain emotions in her sons causing them to respond according to social demands; therefore, her employment of emotions is built around social and cultural standards of *quattrocento* Florence. Shame still played a more dominant role in fifteenth-century Italian society than guilt does, but this does not mean that guilt is not an important aspect of familial relationships, power, and control.

Because of women's decreasing civic and political status within Florentine society, Alessandra's letter writing and use of emotions to control her sons demonstrates her exercise of power based on the reassessment of how we understand expressions of power.[147] Furthermore, contemporary materials including those of humanist writers like

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[146] Natalie Tomas, *The Medici Women: Gender and Power in Renaissance Florence* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2003), 25.
[147] On the topic of letter writing in terms of expressing grief, see the footnote above on Allison Levy, "Augustine's Concessions and Other Failures: Mourning and Masculinity in Fifteenth-Century Tuscany," in *Grief and Gender, 700-1700*, ed. by Jennifer C. Vaught with Lynne Dickson Bruckner (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003): 81-93.

Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472) and Francesco Barbaro (1380-1454)[148] and preachers like Franciscan San Bernardino of Siena (1380-1444) can assist in understanding the social world of *quattrocento* Florence, especially in regards to honor and shame, women's power, and the expectations of the family in expressing emotions with their children. Even though some of Alberti's work was directed to fathers, the *Libri Della Famiglia* is still a good source to understanding parent-child relations and emotions. He writes, "You would not deny that great emotion and heavy concern beset the father long before his children gives him laughter and solace. . .[but also] he sees the little ones happy around him, marvels at all that they do and say, considers everything full of meaning, and cherishes rather high hopes for them."[149] Alberti continues to describe how fathers always worry about their children as they are growing up, as they are prone to succumbing to illnesses; this particular view is quite interesting, as modern scholars actually argue that people were not emotionally invested in their children because infant mortality was much higher in comparison to the modern world. Alberti emphasizes to fathers to watch over their children and to marry a woman who will love and care for their children and the household.[150] Alberti highly stresses to fathers "the importance of emotion not just reason or physical power in the development of both the family and the city"[151]; men should not focus solely on their commitments outside the home, but tend to responsibilities of raising children, ensuring that male heirs are brought up with the right

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[148]In reference to other aspects of emotion, especially between husbands and wives, both of these humanists, (along with many others), believed that conjugal love was one of the most important aspects to marriage. This again, debunks the theory produced by historians that love was not a significant part of the pre-modern world, especially in marriages.

[149] Leon Battists Alberti, *I libri della famiglia*, trans. Renée Neu Watkins, *The Family in Renaissance Florence* (Long Grove: Waveland Press, 2004), 51.

[150] Ibid, 52,116,130.

[151] Juliann Vitullo, "Fashioning Fatherhood: Leon Battista Alberti's Art of Parenting", in *Childhood in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: The Results of a Paradigm Shift in the History of Mentality*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Germany: Walter de Gruyter, 2005), 342.

care.[152] If fathers are expected to provide significant emotional support to their children, then the importance of a mother's role held even more meaning. In the case of Alessandra, she was left to raise her very young children by herself, and thus had to provide the emotional support of both parents. From Alberti's particular work, it becomes quite clear that constant emotional expression was necessary within the family in Florentine society, and that the expectations for widows raising children (especially sons) could be extremely high.

Barbaro's work *De re uxoria* ("On Wifely Duties") provides insight into the role of women in the family and the upbringing of children. He stresses the importance of women's roles within the family and also with the running of the household; furthermore, Barbaro also argued that women were responsible for thoroughly instilling honor into their children, so much connected to Florentine society.[153] Not only were father's expected to instill a great sense of honor into their children, but mothers were also supposed to fulfill this role. In addition to Barbaro's teachings, Franciscan preacher Bernardino da Siena's sermons, which many Italian's were privy to as they were publicly performed (women sometimes constituted the majority of the audience[154]), also discuss a variety of social and cultural issues; the ones relevant to this work include sermons on the family, including parent-child relationships, women, and economics and trade. He writes that "the duties of children [were] to 'love, fear, respect, obey, support, follow, and

[152]Ibid, 342-343. The father must be around to guide sons and help them develop their children's character, skills, but also allow them time to play and grow up.

[153] Francesco Barbaro, "On Wifely Duties," in *The Earthly Republic: Italian Humanists on Government and Society*, eds. Benjamin G. Kohl and Ronald G. Witt (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978), 224-225.

[154] Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby, "The Preacher as Women's Mentor," in *Preacher, Sermon, and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn Muessig (Leiden: Brill, 2002); Debby, *Renaissance Florence in the Rhetoric of Two Popular Preachers, Giovanni Dominici (1356-1419) and Bernardino da Siena (1380-1444)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001).

sustain their parents. . .[and] the worst sin was 'beating your father and your mother instead of honouring them.'"[155] Patrician Florentines were well aware of these writings and ideas as many of them read their work or attended sermons.

As for understanding the emotions of the later Middle Ages, some terminology needs to also be addressed. As already discussed above, psychologists and historians Peter and Carol Stearns have attempted to offer an essential category in which "to distinguish the collective emotional standards of a society from the emotional experiences of individuals and groups;" this particular definition can help historians understand why certain social "agencies and institutions either promote or prohibit some kinds of emotions, while remaining neutral or indifferent to others."[156] In the theoretical world, the term "emotionology" attempted to give a standard definition to the word *emotion* and how to study it and has been received well by various scholars across disciplinary boundaries.[157] Despite the definition's usefulness, contemporary medievalists[158] have been cautious of using the term because the Stearns' use the term to explain emotional control in the modern period; they essentially argue (similar to Norbert Elias' thesis) that before the modern period, or in their case, the eighteenth century, and the increase in advice manuals, restraint of emotions (especially the control of anger) did

[155]Bernardino da Siena, *Le prediche volgari—Quaresimale Fiorentino del 1425*, ed. Ciro Cannarozzi, 3 vols. (Florence: Liberia Editrice Fiorentina, 1940, II, 179-82, quoted in Nirit Ben-Aryah Debby, *Renaissance Florence in the Rhetoric of Two Popular Preachers: Giovanni Dominici (1356-1419) and Bernardino da Siena (1380-1444)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 128-129. Preachers like Dominici and Bernardino actually wrote a variety of sermons just for women, and Dominici personally became mentors to many of the women (including nuns and laywomen) who attended his sermons.

[156] Peter N. Stearns and Carol Z. Stearns, "Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards," in *American Historical Review* 90 (1985): 813.

[157] Prevenier, 274.

[158] Medievalist Barbara Rosenwein (*Emotional Communities* and *Anger's Past*) is one of their biggest critics because she argues against the Stearns reasoning for emotional restraint as being an aspect only of the modern period.

not exist.[159] However, even though the Stearns are wrong on their assumptions about control and restraint[160], I think the term can be of good use to the medieval period because social standards existed concerning what and how communities were allowed to express emotions. "Emotionology" can be adapted to fit the medieval period from a social constructionist standpoint because the types of emotions expressed within Alessandra's letters were formed by society as a whole; there are obvious reasons why shame and guilt play such a considerable role in Florentine society (and Italian culture as a whole) during the fifteenth-century, and this chapter seeks to demonstrate why.

Unfortunately, for historians studying correspondence, some of the current scholarship on the study of emotions (most notably from the field of cognitive psychology) discusses issues with physiological reactions, including facial expressions (such as blushing or frowning) and bodily responses (such as a racing heart) when expressing emotions.[161] As already mentioned in chapter two, these types of responses are almost impossible to examine, especially when analyzing personal letters where one cannot possibly see the person's expressions. Even though this work is not going to analyze physiological responses within the Strozzi letters, I want to reiterate that I still acknowledge that biological reactions are a key aspect in the ongoing study of emotions in general; I am not attempting to take an exclusively social constructionist standpoint as

[159] Stearns and Stearns, "Emotionology".

[160] A great example that contradicts the Stearns' argument is Carol Lansing's book *Passion and Order; Restraint of Grief in the Medieval Italian Communes* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008). She demonstrates clearly that Italian society, particularly the town of Orvieto, was very concerned about restraining the expression of grief and passed a variety of funeral laws restricting how men and women could publicly express grief. To say that the pre-modern world was not concerned with restraint of emotion is false.

[161] William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 12-13.

the only methodological way in interpreting emotions, but for this project in general, this will be my stance in examining the types of emotions expressed in the Strozzi letters.[162]

Before analyzing the correspondence, a few words must be said concerning the life of Alessandra Strozzi, as well as the historical context in which she lived.[163] Alessandra Macinghi Strozzi was born sometime between 1406 and 1408 to Filippo di Niccolò Macinghi and Caterina di Bernardo Alberti of the Florentine merchant patrician class; she had one brother Zanobi, and after her mother's death, her father remarried a woman named Ginerva di Albertuccio Ricasoli, whom with he had three more children. However, Filippo was quite wealthy and was able to provide Alessandra with a 1600 florin dowry[164], and she married into a prominent merchant family, that of the Strozzis; she wed Matteo Strozzi in 1422.[165] The couple had nine children (Andreuola, 1424 (died in infancy), Andreuola, 1425, Simone, 1427, Filippo, 1428, Piero, 1429, Caterina, 1431, Lorenzo, 1432, Alessandra, 1434, and Matteo, 1436) but only five of these children

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[162] In terms of other literary sources from the past, historians actually have a much easier way to understanding physiological responses, especially in works like that of Chaucer in which he describes facial and bodily responses to particular emotions.

[163] Unfortunately, the correspondence of Filippo and Lorenzo to their mother are not published and I do not have access to them. They can be found, however, at the Archivio di stato di Firenze. I will be using works by Ann Crabb and Heather Gregory for support on this matter. The next step for this project would be to analyze the sons' letters to see what type of emotional language they use in response to their mother's letters.

[164] The fact that Alessandra's father married her with such a high dowry is interesting to note because she was the offspring of his previous marriage. Usually when parents remarried, especially women, the children would often be denied inheritance or any access to her dowry. One Florentine account of this is from the diary of Giovanni Morelli who "remembered with bitterness a mother who had deserted him for a new husband, taking her dowry with her", from Ann Crabb *The Strozzi of Florence*, 62.

[165] Unfortunately, not much is known in regards to the relationship that Alessandra had with her husband Matteo before his death, nor her particular emotions relating to his passing; there are no letters or correspondences that exist between them to give us much indication concerning their emotional attachments as husband and wife.

survived to adulthood; the last child, Matteo, was born after his father's death and was subsequently named after him.[166]

Matteo and Alessandra faced a major political difficulty toward the end of their fourteen-year marriage. During the early 1430s, the Medici family, a great rival to the Strozzi lineage, usurped power in Florence, and in 1434, Matteo Strozzi (along with much of his extended family) was exiled from the city. Shortly after his exile, Matteo died in 1435 and three of his children abruptly followed all dying of the plague (Andreuola, Simone, and Piero); Alessandra was left pregnant to raise the remaining children, and she chose to return to Florence shortly after Matteo's death.[167] Alessandra did not remarry and decided to "preserve her property, which consisted of a house in Florence, farms in the country that provided much of her household's food, and a modest investment in municipal bonds."[168] But even after Matteo's death and despite their accumulated wealth, Alessandra could not escape the harsh taxation of the Medici rule; Matteo's "assests had been eaten up by the taxes that were levied on an enemy of the regime, and his children and heirs were left with nothing but debts."[169] Alessandra's letters make it seem that she struggled to pay the harsh taxes until her sons' business became successful, but she did remain one of the wealthiest widows in Florence. She

[166] There are conflicting views though on the amount of children and their births. The numbers listed above come from Ann Crabb *The Strozzi of Florence*, table A.3; Heather Gregory in *Selected Letters* lists only eight children with the following dates: Andreuola, 1426, Simone, 1427, Filippo, 1428, Piero, 1429, Caterina, 1431, Lorenzo, 1432, Alessandra, 1434, and Matteo, 1436, 4.

[167] Even though the Strozzi family had been exiled, Matteo's death allowed them to return to the city because the exile was only for the males who were heads of the household. In the late 1450s, the Medici, seeking to reinstate their power extended the exile to include the male offspring of those who had been previously exiled, forcing Lorenzo and Filippo to leave the city once again, Heather Gregory *Selected Letters*, 75; Crabb, "How to Influence", 23.

[168] Gene Brucker, *Living on the Edge in Leonardo's Florence* (Berkley: University of California Press, 2005), 152.

[169] Ann Crabb, "How Typical Was Alessandra Macinghi Strozzi of Fifteenth-Century Florentine Widows?" in *Upon My Husband's Death: Widows in the Literature and Histories of Medieval Europe*, ed. Louise Mirrer (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1992), 51.

often complained to Filippo about taxation and in August 1447, she wrote that "I've been persecuted by no less than four Offices trying to recover [money] for the commune"; she spent much of her time going to several government offices to try to not only pay taxes, but to have them reduced.[170] Even though she was burdened by paying high taxes, Alessandra used the property she owned, her dowry, and small business ventures to sustain a living equal to many patrician families.[171]

From 1436 until her death, Alessandra remained within the city of Florence only leaving occasionally to their country villas to escape outbreaks of plague, which was quite common for patrician families of the period. She continued to maintain close relationships with her husband's relatives, specifically his first cousins who helped Filippo and Lorenzo in their business dealings. Alessandra did not keep in contact with her natal family nearly as much because of financial squabbles with her father's widow and children, but she remained somewhat connected to her brother Zanobi until his death in 1452. Plus, as a woman of the *quattrocento*, Alessandra was expected to dedicate herself to the Strozzi name and lineage; even though other Florentine women kept in contact with their natal family (often using them for support in many ways), Alessandra did really do this.

Despite being separated from her two sons for several years, she remained a constant in her children's lives, consistently advising them (especially her sons on business dealings as well as on their health), arranging marriages (for all her children and

[170] Alessandra to Filippo, 24 August 1447, *Selected Letters*, 33.

[171] Crabb, "How Typical", 51. Alessandra took some of her money and invested in the businesses of her in-laws and also in her sons' company dealings.

even for the illegitimate daughter of Battista di Francesco Strozzi, Isabella)[172], running the household and properties, and managing their financial assets. Alessandra embodied the ideal of a Florentine woman extolled by humanist writers. Francesco Barbaro, although a Venetian humanist, often visited Florence (he was close friends with the Medici), and after returning from a trip to the city, he wrote *De re uxoria*.[173] Barbaro wrote that a woman's duty was to oversee and manage the household, properties, and servants, comparing her role as important to that of Pericles "attend[ing] to the affairs of Athens."[174] Of course, this particular analogy comparing a women's role in the household to that of the powerful Ancient Greek Pericles is quite fascinating. Pericles was known for his successful career as a political and military leader in Athens during the fifth-century-B.C., and he sanctioned the building of one of the most famous structures in Athens, the Parthenon. His service in Athenian politics lasted well over thirty years, and he was highly dedicated to the democratic principles of the city.[175] Therefore, it is very fascinating that Barbaro wrote of a woman's role in the family as being similar to one of the most powerful men of Ancient Greece.

Alessandra oversaw her children's educations, another concept important to Barbaro, and in the letters that survive, she worked diligently to have Matteo educated in arithmetic and writing (specifically business letters since men were expected to

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[172] In a letter to her son Lorenzo, Alessandra explains "considering her [Isabella] status [of illegitimacy] and that she's longsighted, as you know, we weren't looking to put her in a wealthy household so much as one where she'll be loved and well looked after. That's what she needs, as we saw it," Alessandra Strozzi to Lorenzo Strozzi, 19, February 1459, *Selected Letters*, 77.

[173] The exact date for the *De re uxoria* is uncertain, but Sister Prudence Allen suggests that it was written around 1415, *The Concept of Woman Volume II: The Early Humanist Reformation, 1250-1500* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 200, 1077.

[174] Barbaro, "On Wifely Duties," 215-220.

[175] C. Warren Hollister and Guy MacLean Rogers, *Roots of the Western Tradition: A Short History of the Ancient World*, 8th Edition (New York: McGraw Hill, 2008), 100-102.

communicate with their business partners and associates in this way).[176] Even more important is the mother's role in education was in regards to teaching her children good qualities, especially instilling them with the concept of honor:

> mothers should use all their skill, care, and effort to ensure that their children are endowed with excellent qualities of mind and body. . .they should be taught to avoid. . .pleasure[s] which are dishonorable. . .[and] if mothers are able to instruct their children in these matters, their offspring will much more easily and better receive the benefit of education.[177]

And of course, Barbaro mentions the concept of honor in his treatise on educating children; he relegated the importance of teaching children to "honor their parents [and] respect their superiors" to mothers.[178]

Concerning marriage prospects for her sons, Alessandra wrote often (especially to Filippo) about finding them wives: "About finding you [Filippo] a wife. . .Tommaso Davizzi and Francesco di Messer Guglielmino Tanagli were willing to give you his daughter, it would be a good match for all seasons. . .this has the most to recommend it."[179] In addition to finding them wives, when Filippo and Lorenzo officially owned their own business, Alessandra found young men to work for them; she also instructed them on whom to do business with, or more importantly, who not to get involved with.[180] Alessandra wrote to them often concerning their sister Lessandra's husband Giovanni, who was not good with money. He was heavily in debt and both Filippo and Lorenzo

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[176] Barbaro, 220-228; Alessandra to Filippo, 24 August 1447, *Selected Letters*, 33.
[177] Barbaro, 224.
[178] Ibid, 224.
[179] Alessandra to Filippo, 20 April 1465, *Selected Letters*, 141-142. In a letter addressed on 15 November 1465, Alessandra continues her advisement on their marriages: "More than anything else we want the qualities we've so often discussed, and beauty more than anything. I would still like Francesco Tanagli's daughter for you, Filippo, and the Adimari girl, who is younger, for you, Lorenzo. They're among the most beautiful girls there are, if we could get them, and both of them have good qualities", 177. Neither of these marriage prospects worked out, thus Alessandra was forced to keep finding proper women for her son (Filippo, though, would eventually marry the Adimari girl Alessandra refers to in the November letter- Fiammetta di Donato Adimari).
[180] Crabb, *The Strozzi of Florence*, 71.

wanted to help Giovanni and Lessandra out since they were family and they had five children to feed in addition to themselves. Alessandra writes,

> You know I love you (*io v'amo*), and that's why I am giving you advice and looking into his affairs, if you want to help him, so you won't all get into a mess over it, which is something that often happens. If you do help him [with the debt], where is he going to get it from to repay it then? And what if he has other debts besides this 200 florins? . .And that being the case, if he was not able to pay it would disgrace (*vergogna*) him.[181]

She further advised them not to employ Giovanni either (even though this could be another way for him to earn money either than loaning it to him), as he had demonstrated that he could not successfully deal with large sums of money; accordingly, he was a danger to the Strozzi business, and more importantly, the name.

The letters that do survive between Alessandra and her sons, Lorenzo and Filippo, can also provide insight into the emotional responses to everyday life experiences of a patrician Italian woman.[182] The different kinds of emotions Alessandra expressed in her letters were often used to persuade her sons and was a way women could exert power in a society where women had no legal power over their children; she utilized words "that may have been heartfelt, some with words that appear to have been chosen more to influence than to express true feelings; in some cases, strategy and affect are skillfully combined."[183] This "strategy and affect" can be understood as one way in which emotions were performed by women, specifically mothers, as a way for women to wield

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[181] Alessandra to Filippo, 25 January, 1466, *Selected Letters*, 197-201.

[182] It is important to note here that Alessandra did not write to her daughters often (or possibly even at all) for they had been married and joined their husbands' households; in Florentine society, the daughters were understood to belong to a new household and the sons were the ones to carry on the family lineage. Furthermore, Filippo and Lorenzo lived outside of the city, whereas Caterina and Lessandra lived close by to the family home. Hence, why Alessandra probably wrote the majority of her letters to her sons.

[183] Jane Couchman and Ann Crabb, introduction to *Women's Letters Across Europe, 1400-1700*, edited by Jane Couchman and Ann Crabb (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2005), 12. However, some of the letters Alessandra wrote to her sons clearly demonstrate her true feelings, especially the ones concerning the death of her son Matteo.

power because power was not relegated only to the institutions of the public sphere.[184] We find a wide range of emotions that she expressed, including grief, love, frustration and disappointment (especially with Filippo's and Lorenzo's behavior); Alessandra often employs shame as well as guilt when she discusses the behavior of her sons in hopes that Lorenzo and Filippo will take her advice. Disregarding her advice would have been seen as going against social expectations that children were expected to uphold.

Italian society is characterized as a "shame-culture" (see Appendix A), which implies that it "rel[ies] on external sanctions for good behavior, not, as true guilt cultures do, on an internalized conviction of sin. Shame is a reaction to other people's criticism. A man is shamed either by being openly ridiculed and rejected."[185] Shame cultures are also often referred to as "honor-shame" cultures because "the desire to preserve my honour or avoid shame to the exclusion of all else" is the basic principle of that particular society.[186] Every society authorizes what behavior is correct or incorrect, "rewarding those who conform and punishing those who disobey," and in Florentine society, "honour and shame are social evaluations. . .[which are used] in order to assess their own conduct and that of their fellows."[187] Having a particular family name and high social status means nothing "unless it [is]. . .asserted and vindicated" and this "public opinion of his 'equals' [is necessary] so that they may pronounce him worthy."[188] Crabb notes that in fifteenth-century Florence,

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[184] See page six above on the discussion on redefining the boundaries of power and authority, see Erler and Kowaleski.
[185] Ruth Benedict, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture* (Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1946), 223.
[186] J.S. Atherton, *Shame-Culture and Guilt-Culture* http://www.doceo.co.uk/background/shame_guilt.htm (accessed December 14, 2011).
[187] J.G. Peristiany, "Introduction" in *Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society*, ed. J.G. Peristiany (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1966), 9-10.
[188] Ibid, 11.

> reputation was a major concern, and public opinion ranked individuals in a range from most honorable to shameless. It judged both men and women by family background, wealth, marriages made, and conformity to standards of good conduct; men by economic, political, and intellectual achievement; women by chastity and beauty; families by members' qualities past and present.[189]

Therefore, if men went against the "external sanctions" of Florentine society, their family would be shamed, keeping them from the possibility of good marriage alliances and/or a prosperous business.

On the other hand, guilt-culture works in different ways in comparison to shame-cultures. Even if other people believe that a person did not do something wrong, and that person actually did, he or she is supposed to feel guilty; hence, the emotion of guilt is internalized. A person "may [even] be wracked with secret guilt even if the world believes [he/she] is innocent."[190] The emotion of guilt "typically involves being negatively evaluated by *oneself*. . .[and] is associated with the fear of not living up to one's own standards."[191] In some of the ways Alessandra writes, she is hoping that her sons will do as she asks because they will feel bad for making their mother unhappy and not living up to their "own standards" of how to treat their mother. Their bad behavior, like the taking of money to pay for prostitutes and gambling or not honoring those who have helped them succeed, are acts that could damage them publicly; this is why

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[189] Crabb, *The Strozzi*, 22. Furthermore, the type of honor in fifteenth century Italy is not quite the exact same kind of honor that we would see in Italy during the thirteenth century. Honor during the thirteenth century "had a more **martial** character" in which vendettas (which were done publicly) were the key component to establishing family honor; this type of honor would not completely vanish, but would be relegated as less important to establishing honor.[189] Honor that became synonymous with the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was linked to a "**patrilineal** conception of honor" in which families who claimed nobility would often struggle over positions of power within the government "to obtain control over offices, benefices, tax collection, and the administration of justice"[189]; violence was not the key component for the patrilineal honor system of the later middle ages and renaissance.

[190] J.S. Atherton.

[191] Ying Wong and Jeanne Tsai, "Cultural Models of Shame and Guilt", in *Handbook of Self-Conscious Emotions*, eds. J. Tracy, R. Robins, and J Tangney (New York: Guilford Press, 2007), 210-211 http://psych.stanford.edu/~tsailab/PDF/yw07sce.pdf (accessed December 17, 2011).

Alessandra tries to *shame* them in the letters. However, when she wants her sons to feel bad about possibly dying and not taking care of themselves, (especially after the death of their brother Matteo) she uses *guilt* to make them change because they will internalize the emotion. Furthermore, shame would not work in this particular instance as her sons would not experience public dishonor for not taking care of their health.

In regards to the letters concerning her youngest son Matteo, it is obvious that Alessandra used guilt throughout them to get what she wanted. The letters clearly demonstrate that Alessandra was much attached to Matteo (as she was to all her children which will be demonstrated below). In the letters that Filippo sent back to Alessandra, he often mentioned Matteo joining them to begin his education[192], and she was devastated when she was obligated to send him off to work alongside his brother Filippo in Naples. Despite her being upset, Alessandra acknowledges in the letters that she must, as a patrician Florentine mother, make sure that her sons have the training they need in order to succeed in the competitive world of Italian business. The quote that opened this paper clearly demonstrates one of the bigger themes within the early letters that Alessandra writes to Filippo. Agonizing over sending her son Matteo to join his brothers in running the family business, Alessandra eventually concedes that she has no choice in the matter; she would fail in her duty as a mother if she did not send Matteo. It is part of her responsibility as a mother (and especially a widow) in *quattrocento* Florence to make sure that all her sons receive the preparation needed to compete in the business world of Italy. Alessandra writes:

> But I don't know how I could send him away because he's little and still needs me to look after him. And I don't know how I could go on living if

[192] Alessandra to Filippo, 8 November, 1448; 13 July, 1449. From how Alessandra is responding in her letters, it is clear that Filippo is asking her to send Matteo to join them.

> out of five children I was left with only one, Lessandra, as I'm expecting to arrange a marriage for her any time now. She won't stay with me more than two years longer. I feel very sad (*ho un gran dolore*) when I think about being left so alone. I must tell you how in the last few days Matteo has gone to stay in the country with Marco and he's been there for six days. I didn't think I could live until he came back. . .We should also keep in mind the fact that he was very sick this summer and I thought he would die, but he was saved by being well looked after. I was talking to the doctor about him going away, and he said, "You have little love for him (*voi l'avete poco caro*) if you send him away, because he has delicate constitution and if he were sick and didn't have you to look after him he would die. So if you love him (*se l'avete caro*) you won't part with him so soon." And because of this and because he needs to stay, I've given up the idea.[193]

From this particular letter we can see Alessandra's agony in eventually being left alone; in the year that she is writing this (1447), she was in the process of trying to marry her youngest daughter, Lessandra, who would eventually leave the household to join her husband's family (Caterina had already been married almost a year before this letter was written). Of course, Matteo was around thirteen years old (the same age Filippo was when he left to join his father's cousins), and he was approaching the age in which he should begin learning business endeavors while working closely with his brothers to learn the skills necessary to become successful. Boys approaching their teen years from "merchant and banking families. . .were typically sent to learn, and then to oversee branches of, family businesses throughout Italy and Europe"[194]; both Filippo and Lorenzo went through the same training that Matteo would eventually receive, working on a variety of tasks as well as at separate banks in Naples and Bruges.

What is interesting to note in the above letter is how she uses certain emotions (like mentioning being "sad" and not wanting to "be alone") as well as the doctor's advice as a way to make Filippo feel guilty and to let Alessandra keep Matteo at home

[193] Alessandra to Filippo, 8 November 1447, *Selected Letters*, 39.
[194] John M. Najemy, *A History of Florence 1200-1575* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 226.

longer. Alessandra declares her sadness and that she does not want to be left alone. Using these particular expressions makes her sons feel the emotion of guilt, even though Italy is a shame culture. Utilizing guilt is still a way for Alessandra to exercise power and get her own way; her sons essentially should feel obligated because she is their mother, and they would not want to upset her. The emotion of guilt is internalized by the person, and because of this internalization, Filippo (in this case) will feel compelled to make his mother happy and pleased. It is Filippo's obligation as her child to honor Alessandra and her wishes.

The next two letters, composed in July and December 1449 respectively, reflect the ongoing struggle over letting her children (Matteo in this instance) leave the house to receive training in the business.

> I went to see him [Soldo di Bernardo Strozzi] many times and we talked about sending Matteo [to Naples], how I was happy (*contenta*) to do what you and Niccolò wanted about it, seeing how much you want to take him away and make something of him, not thinking of my own comfort but of what will be useful to you, as I have always done and as I will do to the end. You should consider how hard it is for me (*E pensa se m'è dura cosa*), when I think how I was left while I was still young to bring up five children as young as you all were. I was still pregnant with Matteo and I've brought him up thinking that nothing but death could part him from me.[195]

> You see there's nothing else I care about in this world except you, my three sons, and I've sent you away one after the other for your own good and not considering my own happiness (*consolazione*). Now I am so sad at sending away this last one. I don't know how I can live without him [Matteo], because I feel so unhappy (*ché troppo gran duolo sento*) and love him too much (*e troppo amore gli porto*) because he is just like his father.[196]

In these letters from 1449, it is still evident that Alessandra does not want her youngest son to leave, as she will then be completely alone; she employs tactics to keep Matteo

[195] Alessandra to Filippo, 13, July, 1449, *Selected Letters*, 43.
[196] Alessandra to Filippo, 26, December, 1449, *Selected Letters*, 51.

around longer. She essentially guilt trips Filippo into letting Matteo stay longer with Alessandra in Florence; demonstrating that she would seem like a mother who does not love her son (mentioning the doctor's response) helps her argument to Filippo. Her play at emotion *successfully* allows her to keep Matteo at home for at least another year. Alessandra accepts that she has sent them away "for your own good" despite the fact that she was devastated to see her own sons leave her. Because she now has to send Matteo away for his education and training, she is forced to live through the grief and sadness all over again. Even though her love and also grief (at having to send Matteo away) as a mother shows through in regards to not wanting her youngest to leave her, Alessandra recognizes her role as a patrician mother; she understands that she must allow Matteo to leave her and join his brothers in learning the family business. If she does not send him away, Matteo will only suffer in the long run; if he does not receive the training necessary to becoming successful, it could hypothetically bring shame to the Strozzi name.

In the following letters, we also see Alessandra employ the use of guilt in hopes her sons will take care of themselves after Matteo's death, so that she does not lose them as well. We also get another glimpse into Alessandra's expressions of grief and love when Matteo dies. Reading her letters to Filippo is devastatingly hard because one can see the deep connection a mother had with her child; these particular letters clearly undermine the arguments that people of the pre-modern world did not really love their children. Young Matteo's death of malaria at age twenty-three strikes Alessandra hard and the emotional outpour is very visible in the letters she writes to Filippo. Even though "death was so common, so much part of everyday life in that world that some have

argued that surviving parents had become inured to the loss of their children. . .Alessandra's letter [concerning the death of Matteo] is powerful evidence to challenge this view."[197] Matteo's death is even more difficult for her to manage because Alessandra was not able to see her son before his death or give consolation to her sons following the death of their brother; Matteo died while working with Filippo in Naples in 1459 and Alessandra had been advised not to travel due to the outbreaks of plague in Italy. Ann Crabb notes that this "crisis shows the depth of her love for Matteo and her other sons, but also how she depended on her remaining sons to console her."[198] Even though Filippo and Lorenzo were far from her, she still relied on them to get through the pain of losing her youngest son. In a letter addressed to Filippo on September 6, 1459, Alessandra writes with a heavy heart,

> Being deprived of my son has given me the greatest grief (*un'amaritudine grandissima*[199]) and while I've lost a son's love it seems as if I've suffered (*e gran danno mi pare ricevere*) an even greater loss through his death; and you as well, my other two sons, who are now reduced to such a small number. . . I hope God doesn't let me live long enough to go through this again. . . I've been thinking that what with sleepless nights, the grief (*maninconia*[200]) caused by death. . . .I wish I hadn't taken anyone's advice and had done what seemed right to me instead, what I wanted to do, because then I would have got there in time to see and touch my sweet living son, and that would have comforted me and him and you.[201]

The death of Matteo forces Alessandra to reflect on actually being able to see both Filippo and Lorenzo before she dies as she has rarely been able to see them due to their exile from Florence; she laments about this in the letter directly following the one she

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[197] Brucker, *Living on the Edge*, 158.
[198] Crabb, "How to Influence", 24.
[199] *Amaritudine* usually means to be in state of bitterness.
[200] The correct spelling of this word in Italian is *malinconia*.
[201] Alessandra to Filippo, 6 September, 1459, *Selected Letters*, 79-83.

wrote on September 6th.[202] She writes on September 13th, "my greatest fear is that I'll die before I can see either of you again."[203] In later parts of the same letters, Alessandra expressed again the theme of guilt in hopes her sons would listen to her concerning their own health; if they die too, she would be further upset and devastated as a mother. She mentions often that they should be taking care of themselves for "her sake" because she only lives for them. She writes,

> I want to ask you, if my prayers can persuade you and I hope they can, to resign yourself to this for my sake and look after yourself and put business affairs to one side for a little while. You should purge yourself a little with something mild, by one means or another. And then you should get some fresh air if you can manage it, remembering to look after yourself better than your property, because in the end you leave it all behind. And what would I, your grieving mother (*Ed io, madre piena d'affanni*), do without you? I gather you're making a lot of money and letting your body waste away while you do so. . .There's no need to tell me to look after myself for your sake but I do need to ask you to look after yourselves for my sake, because I only live for you and your health and well-being. May God in his mercy keep you both well for a long time and healthy in body and soul as I wish.[204]

Again, we do see the love that Alessandra has for her sons, since she is concerned with them getting extremely sick if they do not take care of themselves; however, she involves the role of guilt in hopes that they will see how sad she is and will look after their own health to please her.[205] Of course, this use of guilt is not directly connected to public honor, but is associated with the honor that is expected in Filippo's and Lorenzo's private

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[202] In 1459, Alessandra was over 50 years old, so her fears of not seeing her sons before she died were quite reasonable; the average lifespan after 1450 was approximately 40 years old. David Herlihy and Christine Klapisch-Zuber, *Tuscans and Their Families: A Study of the Florentine Catasto of 1427* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 84

[203] Alessandra to Filippo, 13 September, 1459, 91.

[204] Alessandra to Filippo, 6 September 1459, 83; Alessandra to Filippo, 13 September 1459, 91. *Affanni* literally means "sorrows", therefore the use of the word grieving.

[205] Crabb actually argues in *The Strozzi of Florence* that her letters are a reflection of selfishness "because she wanted her sons to survive for her own sake", 123. But, this is not how I see her writings; she was a mother concerned about her children and did not want them to die on account of working too hard.

relationship with Alessandra; in Florentine society, even males are expected to listen, respect, and honor their mothers.

From above, we have seen how Alessandra used guilt in a private context and that even a "private" form of honor was expected of children to give their parents. The following sections will look more closely at how she used shame to assert power over Filippo and Lorenzo. One of the other major themes that grace the letters of Alessandra is the issue of her sons' behavior (as this is tied directly to public honor), especially Lorenzo, who is much more of a headache to her than Filippo; between the two brothers, Filippo was the more responsible and dedicated one, even when he was young. As the oldest sibling, he took his role seriously, but every once and awhile, his behavior was far from perfect. When addressing them in regards to her disappointment, she brings up the concept of shame and dishonoring the family, concepts that were fundamental to fifteenth-century Italian society. Succeeding in business, as well as arranging strategic marriages, depended on good reputations, and if one became disgraced, it was quite hard to rebound even in later decades; once a family name was shamed, it was hard to recover. In letters addressed to Filippo (now nineteen) in August and November of 1447, Alessandra says,

> In the past year you've made me very unhappy (*tanto dolore*) with your bad behavior (*tristi modi*). Above all my son, you must behave better (*e considera allo stato tuo*[206]) and give me comfort instead. . .And I say this out of love (*amore*) for you, because you have a greater obligation (*obrigato*) to him [Niccolò] than to your father or mother, when I think of all he's done for you, which no one else would have done. . . But then I heard how Lorenzo was behaving so badly (*Lorenzo si portava tristamente*)[207] and I've been so unhappy (*dolore*) over you both, it

[206] "Behave better" in this context of the letter literally means "consider your state" in Italian.

[207] From the letter, it is unclear what Lorenzo's bad behavior consisted of, but he was known for taking money from the family business to pay for prostitutes and gambling; this could be what Alessandra was referring to in her November 8th, 1447 letter.

> couldn't have been worse if you were dead (*che sendo morti non n'arei avuto maggiore*).[208]

In these particular letters, and the ones which will be examined below, Alessandra reprimands her sons for their bad behavior. It is unclear from the letter exactly what Filippo's upsetting behavior was (possibly not listening to his father's cousin), but how Alessandra replies to him, it seems that he was not properly honoring his father's cousins and handling money properly. Because his father Matteo died when Filippo was so young, he had to depend on his father's male cousins (in addition to Alessandra) to guide him and his brothers through the process of learning the merchant business; from the letter, it seems that Alessandra was not happy because he seemed "ungrateful" to what Niccolò had done for their family.

In regards to the section in which she discusses Filippo's obligation to Niccolò Strozzi, Alessandra is trying to show Filippo how important their connection is to other family members who are helping them learn the merchant business. The Florentine social world was heavily organized around contacts and connections in society; in Paul McLean's *The Art of the Network*, he examines thousands of patronage letters in Florentine society from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries and demonstrates that this system was an "institution" that was an "important tool for trying to achieve social mobility, security, and the recognition of others. It was, in short, a critical part of Florentine culture."[209] Therefore, Alessandra strictly reminds Filippo that he should

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[208] Alessandra to Filippo, 24, August 1447, *Selected Letters*, 35; Alessandra to Filippo, 8, November 1447 *Selected Letters*, 39. The 'him' Alessandra is referring to in this letter is Niccolò Strozzi, a first cousin of Alessandra's husband Matteo. Niccolò, Filippo, and Jacopo di Lionardo Strozzi were all first cousins of Matteo and owned a bank with branches in Naples, Bruges and Barcelona. These cousins took in both Filippo and Lorenzo (since they had no father of their own) to learn merchant practices and they owed a great deal to this branch of the family in gaining important training.

[209] McLean, xii.

honor and respect those who have helped them as this is part of the social expectations of Florentine society.

In the following letter addressed to Lorenzo in February of 1453 Alessandra remarks on her sons conduct:

> To come back to what concerns you, you're old enough to behave (*che se' d'eta da governarti*) in a different sort of way from how you have been; you've got to sort yourself out and concentrate on living properly. . .I gather you don't behave yourself (*portamenti*) as I'd like you to, and this has made me very unhappy (*dispiacere*). . .Your troubles are the worst I have, worse than all the rest. . .I can see you've done us harm (*far danno*) and brought us shame (*vergogna*), and yourself too. I gather you've got some bad habits (*costumi che non sono buoni*) and lecturing you does no good at all. It looks like a bad sign to me and makes me take back all my good feelings (*buono pensiero*) for you. I don't know why you go your own way, knowing you're displeasing God, which matters more than anything else, and me as well. I leave it to you to consider the harm and shame (*l'danno e la vergogna*) that come from it. . . Let this be enough warning for you. Be wise because you need to be, and then it will be enough. . .I must remind you not to shrug off my reprimands which [are written] with love (*amore*) and tears (*lagrime*); may God make you do as I wish.[210]

The behavior that she is referring to is the stealing of business money. Although young men were allowed in Florentine society to have sexual relations with women before marriage, Lorenzo had a bad habit of chasing women. The bigger issue that Alessandra is concerned about is the money Lorenzo embezzled. He often stole money from their business (which was horribly dishonorable) to pay for women or he used it to gamble instead.[211] Alessandra describes his behavior as "worse than all the rest" and that he has

[210] Alessandra to Lorenzo, 27 February 1453, *Selected Letters,* 69-71.

[211] Crabb, *The Strozzi of Florence*, 116. It was normal for men to remain bachelors in their twenties and not consider marriage "seriously" until around the age of thirty, when a man "had established himself in the competitive world of international trade and banking", Gene Brucker, *Giovanni and Lusanna*: *Love and Marriage in Renaissance Florence* (Berkley: University of California Press, 2005), 10. John Najemy notes that men were hesitant in marrying early because "it took resources and capital to confront the prospect of marriage and children, and many preferred to wait until they accumulated sufficient wealth", Najemy, *A History of Florence*, 226.

done "harm" (*l'danno*) and "shame" (*vergogna*) to the Strozzi name. As already mentioned, bringing shame to the family was extremely looked down upon in Florentine society. But what is quite interesting to note in this particular letter is that she utilizes both shame and guilt when chastising Lorenzo. First, she mentions shame and that he has done harm to the family name with his behavior. Nonetheless, she also tries to make Lorenzo feel guilty by saying he has displeased her as well. Her remarks "[I am] taking back all my good feelings for you" and the fact that she ends letters with such comments as "love and tears" are written for a purpose: Alessandra hopes she can change their behavior by making them feel guilty for not respecting her as their mother.

In other letters, even if Alessandra is not directly addressing her sons' behavior, she makes note of certain cousins who have brought shame and dishonor to the Strozzi name. This is an obvious attempt to remind her sons to behave, and especially, not to involve themselves in shady business dealings that could eventually go bad (as so many usually did during the *quattrocento*).[212] In a letter, addressed to both sons, on the third of January 1465, Alessandra discusses two Strozzi relatives (Lodovico di Francesco Strozzi and Giovanfrancesco di Messer Palla Strozzi) whose businesses have gone bankrupt and how this will greatly affect their family's name. So badly in fact, that a niece of one of the relatives will possibly not be able to marry due to a disgraced reputation:

> I see you're sorry about what's happened to Lodovico, and you've done well to offer to help him. It's said they'll [eventually] be able to pay [their creditors in full], 20 soldi in the lira and that they'll still be rich. It's said they own many houses and properties and a lot of household goods, worth 16,000 florins altogether, so in this case they'll lose their reputation (*riputazione*) rather than anything else. And since then you'll have heard about Giovanfrancesco; he has made our house bloom again [*his behavior*

[212] Some of the bankruptcies that happened during this period were results of heavy taxation enacted by the Medici regime; they were not always the sole fault of the families involved. Nonetheless, going bankrupt or losing a great portion of one's fortune still brought shame regardless of the reasons.

> *disgraced the family*]. He has a great many debts here. . .I'm sure his niece [Marietta Strozzi] will be greatly damaged (*n'ará danno assai*) by this.[213]

In a later letter from May 1469 that discussed the marriage prospects for Lorenzo, he had thought of actually marrying Marietta because he had made the mistake of delaying marriage so long that there were few prospects from which to choose. In that same letter from May of 1469, Alessandra reminded him that Marietta came from a disgraced part of their family, and was therefore not a good match for her son.

In addition to the above letter, Alessandra continues her lecture concerning Lorenzo's behavior; as mentioned above, she found out that he was taking money from their business to pay for women and gambling. Even though in Florentine society it was acceptable for men of Lorenzo's age to "sow his oats" before committing to marriage, Lorenzo's taking of money from the family business could have dire consequences including damaging the business as well as the Strozzi name.[214] Alessandra's letters to them concerning their business conduct demonstrate her valid attempts to control the family business; she sees that they (especially Lorenzo) are destroying the family name in addition to harming the business. Since Alessandra did not have the legal authority of a father, she used letter writing as a means to exert authority over her sons. Expressing to them that they are dishonoring the family gets at the heart of social expectations during the *quattrocento*.

What is also especially interesting about these particular correspondences is that Alessandra continues the use "with love and tears" (*con amore e con lagrime*) in the reprimands demonstrating the use of guilt in hopes of achieving her goals; this theme can

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[213] Pg. 123-125.

[214] Dr. Janna Bianchini, personal conversation, November 16, 2011. In lieu of his liaisons with several women, Lorenzo eventually had two illegitimate children before marrying Antonia Baroncelli in June 1470.

be found throughout her correspondences, especially when she asks her sons to take care of their bodies and souls instead of putting so much of their lives into the business (see above letter from page 66). Of course, we see again the concept of shame concerning his behavior. The letter below reveals these recurring themes.

> I hear that you do not behave as I would want (*Io intend che tu non fai e portamenti che io vorrei*). It fills me with sorrow (*dispiacere*)[215] and a great fear (*gran pauro*) that you will come to ruin (*rovina*). . .He who does not do as he ought will receive what he does not expect. Of all my troubles (*affanni*), your failings affect me the most. . .I don't know why you follow your desires (*volontá*), first and foremost because it displeases (*dispiacere*) God, and then because it upsets me greatly, and the harm (*danno*) and shame (*vergogna*) that will come from it I leave you to consider. . .Don't throw away my criticisms, which are made with love (*amore*) and tears (*lagrime*).[216]

Again, Alessandra refers to Lorenzo's behavior as troubling her "the most" and that he essentially puts "shame" on the family with his terrible behavior. Another interesting note in this correspondence is the reference that his conduct "upsets [her] greatly", another aspect of the guilt Alessandra is trying to use on her sons to get them to behave betters. Eventually, Lorenzo corrects his behavior and we do not see Alessandra referring to any bad conduct on his or Filippo's part in later letters.

So what exactly can the letters of Alessandra Strozzi tell us about women's power and authority and emotions in fifteenth-century Italian society? First, the letters clearly demonstrate that she is trying to control her sons and exert power over their lives and business so that they will not dishonor the Strozzi name; she relied on them to rebuild

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[215] *Dispiacere* usually translates as "being upset" or "making someone unhappy" but "sorrow" can also be used for this word.

[216] Crabb, "How to Influence," 24; Cesare Guasti, *Lettere di una gentildonna fiorentine del secolo XV ai figliuoli esuli* (Firenze: G.C. Sansoni, 1877), http://books.google.com/books?id=s8HQAAAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false (accessed June 21, 2011), 128-130.

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their family's fortune, and because they were the only two surviving sons, it fell on their shoulders to make this happen. Because women had very little legal authority, it was essential to find other ways to assert power; as Erler and Kowaleski suggest, we have to redefine what power is and how it is expressed. Since women were barred from the institutions of authority (i.e. the Church, government, etc.), we have to look for other sources in which women were able to exercise informal power, thus letter writing became a serious form of influence. For women, power could be expressed through correspondence as they held little public authority. Advising sons (and husbands) was a way to try and take control over not only their children's lives, but also their own. Essentially, Alessandra "performed" a mother's role throughout the letters;

Second, Alessandra's letters clearly demonstrate a variety of emotions including love, grief, disappointment, shame, and guilt. It is quite evident that she obviously loved her children, as she longed to see them during their absences from Florence; in addition, we can really see how the death of Matteo nearly destroyed her. While love is important to understanding her relationship with her children, shame and guilt play quite a large role as was demonstrated above. These two emotions are extremely central to understanding the social world of Italy and what exactly was expected of sons during the *quattrocento*. Shaming and making her sons feel guilty in a variety of ways, was a means for a mother to exert her power, but it also demonstrates what was important in society. These emotions, therefore, can be understood to be socially constructed; because honor and the respect of parents was very much incorporated into society, shame and guilt were tools that a mother could utilize to gain power in *quattrocento* Florence. Alessandra made her sons feel guilty about Matteo's departure from the family home, as well as

concerning their own health and behavior. She also utilized shame in regards to their behavior that could harm their family's name. Contemporary writers consistently discuss the significance of honor and maintaining it as the key to success in fifteenth-century Italy. Without family honor, both "past and present", one would be disgraced in the *quattrocento*.

While these letters demonstrate the expression of power in general, did her stern advice and expression of emotions actually have any effect on her sons' behavior? Yes, it does seem that her letters were taken to heart by her Filippo and Lorezno; eventually, her sons actually listened to her advice and they corrected their ways. Ann Crabb notes that Filippo was quick on correcting his behavior because "he felt responsible for the futures of his brothers and sisters," while it took some time for the younger brother to mend his "bad habits."[217] After Alessandra's death, it would be Filippo's son, Giambattista (Filippo the Younger) who would finally restore the Strozzi family name in Florence.[218] In addition to this, the tactic of using guilt also worked quite well for Alessandra as she was successful in keeping her youngest son Matteo home for almost another year. When he was supposed to leave to join his brothers to obtain skills necessary to succeed in Florentine merchant society, Alessandra relinquished because she knew he needed to be educated. Furthermore, her pleas to Filippo and Lorenzo to look after their health following Matteo's death seem to have been followed; she begged them to slow down, putting business aside for awhile, and both seem to have listened to their mother's advice.

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[217] Crabb, *Strozzi*, 124. Filippo probably was more quick to mend his ways then his younger brother because he was the "eldest son in a fatherless household;" thus, he understood the serious obligations to his family.

[218] Giambattista was known for continuing the construction of Palazzo Strozzi and strengthening the relationship between the Strozzi and Medici families.

In the next chapter, we will see the flipside of the maternal relationship in the letters of clients to their patron, Lucrezia Tornabuoni de'Medici. Here we will see how Italians (most being from the Tuscan region) "performed" the emotional roles of children (symbolically) when appealing to Lucrezia; their choice of salutations and language appealed to Lucrezia's motherly role, which for patrician women was a role of power. Their invocations not only reveal how emotions can be performed in the epistolary genre, but the letters to her clearly demonstrate the power she held as a woman during the *quattrocento*.

Chapter 4-"The Power of (Motherly) Love"-Patronage and the Performance of Emotions in Clients' Letters to Lucrezia Tornabuoni de' Medici.

> I have no other security or other means except your magnificence, and as I turn to you as a mother and lady, I pray that you will help me and advise me of your own volition which will make me singularly happy.[219]
> (Io non ho altro refugio nè altro subsidio che la Magnificentia Vostra et ad voi ricorro come a madre e signora, si che vi prego m'aiutiate et avisatemi di vostra voluntà che mi farete piacere singular.)

The above quote is a section from a letter written by a man to Lucrezia Tornabuoni de'Medici in 1474 requesting money in order to run his workshop; this particular letter, among many others was a common way for clients to address women when they were in need of a benefactor. What men and women asked for ranged from needing monetary support to asking to be moved from their present post (sometimes due to plague in the cities), but whatever the needs of the client, medieval women could use patronage to exert a good amount of power outside of their home. The patronage of medieval women can be traced as far back to the investments demonstrated by Empress Theodora (500-548) during the early periods of the Byzantine Empire; in addition to her role as benefactor, other prominent medieval women who took on this important function included Jeanne of Burgundy (1293-1348), Eleanor of Aquitaine (1122-1204), Blanche of Castile (1188-1252), Viscountess Ermengarde de Narbonne (1127-1197), Matilda of Scotland (1080-1118), and Isabel of Portugal (1397-1471) just to name a few of the many

[219] Andrea di Francesco to Lucrezia Tornabuoni de'Medici, 24, January 1474, *Lucrezia Tornabuoni: Lettere*, a cura di, Patrizia Salvadori (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1993), 129. The following translations on the letters to Lucrezia are mine with the assistance of Lejnar Mitrojorgji. Any mistakes that are found, however, are mine alone.

women active in patronage.[220] Because of the limited positions of power women could hold during the Middle Ages (especially ones relegated to the public sphere), "patronage was an area that provided rich opportunities for women to make their voices heard" and it was "one of the few domains in which a public role for women was sanctioned."[221]

As for Lucrezia, even though she did not have the familial status as the above-mentioned women (since most of them belonged to ruling houses), she still was able to establish herself as one of the more powerful and prominent female benefactors of late medieval/Renaissance Italy. In comparison to other women belonging to the Medici clan, Lucrezia received more requests than any other female in fifteenth-century Italy. Those who wrote to her came from either Florence or the surrounding areas, asking her for help on a variety of topics.[222] Her actions in the many arenas of life were remembered long after her death (especially in the biographies of her son and grandson)[223], demonstrating the power and influence she held as a Medici.

This particular chapter will focus on how men and women wrote to Lucrezia and the power structure this demonstrates, what language they used, and how they basically performed emotions in letters of patronage.[224] My argument is that both men and women wrote to Lucrezia in similar ways, 1) by evoking familial emotions, hence influencing

[220] McCash, vii-viii. For more on patronage in late medieval/Renaissance Italy see Mary Hollingsworth, *Patronage in Renaissance Italy: From 1400 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994).
[221] McCash, "Cultural Patronage," 1.
[222] Tomas, 53. Despite the richness of the letters I am analyzing, there are significantly more that can further prove my argument; Natalie Tomas' work on the Medici women contains several more letters that demonstrate the mother/child bond and could be used to supplement my scholarship. The current scholarship that I am relying on for the letters is an edited work in the original Italian organized by Patrizia Salvadori, but this work does not contain all of the letters to Lucrezia. The remaining letters can be found in the Mediceo Avanti il Principato section of the Archivio di Stato di Firenze.
[223] Tomas, 65.
[224] I will be utilizing Paul McLean's work *Art of the Network* for help in deciphering the structure and form of patronage letters. Pages 51-58 of his book are related specifically to "the structure and technique of letter writing" in Italy during the fifteenth century.

Lucrezia, by referring to her as their mother (even though this is a symbolic relationship), and 2) on a lesser note, by using language somewhat similar to Renaissance poetry. Second, I will make the case that these letters demonstrate the power she held as woman belonging to the Medici clan; because, so many individuals asked not only for her to intercede on their behalf, but also solicited her for charity, help, and advice. In a world dominated and run by men, these few women could exert their power by giving patronage.

Lastly, emotional expressions can also be performed through what is called an "emotional script" that can be found in letter writing. I argue that the emotional manipulation in patronage letters to Lucrezia works like a script or performance and is one that has been ritualized throughout the *quattrocento*. The reason why I argue this is because Lucrezia was not the only one of the Medici women to receive letters written in a similar manner. Both her mother-in-law, Contessina Bardi, and daughter-in-law, Clarice Orsini were the recipients of patronage letters that evoked comparable emotional connections; therefore, we can see that this is not only social constructed, but that it is script used by clients to patrons throughout fifteenth-century Italy.[225] Most of the research done on emotional performance has examined literary sources, but I believe other genres can be analyzed for emotional performance as well. In terms of understanding the social norms of the *quattrocento*, these letters can tell us what the appropriate means for addressing a benefactress were, and also how both male and female clients could employ motherly emotions in order to achieve a variety of goals.

[225] The reason why these particular letters are not in this work is due to the fact that they are not readily available. Parts of the letters can be found in Tomas' work, and this is how I am aware of these client letters and the similarities they demonstrate. However, the letters in their entirety can only be found in the Mediceo Avanti il Principato in Florence.

The language of patronage letters usually invoked "perceptions of love," and the love in the case of the letters written to Lucrezia was motherly in essence.[226] As will be analyzed below, men and women often referred to her as their mother. Even male clients who wrote to their male benefactors used various emotional expressions, and in a letter to Lorenzo de'Medici, Luigi Pulci wrote, "And through my indebtedness I love you greatly and am with you hardly at all. The more I long for you the more I am separated from you. But heaven does not have enough force so that I am not with you in one way or another: I see you always, I speak with you constantly. . .Finally I say in closing, Lorenzo, that if only I feel that you love me I am more than happy."[227] Lauro Martines, in his work *Strong Words*, analyzes the patronage letters (like the previous quote) from men to men and argues that the language men used in their correspondence resembled that of Renaissance poetry because clients' letters used similar expressions to writers of the period.

And Martines is not the only scholar who has made the case for the similarities between poetry and patronage. Jane Stevenson also argues that often the "humanist discourse [and the] language of patronage and the language of love poetry overlapped substantially."[228] Clients "gave love, praise, [and] devotion" in various ways, and in poetry,

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[226] Lauro Martines, *Strong Words: Writing and Social Strain in the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 14.
[227] Constance Jordan, *Pulci's* Morgante*: Poetry and History in Fifteenth-Century Florence* (Cranbury: Associated University Presses, 1986), 28-29.
[228] Jane Stevenson, *Women Latin Poets: Language Gender and Authority, from Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 145. Because of the similarities to the love poetry, language, and patronage, women were, hence, "debarred from seeking patronage unless they were prepared to be understood as making a pass." But this use of language between a male client and female benefactor seems to be socially acceptable.

> the poet-lover offer[ed] love, praise, and himself to his lady; in return he may ask for tolerance alone, for the right to see her, or even love and favor. . .to express his love and admiration, and to profess his absolute fidelity, he enlists and highlights terms garnered from feudal ties (*lord* and *servitor* or *vassal*), the hierarchy of heavenly bodies (*stars* and *sun* chiefly), government (*ruler and ruled*), and domestic or economic (*master* and *servant*).[229]

This type of language could be found in the works of poets including Angelo Poliziano, Pietro Bembo, and Luigi Pulci (just to name a few from the period under examination); and, in comparison to how these men and women wrote to Lucrezia, poets also used similar language.[230] Her clients often referred to themselves as her servant (*servulino*) or slave (*schiavo*) and expressed their love (*amore*), obedience/devotion (*obediente*/*divoto*), and fidelity (*fidele*) when asking for her help.

I clearly agree with Martines' and Stevensons' observations, and I believe that the letters to Lucrezia from her clients are similar in structure and language (and these similarities will be analyzed more later on in the chapter). However, in the entire section on patronage letters by Martines, not once is there a single mention of clients writing to women as their benefactors. As will be clearly shown below, patrician Italian men, especially those of the Medici family, sponsored many individuals in patronage during the *quattrocento*, but so did most of their wives and daughters. Their letters are just as important to understanding patronage and language in fifteenth-century Italy.

Women could use patronage to exert power in the public sphere, and it was an area in which women could feel comfortable as it was already culturally sanctioned; as

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[229] Ibid, 14-15.

[230] For more on Renaissance poetry see Angelo Polizian, *Rime*, testo e note a cura di Natalie Sapegno (Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1965); Pietro Bembo, *Lyric Poetry*, ed. and trans. Mary P. Chatfield (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005); Luigi Pulci, *Morgante e Lettere*, second edizione riveduta, a cura di Domenico de Robertis (Firenze: RCS Sansoni, 1984).

previously mentioned in the pages above, women throughout the Middle Ages were known to be great benefactors of all types of patronage. As Natalie Tomas argues in her work on the Medici women, "those wishing to ingratiate themselves with the Medici regime saw the Medici women as influential and powerful patrons whose favour [sic] and support were worth cultivating."[231] So why exactly did women not figure into Martines' work on patronage when much exists regarding their roles in the so called "verbal web of patronage"?[232] Therefore, my work will help to fill some of the gaps in the scholarship on women and patronage in regards to language and emotions.

In addition, by examining these letters, we can gain an understanding of the power Lucrezia held, not only as a wealthy widow, but as a mother as well; specifically in these cases, Lucrezia is a "symbolic" mother (or what Natalie Tomas and Paul McLean refer to as "fictive kinship"[233]), in which these men are asking for her help "as a mother" in a variety of forms, including but not limited to counsel/advice, monetary need, or help in escaping the ravaging plague. In Natalie Tomas' work on the Medici women and patronage, she argues that the language of patronage can be seen as gendered. Tomas claims that the language clients use to address Lucrezia are understood to be "Marian terminology;" hence, the letters were

> designed to elicit mercy and compassion and mirrored the qualities of charity, humanity, peacemaking and refuge often ascribed to the Virgin Mary. . .[some of the letters] highlight the contemporary representations of her in Marian terms, effectively acting as a mediator between heaven and earth. . .Using Marian terminology, she was appealed to as a mother and as a refuge in times of trouble.[234]

[231] Tomas, 32.
[232] Title from chapter two of Martines' work, *Strong Words*, 13-36.
[233] Tomas, 46; McLean, 51.
[234] Tomas, 50.

I believe that Tomas' observations are definitely legitimate, but only represent one way of analyzing the client letters to Lucrezia. I will also be looking at the letters in motherly terms, but I will be examining how men and women invoked the emotional relationship/bonds that a mother held for her children. In regards to Tomas' argument that the language of patronage is gendered, I also do agree with this, but I think that there are similarities concerning the expressions to both male and female patrons. The letters to Lucrezia are parallel in language to those written to male patrons in that they use similar expressions; these include terminology like "your servant/slave," and "I will be obedient/faithful."[235] In comparison to the letters of her son Lorenzo de'Medici, I also found instances where he invoked the concepts of "servant" when writing to men of high social standing (i.e. the Duke of Milan). Letters to both male and female patrons also used the expressions "honored" and "honorable" as a greeting which Paul McLean argues are ubiquitous elements of salutations in Renaissance correspondence" despite whether the recipient is a man or woman.[236] These expressions can be found in letters to male patrons as well, so there are some similarities as far as structure and language are concerned. Furthermore, her work is more devoted to analyzing the letters solely "as a source of power" for women, and not examining through a lens of emotional standards, script theory, and performativity.[237]

In order to fully explore the letters written to Lucrezia Tornabuoni de'Medici, we must become acquainted with her as an individual. Lucrezia was born in Florence on

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[235] See the letters later in this chapter. For more on Lorenzo's letters see Lorenzo de'Medici, *Lettere*, vols. 1-2, a cura di Riccardo Fubini (Firenze: Giunti-Barbèra, 1977).
[236] McLean, 60.
[237] Ibid, 44-53. I am not trying to undermine Tomas' work, as *The Medici Women* is an excellent piece of scholarship that shows how influential and powerful the Medici women were and how family dynamics worked under the ruling family of Florence. However, I feel that I can add more to her argument on patronage in regards to study of emotions.

June 22, 1427 to the wealthy Tornabuoni family; her father, Francesco di Simone Tornabuoni was able to trace his lineage back almost 1000 years and claimed that their descendants came from the powerful landowning family, the Tornaquinci.[238] According to the family's tax records, Messer Simone was extremely wealthy; in the records dating from the 1427 *catasto* (tax records) the Tornabuoni family's net worth was 46,320 florins. Messer Simone was also an influential man and was chosen to be an ambassador to Pope Martin V in 1426; in addition, he had close ties with the famous humanist Leonardo Bruni of Arezzo. Because of the Tornabuoni's wealth, Lucrezia was probably provided with a substantial education, especially for a woman during the fifteenth century. Evidence suggests that she may have known Latin and Greek as she wrote parts of her letters in Latin[239] and owned several books written in Greek[240]; women typically did not receive the educational training to learn languages like Greek or Latin which would have been taught to their male counterparts, but it seems that Lucrezia was possibly an exception.

Lucrezia Tornabuoni, despite her family's wealth and prestige did not enter the realm of famous Italians until her marriage. In 1443, at the age of 16, she married Piero, the son of the powerful Cosimo de' Medici (1389-1464) in 1443.[241] Lucrezia gave birth to at least four children, Bianca (1445), Lucrezia (1447)[242], Lorenzo (1449), and Giuliano (1453), but family records kept by her son Lorenzo state that Lucrezia actually gave birth

[238]The large Tornaquinci family would split into several branches towards the end of the fourteenth century, thus the name Tornabuoni.

[239] In some of her letters, she opens them with "*salvus sis, mi suavissime filii*" and "*Karissime filii salute*", Lucrezia to Lorenzo 8 June, 1477 and 18 June 1477, in *The Lives of the Early Medici As Told In Their Correspondence*, trans. Janet Ross (London: Chatto and Windus, 1910), 182-183.

[240] Maria Grazia Pernis and Laurie Schneider Adams, *Lucrezia Tornabuoni de'Medici and the Medici Family in the Fifteenth Century* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2006), 5.

[241] Cosimo was the one responsible for the exile of the Strozzi family from Florence in the 1430s. For the lineage of the Medici family, see Appendix C below.

[242] She actually went by Nannina instead.

to seven children in all.[243] Lucrezia did often leave Florence to go to *Bagno a Morba* bath as she most likely suffered from eczema as well as arthritis.[244] Many of her offspring and descendants would eventually fulfill impressive roles as popes, queens, and grand dukes; two of her grandsons became popes, Leo X (1513-1521) and Clement VII (1523-1534).

Lucrezia's life in comparison to Alessandra Strozzi, who belonged to a rival political family[245], was similar in many ways, but Lucrezia's life was not complicated by family exile. Even though both women were similar in a variety of ways, Lucrezia's husband Piero lived much longer than Alessandra's husband Matteo; because Piero was often plagued with gout and did not usually leave the house, Lucrezia fulfilled the role of hostess-wife, welcoming exceptionally powerful leaders into their home. She received the ruling family of Milan, the Sforzas, as well as Eleonora of Aragon and individuals belonging to the d'Este court of Mantua.[246] Piero also "entrusted to his wife several delicate diplomatic missions, including a trip to Rome in 1467 to inform the pope of Venice's designs against Florence."[247] Lucrezia's father-in-law, Cosimo, often referred to her as "the only man in the family" because of her "intellectual and political

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[243] Pernis and Adams, *Lucrezia Tornabuoni de'Medici*, xiii.

[244] Ibid, 103.

[245] Even though they belonged to rival political families, Lucrezia did invite one of Alessandra Strozzi's daughter-in-laws, Fiammetta (Adimari), Lorenzo's wife to the wedding of her son Lorenzo and Clarice Orsini in 1469. Filippo also sent Lucrezia a large amount of flax. Alessandra wrote to Filippo that Lucrezia "sent you a fine letter of love of the flax you sent her," Alessandra to Filippo, 20 April, 1465, *Selected Letters*, 143. The gift of the flax, a very fine linen, was almost a peace offering to the Medicis, as the Strozzi hoped to end their exile from Florence with the death of Cosimo in 1464.

[246] Tylus, 34.

[247] Jane Tylus, "Introduction: Gender and Religion in Fifteenth-Century Florence" in *Lucrezia Tornabuoni de'Medici: Sacred Narratives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 30. Alessandra Strozzi wrote about political matters in her letters to Filippo and Lorenzo, but "the political references in her letters were generally limited to facts in the public domain (such as the names of those elected to political offices or comments about current political developments) and references to her sons' own political position, which were deliberately cryptic." Often, if the letters pertained information that was sensitive, the letters would be destroyed, Gregory, *Selected Letters*, 19.

talents."[248] Another advantage Lucrezia held over Alessandra was the fact that she belonged to the "ruling" family of Florence, so she was not plagued with some of the financial burdens and political problems that characterized the Strozzi life for part of the fifteenth century.

What is unfortunate, though, is that the letters of Lucrezia to her husband and as well as her son Lorenzo are not nearly as long and full of intricate details like Alessandra's letters. This is most likely due to the fact that Lucrezia had direct access to her family, whereas Alessandra's sons were rarely in the city of Florence due to the exile of the Strozzi family which began in 1434; Alessandra was forced to write long letters to her sons in order to convey the going-ons of Florence. Another reason why Lucrezia's letters may have been shorter was that she did not use a system of codes in her writing, while Alessandra did; "spies were an ever-present danger because they were paid to attack messengers and seize important letters", and therefore, "writing in code was a frequently used device for concealing the content of a letter."[249] Alessandra was basically forced to write Filippo and Lorenzo long letters, often in code, because she could not regularly see them; Lucrezia, however, did not have to do this and preferred to relay information in general by word of mouth because it was much safer.

Unlike Piero's brother Giovanni who was in control of the finances and Medici banks, Piero was responsible for the social aspects of Florentine society as well as

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[248] Rinaldina Russell, "Lucrezia Tornabuoni (1425-1482)," in *Italian Women Writers: A Bio-Bibliographical Sourcebook*, ed. Rinaldina Russell (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1994), 432.

[249] Pernis and Adams, *Lucrezia Tornabuoni de'Medici*, 100. Alessandra, like many others, used numbers to refer to certain people; sometimes these would be deciphered and new codes would have to be used. For more on this see *Selected Letters of Alessandra Machingi Strozzi*, ed. and trans. Heather Gregory (Berkley: University of California Press, 1997).

continuing patronage of the arts his father Cosimo had previously encouraged.[250] Lucrezia also became heavily involved in various forms of patronage, and *volgare*[251] poet Luigi Pulci is known to be one of her more famous clients; his work *Morgante*, (among others) was actually funded by the Medici family until he was dismissed by her son Lorenzo. Lucrezia even helped to end the exile of the Strozzi family by pushing Piero to change their status in the 1460s.[252] Her patronage began before the death of Piero, obviously continuing until she died in 1482, and Lucrezia continued giving money to different parishes among her other activities.

After Piero's death in 1469, Lucrezia became even more powerful as a widow. She chose to live in Lorenzo's home and basically became the woman of the house; Lorenzo's wife Clarice was relegated to mainly just raising the children and spending her time in the countryside.[253] Lucrezia continued to advise her sons, buy, sell, and manage property, contribute money to the arts as well as charitable institutions. Lorenzo wrote of his mother after her death in 1482, that Lucrezia was "an irreplaceable refuge from my many troubles. . .[and] had been 'an instrument who relieved me of many chores.'"[254] One of her major projects was restoring the *Bagno a Morba* baths near Volterra located about 50 miles southwest of Florence; Lucrezia took on this project in 1477 and worked

[250] Their son Lorenzo was known for writing many of his own poems which still survive. For more on this topic see *Lorenzo de'Medici: Selected Writings*, ed. Corinna Salvadori (Dublin: Belfield Italian Library, 1992).
[251] The term *volgare* literally means "vulgar" but in the context of discussing poetry it means "common" or the vernacular language.
[252] Filippo wrote several times to Lucrezia asking for her help in the matter, and he also sent her a gift of very fine cloth.
[253] This is not to argue that Clarice's role as a wife and mother during the *quattrocento* should be minimized, as she was very active during her lifetime as a woman of patronage; but, in the early years of her marriage to Lorenzo, she was not as involved in that particular aspect.
[254] Kent, "Sainted Mother," 3.

directly with engineers to rejuvenate the spa's beauty.[255] As previously mentioned, *Bagno a Morba* was the spa she and many other Medici family members often went for a variety of ailments. Lucrezia signed her own contracts regarding the spa and oversaw most of the projects construction through the exchange of letters; she would continue to personally oversee the spa until her death in 1482.

As far as the letters are concerned, Lucrezia received a variety of correspondences from an assortment of establishments including "religious institutions, officials of civic organizations, public administrators in various Tuscan communes, business associates, and a large number of petitioners", even prisoners.[256] Many of these letters were seeking monetary contributions for a variety of affairs which included donating money to artisans and churches, even to help with a young girl's dowry of a poor man.[257] Some, of course, were not asking her for material patronage, rather they wanted her to help them return from exile or simply to be relocated from Florence during times that the plague resurfaced in the city; even though Lucrezia held no public position, her ideas and opinions were well-respected among men, and when she suggested something to legitimate authorities, they listened.[258] No matter what a person's financial or social background, Lucrezia personally responded to their inquiries and specific needs.

As mentioned above, Lucrezia was sent on delegations by her husband, but after Piero's death, she found herself venturing out more into the "public" sphere to do her

[255] Pernis and Adams, *Lucrezia Tornabuoni de'Medici*, 104.
[256] Pernis and Adams, *Lucrezia Tornabuoni de'Medici*, 98-99.
[257] In a letter from Antonio Vettori, he writes on behalf of Bartholomeo d'Antion de Riccio dalle Tavarnelle concerning this man's daughter, Vaggia. The man is widowed and was at one time rich; however, he doesn't seem to be anymore and does not have the money to spend on his daughter (possibly for a dowry, although what the money is for is not explicitly stated); he is asking Lucrezia to help the family. Antonio Vettori to Lucrezia Tornabuoni de'Medici, 4 September, 1474, *Lucrezia Tornabuoni: Lettere*, a cura di, Patrizia Salvadori (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1993), 132.
[258] Tomas, 55.

charitable work. Her actions, of course, did not go unnoticed by men in her social circle; she was often criticized by some men who viewed her actions as being outside the normal behavior of honorable women.[259] Humanist writer Alberti wrote about the hazards that a woman in public would disrespect a man's space and that a man did not belong in the home mixing with women.[260] But nonetheless, she continued in her role in charitable work, often going out into the public sphere, and as the political adviser to her son Lorenzo. When she died in 1482, not only did men and women lament her death, but they also remembered her skills in the political arena; Italian writers wrote to Lorenzo that he should watch his back since he did not have Lucrezia to look out for his interests.[261]

The letters written to Lucrezia demonstrate the power she held during the *quattrocento* as both men and women wrote asking for advice, charity, helping with matters of young girls' dowries, essentially for Lucrezia to be their patron, one of the most important aspects of fifteenth-century Italian society. In general, men typically took on the role as benefactor, and as already mentioned, Lucrezia's husband Piero was highly involved as a patron since his brother was in charge of their banking empire. As his wealthy wife and widow, Lucrezia was able to carve out for herself a substantial amount of power in which she could accomplish a variety of tasks; she was "hardly the 'somewhat scatter-brained housekeeper'" nor was she just "'a devoted wife and most tender mother.'"[262] Even when her son Lorenzo (known as the Magnificent) took over his father's role as the leader of Florence (a position also referred to as the "first citizen"),

[259] Tylus, 36-37.
[260] Alberti, 207.
[261] Tomas, 65-66.
[262] Kent, "Sainted Mother," 4.

Lucrezia still continued to hold a substantial presence in helping her son; he was only twenty when Piero died and subsumed his position at a very young age.[263] Some of the early letters addressed to Lucrezia a few years after Piero's death were written to her, acknowledging that Lorenzo was busy in his role as de facto ruler of Florence; Lamberto da Carmignano, writing on April 25, 1473, mentions that he would have wrote to Lorenzo but that he wants Lucrezia to help him (and that he would be her servant for giving him help).[264] It is apparent that Lucrezia remained important throughout Lorenzo's rule.

Before delving into the individual letters, a few words must be said in regards to the clients writing to Lucrezia. For the most part, each individual wrote their name, where they were living, and their title if they had one; but, as far as who knowing exactly who some of these individuals are has proved to be quite difficult.[265] Having access to other records in Italy may lead to a better understanding of those who wrote to Lucrezia, but for the present work, I do not believe it hampers the analysis. We can still analyze the letters and the emotions expressed within them without knowing all the details of the clients themselves.

One of the most interesting aspects of the letters written to her is how men and women actually address Lucrezia and what type of emotional language they use. Several of the correspondences open with salutations that are emotional in nature, written in a

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[263] Most men did not achieve their fortunes, status, or positions of high power until much later in their lives (hence, why the age at time of marriage for most men was close to thirty; some men did not even marry until their early forties).

[264] Lamberto da Carmignano to Lucrezia Tornabuoni de'Medici, 25, April, 1473, *Lucrezia Tornabuoni: Lettere*, 114-115. "Benchè del bisognio mio n'abbia scripto al Magnifico Lorenzo. . .chognoscendo egli essere occupato."

[265] A few of those who wrote to Lucrezia are quite obvious as they are much easier to pick out. These include of course their own family members (natal, as well as children and grandchildren and in-laws), poet/writer Luigi Pulci, some of their family friends and associates like Niccolò Michelozzi, and more.

way that demonstrate the loving bonds between a mother and son/daughter even if those men and women are not related to Lucrezia in any way. Many of her clients who write to her begin their letters with "honored as a mother" or "my honorable mother" and use the words "love" and "happiness" when conversing with her. At first glance, we may see the ways these letters are addressed as somewhat odd, especially since Lucrezia was not really their mother. The way in which these individuals address Lucrezia is based on social standards of the period and the role patrician mothers played in fifteenth-century Florence. Natalie Tomas writes, "the language of patronage and clientage was also gendered. . .Lucrezia and other women in the Medici family were usually referred to figuratively as mothers or sisters, employing what can be described as fictive kinship. . .in the case of the Medici women, it was their 'natural' ability as mothers that was used to elicit favour [sic]."[266] Addressing her in a way that invokes the bond between mother and son/daughter is appropriate because a mother's advice and input were typically valued even in a society dominated by men. As already discussed, despite the fact that women did not hold any real legal authority (like father's did) over her own children, patrician mothers often continued to advise their sons well into adulthood.

Furthermore, clients addressed Lucrezia as a mother because they hoped she would "feel" a sort of sympathy towards them and provide them with what they needed. In a sense, these clients were emotionally manipulating her into providing them with support. Essentially, how could a "mother" not help her "children"? Chapter three on the Strozzi relationships we can see the other side to this manipulation from mother to son; Alessandra used certain emotions that were of course based on social standards of fifteenth-century Italy, but also on the fact that she can use emotional expressions to get

[266] Tomas, 46.

her son to behave. For this chapter, we are looking at the opposite relationship as this section focuses on how the clients tried to emotionally influence her through correspondence.

Moreover, not just men but also the letters written by female clients also seem to evoke a motherly connection with Lucrezia. As will be analyzed below, one of her clients, Caterina di Niccolaoi, wrote to Lucrezia asking for much needed help in clothing herself; I believe that Caterina, and other women, wrote in this particular manner in hopes that Lucrezia would feel it was her "motherly" duty to help them like she would help her own children. In addition to this, since Caterina had children who she seemed to have trouble supporting, Caterina appealed to Lucrezia who was also a mother. How could Lucrezia ignore the pleading of a poor widowed mother who had almost no clothes, with four children to feed (two of whom were sick)? Therefore, Lucrezia's clients are appealing to her as though they were her actual children and could possibly extract a response from her. From a perspective of power, the connection that was discussed in chapter three between Alessandra and her sons can actually work in the opposite direction, where maternal emotion can be examined from the position of Lucrezia's clients, or "symbolic" children.

In addition to the topic of language, we also need to examine some of the theoretical frameworks that can help historians understand why letters are written in this manner. Even though the sources under analysis are a part of the epistolary genre (thus, not literary texts), can we examine them based on the idea that people can "perform" emotions through correspondence? Are these letters nothing more than a "script" by which their authors are performing emotions? This is not to argue that these emotions are

fake in nature, but that her clients understand that by using a particular type of language that they could receive assistance. These clients could be seen as attempting to "perform" the emotions that a mother and child would share with each other by addressing her in such a manner. From a social constructionist standpoint, it becomes obvious from client letters that mothers in fifteenth-century Italy were supposed to feel empathy towards their children; and, even though this is a case of fictive kinship, Lucrezia was still expected to want to help.

In her most recent work, Sarah McNamer has argued for the analysis of texts (mostly literary, not epistolary sources) by means of understanding emotional expressions by means of performance, or the *performative*[267]; the idea of "emotion scripts" which

> has come to stand for the loosely affiliated cultural prescripts that aid in establishing and maintaining what they have helpfully termed 'emotional regimes' or 'emotional communities'. . . the term 'script' has been used as a metaphor for general social forces, or as a synonym for discourse. . .this resonates. . .[with] recent empirical studies in psychology, anthropology, and linguistics [which] suggest that naming emotions, and acting them out, are primary ways in which they are brought into being, in culturally specific iterations.[268]

Psychologist Silvan S. Tomkins was the developer of script theory and he believed that humans are born with certain scripts already a part of their biology, and that through the processes of being "socialized [and] acculturated," humans learn new scripts.[269] Tomkins

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[267] For more on the *performative* in emotion studies see Jody Enders, "Emotion Memory and the Medieval Performance of Violence," in *Theatre Survey* 38, 1 (May 1997): 139-160.

[268] Sarah McNamer, "Feeling," *Middle English*, ed. Paul Strohm (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 246.

[269] Silvan S. Tomkins, "Script Theory," in *Exploring Affect: The Selected Writings of Silvan S. Tomkins*, ed. E. Virginia Demos (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 312-313. Much of this section on script theory from the edited work comes from two of Tomkins works joined together. These include "Script Theory: Differential Magnification of Affects," in *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation 1978*, vol. 26, ed. H.E. Howe and R.A. Dienstbier (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), 211-236; and "Script

work provides an outline of the scripts that he considers being "one of the earliest human scenes," (innate in his argument) that of the hungry child, who is in his mother's arms, and knows to turn and feed himself.[270] However, over time and based on our social settings, we learn how to "act" in certain ways based on what each social script calls for.[271] And, thus by "performing" this "emotion script" of patronage, these clients are essentially participating in a social script that characterizes fifteenth-century Florence; a performance in which "the repetition of scripted words" can be found throughout the letters of patronage, which include the continuous use of "fictive kinship" between mother and child.[272] The letters that follow will clearly demonstrate these ideas.

In a letter written to Lucrezia on January 24, 1474, Andrea Di Francesco addressed her as "honored as a mother."[273] The basis of his letter was his need of money for his *botegha*, or workshop (one that he was renting from her), and by the closing signature of the letter, it seems Andrea was most likely a barber-surgeon; he signs the letter "barbieri in Pisa," and the Italian word *barbieri* is plural for "barbers." Ostensibly, Andrea was probably a barber-surgeon; barber-surgeons typically served the lower classes and were usually below the status of a physician in fifteenth-century Italy.[274] He

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Theory," in *The Emergence of Personality*, ed J. Arnoff, A.I. Rabin, and R.A. Zucker (New York: Springer Publishing Co., 1987), 147-216.

[270] Ibid, 315. This is of course not the only innate script that for which Tomkins argues. He also believes that a child "innately" wants to learn to feed itself in the early toddler years, etc.

[271] Ibid, 341-342.

[272] McNamer, *Affective Meditation*, 13.

[273] Andrea di Francesco to Lucrezia Tornabuoni de'Medici, 24, January 1474, *Lucrezia Tornabuoni: Lettere*, 129-130.

[274] In the closing of the letter who wrote, "Vostro servidore Andrea di Francesco barbieri [barbers] in Pisa vi si racomanda" Lucrezia Tornabuoni, *Lettere*, 130. The only particular reference I have been able to find in regards to a barber in the *quattrocento* is that of a barber-surgeon. It is most likely that he belonged to a guild of baber-surgeons in Pisa. Carlo M. Cipolla, "A Plague Doctor," in *The Medieval City*, eds. Harry A. Miskimin, David Herlihy, and A.L. Udovitch (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 69. Because of his lower status as a barber, he probably did not always have the means to buy his own supplies or afford rent; if he was serving the lower classes, he probably was not always able to afford supplies.

writes, "I have no other security or other means except your magnificence, and as I turn to you as a mother and lady, I pray that you will help me and advise me of your own volition which will make me singularly happy."[275] ("Io non ho altro refugio nè altro subsidio che la Magnificentia Vostra et ad voi ricorro come a madre e signora, si che vi prego m'aiutiate et avisatemi di vostra voluntà che mi farete piacere singular.") In this particular part of the letter, we can see Andrea manipulating the mother/son connection; he refers to his own happiness, which if Lucrezia helps him, this would make him very happy.

What is particularly interesting about this letter is not only is he asking for Lucrezia's help in the form of a monetary need (possibly for either supplies or rent), but Andrea is also asking for her advisement; as already discussed above in previous chapters, women often advised their sons in a variety of matters, and sons were expected to respect their mother's counsel. Even though women did not have legal control over their sons (as this was only relegated to the father), sons were still supposed to heed their mother's guidance. In Chapter Three, we saw how Alessandra continued to give her sons Filippo and Lorezno advice well into the adulthood, and in patronage letters, adult male clients often asked for council. Therefore, this letter demonstrates some of the social concepts during the *quattrocento*.

From a woman's perspective on the same mother/child connection, females writing to Lucrezia also addressed her as "dearest mother" ("*karissima quanta madre*") when asking for help.[276] In her letter written on June 16, 1477, Caterina di Niccolaoi of

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[275] Andrea di Francesco to Lucrezia Tornabuoni de'Medici, 24, January 1474, *Lucrezia Tornabuoni: Lettere*, a cura di, Patrizia Salvadori (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1993), 129.

[276] Caterina di Niccolaio to Lucrezia Tornabuoni de'Medici, 16, June 1477, *Lucrezia Tornabuoni: Lettere*, a cura di, Patrizia Salvadori (Firence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1993), 147.

Volterra wrote to Lucrezia asking her (most likely) for money (she uses the words "at a disadvantage" which typically imply needing assistance in terms of money); Caterina also asked for cloth (*panno*), more specifically petticoats, because she had none at all (*non vi darei nulla*). It is unclear how long she had been without cloth (as she does not state this in the letter), but Caterina had basically been trying to make her own petticoats out of whatever fabric she could find (but now she had finally run out of options). By 1477, Caterina had four sons, two of whom were sick, her husband had died (it is unclear of how long he had been dead), and now it seemed that she did not have enough money to buy herself the proper clothing. Caterina tells Lucrezia that she would have visited her instead (Volterra is approximately 50 miles from Florence) but she could not due to the fact that two of her children were sick; if she would have gone to see Lucrezia, she writes, "I would have thrown myself on my knees in front of you."

This letter is extremely interesting because of the fact that Caterina is trying to make two emotional and familial connections. On the one hand, Caterina is appealing to Lucrezia as a mother and is in dire need of her assistance: in essence, "I'm your child who cannot even afford her own clothing, please help me." But, what is even more fascinating is Caterina's emotional manipulation based on her own status as a mother. Caterina has four children who have no father and two of them are extremely ill. Thus, the connection she is attempting to make here is one of equal footing as a mother; basically saying to Lucrezia that she should help Caterina because she know what it is like to be a mother as well. Lucrezia cannot ignore this plea because if she does, she would be ignoring fatherless, poor, and sick children too.

In addition to the evocation of the mother/child bond, clients also employed other emotions. A particular letter written to her, really conjured up the emotion of fear. One of her clients was using the emotion of fear of dying of the plague as a way to persuade Lucrezia into helping him in his present circumstances. Throughout much of the fifteenth century, the bubonic plague consistently re-emerged throughout Italy, especially in the major cities, where the disease could be absolutely destructive to city populations.[277] During the late 1470s, it seems that the plague had resurfaced in the city of Florence yet again. In a letter from Gerardo da Bobbio, a notary who is living in Florence in 1479, writes Lucrezia in June of that year asking her to allow him to leave the city and be reassigned to somewhere in the countryside, preferably his home (where he apparently has not been for almost thirteen years). He writes,

> Wonderful and generous lady, my benefactress. I ask of your magnificence and pray for humanity and your only son, Lorenzo the Magnificent, you intervene so that I am granted the permission/license to obtain a position that would allow me to depart (abstain) from Florence. [The reason for this] is that I fear this venomous plague more than an army on a warpath and I would much rather die in a campaign with weapon in hand than of the plague. The whole time I will be an obedient, devoted, and faithful servant, excellent and glorified until my death. I expect with devotion the desired response and once I have it, I will rush toward my home where I have not been since 1466.[278]

> (Magnifica et generosa madona mia benefactrice. Supplico la Vostra Magnificentia se degni per sua umanità pregare el Magnifico Lorezno, suo unico figliolo, me facci obtenere licentia ch'io possi mettere uno facci l'officio per me, ad cìo me possi alquanto absentare da Firenze, per respecto a questa peste tanto venenosa, della quale temo più che d'uno

[277] The plague, also known as the Black Death, killed almost 50-60% of the population in the major Italian cities during the initial outbreak in the 1340s. By the end of the fourteenth century, as much as 70-80% of the population in some of these areas had died. For more on the plague see David Herlihy, *The Black Death and the Transformation of the West*, ed. and with an introduction by Samuel K. Cohn Jr. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).
[278] Gerardo da Bobbio to Lucrezia Tornabuoni de'Medici, *Lucrezia Tornabuoni: Lettere*, 159.

> exercito d'arme, et in mente vorrei più presto morire suso la campagna, cum l'arme in mane, che de peste. Tuta volta sarò obediente, divoto, e fidele servulino delle excelse e glorioso Pale, a quale me so' dato per sin ch'io vivo. Aspecto cum divotione l'optato risposta, che havendola me aviarò verso casa mia, dove non so' stato dal sesentasei in qua.)

Even though his particular letter does not refer to her explicitly as a mother, I believe that part of the reason why Gerardo employs the emotion of fear is based on Lucrezia's own status as a mother and that he is trying to influence Lucrezia into helping him; Gerardo is trying to make her feel empathy towards him. But what he does mention, and something I believe he did purposefully, is that of the line pertaining to her "only son Lorenzo[279];" he possibly was still trying to evoke the mother/son relationship by mention Lorenzo, and by helping Gerardo, it would be like helping him as a son. If she refuses to help him, he could die, and she would have his death on her hands, a good way to emotional influence someone into assisting someone.

Another common reason why men wrote to Lucrezia was because of their political status in Florence. As we know from the previous chapter, men (and their male offspring when they came of age) who were politically against the Medici, were exiled from the city; but, exile could come in many other forms as well. In the case of Filippo da Valsavignone, he was exiled from Florence because he was implicated in a homicide.[280] From the context of the letters, he and Lucrezia had been in contact for a while, and the situation of his exile was in limbo; this particular letter from April of 1475 in a response to a letter she wrote to him (the date of this letter is uncertain). Filippo

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[279] Lucrezia did have two sons live to adulthood, but her youngest son Giugliano was assassinated in 1478 by Francesco de'Pazzi, which has become known as the Pazzi conspiracy.

[280] Vanna Arrighi, "Luigi Lotti." http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/luigi-lotti_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/. (accessed March 5, 2012). It is actually unclear who exactly he was accused of murdering, but he was removed from his post before the death of Lucrezia's husband Piero. In addition, it's unclear if he had written to her son Lorenzo for support in ending his exile before writing to her.

begins the letter with “my magnificent/wonderful woman, humane and loving” (“Magnifica madonna mia, le humane at amorevole”) and that the letters he received from her “resuscitated him back to life from death” (“me hanno quasi mezzo resuscitato da morte a vita”).[281] He continued to write that he hoped she was thinking of him and that he would be faithful to her (here we start to see the similarities with the language of Renaissance poetry); he would also be her servant and slave (“vostro fidele et voluntario servo (servant) et schiavo (slave).”[282] Furthermore, Filippo states he wants to get back into her good graces, and hopefully end is term in exile.[283] Here again, even though we do not see the explicit use of the word “mother”, the underlying meaning is there; she has been like a “loving” mother towards him.

In sum, the letters written to Lucrezia Tornabuoni de’Medici offer us a glimpse of the power she held as one of the most influential women of her time. Men and women wrote to her because they knew that she could help either change a person circumstance or she could pressure someone else to (i.e. Piero, Lorenzo, and other men closely linked to the Medici family). As already argued, Lucrezia (among a variety of women throughout the Middle Ages), used patronage to exert a great deal of power over, not only other people, but also her own life. Female patronage was a socially sanctioned concept during the Middle Ages and one in which wealthy wives and widows unquestionably took advantage of throughout the period. Of course, patronage can take various forms, and the letters written to Lucrezia indicate the diversity of what men and women needed in their lives; patronage did not always deal with the giving of financial aid, but could

[281] Filippo da Valsavignone to Lucrezia Tornabuoni de’Medici, 18 April, 1475, *Lettere*, 138.
[282] Ibid, 138.
[283] Ibid, 139.

also come in the form of influence and general help (like in the cases of ending someone's exile or helping them change administrative posts).

Furthermore, we can see how clients used the mother/child connection to persuade her into helping them. As a social standard of fifteenth-century Italy, women were expected to provide support in a variety of forms to their children, no matter the age. Alessandra Strozzi continued to give her sons advice and counsel to make sure they had the guidance to succeed in the competitive world of the *quattrocento*. She used certain emotions to connect with them (shame and guilt) to get her sons to do what she wanted, and in this chapter, we see how this emotional manipulation can work in the opposite direction. Clients used the connection of "fictive kinship", i.e. mother/child relationship, to appeal to Lucrezia for help; but this relationship does not necessarily have to be seen through a "Marian" perspective, one of refuge and compassion. We can understand this relationship purely between a mother and child, where the child is asking for help from his/her mother, but using emotions to persuade the mother, Lucrezia. Lastly, these letters can be understood as a type of script or performance (ones that have been ritualized and standardized in society) in which these clients are performing the emotional connections with Lucrezia. The way in which clients address her and the language they use becomes so intertwined with the cultural of fifteenth-century Italy and demonstrates the normative discourse between a female benefactress and her potential clients.

Chapter 5-"I Second That Emotion": Final Conclusions and the Continuation of Emotional Research in the Historical Field

> I expect that emotions are here to stay. Why? [Mainly] because they are so fundamental to human experience. . .the serious study of emotion is not only shifting the focus of attention within the disciplines, but generating important interdisciplinary conversations—conversations that are, in turn, opening up new methodologies and new fields.[284]

In a recent publication on emotional research in higher education, columist Scott McLemee wrote that some scholars (British historian R.G. Collingwood specifically) have argued that historians should stay away from studying emotions because they should be left for "the subject-matter of psychology. . .not part of the historical process."[285] Well, as far as I am concerned, Collingwood's analysis that historians should not study emotions is absurd because our emotions factor into history in so many different ways: socially, politically, religious, and so on; our "emotions [have] always been at the core of the humanities" and "without the passions, there would not be much history, and even less literature."[286] So true indeed.

As we have seen, premodern societies are not bereft of emotional expression as men and women have articulated a variety of emotions throughout the ages. In addition, the premodern world should not be considered one of unrestrained emotions (or lack thereof) as past societies had norms of what was acceptable emotional behavior; plus, even in our society we react quickly to different events without much thought, and our behavior can often times be very hysterical. Even the Romans were concerned with controlling angry speech in public, and in the Middle Ages, Italians became concerned

[284] McNamer, "Feeling," 241.
[285] McLemee, 14.
[286] Ibid, 14.

with restraining the expressions of grief during funerals. Emotions that they deemed to be detrimental to maintaining order within society are restraints that reflect "the attitudes or standards that a society. . .maintains toward basic emotions and their appropriate expression."[287] The argument, given by scholars William Reddy and Peter and Carol Stearns that emotional restraint did not come into existence until the modern period, is quite inaccurate. Scholarship within the last few decades has clearly debunked the theories first proposed by historians (Huizinga and Ariès) of the early twentieth century and continues to demonstrate the illogical reasoning in respect to academics like the Stearns.

In addition, we have examined the major trends of research on the expression of emotions. Within the field, scholars argue solely that emotions are based on biological responses, while others disagree, arguing that they are shaped by society, often determining what is socially acceptable to express. While some scholars still take different sides to the argument, much of the academic community has agreed that both biology and society impact the expression of emotions. Even though this particular work did not examine the physiological aspects, as a scholar, I still recognize that our biology does play a significant role in how we express emotions; in terms of examining physiological responses in letters, this is almost impossible. However, studying these responses in our sources is another great area of research for historians of emotions to examine more thoroughly.

Furthermore, we have seen the difficulty in trying to develop one particular definition to the term "emotion" as there are over 90 total definitions. Moreover, another aspect of the term emotion is the many different sub-categories that psychologists and

[287] Stearns, "Emotionology," 813.

sociologists have developed over the last few decades. I think that this really begins to complicate matters, and thus we have stuck to just using the term emotion in this work as the way Barbara Rosenwein defines it: "affective reactions of all sorts, intensities, and durations."

But the important aspect is that we continue to ask questions of our sources and try to see what emotions are expressed (or not expressed) in them; as Barbara Rosenwein argues, we have the right to ask what "emotional structures" and historical context that surrounds the sources. As this work has demonstrated, when analyzing the letters of the *quattrocento* Florence, we have to take into account the various structures of society to understand why people of this period chose to use certain emotional words and expressions.

Furthermore, we have also seen how the epistolary genre provided women with an opportunity to assert power within the family and also through the network of patronage. Alessandra's letters to her sons Filippo and Lorenzo demonstrate how mothers could exert control over their sons' behavior as well as getting them to do what she wanted. By using shame and guilt in her correspondence with them, Alessandra successfully got them to change their bad behavior. Alessandra knew that her sons would respond to shame and guilt because both were so intertwined in the society of *quattrocento* Florence; by describing their bad behavior as putting "shame" to the Strozzi family name, Alessandra knew she could influence them to change their behavior. Even as adults, men were expected to honor their mothers and the advice they provided to them; this particular concept was instilled in children at a young age by their parents, and as men reached adulthood, they typically continued to listen to their mother's counsel.

Plus, their particular situation, one in which the male members of the family were in exile, slightly weakened their standing in society; thus, Alessandra worked diligently to make sure that Filippo and Lorenzo mended their conduct so that their family name would not be disgraced even more. In a sense, Alessandra was playing her emotional script as a mother; this is not to say that her emotions are faked (of course emotions can be, but that discussion is for a whole other work entirely), but that this script is one that is learned as a woman became socialized and acculturated, hence she is performing her prescribed mother role or script.

What would add to this current study would be the examination of both Filippo's and Lorenzo's letters to their mother. How exactly did they respond to their mother's criticism and what kinds of emotional expressions or manipulations did they use in their letter writing? Did they articulate their expressions in the same manner or use the same language? These particular questions would complement the study of letter-writing, especially from a gendered viewpoint; do men and women of *quattrocento* Florence write in a similar manner, and did the recipient of their letters dictate what they would express?

In regards to the letters written to Lucrezia Tornabuoni de'Medici by a variety of men and women, we see how clients attempted to emotionally influence Lucrezia into becoming their benefactor. This specific case study shows that the clients (both men and women) wrote in a particular manner that elicited emotions that a mother would have for her children; by addressing her as their mother or using distinct emotions (like fear), they tried to gain her patronage. Both men and women wrote to her in a comparable manner, in which they referred to her as their "dearest mother," and their writings also were quite similar to Renaissance poetry by using word like "servant," "slave," "obedient," and

"faithful." In addition, we can see how these letters are representative of the social world of the *quattrocento* because this was how men and women addressed powerful women in hopes of gaining patronage. These letters are basically social scripts that perform motherly emotions in order to pressure Lucrezia into feeling that she should help her "fictive kinship."

So, as far as the study of emotions goes, where do historians go from here? While correspondence can provide remarkable insight into the emotions of the past, one of the suggestions would be to look beyond letters. Sarah McNamer, who has already been mentioned above, argues that historians should branch out of the typical epistolary genre (which includes letters) as well as looking beyond the normal medieval chronicles and conduct books.[288] Scholars should try looking at other genres/sources because we could potentially be missing certain emotional expressions and what they can tell us about society. The examination of other sources could shed light on those who do not have a voice otherwise. Other sources that deserve just as much attention are those pertaining to the law courts (i.e. court cases/decisions). Court cases and testimonies, usually written down in detail,[289] can give men and women a voice they might not have in the written world. The literary genre, including (but not limited to) dramas, love poetry (which I have tried to somewhat incorporate in chapter four), and affective meditations because these sources too can tell us something about social norms and how people felt.[290] Many historians (as well as other scholarly departments) underestimate the rich emotional expressions in the above mentioned sources partly because of their "distrust for the

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[288] McNamer, "Feeling," 243.

[289] For more on this see Charles Donahue Jr., *Law, Marriage, and Society in the Later Middle Ages: Arguments about Marriage in Five Courts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[290] Sarah McNamer, "Feeling," 243-246.

literary", so many have completely avoided taking the risk of analyzing these sources, mainly in fear of being wrong.[291] But, as historians, we would not be doing our jobs right if we continue to ignore precious sources of the past.

[291] Ibid, 243-247. This is partly why so many scholars avoid making the argument that courtly love literature was any kind of representation of reality, and more importantly, of emotions or feelings.

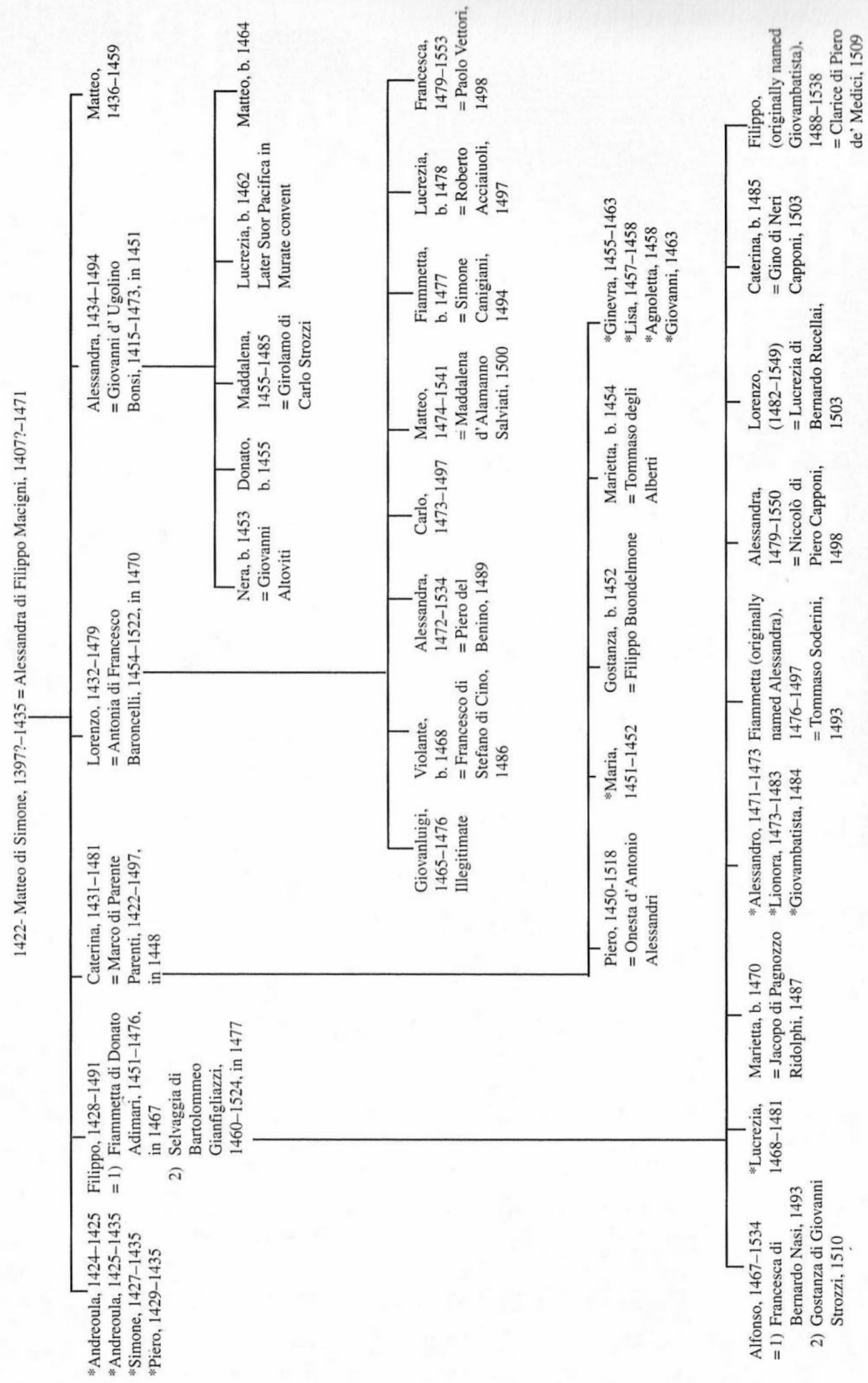
Appendix A - Shame Culture v. Guilt Culture[292]

Shame Culture	Other People Believe:	
I Believe	I didn’t do it	I did it
I didn’t do it	No problem	I am shamed and dishonoured by their belief
I did it	No-one knows, so I am not ashamed	I am guilty and am punished

Guilt Culture	Other people believe:	
I Believe	I didn’t do it	I did it
I didn’t do it	No problem	I protest my innocence and fight the accusation
I did it	I am expected to feel guilty regardless	I am guilty and am punished

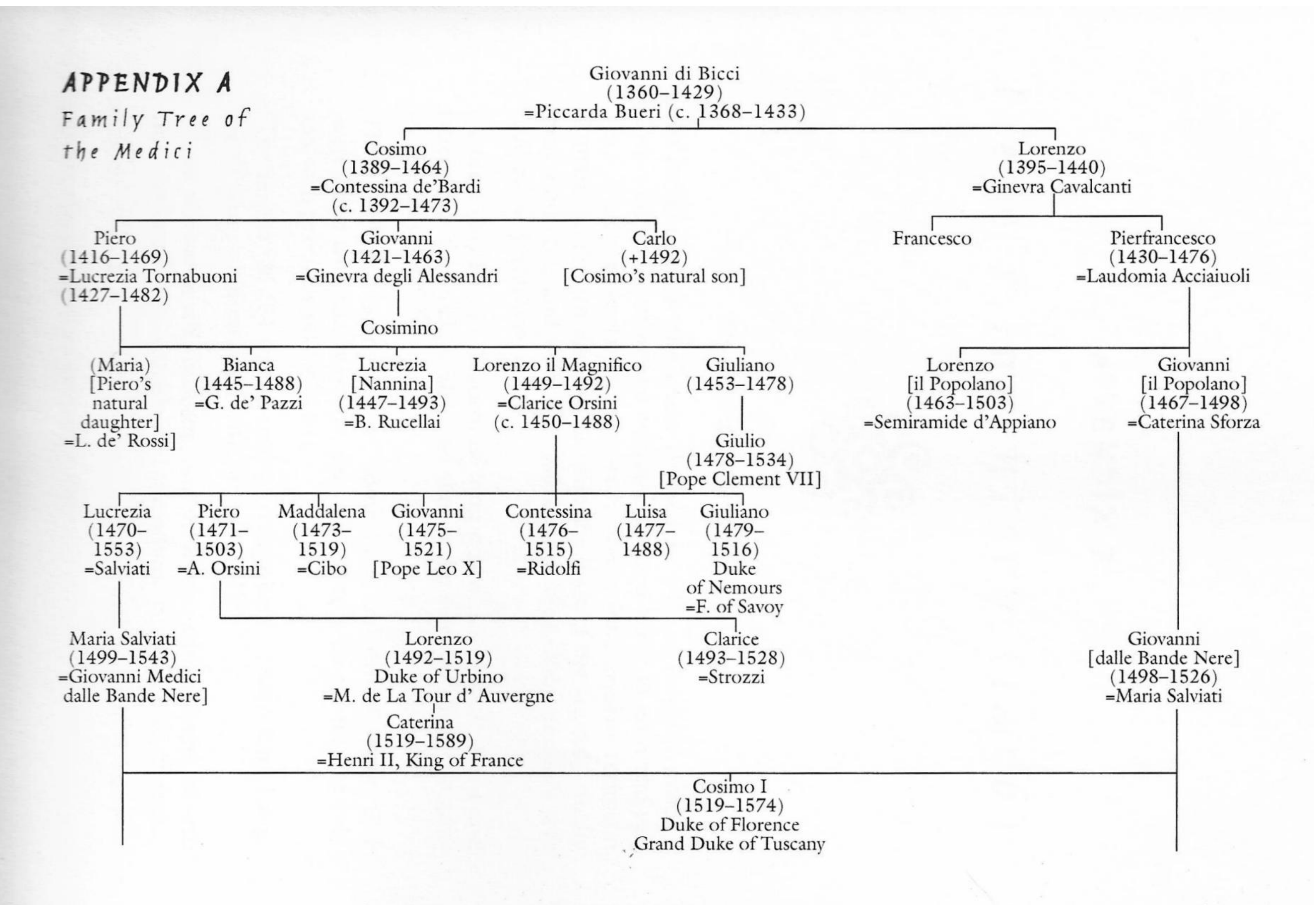
[292] J.S. Atherton, *Shame-Culture and Guilt-Culture* http://www.doceo.co.uk/background/shame_guilt.htm (accessed December 14, 2011).

Appendix B - Lineage of Matteo Strozzi[293]



[293] Lineage charts comes from Crabb's *Strozzi of Florence*, 260.

Appendix C - Lineage of the Medici[294]



[294] Pernis and Adams, 157.

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