

**‘DEAREST WIFE, MOST FAMOUS WOMAN’: GENDER, COMMEMORATION, AND
WOMEN’S FUNERARY MONUMENTS IN ROME, 1550-1750**

by

Amy E. Cymbala

BA, The University of Vermont, 2005

MA, The University of Pittsburgh, 2008

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Kenneth P. Dietrich School of Arts and Sciences in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

University of Pittsburgh

2016

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH
KENNETH P. DIETRICH SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

This dissertation was presented

by

Amy E. Cymbala

It was defended on

April 22, 2016

and approved by

H. Anne Weis, Professor, Department of the History of Art and Architecture

Francesca Savoia, Professor, Department of French and Italian

Dissertation Advisor: Ann Sutherland Harris, Professor Emerita, Department of the History of
Art and Architecture

Dissertation Advisor: Christopher Drew Armstrong, Professor, Department of the History of
Art and Architecture

**'DEAREST WIFE, MOST FAMOUS WOMAN': GENDER, COMMEMORATION,
AND WOMEN'S FUNERARY MONUMENTS IN ROME, 1550-1750**

Amy E. Cymbala, PhD

University of Pittsburgh, 2016

Copyright © by Amy E. Cymbala

2016

**‘DEAREST WIFE, MOST FAMOUS WOMAN’: GENDER, COMMEMORATION, AND
WOMEN’S FUNERARY MONUMENTS IN ROME, 1550-1750**

Amy E. Cymbala, PhD

University of Pittsburgh, 2016

This dissertation examines women’s funerary memorials produced in Rome from 1550 to 1750. Their numbers represent only a small share of the surviving funerary monuments made in these two centuries. They survive as proof that some women’s achievements and characters were considered worthy of public recognition at a time and place where women’s activities have been assumed to be domestic and negligible. Some of these memorials were modest floor plaques and slabs, others framed tributes attached to walls and pillars, and a few were grand structures dominating entire walls in a family chapel or in prominent locations in the aisle of Rome’s most prestigious church: St. Peter’s. These memorials represent almost all social classes, except of course wealthy individuals of both genders who chose to give to charity instead, or those too poor to afford this public record of their lives.

In order to understand these memorials, my first task was to find them and account for their prevalence. My database (Appendix A) now contains over five hundred examples, from which major patterns relative to their location, commission, and commemorative programs can be observed and analyzed. With selected case studies, I then show that the design of individual memorials both celebrated women’s roles in the private sphere, and praised their contributions to cultural and religious life in the city. As such, this thesis adds to the expanding body of scholarship on women patrons of Roman architecture, and adds a significant new dimension by considering the female patrons and subjects of public sculpture. This dissertation demonstrates for the first time that Roman women’s funerary monuments were part of complex (and sometimes conflicting)

dialogues about the role of women in the papal city. Moreover, it revises traditional assumptions about gender tensions in Rome, revealing the ways women and their memorials provided desirable models of female accomplishment in the name of religious reform.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE.....	XII
1.0 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 THE STUDY OF GENDER AND MONUMENTS.....	8
1.2 METHODOLOGY	17
1.3 SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND FAMILY COMPETITION IN ROME	25
1.4 THE STATUS AND STUDY OF EARLY MODERN ROMAN WOMEN	28
1.5 MEMORIAL FUNCTION IN EARLY MODERN ITALY	39
1.6 CATHOLIC REFORM AND MEMORIALS	47
1.7 WOMEN’S PATHWAYS TO COMMEMORATION	50
1.8 RELATED FORMS OF COMMEMORATION: WOMEN’S FUNERALS.....	52
1.9 MISSING MEMORIALS, ABSENT EFFIGIES: A FEW EXAMPLES	58
1.10 DISSERTATION STRUCTURE AND CHAPTER DESCRIPTIONS	61
PART ONE: TRENDS AND PATTERNS	67
2.0 ARTISTS, LOCATIONS, AND PATRONAGE OF WOMEN’S MEMORIALS, 1550-1750	68
2.1 NOTE ON CURRENCY.....	68
2.2 WHO SCULPTED WOMEN’S MEMORIALS IN EARLY MODERN ROME.....	69
2.3 LOCATION, AFFILIATION, AND MEANING	78
2.4 THE PLACEMENT OF WOMEN’S MEMORIALS WITHIN CHURCH INTERIORS.....	87
2.5 LOCATING MONUMENTS FOR FOREIGN WOMEN.....	90

2.6	WOMEN’S MEMORIALS AND ASSOCIATED MONUMENTS	93
2.7	PATRONAGE: WHO COMMISSIONED WOMEN’S MEMORIALS.....	98
2.8	CONCLUSIONS.....	110
3.0	SOCIAL STATUS, VISUAL STRATEGIES, AND PATTERNS OF REPRESENTATION IN WOMEN’S MONUMENTS, 1550-1750.....	112
3.1	WOMEN’S STATUS AND MEMORIAL TYPE.....	113
3.2	TEXTUAL PRAISE AND HERALDIC DEVICES IN WOMEN’S MEMORIAL INSCRIPTIONS	117
3.3	EXEMPLARITY: MOTIFS AND MODELS	122
3.4	WOMEN’S STATUS AND EFFIGY TYPE	126
3.5	WOMEN’S AGE AND REPRESENTATION IN EFFIGIES.....	130
3.6	DRESS AND ACCESSORIES	131
3.7	GESTURES AND PIOUS ACCESSORIES IN WOMEN’S EFFIGIES.....	142
3.8	CONCLUSIONS.....	146
	PART TWO: POST TRIDENTINE WOMEN’S MONUMENTS IN CONTEXT.....	150
4.0	ARS POETICA, ARS MORIENDI: MEMORIALIZING A FEMALE POET IN POST- TRIDENTINE ROME, C. 1565.....	151
4.1	LUCIA BERTANI’S SOCIAL CIRCLE AND CONTEMPORARY PRAISE. 155	
4.2	MONUMENT LOCATION AND SPATIAL CONSIDERATIONS	162
4.3	INSCRIPTIONAL PRAISE	164
4.4	POETIC IDEALS AND POSTHUMOUS REPRESENTATION IN POST- TRIDENTINE ROME	167
4.5	CONCLUSIONS.....	173

5.0 CECILIA ORSINI AND THE POST TRIDENTINE IDEAL OF THE ROMAN MATRON, C. 1585.	175
5.1 NETWORKS OF FAMILY POWER	178
5.2 REPRESENTING FAMILIAL RELATIONSHIPS WITH MEN	182
5.3 REPRESENTING OLD AGE AND FEMALE VIRTUE	185
5.4 MARIAN DEVOTION AND EXEMPLARY MATRONS AT SS. TRINITA DEI MONTI	192
5.5 CONCLUSIONS	197
6.0 GILDED VIRTUE: THE MONUMENT FOR LUCREZIA TOMACELLI COLONNA, C. 1625	199
6.1 NOBLE DEEDS AND PIOUS ACTIONS	203
6.2 FUNERARY DISPLAY AND COLONNA MAGNIFICENCE	210
6.3 PUBLIC AND PRIVATE FORMS OF COMMEMORATION	214
6.4 FAMILY NARRATIVES OF WEALTH AND PRESTIGE	217
6.5 FAMILY SYMBOLS	220
6.6 CONCLUSIONS	221
PART THREE: FEMALE PATRONAGE AND ALTERNATIVE VISIONS OF COMMEMORATION	224
7.0 BUILDING FAMILY MEMORY: WOMEN AS MEMORAL PATRONS IN POST TRIDENTINE ROME	225
7.1 WOMEN AS FUNERARY PATRONS FOR KIN	225
7.2 WILLS AND TESTAMENTS: VOICING CONCERN FOR SELF COMMEMORATION	236

7.3 PROVIDING FUNDS, ENTREATING HEIRS	238
7.4 DEFINING THE PATRONAGE OF SELF COMMISSIONED WOMEN’S MONUMENTS	241
7.5 SOCIAL STATUS AND WOMEN’S SELF - COMMISSIONED MONUMENTS..	245
7.6 NOTES ON SELF-COMMISSIONED MEMORIAL LOCATIONS	248
7.7 SELF COMMISSIONED MEMORIAL STRATEGIES: FINANCING A MONUMENT	250
7.8 CELEBRATING MOTHERHOOD	254
7.9 DUTIFUL WIVES, DEFYING EXPECTATIONS.....	257
7.10 CONCLUSIONS.....	261
EPILOGUE	264
8.0 BEYOND ROME: EARLY MODERN WOMEN’S MONUMENTS IN ITALY	265
8.1 EFFIGIES, GENDER, AND IDENTITY IN EARLY MODERN NAPLES	265
8.2 FLORENCE: MEMORIALIZING A FEMALE PAINTER AT THE COURT OF MARIA MADDALENA DE’MEDICI	269
8.3 IMPERIAL POWER: MONUMENTS FOR MARGARET OF PARMA AND BARBARA OF AUSTRIA.....	271
8.4 ON THE EDGES: WOMEN’S MONUMENTS IN APULIA	275
8.5 CONCLUSIONS.....	278
APPENDIX A	281
APPENDIX B	380
APPENDIX C	389

BIBLIOGRAPHY..... 409

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Women’s Memorials in Rome, 1300-1750.....	281
Table 2. Select Translations from Women’s Memorials in Rome, 1550-1750	380
Table 3. Monuments for Foreign Women, 1550-1750	389
Table 4. Relationships of Women's Wall Monuments to Other Memorials, 1550-1750.....	390
Table 5. Memorial Patrons and Relationships to the Female Deceased, 1550-1750.....	393
Table 6. Women’s Wall Memorials by Social Class of the Interred, 1550-1750.....	395
Table 7. Distribution of Women’s Wall Monuments (figured and non-figured) by Social Class , 1550-1750	398
Table 8. Women’s Wall Monuments (with effigies) by the Relative Age of the Deceased, 1550- 1750.....	399
Table 9. Women’s Funerary Effigies: Dress and Accessories, 1550-1750	402
Table 10. Pious Gestures and Accessories in Women’s Memorial Effigies, 1550-1750	405
Table 11. Women’s Monument Commissions for Kin, 1550-1750.....	407
Table 12. Women’s Monument Self-Commissioned Monuments, 1550-1750	408

PREFACE

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My research is deeply indebted to the guidance and support of members of my doctoral committee who provided help and encouragement through years of graduate school. I would first like to thank Ann Sutherland Harris who suggested this topic to me in 2007, and persuaded me to return to it in 2009. Her advice in lively conversations and her comments on all my drafts made me think more deeply about this project. In addition to her academic support, I am grateful for her friendship which helped me especially in the final phases of writing. I must also thank Drew Armstrong who has also guided this project from its earliest phases and whose direction was essential in getting me through the finish line. Anne Weis' suggestions helped me to frame my research in better ways and to search out new to make bolder claims; I am very grateful for her careful readings of all my drafts. Francesca Savoia must be thanked for her continual support of this project; she was essential in helping expand my research and provided vital inter-disciplinary context that enriched my research and broadened my approach. Although she did not formally serve on my dissertation committee, I must also thank my undergraduate advisor at the University of Vermont, Kelley Helmstutler Di Dio, for always pushing me to test out new ideas and challenge conventional thinking about my topic. Thank you for believing in my project and helping me mature as a scholar.

I also extend my true appreciation to the Kenneth P. Dietrich School of Arts and Sciences and the department of the History of Art and Architecture at the University of Pittsburgh, which generously supported me with an Arts and Sciences Graduate Fellowship in 2006, 2010, and 2011,

in addition to several Friends of Frick Fine Arts and Dissertation Development Grants for summer research. My thanks goes to the entire faculty of the department, who have seen this project evolve and continually given advice and feedback at colloquia and department events. Special thanks goes to department chair Barbara McCloskey, who was instrumental in helping find institutional support, and took an active role and interest in my project in its final stage. Her concern for all graduate students in this department has provided a space for us to grow and thrive in. A grant provided by Italian Nationality Room at the University of Pittsburgh in 2009 gave me the opportunity to develop my ideas more fully and conduct vital archival research. I also express gratitude for the Lemmermann Foundation, who funded me for summer research in 2013, helping me to finish essential on-site and archival research in Rome, and to the US Department of Education, which provided a generous FLAS grant in the summer of 2010.

I would also like to thank a large number of people who, in one way or another, were essential parts of this project. I must thank Linda Nolan for inviting me to collaborate on the “Missing Monuments” Panel at the Attending to Early Modern Women Panel in Milwaukee in 2015, which helped to inspire new ways of thinking about women’s memorials and Early Modern Rome. I would like to also thank Brenna Graham for all the conversations we had in Rome and when meeting up at conferences to talk about our “lady tombs” projects. These conversations gave vital perspective on a closely related topic and helped me to envision my project as part of an academic community and conversation. Thank you to Erin Giffin who very kindly agreed to go on photography missions in churches when I could not be in Rome. My thanks to Marcia Rostek and the entire Frick Fine Library staff who helped through countless of interlibrary loans, and also Linda Hicks, who sorted through endless travel receipts and organized paperwork to help with my summer travel.

My graduate student colleagues at the University of Pittsburgh were so important to my time at Pitt, and provided a backbone of support through the years. Julia Finch, Robert Bailey, James Jewitt, Aaron Tacincelli, Elizabeth Self, Brianne Cohen, Sarah Bromberg, Sara Sumpter, Kathy Johnston Keane, and Courtney Long have helped to read drafts, listen to my ideas, and provided levity and perspective. I feel so honored to have spent time with such talented, creative, and accomplished scholars and thinkers. Rebekah Perry is especially to be thanked letting me stay with her on several occasions in Rome, and Kathryn Nauman for graciously providing wheels around Pittsburgh, especially at semesters end when I had boxes of books to heft back to campus. Josie Landback and Rachel Miller – fellow Pitt graduates and erstwhile members of the “Immodest Ladies Latin Club” – gave so much of their time to reading drafts and giving honest feedback. I cannot express how much your support, friendship, and fellowship has meant to me over these years. I am constantly amazed by your intelligence and kindness, and through our friendship, I have learned so much and become a richer person for it. I also must thank Jenny Donnelly and Jason Shifflet for being such good friends and keeping up my morale by always offering kind words (and providing the best French cheeses). I thank Saskia Beranek for stimulating my thinking on this project and her willingness to share bibliographies and academic resources; thank you for accompanying me on visits to the Aracoeli, up hundreds of steps, in one-hundred degree weather. I thank Maura McAndrew, Joanna Collins, Kristy Fallica, Alicia Williamson, and Robin Hoffman from the department of English for their sisterly companionship, friendship, and advice.

I thank my dear friends Billy Hannon, Misha Strelnikov for letting me stay at their apartment in New York when departing from JFK on research trips. I am so thankful for Tami Munford and Benjamin Eldredge; their assistance with Latin translations was critical to this

project. Your brilliance is only outshined by your generosity of spirit. I cannot wait for a Sicilian summer with you all, playing seven-language Scrabble while sipping Nero d'Avola on the shore.

I am forever grateful for Nicolas Alba, who has seen me through the last four years of writing, and even when I was at my most frazzled, was there to provide much needed reassurance and sushi dinner. He was also a willing field assistant and accomplice in museums and Italian churches, risking the wrath of sacristans and museum guards to sneak research photos for me. I could not have finished this dissertation without the love and support of my brother, Daniel, who never failed to call with a silly joke or ukulele song to keep my spirits up when things were difficult. Finally, I dedicate this dissertation to my parents, Mark and Madeline Cymbala, whose enduring faith in me was a rock of support during my graduate school career. You encouraged, loved, and cheered me on every day, in so many ways. I am forever grateful for your support and love.

NOTES ON TERMINOLOGY AND PERIODIZATION

A simple burial within the consecrated ground of the churchyard was all that was necessary for the Catholic soul to achieve salvation and was the standard ritual granted to almost every early modern Italian. This dissertation focuses on special, conspicuous funerary markers reserved for the most elite social classes installed within Rome's churches. In this study, I use the term "memorial" as an inclusive term that covers most types of sepulchral markers. This includes both monuments (a term traditionally applied to wall and free-standing tombs or cenotaphs with impressive sculptural and architectural elements) and smaller commemorative pavement slabs (*"lastre tombali"*) and plaques. Within this large body of funerary objects, there is rich variety in design and quality. Consideration of all four types of memorials gives us a better picture of the realities of women's funerary commemoration beyond the exceptional examples. While this study is chiefly concerned with monumental memorials that include sculpted effigies, I draw parallels where possible between these works and humbler floor slabs.

This project's chronological scope covers nearly two hundred years of early modern Catholic history. Art historical periodization breaks this span into several distinct periods: late Renaissance/Mannerist, early Baroque, high Baroque, and late Baroque. Moreover, it incorporates study of the neglected period between 1565 and 1600, which has often been categorized as a downturn in the sculptural arts, before the revitalization of the medium by Gianlorenzo Bernini and others.

Although I have left references to figures in the text of my dissertation, I have chosen to omit illustrations from this final electronic version of my dissertation. I have, however, included the list of figures here as a reference guide.

- Fig. 1 Giuliano Finelli, Portrait Bust of Maria Duglioli Barberini, ca. 1626. Louvre
- Fig. 2 Anonymous, Funerary Memorial to Virginia Pucci Ridolfi, ca. 1565. S. Maria sopra Minerva
- Fig. 3 Domenico Poggini (?), Portrait Bust of Virginia Pucci Ridolfi, ca. 1565. The Bargello, Florence
- Fig. 4 Giacomo del Duca, Funerary Memorial to Elena Savelli, ca. 1570. S. Giovanni in Laterano
- Fig. 5 Anonymous, Drawing of the Monument to Faustina Lucia Mancini (no longer extant), c. 1540. S. Maria in Aracoeli. Windsor Drawing, RL 11789
- Fig. 6 Anonymous, Monument to Cecilia Orsini, c. 1585. SS. Trinità dei Monti
- Fig. 7 Anonymous, Monument to Vittoria Orsini Frangipane, c. 1585. S. Maria in Aracoeli
- Fig. 8 Gianlorenzo Bernini, Monument to Suor Maria Raggi. c. 1643. S. Maria sopra Minerva
- Fig. 9 Gianlorenzo Bernini, The Blessed Ludovica Albertoni, c. 1674, S. Francesco a Ripa
- Fig. 10 Gianlorenzo Bernini, Bust of Camilla Barbadori, c. 1619. National Gallery of Denmark
- Fig. 11 Attributed to Andrea Bolgi, Monument to Clarice Margana d'Aste, c. 1636. S. Maria in Via Lata.
- Fig. 12 Attributed to Alessandro Algardi, Bust of Maria Cerri Capranica, ca. 1643. The Getty Museum, Los Angeles
- Fig. 13 Andrea Bolgi. Monument to Laura Frangipane Mattei, ca. 1637. S. Francesco a Ripa
- Fig. 14 Andrea Bolgi. Monument to Vittoria del Caro Cacace. ca. 1643. San Lorenzo Maggiore, Naples
- Fig. 15 Giuliano Finelli, Monument to Pietro Antonio and Cassandra Bandini, ca. 1592. S. Silvestro al Quirinale

- Fig. 16 Domenico Guidi, Bust of Felice Zacchia Rondinini, ca. 1660
- Fig. 17 Domenico Guidi, Monument to Livia Prini Santacroce, ca. 1662. S. Maria della Scala
- Fig. 18 Anonymous, Monument to Porzia del Drago, ca. 1614. S. Gregorio al Celio
- Fig. 19 Anonymous. Monument to Frances Montieux. ca.1628. S. Rufina e Seconda.
- Fig. 20 Anonymous. Monument to Bianca Maria Neri. ca.1697. S. Rufina e Seconda
- Fig. 21 Anonymous, Monument to Eleonora Feretti, c. 1660. S. Maria della Scala
- Fig. 22 Anonymous, Monument Veronica Rondinini Origo, c. 1705. S. Egidio
- Fig. 23 Anonymous, Monument to Petronilla Paolina Massimi, c. 1726 S. Egidio
- Fig. 24 Anonymous, Memorial Slab for Agnesina Caetani, c. 1578, St. Peter's, Vatican Grotto
- Fig. 25 Jean Baptiste Theodon. Monument to Christine of Sweden. St. Peter's. c. 1698
- Fig. 26 Pietro Bracci. Monument to Clementina Sobieski. c. 1742.
- Fig. 27 Lorenzo Merlini, Monument to Aurora Berti, c. 1720 S. Pantaleone
- Fig. 28 Antonio Raggi, Monument to Francesca Pecori Riccardi. c. 1655. S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini.
- Fig. 29 Anonymous, Monument to Camilla Bonvisi. 1579. S. Maria del Popolo
- Fig. 30 Monument to Lucrezia Orsini and Eleonora Anguillara, c. 1583. S. Francesco a Ripa. (lost slab). Engraving from Giuseppe Bramati, *Famiglie celebri italiane*, c. 1848.
- Fig. 31 Francesco Queirolo, Monument to Livia del Grillo and Maria Theresa Doria, c. 1752 S. Andrea delle Fratte
- Fig. 32 Nicolas Cordier, Monument to Lesa Deti Aldobrandini, c. 1603. S. Maria sopra Minerva
- Fig. 33 Anonymous, Monument to Lucia Bertani. c. 1567. S. Sabina

- Fig. 34 Teodoro della Porta, Monument for Lucrezia Tomacelli Colonna, c. 1625. S. Giovanni in Laterano
- Fig. 35 Francesco Queirolo, Monument to Livia del Grillo and Maria Theresa Doria, c. 1752 S. Andrea delle Fratte
- Fig. 36 Andrea Fucigna, Monument to Eleonora Boncompagni Borghese, c. 1703. Commissioned for S. Lucia in Botteghe Oscure. Now in SS. Alessio e Bonifacio
- Fig. 37 Giuseppe Ghezzi. Monument to Giovanna Garzoni. 1698. SS. Luca e Martina
- Fig. 38 Anonymous, Tomb Slab for Clemenza Santacroce, 1571. S. Maria in Publicolis
- Fig. 39 Full-length effigy, Anonymous, Memorial for Margherita Maletti, c. 1538. SS. Cosma e Damiano
- Fig. 40 Half-length effigy. Anonymous. Memorial Slab for Margherita de Laurenzi. 1571. S. Maria in Aquiro
- Fig. 41 Inscription with simple framework. Anonymous, Monument to Camilla Bonvisi. 1579. S. Maria del Popolo.
- Fig. 42 Anonymous, Monument to Maria Eleonora Boncompagni Ludovisi. c. 1745. S. Maria del Popolo
- Fig. 43 Ercole Ferrata, Monument to Giulia Ricci Paravicini. c 1662. S. Francesco a Ripa
- Fig. 44 Detail, Antonio Raggi, Monument to Francesca Pecori Riccardi. c. 1655. S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini.
- Fig. 45 Anonymous, Monument to Flavia Bonelli. 1707. SS. Nomi di Gesù e Maria
- Fig. 46 Lorenzo Ottoni, Monument to Girolamo Naro Santacroce and Antonio Santacroce. S. Maria in Publicolis. c. 1707
- Fig. 47 Rubens, Main Altarpiece for the Chiesa Nuova, 1618.
- Fig. 48 Detail of Charity. Monument to Lesa Deti Aldobrandini, c. 1603. S. Maria sopra Minerva
- Fig. 49 Detail of Religion. Monument to Lesa Deti Aldobrandini, c. 1603. S. Maria sopra Minerva
- Fig. 50 Allegory of Victory. Chapel of the Ascension. S. Maria in Aracoeli, 1570.
- Fig. 51 Allegory of Perseverance. Chapel of the Ascension. S. Maria in Aracoeli, 1570.

- Fig. 52 Lunette fresco. Chapel of the Ascension. S. Maria in Aracoeli, 1570.
- Fig. 53 Figure of St. Clare. Chapel of the Ascension. S. Maria in Aracoeli, 1570.
- Fig. 54 Figure of St. Elizabeth of Hungary. Chapel of the Ascension. S. Maria in Aracoeli, 1570.
- Fig. 55 Antonio Sangallo the Younger. Monument to Francesca Carduli Cesi. c. 1515 S. Maria del Pace.
- Fig. 56 Anonymous, Monument to Anna Moroni. c. 1647. S. Maria in Monterone.
- Fig. 57 Giuliano Finelli, Monument to Virginia Bonanni Primi. c. 1634. S. Caterina in Magnanapoli.
- Fig. 58 Gabriele Renzi, Monument to Anna Colonna Barberini. c. 1659. S. Maria in Regina Coeli; now in the Albright Knox Gallery.
- Fig. 59 Cesare Vecellio, “La Vedova Moderne” c. 1590. Plate from *Degli Habiti antichi e moderni di diversi parti del mondo*, 1590.
- Fig. 60 Andrea Fucigna (?) Monument to Caterina Raimondi Cimini. c. 1703. S. Antonio dei Portoghesi.
- Fig. 61 Anonymous, Funerary Bust for Elena dal Pozzo c. 1703. S, Maria del Suffragio.
- Fig. 62 Detail, Anonymous, Monument to Vittoria Orsini Frangipane, c. 1585. S. Maria in Aracoeli.
- Fig. 63 Detail. Attributed to Andrea Bolgi, Monument to Clarice Margana d’Aste, c. 1636. S. Maria in Via Lata.
- Fig. 64 Detail from the Monument to Lesa Deti Aldobrandini, c. 1603.
- Fig. 65 Michele Maglia and Giacomo Antonio Lavaggi Monument to Vittoria Parabiacchi c. 1703 S. Maria in Campitelli
- Fig. 66 Anonymous, Monument to Cecilia Orsini, c. 1585. SS. Trinità dei Monti.
- Fig. 67 Giuliano Finelli, Monument to Virginia Bonanni Primi. c. 1634. S. Caterina in Magnanapoli.
- Fig. 68 Andrea Fucigna, Monument to Eleonora Boncompagni Borghese, c. 1703. Pictured in original context in S. Lucia in Botteghe Oscure before its destruction.
- Fig. 69 Michele Maglia and Giacomo Antonio Lavaggi Monument to Vittoria Parabiacchi c. 1703 S. Maria in Campitelli.
- Fig. 70 Detail. Anonymous, Monument to Lucia Bertani. ca. 1567. S. Sabina.

- Fig. 71 Detail, Coat of Arms. Anonymous, Monument to Lucia Bertani. ca. 1567. S. Sabina.
- Fig. 72 Detail, Inscription. Anonymous, Monument to Lucia Bertani. ca. 1567. S. Sabina.
- Fig. 73 View of the Bertani monuments from the nave of S. Sabina.
- Fig. 74 Frontispiece, Chiara Matriani, *Rime de Poesie di Madonna Chiara Matriani* c. 1555.
- Fig. 75 Author portrait Laura Terracina, *Discorso Sopra Il Principio Di Tutti i Canti d'Orlando Furioso* c. 1584.
- Fig. 76 Author portrait, Laura Terracina in *Discorso Sopra Il Principio Di Tutti i Canti d'Orlando Furioso* and Beatrice from Antonfrancesco Doni's unrealized book project c. 1560.
- Fig. 77 Portrait medal Ippolita Gonzaga, Leone Leoni, 1551.
- Fig. 78 Anonymous Medal to Lucia Bertani. c. 1567.
- Fig. 79 Leonardo Sormani, Monument to Rodolfo Sormani, c. 1567. SS. Trinità dei Monti.
- Fig. 80 Detail. Anonymous, Monument to Cecilia Orsini, c. 1585. SS. Trinità dei Monti.
- Fig. 81 Cesare Vecellio, "La Vedova Moderne" c. 1590. Plate from *Degli Habiti antichi e moderni di diversi parti del mondo*, 1590.
- Fig. 82 Pietro Bertelli "La Vedova Romana" from *Diversarum Nationum Habitus Centum, et Quattuor Iconibus in Aere Incisis Diligenter Expressi*, . c. 1590
- Fig. 83 Detail. Anonymous, Monument to Cecilia Orsini, c. 1585. SS. Trinità dei Monti.
- Fig. 84 Bassano, *Portrait of a Widow at Her Devotions*. c. 1590.
- Fig. 85 Tiberio Titi, *Portrait of Cristina di Lorena at her Devotions*. c. 1610.
- Fig. 86 Suttermans, *Portrait of a Widow*. c. 1630.
- Fig. 87 Giovanni Battista Moroni, *Portrait of the Abbess Lucrezia Agliardi Vertova*. c. 1557. The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Fig. 88 Teodoro della Porta, Monument for Lucrezia Tomacelli Colonna, c. 1625. S. Giovanni in Laterano.
- Fig. 89 Anthony van Dyck (?). *Portrait of Lucrezia Tomacelli Colonna*. Colonna Gallery. c. 1622.

- Fig. 90 Ottavio Leoni, Portrait of Lucrezia Tomacelli Colonna, Colonna Gallery, c. 1608.
- Fig. 91 – 96 *Nell'essequie Dell'ill.ma & Eccell.ma Signora D. Lucretia Tomacello Colonna*. c. 1625
- Fig. 97 Pietro da Cortona, *Resurrection of Christ with Members of the Colonna Family, (The Colonna Altarpiece)*. 1623. Galleria Colonna (formerly in Paliano).
- Fig. 98 *Nell'essequie Dell'ill.ma & Eccell.ma Signora D. Lucretia Tomacello Colonna* c. 1625
- Fig. 99 – 100 Capilla Mayor, Escorial. 1591.
- Fig 101 Peter Paul Rubens and workshop. *Portrait of Elisabeth of France*. c. 1630. Hermitage, St. Petersburg.
- Fig. 102 Ottavio Leoni, *Lucrezia Tomacelli Colonna (?)*, 1610.
- Fig. 103 Ottavio Leoni Portrait of Maddalena Caetani della Cornia c. 1626.
- Fig. 104 Ottavio Leoni, Portrait of Camilla Borghese, c. 1627.
- Fig. 105 Cosimo Fancelli, Monument to Faustina Gottardi. c. 1646
- Fig. 106 Portrait of Caterina Ginnasi (?). Victoria and Albert Museum. c. 1660.
- Fig. 107 Bernardino Ludovisi, Monument for Lucrezia Rospigliosi Salviati. c. 1742. SS. Apostoli.
- Fig. 108 Alessandro Algardi, Monument for Prospero Santacroce. c. 1642. S. Maria della Scala.
- Fig. 109 Domenico Guidi, Monument to Livia Primi Santacroce, c. 1662. S. Maria della Scala.
- Fig. 110 Detail of pelican. Domenico Guidi, Monument to Livia Primi Santacroce, c. 1662. S. Maria della Scala.
- Fig. 111 Giacinto Calandrucci, *Baptism of Christ*. Cimini Chapel, S. Antonio dei Portoghesi.
- Fig. 112 Andrea Fucigna, *Memorial to Giovanni Battista Cimini*. S. Antonio dei Portoghesi.
- Fig. 113 Andrea Fucigna(?) Memorial to Caterina Raimondi Cimini. S. Antonio del Portoghesi. c. 1703
- Fig. 114 Andrea Fucigna(?) Memorial to Caterina Raimondi Cimini. S. Antonio del Portoghesi. c. 1703

- Fig. 115 Giovanni Merliano da Nola, Memorial of Don Pedro de Toledo and Maria Orsorio Pimentel c. 1550- 1570. San Giacomo dei Spagnoli.
- Fig. 116 Andrea Bolgi. Monument to Vittoria del Caro Cacace. ca. 1643. San Lorenzo Maggiore, Naples
- Fig. 117 Anonymous, Monument to Dorotea Spinelli, ca. 1570-1590, S. Caterina in Formiello, Naples.
- Fig. 118 Anonymous, Monument to Isabella Spinelli, ca. 1570-1590. S. Caterina in Formiello, Naples.
- Fig. 119 Anonymous, Monument to Arcangela Paladini, ca. 1622. S. Felicitá, Florence.
- Fig. 120 Simone Moschino, Monument to Margaret of Parma, ca. 1586. S. Sisto, Piacenza.
- Fig 121 Anonymous, Monument to Barbara of Austria, ca. 1592. Il Gesù, Ferrara.
- Fig. 122 Anonymous, Monument to Bona Sforza, ca. 1593. S. Nicola, Bari.
- Fig. 123 Anonymous, Monument to Beatrice Acquaviva, ca. 1637, S. Nicolo e Domenico, Cavallino, Apulia.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

“Rome is recognized as one of the main centers for the funerary art of every age. There are two main reasons for this: first, the peculiar conditions that have concurred to conserving the heritage of Roman funerary sculpture; and second, the millenarian force of attraction by a city in which, over the centuries, *many illustrious men*, who had moved thither or were temporarily resident there, met their death. In the post-classical period the city’s particular sociopolitical character, and especially the nature of the elective monarchy of the papacy, ensured that the ruling elites that succeeded each other in holding the reins of power were renewed with unexampled frequency and rapidity. Each new holder of power wished to leave a *magnificent memorial of himself in stone*, thus contributing to the stratification of a heritage of extraordinary richness.”¹ (Italics mine).

As illustrated in the quote above, recent study has characterized the memorial culture of early modern Rome as exclusively male driven, leading to the assumption that women’s commemorative monuments were rarely produced in early modern Italy and that they exist in too few numbers to provide a substantive body for study.² My dissertation suggests that on the contrary while the social position of women during this period was theoretically more constricted, their representation in public funerary monuments in Rome grew. For this study, I have catalogued over

¹ Fabrizio Federici and Jörg Garms, “*Tombs of illustrious Italians at Rome*”: *l’album di disegni RCIN 970334 della Royal Library di Windsor*, Bollettino d’Arte. Volume speciale 2010 (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 2011), 36.

² Rome has been singled out as an especially restrictive climate for the production of women’s funerary sculpture in the quattrocento as well. According to Yoni Ascher, not a single grand woman’s monument was produced there between the fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries. Yoni Ascher. “Politics and Commemoration in Renaissance Naples: The Case of Caterina Pignatelli.” *Zeitschrift Für Kunstgeschichte* 69, no. 2 (2006): 145.

two hundred women's memorials from the period of 1350-1545, and about 525 for the period of 1550-1750 (Appendix A), demonstrating a sharp increase in their production in the latter time frame.³ Prestigious large-scale wall monuments also increased in number: from the period of 1400-1550, only ten substantial monuments for women are known to have been produced, while for the period between 1550 and 1750, I have located over fifty wall monuments, most with effigies. This increase may be explained by better survival and conservation of memorials from this period, but the change is significant enough to conclude that as for the case of men's monuments, women's memorials were being commissioned and produced in larger numbers and from an expanding social milieu.⁴ At the same time, case studies included in this study assessing the medium and short-term circumstances of women's memorialization within this broad time frame give nuance to the differences between generations marked by smaller shifts in Catholic Reform measures and in women's social position. Analyzing both large scale data and individual monuments, this dissertation examines for the first time the long-range and the immediate impacts of women's public memorials in Rome.⁵

Some of the artists who worked on these memorials were not of the highest caliber, and many of the monuments included within this study are anonymous works, but my project is not

³ This number, because it is inclusive of all types of memorials, is a figure much larger than previously offered. Individual analysis of each type of memorial will be presented in Chapter Three of this study.

⁴ This mirrors conclusions made about memorials in Post-Reformation England. "[The data] confirm that through the later sixteenth century more and more sculpted monuments were erected at the request of even greater numbers of subjects and patrons. We find this national trend confirmed by studies of the outputs of particular workshops." Nigel Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 7.

⁵ I here borrow Olwen Hufton's useful model for evaluating women's status in the early modern period, which takes into account the long, medium, and short term, "[promoting] a consideration of how the experience of certain generations might differ while the framework of reference remains largely unchanged." Olwen Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her: A History of Women in Western Europe*, vol. I, 1500-1800 (London: Harper Collins, 1995), 488.

especially concerned with issues of attribution or style. This study is grounded in the social history of art, exploring the social significance and patronage mechanisms surrounding women's memorials. Tomb monuments are perfect for this analysis, since they embody the personal aspirations and ideals of their patron(s), deepening our understanding and appreciation of the varied roles women had in early modern Rome. This dissertation is concerned with the monuments produced for lay and monastic women of the early modern period. As such, this study does not take into account monuments produced for early Christian saints celebrated in early modern sculpture, whose monuments functioned as sites of cult veneration and embodied a different set of concerns outside the present focus of this study.⁶

Memorials commissioned for and by contemporary women functioned as any other tomb by celebrating the perfect virtue of the deceased and marking a family's social honor and economic position.⁷ Their memorials could include inscriptions, allegorical figures, and portraits of the deceased that varied in size from the humble to the grandiose and were made from wide range of materials, from locally sourced stone to lavish gilt bronze. Women's memorials were produced by many sculptors, and were important commissions for master artists and workshop apprentices alike. Most significantly, they were placed in nearly every Roman church, from the most prestigious to the most modest. An especially large percentage of women's tombs were erected in Santa Maria in Aracoeli, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, and even St. Peter's Basilica, which all ranked among the most esteemed places of burial in this city. They were also placed strategically

⁶ For an engaging study in the representation of early Christian female martyr saints' cult remembrance, see: Helen Hills, "Demure Transgression: Portraying Female 'Saints' in Post-Tridentine Italy," *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 3 (2008).

⁷ On the topic of social honor in Italian tombs, see especially: Andrew Butterfield, "Social Structure and the Typology of Funerary Monuments in Early Renaissance Florence," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 26 (1994): 47–67.

at the most impressive places within these churches or in sanctified areas where they were easily seen by the laity and clergy.

The women's memorials included in this study reflect concerns about family, class, and status that were peculiar to Rome. Research on the population of the early modern papal city has shown that men outnumbered women by a considerable margin.⁸ A steady influx of celibate clerics, clerks, craftsmen, apprentices, male servants, and laborers resulted in a heavily distorted sex ratio of no more than seventy women for every hundred men.⁹ At some points in the early seventeenth century, men outnumbered women nearly two to one.¹⁰ The requisite clerical celibacy of popes and cardinals established courtly networks of men who could not marry, while the practice of papal nepotism (the granting favors and positions at the papal court to nephews and male relatives) structured networks of power that were exclusively male. By long-established religious decree, women were forbidden from holding positions within the Curia and excluded from the centers of political power and corporate decision-making.¹¹ My focus on early modern Rome

⁸ "The prevalence of males in the population of Rome – despite a slight decline over time – continued to be a distinguishing feature of the city over the next two decades." Eugenio Sonnino, "The Population in Baroque Rome," in *Rome, Amsterdam: Two Growing Cities in Seventeenth-Century Europe*, ed. Pieter van Kessel and Elisja Schulte van Kessel (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1997), 67.

⁹ On population demographics, see the helpful population tables comparing male to female population in sixteenth century Rome in Sonnino, "The Population in Baroque Rome," 63-69.

¹⁰ Sonnino, "The Population in Baroque Rome," 64.

¹¹ This was different from other cities in Italy like Milan, Mantua, and Grand Ducal Florence, all ruled by a court that allowed women to hold governmental authority as regents. For an excellent case study on female regency in Renaissance Milan, see: Joyce de Vries, *Caterina Sforza and the Art of Appearances: Gender, Art, and Culture in Early Modern Italy*, Women and Gender in the Early Modern World (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005). On the influence of Medici women at Florentine and Mantuan courts, see: Natalie Tomas, *The Medici Women: Gender and Power in Renaissance Florence*, Women and Gender in the Early Modern World (Aldershot, Hampshire, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003); Molly Bourne, "Medici Women at the Gonzaga Court, 1584-1627," in *Italian Art, Society, and Politics: A Festschrift in Honor of Rab Hatfield*, ed. Barbara Deimling, Jonathan K. Nelson, and Gary M. Radke (Florence: Syracuse University in Florence, 2007), 223–28.

underscores the regularity of women's memorials despite the city's large gender disparity and male dominated political structures. I do not wish to imply, however, that women's monuments were phenomena specific to Rome, nor were they exceptional in the messages they offered there. The production of women's memorials was a pan-Italic occurrence. They were produced in every region, and under every type of government, whether republic, duchy, marquisate, or area under papal rule.

As has always been the case, marriage and the birth of children gave women a visible role in the formation of family identity. Noble women performed their roles of wives and mothers in life, but also in death through memorials designed to establish and maintain aristocratic legacies of virtue which centered on their remains. Women's monuments expressed this aspect of female social power and emphasized gender-specific ideals about women's essential roles in uniting families through marriage and producing heirs. These roles identified women with conventional notions about women's place in the private sphere that persist even today: while scholarship has acknowledged the important role women played within marital negotiations between families, it has also consistently linked such power to the private sphere of the household.¹² Women's roles within religious communities have also been linked to the domestic and family by scholars.¹³ As Brenna Graham, however, has recently argued on the topic of quattrocento women's tombs, it is

¹² See for example Stanley Chojnacki, "Women, Men, and Marriage," in *Women and Men in Renaissance Venice: Twelve Essays on Patrician Society* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000). Alexander Cowan, *Marriage, manners and mobility in early modern Venice* (Aldershot, Hants, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007).

¹³ "Religious choices for women, hinged more on family than it was the case for men. Life cycle and family standing structured female religiosity." R. Po-Chia Hsia, p. 41. See also Stanley Chojnacki, "Women, Men, and Marriage," in *Women and Men in Renaissance Venice: Twelve Essays on Patrician Society* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000). Alexander Cowan, *Marriage, manners and mobility in early modern Venice* (Aldershot, Hants, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007).

the *communal* celebration of these private roles in public monuments that transcends the purely domestic.¹⁴

What is new in period of Catholic Renewal, however, is the *public* celebration in a monument of women's *public* roles in the city and cultural circles. Lay and monastic women impacted Roman society as founders of religious houses and supporters of religious reform. While these activities were sometimes performed in the intimate sphere of the monastery or home, they depended on and had effects on large social networks that existed outside the cloister or palazzo.¹⁵ Women of all social stations relied on such channels to effectively run their homes or religious houses. The ongoing causes of religious reform and maintenance of family business could also necessitate and empower certain women leaving the confines of their homes to travel across the city, region, and even continent. As we shall see, even some women who took on professional roles as writers and artists were commemorated in memorials. The memorials of women who performed these roles demonstrate how cultural and social shifts were publically documented and memorialized. My study of women's memorials enriches our understanding of the relationships between women and city, and the changing attitudes that shaped women's movements within urban centers at this particular moment of growing impact and female participation in critical roles of influence that extend beyond the family.

My data analysis has also revealed significant changes in the relative age of the female dedicatees; older women are commemorated in a significant proportion of all women's memorials

¹⁴ Brenna Graham, "The Most Bitter and Untimely of Events: Women, Death, and the Monumental Tomb in Quattrocento Italy," (PhD Diss., Rutgers, 2014), 6.

¹⁵ Research on women's epistolary networks has been a recent area of focus for the examination of women's extra-domestic influence. See: Lisa Kaborycha, *A Corresponding Renaissance: Letters Written by Italian Women* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

in Rome. Additionally, the female subjects of Roman memorials were no longer being drawn exclusively from the highest and most ancient class of nobility: the baronial clans. Although opulent tombs remained the privilege of the exceptionally rich and politically well-connected, a surprising number of modest tomb monuments were commissioned for lesser noblewomen, and women from the merchant class. In the first quarter of the sixteenth century a small number of Roman women even began to commission monumental funerary sculpture for themselves. This number grew following the reforms of the Council of Trent (1545-1563). With this, it is possible to examine the production of Roman women's tombs at a moment in which women of several social stations had amplified agency in their own representation. Through the study of their commissions for themselves and kin, this study also demonstrates that it was not just high ranking men and popes who played an integral part in memorial patronage.

Central symbols of familial status and religious devotion, funerary monuments have provided generations of art historians a rich visual source for studying the changing dynamics of Post-Reformation Italian Catholicism. Although art historical studies of early modern Rome have detailed the representation and memorial patronage of its cardinals and popes, the roles of women and family in the papal city are still open for further development and exploration. Though less studied, the many women's memorials under investigation in this dissertation will provide fresh perspectives on the representation of female temporal and religious power. This dissertation will contribute substantially to an underrepresented period of women's history, further defining the public representation of elite women alongside their male counterparts in the early modern era.

1.1 THE STUDY OF GENDER AND MONUMENTS

Erwin Panofsky's *Tomb Sculpture*, which explores tomb sculpture from the ancient Egyptians to Bernini,¹⁶ marked a new effort in the discipline of art history to study the artistic merits of tombs by examining their iconography and mapping their evolution in relationship to shifting conceptions about the afterlife.¹⁷ Research undertaken in the last three decades has expanded Panofsky's discussion beyond iconographical analysis to reveal new aspects of tomb manufacture, design, and installation.¹⁸ Approaches examining the role gender played within the production and display of women's memorials have not been offered, despite the increase in studies on the roles and representations of contemporary Italian women in art in recent years. Even Jacqueline Musacchio, whose pioneering work advocated a more inclusive view of women's roles

¹⁶Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture : Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1964).

¹⁷ A conference on Panofsky's influence on tomb studies was recently held at the Courtauld Institute. While the majority of the papers discussed tombs for men, two of the papers presented focused on women's tombs: Joana Ramôa Melo (New University of Lisbon): "Medieval Women commemorated as readers: the iconography of reading as a specific feature of female Portuguese medieval monuments" and Geoff Nuttall, "'Delicate to the point of evanescence': Panofsky, Ilaria del Carretto and Jacopo della Quercia. (Papers presented at the conference, Fifty years after Panofsky's *Tomb Sculpture*: New Approaches, New Perspectives, New Material, London, UK, June 2014).

¹⁸ See especially Jennifer Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture: The Industry of Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989); Jennifer Montagu, *Gold, Silver, and Bronze: Metal Sculpture of the Roman Baroque*, Bollingen Series XXXV, 39 (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1996); Kelley Helmstutler Di Dio, ed., *Making and Moving Sculpture in Early Modern Italy, Visual Culture in Early Modernity* (Farnham, Surrey, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015).

in Renaissance culture,¹⁹ does not acknowledge a substantial role for women's memorials.²⁰ It is worth noting that Anthony Colantuono and Steven Ostrow's recent appraisal of the field of early modern sculpture makes no mention of gender.²¹

In her essay entitled "Engendering Italian Renaissance Art: A Bibliographic Overview," Evelyn Welch puts forth a question: "Does gender matter for the art historian?"²² Welch's question is provocative because it challenges the central position gender approaches now occupy in art history. The countless articles, books, exhibitions, symposia, and conferences dedicated to Renaissance and early modern women and art have expanded our understanding of women artists and have generated awareness of women patrons, consumers, and subjects of art.²³ The continuing

¹⁹ Jacqueline Marie Musacchio, *The Art and Ritual of Childbirth in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999). The publication of Jacqueline Marie Musacchio's *The Art and Ritual of Childbirth in Renaissance Italy* marked a watershed moment in social and feminist art history. Musacchio's approach has been mirrored in other studies on cassone (marriage chests) and finery produced for Renaissance nuptial celebrations. See also, Jacqueline Marie Musacchio, *Art, Marriage, and Family in the Florentine Renaissance Palace* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

²⁰ Musacchio, *The Art and Ritual of Childbirth in Renaissance Italy*, 28. "... there were very few significant tombs built for Renaissance women."

²¹ Anthony Colantuono and Steven Ostrow have expertly acknowledged in their recent historiographical review many of the new approaches that scholars have undertaken. Gender, however, is not mentioned as a methodology. Anthony Colantuono and Steven F. Ostrow, eds., *Critical Perspectives on Roman Baroque Sculpture* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014).

²² Evelyn S. Welch, "Engendering Italian Renaissance Art - A Bibliographic Review," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 68 (2000): 201.

²³ The current bibliography on women's roles as artists in early modern Europe is extensive. Since the 1976 exhibition, *Women Artists* (curated by Ann Sutherland Harris and Linda Nochlin), female artists continue to be well represented in the literature. For recent essays and catalogue entries dedicated to women artists in Europe, see the exhibition catalogue for *Italian Women Artists: From Renaissance to Baroque*. 1st ed. Milano: New York: Skira; Distributed in North America by Rizzoli, 2007. Also see Fredrika Herman Jacobs, *Defining the Renaissance Virtuosa: Women Artists and the Language of Art History and Criticism*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997. For defining studies on early modern female artists, see: Mary D. Garrard. *Artemisia Gentileschi: The Image of the Female Hero in Italian Baroque Art*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1989; Adelina Modesti. *Elisabetta Sirani: Una Virtuosa Del Seicento Bolognese*. Donne Nell'arte. Bologna: Compositori, 2004. On the topic of Lavinia Fontana and her Bolognese circle, see the recent work of Carolyn Murphy: Murphy, Caroline. *Lavinia Fontana: a Painter and Her Patrons in Sixteenth-century Bologna*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003. Women's

flood of major publications exploring everything from majolica ware of Renaissance “beauties”²⁴ to the art patronage and collections of prostitutes²⁵ suggests a continued interest in gender within the evolving concerns of our discipline. However, as Welch reasons, images and objects themselves do not always reveal if a man or a woman commissioned them, if an artist was male or female, and particularly if an object’s audience was female or male. Should gender be a distinct point of focus in a period in which such issues (and moreover, proper documentation and records) can be difficult to clarify, or even address?

Ultimately, for Welch (and undoubtedly other feminist art historians) the answer is an unequivocal ‘yes.’ Images and objects are types of discourses that, in the same way as spoken language, are gendered. While the meaning of the term ‘gender’ continues to be discussed and debated, it is useful to consider Joan Wallach Scott’s definition of the term: “[G]ender is a

patronage has also been a major theme in scholarship. For an excellent analysis of the state of the field of patronage studies, see: Jaynie Andersen, “Rewriting the History of Art Patronage,” *Renaissance Studies* 10, no. 2 (1996): 129–138.

²⁴ For a general study on the poetic constructs of Renaissance portraiture, see: Jodi Cranston, *The Poetics of Portraiture in the Italian Renaissance*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000. For influential studies on the theme of female beauty in portraits since Cropper’s 1977 article, see: Mary Rogers, “Sonnets on Female Portraits from Renaissance North Italy.” *Word and Image* II (1986): 291–299; Marta Ajmar, and Dora Thornton. “When Is a Portrait Not a Portrait?: Belle Donne on Maiolica and the Renaissance Praise of Local Beauties,” in *The Image of the Individual: Portraits in the Renaissance*. London, 1998; Mary Rogers. “The Decorum of Women’s Beauty: Trissino, Firenzuola, Luigini, and the Representation of Women in Sixteenth-Century Painting,” *Renaissance Studies* II (1998): 47–89; J.B. Trapp. “Petrarch’s Laura: The Portraiture of an Imaginary Beloved,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 64 (2001): 55–192; Jane Bestor Fair, “Titian’s Portrait of Laura Eustochia: The Decorum of Female Beauty and the Motif of the Black Page,” *Renaissance Studies* 17 (2003): 628–673; Christina Neilson, *Parmigianino’s Antea: a beautiful artifice*. New York: Frick Collection, 2008. For a study on eroticism and male beauty in Italian art, see: Stephen Campbell, “Eros in the Flesh: Petrarchan Desire, the Embodied Eros, and Male Beauty in Italian Art, 1500-1540,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 35, no. 3 (2005): 629–662.

²⁵ Christopher Witcombe, “The Chapel of the Courtesan and the Quarrel of the Magdalens,” *The Art Bulletin* 84, no. 2 (June 2002): 273–292; Elizabeth S. Cohen, “Fragments from the ‘life Histories’ of Jewelry Belonging to Prostitutes in Early-modern Rome,” *Renaissance Studies* 19, no. 5 (2005): 647–657.

constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes, and gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power.”²⁶

The study of gender representation in the age of Catholic Renewal forces us to engage with a more complex (and sometimes troubling) vision of early modern culture than that offered by stylistic or iconographical analysis. As products of society, images and objects reflect these interwoven constructs of social power. Early modern images depicting women made overwhelmingly by male artists can be seen as part of the male discourse about women and also power over women. Careful observation of the differences between art produced by male and female artists, the differing types of objects produced for female or male viewership, and considerations of women’s art patronage has brought to light a whole array of visual materials which have long been dismissed by the canon. Such studies have drawn attention to how deeply gender constructions were entrenched in early modern culture, for both men and women.²⁷ These art historical studies dedicated to gender have helped to produce a much more critical and nuanced understanding of women than that of Burckhardt’s model of female equality.²⁸ Moreover, such

²⁶ Joan Wallach Scott, “Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis,” in *Gender and the Politics of History*, Gender and Culture (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 42.

²⁷ For a thorough and recent overview of early modern masculinity studies, see: Amy Leonard and Karen L. Nelson, eds., *Masculinities, Childhood, Violence: Attending to Early Modern Women--and Men: Proceedings of the 2006 Symposium* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2011). See also: Frederick Kiefer, ed., *Masculinities and Femininities in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance v. 23 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2009).

²⁸ The works of Swiss art historian Jakob Burckhardt have cast a long shadow on the subject of early modern Italy and women’s studies. In an oft-cited passage (in a chapter entitled “The Equality of Men and Women,”) Burckhardt argued that men and women shared “a footing of perfect equality” in Renaissance Italy. According to Burckhardt, women were free to use their moral rectitude and intellect to attain “their share of notoriety and glory” as “Individuals” on equal social standing with men. Citing the high social position of Renaissance women like Isabella d’Este and Caterina Sforza, Burckhardt argued for the equal standing of all women in Renaissance Italy – the mere existence of such women the proof of parity between the sexes. In her influential essay, “Did Women Have a Renaissance?” historian Joan Kelley Gadol dispelled the “widely held notion of the equality of Renaissance men with women,” by pointing out the many misconceptions in Burckhardt’s views about Renaissance women. Kelley Gadol argued that far from

studies have revealed the ways in which women navigated these gender constructions through visual means to express personal autonomy and identity.

The few studies that exist on Italian women's funerary monuments have centered on the most notable women's tombs from the Renaissance and early modern period.²⁹ As such, most specialists would be pressed to recall any tombs or funerary memorials for women except Jacopo della Quercia's monument for Ilaria del Carretto in Lucca (c. 1406) and Gianlorenzo Bernini's Roman tribute to Suor Maria Raggi (c.1643) two centuries later. Discussion of women's monuments beyond these examples has been buried within the confines of sculptor monographs, treatments of regional sculpture schools, or discussions of saints' tombs.³⁰ In this way, women's tomb monuments have been isolated from one another and treated as exceptional rarities or second-rate derivatives.³¹

being equals, Italian women were subservient to their male compatriots, stripped of the relative social freedoms that high-standing women of the middle ages possessed. For Kelly Gadol, the social positions of men and women were inextricably linked. In her analysis, the birth of capitalism and modern government provided a favorable environment for the expansion of male roles in the public sector, to the necessary detriment of women's opportunities and influence. Kelly Gadol's essay immediately initiated a response, and throughout the following decades Burckhardt's (and Kelly Gadol's) ideas about premodern Italian culture have been subject to closer scrutiny by social historians. From this has emerged a dynamic, more nuanced, and extensive body of literature on the subject of early modern woman that radically departs from Burckhardt's idealistic vision of gender parity. Joan Kelly Gadol, "Did Women Have a Renaissance?," in *Becoming Visible: Women in European History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1977).

²⁹ Undoubtedly, Jacopo del Caretto's memorial for Ilaria del Caretto has been the most studied of all women's memorials. For an extensive bibliography on this tomb, see Graham, catalogue number 15, 319-321. The expansive tombs for Medea Colleoni, Barbara Manfredi, and Maria Periera Camponeschi are also well represented in Graham's bibliography.

³⁰ On female saints' tombs see Robert Barnaby Nygren, "The Monumental Saint's Tomb in Italy 1260-1520 (PhD, Harvard). 1999.

³¹ George L. Hersey, *Alfonso II and the Artistic Renewal of Naples, 1485-1495*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969): 112. "It is true that the tomb of Maria Piccolomini and to a lesser extent its chapel are copies of Rossellino's chapel and tomb for the Cardinal of Portugal... They are therefore of no great intrinsic interest in the general history of Italian art." In Frederick Hartt, *The Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal, 1434-1459, at San Miniato in Florence* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964): 62. "What references we shall have to make to the monument in Naples, for purposes of comparison, can

Anglo-American scholars working on early modern England, however, have been actively researching this topic.³² Nigel Llewellyn's *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (published in 2000) is a thorough study, cataloging over five thousand tombs produced between 1530 and 1660 in England, and analyzing their social meanings in a Protestant context.³³ Within this body of monuments is an impressive number of conjugal monuments made for wives, as well as independent tombs for women. Peter Sherlock's *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* engages at length with issues of family and commemoration, discussing the role of women's monuments within the Seymour memorial strategies.³⁴ While neither Llewellyn nor

seldom be in its favor." Hartt, *The Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal*, 71. "None of the many changes that were made in the plan of the sculptures at Naples are in the direction indicated by such differences as there are between the drawing and the tomb; the adaptation is made not only with less fidelity, but with less taste." I would like to thank Brenna Graham for pointing out the passages in Hersey and Hartt to me in fruitful conversation in 2013.

³² There have also been a few studies on women's monuments in France. See Alexandra Carpino's discussion of Margaret of Austria's commission for her tomb at Brou: Alexandra Carpino, "Margaret of Austria's Funerary Complex at Brou: Conjugal Love, Political Ambition or Personal Glory?," in *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997); Jeffrey Chipps Smith, "The Tomb of Anne of Burgundy, Duchess of Bedford, in the Musée Du Louvre," *Gesta* 23, no. 1 (1984): 39-50; Ann M. Roberts, "The Chronology and Political Significance of the Tomb of Mary of Burgundy," *The Art Bulletin* 71, no. 3 (1989): 376-400; Kathleen Nolan, "The Queen's Body and Institutional Memory: The Tomb of Adelaide of Maurienne," in *Memory and the Medieval Tomb*, ed. Elizabeth Valdez del Alamo and Carol Stamatis Pendergast (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2000), 246-267. For a case study on a Spanish memorial: Elizabeth Valdez del Alamo, "Lament for a Lost Queen: The Sarcophagus of Doña Blanca in Nájera," *The Art Bulletin* 78, no. 2 (1996): 311-333.

³³ Approximately four thousand of these monuments are extant. Nigel Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post Reformation England*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000, 7. "Memorials of every sort were set up in their hundreds in post-Reformation England. As yet this material has not been fully surveyed; however we can estimate that there are almost 4,000 extant sculpted funerary monuments dating from the reforms of the 1530s to the Restoration of 1660. What is more, comparisons between numbers of monuments estimated on the basis of a first count and the higher figures which are drawn from a second count also including primary sources and fieldwork, suggest that 4,000 monuments probably represents about 75 per cent of the original number." See also Llewellyn's earlier study: *The Art of Death: Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual, C. 1500-c. 1800* (London: Published in association with the Victoria and Albert Museum by Reaktion Books, 1991).

³⁴ Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008). See also for example, Sherlock's discussion of the tomb for Lady Frances Bouchier (d. 1612), commissioned by Lady Anne Clifford in 1615, which Sherlock describes as "an act of female

Sherlock dedicate any specific section of their study to women's tombs in particular, women's monuments are represented in roughly half of their case studies, and the roles of female tomb patrons are discussed throughout.

Recently published articles on women's monuments in early modern England have contextualized Llewellyn and Sherlock's broad research, and deepened our understanding of women's memorial design through case study analysis. For example, Marion Wynne Davies has examined the tomb programs of the English noblewomen Elizabeth Brackley (d. 1663) and Jane Cavendish (d. 1668) to show how their monuments constructed narratives that allowed them "to evade conventional female roles in death, as they had in life."³⁵ As Patricia Philippy and Mihoko Suzuki have also shown, in some remarkable instances some accomplished English women even authored inscriptions to accompany their own commemorative images.³⁶

Brenna Graham's 2014 dissertation on quattrocento women's monuments is at present the one study dedicated to women's monuments in Renaissance Italy.³⁷ Just as I demonstrate the proliferation of female monuments in the period of Catholic Renewal, Graham dismisses Catherine King's assumption³⁸ that women's tombs (including self-commissioned examples) did not exist in

commemoration [which] prompted a reaffirmation of the male lineage, itself enduring a crisis of succession." Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England*, 24-25.

³⁵ Marion Wynne Davies, "'With Such a Wife, 'Tis Heaven on Earth to Dwell': Memorializing Early Modern English Women," *Journal of the Northern Renaissance* 2 (2010): 3.

³⁶ See Patricia Philippy and Mihoko Suzuki, "'Herself Livinge, to Be Pictured': 'Monumental Circles' and Women's Self-portraiture," in *The History of British Women's Writing 1610-1690* (Palgrave, 2001), 129-151.

³⁷ Brenna Graham, "The Most Bitter and Untimely of Events."

³⁸ "No laywoman to my knowledge commissioned a portrait bust for herself or another woman at this period, and laywomen paid for a full-length effigy of a woman as if lying on the top of a tomb only when the woman commemorated was regarded as a saint." Catherine King, *Renaissance Women Patrons: Wives and Widows in Italy c. 1300-c. 1550* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 7.

Italy.³⁹ As she illustrates throughout her dissertation, women's tombs functioned "similarly to the commemorative framework established by men."⁴⁰ Graham argues, beginning in the fifteenth century, the character of women's tombs began to change in profound ways across the Italian peninsula.⁴¹ Graham's study locates over thirty-five extant quattrocento monumental tombs across

³⁹As Graham's study has clarified, at least five women self-commissioned their tombs before the year 1500. These tombs include examples of Caterina dei Francesi [1405, Sant'Antonio Padua], Agnese da Mosto Venier [dual monument for Agnese and daughter, 1410, Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice], Sibilia Cetto [a dual monument for Sibilia and her husband, 1421, San Francesco Grande, Venice], Isotta degli Atti [1447, Tempo Malatestiano, Rimini] and Maria Periera [1490, San Bernardino, L'Aquila]. Of these, three were exclusively commissioned by the deceased, while the tombs of Agnese da Mosto Venier and Isotta degli Atti were commissioned in concert with their husbands. Graham also includes the self-commissioned tomb of Lucrezia Pico della Mirandola [dated 1503, San Benedetto Po, Mantua]. Graham, "The Most Bitter and Untimely of Event," 139-140.

⁴⁰ On this, see: Graham, "The Most Bitter and Untimely of Events," 265. Graham's conclusions mirror those Anita Moskowitz, who questioned the notion of a "female tomb type" in her study of medieval sculpture. Anita Fiderer Moskowitz, *Italian Gothic Sculpture: C. 1250-c. 1400* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001). This is true even in Republican Florence, recently characterized as one of the worst places to have been born female. The necessity of providing for the soul of the deceased was a Christian imperative that was universal, and meant that women could – and did – receive substantial funerary praise, including tombs. Dale Kent, "Women in Renaissance Florence" in David Alan Brown, and National Gallery of Art (U.S.), in *Virtue & Beauty: Leonardo's Ginevra De' Benci and Renaissance Portraits of Women*. Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2001, 26. "Indeed, Florence was among the more unlucky places in Western Europe to be born a woman. In the princely courts a woman could inherit wealth and a measure of power with her noble blood and her significance might then be as much dynastic as domestic, even political." Sharon Strocchia, "Remembering the Family: Women, Kin, and Commemorative Masses in Renaissance Florence," in *Renaissance Quarterly* 42 (1989); Sharon T Strocchia, *Death and Ritual in Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992). Strocchia asserts that in Renaissance society, burial was a "fundamental human obligation" that was "inextricably bound up with the social imperative" to give the deceased proper rites. *Death and Ritual in Renaissance Florence*, 5. For an interesting parallel study on the memorialization of Florentine women with candles, see Maria DePrano, "Lux Aeterna: Commemoration of Women with Candles in the Santa Maria Novella Book of Wax in Fifteenth-Century Florence," *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 6 (2011). DePrano observes that about 30% of entries in the "Book of Wax" for Santa Maria Novella recorded wax donations for women, and that "[i]n general, the longer a woman lived, the more wax she tended to receive," 167.

⁴¹ As in the case for the tombs of men, they became a more widespread phenomenon, commemorating a more extensive range of patrician women from non-ruling families. "The sharp increase in the number of tombs created in the second half of the century follows the same pattern as tomb production in general, and while it could be an accident of survival for the sculptures, it more likely suggests that women's tombs were becoming much more common and that their patronage was spreading to a broader range of the population." Graham, "The Most Bitter and Untimely of Events," 30. At present, there is little evidence to suggest the production of monumental wall tombs for women in Rome in the duecento and trecento, although some women were commemorated in funerary slabs. For a thorough study on the compelling early medieval

the Italian peninsula, including several magnificent examples from quattrocento Florence, Republican Venice, and even Rome.⁴²

In the course of preparing this manuscript, I have also become aware of a current research project headed by Anna Cavallaro, Anna Esposito, and Andreas Rehberg (L'École française de Rome, 2014), which has been analyzing Roman women's tombs produced from the quattrocento to 1527.⁴³ Their research on late quattrocento tombs (along with Graham's study) shows that small changes were indeed beginning to happen in Rome, a city with very few monumental tombs of women in the previous century. While these scholars focus on Renaissance monuments, their "ricerca in corsa" has provided a helpful data set for comparison with my own findings, helping

funerary inscription for the Roman noblewoman Mizina Massimo (which was perhaps composed by Mizina herself), see: Margherita Cecchelli, "Ottone III e l'Aristocrazia Romana: Domina Mizina Della Famiglia Massimo," *Studi Romani* (2004): 407–425.

⁴² Graham's study cites the tombs of Agnese da Mosto Venier (anti Giovanni e Paolo, Venice, 1410), Piccarda Bueri (San Lorenzo, Florence, 1433), Beata Villana (Santa Maria Novella, Florence, 1451), Franceschina Tron Pesaro (Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, 1478), Nera Corsi Sassetti (Santa Trinità, Florence, 1479), Genorosa Orsini (Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice, 1498). Graham, "The Most Bitter and Untimely of Events," 129. In the recent study three volume study of tomb slabs in Santa Croce in Florence from the trecento to seicento, scholars have catalogued three examples: Giovanna Tornaquinci (Tedalini) [c. 1370], Luisa Capponi (Geraldini) [c. 1585], Giovanna Gori [c. 1630]. Antonella Chiti, Rita Iacopino, and Cristina Cheli, *Le Lapidi Terragne Di Santa Croce*, Testi e Studi 28 (Firenze: Polistampa, 2012). While Graham does not focus her study exclusively Rome, she updates this area of scholarship in her discussion of the monument to Francesca Pitti Tournabouni, analyzing its program and incorporating it into her extensive catalogue. Graham, "The Most Bitter and Untimely of Events: Women, Death, and the Monumental Tomb in Quattrocento Italy." For the case study on this tomb project, see pages 60-71. Also see catalogue entry no. 33, 384-387.

⁴³ These authors presented three papers for the panel, "Donne di pietra: Images, Incidents, and Female Protagonists of Roman Renaissance Funerary Monuments," at the conference Early Modern Rome 2 (1341-1667), held from October 10-12 2013 and organized by the University of California, Rome Research Center. These papers have been published in print this year and are also available at *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome – Moyen Âge (MEFRM)* <http://mefrm.revues.org/2406>. The papers examined the role of women in *mortis causa* donations, tomb typology and women's monuments, and heraldic imagery on women's tombs. Anna Esposito, "L'agire delle donne romane nella trasmissione della memoria" in *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge* (2015) 127/1; Anna Cavallaro, "Un'indagine storico-artistica delle sepolture femminili nel Rinascimento romano," *ibid.* and Andreas Rehberg, "Aspetti araldici delle sepolture femminili romane del Rinascimento"

to clarify the appearance of new trends and patterns relative to female sepulchral art in the age of Catholic Renewal.

1.2 METHODOLOGY

A consistent feature of the larger field of tomb studies is a social-typological approach, inaugurated in 1994 in an influential article by Andrew Butterfield, which examines the program of tomb monuments in relationship to the social standing and position of the deceased subject.⁴⁴ Debra Pincus employed this method most recently in her study of doges' tombs in Venice, demonstrating the utility of this method beyond the bounds of Renaissance Florence.⁴⁵ This methodological approach resonates in several ongoing projects, like the *Requiem Projekt* (Humboldt Universität, Berlin), which since 2001 has been cataloging and examining the tombs for popes, cardinals, and members of the clergy produced in Rome from 1420-1798.⁴⁶ This project has produced several publications and an extremely useful website with an extensive (and growing) database of tombs.⁴⁷ The essays in *Grabmonumente und Begräbniszeremoniell im Zeichen des Humanismus* (edited by Joachim Poeschke, director of the *Praemium Virtutis* project) heavily favor Roman monuments; the subjects of these essays are tombs produced for cardinals

⁴⁴ Andrew Butterfield, "Social Structure and the Typology of Funerary Monuments in Early Renaissance Florence," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 26 (1994):.47-67.

⁴⁵ Debra Pincus, *The Tombs of the Doges of Venice* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

⁴⁶ The database for the Requiem Projekt is accessed at <http://requiem-projekt.de>.

⁴⁷ A current list of publications is available at <http://requiem-projekt.de/publikationen/buecher/>.

and popes.⁴⁸ This scholarly focus is further developed in the latest volume in the series for *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (also edited by Poeschke) that examines the development of iconography and style of cardinals' tombs and the turn of the sixteenth century to the Sack of Rome in 1527.⁴⁹

One of the hallmarks of a social-typological approach is the examination of a vast body of monuments in order to uncover themes of representation relative to the deceased's status. My examples come from my database, beginning with known trecento examples of women's memorials. My database offers a substantive research tool for scholars working on medieval and earlier Renaissance topics by providing a large pool of data. That data set makes it possible to track trends and make broader claims about the expansion of women's memorials over the course of several centuries.

This database of women's commemorative memorials includes tombs (monuments containing the body or part of the body of the deceased), cenotaphs (tomblike monuments in which the body is buried elsewhere) and even simple burial markers. Although I have attempted to "recover" as many memorials as possible, there are undoubtedly a number that have not been accounted for, either in my database, or in more directed discussion. Typically, art historians have made use of artist contracts, inventories, and preparatory drawings to resolve issues pertaining to the history, movements, and fates of paintings and sculpture. In the case of women's tomb monuments, these resources are either in thin supply or not available.⁵⁰ Although effigies found on

⁴⁸ Joachim Poeschke and Kusch, *Praemium Virtutis. Grabmonumente und Begräbniszeremoniell im Zeichen des Humanismus* (Münster, 2002); and Joachim Poeschke and B. Kusch, *Praemium Virtutis II. Grabmonumente und Begräbniszeremoniell im Zeichen Des Humanismus* (Münster, 2005).

⁴⁹ Jutta Götzmann, *Römische Grabmäler der Hochrenaissance: Typologie - Ikonographie - Stil*, 1. Aufl, Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance 13 (Münster: Rhema, 2010).

⁵⁰ According to Jennifer Montagu, tomb contracts were very rarely produced. Only a few sculptors ever

tombs are one of the few types of portraits with very secure identifications, it is notable that even in a few instances the identification of the female subjects of a memorial effigy has not been established with certainty. Additionally, the “large scale destruction of female tombs over the past five hundred years,”⁵¹ observed by some scholars has presented a number of challenges in the study of early modern women’s memorials. Memorials were sometimes disassembled and moved as new families took possession of chapels; a few monuments were even moved to entirely new contexts in different churches. In the process of these relocations, the body of the deceased and monument were often permanently disconnected from one another, and the visual program of the memorial reconfigured. I do not wish to imply however that women’s monuments were disassembled or relocated because they commemorated a woman, or that these issues effected all women’s tombs. Although a number of women’s monuments have been dismantled, so were many produced for noblemen, cardinals, and popes.⁵² Given the relative lack of women’s monuments, however, issues of tomb loss are of some urgency to our understanding of women’s monuments as a whole, which I hope to rectify to some degree with this study.

The result of nearly twenty years of research, Vincenzo Forcella’s twelve volume study of Roman inscriptions, *Iscrizioni Delle Chiese e Degli Altri Edificii Di Roma* (1869-1884), has been an indispensable resource for cataloging women’s memorials, clarifying the identities of female

produced preparatory drawings. For obvious reasons, household inventories do not detail tomb monuments (although they sometimes mention busts that are related to a tomb monument). Jennifer Montagu, “Innovation and Exchange: Portrait Sculptors of the Early Roman Baroque,” in *Bernini and the Birth of Baroque Portrait Sculpture* (Los Angeles: Ottawa: J. Paul Getty Museum; National Gallery of Canada, 2008), 47.

⁵¹ De Prano, “Lux Aeterna: Commemoration of Women with Candles in the Santa Maria Novella Book of Wax in Fifteenth-Century Florence,” 165.

⁵² Carol M. Richardson, “‘Ruined, Untended and Derelict’: Fifteenth-Century Papal Tombs in St. Peter’s,” in *Art and Identity in Early Modern Rome* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008).

tomb subjects in which the tomb has been effaced, destroyed, or otherwise altered.⁵³ Although this work does not contain images of any tomb (the original intention was to include printed reproductions),⁵⁴ it does provide an exhaustive catalogue of nearly every Latin inscription (and some vernacular inscriptions) in the city from the eleventh to the nineteenth century, a resource unavailable for any other city, except Milan.⁵⁵ Forcella divides the corpus of inscriptions by church, and provides a full bibliography (including primary sources) for each individual entry, even incorporating inscriptions known only through textual resources. This provides an invaluable resource for reconstructing the original contexts of memorials.

As some scholars have pointed out, however, Forcella's volumes contain occasional errors of transcription.⁵⁶ For this reason, I have also relied on other types of primary sources, including the visual evidence produced in association with Francesco Gualdi's *Delle Memorie Sepolcrali* (ca. 1640), and by other antiquarians in Gualdi's circle.⁵⁷ The documentation of these memorials

⁵³ Vincenzo Forcella, *Iscrizioni Delle Chiese e Degli Altri Edificii Di Roma Dal Secolo XI. Fino Ai Giorni Nostri, Raccolte e Pubblicate Da V.F.*, vol. 1–12 (Rome, 1869-1884).

⁵⁴ On this topic, as well as a discussion of Forcella's place within the history of antiquarianism in Rome, see: Fabrizio Federici, "L'interesse Per Le Lastre Tombali Medievali a Roma Tra Ricerche Epigrafiche e Documentazione Figurativa (secoli XVI-XIX)" 4 (2011): 161-201. See especially p. 176 for a review of Forcella's original intentions for an illustrated volume.

⁵⁵ Vincenzo Forcella, *Iscrizioni Delle Chiese e Degli Altri Edifici Di Milano Dal Secolo VIII Ai Giorni Nostri Raccolte Da V. Forcella* (Milan, 1889).

⁵⁶ See for example, Carolyn Valone, "Mothers and Sons: Two Paintings for San Bonaventura in Early Modern Rome," *Renaissance Quarterly* 53, no. 1 (2000): 118, note 20. Valone corrects Forcella's errors in transcription of Portia Anguillara Cesi's tomb inscription. See also: Iiro Kajanto, *Classical and Christian: Studies in the Latin Epitaphs of Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, *Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemia Toimituksia, Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae: Sarja B nide 203* (Helsinki: Suomalainen tiedeakatemia, 1980), 20.

⁵⁷ Gualdi (1574-1657) was a noble from Rimini, and a Roman patrician Knight of the Order of Santo Stefano. He served on the privy council of four popes. Inspired by the interest of Cesare Baronio and Carlo Borromeo in medieval antiquity, Gualdi collected drawings of funerary epitaphs, coats-of-arms, and tomb monuments from Rome. Through his close confidant Cassiano Dal Pozzo, Gualdi was introduced to the French scholar Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peirsec, who was also interested in medieval sepulchral monuments; Peirsec sent Gualdi his young protégé Gauges de Gozze, who also authored texts on medieval

was essential not only to the broader antiquarian project of classifying the past, but also in the development of the contemporary history of family in Rome. Through visual and textual means, research by Gualdi and others thus contributed to a growing discourse about power, familial legend, and social-climbing. Within Gualdi's project there are frequent references to and illustration of memorials for women, many of which contained an incised or sculpted effigy. For these antiquarians and artists, women's monuments were important evidence of familial connections and alliances that had bearing on contemporary society. Therefore, there was distinct need to produce women's memorials, but also to *preserve* them for posterity through printed reproduction, and more careful physical conservation. Although Gualdi makes no special dispensations for protecting the tombs of women in particular, his lamentation over the loss of some women's tombs indicates their "wanton destruction" was of consequence and as worthy of

funerary monuments. Antiquarians under the direction of Gualdi undertook extensive projects to illustrate and record tomb slabs and monuments produced in Rome, ranging from the late Middle Ages to the early seventeenth-century. In documenting the rich memorial culture of a more recent past, these antiquarians attempted to broaden the scope of study beyond the more typical interests in classical or early Christian monuments. Gualdi's treatise *Delle Memorie Sepolcrali* (an unfinished work) was to include over one hundred woodcuts of trecento, quattrocento and cinquecento Roman memorials, located and compiled by Gualdi during his years of antiquarian research. Gualdi's treatise was never published, stymied by the death of Urban VIII in 1644. However, manuscript drafts, drawings, and woodblock prints (produced or compiled with the assistance of other antiquarians and artists, including Gualdi's collaborator Constantino Gigli) have survived, giving some sense of the ambitious scope and goals of the project. These efforts are catalogued in the Windsor Album RCIN 970344 (Royal Library at Windsor Castle). Gualdi's *Delle memorie* never circulated in print, but it helped to generate an interest in the topic amongst his contemporaries with whom he exchanged his galley proofs. See: Fabrizio Federici, "Il Trattato Delle Memorie Sepolcrali Del Cavalier Francesco Gualdi: Un Collezionista Del Seicento e Le Testimonianze Figurative Medievali," *Prospettiva* (July 2003). On Cesare Baronio's medieval antiquarianism see: Katherine Elliot Van Liere, Simon Ditchfield, and Howard Louthan, eds. *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World*. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2012. For a recent and engaging study on Peiresc, see: Peter N. Miller, *Peiresc's Orient: Antiquarianism as Cultural History in the Seventeenth Century*, Variorum Collected Studies Series CS998 (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012); Fabrizio Federici, "Alla Ricerca Dell'esattezza: Peiresc, Francesco Gualdi e L'antico," in *Rome-Paris 1640: Transferts Culturels Et Renaissance D'un Centre Artistique*, Collection D'histoire De L'art De l'Académie De France à Rome (Paris: Académie de France à Rome ; Somogy, 2009), 18–62.

social critique as it was for the tombs of men and popes.⁵⁸

Gualdi's study of Roman tombs does not extend into the seventeenth century. Therefore, I have also consulted early modern topographical literature (including pilgrims' guides and travel narratives) that describes the monuments found in early modern churches.⁵⁹ Filippo Titi's *Studio di pittura, scoltura, et architettura nelle chiese di Roma*, published in Rome in 1674,⁶⁰ is another useful primary source, providing a descriptive "inventory" of Roman church interiors, including commemorative monuments. Although Titi's approach is not comprehensive (he does not, for example, take into consideration tomb slabs, and even neglects some major monuments), it has been a tool for clarifying the original installation of some monuments that were moved, disassembled or later destroyed. When available, individual guidebooks for Roman churches

⁵⁸ Gualdi lamented the loss of the tombs Cenci women. Fabrizio Federici and Jörg Garms, "Tombs of illustrious Italians at Rome": *l'album di disegni RCIN 970334 della Royal Library di Windsor*, Bollettino d'arte. Volume speciale 2010 (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 2011), 63. See also, Fabrizio Federici, "Francesco Gualdi e Gli Arredi Scultorei Nelle Chiese Romane," in *Arnolfo Di Cambio. Una Rinascita nell'Umbria Medievale*. Exh. Cat, Perugia and Orvieto, July 7 2005 – January 8, 2006,, ed. V. Garabaldi and B. Toscano (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2005), 92. On the response to the destruction of papal tombs in St. Peter's, see Carol M. Richardson, "'Ruined, Untended and Derelict': Fifteenth-century Papal Tombs in St. Peter's," in *Art and Identity in Early Modern Rome* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008).

⁵⁹ Pietro Martire Felini, *Trattato Nuovo Delle Cose Maravigliose Dell'alma Città Di Roma* (Bartolomeo Zannetti, 1615); Rodrigo de Vega, *Roma Sacra, Antica e Moderna : Figurata, e Divisa in Tre Parti* (Rome: G.B. Molo, 1684); Giovanni Marangoni, *Il Divoto Pellegrino Guidato, Ed Istruito Nella Visita Delle Quattro Basiliche Di Roma, Per Il Giubileo Dell'anno Santo MDCCL* (Nella stamperia del Chracas, 1749). While less useful for the study of Christian monuments, humanist guidebooks to the "marvels" of ancient Rome offer additional insights on how early moderns encountered and interacted with the city: Pompilio Totti, *Ritratto Di Roma Antica : Nel Quale Sono Figurati i Principali Tempij, Teatri, Anfiteatri, Cerchi, Naumachie, Archi Trionfali, Curie, Basiliche, Colonne, Ordine Del Trionfo, Dignità Militari, e Civili, Riti, Ceremonie, Medaglie, & Altre Cose Notabili*. (Rome: Per Andrea Fei, a spese di Pompilio Totti libraro, 1627). For recent scholarly commentary on this type of publication, see: David Ryley Marshall, *The Site of Rome: Studies in the Art and Topography of Rome 1400-1750* (Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2014).

⁶⁰ Francesco Titi, *Studio Di Pittura, Scoltura Et Architettura Nelle Chiese Di Roma* (Rome: Mancini, 1674); Filippo Titi, Bruno Contardi, and S. Romano, *Studio Di Pittura, Scoltura, Et Architettura, Nelle Chiese Di Roma* (Firenze: Centro Di, 1987).

produced in the seventeenth and eighteenth century have helped to supplement these broader surveys in the process of reconstructing the placement of women's monuments.⁶¹

Scholars of early modern women have emphasized the importance of wills and testaments in reconstructing female agency and rediscovering women's voices regarding memorialization. For example, the recent study by Sandra Cavallo on women's wills from 1541 to 1789 in Turin reveals women's desires related to funerals, tombs, and memorial masses.⁶² Women's testaments preserved in family archives of the Archivio di Stato in Rome have provided me with substantial information relative to women's funerary concerns in Rome, revealing some elite women's stipulations and requirements for both their funeral and the location of their tomb.⁶³

Surveys of early modern Roman sculpture contained in *Römische Porträtbüsten Der Gegenreformation*, and (more recently) in *Early Eighteenth-Century Sculpture in Rome, Le Sculture Del Seicento a Roma*, and *Scultura Del '600 a Roma* have been essential supplements to these primary source readings, and provided extensive catalogues of Roman memorial sculpture contained within churches and private collections.⁶⁴ These surveys, while covering an impressive

⁶¹See also, for example: Giacompo Alberici, *Compendio Delle Grandezze Dell'illustre Et Devotissima Chiesa Di Santa Maria Del Popolo Di Roma* (Rome, 1600); Gio. Domenico Maoro, *Descrittione Della Chiesa Del Santissimo Salvatore Della Corte Di Roma, Nel Rione Di Trastevere, Divisa in Due Parti* (Velletri: Pier Guglielmo Caffasso, 1677); F. Casmiro, *Memorie Istoriche Della Chiesa e Convento Di S. Maria in Aracoeli Di Roma* (Rome: R. Bernabo, 1736).

⁶² Sandra Cavallo, *Charity and Power in Early Modern Italy: Benefactors and Their Motives in Turin, 1541-1789*, *Cambridge History of Medicine* (Cambridge ; New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

⁶³ The Archivio di Stato has recently provided a searchable database of women's testaments to a helpful online resource dedicated to women's writing from the sixteenth to the twentieth century. The website can be accessed at: <http://212.189.172.98:8080/scritturedidonne/Progetto.jsp>

⁶⁴ Auguste Griesbach, *Römische Porträtbüsten Der Gegenreformation* (Liepzig: Keller, 1936); Robert Enggass, *Early Eighteenth-century Sculpture in Rome: An Illustrated Catalogue Raisonné* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976); Andrea Bacchi, *Scultura Del '600 a Roma* (Milan: Longanesi, 1996); Oreste Ferrari and Serenita Papaldo, *Le Sculture Del Seicento a Roma* (Roma: Ugo

amount of material, are not exhaustive treatments, especially with regards to smaller funerary markers completed by anonymous sculptors. I have supplemented these studies with my own on-site research in Rome's churches in 2010 and 2011, bringing attention to a number of women's memorial projects unaccounted for within these studies.

Although this dissertation focuses on women's tombs, I do not argue that women's tombs were a distinct and homogenous category or type of memorial.⁶⁵ The women in my study can all be categorized as "elite," an efficacious but insufficient term that does not account for their diversity, ranging from noblewomen, to merchant's wives, to poets. Although common motifs and visual language link some of these women's tombs together, the "rich diversity of types"⁶⁶ of women commemorated inhibits discussion of a single tomb type for women. I am unaware of any early modern text that discusses women's tombs as a type independent from those of men.⁶⁷ Antiquarian examination of funerary monuments in the seventeenth century did not consider women's tombs as a separate type, nor did the gender of the deceased warrant further comment.

Nonetheless, as a necessary first step towards a more complete vision of commemorative sculpture in Rome, this dissertation addresses patterns specific to women's tombs. Commissioning and erecting a memorial was not a one-size-fits-all process. Individual factors of age, familial

Bozzi, 1999).

⁶⁵ I would here call attention to similar conclusions made by Brenna Graham in her recent dissertation. I wish to acknowledge thanks for years of fruitful discussion on this topic with her as we worked through many methodological issues together.

⁶⁶ I borrow this useful language from Bury and Burke's assessment of the cosmopolitan make-up of Early Modern Rome. *Art and Identity in Early Modern Rome* (Aldershot, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008).

⁶⁷ Graham has made a similar conclusion on the topic of Renaissance monuments. "The evidence points to how these monuments were simply "tombs" in the fifteenth-century and needed no gendered modifiers before that word." Graham, "The Most Bitter and Untimely of Events." 4.

origins, and social position of the deceased impacted the location, design, inscriptions and patronage of the tomb project. By extracting women's tombs from the larger body of Roman monuments demonstrating social and individual identities, it is possible to reveal instances of changing attitudes towards the commemoration of women and their roles in early modern Roman society.

1.3 SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND FAMILY COMPETITION IN ROME

In early modern Rome, the competition between the baronial elite and new papal clans heightened concern for establishing solid legacies for elite families. The social landscape of Rome began to change dramatically as new families from foreign provinces found footholds in the ascent to the papal throne.⁶⁸ In theory, the elective nature of the papacy meant that outcomes of papal elections were unpredictable, and families of humble means or foreign heritage, through strategy in the College of Cardinals, had a relatively equal chance in securing the papal throne.⁶⁹ Contenders to the papal throne were no longer drawn exclusively from the landed baronial elite, but from these newly titled families who were forming a “papal aristocracy” that became

⁶⁸ During exile of the papacy to Avignon in the fourteenth-century, the city was left entirely to the baronial clans. The rule of the Colonna pope Martin V [1417-1431] heralded the return of the popes in the early fifteenth-century. However his was the last papacy of a baronial family until the successive papacies of Michelangelo de'Conti (Pope Innocent XIII) and Pierfrancesco Orsini (Pope Benedict XIII) nearly three hundred years later.

⁶⁹ In 1471, the Della Rovere (a family of modest mercantile means from Liguria) rose in esteem with the election of Sixtus IV della Rovere's elevation to the purple. Equally, the noble foreign houses of the Medici and Farnese from Emilia also claimed new authority when Leo X de'Medici, Clement VII de'Medici and Pope Paul III Farnese were elected, using their newfound papal status to elevate their power in their ducal courts abroad.

incorporated into the Roman aristocracy.⁷⁰ These families were among the wealthiest in Rome, but lacked the requisite *romanitas* – or “Roman-ness”– of the ancient baronial clans, causing mounting suspicion towards these new families among the baronial clans, who were increasingly outcompeted by the seemingly inexhaustible family wealth of their new peers.⁷¹

This fluid, yet contested, social hierarchy was a source for several publications in the early modern period dedicated to the history of the titled elite in Rome. In his *Relatione seu Raguglio compitissimo di tutte le Nobilità delle famiglie Antiche, e moderne di Roma*, Teodoro Ameyden (1586-1656) compiled a list of over two hundred Roman noble families.⁷² At the top of this list were two baronial families with special distinction: the Orsini and the Colonna.⁷³ Ameyden distinguished these families along with the Conti and Savelli as first among the princely families of Rome because they “[professed] an ancient nobility,” which stemmed from their origins as

⁷⁰ As Tracy Ehrlich observes, by placing the papal elite just under the baronial clans, Ameyden “acknowledges changes effected in the social structure since the 1560s.” Tracy L. Ehrlich, *Landscape and Identity in Early Modern Rome: Villa Culture at Frascati in the Borghese Era, Monuments of Papal Rome* (Cambridge, U.K. ; New York: Cambridge University Press : in association with the American Academy in Rome, 2002), 22.

⁷¹ In efforts to keep up with the expenditure of new papal families, barons became indebted. This trend resulted in the formation of the Congregation of Barons, an institution formed in 1596 to seize fiefs from barons who had defaulted on their loans.

⁷² Ameyden also authored another chronicle on Roman noble families, *Delle famiglie Romane nobili*. See Ehrlich, *Landscape and Identity in Early Modern Rome*, 21.

⁷³ The baronage was a restricted caste of families with Roman pedigrees dating back multiple centuries. Baronial families gained authority and prestige in the High Middle Ages through their acquisition of *castelli* (fiefs) and *casali* (farm estates) in the surrounding countryside. Ownership of these *castelli* conferred noble rights in the form of prestigious titles of prince, duke, marquis or count. Beginning in the trecento, these baronial clans became increasingly connected to the papacy. The “first families” of Rome like the Colonna, Orsini, Conti, Savelli, and Caetani were drawn from their rural fiefs to Rome where they built family residences to establish their position in the city’s hierarchy. Erecting impressive family fortresses with high towers (a privilege granted only to the elite), these families announced their arrival within the city and laid claim to particular *quartiere* of the city. The siting of such compounds often aligned themselves on a direct axis to their feudal lands, connecting their urban power to its rural source as “conduits for the exercise of authority.” See: Charles Burroughs, *From Signs to Design: Environmental Process and Reform in Early Renaissance Rome* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1990), 193.

medieval land-owning aristocracy, termed a baronage (*il baronaggio*).⁷⁴ Slightly below this group were baronial families with a long-standing presence in Rome itself: the Caetani, Cesarini, Cesi, Altemps and Anguillara.⁷⁵ Below these baronial families, Ameyden located the papal families of the Bonelli, Boncompagni, Peretti, Aldobrandini, Borghese, Ludovisi, Barberini, and Pamphilj.⁷⁶ Below the barons and the papal families, Ameyden places the urban patriciate (*gentilhuomini*), consisting of about one hundred local and foreign families (recently transplanted to Rome) who possessed “gentle breeding” but no title, essentially members of the bourgeois class nurtured by the expansion of trade.⁷⁷ The *gentilhuomini* class thus held much more moderate fortunes established through banking or commerce.

The relatively small size of elite social circles in early modern Rome created a stage on which families performed or lost their status. For example, rumors about these papal upstarts were often directed at their less illustrious pedigrees.⁷⁸ Papal families attempted to hedge such suspicion by inventing *romanitas* for themselves, creating elaborate Roman family mythologies, and commissioning architecture that asserted a Roman heritage.⁷⁹ Within the course of a century,

⁷⁴ Tracy Ehrlich. *Landscape and Identity in Early Modern Rome: Villa Culture at Frascati in the Borghese Era*, 18.

⁷⁵ Ferraro, “The Nobility of Rome, 1560-1700,” 11 (and 30, n. 20) citing Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Misc. Arm. II. Cod. 150, ff. 671-674.

⁷⁶ Ferraro, “The Nobility of Rome, 1560-1700,” 11 (and 30, n. 21) citing Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Misc. Arm. II. Cod. 150, ff. 674-675.

⁷⁷ Ferraro, “The Nobility of Rome, 1560-1700,” 11 (and 30, n. 22) citing Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Misc. Arm. II. Cod. 150, ff. 676-680.

⁷⁸ Ferraro notes that Panvinio insulted the Marquis of Massa by writing that his ancestor Pope Innocent VIII was a medical doctor from a family of middling position. Richard Ferraro, “The Nobility of Rome, 1560-1700: A Study of Its Composition, Wealth, and Investments” (1994), 30, n. 10.

⁷⁹ For an excellent case study on the topic of constructing *romanitas*, see: Stephanie C. Leone, *The Pamphilj and the Arts: Patronage and Consumption in Baroque Rome*, 1st ed. (Chestnut Hill, MA: McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College, 2011). It should be noted that this practice did not start with the “new”

families like the Aldobrandini, Borghese, and Pamphilj families (all foreign families with merchant or middle class origins) had risen to the top of Roman society through their acquisition of titled fiefs. Not only dependent on traditional family bloodlines, families who had come from modest backgrounds with no claim to ancient Roman bloodlines had ascended the papal ladder, which conferred an elite status and assured them membership within the developing “*famiglie dei papi*.”

The papacy’s inherent nature as an elective monarchy of pope and his cardinals granted more chances for social mobility than in other princely cities. This created an environment in which elite families were constantly under pressure to prove and demonstrate claims to their standing.⁸⁰ As we shall see public display and conspicuous consumption of public art including monuments for women was one way that such families could signal their new social standing or maintain their prestigious status at the top of society.

1.4 THE STATUS AND STUDY OF EARLY MODERN ROMAN WOMEN

The women of Post-Tridentine Italy were heirs to many of the negative attitudes, prejudices, and concerns about women that emerged in the Renaissance, yet their social condition has received less scholarly attention than their predecessors.⁸¹ In recent years, the impact of the

papal families, but goes back to the first foreign baronial clans, like the Colonna and Orsini who – themselves foreigners – invented an ancient Roman ancestry for themselves.

⁸⁰ On the performance of political power in the public spaces of early modern Rome, see most recently, Joanna Norman, “Performance and Politics in the Urban Spaces of Baroque Rome,” in *Perspectives on Public Space in Rome, from Antiquity to the Present Day* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013).

⁸¹ Tessa Storey has suggested the usefulness of looking for continuities rather than breaks in women’s social position between the Renaissance and Early Modern period. See: Tessa Storey, “Conclusion: Continuity

many religious and social reforms introduced by the Council of Trent (1545-1563) has developed as an independent area of study in the field of social history, bringing with it new methodologies, and critical inquiry. In particular, the examination of early modern women's sacred and familial roles has been a recurrent subject of debate.⁸² Citing the strict influence of church fathers like Carlo Borromeo,⁸³ historians have called attention to the ways church authorities applied stricter control over women by imposing rigid moral codes against expression of female sexuality, suppressed their autonomy in religious and private domains, and enforced new laws on the strict enclosure of nuns (*clausura*). Given the large percentage of women who entered the convent – either voluntarily or by force – these reforms impacted a large number of contemporary women.⁸⁴

These trends have led to a widespread belief that Post-Tridentine attitudes towards women marked a decline in their agency and autonomy. According to Lawrence Stone, the condition of Italian women deteriorated drastically and in stark contrast to Protestant countries, where reformers elevated the image of the “good wife” to that of a spiritual partner and helper within companionate marriages.⁸⁵ Scholars Natalie Zemon Davis, Philip T. Hoffman, Kathryn Norberg,

and Change,” in *Carnal Commerce in Counter-Reformation Rome*, New Studies in European History (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 240.

⁸² This particular topic has been addressed in both Protestant and Catholic contexts. See especially Susan Dwyer Amussen, “Gender, Family, and the Social Order, 1560-1725,” in *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, UK.: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Karen-Edis Barzman, “Gender, Religious Representation and Cultural Production in Early Modern Italy,” in *Gender and Society in Renaissance Italy* (London: Longman, 1998); Judith M. Bennett, “Women’s History: A Study in Continuity and Change,” *Women’s History Review* 2, no. 2 (1993): 173–184.

⁸³ For a general survey of Catholic Reform measures, see Mario Bendiscoli, *Dalla Riforma alla Controriforma* (Bologna, 1974). See also, Marina Zancan, “La Donna,” in *Letturatura Italiana: Le Questioni* (Turin, 1986).

⁸⁴ For instance, between 1550 and 1650, nearly sixty percent of Venetian noblewomen entered the convent. Jutta Gisela Sperling, *Convents and the Body Politic in Late Renaissance Venice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 26-28.

⁸⁵The “companionate marriage” was a significant feature of the Protestant household, particularly in

and John Martin have argued for a more favorable consideration of women's roles within early modern Catholic society. Comparing the pious giving of Catholic women and men, these historians examined the significant role Catholic females played in the culture of reform through their devotion to religious causes.⁸⁶ Samuel Kline Cohn's study has also described a positive turn for women in Post-Tridentine Italy, noting an "ease of constraints imposed on [Catholic] women of all social ranks by the laws and customs of property descent established during the Renaissance."⁸⁷

In his examination of a broad range of wills and testaments, Cohn also demonstrates that the new requirements of Catholic pious giving altered the ways women left money to kin, charity, religious houses, and foundling hospitals. As Cohn argues, women's pious bequests far outnumbered contributions from men, placing women at the front lines of the Catholic Reform cause.⁸⁸ Moreover, the beneficiaries of much of the this female sponsored giving were

England. On this topic, see: Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965); Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (New York: Harper & Row, 1979); Stone, *An Open Elite?: England, 1540-1880* (Oxford [Oxfordshire]: New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1984). For discussions of the conduct book and print culture relative to the Protestant "good wife," see: Keith P. F. Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors, and Wives: Popular Imagery in the Reformation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

⁸⁶ Natalie Zemon Davis, "City Women and Religious Change," in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1975), 65-96; Philip T. Hoffman, "Wills and Statistics: Tobit Analysis and the Counter-Reformation in Lyon," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 14 (1984): 813-834; Kathryn Norberg, *Rich and Poor in Grenoble, 1600-1814* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985); John Martin, "Out of the Shadow: Heretical and Catholic Women in Renaissance Venice," *Journal of Family History* 5 (1985): 21-34.

⁸⁷ Samuel Kline Cohn, *Women in the Streets: Essays on Sex and Power in Renaissance Italy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 1. As he asserts, Renaissance codes of property and descent stressed the necessity of passing down the estate through the male line. This codified a structure that celebrated male ancestry and centralized male interests within the family "over the eternal health of the soul."

⁸⁸ Cohn notes that in the critical years of Post-Tridentine church visitations (1575-76), the number of pious gifts of Sienese women increased by 70 percent, which "trebled their pre-Tridentine number." Moreover, by the mid *seicento*, "the average value of those gifts had soared thirty-five-fold since its low mark in the mid-Cinquecento." "With Trent in motion, the pious bequests of women, despite their financial inferiority, exceeded those of men for the first time." As Cohn argues, men maintained their old patterns of pious gifting, and their bequests "continued to slide in both number and value." This trend did not reverse for

congregations devoted to needy women – the *congregazione delle derelitte*, the *abbondanate*, the *convertite*, the *fanciulle sparse* (“the lost girls”), the *mulieres de deo* – which were founded in increasing numbers in the late sixteenth century to address the growing social need of distressed women.⁸⁹ Whether such institutions actually benefitted women has been a point of debate,⁹⁰ but if nothing else, they did provide a new range of philanthropic channels for elite women who were invested in the social condition of vulnerable women.⁹¹ As Cohn also argues, the growth of charitable decision making for women may have developed in other arenas, particularly in the locations of their tombs, a point that will be discussed at several points in this project.⁹²

Studies on women’s negotiations within the market, streets, and piazzas of early modern Rome has revealed that women maintained an active and essential (if contested) presence in this city.⁹³ As a representative minority forbidden from positions at the elected papal court, women could not directly participate in the governing structures of the city. Women were traditionally

men for at least a generation after. *Women in the Streets*, 61.

⁸⁹ Cohn, *Women in the Streets*, 61.

⁹⁰ On the repressive environments of these institutions, see Michel Foucault, *Histoire De La Folie à L’âge Classique; Folie Et Déraison*, Civilisations D’hier Et D’aujourd’hui (Paris: Plon, 1961), 54-96; Kathryn Norberg, *Rich and Poor in Grenoble*, 297.

⁹¹ Cohn, *Women in the Streets*, 62.

⁹² Cohn, *Women in the Streets*, 63.

⁹³ Examining the frescoes of Roman cityscapes produced by the workshops Cesare Nebbia in the Vatican Library, Elizabeth Cohen draws attention to the “men *and* women” who populate the vistas. In Nebbia’s and other’s city views, women from a broad social range distinguished by dress engage with the daily rhythms of the city, as well as in religious processions and festivals. Elizabeth S. Cohen, “To Pray, To Work, To Hear, To Speak: Women in Roman Streets C. 1600,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 12 (2008): 300. As Katherine Rinne notes, these types of images also show women working, particularly women as laundresses at the city’s fountains. While Cohen and Rinne appropriately caution against reading these images as literal “snapshots” of the city, such images do at least suggest that the “inclusion of women ... indicates that no one would be surprised to see them in the streets.” Katherine Rinne, “The Landscape of Laundry in Late Cinquecento Rome,” *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 9 (2002 2001): 34–60.

connected to the home, the church, and the convent – areas that mirrored female expectations of domestic management, enclosure, and piety. Renaissance and early modern conduct books advocate a range of methods for keeping women enclosed, in order to protect their virtue and by extension, the honor of their fathers. Writing in the fifteenth century, Leon Battista Alberti remarked “[t]he woman, as she remains locked up at home, should watch over things by staying at her post, by diligent care and watchfulness.”⁹⁴ Francesco Barbaro’s recommendations in *On Wifely Duties* (first published in 1548) allows women the freedom to venture into the public, “as this privilege should be taken as evidence of their virtue” but when “husbands are away, wives should stay at home.”⁹⁵ Women’s enclosure within the home is also a common feature of contemporary travel accounts to Italian cities. Recording his travels in Venice, the Scotsman Fynes Morrison remarked, that “[w]omen ... if they be chaste [are] rather locked up at home, as it were a prison.”⁹⁶ Similarly, the Italian traveler Alessandro Magno was struck by the relative freedom of women in England, and remarked on the “great freedom” of Englishwomen “to go out of the house without menfolk” and “play with young lads, even though they do not know them.”⁹⁷

⁹⁴ Leon Battista Alberti, *The Family in Renaissance Florence*, trans. Renée Neu Watkins (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1969), 207.

⁹⁵ Francesco Barbaro, “On Wifely Duties,” in *The Civilization of the Italian Renaissance: a Sourcebook*, 2nd ed. (North York, Ontario ; Tonawanda, New York: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 149 -150.

⁹⁶ Cited in Elizabeth S. Cohen, “Women in Roman Streets, C. 1600,” in *Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets* (Brill, 2009), 99.

⁹⁷ Quote taken from Laura Gowing, “‘The Freedom of the Streets’: Women and Social Space, 1560-1640,” Laura Gowing, “‘The Freedom of the Streets’: Women and Social Space,” in *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London*, ed. P. Griffiths and M. Jenner (Manchester: St. Martin’s Press, 2000), 130. For a thorough review of early modern streetscapes, see: Riitta Laitinen and Thomas V. Cohen, eds., *Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets* (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2009). For other studies on Northern European women’s public roles, see: Anne Laurence, “How Free Were Englishwomen in the Seventeenth-Century,” in *Women of the Golden Age: An International Debate on Women in Seventeenth-century Holland, England and Italy*, ed. Els Kloek, Nicole Teeuwen, and Marijke

Scholarship on early modern Rome has wrestled with this binary of male public visibility and female enclosure.⁹⁸ While these alignments of gender and space may reveal some truth about the social structure of early modern Rome, they also obscure a more complex understanding of the “great diversity of types” that lived there.⁹⁹ As Elizabeth Cohen demonstrates in her study, Roman women were essential within the overlapping realms of “domestic” and “urban” space.¹⁰⁰ Historically, Italian noblewomen throughout the peninsula obtained a great deal of visibility through their instrumental roles in uniting families, creating alliances, and assuring the propagation of aristocratic family lineages through the birth of children. As elsewhere in Italy, marriage gave Roman women from important families a prominent position in the city’s social hierarchy.

These positions became even more central through marriage strategies that emerged between the baronage and papal families in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Elite women were not however simply passive pawns in strategic marriages. They took active roles in cultivating familial alliances with kin from their natal and marital families, placing them at the center of intricate networks of social and material exchange. Women were instrumental in

Huisman (Hilversum: Verloren, 1994). See also Mary Prior’s response: Mary Prior, “Freedom and Autonomy in England and the Netherlands: Women’s Lives and Experience in the Seventeenth-Century: A Response to Anne Laurence,” in *Women of the Golden Age: An International Debate on Women in Seventeenth-century Holland, England and Italy*, ed. Els Kloek, Nicole Teeuwen, and Marijke Huisman (Hilversum: Verloren, 1994).

⁹⁸ Elizabeth Cohen, “To Pray, To Work, To Hear, To Speak: Women in Roman Streets c. 1600,” 291.

⁹⁹ Laurie Nussdorfer, “The Politics of Space in Early Modern Rome,” *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*. 42 (1999). As Elizabeth Cohen notes. Nussdorfer does not note women in her study, which is a particularly marked exclusion in her section on “Family and Institutional Rivalries.” Cohen “To Pray, To Work, To Hear, To Speak: Women in Roman Streets c. 1600,” n. 2.

¹⁰⁰ Writing on the divisions of space within early modern Rome, the social historian Laurie Nussdorfer has offered new ways of defining the conventional binary in which “public” is solely governmental and exclusively male. In her framework, “private” entails many types of social, cultural, religious, and commercial enterprises that include female and male participation both inside and outside the home.

mediating disputes between families, which was particularly important in Rome where swift changes to social standing often accompanied the election of a new pope. By linking families politically and economically, women such as Anna Colonna Barberini (1601-1658) and Olimpia Aldobrandini (1623-1681) negotiated family connections, and affected change within social networks.

Catholic Renewal initiatives may also have fostered women's involvement in lay confraternities in Rome. The historian Christopher Black has suggested that more "positive and egalitarian attitudes to women in mixed confraternities" existed in Rome than elsewhere in Italy.¹⁰¹ The Crocefisso di S. Marcello allowed women membership as *infermieri* in confraternal hospitals and women in the company of Corpus Christi of Santa Maria sopra Minerva helped to organize processions.¹⁰² While women could not hold official positions in the Pietà dei Cercherati, they were perhaps among the most active participants in the confraternity's processions: in the confraternity's *Quarantore* celebration of January of 1583, forty men and fifty-four women took part.¹⁰³ Such societies provided important extra-domestic activities for women (in mixed company with men) that extended beyond the family. Samuel Cohn has also noted that the number of women's parish lay communities, which were uncommon prior to 1575, increased by a significant margin during this period, providing more support for women to participate in "spiritual life in numbers equal to men."¹⁰⁴ Similarly, Elizabeth Cohen has found parallels for visibility of all

¹⁰¹ Christopher Black, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 36. On this topic, see also, *Confraternities and the Visual Arts in Renaissance Italy: Ritual, Spectacle, Image* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

¹⁰² Black, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century*, 37.

¹⁰³ Black, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century*, 36 and 99.

¹⁰⁴ "Parish confraternities, which had been rare in 1575, were almost non-existent for women. By the beginning of the Seicento, nearly every church had at least one lay society; many had two, and women were

classes of women in Rome, including the upper class.¹⁰⁵ The Roman *gentildonna* frequently left her home to attend mass and make confession, both acceptable activities for women of all ranks. Noblewomen moved throughout Rome motivated by spiritual concerns, but also by business and social engagements.¹⁰⁶

Research has focused primarily on Roman women's lives within the *palazzo* or the convent. New scholarship has explored the ways in which the period's religious revitalization and spirit of *renovatio urbis* granted women a public visibility that transcended the domestic or private sacred sphere. As the work of Carolyn Valone has demonstrated, early modern women – especially those of the elite class – were also made “visible” through their patronage of architecture and support of religious houses.¹⁰⁷ Valone's work has uncovered more than fifty female patrons active

participating in these new forms of spiritual life Women in the Streets: Essays on Sex and Power in Renaissance Italy, 60.

¹⁰⁵ Elizabeth S. Cohen, “To Pray, To Work, To Hear, To Speak: Women in Roman Streets C. 1600,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 12 (2008): 289–311.

¹⁰⁶ For elite women, this was facilitated by the use of a carriage, which gave them freedom to move around the city to pay social calls and to conduct meetings with associates and friends. In the seventeenth-century, carriage culture boomed, and its rise may have given elite women a more prominent role outside of the home. While in the seclusion of the carriage's interior, Roman noblewoman could be shrouded from public view. However, the elaborate exterior decoration on the carriage – with identifying colors and emblazoned coats of arms – pronounced the identity of the passenger inside. Objects of spectacle, carriages attracted the attention of Roman audiences; the Countess of Zagarola even traveled around Rome in her carriage with a singing courtesan, whose voiced lured the French ambassador in pursuit. The French ambassador reportedly followed the Duchess' carriage upon hearing the voice of the courtesan. (I-Rvat, Barb. Lat. Avvisi di Roma 6410, Avvisi di Roma, 12 August 1673, fols. 245r-v). Cited in Valeria De Lucca, “Strategies of Women Patrons of Music and Theatre in Rome: Maria Mancini Colonna, Queen Christina of Sweden, and Women of Their Circles,” *Renaissance Studies* 25, no. 3 (2011): 392, n. 69. On carriage culture in the seventeenth century: Rosemarie MacLean, “The Carriage: A Ceremonial Symbol in 17th Century Rome” (PhD, Courtauld Institute of Art, 1991). On masculinity and carriage culture see, John M. Hunt, “Carriages, Violence, and Masculinity in Early Modern Rome,” *I Tatti: Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 17 (2014): 175–196.

¹⁰⁷ On art historians' methodological approach to “visibility” through art and architectural patronage, see especially the introduction in Katherine A. McIver, *Wives, Widows, Mistresses, and Nuns in Early Modern Italy: Making the Invisible Visible Through Art and Patronage*, Women and Gender in the Early Modern World (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012).

in Post-Tridentine Rome who commissioned architecture. Her study, like that of Marilyn Dunn's, on female church patrons in Rome, has brought to light the church commissions of women like Portia Massimi Salviati, Maddalena Orsini, and Isabella della Rovere, among others.¹⁰⁸

The particular structures of Rome, as Elizabeth Cohen has most recently argued, created “unusual gendered complexities” and favorable possibilities for women.¹⁰⁹ Valone has argued that the exclusion of women within humanist and political circles may have had the unintended result of liberating them from the worlds of men, discovering a “certain freedom at the edge” beginning in the late sixteenth century.¹¹⁰ This freedom helps explain the substantial number of churches women commissioned in Post-Tridentine Italy, particularly those connected to churches with missions of poverty and asceticism: the *chiese povere*.¹¹¹ Female patrons' efforts for orders like the Capuchins helped to keep the order's churches “poor,” despite increasing papal pressure from Gregory XIII (1572-85) to build in a more triumphant and aggrandizing style.¹¹² The determination and “courage to step outside humanist boundaries” would serve women like Giovanna d'Aragona well, who commissioned the building of Capuchin churches.¹¹³ However, the demolition of nearly

¹⁰⁸ Carolyn Valone, “Women on the Quirinal Hill: Patronage in Rome, 1560-1630,” *The Art Bulletin* 76, no. 1 (March 1994): 129–146.

¹⁰⁹ Elizabeth S. Cohen, “Open City: An Introduction to Gender in Early Modern Rome,” *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 17, no. 1 (Spring 2014): 35.

¹¹⁰ Carolyn Valone, “Architecture as a Public Voice for Women in Sixteenth-Century Rome,” *Renaissance Studies* 15, no. 3 (2001): 302.

¹¹¹ Valone, “Architecture as a Public Voice for Women in Sixteenth-Century Rome,” 302. As Valone argues, these *chiese povere* would have stood in stark contrast to the humanist objectives of grandeur and *magnificenza*.

¹¹² Valone, “Architecture as a Public Voice for Women in Sixteenth-Century Rome,” 304.

¹¹³ Valone, “Architecture as a Public Voice for Women in Sixteenth-Century Rome,” 308.

all female sponsored church projects in subsequent decades speaks to the relative ease of their erasure.¹¹⁴

In her study of women's roles in secular patronage in Rome, Katherine McIver analyzed women's secular commissions for architecture that have been either ignored or misattributed in the literature. Women connected to papal families were among the most active female architectural patrons. In her research on the Farnese palazzi along the Villa Giulia, McIver discovered a wealth of documentary evidence that points to the patronage of Constanza Farnese, rather than to her father who has generally been named as the principal protagonist in these architectural commissions.¹¹⁵ Similarly, Kimberley Dennis has shown that Camilla Peretti collaborated with her brother Felice Peretti (Pope Sixtus V) on the construction of the Villa Montalto on the Esquiline Hill.¹¹⁶ Olimpia Maidalchini, sister-in-law to Pope Innocent X, lent her vast inheritance to her brother-in-law and husband to finance much of the rebuilding of the family palace in Piazza Navona.¹¹⁷ Stephanie Leone argues, Olimpia's substantial role was not only in providing the monetary backing, but also in devising parts of the palace's decorative program.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ Valone, "Women on the Quirinal Hill: Patronage in Rome, 1560-1630," 130. As Valone notes, in the period between 1560 and 1630, ten churches on the Quirinal Hill were commissioned by women. By the end of the seventeenth century, all but three had been demolished to make way for new, grander church structures.

¹¹⁵ Katherine A. McIver, "An Invisible Enterprise: Women and Domestic Architecture in Early Modern Italy," in *Wives, Widows, Mistresses, and Nuns in Early Modern Italy: Making the Invisible Visible Through Art and Patronage* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), 166.

¹¹⁶ Kimberley L. Dennis, "Rediscovering the Villa Montalto and the Patronage of Camilla Peretti," in *Wives, Widows, Mistresses, and Nuns in Early Modern Italy: Making the Invisible Visible Through Art and Patronage* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012).

¹¹⁷ Stephanie C. Leone, *The Pamphili and the Arts: Patronage and Consumption in Baroque Rome*, 1st ed (Chestnut Hill, MA: McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College, 2011).

¹¹⁸ Leone, *The Pamphili and the Arts: Patronage and Consumption in Baroque Rome*.

While a majority of female architectural patrons in Rome were connected to papal families, some were not. In 1582, the Roman matron, Porzia Anguillara-Cesi (the Duchess of Cere the only heir to her father's fortune) bought an adjoining house to expand her own *palazzo*.¹¹⁹ Similarly, Ippolita Pallavicino-Sanservino was instrumental in the building of Palazzo Sanseverino.¹²⁰ Even women from well-off middle class families also commissioned architecture; in her investigations of architectural patrons in early modern Rome, Katherine McIver found at least five middle-class women – Sigismonda Theobaldi, Bernarda Capodiferro, Ippolita de Maddalena Mellini, Lavinia Mathea di Cinci and Camilla Alberoni– who owned property in Rome.¹²¹ Sigismonda and Bernarda managed and rented their own properties, giving them the financial means to invest in new building projects.¹²²

Cohen, Rinne, Valone, Dunn and McIver's approaches provide parallels for discussing the extra-domestic, urban, and public role of women's monuments. Women's sponsorship of religious communities, social causes, art and architecture altered the visual landscape of Rome to reflect women's concerns and offered an alternative visual rhetoric in the name of spiritual reform. Unsurprisingly, these were activities that were emphasized and celebrated in female commemorative monuments.

¹¹⁹ Carolyn Valone, "Mothers and Sons: Two Paintings for San Bonaventura in Early Modern Rome," *Renaissance Quarterly* 53, no. 1 (2000).

¹²⁰ Katherine A. McIver. "An Invisible Enterprise: Women and Domestic Architecture in Early Modern Italy," 163.

¹²¹ Katherine A. McIver. "An Invisible Enterprise: Women and Domestic Architecture in Early Modern Italy," 171.

¹²² Katherine A. McIver. "An Invisible Enterprise: Women and Domestic Architecture in Early Modern Italy," 171.

Catholic women, because their lives were increasingly confined within the “marginal” space of the home or convent, have been assumed to possess a position of relative weakness. By enclosing nuns in convents and inhibiting their cultural production, firming up legislation against prostitutes, and limiting women within the home, the efforts of Catholic Reform may have led to the further disenfranchisement of some women. As recent scholarship has revealed, the characterization of Post-Tridentine Rome as a uniformly bleak moment within women’s history does not sufficiently address the complex nature of women’s roles in reform or consider the ways some women may have negotiated their marginal status to access power on their own terms. Through sponsorship and patronage, elite women advocated for women’s causes and helped to voice concerns on behalf of women who had effectively become silenced behind the cloister or asylum walls. As scholars observe, what “women must not do slides deceptively into many scholarly assertions about what women could not or dared not do.”¹²³

1.5 MEMORIAL FUNCTION IN EARLY MODERN ITALY

Memorials in early modern Italy were the products of a culture obsessed with afterlife; Catholic conceptions of remembrance underpin an understanding of memorial programs. Early modern Christians believed the body and soul (having been only temporarily separated at death) would be reunited at the Last Judgment. This idea influenced the manner in which the living envisioned their relationship with the dead, who would return to Earth to join them upon Christ’s

¹²³ Elizabeth Cohen, “To Pray, To Work, To Hear, To Speak: Women in Roman Streets c. 1600,” in the *Journal of Modern History* 12 (2008), 293.

Resurrection. Meanwhile, the dead slept in anticipation of this event, and relied on the assistance of kin for their welfare. Requiem masses, the recitation of *obits*, and suffrage masses ensured regular prayer for the comfort of the Christian soul.¹²⁴ In the age of Catholic Renewal, the relationship between the dead and the living was especially defined by the soul's fate in Purgatory.¹²⁵ While Protestants mostly rejected this concept (understanding the fate of a soul sealed upon death),¹²⁶ Catholic reformers reaffirmed death as a mere transition from earthly realm to Purgatory, where all save the martyred and saintly atoned for their sins in anticipation of deliverance at Last Judgment.¹²⁷ Entreating the viewer to "Pray for me!" early modern tomb

¹²⁴ In the Carolingian period, the Office of the Dead (*Ordo Defunctorum*) became codified and integrated into the Liturgy of Hours, which was administered everyday within monastic communities. When a monk died, a wake would be performed in conjunction with evening vespers; matins and lauds would be observed the next day alongside burial, concluding the requiem mass. The friars would memorialize their dead through means of the *obits* (lists of names of the dead), recited on the anniversary of death. From the twelfth century on, members of the lay community began to model these forms of monastic commemoration, requesting a requiem mass at their death; the duty of burial rites quickly transferred from the hands of family and kin to the clergy. Testators could request any number of suffrage masses, and with the establishment of a family chapel ensure daily celebrations by a chaplain. The text of the Office of the Dead was standardized in 1568, under decree of Pope Pius V in 1568. See: Joseph A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development* (New York: Benzinger, 1951). Also, Knud Ottosen, "Liturgy as a Theological Place: Possibilities and Limitations in Interpreting Liturgical Texts as Seen in the Office of the Dead," in *Liturgy and the Arts in the Middle Ages: Studies in Honour of C. Clifford Flanigan*, ed. C. Clifford Flanigan, Eva Louise Lillie, and Nils Holger Petersen (Copenhagen S: Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen, 1996).

¹²⁵ Thomas Maly, "Early Modern Purgatory: Reformation Debates and Post-Tridentine Change," *Archiv Für Reformationsgeschichte* (2009): 241–247.

¹²⁶ On Protestant doctrine regarding Purgatory, see Peter Marshall, "Fear, Purgatory, and Polemic, in Reformation England," in *Fear in Early Modern Society*, ed. W.G. Naphy and P. Roberts (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 150-166; Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

¹²⁷ For a succinct and engrossing study (with associated bibliography), see Diana Walsh Pasulka, *Heaven Can Wait: Purgatory in Catholic Devotional and Popular Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015). For study on the role of Purgatory in the later seventeenth-century, see: Jane Wickersham, "Results of the Reformation: Ritual, Doctrine and Religious Conversion," *The Seventeenth Century* 18, no. 2 (2003).

effigies encouraged the spiritual aid of family members, congregants, and clergy whose prayers secured the soul's journey from Purgatory to Paradise.

Commemorative imagery helped to manage this relationship by providing a locus for ritual remembrance. The imagery included wax portraits, altarpieces with images of the patron(s), and fresco cycles with imbedded donor portraits.¹²⁸ Otto Gerhard Oexle has referred to these images and objects as “*Memorialbilder*.”¹²⁹ Such portraits were a means of codifying “social memory,” a term first coined by Aby Warburg to refer to a culturally constructed idea of memory.¹³⁰ For the Renaissance humanist Leon Battista Alberti, commemorative portraits allowed the dead to be seen “by the living many centuries later.” He thereby recognized the ability of images to perpetuate memory, long before Warburg or the establishment of the discipline of memory studies.¹³¹

Images of holy figures and relics placed near tombs gave commemorative imagery special meaning, extending the holy virtue of Christian worthies to the lay soul interred in close proximity.¹³² Votive images elicited prayers from the living to provide care for the soul of the

¹²⁸ On this topic of votive and commemorative imagery for the chapel, see: Megan Holmes, “Ex-votos: Materiality, Memory, and Cult,” in *The Idol in the Age of Art: Objects, Devotions and the Early Modern World*, ed. Michael Cole and Rebecca Zorach (Aldershot, Hampshire: UK: Ashgate, 2009), 165–188; Sally J. Cornelison and Scott B. Montgomery, eds., *Images, Relics, and Devotional Practices in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies v. 296 (Tempe, Ariz: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2006); Fredrika Herman Jacobs, *Votive Panels and Popular Piety in Early Modern Italy* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

¹²⁹ Otto Gerhard Oexle, “*Memoria Und Memorialbild*,” in *Memoria: Die Geschichtliche Zeugniswert Des Liturgischen Gedenkens Im Mittelalter*, ed. K. Schmid and J. Wollasch (Munich, 1984), 384–440. The German term is usually translated in English as “memory images,” which is perhaps sufficient but lacks the more subtle implications of the image as fostering a mutual relationship between living and dead.

¹³⁰ Kurt Foster, “Aby Warburg’s History of Art: Collective Memory and the Social Mediation of Images,” *Daedalus* 105, no. 1 (Winter 1976): 169–176.

¹³¹ Astrid Erll, “Cultural Memory Studies: An Introduction,” in *Media and Cultural Memory: Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 4.

¹³² See Megan Holmes’ recent discussion of the relationships of Italian Renaissance ex-votos to their sacred

deceased. Sculpted commemorative monuments were effectual *Memorialbilder* that operated as surrogates for the dead and helped to relieve the Catholic soul in Purgatory.¹³³

In his monograph on funerary rites and traditions – *Pompe funebri di tutti le nationi del mondo*¹³⁴ – the seventeenth-century historian Francesco Perucci reiterated traditional rhetoric describing tombs as memento mori:

What do sepulchers point to, if not to think of things to come? With these one perpetuates the eternity of fame, for these one recalls the ashes of illustrious men from the bowels of the earth, from these one extracts the nobility of the ancestors, and ultimately renews our memory of the miserable fragility that all must die.¹³⁵

In the wake of Post-Tridentine reform, this theme found frequent visual expression on tombs, in the form of hourglasses and skulls. Representations of Death and Time also took an active role in tomb programs, sometimes bearing aloft an image of the deceased or, more menacingly, peeking

environments. Megan Holmes, “Ex-votos: Materiality, Memory, and Cult,” 165.

¹³³ First defined in doctrine in 1274, Purgatory became central in Christian devotional practices in the early modern period. On the development of Purgatory in the Middle Ages, see Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984). See also, Anca Bratu-Minott, “From the Bosom of Abraham to the Beatific Vision: On Some Medieval Images of the Soul’s Journey to Heaven,” in *Death and Dying in the Middle Ages* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999), 189–219. For a useful study on Purgatory in the Renaissance and Early Modern period: Timothy Chesters, *Ghost Stories in Late Renaissance France: Walking by Night*, Oxford Modern Languages and Literature Monographs (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

¹³⁴ The comparative treatment of the burial rites of the ancients with contemporary rituals was a popular topic amongst the literati in the late sixteenth-century. For other early examples of printed studies on this theme, see: Tomaso Porcacchi, *Funerali Antichi Di Diversi Popoli, Et Nationi: Forma, Ordine Et Pompa Di Sepolture*. (Venice, 1574); Claude Guichard, *Funerailles, & Diuerses Manieres D’enseuelir Des Rommains, Grecs, & Autres Nations* (Lyon, 1581).

¹³⁵ “Che cosa additerano i Sepolcri se non di pensare alle cose future: con questi si perpetua l’eternità della fama, per questi si richiamano le Ceneri de gli Huomini Illustri fin dalla viscere della Terra, da questi si cava la nobilità de gli Antenati, & in fin se rinnova tutta la memoria di noi de quella miseranda fragilità ch’à tutti sovrasta di dover morire.” Francesco Perucci, *Pompe Funebri Di Tutte Le Nazioni Del Mondo* (Verona, 1646), 12.

out of sarcophagi, overturning commemorative portraits, and “ripping” the deceased’s name from the fabric of history and time.

As playful as such memorials seem, they served a serious exemplary function, offering desirable models of behavior to the living to ready their souls for their own death. For the fifteenth-century Neapolitan scholar Giovanni Pontano, such sepulchral monuments contained the “marvelous ability to inspire others for glory.”¹³⁶ Such ideals could be communicated directly by textual exposition, through lengthy inscriptions emphasizing piety and noble deeds. As early modern ideology began to connect soul and outward appearance, it became essential to individuate the features of the deceased in an effigy which made the individual more deserving of emulation and prayer. Bernini, mirroring Renaissance theorists,¹³⁷ claimed that “images that recall the look

¹³⁶ “Quae maiores nostri esse voluere, ea mirificam quandam vim habent excitandi ad virtutem et gloriam, praesertim ubi benemeritus posita sunt.” Giovanni Pontano, *I Trattati Delle Virtu Sociali : De Liberalitate, De Beneficentia, De Magnificentia, De Splendore, De Conviventia*, trans. Francesco Tateo (Rome, 1965, 103. For humanists like Pontano “worth” and “fame” were prerequisites for a monument with an effigy. On the role of “worth” and “fame” in Renaissance representational choices: Alison Wright, “The memory of faces: representational choices in Florentine portraiture,” in *Art, Memory, and Family in Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge, UK ; New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press, 2000). The Florentine humanist Leonardo Bruni condemned the lavish tomb of the poet Bartolomeo Aragazzi, whom Bruni deemed as a man undeserving of such acclaim, being “of little consequence,” and low birth, who “utterly surpassed all men in stupidity and vanity.” For the entire account of Bruni’s letter, see Carol M. Richardson, Kim Woods, and Michael W. Franklin, eds., *Renaissance Art Reconsidered: An Anthology of Primary Sources* (Malden, MA ; Oxford : Milton Keynes, UK: Blackwell Pub. ; In association with The Open University, 2007). 380-382.

¹³⁷ In his influential treatise on painting, *De Pictura*, Leon Battista Alberti described the portraits of “known and worthy m[e]n,” underscoring the connection between a portrait and its subject’s virtue. “Nam in historia si adsit facies cogniti alicuius hominis, tametsi aliae nonnullae praetantioris artificii emineant, cognitus tamen vultus omnium spectantium oculos ad se rapit antam in se, quod sit a natura sumptum, et gratium et vim habet.” The text from the 1436 Italian edition: “ove poi che in una storia sar  un viso di qualche conosciuto e degno uomo, bene che ivi sieno altre figure di arte molto pi  che questa perfette e grate, pure che quel conosciuto a s  imprima trarr  tutti gli occhi di chi la storia riguardi: tanto si vede in s  tiene forza ci  che sia ritratto dalla natura.” On this passage, see Rudolf Preimesberger. “‘The Face That is Known Draws the Eyes of All Spectators,’” in *The Renaissance Portrait: From Donatello to Bellini*. Preimesberger suggests that Alberti’s word choice, based on classical example, reflects an assumption characteristic of his time and of his standing in society, namely, that a portrait was somehow associated with its subject’s virtue,” 70.

and deeds of great men [inspire] the viewer with desire to emulate their virtues.”¹³⁸ An interest in Pseudo-Aristotelian concepts of physiognomy¹³⁹ encouraged early modern audiences to understand the face as “*un chiaro specchio dell’animo*,” (“a clear mirror of the mind”) which faithfully reflected the quality of a person’s soul.¹⁴⁰ The early modern viewer was equally encouraged to “read” the effigy as a visual text that represented a person deserving of admiration and imitation.¹⁴¹ Through careful attention to gesture, expression, and pose, post-Tridentine portrait effigies communicated the subject’s piety and virtue, depicting the specific traits that made him/her worthy of prayer and thus more deserving of salvation.¹⁴²

¹³⁸ Cited in Chantelou, Paul Fréart de. *Journal du voyage du cavalier Bernin en France* (1665), edited by Ludovic Lalanne. Paris: Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1885.

¹³⁹ In premodern Italian culture, these concepts merged with Platonic notions of beauty and virtue. In 1499, the Renaissance humanist Marsilio Ficino equated beauty with virtue: “internal perfection produces the external ... beauty is a certain blossom of goodness.” Marsilio Ficino, *Commentarium in Convivium Platonis De Amore* (R. Marcel, 1956), 178-179.

¹⁴⁰ This quote is taken from the well-known “Letter to the Reader” in Guillaume Renville’s *Prontuario* (published in 1553 in Latin, Italian and French): “Now these medals [...] have been searched for, [...] with the true living images of the earliest great people, both men and women: so that in those images, from the face – as from a clear mirror of the mind – by the art of Physiognomy, one can understand who, which, and how great were the people depicted and indicated.” [“Hor queste Medaglie. [...] sono state ricercate, [...] con le vere, proprie, et vive effigie de primi grandi, dell’uno, et dell’altro sesso: tal che in quelle, et chi, et quali, et quanto grandi sieno stati i figurati et segnati, dalla faccia come da un chiaro specchio dell’animo, per arte di Physiognomia si possa conietturare.” Translation from Susan Gaylard, “Vanishing Women: Gendering History in Sixteenth-Century Portrait Books,” in *Gender, Agency and Violence European Perspectives from Early Modern Times to the Present Day*. (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 14.

¹⁴¹ For recent essays and associated dedicated to this topic, see especially the following three sources: Lorne Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits: European Portrait-painting in the 14th, 15th, and 16th Centuries* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990); Lorne Campbell, Philip Attwood, and National Gallery (Great Britain), eds., *Renaissance Faces: Van Eyck to Titian* (London: [New Haven, Conn.]: National Gallery Co.; Distributed by Yale University Press, 2008); Jodi Cranston, *The Poetics of Portraiture in the Italian Renaissance*, Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000. For additional bibliography, see also: *The Renaissance Portrait: From Donatello to Bellini*, ed. Keith Christiansen, Stefan Weppelmann, and Patricia Lee Rubin (New York: New Haven [Conn.]: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Distributed by Yale University Press, 2011).

¹⁴² On the rhetoric of gesture in baroque sculpture, see: Genevieve Warwick, “The Language of Gesture,” in *Bernini: Art as Theatre* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2012).

In turn, the generous monetary gifts offered by kin in the name of the deceased elevated the honor of the family, and provided a dependable source of income for the church. Contemporary treatises also acknowledged that funerary monuments were important in beautifying urban space.¹⁴³ Pontano remarked “that in well-governed cities there is always great care for tombs and sepulchers, in public and in private.”¹⁴⁴ Like elegant piazzas, rich palace façades, and fountains, well-maintained tombs were part of a well-governed city and source of civic pride. As such, tomb monuments were didactic markers in complex dialogues of individual, familial, and societal honor in the early modern urban landscape. In the fluctuating social climate of the papal city, commemorative monuments were also essential for Roman noble families eager to solidify their position.¹⁴⁵ By erecting monuments in stone or bronze, early modern nobles allied themselves with the commemorative practices of ancient Romans and made public their virtue and worth.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ “Sepulcra [...] mirum in modum ad urbium ornatum conferunt (sepulchers [...] wonderfully contribute to the beauty of the city).” Pontano, *De Magnificentia*, X, 192. Bianca de Divitiis, “Giovanni Pontano and His Idea of Patronage,” in *Some Degree of Happiness: Studi Di Storia Dell’architettura in Onore Di Howard Burns*, ed. Caroline Elam and Howard Burns (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2010), 107.

¹⁴⁴ “Haec quidem ration benemeritus civibus et vivis et mortuis statuas erexit ac sepulcra, sequidem in bene constitutis urbibus publice privatimque imaginum ac sepulcrum maximam curam cunctis saeculis video esse habitam.” Pontano, *De Magnificentia*, XV, 202.

¹⁴⁵ Francis Haskell’s discussion of the relationship between art and patron in seventeenth-century remains a helpful introduction to the competitive social structures of Rome. In the fifty years that have passed since its publication, art historians indebted to Haskell’s approach have furthered discussions on entirely new areas of patronage ignored by Haskell, including female patronage and the patronage of lay communities, which will be later discussed in the following chapters. Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters: a Study in the Relations Between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque*, Rev. and enl. ed (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980). For more recent general discussions of identity politics in early modern Rome, see the essays and associated bibliographies in: Jill Burke and Michael Bury, eds., *Art and Identity in Early Modern Rome* (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008); *Rome, Amsterdam: Two Growing Cities in Seventeenth-century Europe* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1997); Laurie Nussdorfer, *Civic Politics in the Rome of Urban VIII* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992). For a recent appraisal with previously unpublished archival accounts of family expenditure of Rome’s baronial families, see Francesco Calcaterra, *La Spina Nel Guanto: Corti e Cortigiani Nella Roma Barocca*, Roma Storia, Cultura, Immagine 13 (Roma: Gangemi, 2004).

¹⁴⁶ Much has been written on the revival of classical models of commemorative portraiture. Valuable – if

Moreover, in commissioning sculpted monuments, early modern Roman families participated in commemorative projects that secured a permanent image for their family in the city. Bearing the familial names, coats of arms, and portraits of Rome's most notable families, public monuments created public awareness and legitimized a family's claim to membership within elite circles. Recognized for its ability to preserve one's image for future generations,¹⁴⁷ sculpture gave some assurance to patrons that monuments would survive until Final Judgment. This was especially important in Rome because political alliances and power changed hands quickly. Sculpted tombs provided a presence for the family in an imagined future, in which Roman elites could possibly anticipate a positive change in their fortunes, and perhaps the elevation of one of their own to the papal throne. Finally, tombs could also serve an important legal function. Sepulchers functioned as proof of a family's proprietary rights (*ius patronatus*) over a chapel.¹⁴⁸ The presence of memorials (especially those containing coats of arms and epitaphs)¹⁴⁹ bolstered claims to rights of

somewhat outmoded –surveys of the sculpted portrait can be found in Jacob Burckhardt, “Randglossen Zur Skulptur Der Renaissance,” in *Jacob Burckhardt Gesamtausgabe* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1929) and John Pope Hennessy, *Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture* (New York: Phaidon, 1963). See also: Irving Lavin, “On Illusion and Allusion in Italian Sixteenth-Century Portrait Busts,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 119, no. 5 (October 1975): 353–362. For a recent publication and associated bibliography on this theme, see: Alison Wright, “The Memory of Faces: Representational Choices in Fifteenth-Century Florence,” in *Art, Memory and Family in Renaissance Florence*, ed. Giovanni Ciappelli and Patricia Lee Rubin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

¹⁴⁷ On the topic of sculpture as a medium of “permanence” see: Ernst Gombrich, “Sculpture for Outdoors,” in *The Uses of Images: Studies in the Social Function of Art and Visual Communication* (London: Phaidon, 1991), 136-61.

¹⁴⁸ For an excellent synopsis on the topic of *ius patronatus* and its role in patronage disputes, see: Jill Burke, “Chapter Five: Patronage Rights and Wrongs,” in *Changing Patrons: Social Identity and the Visual Arts in Renaissance Florence* (University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004).

¹⁴⁹ For a case study on the development of tomb heraldry within Rome, and its legal function, see: John Osborne, “A Possible Colonna Family Stemma in the Church of Santa Prassede,” in *A Wider Trecento Studies in 13th- and 14th-Century European Art Presented to Julian Gardner*, ed. Julian Gardner, Louise Bourdua, and Robert Gibbs (Boston: Brill, 2012).

possession.¹⁵⁰ Family monuments could also validate a claim of *romanitas*, offering evidence of a family's long-standing presence in the city.

1.6 CATHOLIC REFORM AND MEMORIALS

Inspired by ancient texts that stressed “the right to have an image for preserving the memory,”¹⁵¹ early modern patrons commissioned a wide range of commemorative memorials for themselves and kin. During the period of Catholic Renewal, official attitudes towards burial inside churches and the installation of funerary monuments changed. In this controlled environment, decorum and compliance with church protocol were expected of all types of funerary remembrances, whether painted or sculpted.¹⁵² The papal *Commission for Curial Reform* (spearheaded by the bishop of Verona, Gian Matteo Giberti [1495-1543]), was responsible for a number of reform measures that attempted to restrict church burials and certain types of monuments. Giberti's legislative policy regarding tombs, *De nemine splendido* (published within

¹⁵⁰ Technically, one did not “own” a chapel, but held rights of patronage (*ius patronatus*) for the chapel, on long-term loan from the church. On the mendicant origins of this practice, see: Trinita Kennedy et al., eds., *Sanctity Pictured: The Art of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders in Renaissance Italy* (Nashville: Frist Center for the Visual Arts, 2014).

¹⁵¹ The classical sources for early modern conceptions of memory and memory making have been explored by a number of social historians and art historians. For recent general discussion of the role of memory in the early modern bibliography, see Patrick Geary, “The Historical Material of Memory,” in *Art, Memory, and Family in Renaissance Florence* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2000). Cicero's discussion of “*ius imaginis ad memoriam posteritatemque prodendam*” – “the right to have an image for preserving the memory” – was a common source for early modern debate on the meanings and use of the portrait. For a complete discussion on Cicero's influence on early modern theories on the portrait, see Luke Syson, “Alberti e La Ritrattistica,” in *Leon Battista Alberti*, ed. Joseph Rykwert and Anne Engel (Ivrea, Italy: Milano: Olivetti ; Electa, 1994).

¹⁵² This was especially true in the Post-Tridentine moment, when local ecclesiastical authorities visited churches to evaluate the display of artworks within sacred spaces to ensure conformity to church codes.

his *Constitutes* of 1542), strongly condemned those tombs installed in prominent areas of the church, and/or exceeding the height of the main altar.¹⁵³ Giberti expressed dissatisfaction at the number of tombs overcrowding church interiors that obstructed flow in the sacred space, and forbade church burial except with the permission of the bishop.¹⁵⁴ If burial inside the church was deemed appropriate, the body of the deceased would be interred underneath the church floor, as lofty memorials in the church walls fought with the idea of “dust returning to dust.”¹⁵⁵ Following Giberti’s lead, Carlo Borromeo condemned memorials which held “stinking corpses as though they were relics of holy bodies, placed in a high and ornate place in churches,” and ordered the reburial of “bones and ashes” within subterranean locations.¹⁵⁶ The Venetian cardinal, Lorenzo

¹⁵³ “Postquam iam mos antiquus inolevit, ut cadavera quorumcumque fidelium defunctorum, nullo habito personarum discrimine, in ecclesiis sepeliantur, Nos quoque istud cum patientia tolerant, his saltem, quae, Nobis absurda videntur, tam propter sacrorum locorum reverentiam quam ecclesiarum impedimenta e deturpationes obviare studebimus, Mandamus igitur universis e singulis curatis e aliis presbyteris quibuscumque quod in eorum Ecclesiis non permittant aliquem sepeliri, nisi in sepulchris iam factis, Nova vero sepulchra, per quae ecclesiarum pavimenta deturpantur, e praeipue tumulos deposita nuncupatos, qui impedimento, e deformitati esse solent, absque licentia nostra de cetero omnino fieri prohibemus e si qua ad praesens deposita reperiantur, amoveant, seu per illos, quorum interest, amovenda curent, Quorumdam autem fastum detestamur, qui mira arte, e maxima cum impensa, laborata sepulchra in locis eminentibus, e plerumque altaria excedentibus, super quibus unigenitus dei filius aeterno patri quotidie pro humani generis salute victimatur collocare praesumunt e terram terrae debitam reddere contradicunt, ut sic etiam post carnis interitum mundana superbia perseveret, cum carnis locus proprie terra sit et nihil referat, ut corpus magis in honorifico e in altum suspenso mausoleo, quam in vili, e humi posito putrescat, immo ut, beatus inquit Augustinus quos peccata graviora deprimunt, si in huius modi locis se sepelire faciunt, restat, ut de sua praesumptione iudicentur, quatenus eos sacra loca non liberant, sed de culpa temeritatus accusant.” Giberti, *Constitutes*, 1542, 37. Cited in Kathryn B. Hiesinger, “The Fregoso Monument: A Study in Sixteenth-Century Tomb Monuments and Catholic Reform,” *The Burlington Magazine* 118, no. No. 878 (May 1976): 284.

¹⁵⁴ Kathryn B. Hiesinger, “The Fregoso Monument: A Study in Sixteenth-Century Tomb Monuments and Catholic Reform,” 284.

¹⁵⁵ Giberti’s reforms were substantiated under a papal bull issued in 1566 by Pius V, which ordered the bodies contained in above ground monuments to be reinterred in underground tombs. *Bullaram Diplomatum et Privilegiorum Sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum*, 284.

¹⁵⁶ Kathryn B. Hiesinger, “The Fregoso Monument: A Study in Sixteenth-Century Tomb Monuments and Catholic Reform,” 284.

Priuli also insisted on underground burials, far removed from any altar, and covered by a smooth slab, so as not to hinder foot-traffic in the church.¹⁵⁷ Wall tombs in violation of Priuli's edict were even removed from the church of S. Pietro di Castello in Venice.¹⁵⁸

Enjoiners for appropriate decorum, however, were often ignored by ambitious patrons self-publicizing what they perceived as their rightful due.¹⁵⁹ In the Post-Tridentine period, more and more patrons chose to erect a monument while still living. Animated tombs reassured many *living* individuals that they would be remembered after their death. For example, the inscription on the tomb (c. 1546) of Bishop Marzi in Santissima Annunziata in Florence notes that the tomb effigy was made from life, so that after his death, he “might go on living with the friends of his lifetime.”¹⁶⁰ These “lively” tomb effigies show the subjects praying and directing their gaze

¹⁵⁷ Lorenzo Priuli, in *Prov. I. Par 2. Actorum Pars. I, Acta Ecclesia Mediolanensis a Sancto Carolo Cardinali S. Praxedis, Archiep. Mediolan. Condito, Federici Cardinasis Borromaei*, vol. 1 (Lyon, 1683), 42. “Pium sane est fidelium corpora religiose in loco sacro recondi cadavera vero putrida excelso loco in Ecclesia poni non est ferendum. Quare mandamus ut cadavera, quae posthac ad quoscunque Ecclesias nobis subiectas deferri contigerit, humi tantum sepeliantur. Cenotaphia vero, Arcae vel altiora sepulchra muris inserta ne fiant sive lignea, sive marmora sint. Pavimenta ecclesiarum non perfodiantur, sed sepulchra subterranea longe tamen ab altaribus muro construantur, & lapide intgero desuper cooperiantur, quae cum reliquo Ecclesiae pavimento acquata sint, & aliquod impedimentum transeuntibus non afferant.” Cited in Kathryn B. Hiesinger, “The Fregoso Monument: A Study in Sixteenth-Century Tomb Monuments and Catholic Reform,” 287.

¹⁵⁸ F. Sansovino, *Venetia Citta Nobilissima . . . Descritta Dal Sansovino Con Nove e Copiose Aggiunte De D. G. Martinioni*, (Venice, 1663), 9. Cited in Kathryn B. Hiesinger, “The Fregoso Monument: A Study in Sixteenth-Century Tomb Monuments and Catholic Reform,” 287.

¹⁵⁹ Despite drawing criticism from Borromeo and others, elites continued to build memorials that “were as large, expensive, artful, and eminently located as any built in the late quattrocento.” Borromeo seems to have contemplated the dismantling of the bronze tomb of Gian Giacomo de’Medici from the Duomo in Milan. Kathryn B. Hiesinger, “The Fregoso Monument: A Study in Sixteenth-Century Tomb Monuments and Catholic Reform,” 287. For an interesting parallel study on bishops’ noncompliance with post-Tridentine reform measures in Early Modern Tuscany, see: Kathleen Comerford, “‘The Care of Souls Is a Very Grave Burden for [the Pastor]’: Professionalization of Clergy in Early Modern Florence, Lucca, and Arezzo,” *Nederlands Archief Voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 85, no. 1 (2005): 349–368.

¹⁶⁰ This quote is taken from the funerary inscription of Bishop Marzi erected circa 1546. See: John Pope Hennessy, *An Introduction to Italian Sculpture: Italian High Renaissance and Baroque*, vol. 3, 2nd ed. (Phaidon, 1970): 356.

towards heaven, or towards the altar. Portrayed as active participants within their own heavenly redemption, the sculpted protagonists of early modern monuments underscore the distinct Catholic belief in personal salvation through commitment to personal piety, sponsoring of religious works, and prayer.

Memorials combined the simultaneous expectations of personal humility and familial prestige in public settings. Approaching memorials from the perspective of gender, this study will show how memorials for Catholic women from elite families balanced the requirements of Catholic penitence and reaffirmed the legacy of the family within the church.

1.7 WOMEN'S PATHWAYS TO COMMEMORATION

Men of various social positions and ranks were commemorated with a sculpted memorial in greater numbers than for women. For example, approximately 220 men's monumental tombs (with effigies) are known from the early modern period.¹⁶¹ I have catalogued fifty-two women's

¹⁶¹ This figure comes from my thorough review of Griesbach, *Römische Porträtbüsten Der Gegenreformation*. Ferrari and Papaldo, *Le Sculture Del Seicento a Roma*, and Enggass, *Early Eighteenth-Century Sculpture in Rome*, as well as church guides. Men of the following positions obtained a personal monument in Rome. For clarity, I have organized this list in descending frequency of tombs along with the number of surviving wall memorials.

1) Noblemen and royals (whether native or foreign): 86 **2)** Cardinals: 54 **3)** Upper Clergy and bishops: 7 church canons: 9; prelates: 4; and rectors: 4; total 24 **4)** Official members of the papal curia and diplomats to the Holy See: 14 **5)** Popes: 11 **6)** Artists, architects, and poets: 8 **7)** Doctors: 7 **8)** Generals or high-ranking soldiers: 5 **9)** Merchants or bankers: 3 **10)** Lawyers: 3 **11)** Intellectuals (including philosophers, polymaths, and scientists): 2 **12)** Fathers (or other male relatives) of the pope: 2. As we can see from this list, a large number (nearly 40%) of funerary monuments were produced for noblemen. Cardinals' monuments represent about 26% of the sample. Members of the upper clergy (including bishops, canons, church prelates, and rectors) constitute about 11%, and officials of the Holy See, approximately 6%.

sculpted monuments in Rome produced from 1550-1750; we can roughly establish an average ratio of about 4:1 for men to women's monument during this period. As women could not be cardinals, ecclesiastical officials, diplomats, lawyers, doctors, soldiers, generals, or popes, we can observe that they were able to obtain commemorative monuments through fewer possible channels than men. My dissertation recognizes five essential social positions through which elite women were commemorated in a sculpted large wall memorial in Post-Tridentine Rome:

1) Wives

Wives of noblemen or royals (40)

Wives (or female kin) of bankers or tradesman (1)

Wives of doctors (1)

Wives of diplomats (2)

Wives of generals or other high ranking military official (1)

2) Abbesses and nuns (2)

4) Artists or poets (3)

5) Mothers of the pope (2)

As for the case of men, we can distinguish pathways such as aristocratic and/or royal status, and those extrinsic to birth, like elevation in status from artistic achievement or advancement within the convent hierarchy. It should be clarified however, that even the women acclaimed for their literary accomplishments or their high status within a convent were also all from wealthy, noble houses. Distinctive to Rome are the cases of male and female kin of the pope. Being the parents of a pope could provide an enormous change of fortune and elevation in status for those of middle (and even lower) class, but, given the elective nature of the papal office, this social ascent

could usually not be predicted or envisioned within their lifetime. Nephews of the newly elected pope benefitted most tangibly.

Lastly, it is necessary to point out, that these five pathways are associative in nature, also depending upon the station and power of husbands and male kin. That the majority of women's monuments were commissioned as a conjugal pair supports this analysis. However, in the case of some exceptional women, their monument functioned independently of their husband. These cases will be discussed in detail in Chapter Two.

1.8 RELATED FORMS OF COMMEMORATION: WOMEN'S FUNERALS

Funerals, like sculpted memorials, were marks of incredible honor and prestige in early modern Rome and it useful to consider how these ephemeral, public celebrations related to more permanent forms of memorial display. As is true for sculpted monuments, examples of women's funerals in Rome are fewer in number than for men, but they could be equally sumptuous affairs. There were celebrated with public processions throughout the city, within the body of the church, and involved lavish interior and exterior decoration with tapestries and velvet banners, and numerous candles.¹⁶² They were sometimes accompanied by richly ornamented catafalques proclaiming the arms and mottos of the deceased. Often, these celebrations were diplomatic

¹⁶² On the value and expensive of candles in Italian women's funerals, see: Maria DePrano, "Lux Aeterna: Commemoration of Women with Candles in the Santa Maria Novella Book of Wax in Fifteenth-Century Florence," *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 6 (2011).

productions, and could be staged *in absentia* of the physical body of the deceased royal or nobleman.¹⁶³

Roman law dictated that a funeral should match the social status and wealth of the defunct.

This dictum was repeated throughout the post-Tridentine period:

Therefore, people need to understand that expenses for burials need to be in proportion with the status and means of the deceased, as the law says [. . .] Those that exceed with a greater amount of pomp and expenses than it befitting for the status of the deceased, commits a sin against charity, since, honestly, spending on superfluous luxury and extraordinary pomp is against good custom.¹⁶⁴

Accordingly, popes received especially grand funerals, a tradition that was resurrected in the late sixteenth century.¹⁶⁵ The most elaborate ceremonies for women were produced for foreign queens. These funerals include the *in absentia* funerals for Cecilia Renata of Austria, wife of Ladislas IV of Poland (1644) and Anne of Austria (1666), and the Roman funerals for Christine

¹⁶³ See, for instance, the celebration for the King of Poland, Sigismund Auguste, who was commemorated with a sumptuous catafalque in the Roman Church of San Lorenzo in Damaso. Similarly opulent ceremonies were staged for the Duke of Parma in 1593, Grand Duke Ferdinand I de' Medici in 1609 and Henry IV of France in 1610. The preparations for the esequies for Cosimo I were elaborate: "Qui si sono fatti gran preparamenti in San Giovanni de' Fiorentini per celebrare domattina [Sunday, June 29th 1574] l'essequie della buona memoria del Gran Duca di Toscana [Cosimo I de' Medici], le quali saranno molto belle et honorate, alle quali sono stati invitati da questo ambasciatore [Alessandro de' Medici] tutti li cardinali [cancelled: da] et molti di essi v'interranno." A number of lesser nobleman also commemorated: the funeral for Karl Friedrich von Jülich-Kleve-Berg was celebrated at Santa Maria dell'Anima; reportedly the pope spent 2,000 scudi on it. (Archivio di Stato Firenze: Doc ID 4026).

¹⁶⁴ "Talché il fedele deve imparare che le spese nell'essequie si devono fare secondo la dignità e facultà del defonto, come la legge commanda [. . .] E quello che eccede con maggior pompa e spesa, che non comporta lo stato o conditione del defonto, pecca contro la carità, perchè in coscienza, non è lecito spendere in ornamenti superflui et in pompe straordinaria.") D. Muzio Cappuccini, *Dichiaratione dell'Offitio de'Morti, e delle Cerimonie nell'Essequie per le Anime delli Defonti, secondo li Riti Cattolici di Santa Chiesa e del Rituale Romanum riformato, scelte da gran Santi, e gravi autori à beneficio de vivi e de'Morti* (Rome, 1626), pp.125-143. Cited in Schraven, *Festive Funerals in Early Modern Italy*, 19, n. 38.

¹⁶⁵ The funeral for Pope Urban VII in 1591 initiated a tradition for grand papal funerals in Santa Maria Maggiore that was carried on for ceremonies for Paul V in 1622. The funeral obsequies for Urban VIII established Saint Peter's as the preferred church site, and included an imposing catafalque and decorations; a similar program in the basilica was echoed for the obsequies of Innocent X in 1655.

of Sweden (1689), and Maria Clementina Sobieski (1735), who both died in Rome and whose bodies were presented in state in elaborate ceremonies lasting for several weeks.¹⁶⁶

Funerals for local Roman noblewomen were also magnificent affairs. On the eighteenth of December in 1609, a funeral service was held for Maria Cesi Altemps, (who died at the age of twenty-two) in Sant'Apollinare, rather than the private chapel within the Cesi palace.¹⁶⁷ The church was decorated with brocades and the Cesi and Altemps coats-of-arms; her catafalque, designed by Marco Antonio Magno and known through an engraving by Giacomo De Rossi, included a silver coffin, topped with a bronze pyramid, gold cross, and sculpted skulls.¹⁶⁸ In January of 1682, Olimpia Aldobrandini Pamphilj was honored with an imposing catafalque (nearly thirty-three feet in height),¹⁶⁹ erected in the Minim church of San Francesco a Paola. As

¹⁶⁶ On the funeral for Cecilia Renata, see: Antonio Gerardi: *Relazione Del Solenne Funerale Catafalco Fatto in Roma Per La Regina Di Polonia Cecilia Renata Austriaca*. (Rome, 1644); and Juliusz A. Chroszczicki, "Architettura e Decorazione Del Funerali Polacchi in Italia Dal Cinquecento Al Settecento," in *Barocco Fra Italia e Polonia*. (Warsaw, 1977). On Anne of Austria's funeral: *Apparato Dell'esequie Celebrate Alla Christianissima Regina Di Francia Anna Maria d'Austria, Dall'illustriss. e Revrendiss. Capitolo e Canonici Di San Giovanni in Laterano*. (Giacomo Dragondelli, Rome 1667), and Martine Boiteux's discussion, "Funerailles feminins dans la Rome Baroque," p. 407-412. For analyses of Maria Clementina's funeral, see Allan Braham, *Funeral Decorations in Early Eighteenth Century Rome*. Vol. 7. Victoria and Albert Museum, 1975.

¹⁶⁷ Martine Boiteux, "Funerailles feminins dans la Rome Baroque," 398.

¹⁶⁸ Martine Boiteux, "Funerailles feminins dans la Rome Baroque," 398.

¹⁶⁹ The descriptions of Olimpia's catafalque can be found in *Esequie Celebrate in Roma All 'Illustriss. et Eccellentiss. Sig. D. Olimpia Aldobrandina*. 1682, a volume I transcribed in the summer of 2011. (Biblioteca Nazionale, Rome). "Rapiva con violenza gl'occhi de' Circostanti, quali nel mezo della Nave della Chiesa, una Machina vestita di tenebroso lutto, di forma bislunga, ma in guisa tale disposta, che in quattro ordini, e quattro facciate ripartita, uno sopra dell'altro restringendosi per dar luogo alli candellieri d'argento, che con fiaccole di cera bianca vi erano per tutto artificiosamente disposti, imposto si vedeva. Havrebbero voluto i Padri per corrispondere alla grandezza della Persona, alla perpetuità, & alle loro obligationi, ergere un monumento con più salda materia di quella, di cui fù costruito il Mausoleo in Caria, le Piramidimi ed' Obelischi d'Egitto, il Sepolcro d'Augusto, la Mole d'Adriano, & altre tali memorie in Roma, mà perche ciò fare la loro impotenza no'l permetteva, determinorno di rinovare de' esempij di Catafalchi fatti in Roma in simili occasioni à Personaggi grandi, anzi à Monarchi. E se vogliamo le cose profane ridurre à sacre, con recider loro i superstiziosi riti, possiamo dire, che pensassero d'imitare quella mole di legno in quattro ordini ripartita, che inalzava Roma à suoi Imperatori doppo morte in mezo al Campo Martio. Era dunque questa Machina ò Catafalco alto palmi 40. lungo 24. largo 18. ornato di Medaglioni assai belli, messi à chiaro-

descriptions of her funeral attest, the entire church was outfitted with black velvet draperies, silver candlesticks, and narrative panels depicting exemplary episodes from her life.¹⁷⁰

In these instances, the women commemorated were directly tied to papal families by birth or marriage.¹⁷¹ Elaborate funerals for women from lesser known, newly transplanted families were not as common. They were produced, however, as evidenced by the funeral for the wife of the Spanish Ambassador (the Marquis de Villena) in 1605, which included the construction of a large catafalque.¹⁷² In a few special instances, women were commemorated in non-religious celebrations arranged by intellectual societies. In March of 1627, Gioreida Sitti Maani della Valle, the Syrian Nestorian wife of Pietro della Valle,¹⁷³ was honored in an extensive public funeral at Santa Maria in Aracoeli. The events roughly coincided with the arrival of her mummified corpse in Rome in 1626; she had died five years before accompanying her husband on his travels in the Mediterranean.¹⁷⁴ The funeral was arranged by her husband and the Academia degli Umoristi, a

scuro, ò lumegiati d'oro, e d'argento come si suole ne' funerali, colle Morti, & Arme gentilitie della Defont, e medesima fattura; frà le quali scorgevansi con bell'ordine fraposte alcune compositioni, come elogij, versi, e detti concisi, quali come chiari lumi fra le tenebre, risplendente rendevano l'estinta vita della Principessa.”

¹⁷⁰ Boiteux, , “Funerailles feminins dans la Rome Baroque,” 404.

¹⁷¹ Another Roman noblewoman, Costanza Pamphilj was also commemorated in a magnificent funeral also memorializing her husband, Nicolo Ludovisi. Like Olimpia Aldobrandini Pamphilj, Constanza was directly connected to the papal Pamphilj line. See Boiteux, “Funerailles feminins dans la Rome Baroque,” 400.

¹⁷² Boiteux, “Funerailles feminins dans la Rome Baroque,” 404.

¹⁷³ Pietro della Valle [1586- 1652] (nicknamed “il Pellegrino”) was a famed Roman noble, poet, traveller, and antiquarian. During his extraordinary twelve year journey in the Middle East, he met and married Sitti Maani, a daughter of a noble Chaldean family.

¹⁷⁴ Sitti Maani was buried in the Della Valle vault in Santa Maria in Aracoeli in 1626. For an excellent analyses of the funeral and its cultural influence, see: Cristelle Baskins, “Lost in Translation: Portraits of Sitti Maani Gioerida della Valle in Baroque Rome,” *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal* (Vol. 7 2012): 248.

literary confraternity formed in 1605 in Rome.¹⁷⁵ Members of the Umoristi composed more than thirty commemorative poems for Gioreida, transcribed in Girolamo Rocchi's commemorative pamphlet which recorded visual materials and orations produced in association with the event.¹⁷⁶ An engraving from Rocchi's pamphlet also records a magnificent catafalque, which was modeled after the Holy Sepulchre, and featured a crown being born aloft by twelve virtues.¹⁷⁷ The erudite and worldly nature of the event¹⁷⁸ was expressed in the funerary epitaphs decorating the exterior of the catafalque, composed in eleven languages.¹⁷⁹

The funeral obsequies for the Venetian woman Elena Lucrezia Cornaro Piscopia (1646-1684) memorialized the first woman to receive a doctorate. There were extensive funerary celebrations in Padua (where she obtained her degree),¹⁸⁰ but also in Rome, where there was a "solemn procession, & eulogie of all witts."¹⁸¹ The funeral was watched over by the papal Swiss

¹⁷⁵ Baskins, "Lost in Translation: Portraits of Sitti Maani Gioerida della Valle in Baroque Rome." None of the attendants (apart from Della Valle himself) would have known Sitti Maani. As Cristelle Baskins notes, "her funeral was created around a blank, an absence." Like many other academic confraternities at the time, the Umoristi banned women from membership (although may have been customary to invite women to give speeches during Carnival).

¹⁷⁶ *Fvnerale della signora Sitti Maani Gioerida della Valle. Celebrato in Roma l'anno 1627. E descritto dal signor Girolamo Rocchi* (Roma: Appresso l'erede di Bartolomeo Zannetti, 1627).

¹⁷⁷ Baskins, "Lost in Translation: Portraits of Sitti Maani Gioerida della Valle in Baroque Rome."

¹⁷⁸ Cristelle Baskins has argued that such displays were intended to firm up masculine identity. According to bylaws of the Umoristi and others, women could not be members; "corporate identity was strengthened through this public display of erudite consolation, rhetorical virtuosity, and esoteric knowledge."

¹⁷⁹ These languages included Latin, Italian, Spanish, French, Portuguese, modern Greek, Chaldean, Persian, Turkish, Arabic, Armenian and ancient Greek. See Baskins, "Lost in Translation: Portraits of Sitti Maani Gioerida della Valle in Baroque Rome," 248.

¹⁸⁰ Elena died in Venice after a lengthy illness. The University of Padua struck a commemorative medal, featuring her portrait on the obverse and an image of dew falling into an open oyster (suggestive of the dew's transformation into pearls, and divine inspiration). See Maschietto, *Elena Lucrezia*, 231.

¹⁸¹ John Evelyn, *Memoirs of John Evelyn*, ed. William Bray. (London, Henry Colburn, 1827): 298.

Guard, and attended by numerous cardinals. The decorations at the *Collegio* in San Carlo ai Catinari were commissioned by the Accademia degli Infecondi, an academy which had admitted Elena as a member. The decorations included a catafalque (designed by Tommaso Cardano) and both painted and sculpted portraits of Elena.¹⁸² Unlike Sitti Maani, Elena was acquainted with the male members of the academy who staged her commemorations. This makes Elena's funeral celebrations especially striking, serving as an unprecedented example of a female academic being memorialized by her intellectual peers.

In these instances, the women were not only commemorated for their wifely virtue, or their abilities to further the family dynasty through the birth of children: Sitti Maani died before bearing any children, and Elena Piscopia refused her father's early wishes for her to marry, remaining unmarried until her death. According to Minou Schraven "very few funerary *apparati* [spectacular funerary decorations] were commissioned for women in Rome."¹⁸³ While Rome may have lagged behind other Italian cities in terms of number of *apparati* produced for women, there were more than a "very few" and they were produced for a socially diverse group of women.¹⁸⁴ Although only a select number of Roman women were given special tribute in magnificent funerals,¹⁸⁵ preliminary research suggests a number were commemorated in more humble affairs,

¹⁸² The commemorative imagery is recorded in a number of engravings in Francesco Carli, *Le pompe funebri celebrate da' signori accademici Infecondi di Roma per la morte dell' Illustrissima signora Elena Lucrezia Colonna Piscopia accademica detta l'Inalterabile*. (Padua, 1686).

¹⁸³ Minou Schraven, *Festive Funerals in Early Modern Italy*. Ashgate, 2014. Schraven only mentions the funeral obsequies for Anna Cesi Altemps.

¹⁸⁴ Schraven also comments that "Florence, Milan, and Mantua had a far more gender-balanced patronage" of these ceremonial structures."

¹⁸⁵ For an interdisciplinary approach to the topic of Roman funerals, see the articles in: Andrew Hopkins, Maria Wyke, and British School at Rome, *Roman bodies: antiquity to the eighteenth century* (London: British School at Rome, 2005). On catafalques and temporary architecture see: Olga Berendsen, "The Italian Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Catafalques," PhD dissertation, New York University, 1961 [UMI 1989]; Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco, *Corpus delle feste a Roma: La festa barocca*, vol. 1 (Rome: De

as they were across Italy.¹⁸⁶ Among women represented in my study, Lucrezia Tomacelli Colonna was given an elaborate public funeral on a grand scale, that it actually took place in the Colonna towns of Gennazzo and Paliano. This event, which informed the design of her monument, will be discussed in richer detail in Chapter Six of this dissertation.

1.9 MISSING MEMORIALS, ABSENT EFFIGIES: A FEW EXAMPLES

Although, overwhelmingly, the number of women's commemoration increased in the Post-Tridentine period, we can observe that memorials for certain famous women were, in fact, not produced at all. Olimpia Maidalchini is well-known to scholars as the subject of Alessandro Algardi's famous portrait bust which reflects a formidable persona; her widow's peak gives the appearance of a hooded viper about to attack.¹⁸⁷ While it would seem that Olimpia's fame and social connections – she was sister-in-law to Pope Innocent X – would be enough to grant her a substantial memorial, no tribute for her exists in Rome.¹⁸⁸

Luca, 1997), 268–69. On the nature of women's funerary acclaim in Rome, see: Martine Boiteux, "Funerailles féminines dans la Rome Baroque," *Les Cérémonies extraordinaires du catholicisme baroque*, ed. Bernard Dompnier (Clermont-Ferrand: Presses Univ Blaise Pascal, 2009), 389–421. The author cites at least ten funerals produced for women in Rome.

¹⁸⁶ On nun's funerals in Early Modern Rome, see K.J.P Lowe, "Suor Orsola Formicini of S. Cosimato in Rome," in *Nuns' Chronicles and Convent Culture: Women and History Writing in Renaissance and Counter-Reformation Italy* (Cambridge, U.K. ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

¹⁸⁷ Ann Sutherland Harris, *Seventeenth-Century Art and Architecture* (Laurence King, 2005), 93.

¹⁸⁸ Olimpia commissioned a tomb slab for herself in the church of S. Martino in the small hill town of S. Martino al Cimino. San Martino remained virtually abandoned until 1645, when Innocent X made it into a principality, and granted the land as well as the title of Princess of San Martino to Olimpia on October 7th of that year, raising her from a daughter of minor nobility to a landed title holder, a title which figures prominently in printed images of Olimpia, as well as her tomb inscription. Stephanie C. Leone, *The Pamphilj and the Arts: Patronage and Consumption in Baroque Rome*, 1st ed (Chestnut Hill, MA:

Monuments for courtesans were produced in a few instances in the Renaissance, but were not produced in the post-Tridentine period; this trend reflects the significant measures in post-Tridentine Rome against prostitution and brothels, and the decreasing social mobility of courtesans.¹⁸⁹ While most cases of tomb disassembly seem to have practical motivations, the destruction of the tomb of the papal mistress Vanozza Cattanei in the late sixteenth century indicates that in at least one case the social position and reputation of the women were central factors in the disassembly of her monument. According to Thomas Pöpper, Vanozza's tomb was removed from its place in Santa Maria del Popolo under the orders of Clement VIII, in an effort to rid the church of associations with excess and immorality. The stone slab inscribed with her funerary epitaph was transferred to the outer portico of San Marco, where it was placed upside down and used as a paving stone. In effect, as Pöpper notes, her memory was trampled upon.¹⁹⁰ According to a popular, but unverifiable legend, the sixteenth century memorial of Agostino Chigi's favorite courtesan, Imperia, which Chigi commissioned for S. Gregorio in Celio, was actually repurposed in the seventeenth century for the tomb for a papal prelate.¹⁹¹

The example of the disassembly of the memorial of Faustina Mancini (c. 1545) in the seventeenth century provides another perspective on the ways memorials for various elite women of several social stations could be repurposed. Around 1670, when the Mancini chapel came into

McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College, 2011).

¹⁸⁹ Tessa Storey, *Carnal Commerce in Counter-Reformation Rome*, New Studies in European History (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

¹⁹⁰ Thomas Pöpper, "Zur Mutmaßlich Multimedialen Memorialstrategie Papst Alexanders VI: Seiner Mätresse Vanozza Cattanei Und Ihrer Kinder in Santa Maria Del Popolo, Rom," ed. Anne Karsten, *Das Grabmal Des Günstlings: Studien Zur Memorialkultur Frühneuzeitlicher Favoriten* (2011): 169–188.

¹⁹¹ Thomas Pöpper, "Zur Mutmaßlich Multimedialen Memorialstrategie Papst Alexanders VI: Seiner Mätresse Vanozza Cattanei Und Ihrer Kinder in Santa Maria Del Popolo, Rom," ed. Anne Karsten, *Das Grabmal Des Günstlings: Studien Zur Memorialkultur Frühneuzeitlicher Favoriten* (2011): 170.

the possession of Cardinal Francesco Maria Mancini, Faustina's tomb was altered to harmonize with the newly constructed tomb of the cardinal patron, installed on the opposite wall of the chapel. Faustina's bust was swapped out for a bust of the cardinal's niece, Ortensia Mancini, in the guise of the idealized bust of Faustina. In the process, Faustina's original bust unfortunately was lost. The "modern" bust, likely a work by the sculptor Francesco Maria Brunetti, preserves some of the attributes of Faustina's bust known from the Windsor drawing,¹⁹² but it is apparently not an exact copy. A pair of putti was also added, bearing aloft medallions featuring the painted portraits of Lorenzo Mancini and Gerinoma Mazzarino, Ortensia's parents. Gendered concerns perhaps influenced this altered monument program. After fleeing Paris to escape a badly arranged marriage, Ortensia returned to Rome with a tarnished reputation. Her return to her natal city provided a moment for the rehabilitation of her name. In taking on the beautiful guise of her famed ancestor Ortensia's bust presented her as a "new" Faustina for her age: assimilating Faustina's beauty which was an extension of her perfect virtue, Ortensia's image offered an image of her as the unblemished fruit borne of that same noble lineage. In the early modern era, virtuous classical and biblical women were commonly invoked as exemplars of virtuous behavior for contemporary women. It is interesting that in this case, it was another Roman woman, relatively contemporaneous and from the same family, who provided the exemplary model.

As elsewhere, tombs in Rome were disassembled, reconfigured, and moved throughout the sacred landscape. Occasionally tombs were appropriated in a gesture of "familial spoliation" for use in monuments for other members of a clan. Sometimes this was motivated by practical reasons for reusing odd bits of available stone, and other times, spurred by concerns for social status. These

¹⁹² Elena Di Gioia, *Le Collezioni Di Scultura Del Museo Di Roma. Il Seicento, Le Grandi Collezioni Romane* (Roma: Campisano, 2002).

are issues that touch on the history of women's monuments. While analysis is necessarily brief here, consideration of the disassembly and movements of women's memorials in Rome reveals a more complex discussion about the meanings of women's memorials to their viewers and demonstrates the sometimes uneasy relationship that existed between women, the church, and moral codes in the early modern city.

1.10 DISSERTATION STRUCTURE AND CHAPTER DESCRIPTIONS

My dissertation is structured into three parts. Part One of this study is a thorough analysis of trends relative to the production and display of early modern women's memorials as well as patterns corresponding to the social status and patronage of elite female memorial subjects. This chapter examines my database sample of known Roman women's memorials and monuments in order to make statements about the sculptors involved in their production, where they were installed in Roman churches, and who was responsible for their commission. Through this appraisal we will see that the range of sculptors known to have worked on monumental commissions for women was the same afforded to men. Importantly, through the analysis of memorial locations, we can observe that women's monuments were placed in prestigious places, in churches with clear associations to saints and papal prestige. While it has been assumed that it was mostly husbands who commissioned women's memorials (and mostly for young brides), my analysis of the sample shows that they were in fact ordered by a number of relations and non-relations, and for women young and old.

The second chapter of Part One examines trends in the physical representation of women within a monument. Early modern monuments dedicated to Roman women demonstrate the correspondence between social status, gender, and the project of memorialization. To assess this correlation, I provide an overview of women's memorial effigy type and social status in Rome. Using available data, I break down the relative occurrence of each type of funerary memorial according to the social position of the female subjects, showing that proportionally, women's memorials fall in line with trends relative to those of elite Roman men. I also examine the types of visual representations available for the effigies of women, concerning inscriptions, modes of dress, accessories, and gestures, to assess how the social role and status of women were carefully crafted by sartorial choices and the accessories and poses of the deceased.

Part Two of my study is composed of a series of context case studies, selected from a wide range of options because of their singularity and exceptionality. These case studies each touch on critical themes introduced and discussed in Part One specific to the production and display of women's memorial art in early modern Rome. The subject of the first case study, the monument to Lucia dall'Oro (or dell'Oro)¹⁹³ Bertani in Santa Sabina (c. 1567), is the first and only known funerary monument for a female poet produced in sixteenth-century Rome.¹⁹⁴ Although few

¹⁹³ Historic as well as modern sources variously spell Lucia's name as either dell'Oro or dall'Oro. One eighteenth-century author even gives the spelling as dell'Orto, although this is likely a typographical error, as in later texts by the same author, the spelling is corrected to dell'Oro. Girolamo Tiraboschi, *Storia Della Letteratura Italiana: Parte Terza.*, vol. VII, 1779, 1729.

¹⁹⁴ In Francine Daenans' study of the life and work of the Renaissance female poet Isabella Sforza, I have found a reference, by way of a black and white photograph, to a monument for Isabella Sforza in S. Giovanni in Laterano. Daenans notes that permissions for the photograph come from the Musei Vaticani, but does not note if the monument is still extant. I have not been able to verify this tomb through any primary source accounts of the church. Notably, no recent photographs of the monument are included in any guides or monographic studies of S. Giovanni in Laterano. Elements of the monument appear to be not original to the Renaissance (for instance, the very neoclassical looking swag of ribbon). Unless a date can be proven through archival sources, it does not seem appropriate to list this example among the other monuments in this study. Francine Daenans, "Isabella Sforza: Beyond the Stereotype," in *Women in Italian*

sculpted monuments for published female writers were produced in this century, they are worthy of study as they could record within public spaces the real achievements of women within humanist circles and could present their female subjects not as remote, passive objects of poetic inspirations, but as extraordinarily educated women who had gained acclaim as actual composers of verse. This chapter will examine Lucia's monument within the family narratives of the Bertani, an ambitious Emilian family of theologians, cardinals, and diplomats. The monument's innovative design, previously unknown in Rome, indicates the desire of the patron to memorialize his wife through uncommon means, drawing attention to the remarkable elements of her persona that contributed to the family's unconventional and distinctive identity. At the same time, this chapter study will analyze the memorial in relationship to the visual traditions that surrounded her monumental effigy: printed and sculpted portraits of other women that made up Lucia's network of highly educated and elite social peers. The similarities between these portraits and Lucia's funerary effigy illustrate the motivations of Gurone Bertani, Lucia's husband and the monument's patron, to connect his wife to other contemporary women who exemplified a particular type of courtly, accomplished feminine ideal that complimented his learned own position in Roman diplomatic circles.

In my second case study, I expand discussions of portraits of older women by considering the visual principles and sources that surrounded a small, but important, number of sculpted funerary monuments of older women in Rome in the first decades of Catholic Reform. I look specifically to the memorial of Cecilia Orsini (c. 1585) in SS. Trinità dei Monti to examine the varying moral, social, and religious contexts which frame the sculpted monument's rich and

Renaissance Art: Gender, Representation, and Identity, ed. Paola Tinagli (Manchester ; New York : New York: Manchester University Press ; Distributed exclusively in the USA by St. Martin's Press, 1997).

unromanticized portrayal of old age. Her funerary bust, commissioned by her grandsons Enrico, Camillo and Ottavio Caetani and based on ancient funerary portrait types, presents Cecilia as the ideal Roman matron: old, high-born, widowed, and devoted to a life of pious works. The representational choices in her memorial communicated her superiority above other Roman noblewomen as a progenitrix of distinguished ecclesiastical lineages, glorifying the exemplary piety of the Orsini-Caetani household at a critical moment in Enrico Caetani's ascent to the College of Cardinals.

The third case study examines the lavish memorial for Lucrezia Tomacelli Colonna in the Colonna Chapel San Giovanni in Laterano (c. 1625). This monument designed by Teodoro della Porta incorporated gilt-bronze and antique black marble and was by far the most costly monument produced for a woman in the early seventeenth century. Using a sculptural effigy to physically record Lucrezia's appearance in an attitude of piety, as well as complex systems of family symbols, the cenotaph celebrated Lucrezia's identity as an essential component of Colonna claims to social and moral supremacy. This case study will draw on the history of the Colonna family in the early seventeenth century to show how the design choices for the cenotaph selected by her husband, Filippo I Colonna (the Duke of Paliano and the patron of the monument), indicate the esteem in which he held his wife. The monument was but one part of an extensive program of commemoration ordered by Filippo shortly after Lucrezia's sudden death in 1622, with an extraordinary wealth of visual materials that remains unexamined by scholars. I provide an opportunity to investigate the connections between Lucrezia's sculpted memorial and other types of commemoration commissioned in her memory. The visual program of Lucrezia's monument recalled dramatic elements of her funeral elegy and praise, showing the ways in which elite women's funerary monuments could codify and make permanent the ephemeral elements of

woman's posthumous legacy for a public audience. The unprecedented scale of the Lucrezia's posthumous celebrations mark a key moment in seventeenth-century Colonna patronage to assert the family's claim to superior status in Roman society not through the strength of its military heroes, but through the virtue of its women.

Part Three examines the specific trends relative to early modern female patronage. Beginning in the middle of the sixteenth century, a small but growing number of women chose to commission more elaborate funerary monuments for their relatives, and for the first time, they also began to commission a monument for themselves, in the context of a conjugal commission and sometimes, remarkably, even individual commissions. Many of the women under discussion in this chapter have not yet featured in major study and the significant details of their life are scant, having been pieced together through wills, scattered correspondence, parish accounts, and the tomb inscriptions themselves. None of these secular women held political reins or governmental authority. But through their pious bequests and support of religious houses, they shaped the language of religious reform, actions that they chose to champion in their own monuments.

First, will be a review of female patrons' projects for their kin, analyzing the various channels women used to participate in the commission for a memorial for kin and explore how women may have used such commissions to voice their own concerns about their roles as mothers, wives, and daughters. In the second part of this chapter, I turn to self-commissioned monuments, and consider the range and the implications of conjugal or independently commissioned examples. A brief section on general trends in Roman women's wills reviews how early modern women dictated their desires for funerary commemoration. These instances of female patronage reflect important changes in women's roles as memorial art patrons and the modes of representation available to an elite women for her own memorials. Memorials, especially those with effigies,

were the most visible and accessible “portraits” of these women, functioning as models for female and male audiences. Women’s self-commissioned monuments can therefore show how some women themselves wishes to be remembered and reveal their attitudes and perceptions about their age, social identity, and appearance within their exemplary widowhoods, cloistered lives, and secular female experience. At the end of the chapter will be presented four context cases that demonstrate the multiple choices made by elite women in considering their own funerary commemoration, which point to their exceptional personal desires for public representation in post-Tridentine Rome, foregrounding their roles as stewards for their children, staunch guardians of family interests, and venerable matriarchs of noble lineages.

Finally, referenced throughout my text, and located at the end of this study are two essential appendices: Appendix A, which catalogues women’s memorials from 1200-1750, and Appendix B, a catalogue of select translated memorial inscriptions from notable tombs, and Appendix C which contains all tables and charts referenced in the text of this dissertation. These appendices, while not exhaustive, provide essential data on these monuments and serve as a helpful compendium for further comparative analysis.

PART ONE: TRENDS AND PATTERNS

2.0 ARTISTS, LOCATIONS, AND PATRONAGE OF WOMEN'S MEMORIALS, 1550-1750

2.1 NOTE ON CURRENCY

The prices of monuments are given in *scudi*, the standard unit of Roman currency used in early modern Rome. As a useful rubric of for valuation for monuments, it is helpful to consider Richard Spear's analysis of expenditure and costs of early modern living: in the seventeenth century, ninety Roman *scudi* was substantial enough to house, clothe, and feed a family of five for a year.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁵ For helpful general analyses on relative incomes and expenditure in Early Modern Italy, see: Richard A. Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300-1600* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); Evelyn S. Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance: Consumer Cultures in Italy 1400-1600* (New Haven, [Conn.]; London: Yale University Press, 2005). For studies particular to Rome, see: Richard Spear, "Scrambling for Scudi: Notes on Painter's Earnings in Baroque Rome," *The Art Bulletin* 85, no. 2 (June 2003): 310–320; Richard E. Spear, *Painting for Profit: The Economic Lives of Seventeenth-century Italian Painters* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 2010). 30,000 *scudi* would have been vast sum equal to that of a small villa or the yearly income of nearly 350 Roman working families. 300,000 *scudi* - the sum associated with Paul V's chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore - was three times the expenditure that Paul V had earmarked for projects to complete St. Peter's façade in 1612 (See ASF Vol. 4028, fol. 328). For further analysis on Paul V's expenditure on his chapel project at Santa Maria Maggiore, see: Steven F. Ostrow, *Art and Spirituality in Counter-Reformation Rome: The Sistine and Pauline Chapels in S. Maria Maggiore, Monuments of Papal Rome* (Cambridge [England]; New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

2.2 WHO SCULPTED WOMEN'S MEMORIALS IN EARLY MODERN ROME

We can observe many of the most expressive and original qualities of early modern funerary sculpture when looking at women's monuments.¹⁹⁶ In order to better understand the circumstances under which these central developments took place, women's memorials need to be reexamined and recontextualized within the networks of sculptors and patrons that surrounded their production. Memorial sculpture provided gainful opportunities for sculptors of every rank and skill hoping to advance their career with a commission for a bust. Consequently, no evidence suggests that women's monuments were considered less lucrative commissions than those for men. In fact, some commissions for women's memorial effigies could allow an artist to break into certain networks of patronage. According to Giovanni Battista Passeri, Gianlorenzo Bernini offered Giuliano Finelli the opportunity to carve the portrait bust of Maria Duglioli Barberini (c. 1626, Louvre, fig. 1) for the family chapel in S. Andrea della Valle, a project that carried with it a chance for an audience with Urban VIII.¹⁹⁷ Clearly, the final bust of Maria, so delicately carved

¹⁹⁶ The bust of Virginia Pucci Ridolfi in S. Maria sopra Minerva (fig.2) has been described as "projecting an individual persona like no other bust in cinquecento Rome." Marcia B. Hall, "The Counter Reformation and the End of the Century," in *Rome, Artistic Centers of the Italian Renaissance* (Cambridge [U.K.]; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2005): 255. The unknown sculptor (probably Tuscan), using an available bronze portrait of the deceased as a model (fig. 3), transformed the starched folds of fabric of the earlier Mannerist bust into swirling drapery effects, predicting major innovations by later sculptors in the seventeenth century in the depiction of drapery and fabric. In the most clear example of women's monuments demonstrating sculptural originality, Giacomo del Duca designed the effigy of Elena Savelli as a half-length bust (fig 4) showing Elena with her hands in prayer, positioning her bust to crane out of its niche and rest partly on the balustrade, completing the visual effect of the subject seated behind her prie-dieu. This posture, used for the first time in Elena's monument, would be used extensively in Roman funerary portraits for men and women throughout the following centuries.

¹⁹⁷ This is recorded in Passeri's *Vite de' pittori, scultori, ed architetti*. Passeri records that Bernini asked Finelli to sculpt the work with the inducement of a papal audience, "per baciar il piede al papa." G. Passeri, *Vite De' Pittori, Scultori, Ed Architetti Che Anno Lavorato in Roma Morti Dal 1641. Fino Al 1673* (Rome: Settari, 1772), 257. The Louvre, where the bust now resides, supports the attribution to Finelli; however, the work has also been attributed to Bernini. "If we put aside the Baldinucci version of the story, then everything falls into place quite simply. Urban VIII ordered a series of posthumous family portraits from

that it necessitated a protective cage, demonstrates that commissions with aristocratic female subjects were viewed as possibilities for virtuosic display.¹⁹⁸

Expenditure on memorials varied greatly according to memorial type, materials used, and the sculptors involved in the commission, making it difficult to provide a median price for a memorial. A simple inscribed plaque of local stone or marble was certainly the least expensive type of memorial. While information on simple memorial markers is difficult to recover due to a lack of documentation, an account ledger for the Roman church S. Salvatore delle Corte (dated ca. 1677) shows that a simple marble plaque ranged in price between four and ten scudi.¹⁹⁹ A more complex slab with multi-colored marble or carved design cost more.²⁰⁰ The price of sculpted memorials with busts varied greatly, again depending on the costs of the materials and the reputation of the artist. What is clear (but hardly surprising) is that a sculptor's prices increased with his fame.²⁰¹

Bernini, among them his great-uncle Antonio, his uncle Francesco, his mother Camilla Barbadoni and his niece Maria Barberini. It seems clear that Bernini was responsible for all of them and, particularly at this early stage of his career, it is highly unlikely that he would leave a member of his workshop to do just as he pleased with a papal commission." Phillip Malgouyres, "From Invention to Realization: Three Curious Instances of Autography in Bernini's Œuvre," *Sculpture Journal* 20, no. 2 (2011): 147. Bernini's monument for Suor Maria Raggi has also been discussed in terms of its innovative qualities and influence on Roman memorial design in general.

¹⁹⁸ Jennifer Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture: The Industry of Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 106.

¹⁹⁹ Maoro, *Descrizione Della Chiesa Del Santissimo Salvatore Della Corte Di Roma, Nel Rione Di Trastevere, Divisa in Due Parti*. 105. The cost for an epitaph for "Signor Francesco Mannucci" is listed as four scudi; elsewhere in the list, epitaphs costing between eight and ten scudi are listed.

²⁰⁰ On the use, expense, and social meaning of multi-colored marble, see: John Nicholas Napoli, "From Social Virtue to Revetted Interior: Giovanni Antonio Dosio and Marble Inlay in Rome, Florence, and Naples," *Art History* 31, no. 4 (2008): 523–546.

²⁰¹ For example, Irving Lavin has shown how the young Bernini's prices increased in his early years: "in 1612 for the bust of Antonio Copolla he received fifty scudi, and in 1619-1620 the same sum for those of Camilla Barberini and Antonio Barberini; by 1622 he was paid seventy scudi for that of Antonio Cepparelli . . . It appears that as the century advanced, the standard price rose." Cited in Jennifer Montagu, "Innovation and Exchange: Portrait Sculptors in the Early Baroque," in J. Paul Getty Museum and National Gallery of

Consequently, there was a clear hierarchy of sculptors, patrons, and commissions in early modern Rome. Only the highest-ranking patrons pursued commissions from the most sought-after artists. In instances in which the patron commissioned both a freestanding bust for the home and a sculpted memorial for a chapel, a secondary artist was given the chapel project and paid less for his efforts than the master sculptor chosen for the freestanding bust.²⁰² As with the general patterns summarized above, I have observed that this practice was not gender-specific, but rather dependent upon the economic status and taste of the patron(s) involved.²⁰³

Correctly attributing early modern memorial sculpture is difficult, complicated by factors of poor documentation and the collaborative nature of sculpture workshops. Definite attributions are in the minority. Many memorials for both men and women remain anonymous.²⁰⁴ This is especially true of the late cinquecento, when “sculpture lagged significantly behind painting and sculpture.”²⁰⁵ Among the cinquecento memorials for women featured in this study, few have been

Canada, *Bernini and the Birth of Baroque Portrait Sculpture* (Los Angeles : Ottawa: J. Paul Getty Museum ; National Gallery of Canada, 2008), 47-48.

²⁰² Cited in Jennifer Montagu, “Innovation and Exchange: Portrait Sculptors in the Early Baroque,” in J. Paul Getty Museum and National Gallery of Canada, *Bernini and the Birth of Baroque Portrait Sculpture* (Los Angeles : Ottawa: J. Paul Getty Museum ; National Gallery of Canada, 2008), 47-48.

²⁰³ For example, Alessandro Algardi executed the freestanding bust of Antonio Cerri (Manchester [England] City Art Gallery), while Algardi’s student, Domenico Guidi, and was responsible for Cerri’s memorial bust in the Gesù in Rome. *Bernini and the Birth of Baroque Portrait Sculpture*, 221.

²⁰⁴ “Numerous busts are anonymous (in some cases, one may feel, mercifully so), and those who expect every bust in a sale catalogue or even in a museum to be ascribed to a sculptor should remember how many tombs, inscribed with the name of the deceased and the date of death (which usually provides at least an approximate date of execution), remain unattributed.” Jennifer Montagu, “Innovation and Exchange: Portrait Sculptors in the Early Baroque,” in J. Paul Getty Museum and National Gallery of Canada, *Bernini and the Birth of Baroque Portrait Sculpture* (Los Angeles : Ottawa: J. Paul Getty Museum ; National Gallery of Canada, 2008), 47. On the changeable aspects of attribution, see Damian Dombrowski (also cited by Montagu). “Aggiunte all’attività di Andrea Bolgi e revisione critica delle sue opere,” *Rivista dell’Istituto Nazionale d’Archeologia e Storia dell’Arte*, ser. 3, nos. 19-20, 1996-97 (1998), pp. 251-304.

²⁰⁵ Marcia B. Hall, “The Counter Reformation and the End of the Century,” in *Rome, Artistic Centers of the Italian Renaissance* (Cambridge [U.K.] ; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 254.

definitively given to any known sculptor. The memorials for Faustina Lucia Mancini (fig. 5), Virginia Pucci (fig. 2), Cecilia Orsini (fig. 6), and Vittoria della Tolfa (fig. 7), all substantial wall memorial commissions including portrait busts, remain anonymous works. The single woman's monument with secure attribution from the period of 1550-1600 is that produced for Elena Savelli (fig. 4), designed by Giacomo del Duca.²⁰⁶ The fact that Del Duca was a well-known architect who sometimes collaborated with Michelangelo may help to explain the attribution in this particular instance.²⁰⁷

Attributions for seicento women's memorials in Rome are more secure than for the period of 1550-1600, because the later period is far better studied and more documentary evidence is available. The list of sculptors includes some of the most influential names in the development of Baroque portrait sculpture: Gianlorenzo Bernini, Alessandro Algardi, and Giuliano Finelli. A monument by Bernini would have been a considerable marker of status in Rome and a portrait bust by him could reach incredible sums.²⁰⁸ Only a small handful of men were able to afford monument by him, and notably, no woman ever commissioned from him a memorial of herself. He was, however, responsible for at least three commemorative monuments dedicated to contemporary Italian women: the memorial for Suor Maria Raggi in S. Maria sopra Minerva (fig. 8) the

²⁰⁶ This attribution, first presented by Sandro Benedetti, is now universally accepted by art historians. Sandro Benedetti, *Giacomo Del Duca e L'architettura Del Cinquecento* (Rome: Officina, 1973), 77. In the eighteenth-century, it was believed to have been a work by Michelangelo. See Domenico de Rossi, *Studio Di Architettura Civile* (Rome, 1701), pl. 45.

²⁰⁷ For a thorough examination on the career of Giacomo del Duca and his collaborations with Michelangelo, see: Sandro Benedetti, *Giacomo Del Duca e L'architettura Del Cinquecento* (Rome: Officina, 1973).

²⁰⁸ For example, Bernini was paid the enormous sum of 3,000 scudi for the portrait of Francesco I d'Este (c.1650-1651). As Jennifer Montagu notes, this was the same amount he was given for the *Four Rivers Fountain* in Piazza Navona. Montagu, "Innovation and Exchange," 49. For more on Bernini's prices, see most recently Franco Mormando, "Impresario Supreme," in *Bernini his life and his Rome* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 66-144.

monument to Ludovica Albertoni (fig. 9), and a memorial bust for Camilla Barbadori (the mother of Urban VIII) in S. Andrea della Valle (fig. 10).²⁰⁹ He was commissioned for the design (although not the execution) for the memorial of Clarice Margana d'Aste (fig. 11) in S. Maria in Via Lata.²¹⁰

Alessandro Algardi, Bernini's contemporary and artistic rival, sculpted for a number of portrait busts in Roman funerary chapels. His production of women's memorials was limited to examples outside Rome,²¹¹ like the monument to Elisabetta Contucci Coli in Perugia.²¹² Recently, Andrea Bacchi and Catherine Hess have attributed two magnificent portrait busts of Maria Cerri Capranica (fig. 12) to Algardi's Roman output.²¹³ They suggest that a version of her bust (perhaps

²⁰⁹ Special mention should be made for Bernini's monument to the Blessed Ludovica Albertoni. This has traditionally not been discussed as a tomb memorial, but the fact that she was interred in the same chapel that her monument was placed in definitely puts her marker in the purview of memorial sculpture.

²¹⁰ On the design and attribution of this memorial, see Dorothy Metzger Habel, "Bernini's d'Aste Family Tombs in S. Maria in Via Lata, Rome: A Reconstruction," *The Art Bulletin* 79, no. 2 (July 1997). Bernini may also have been responsible for the bust of Maria Duglioli.

²¹¹ For Algardi's work on the Frangipane Chapel in San Marcello al Corso, see, Jennifer Montagu, *Alessandro Algardi*, 426-427.

²¹² The memorial is located in the church of San Domenico in Perugia. Little is known about the sitter or the memorial commission. According to the inscription accompanying her memorial bust (the main source of information about her), Elisabetta died at the young age of twenty-seven in 1647 and her husband set up the memorial the following year. See J. Paul Getty Museum and National Gallery of Canada, *Bernini and the Birth of Baroque Portrait Sculpture* (Los Angeles: Ottawa: J. Paul Getty Museum; National Gallery of Canada, 2008), 225, n8. In 1683, Giorgio Morelli credited the work to Algardi. Giorgio Morelli, *Brevi Notizie Delle Pitture e Sculture Che Adornano l'augusta Città Di Perugia* (Perugia, 1683), 63. This attribution contested by modern art historians, most recently Jennifer Montagu. Jennifer Montagu, *Alessandro Algardi* (New Haven: Published in association with the J. Paul Getty Trust by Yale University Press, 1985), no. 145.

²¹³ These two busts are nearly identical, one now in the J. Paul Getty Museum, and the other in Giovanni Pratesi's private collection in Florence. *Bernini and the Birth of Baroque Portrait Sculpture*, 223-224. This attribution differs from Bacchi and Hess's earlier attributions proposed in *Bernini and the Birth of Baroque Portrait Sculpture*, assigning the busts to Giuliano Finelli and an anonymous artist active in mid-seventeenth century Rome. *Bernini and the Birth of Baroque Portrait Sculpture*, 223-224. For the recent attribution of both busts to Algardi: Andrea Bacchi and Catherine Hess, "A Proposed Attribution to Alessandro Algardi: Maria Cerri Capranica at the J. Paul Getty Museum," *Sculpture Journal* 20, no. 2 (2011): 117-127. The Getty Museum attributes the work to Algardi in their most recent handbook of their collections. *The J. Paul Getty Museum Handbook of the Collections*, 8th ed. (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2015), 253.

carved shortly after Maria's death in October of 1643) may have been intended for a tomb monument in Cerri family chapel in the Gesù in Rome.²¹⁴ If this is accurate, Maria's bust would represent the only woman's bust intended for a memorial carved by Algardi in Rome. Nevertheless, like Bernini, he sculpted a number of busts of women for private domestic contexts.²¹⁵

Andrea Bolgi was responsible for two portrait bust commissions in Rome, both for woman's funerary monuments: the tomb for Laura Frangipane Mattei in S. Francesco a Ripa (fig. 13) and Clarice Margana d'Aste in S. Maria in Via Lata (fig.11).²¹⁶ Various scholars have also credited him with the memorial bust of Virginia Primi Bonnani in S. Caterina a Magnanapoli, but this attribution has not been universally agreed upon.²¹⁷ Bolgi took on more monument

²¹⁴ "Might the final spot [in the Cerri chapel] have been intended for Maria['s bust]? Or perhaps the matching socles of the effigies of father and daughter suggest the sculptures were to be placed near one another in Palazzo Cerri? In either case, Algardi seems to have created them both."

Andrea Bacchi and Catherine Hess, "A Proposed Attribution to Alessandro Algardi," 125-126.

²¹⁵ Most notably, these include the bust for Olimpia Maidalchini and a bust of Felice Zacchia Rondanini at the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Strasbourg.

²¹⁶ In his study *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*, Irving Lavin identified the memorial for Clarice Margana and her husband Giovanni Battista d'Aste as early works by Bernini. Jennifer Montagu dismissed this attribution, noting that the tombs were "un-Berniniesque," and instead offered that the patron, "having extracted the basic design for the chapel from Bernini," employed other artists for the completion of the tombs. Dorothy Metzger Habel suggests Bernini's involvement in the design of this chapel, but credits Bolgi for the execution of the memorial for Clarice Margana according to Bernini's master designs. See: Irving Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*, The Franklin Jasper Walls Lectures 1975 (New York: [Published for] Pierpont Morgan Library [by] Oxford University Press, 1980); Jennifer Montagu, "The Literature of Art: Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts," *The Burlington Magazine* CXXIV (1982), 241; Dorothy Metzger Habel, "Bernini's d'Aste Family Tombs in S. Maria in Via Lata, Rome: A Reconstruction," *The Art Bulletin* 79, no. 2 (July 1997): 291-300.

²¹⁷ Damian Dombrowski has recently discussed the bust of Virginia Bonanni Primi as a collaborative work produced by both Giuliano Finelli and Andrea Bolgi. Damian Dombrowski, "Fashioning Foreign Identities: Finelli's 'Opportunism' of Style," *Sculpture Journal* 20, no. 2 (2011): 265-274.

commissions in Naples, including an impressive full-length memorial of Vittoria de Caro Cacace in S. Lorenzo Maggiore (fig. 14).²¹⁸

Like many of his contemporaries, Giuliano Finelli carved a number of freestanding portraits of women, possibly including the aforementioned bust of Maria Duglioli Barberini.²¹⁹ This work was originally intended as a memorial bust, to join other commemorative portraits (by Bernini) in the Barberini Chapel in S. Andrea della Valle. Finelli has also been credited with the memorial for Cassandra Bandini in S. Silvestro al Quirinale (fig.15). Finelli's own nephew, Domenico Guidi, likely sculpted the imposing bust of Felice Zacchia Rondanini (ca.1669, fig.16, Galleria Borghese in Rome) as well as the monument of Livia Prini Santacroce in Santa Maria della Scala (fig. 17).²²⁰

Several well-known sculptors of the mid to late Baroque era have been conclusively connected to commissions for women's monuments. Of those sculptors, Ercole Ferrata,²²¹ and Andrea Fucigna²²² worked on significant commissions for women's tombs. In the late Baroque

²¹⁸ On this monument, see: Simona Starita, "Andrea Aspreno Falcone e la Scultura Della Metà Del Seicento a Napoli" (PhD, Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II, 2011). On Bolgi's Neapolitan period (as well as a concise review of sculptors working in Naples), see: Francesco Abbate, "La Scultura Dei Seicento a Napoli e Nel Regno," in *Storia Dell'arte nell'Italia Meridionale*, Progetti Donzelli (Roma: Donzelli, 1997).

²¹⁹ The authoritative study on Finelli remains Damian Dombrowski. Damian Dombrowski, *Giuliano Finelli: Bildhauer Zwischen Neapel Und Rom*, Schriften Zur Bildenden Kunst Bd. 7 (Frankfurt am Main ; New York: P. Lang, 1997).

²²⁰ Cristiano Giometti, *Domenico Guidi, 1625-1701: Uno Scultore Barocco Di Fama Europea*, LermArte 5 (Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2010).

²²¹ Ercole Ferrata is credited with the splendid bust and monument for the Marchesa Giulia Ricci Parravicini in S. Francesco a Ripa.

²²² Andrea Fucigna has been identified as the sculptor of the large memorial for Elena Boncompagni Borghese (now in SS. Bonifacio e Alessio, and tentatively been attributed for the memorial of Caterina Raimondi in S. Antonio dei Portoghesi. He was also involved in the production of the memorial to Geronima Naro Santacroce and her husband in S. Maria in Publicolis, though likely not responsible for Geronima's bust. For this commission, see: Jennifer Montagu, "The Santacroce Tombs in S. Maria in Publicolis, Rome," *The Burlington Magazine* 139, no. 1137 (December 1997): 849–859.

Giuseppe Mazzouli,²²³ Lorenzo Merlini,²²⁴ and Jean-Baptiste Théodon²²⁵ were among the most prominent sculptors to work on women's memorials and tomb commissions.²²⁶ As for the sixteenth century, a number of incredibly fine works were produced during this period, clearly by accomplished artists that remain unattributed.²²⁷

We should not conclude, however, that every sculptor working in Rome from the period of 1550-1750 was involved in the production of sculpted portraits of women, either within the context of a freestanding portrait bust, or as part of a funerary memorial. Nicolas Cordier sculpted very few portraits and just one funerary monument for a woman, albeit an exceptional one for the pope's mother. François Duquesnoy, along with Bernini and Algardi, is considered one of the master sculptors of the Italian Baroque. However, unlike either of these artistic peers, he sculpted very few portraits. In total, just five portrait busts have been attributed to the sculptor, one of which was the portrait of a woman, which no longer survives.²²⁸ He produced three tombs during his

²²³ Mazzouli sculpted the monuments for Maria Camilla Pallavicini and Gian Battista Rospigliosi in San Francesco a Ripa; the monuments were completed in 1719. Robert Westin and Jean Westin, "Contributions to the Late Chronology of Giuseppe Mazzouli," *The Burlington Magazine* 116, no. 850 (January 1974): 36–41.

²²⁴ Merlini sculpted two wall memorials for women: the monument to Marchesa Francesca Calderini Pecori-Riccardi (c. 1700) in S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini and the monument to Aurora Berti (c. 1720) in S. Pantaleone. Robert Enggass, *Early Eighteenth-century Sculpture in Rome: An Illustrated Catalogue Raisonné* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976), 122.

²²⁵ Théodon (as well as Lorenzo Ottoni) worked on the bronze memorial for Queen Christine of Sweden in St. Peter's. Enggass, *Early Eighteenth-Century Sculpture in Rome: An Illustrated Catalogue Raisonné*.

²²⁶ For a complete catalogue of the memorials attributed to these late Baroque sculptors, see: Enggass, *Early Eighteenth-Century Sculpture in Rome: An Illustrated Catalogue Raisonné*.

²²⁷ An illustrative example is the unattributed bust of a female member of the Fonseca family in the Fonseca chapel (San Lorenzo in Lucina), depicting either Violante or Isabella Fonseca.

²²⁸ The bust, formerly in the collection of Horace Walpole, is known through a drawing contained in the W.S. Lewis Collection in Farmington, Connecticut. On the collection history of this bust, see: Joseph Baillio, Odile Poncet, and Chloe Chelz, eds., *The Arts of France from Francois Ier to Napoleon Ier. A Centennial Celebration of Wildenstein's Presence in New York* (New York, NY: Wildenstein, 2005); and briefly in: Irving Lavin and Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, "Duquesnoy's 'Nano Di Crequi' and Two Busts by

career, all commemorating foreign men.²²⁹ Like Duquesnoy, the Florentine sculptor Francesco Mochi, sculpted hardly any portraits, mostly for high-ranking papal officials and none recorded among them depicting a woman.²³⁰ Likewise, no women's memorial has been attributed to Stefano Maderno, Cosimo Fancelli, Paolo Naldini, Andrea Raggi, or Melchiorre Caffa.²³¹ Further research on many of the anonymous works – beyond the scope of study in this dissertation – may reveal conclusive evidence for these sculptors' participation in memorials for women.

We can see that the list of known sculptors of women's memorials is diverse, touching on the careers of both master carver and workshop apprentice alike. Women's tombs were essential commissions for many sculptors, and were a source of pride for their creators, signified by inscribed signatures on some examples.²³² That women's memorials were produced at the apex of their sculptors' careers, when they had already achieved considerable success (and even papal commissions) suggests that these memorials were not exclusively the domains of second-rate sculptors. Nevertheless, the common aristocratic status of the women commemorated by

Francesco Mochi," *The Art Bulletin* 52, no. 2 (June 1970): 146.

²²⁹ Estelle Cecile Lingo, "The Greek Manner and a Christian 'Canon': François Duquesnoy's 'Saint Susanna'," *The Art Bulletin* 84, no. 1 (March 2002): 65–93.

²³⁰ Among private portrait commissions completed by Mochi is the freestanding bust for Cardinal Antonio Barberini (c. 1628–29, Toledo Museum of Art) and the bust for the tomb of the church canon Pompilio Zuccarini in the Pantheon (S. Maria ad Martyres), carved around 1638.

²³¹ The funerary monument of Elena dal Pozzo in S. Maria del Suffragio has been credited to Paolo Naldini in past scholarship. This attribution has been dismissed by Ferrari and Papaldo who grant the work to an anonymous sculptor. Oreste Ferrari and Serenita Papaldo, *Le Sculture Del Seicento a Roma* (Roma: Ugo Bozzi, 1999), 330, n43. These sculptors did, however, receive important commissions for sculptures of female martyr saints throughout their careers.

²³² For example, Andrea Bolgi signed the memorial bust for Laura Frangipane Mattei. See: Alberto Riccoboni, *Roma Nell'arte: La Scultura Nell'evo Moderno Dal Quattrocento Ad Oggi* (Rome: Casa Editrice Mediterranea, 1946).

recognized sculptors indicates that social standing, rather than gender, was a defining factor in the range of sculptors accessible for a commission.

2.3 LOCATION, AFFILIATION, AND MEANING

Memorials were part of complex networks of sacred ritual space that resonated with religious, social, and political meanings. Studying the distributions of women's burials and monuments helps us to understand the types of women being commemorated, and track how locational and spatial concerns for women's monuments fit within broader patterns common to those for men. Certain Roman churches were particularly marked as coveted places for burial and the presence of a memorial in a specific church and its particular placement in it added considerable amount of honor to all types of memorials. Some tombs were deliberately small and simple to communicate the spiritual humility of even the most elite individual; a number of patrons eschewed a large tomb in favor of a simple slab in a prominent church, prioritizing the location of the monument over its splendor.

Given women's subordinate social positions, and the expectations of their enclosure within the domestic sphere or convent, it follows that their memorials are more likely to be found in smaller numbers and in less illustrious churches, or that they would be placed in less visible areas. Yet, this is clearly not the case for Rome; I have found evidence of early modern women buried in nearly every single Roman church.²³³ Further analysis of this wide dispersal reveals some striking patterns in the choice of women's memorial locations.

²³³ Tomb slabs and even wall memorials have sometimes moved from their original locations. This has

As Sharon Strocchia has argued for quattrocento Florence, women's memorials were highly concentrated in mendicant churches belonging to the Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians; these churches ranked as the most prestigious places of burial for the Florentine elite.²³⁴ We can observe that this pattern is also true of early modern Rome. For the period of 1550-1750, Santa Maria in Aracoeli, San Francesco a Ripa, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Sant'Agostino, and Santa Maria del Popolo lay claim to the highest numbers of women's monuments of all Roman churches. These rankings are comparable to conclusions made about women's tombs across the Italian peninsula in the preceding centuries.²³⁵ This may of course be related to the relative size of these churches; they are all prominent churches and larger than most parish churches; they therefore had more available space for family chapels and memorials. Each of these mendicant orders maintained strong connections to the female religious figures closely allied to the male founders of their orders. St. Clare of Assisi, St. Catherine of Siena, and St. Monica played substantial roles in development of Franciscan, Dominican, and Augustinian piety, granting them prominent positions as companionate spiritual exemplars within their respective monastic communities. The associate order of Franciscans founded by St. Clare (the Poor Clares) and communities of Dominicans and Augustinian nuns encouraged the involvement of secular women

made the process of cataloguing their original locations difficult and sometimes impossible to determine. With available resources, I have attempted to corroborate with primary documentary evidence. Further analysis outside the scope of this project comparing these findings against individual church burial registers will provide additional support.

²³⁴ Sharon Strocchia, *Death and Ritual in Renaissance Florence*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1992), 100-101. Strocchia notes that, of course, Florentine men were buried in mendicant churches; however, the relative proportion for burials for women within these selective spaces surpasses that of men.

²³⁵ These findings correspond to trends observed by Brenna Graham in her study of *quattrocento* women's monuments; of the twenty-four women's tombs in mendicant churches she discusses, fourteen were located in those maintained by the Franciscans, more than double the number found in Dominican or Augustinian churches. Graham, "The Most Bitter and Untimely of Events." 51.

as tertiary members (*terziani*), providing channels for women to actively participate in the spiritual mission of the order.²³⁶

Mendicant churches were attractive to patrons for the large number of available clergy and monks for funeral celebrations who would ensure daily prayer for the dead buried in the church. For example, the Marchesa Vittoria Orsini (née Della Tolfa) – one of the richest women late cinquecento Rome –²³⁷ repealed the 2,000 *scudi* she had initially allocated to the Aracoeli,

²³⁶ The close associations that these mendicant orders maintained with holy women fostered an advantageous climate for the burial of women and the installation of memorials in their honor. In the cases of S. Maria sopra Minerva especially, the tomb of St. Catherine of Siena, located in a highly visible position of the church, fostered the installation of a number of memorials for lay women buried *ad sanctos*, in the Renaissance, and into the Post-Tridentine period. The tomb for St. Catherine of Siena (dated c. 1430/1466) – currently located at the high altar of S. Maria sopra Minerva – was first placed by the altar of the Chapel of the Madonna of the SS. Rosario, just to the right of the high altar. Mario Ascheri, Giovanni Mazzoni, and Fabrizio Nevola, eds., “The Chapel of Saint Catherine in San Domenico: a Study of Cultural Relations Between Renaissance Siena and Rome,” in *L’Ultimo Secolo Della Repubblica Di Siena, Arti, Cultura e Società, Atti Del Convegno Internazionale* (Siena: Accademia Senese degli Intronati, 2008), 414. The tomb of St. Monica (dated c. 1455) was originally installed in the chapel on the right side of the crossing; during renovations in S. Agostino c. 1480, Monica’s tomb was moved to the left of the apse. See Meredith J. Gill, “‘Remember Me at the Altar of the Lord’: Saint Monica’s Gift to Rome,” in *Augustine in Iconography*, ed. Joseph C. Schnaubelt and Frederick Van Fleteren (New York: Peter Lang, 1999), 554. Entombment close to the tomb of St. Monica was likewise prestigious and favored amongst female devotees. The fifteenth-century tomb for St. Monica in Sant’Agostino by Isaia di Pisa has been the subject of three studies by Meredith Gill, Ian Holgate, and Anett Ladegast. Their essays bring into focus the relationships between the tomb for the female saint and the translation of its visual program within related memorials for some of Monica’s female devotees, Maddalena Orsini, Maria de Cenciis, and Costanza Ammanati. These essays mainly limit their analyses of Monica’s tomb within the bounds of Sant’Agostino, but the issues they raise can be connected to women’s tombs elsewhere. Meredith J. Gill, “‘Remember Me at the Altar of the Lord’: Saint Monica’s Gift to Rome,” in *Augustine in Iconography*, ed. Joseph C. Schnaubelt and Frederick Van Fleteren (New York: Peter Lang, 1999); Ian Holgate, “The Cult of Saint Monica in Quattrocento Italy: Her Place in Augustinian Iconography, Devotion and Legend,” *Papers of the British School at Rome* 71 (2003): 181–206; Anett Ladegast, “Liturgie Und Memoria Bei Den Ammanati-Grabmälern in S. Agostino,” in *Vom Nachleben Der Kardinäle Römische Kardinalsgrabmäler Der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Arne Karsten and Philip Zitzlsperger, (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 67-98), 2012. In the early modern period, I have also found a number of women’s memorial slabs *ad sanctos* in Sant’Agostino: See the examples of Lucrezia Marrani Iacobacci, an Augustinian nun and Elena di Chinis.

²³⁷ Vittoria was the widow of the General Camillo Pardo Orsini: She claimed esteemed Neapolitan heritage through both her maternal and paternal lines, as the daughter of Lodovico III della Tolfa, and Elisabetta Carafa, sister to Gian Pietro Carafa (the future Paul IV). See F. Casmiro, *Memorie Istoriche Della Chiesa e Convento Di S. Maria in Aracoeli Di Roma* (Rome: R. Bernabo, 1736), 200. Cited in Johanna Heideman, “The Cinquecento Chapel Decorations in S. Maria in Aracoeli in Rome” (PhD, Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht,

stipulating instead that her heirs pay annual installments of 150 *scudi* for the friars' vestments;²³⁸ this endowment hinged on the condition that the friars celebrate a daily mass in her chapel.²³⁹

It is notable, however, that women were not just buried in the subsidiary convent churches maintained by these mendicant orders, but in their mother churches. The churches of Santa Maria in Aracoeli and Santa Maria sopra Minerva were among the most prestigious place of burial for much of the late Middle Ages into the early modern period.²⁴⁰ The Aracoeli maintained strong connections to the secular government of Rome (being adjacent to the Capitoline) and to the Holy See. In addition, it was the favored church of Rome's most ancient and illustrious baronial clans, making it one of the most significant churches in the city.²⁴¹ The church was also a major center of activity in Post-Tridentine restoration efforts. This gave the Aracoeli a special status as a symbol of Catholic Reform goals and revitalized faith.²⁴² Santa Maria sopra Minerva was the church

1982), 118, n4.

²³⁸ On this matter, see the fifth codicil to Vittoria's will, dated September 1, 1582. Archivio di Stato, Rome, Collegio dei Notari Capitolini, vol. 464 (Notaio: Prosperus Campanus), Fols. 716r-717v. Cited in Heideman, "The Cinquecento Chapel Decorations in S. Maria in Aracoeli in Rome," 123. She also left the friars candles for the feast days of All Saints and the Ascension, as well as funds for the friars' food on those days.

²³⁹"Padri debbano ogn' giorno perpetuamente celebrare una messa nella Capella di sua Ecc^{za} in detta Chiesa d'Aracelli novamente da sua Ecc^{za} fabricata sotto l'invocatione del' Ascensione." Archivio di Stato, Rome, Collegio dei Notari Capitolini, vol. 464 (Notaio: Prosperus Campanus), Fols. 716r-717v. Also cited in Heideman, "The Cinquecento Chapel Decorations in S. Maria in Aracoeli in Rome," 123. Care for her soul seems to have been particularly important to the marchesa during the year this codicil was prepared; she also left 100 *scudi* to her home parish of S. Eustachio for masses to be said for her soul in perpetuity.

²⁴⁰ Santa Maria in Aracoeli was the seat of the minister general of the Franciscan order.

²⁴¹ The Savelli and Cesarini clan, who were counted amongst the oldest Rome, built the oldest mortuary chapels in the church.

²⁴² For an excellent discussion of the Aracoeli in the mid-sixteenth century and the important architectural and artistic projects taking place there, see: Kristin Noreen, "The High Altar of Santa Maria in Aracoeli: Recontextualizing a Medieval Icon in Post-Tridentine Rome," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 53 (2008): 99–128.

associated with the Florentine community (one of the most powerful foreign factions in the city) and favored as a place of burial for rich families and the many cardinals who came to Rome from Florence during this period.

One church in particular had a large number of female memorials: San Gregorio al Celio. This church was the primary house affiliated with the Camadolese order in Rome. Like the Franciscans and Dominicans, the Camadolese shared close ties with a sister order of nuns.²⁴³ I have catalogued fourteen memorials (far more than the average for a church of comparable size) installed in this church from 1550-1750, including one substantial wall monument dedicated to Porzia del Drago (fig. 18). In the early modern period, the church was famous as the burial site for St. Sylvia (the mother of St. Gregory), an aspect of the church given special attention in Cardinal Cesare Baronio's writings and patronage.²⁴⁴ This connection to a venerated Roman matron saint and a prestigious patron connected to the papal court made it an attractive site for the burial of Roman elites.²⁴⁵

As is expected, convent churches for female monastic communities also exhibit high proportions of simple women's memorials commemorating novitiates and nuns. The Ursuline convent of SS. Rufina e Seconda contains at two least significant wall memorials for women: Frances Montieux and Bianca Maria Neri. (fig. 19, fig. 20). This small church in Trastevere (far

²⁴³ For a thorough study on the spiritual and artistic climates of Camaldolese convents, Craig Monson, *Divas in the Convent: Nuns, Music, and Defiance in Seventeenth-Century Italy* (Chicago ; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2012).

²⁴⁴ Hans Henrik Brummer, "Cesare Baronio and the Convent of Gregory the Great," *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 43 (1974): 101–120.

²⁴⁵ M. Smith O'Neil, "The Patronage of Cardinal Cesare Baronio at San Gregorio Magno: Renovation and Innovation," in *Baronio e L'arte* (Sora: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, 10-13 October 1984, 1985), 145–171.

from the central hub of the city) was the site of burial for the virgin martyr St. Rufina, and appears to have been a special focus for elite female patronage and support in early modern Rome.²⁴⁶ While the memorial for Frances Montieux within this space is expected (she was the founder of the convent), the memorial of Bianca Maria Neri, a lay aristocrat, demonstrates the desire for female elites to be buried *ad sanctos*, even when the church itself was rather humble or secluded.

As we have seen, the number of women's tombs was comparatively high in churches belonging to medieval mendicant and contemplative orders. Churches belonging to reformed Franciscan, Dominican, and Augustinian orders also attracted many patrons to their convent centers in Post-Tridentine Rome. Among these, churches maintained by the Order of Minims contained a number of female memorials. The Minims, founded by S. Francis di Paola, established a Third Order for aristocratic men and women, and therefore, garnered a great deal of support from elite *terziani*. My findings relevant to S. Trinità dei Monti (one of the most prominent Minim churches in Rome) corroborates that it was a special center for female piety and devotion.²⁴⁷ The most high status female patron at the church, Lucrezia della Rovere (the sister to Pope Julius II), commissioned only a slab for herself, keeping with reformed Minim ideas of piety and assistance that were stressed in its Franciscan mission.²⁴⁸ The location of Lucrezia's monument allied her

²⁴⁶ This convent has not been the focus of female patronage studies. On the foundation and history of this church, see: Ernesto Iezzi, *Studio Storico Della Chiesa e Del Monastero Delle S.S. Rufina e Seconda* (Rome: Scuola Tipografica Italo-Orientale "S. Nilo", 1980).

²⁴⁷ I have catalogued eighteen memorial slabs for S. Trinità dei Monti; this number is by far the largest figure for women's memorials amongst churches associated with the reformed mendicant orders. Christopher Witcombe, "The Chapel of the Courtesan and the Quarrel of the Magdalens," *The Art Bulletin* 84, no. 2 (June 2002): 273–292; Carolyn Valone, "The Art of Hearing: Sermons and Images in the Chapel of Lucrezia Della Rovere," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 31, no. 3 (Autumn 2000): 753–777.

²⁴⁸ On Lucrezia's chapel patronage in Santa Trinità dei Monti, see: Carolyn Valone, "Matrons and Motives: Why Women Built in Early Modern Rome," in *Beyond Isabella: Secular Patrons of Art in Renaissance Italy* (Truman State University Press, 2001), 317–335.

memory with these ideals, presenting her as an exemplar of humility and memorializing her piety instead of social position. While not directly correlated to the significant number of women's tombs in this space,²⁴⁹ Lucrezia della Rovere's high-profile example of female chapel patronage within this church suggests an affinity between female memorials, female patronage, and female tertiary communities.²⁵⁰

The churches belonging to reform orders like the Discalced Carmelites also reflect high proportions of women's memorials. I have catalogued eight memorials for Santa Maria della Scala, one of the primary Discalced Carmelite church in Rome, which is a higher number than for other Roman churches of a comparable size. Two were substantial wall monuments with busts: Livia Prini Santacroce (fig. 17) and Eleonora Ferretti (fig. 21). San Giuseppe a Capo le Case²⁵¹ and Sant'Egidio in Trastevere also contains a number of floor memorials to women.²⁵² Two significant wall monuments were constructed for women in San'Egidio in the late seventeenth century: the monument for Veronica Origo (fig. 22) and Petronilla Massimi (fig. 23). The monuments for Faustina Gottardi and Eleonora Boncompagni Borghese were commissioned for the church of S. Lucia in Botteghe Oscure, a church served by Discalced Carmelite nuns.²⁵³ Like the Minims, the

²⁴⁹ I have catalogued eighteen memorials within this space, high above the average number.

²⁵⁰ As Valone mentions, *terziani* were entitled to burial within a Minim church. Valone, "The Art of Hearing: Sermons and Images in the Chapel of Lucrezia Della Rovere," 761.

²⁵¹ S. Giuseppe Capo al Case, a convent church, was built between 1596-1698, and was the first convent for Carmelite nuns after the reforms of St. Theresa of Avila; it was founded by the Oratorian Francesco de Soto and Fulvia Conti Sforza. See Valone: Valone, "Matrons and Motives: Why Women Built in Early Modern Rome." 328.

²⁵² On S. Egidio in Trastevere, see: Saverio Sturm, *L'architettura Dei Carmelitani Scalzi in Età Barocca: La "Provincia Romana". Lazio, Umbria e Marche (1597-1705)* (Rome: Gangemi Editore Spa, 2015).

²⁵³ This church was demolished in 1936; however, before demolition both these monuments were transferred to other spaces (the Palazzo Ginnasi and the church of SS. Alessio e Bonifacio, respectively). For a recent appraisal of the architecture of S. Lucia in Botteghe Oscure, see: Saverio Sturm, *L'architettura Dei Carmelitani Scalzi in Età Barocca: La "Provincia Romana". Lazio, Umbria e Marche (1597-1705)*

Discalced Carmelites established a Third Order for women, with several convents constructed in Rome the seventeenth century.²⁵⁴ The significant role of the Discalced nun, Saint Theresa of Avila, in the Post-Tridentine period encouraged and foregrounded the role of female exemplarity within this order, making it a focal point for female patronage.²⁵⁵ Possibly related to this trend, at least two Roman women commissioned their own monuments for Discalced Carmelite churches, an aspect which will be covered at the end of this dissertation.

There is less evidence to support the construction of women's monuments in churches belonging to "new" reform orders like the Theatines, and Barnabites or in the mother churches of the Jesuits or Oratorians. Some of these orders had sister branches established in the sixteenth century (the Theatines established the Theatine Oblates and Hermitesses, and the Barnabites instituted The Sisters of St. Paul), these spaces do not seem to have been particularly sought after for the placement of a woman's memorial.²⁵⁶ Although some women were very active as patrons of the Jesuit order, few monuments for women exist in Jesuit churches in Rome.²⁵⁷ In fact, in at least one prominent example, Vittoria della Tolfa, one of the Jesuit's most prolific supporters,

(Rome: Gangemi Editore Spa, 2015), 147-150.

²⁵⁴ On other major Carmelite churches in Rome – S. Maria della Scala, S. Pancrazio, S. Maria della Vittoria, S. Egidio – see: Saverio Sturm, *L'architettura Dei Carmelitani Scalzi in Età Barocca: La "Provincia Romana."*

²⁵⁵ There have been several important volumes dedicated to female patronage with special reference to Discalced Carmelite communities. For a general treatment, see: Marilyn Dunn, "Women as Convent Patrons in Sixteenth Century Rome," in Cynthia Miller Lawrence, *Women and art in early modern Europe: patrons, collectors, and connoisseurs* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997).

²⁵⁶ I have catalogued three memorials (and one more substantial monument) in San'Andrea della Valle, the center of the Theatine order in Rome and none for the Barnabite church of S. Carlo ai Catanari.

²⁵⁷ I have only catalogued three memorial slabs for women in the Gesù and no wall monuments. The elaborate wall monument for Barbara of Austria was constructed for the Jesuit church in Ferrara. On this monument, see: Cesare Barotti, *Pitture e Sculture Che Si Trovano Nelle Chiese, Luoghi Pubblici, e Sobborghi Della Città Di Ferrara* (A. Forni, 1770), 103.

repealed her support for the Society and chose the site of the Aracoeli for her memorial chapel instead.²⁵⁸

Finally, the expanded role of women in the Post-Tridentine period can be best understood by the symbolic placement of elite women's tombs in the epicenter of Catholic faith and the symbol of papal power: St. Peter's Basilica. Prior to 1578, no monuments for women had been installed in St. Peter's. By 1750, however, four memorials for women had been commissioned for the central body of the basilica. The first was the memorial slab (fig. 24) for Agnesina Caetani Colonna (d. 1578), the sister of Marc'Antonio Colonna and wife of Onorato Caetani.²⁵⁹ Three impressive wall monuments for contemporary women were constructed in the preceding two centuries: the monuments for Queen Christine of Sweden (fig. 25), and Clementina Sobieski (fig. 26). The unprecedented inclusion of memorials for elite women – all secular – in St. Peter's in this period demonstrates the changing importance that some women achieved as defenders of the faith, worthy of commemoration by papal permission and decree and on the grandest scale.

In summary, at the same time that these women's memorials were installed at St. Peter's, trends in women's memorials continued to reflect patterns established in earlier centuries. Churches served by the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians or those sacred to the memory of female saints continued to be important places of burial for women. As correlation does not

²⁵⁸ Carolyn Valone, "Piety and Patronage: Women and the Early Jesuits," in *Creative Women in Medieval and Early Modern Italy: A Religious and Artistic Renaissance*, ed. E. Ann Matter and John Wayland Coakley (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 157–184.

²⁵⁹ Marc'Antonio Colonna [1535-1584], Duke and Paliano and Viceroy of Sicily, was the admiral general who commandeered the fleet of the Holy League against the Ottomans at the Battle of Lepanto. The first Duke of Sermoneta, Onorato Caetani (1542-1592), was named Governor of the Borgo and also the Captain General of the Papal Guard. For a discussion of their funeral *apparati* in S. Maria in Aracoeli, see: Minou Schraven, "Funeral Apparati for Military Commanders in Rome," *Festive Funerals in Early Modern Italy: the Art and Culture of Conspicuous Commemoration* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 223-225.

imply causation, these trends are not easily attributed to any one motivation, but what it is apparent is women's monuments were placed in churches of the highest prestige in Rome. While these decisions would often be made by family members, surviving wills indicate that women were able to dictate their wishes for burial in specific churches. This aspect of memorial patronage will be explored in Part Three of this dissertation.

2.4 THE PLACEMENT OF WOMEN'S MEMORIALS WITHIN CHURCH INTERIORS

Analysis of the position of women's memorials within the body of the church can also reveal specific motivations to position the site of commemoration at critically important areas. The representative examples that follow demonstrate that the specific position of a women's memorial inside a sanctified space which added additional layers of prestige.

While the grandeur and scale of memorials differed greatly across family chapels, it was the location and proximity of the memorial in relation to the altar that could heighten the commemorative aspect of memorial masses held in family chapels. The memorial slab for Porzia dell'Anguillara Cesi in her chapel in S. Maria sopra Minerva, was placed not on a lateral side of the chapel, but directly in front of the chapel's altar.²⁶⁰ The cenotaph for Lucrezia Tomacelli Colonna was installed to the immediate left of the main altar in the Colonna Chapel in S. Giovanni in Laterano where it can still be found today. The chapel is adjacent to and accessed through the

²⁶⁰ Carolyn Valone, "Mothers and Sons: Two Paintings for San Bonaventura in Early Modern Rome," *Renaissance Quarterly* 53, no. 1 (2000): 118.

sacristy, situating Lucrezia's monument in an area of high liturgical significance where it would be seen by clergy in passing several times a day. In such cases as these, the memorial design transcends its first role as a memorial marker and becomes symbolically connected to the ritual liturgies. Clearly, among the decisions of a family patron designing a memorial for the family chapel, close proximity of the memorials to the chapel altar was a primary focal point for highlighting the particular identity of the family member in question within the familial traditions. Lastly, the placement of memorials in carefully chosen spaces linked to the liturgy enlivened and intensified the commemorative masses for the deceased being recited in front of (or even on top of) the memorial itself.

Now on display in the Vatican grotto, the memorial slab of Agnesina Colonna Caetani (fig. 24) was originally placed just inside the Chapel of St. Gregory, on the left-aisle of the basilica. This location was adjacent to the "door of judgment" – the 'Porta Iudicii'²⁶¹ – which was historically reserved for the procession of funerals that were to be celebrated in the basilica, and therefore an extremely prestigious area of the church.²⁶² In fact, the left aisle was also known as the 'Porticus Pontificum,' – a "corridor of popes" – for the number of popes buried in this area of the church.²⁶³ Agnesina's extremely high status as wife to Onorato Caetani, the Governor of the

²⁶¹ Today, the Porta della Morte (completed by Don Giuseppe de Luca in 1963) stands in the place of the Porta Iudicii, its present name recalling the historical function of the door. Carol M. Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome: Cardinals in the Fifteenth Century*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History v. 173 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2009), 392. See also, Carol M. Richardson, "'Ruined, Untended and Derelict': Fifteenth-century Papal Tombs in St. Peter's," in *Art and Identity in Early Modern Rome* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008).

²⁶² Carol M. Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome: Cardinals in the Fifteenth Century*, 392. Agnesina also was commemorated with a large funeral in St. Peter's. Forcella, *Iscrizioni Delle Chiese e Degli Altri Edificii Di Roma*, Vol. 6, 84.

²⁶³ "In origine ebbe sepoltura poco distante alla porta Iudicii della vecchia Basilica . . . e precisamente dentro la cappella di san Gregorio a pie della prima colonna." Forcella, *Iscrizioni Delle Chiese e Degli Altri Edificii Di Roma*, Vol. 6, 84.

Borgo, granted her a position as the consort to the representative of secular governance of the city. Additionally, her close association with religious reform as an early and ardent supporter of St. Philip Neri perhaps helps to explain the coveted placement of her memorial in St. Peter's.²⁶⁴ Although a comparatively modest slab,²⁶⁵ the placement of Agnesina's memorial in this area of the church situated her memory in dialogue with the legacy of the popes, an element that would be continually reinforced during the funeral celebrations of other famous individuals that paraded past her memorial.

Placement of women's memorials outside of chapels, where they could be easily seen and even touched by parishioners and clergy, added an additional factor in the calculation of the final effect of the memorial design. The meaning and relevance of tombs and monuments could be heightened by their installation near shrines or holy images. This is most clear in the case of the monument to Aurora Berti (fig. 27) in S. Pantaleone,²⁶⁶ which was intentionally positioned to face the miraculous icon of the Virgin at the main altar; Aurora herself had donated this icon to the Piarist fathers. The arrival of the icon in Rome in 1688 from Perugia was the focus of extensive celebrations of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin at the church and in Rome.²⁶⁷ As a key

²⁶⁴ Recorded in the proceedings for St. Philip Neri's canonization is a visit by the saint to Agnesina's sickbed: "To Agnesina Colonna, a lady as illustrious for her piety as for her birth, and who was then given over by her medical attendants, he said, 'Do not be afraid; you will not die this time,' and she recovered. Pietro Giacomo Bracci, *Vita Di S. Filippo Neri Fiorentino, Fondatore Della Congregazione Dell'oratorio, Raccolta Da' Processi Fatti Per La Sua Canonizatione Da Pietro Iacomo Bacci Aretino Prete Della Medesima Congregazione* (Apresso Andrea Brugiotti: Bologna, 1622), Lib III, cap. IV, 245.

²⁶⁵ The marble slab contains no portrait of Agnesina, but does include bronze decorative elements, and incised decorative additions of coats-of-arms and putti.

²⁶⁶ The church was served by the fathers of the Piarist *Scuole Pie* who lived in the adjoining convent.

²⁶⁷ The events are described in Rodolfo Brasavola, *Ragguaglio Della Vita, Martirio, e Miracoli Di San Pantaleo Medico Descritto Dal P. Ridolfo Di San Girolamo Ferrarese* (Rome: Gio. Giacomo Komarek Boemo alla Fontana di Trevi, 1695), 70.

benefactress of the Piarist movement, the placement of her monument demonstrates the centrality of her role as an elite patron of the movement, regardless of her gender. The elevation of that devotion as apotheosis is furthered by the memorial's design: Aurora is presented as the personification of perpetual prayer, underscored by the ardent gestures of devotion carved in her effigy. The Piarist movement was the first order established to focus on the education of adolescent male pupils, establishing many schools in Rome and abroad.²⁶⁸ In their curriculum, the Piarist fathers stressed learning through example and the importance of continual prayer. Centrally located in the church served by the Piarist fathers, Aurora's memorial effigy reinforced continual prayer as a universally ideal model of Piarist devotion on display for the public, students, and Piarist fathers alike.²⁶⁹

2.5 LOCATING MONUMENTS FOR FOREIGN WOMEN

For the humanist scholar Michel Montaigne, Rome was the “most universal city in the world ... a city pieced together by foreigners.”²⁷⁰ Rome also served as a major site of pilgrimage,

²⁶⁸ On the curriculum implemented in Piarist schools, see: A.K. Liebreich, “Piarist Education in the Seventeenth Century,” *Studi Secenteschi* 26 (January 1985). See also: Paul F. Grendler, *Renaissance Education Between Religion and Politics*, Variorum Collected Studies Series 845 (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006).

²⁶⁹ On the curriculum implemented in Piarist schools, see: A.K. Liebreich, “Piarist Education in the Seventeenth Century,” *Studi Secenteschi* 26 (January 1985). See also: Paul F. Grendler, *Renaissance Education Between Religion and Politics*, Variorum Collected Studies Series 845 (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006).

²⁷⁰ *Montaigne's Travel Journal*, trans. and ed. D.M. Frame (San Francisco, North Point Press 1983): 97-98.

which brought women to the city on spiritual missions, and where they also sometimes died.²⁷¹ A significant number of noblewomen were transplanted to Rome upon their marriage into Roman households. Women of the merchant class sometimes accompanied their husbands on business or banking. Some women were personally motivated to move to the city in order to enter a convent. Amongst the lower classes, women came to the city to obtain work.

Only a very few of these women were commemorated with a funerary monument. In her analysis of the tomb slab of Alfonsina Orsini de' Medici, however, in the Roman church of S. Maria del Popolo, Sheryl Reiss has suggested that commemoration in Rome may have offered more opportunities for the burial of elite women than other centers, and especially more than Florence.²⁷² Brenna Graham's dissertation has also highlighted the instance of the elaborate monument (no longer extant) for the Florentine noblewoman, Francesca Tornabouni in S. Maria sopra Minerva.²⁷³

Table III provides a list of known wall monuments produced for women born outside of Rome, making note of their place of birth. Rome, at the crossroads of exchange and international conflicts also served a center for Catholic men and women who had left their countries of birth to find support and protection under the papal crown. Both Christine of Sweden and Maria Clementina Sobieski came to Rome to find refuge; Christine had abdicated the throne of the Kingdom of Sweden to convert to Catholicism, and Maria Clementina Sobieski followed her

²⁷¹ A tomb slab for Margary Kibli (a woman of English birth) was commemorated in a tomb slab in S. Tommaso di Canterbury. See: Photo, Sopr. BAS Roma neg. n. 138389.

²⁷² In her recent keynote address at the Attending to Early Modern Women Conference in Milwaukee in June of 2015, Dr. Reiss noted that Florence was an especially unlucky place to be born a woman, but it was also "unequally inauspicious to die there."

²⁷³ Graham, "The Most Bitter and Untimely of Events," 60.

husband, James III, while the contested Stuart court awaited his hoped for return to the throne of England.²⁷⁴

While these exceptional examples demonstrate the role of the papal city within international politics, we can observe that most translocations of women were more locally and regionally bound; the majority of foreign women in Rome were of Tuscan origin.²⁷⁵ The monument for Virginia Pucci Ridolfi (fig. 2), wife of the Florentine banker Giovanni Francesco di Pagnozzo Ridolfi, was constructed in S. Maria sopra Minerva, a church with strong ties to the Florentine community. Francesca Calderini Pecori, wife of the Florentine Grand Ducal ambassador to the papal court, was memorialized in a grand wall monument in S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini (fig. 28).²⁷⁶ In these cases the foreign women were commemorated in Rome because they had in fact moved to Rome with their husbands, and in fact died there. As demonstrated by at least two cases, this was not always true: both Camilla Barbadori (mother of Urban VIII) Lesa Deti Aldobrandini (mother of Clement VIII) appear to have remained in Florence until their deaths.

The large proportion of Florentine women in Roman churches may be explained by the long established connections between diplomats, lawyers, and especially at the papal court, who also transferred their families to the city.²⁷⁷ Not surprisingly, in these cases, foreign women's

²⁷⁴ For study on the Stuart court's period of exile in Rome: Edward T. Corp and Visual Arts Research Institute, Edinburgh, eds., *The Stuart Court in Rome: The Legacy of Exile* (Aldershot, Hants, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003).

²⁷⁵ The memorials of Giuseppe Bonanni (a Sieneese banker) Virginia Primi have been selected as illustrating "foreigner's monuments" in Rome. Dombrowski, "Fashioning Foreign Identities: Finelli's 'Opportunism' of Style." However, as per her tomb's inscription, Virginia of Roman birth.

²⁷⁶ Paolo Malanima, *I Riccardi Di Firenze: Una Famiglia e Un Patrimonio Nella Toscana Dei Medici* (L. S. Olschki, 1977).

²⁷⁷ On the Florentine bankers that served the papal court, see: Francesco Guidi Bruscoli, "Florentines in Rome," in *Papal Banking in Renaissance Rome: Benvenuto Olivieri and Paul III, 1534-1549* (Aldershot, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007).

monuments were constructed in national churches or those with strong affiliations to foreign communities.²⁷⁸ In the instances of Virginia Pucci Ridolfi and Francesca Calderini Pecori, burial in a national church would be markers of their husbands' high status, and make visible their national allegiances. Not all foreign wives of political figures, however, were commemorated in churches with foreign ties; for instance the monument to Camilla Bonvisi (fig. 29), born in Lucca, was constructed in S. Maria del Popolo; Lucia Bertani, from Emilia, was commemorated in S. Sabina, a mendicant church, but no affiliations to national communities. In both these instances, the husbands held political positions at the papal court; this indicates that even in cases of patronage connected to men of political authority, other concerns of familial traditions took precedence over national ties. Therefore, we can observe that while some foreign women's tombs can be found in higher concentrations in national churches, their location does not otherwise follow a set pattern, but was dependent on particular concerns of each family.

2.6 WOMEN'S MEMORIALS AND ASSOCIATED MONUMENTS

It is also constructive to consider how women's monuments referenced or were placed in context with the tombs of other family members in family chapels. Andrew Butterfield has suggested that monuments for women were with few exceptions associated with monuments for those of male kin.²⁷⁹ Table IV classifies each wall monument for a woman by its association to

²⁷⁸ S. Maria in Campo Santo (Teutonic affiliation), S. Thomas of Canterbury (English affiliation), S. Maria dell'Anima (Teutonic affiliation) and S. Luigi dei Francesi (French affiliation) contain a number of inscriptional plaques dedicated to women of their respective nationalities.

²⁷⁹ "[Women's tombs were] constructed only in tandem with similar monuments for the males of the same family. Similarly, in a few examples women also were depicted in relief lying next to their husbands."

other funerary monuments. As we can see, about half of monuments for women located in this study were independent monuments, commissioned separately from those of male kin, to stand on their own.²⁸⁰ Fourteen (approximately seventy percent of independent women's monuments) of these individual monuments memorialize older wives, indicating it was mostly older women, and not just young brides who were commemorated in impressive independent monuments.

Sometimes, a patron commissioned a monument with an effigy of an individual member of the household which was also intended to memorialize other family members (or sometimes the entire family).²⁸¹ Single memorials honoring both a man and a woman together typically included just an effigy for the man, as in the tomb for Stefano Mutino and his wife Clemenza Cafarelli, the tomb for Cardinal Cesare Rasponi and his mother Clarice Vaini, and the monument for Giacomo Bespino and his daughter-in-law Cecilia Pavona.²⁸²

Women's memorials were not only constructed in relationship with memorials of husbands, and all examples were often freighted with meaning. The monument for Cecilia Orsini in S. Trinità dei Monti (fig. 6) was paired with a memorial for Cecilia's nephew, Cardinal Rodolfo di Pio.²⁸³

Butterfield, "Social Structure and the Typology of Funerary Monuments in Early Renaissance Florence," 54-55.

²⁸⁰ "The majority of monuments, however, were situated within familial groupings, nearly always with marital relations." Graham, "The Most Bitter and Untimely of Events." 39.

²⁸¹ Occasionally, women's monuments were meant to commemorate more than one wife (if they died young, and the husband remarried) or sometimes commemorated both mother and her children; however, I have not found any evidence of this practice in early modern Roman monuments. This is the likely case of the monument to Ilaria del Carretto, which may have been intended to commemorate Ilaria as well as other wives of the patron Paolo Guinigi. Graham, "The Most Bitter and Untimely of Events," 315 for associated bibliography.

²⁸² Oreste Ferrari and Serenita Papaldo, *Le Sculture Del Seicento a Roma* (Roma: Ugo Bozzi, 1999), 12; 146; 168.

²⁸³ Cecilia's husband, Alberto Pio III, predeceased her by forty-four years, and was buried after a period of failing health according to his wishes in the Franciscan cathedral of Sainte-Marie-Madeleine in Paris, where the couple was then living in refuge. Cecilia's monument will be treated in more detail in Chapter Five of

Even more striking, Lucrezia Orsini and her sister-in-law Eleonora Anguillara Santacroce were both commemorated in a single memorial slab with full-length effigies in relief (fig. 30); their representation in one monument, dated to a single year, suggests that the two women died in close succession, possibly of the same epidemic. The relative rarity of this type of double monument in early modern Roman women's memorials indicates that two women were commemorated together in a single monument in exceptional cases.

Even in the eighteenth century, this type of double monument was relatively uncommon and the outcome of an idiosyncratic situation. Livia del Grillo and her daughter Maria Theresa Doria di Tursi, were commemorated together in a single magnificent monument in S. Andrea delle Fratte (fig. 31); three years separated them in death, but the coincidence of Maria Theresa's death with the near completion of her mother's monument resulted in the alteration of the original design to include an effigy of Maria Theresa as well.²⁸⁴ These cases indicate that when women's tombs were coordinated with other tombs, whether that of their partner in life or another family member, the nature of the arrangement was the outcome of special family circumstances.

Early modern altarpieces with donor portraits of a married couple frequently followed the tradition of paired marriage portraits: the wife's portrait was placed on the left and their husband on the right, the heraldic dexter position.²⁸⁵ This convention followed in paired images of men and

this study. Giovanna Ioele, "Giovanni Battista Della Porta Scultore (Porlezza 1542-Roma 1597)" (Università degli Studi Roma Tre, 2010). This case will be treated in further detail in a case study in Part Two of this dissertation.

²⁸⁴ Francesco Alberto Salvagnini, *La Basilica Di S. Andrea Delle Fratte in Roma: Santuario Della Madonna Del Miracolo* (Genoa: B.N. Marconi, 2006). The monument was commissioned by Livia's husband, the Duke of Tursi, and Maria Theresa di Tursi in 1746. When Maria Theresa died in 1749, her husband, Don Lazzaro Doria – "wishing to reunite mother and daughter" – commissioned Maria Theresa's effigy for the monument.

²⁸⁵ Heraldic dexter ('right') and sinister ('left') are defined with respect to the subject and not the viewer. "Generally, during the Middle Ages and continuing on into the modern period, left and right were

women who were associated through kinship or as members of mixed-gender religious communities. Every example in this study, both painted and sculpted, follows this convention, except four: the wall monuments for Faustina Lucia Mancini (fig. 5), Laura Frangipane Mattei (fig. 13), the elaborate wall memorial for Clement VIII's mother, Lesa Deti Aldobrandini (fig. 32), and the monument for Lucia Bertani (fig. 33). The first two examples were produced for young women who predeceased their husbands. Faustina Mancini died at the age of twenty-four.²⁸⁶ Her husband, Paolo Attavanti commissioned her memorial, placed on the heraldic dexter side of the Capella San Giacomo in S. Maria in Aracoeli.²⁸⁷ Laura Frangipane Mattei was celebrated in an elaborate monument placed on the heraldic dexter side of the family chapel.²⁸⁸ Neither Faustina's

referenced according to the subject positions of the work itself . . . To avoid the older conventions are now labeled "heraldic left and right" since they linger on the traditions governing descriptions of heraldic devices that were defined with respect to the subject position of the objects they emblazon. The man's coat of arms always appears on the right (viewer's left) and the woman's on the left (viewer's right)." Corine Schleif, "Men on the Right – Women on the Left: (A)Symmetrical Spaces and Gendered Places," in *Women's Space: Patronage, Place, and Gender in the Medieval Church*, ed. Virginia Chieffo Raguin and Sarah Stanbury, Suny Series in Medieval Studies (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005), 211.

²⁸⁶ Her premature death was a catalyst for further commemoration in poetry, prose, and funerary commemoration; these were collected by Scipione Biondo in his anthology of *Rime* which featured a special section dedicated to commemorative sonnets for the "bellissima Mancina." Michelangelo also dedicated two sonnets to Faustina. Along with Livia Colonna, Faustina was renowned for her unparalleled courtly virtue, and beauty. She was the particular muse of the poet Francesco Maria Molza.

²⁸⁷ The original appearance of the monument is preserved in an early 17th century drawing associated with the antiquarian circle of Francesco Gualdi. Around 1670, when the chapel came into the possession of Cardinal Francesco Maria Mancini, Faustina's tomb was altered to harmonize with the newly constructed tomb of the cardinal patron, installed on the opposite wall of the chapel. Faustina's bust was swapped out for a bust of the cardinal's niece, Ortensia Mancini, in the guise of the idealized bust of Faustina. In the process, Faustina's original bust unfortunately was lost. The "modern" bust, likely a work by the sculptor Francesco Maria Brunetti, preserves some of the attributes of Faustina's bust known from the Windsor drawing - but it is apparently not an exact copy. A pair of putti was also added, bearing aloft medallions featuring the painted portraits of Lorenzo Mancini and Gerinoma Mazzarino, Ortensia's parents. In the 19th century, the chapel was acquired by the Marini-Clarelli family. In a fitting postlude for the monument, it was reused for tomb of Barbara Clarelli, wife of the Baron Marini. The pre-existing tomb for Cardinal Francesco was completely disassembled and a wholly new was tomb erected. On this commission, see: Elena Di Gioia, *Le Collezioni Di Scultura Del Museo Di Roma. Il Seicento*, Le Grandi Collezioni Romane (Roma: Campisano, 2002).

²⁸⁸ The monument is discussed in the seventeenth-century: Gasparo Alveri, *Roma in Ogni Stato Alla Santità*

nor Laura's monuments were originally conceived as pendants to another monument. Nor were any other monuments installed in the space at the time they were commissioned, although other monuments were subsequently added in later periods. The death of the female subject before her husband – and his own decision to delay or completely forgo a monument for himself – was often a significant factor in the privileged positioning of a woman's tomb.

The monument for Lesa Deti Aldobrandini was placed on the heraldic dexter side of the Aldobrandini chapel, opposite the memorial for her husband, Silvestro Aldobrandini. Rather than a deliberate act on the part of the family patrons, the changes to the chapel design in 1604 indicated that the space where Lesa Deti Aldobrandini's monument is installed today was originally intended to be the space for the memorial for Pope Clement VIII's brother, Giovanni Aldobrandini. In fact, Giovanni Aldobrandini's memorial was even installed in the place where Lesa's monument is now positioned for a brief time.²⁸⁹ As the chapel neared completion in August of 1604, the pope visited the chapel and decided that the recumbent effigy of Giovanni should be taken down and replaced with a memorial for his mother. At this point, the original plan to include a portrait bust of Lesa was abandoned in favor of her full-length effigy.²⁹⁰ This case reveals the lengths to which papal decrees could shift and alter the patterns of familial patronage to reflect the personal taste of the Pope, as the ultimate Roman patron of the arts. In addition, at this point in post-Tridentine Rome, in certain cases the memorials of elite women – such as the mother of a pope – could replace the

Di N.S. Alessandro Settimo Di Gasparo Alveri (Fabio di Falco, 1664), Vol. 2, 350.

²⁸⁹ The documents relative to the changes in this commission are discussed in: Catherine Elna Fruhan, "Trends in Roman Sculpture Circa 1600" (The University of Michigan, 1986), 55-81.

²⁹⁰ The completed bust remained in the sculptor's workshop, eventually ending up in the Metropolitan Museum's collection. It was identified in 1997 as a work by the sculptor Ippolito Buzio. See: Hans-Ulrich Kessler, "A Portrait Bust of Luisa Deti by Ippolito Buzio," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 32 (1997): 77–84.

memorials of men in original chapel plans. Finally, the specific case of Lucia Bertani, who died at a mature age and whose tomb also commemorated her husband, will be examined in more detail in the first case study of this dissertation.

2.7 PATRONAGE: WHO COMMISSIONED WOMEN'S MEMORIALS

Along with other commissions, like altarpieces and chapels, funerary monuments were constructed with the support of wealthy patrons who hoped to bolster their family's position in the city. Men were encouraged to commission such monuments to cultivate splendor and a sense of *magnificenza*, both for themselves and for the benefit of their heirs. Noblemen were not, however, the only patrons of monumental tomb sculpture. The commission for a memorial was one of the most common forms of sculptural patronage that modern men *and* women engaged in in early modern Italy.

Who commissioned women's funerary memorials and why? The answer to the first part of this question is not always obvious from the monument itself. Given that such monuments were commissioned and viewed by family and friends of the deceased, it was not necessary for the deceased to be named explicitly or for the patron to be identified within a tomb inscription. Patrons concerned about appearances of personal humility may also have chosen to remain unnamed.²⁹¹ While contracts were more commonly produced for sculptural commissions than for painting,²⁹²

²⁹¹ On this particular strategy, see especially: Yoni Ascher, "Manifest Humbleness: Self-Commemoration in the Time of Catholic Reform," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 35, no. 2 (Summer 2004): 329–356.

²⁹² "Written contracts were much more common when commissioning sculpture in sixteenth-century Rome." John Nicholas Napoli, *The Ethics of Ornament in Early Modern Naples: Fashioning the Certosa Di San Martino*,

contracts for a monumental commission were still rare, and few survive to clarify issues of patronage.²⁹³ The contracts that do survive are usually connected to papal commissions. For various reasons, the patrons of men's monuments have been more easily identified than those of women.²⁹⁴

The "why" of this question is difficult to answer with a general statement. Writing in the thirteenth century, Boncompagno di Signa observed that there were five things that motivated men to commission great tombs for themselves and others: custom, devotion, love, worthiness, and fame.²⁹⁵ While it has been assumed women's memorials were generally commissioned out of love and grief by husbands and kin, they were in fact commissioned by a wide range of patrons, some of whom may never have met the woman commemorated. Love cannot therefore be the only inducement for women's memorials.²⁹⁶ As we shall see, patrons – including female patrons – were

Visual Culture in Early Modernity (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015), 156.

²⁹³ Jennifer Montagu, "Innovation and Exchange: Portrait Sculptors of the Early Modern Baroque," in J. Paul Getty Museum and National Gallery of Canada, *Bernini and the Birth of Baroque Portrait Sculpture* (Los Angeles : Ottawa: J. Paul Getty Museum ; National Gallery of Canada, 2008), 47-48 (and note 2 of this chapter). Graham's study mentions only two known tomb contracts for *quattrocento* women's memorials: the memorial for Margherita Malatesta and the tomb for Beata Villana. Graham, "The Most Bitter and Untimely of Events," 93.

²⁹⁴ See for example the case of the funerary chapel (1674-1680s) completed for Gasparo Marcaccioni in S. Maria del Suffragio in Rome. In his rich and thorough analysis of the archival material, Xavier Salomon was able to clarify the payments for the funerary bust of Gasparo. However, no payment records for the funerary bust for his wife, Elena dal Pozzo (which post-dates that for Gasparo) and its patronage has not been determined. Xavier Salomon, "Gasparo Marcaccioni (1620-74), His Portrait by Carlo Maratti and His Chapel," *The Burlington Magazine* no. 154 (September 2012): 629–636.

²⁹⁵ "There are five things which lead posterity to make elaborate tombs – custom, devotion, love, worthiness, and an empty appetite for fame." Boncompagno di Signa, *Rhetorica Antiqua* (c. 1215), BAV, Archivio S. Pietro, H. 13. Ff. 45v-46r. Cited in Julian Gardner, *The Tomb and the Tiara: Curial Tomb Sculpture in Rome and Avignon in the Later Middle Ages*, Clarendon Studies in the History of Art (Oxford : New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 1992), 7.

²⁹⁶ Discussions of the patronage of Paolo Guinigi (for the tomb of Ilaria del Caretto) and Giovanni Tornabouni (for the tomb of Francesca Pitti, ca. 1466) often characterize the motivations as either love or intense loss.

inspired to commission women's memorials for a rich variety of reasons, including worth and fame.

As with most early modern art commissions, it is difficult to establish the individual details of patronage and it is not always easy to decode to what degree a patron was involved in the commission of a woman's monument. Because of this, the patronage of women's monumental sculpture has not always been transparent. Additionally, typological analysis reveals the evidence of outliers, requiring a general survey to more fully understand systems of patronage. Some general statements, however, about the patronage of women's monuments can be crafted from surviving examples.

The patronage of women's monuments as falls into two broad categories of "internal" and "external" commissions.²⁹⁷ "Internal" refers to patronage that connected the family members of the deceased, further classified as "familial," "conjugal," and "self-commissioned monuments." "External" commissions refer to all patronage initiated by an individual unrelated to the deceased. As Graham observes for fifteenth century women's tombs ordered by an "internal" patron they were not only commissioned by husbands or sons,²⁹⁸ as has been previously suggested.²⁹⁹ Table

²⁹⁷ Graham's study employs this useful framework in her study of quattrocento tombs.

²⁹⁸ "While sons and husbands frequently *were* the patrons of their wives' and mothers' sepulchers, they certainly were not the "only" patrons of women's monumental tombs." Of the women's monuments Graham catalogues that were commissioned "internally," nearly thirty-five percent were commissioned by family members who were neither spouses nor sons. Graham, 141.

²⁹⁹ Graham has argued against Shelly Zuraw on the topic of female patronage: "In general, the number of tombs commemorating women is, not surprisingly, rather small. In almost every case, they are associated with an important male patron unless the woman was a figure of political import. ...The only extant large-scale tombs [for women] were commissioned by sons or husbands." Shelley Zuraw, "The Sculpture of Mino Da Fiesole (1429-1484)" (PhD, New York University, 1993), 967-968.

V, shows a greater diversity in the relationships represented by women's monuments in Post-Tridentine Rome than in the previous century.³⁰⁰

Although some early modern authors encouraged wives to provide for the memory of their husbands through the commission of a memorial, they were silent on the topic of husbands commissioning a tomb for a wife.³⁰¹ Many patriarchs of noble Roman lineages commissioned funerary chapels without any explicit reference to a female family member. The chapels of the Spada, Frangipane, Accoramboni, and Cornaro families,³⁰² for instance, contain no inscriptions or funerary markers for women, although by all accounts they served both the male and female members.³⁰³

Thirty-six of women's wall monuments from 1550-1750 (about 80%) were commissioned by men,³⁰⁴ which is roughly analogous to the total cited for the fifteenth-century.³⁰⁵ We can see

³⁰⁰ I have only included here monuments in which the patronage is either verified by the inscription and documentation.

³⁰¹ For example, Agostino Valier advises women to commission a tomb for a spouse. He makes no mention of monuments for other members of the family nor women self-commissioning their monuments. For a concise analysis of Valier's sources, see: Francesco Lucioli, "Introduction," in *Instituzione D'ogni Stato Lodevole Delle Donne Cristiane*, 2015. Pontano recommends that noblemen should commission tombs for themselves, he does not mention commissioning one for a wife.

³⁰² On the Spada Chapel, see most recently: Fulvio Lenzo, "La Cappella Spada in San Girolamo Della Carità. Una 'stanza Adobbata' Per Le Ambizioni Di Un Cardinale," *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 50 (2008): 383–428. For the use of the Frangipani chapel as a family burial chapel, see, Golda Balass, "Taddeo Zuccari's Decoration for the Frangipani Chapel in S. Marcello Al Corso, Rome," *Assaph: Publication of the Tel-Aviv University, Faculty of Fine Arts. Studies in Art History* 6 (2001).

³⁰³ On family use of funerary chapels in other Italian contexts, see: Yoni Ascher. "The Drama of the Dead and the Living: Theatrical Design of Sepulchral Chapels in Renaissance Naples." *IKON* 4, no. 1 (2011): 223-232.

³⁰⁴ I have limited analysis in this section to wall monuments only.

³⁰⁵ Of the monuments catalogued by Graham, about seventy-seven percent of *quattrocento* Italian women's tombs were commissioned by men. Therefore, this figure in Rome seems to reflect the national average for women's monuments from the previous century. However, when considering city specific percentages, Rome fairs much better than other cities like Florence and Venice where nearly one-hundred percent of

from this that husbands represent the most significant patron group of women's monuments in early modern Rome. Husbands were involved in the commission of twenty examples, or about 60% of commissions by male patrons; sons were associated in nine instances (26%); two monuments were commissioned by grandsons or extended male family members (6%); one monument may have involved the patronage of a brother (3%).³⁰⁶ Monuments commissioned by fathers are rare: Graham cites only one fifteenth-century example for the entire Italian peninsula.³⁰⁷ I have found no examples of paternal or avuncular patronage of a woman's wall monuments in post-Tridentine Rome.³⁰⁸ Fathers did, however, commission pavement slabs for daughters when they died young and unwed.

To give this data more specificity, it is necessary to consider the interrelationships between the patron and the deceased within these familial commissions. It has been suggested that in the fifteenth century, monuments commissioned by husbands commemorated wives who died young

women's monumental tombs were commissioned by men.

³⁰⁶ Scholars have suggested that the female bust included in the Fonseca chapel depicts either Isabella or Violante Fonseca, the mother and sister of the patron, Gabriele Fonseca. See: Judy Dobias, "Gian Lorenzo Bernini's Fonseca Chapel in S. Lorenzo in Lucina, Rome," *The Burlington Magazine* 120, no. 899 (February 1978): 65–71; James W. Nelson Novoa, "Gabriel Da Fonseca: A New Christian Doctor in Bernini's Rome," in *Humanismo e Ciência Antiguidade e Renascimento* (UA Editora Universidade de Aveiro, 2015).

³⁰⁷ "Only one tomb was commissioned by the occupant's parent for a young, unmarried laywoman, that of Medea Colleoni." Graham, 81. For documents revealing the original context of this monument, see also, JoAnne G. Bernstein, "The Tomb of Medea Colleoni in the Nineteenth Century: New Documents, 1841–1842," *Arte Lombarda* 151, no. 3, Nuova Series (2007): 25–32.

³⁰⁸ However, one monument commissioned for young nieces was commissioned in the early sixteenth century. The young Beatrice and Lavinia Ponzetti were sent to their uncle Ferdinando Ponzetti in Rome in 1502, after the death of their father, and the subsequent remarriage of their mother. Ferdinando seems to have taken a very personal role as educator to the girls as well as a personal role in the patronage of their monument. See Gerald Davies, *Renascence: The Sculptured Tombs of the Fifteenth-century in Rome* (London: J. Murray, 1910), 290.

and often in childbirth.³⁰⁹ Four of the women's wall memorials listed in Table II depict women whose effigies suggest they died young.³¹⁰ I have found, however, a significant number of women's monuments commissioned by husbands in the post-Tridentine period that memorialized women in their forties or older.³¹¹ This indicates that the honor associated with women who had lived to be mothers, and/or joint caretakers of the family estate was invaluable to early modern male patrons. As previously noted, questions about exact birth and death dates makes it difficult to be certain of the age of the women commemorated, but some monuments were commissioned by husbands for wives who were past child-bearing age. Most of these were conjugal monuments set up while the couple approached more advanced age,³¹² but at least five monuments were not: the monuments for Lucia Bertani (fig. 33),³¹³ Elena Savelli (fig. 4) Lucrezia Tomacelli Colonna (fig. 34),³¹⁴ Porzia del Drago Santacroce (fig. 18) and Livia del Grillo (fig. 35).³¹⁵ Memorials for

³⁰⁹ Graham, "The Most Bitter and Untimely of Events." 81. "Those commissioned by the occupant's husband all tended to commemorate women who died young, nearly all of them predeceasing their husbands."

³¹⁰ These include the tombs of Faustina Mancini, Virginia Pucci, Laura Frangipane Mattei, Giulia Ricci Parravicini. Among these examples, only the tomb of Faustina Mancini explicitly records her age. As per the inscription that was on her tomb, Faustina Mancini was twenty-four at the time of her death. Her tomb was partially disassembled in the seventeenth century. The epitaph is transcribed in Forcella, *Iscrizioni Delle Chiese e Degli Altri Edificii Di Roma*, Vol. 1, entry 636.

³¹¹ It is useful here to consider Merry Wiesner Hanks: "Widowhood was a clear legal status, but "old age" in the early modern period is harder to define. For women, the best marker might be menopause, which usually occurred somewhere in a woman's forties . . . Alessandra Strozzi, a wealthy Florentine, described herself as old at forty-two." Merry E. Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, New Approaches to European History 20 (Cambridge [England] ; New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 95-96.

³¹² For instance, Tuzia Colonna Mattei was about sixty when her husband commissioned their pendant effigies for their chapel in the Aracoeli. Maria Luisa Madonna, *Roma Di Sisto V: Le Arti e La Cultura*, ed. Centro di studi sulla cultura e l'immagine di Roma (Roma: Edizioni de Luca, 1993), 423, entry 5a.

³¹³ Laura Bertani was sixty-five when she died.

³¹⁴ Lucrezia Tomacelli Colonna was forty-six when she died.

³¹⁵ Livia died at the age of sixty-four.

women approaching a more advanced age were not just coincidental pendants to a husband-patron who was simultaneously commissioning a memorial for himself.

We can see that sons continued to be important patrons of women's wall memorials in early modern Rome. All were sons by blood, rather than by marriage and most were high-ranking church officials or cardinals.³¹⁶ The cardinal Ottavio Bandini, born into one of the wealthiest Florentine banking families living in Rome, provided for the final decorations of his family chapel in S. Silvestro al Quirinale, including paired funerary busts for his father, Pietro Antonio Bandini (1504-1592), and his mother, Cassandra de' Cavalcanti Bandini (1528-1588).³¹⁷ In at least two key examples, sons commissioned monuments for their mothers shortly after receiving a significant elevation to the highest ranks of the papal court. After being raised to Prefect to the Apostolic Segnatura, Cardinal Maffeo Barberini (the future Pope Urban VIII) commissioned a portrait bust of his mother, Camilla Barbadori (d.1609, fig. 10), from a young Gianlorenzo Bernini.³¹⁸ The marble bust was to accompany a bust (now lost)³¹⁹ of the Cardinal's father, Prince Antonio Barberini (1507-1571) in the family chapel in S. Andrea della Valle.³²⁰ Maffeo was very close to his mother and it seems likely that her death in 1609 was the primary motivation for the

³¹⁶ This trend is understandable in Rome, given celibate clerics would not have commissioned for a wife.

³¹⁷ Cassandra, herself from a celebrated and wealthy Florentine lineage, gave birth to twelve children. Recently, Catherine Johnson has identified portraits by Bronzino as those of Pietro Antonio (National Museum of Canada, Ottawa) and Cassandra Bandini (Galleria Sabauda, Turin). David Franklin, Louis Alexander Waldman, and Andrew Butterfield, eds., *Leonardo Da Vinci, Michelangelo, and the Renaissance in Florence* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2005), cat. no. 85, figs. 85.1 and 85.2.

³¹⁸ Bernini was paid the sum of 50 scudi for the bust of Camilla. *Bernini and the Birth of Baroque Portrait Sculpture*, 121.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 121. "Ten months after completing the bust of Camilla, in February 1620, Gian Lorenzo delivered the portrait of Antonio Barberini, which has since been lost."

³²⁰ *Bernini and the Birth of Baroque Portrait Sculpture*, 121-122. There is some debate as to whether any of the busts were ever placed in the chapel.

commission of a funerary chapel, begun the same year.³²¹ The patron's deep affection for his mother is recorded in a poem that he composed upon her death.³²² He often lamented that his greatest sadness in life was that his mother never saw him elected to the papal throne.³²³ He later commissioned porphyry commemorative relief effigies of his parents for the side walls of the chapel.³²⁴ Around the same time, at a crucial moment in his papacy, Pope Clement VIII engaged the French sculptor Nicolas Cordier to produce an elaborate full-length effigy of his mother, Lesa Deti Aldobrandini (fig. 32), in the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva at a crucial moment in his papacy. Like Urban VIII, Clement was particularly attached to his mother.³²⁵ In these filial commissions, the son choose to commemorate both parents; more than half of women's tombs commissioned by sons were part of dual monuments dedicated to both to father and mother.

These double monuments underscored the elite parentage of the patron. In expressions of filial affection, however, sons like husbands, sometimes commissioned a single monument to their mother without a pendant memorial for their father. The Florentine patron Vincenzo Baccelli commissioned a set of wall memorials,³²⁶ one for his wife (her name unknown)³²⁷ and the other

³²¹ Maffeo was only three years old when his father died; he maintained a very close relationship with his mother.

³²² Bernini and the Birth of Baroque Portrait Sculpture, 121.

³²³ Ludwig Pastor, *Storia Dei Papi Dalla Fine Del Medio Evo*, ed. Angelo Mercati (Rome, 1943), Vol. 13, 420.

³²⁴ Oreste Ferrari and Serenita Papaldo, *Le Sculture Del Seicento a Roma* (Roma: Ugo Bozzi, 1999), 42.

³²⁵ For reports of Clement's prayers at Lesa's monument, see: Barry Robert Harwood, "Nicolo Cordieri: His Activity in Rome 1592-1612" (PhD, Princeton University, 1979), 263; Catherine Elna Fruhan, "Trends in Roman Sculpture Circa 1600" (The University of Michigan, 1986), 63.

³²⁶ The memorials – set on each side wall within the Chapel of S. Anthony Abbot – are without inscriptions. They are composed of black African marble sarcophagi, caved putti and arms in white Carrara marble. Ferrari and Papaldo place their date sometime shortly after 1659. Oreste Ferrari and Serenita Papaldo, *Le Sculture Del Seicento a Roma* (Roma: Ugo Bozzi, 1999), 140.

³²⁷ *Le Sculture Del Seicento a Roma*, 140 [entry for "Sepolcri della famiglia Baccelli"]. ". . . quella a sinistra

for his mother, Olimpia de Cavalieri in S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini.³²⁸ As per her request, Emilio and Angelo Massimi ordered a wall memorial for their mother, the celebrated poet Petronilla Paolina Massimi, in the church of S. Egidio.³²⁹ This elaborate monument and lengthy inscription praises her talent as a poet, and virtue as a devoted mother.³³⁰ When Petronilla attempted to leave the Castel S. Angelo (where her husband, the Marquis Massimi d'Aracoeli served as vice-castellano) to live at the Convent of the Holy Spirit, her husband refused to provide her monetary support.³³¹ Moreover, he prohibited her from seeing her sons, even when one of the boys fell terribly ill and was dying.³³² Unsurprisingly, her sons' deep filial affection did not include a monument for their father.

Nephews played a significant role in the intertwined political and religious circles of early modern Rome where papal nephews in particular served a vital and central role in advancing the familial interests.³³³ However, they did not just choose to commemorate their male kin in the city.

presumibilmente per le moglie il cui stemma di famiglia, non identificato, è inquartato nel secondo spaccato insieme a quello del marito.”

³²⁸ *Le Sculture Del Seicento a Roma*, 140. Olimpia died at the age of thirty in 1623. She was previously interred in a tomb in the nave of the church.

³²⁹ Their patronage is recorded in the monument's inscription.

³³⁰ The epitaph was actually composed by a family friend and Bishop of Vanosa, Pietro Antonio Corsignani.

³³¹ Beverly Allen, Muriel Kittel, and Keala Jane Jewell, eds., *Italian Feminist Poems from the Middle Ages to the Present: A Bilingual Anthology* (New York: Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 1986), 141.

³³² Petronilla took her case to court and won, reclaiming her funds and right to see her children. The Marquis died in 1709. Allen, Kittel, and Jewell, *Italian feminist poems from the Middle Ages to the Present*, 141.

³³³ In spite of church reform that attempted to eradicate this practice, nepotism was commonplace, reaching its zenith in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Apologist literature attempted to defend nepotism as a virtuous practice of observing family loyalties. On church reform and apologist literature of nepotism, see: Barbara McClung Hallman, *Italian Cardinals, Reform and the Church as Property* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1985).

The monument to Suor Maria Raggi, in Santa Maria sopra Minerva was commissioned by her nephew, Tommaso Raggi³³⁴ and Ottaviano and Lorenzo Raggi, kinsmen who served as canons of the same church.³³⁵ There is evidence to suggest that grandsons and more distant male relations also commissioned women's monuments, although rarely a wall memorial. As indicated by its inscription, the monument for Cecilia di Franciotto Orsini in S. Trinità dei Monti was set up by her grandsons, Enrico and Camillo Caetani, who simultaneously commissioned for themselves an elaborate funerary chapel for themselves in the church of S. Pudienza.³³⁶

Post-Tridentine monuments for women were also ordered by non-related, "external" individuals or by groups of individuals) who were often members of the clergy, monastic community or papal court. The fathers of the Piarist Scuole Pie commissioned Lorenzo Merlini to sculpt the wall memorial for Aurora Berti in the small church of S. Pantaleone.³³⁷ Similarly the monument for Frances Montiox in SS. Rufina e Seconda records that it was set up by the Ursuline nuns who lived there, in order to honor her as the convent founder.³³⁸ The monument for Eleonora

³³⁴ It is significant to note that Tommaso also commissioned a tomb for his wife, Ortensia, which accompanies his own. Both Tommaso and Ortensia's monument were completed in gilt bronze by an unknown artist. Ferrari and Papaldo, *Le Sculture Del Seicento a Roma*, 85.

³³⁵ Judith E. Bernstock, "Bernini's Memorial to Maria Raggi," *The Art Bulletin* 62, no. 2 (June 1980): 243–255.

³³⁶ Enrico and Camillo were the sons of Cecilia's daughter, Caterina Pio and her husband, Bonifacio, Lord of Sermoneta. Enrico and Camillo commissioned their own elaborate chapel in S. Pudienza. On this chapel, see: Robert Sénécal, "The Caetani Chapel in S. Pudienza, Rome: Late Sixteenth-Century Chapel Decoration," *Apollo* 142 (1995): 37–42.

³³⁷ On this monument, see the catalogue entry in Robert Enggass, *Early Eighteenth-century Sculpture in Rome: An Illustrated Catalogue Raisonné* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976), 122. The attribution to Merlini was secured through an excerpt from Merlini's autobiography, published by Lankheit in 1962. "Per [Ordine] del Padre Reverendissimo dei Chierici regolari delle Scuole Pie feci un Deposito di Marmi di Architettura, Cartella, e Arme, e due gran Putti, con la Statua ritratto della S.^{ra} Teresa [sic] Berti loro benefattrice, e fu collocato nella loro Chiesa di S. Pantaleone." Cited in Lankheit, 1962, Doc. 50, p. 239.

³³⁸ Frances, a French noblewoman, came to Rome in the Jubilee year of 1600, to set up this Ursuline convent

Boncompagni Borghese (1642-1695) also deserves special attention for its patronage. Although Eleonora predeceased her husband, Giovanni Battista Borghese by nearly twenty years, he did not commission her memorial (fig. 36). Her monument was actually commissioned by the Discalced Carmelite nuns of Corpus Christi of the monastery of S. Lucia in Botteghe Oscure.³³⁹

Even more striking, the commission of at least one woman's monument in the early modern period was completed by a secular guild. The monument for the painter Giovanna Garzoni (fig. 37), in the church of S. Luca e Martina, was placed by the painter's guild, the Accademia di San Luca, named by Giovanna as her universal heir in her will. Giovanna inserted a bold clause in the will, however, which made the inheritance contingent on the Academy's provision of a suitable monument for her, to be erected in the church of SS. Luca e Martina.³⁴⁰ Not pressured by time, the Academy finally placed the monument nearly thirty years after her death.³⁴¹

As we have seen, popes were involved in the patronage of monuments to their mothers. The memorials for Matilda of Canossa, Christine of Sweden, and Clementina Sobieski in St. Peter's were all also commissioned by popes: Urban VIII, Clement XII (and Clement XI), and

for poor girls. Francesco Posterla, *Roma Sacra, e Moderna: Abellita Di Nuove Figure Di Rame, e Di Nuovo Ampliata, Ed Accresciuta Con Le Piu Fedeli Autorità Del Baronio, Del Ciacconio, Del Panciroli, e D'altri Gravi Autori* (Francesco Gonzaga, 1707), 119. Significant number of slabs were commissioned for abbesses, etc. indicating this was the primary mode of commemoration.

³³⁹ On this monument see: H. Hager, "Il Monumento Alla Principessa Eleonora Borghese Di G. B. Contini e A. Fucigna," *Commentari* XX (1969): 109–124.

³⁴⁰ On the provisions for Giovanna's monument, see: Gillian Perry, ed., *Gender and Art, Art and Its Histories* bk. 3 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999). 83.

³⁴¹ The monument was designed by Mattia de' Rossi; the memorial portrait was painted by Giuseppe Ghezzi. See: Lucia Tongiorgi Tomasi, "'La Femminil Pazienza': Women Painters and Natural History in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries," in *The Art of Natural History: Illustrated Treatises and Botanical Paintings, 1400-1850*, ed. Therese O'Malley, Amy R. W. Meyers, and Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts (U.S.), Studies in the History of Art, Symposium Papers / Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts 69. 46 (Washington : New Haven: National Gallery of Art ; Distributed by Yale University Press, 2008), 167.

Benedict XIV. In the Renaissance, popes were sometimes involved in the patronage of women's memorials but were not involved in the memorial commission at its genesis, only taking over after the original patron had died.³⁴² We can therefore observe in the early modern period, the deliberate involvement of popes at all points of a commission for monuments for secular women. The "external" patronage of women's monuments in the early modern era also reflects a change of the types of women commemorated and the commissioning body responsible. Most women commemorated in quattrocento monuments commissioned by "external" patrons were female saints: Saint Justine, Saint Monica, Saint Catherine of Siena, and Saint Fina. None of the wall monuments known to have been commissioned "externally," (Aurora Berti, Giovanna Garzoni, Matilda of Canossa, Frances Montieux, Eleonora Boncompagni Borghese, Christine of Sweden, and Clementina Sobieski) in early modern Rome, commemorated a saint or *beata*.³⁴³ There was therefore an increase in the external commission of funerary monuments for secular women in the Post-Tridentine period. The placement of at least three of these monuments (Matilda, Christine of Sweden, and Clementina Sobieski) in St. Peter's Basilica, the focal point of the Catholic faith, also demonstrates a readiness on the part of papal patrons to place women's monuments within the most esteemed power center in Rome.

³⁴² While Pope Sixtus IV was involved in the patronage of a monument to Costanza Ammannati, he only took over the commission after the death of its original patron, the cardinal Jacopo Ammannati. "While the inducement for Sixtus IV's patronal activities relative to the Ammanati tombs is primarily economic based upon his assumption of Jacopo Amanita's finances, Sixtus was certainly keen for any glory that his largesse as a patron throughout the city of Rome might reflect his way, even with the commission of a tomb for a pious old woman, whom he might have never met." Graham, "The Most Bitter and Untimely of Events," 121.

³⁴³ Graham, 117. Although they were actively involved in religious communities, only two individuals, Chiara Gambacorta, and Costanza Ammanati, were secular, contemporary women. Moreover, as Graham, notes, "Two of the women with tombs in this patronage group—Saint Justine and Saint Monica—had been dead for over a thousand years when elaborate sculpted tombs were commissioned and created for them in the fifteenth century."

2.8 CONCLUSIONS

While many women's monuments were ordered as part of a conjugal pair, either by their husband or a son), they were sometimes commissioned individually, without a pendant. This indicates that the death of a woman was an event worthy of personalized commemoration in stone or bronze – not just when it concerned young women who died in childbirth. Moreover, in the early modern period, monuments for older, secular women were commissioned at increasing rates by both men and women, suggesting that patrons of women's monuments had expanded their outlook to include women whose merits were not measured solely on their ability to produce an heir.

The commission of women's monuments by a growing body of patrons – and not just those patrons connected by family – provides a different angle to observe the visibility of early modern women in Rome and concern for their posthumous commemoration. Although most tomb patrons were noblemen, we can observe a variety of patrons from among all types of elites in this period. The increase in the patronage of women's monuments by non-aristocratic, merchant families indicates the commissioning of women's memorials was not just undertaken when it concerned among families concerned with dynastic succession of titles.

Moreover, the expanding patronage of women's monuments by male ecclesiastical orders, cloistered nuns, and even secular guilds indicates an increasing interest by such institutions to value and publically celebrate secular women's contributions within their communities. That these commissions apparently hinged on monetary bequests from the women to these communities suggests, however, that these commissions depended on the substantial largesse of the women, and even subtle acts of “testamentary coercion” in order to ensure their chosen beneficiaries would complete their wish for a tomb. As we will see in the final part of this dissertation, some women

chose not to leave the commission to their heirs, instead taking a direct role in their monuments' commission, and in some remarkable instances, even oversaw their monuments' installations while still living.

3.0 SOCIAL STATUS, VISUAL STRATEGIES, AND PATTERNS OF REPRESENTATION IN WOMEN'S MONUMENTS, 1550-1750

Funerary memorials were a particular subset of an elite Roman family's patronage. Not a painting nor a simple bust, these projects were aspirational combinations of inscriptions, sculpture and architecture, intended for public viewing and longevity, crafted of rare stones and metals and a subset of every sculptor's skills. Given the premium placed on sacred space in the church, "permission for [a monument's] placement was not casually granted."³⁴⁴ Furthermore, such memorials, requiring the collaboration of patrons, church, masons, sculptors, architects, and artisans were not commissioned without incredible precision. Consequently, monument designs and effigies for women during Post-Tridentine Rome can best be understood in relation to social status. Through the statistical analysis of my data set, this chapter examines the trends regarding the depiction of women in monumental effigies, considering who the women were and the modes of representation used to communicate the female subject's birth and social standing.

I will present an analysis of the distribution of effigies on women's memorials, demonstrating that a significant proportion of women's monuments with effigies were for women of baronial/princely status. From this analysis we can also observe lesser noblewomen and women from the merchant classes being commemorated with increasing frequency in monumental effigy as well. The chapter will also analyze the effigies themselves, exploring the various visual strategies used by patrons to record the physical likeness of a woman by age, gesture, clothes, and

³⁴⁴ Robert Munman, *Sieneese Renaissance Tomb Monuments*, *Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society* v. 205 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1993), 14.

accessories. I will demonstrate that older Post-Tridentine women were commemorated in larger numbers in funerary effigies than in previous centuries. Trends relative to the clothes, jewelry, and hairstyles depicted will also be discussed, showing the ways these sartorial markers could be used to present the woman's wealth, and therefore the status of her family. Alternatively, we will see how a patron could select humble modes of dress to demonstrate personal humility and moral superiority. Pious accessories could also communicate and affirm the character and moral standing of women. I will analyze their use in women's monuments in relationship to Catholic Reform measures that stressed the reading of scripture and recitation of the rosary as instrumental acts of female piety and exemplarity.

3.1 WOMEN'S STATUS AND MEMORIAL TYPE

In Rome, social fluidity combined with a vibrant artistic community which led to a variety of tomb designs being developed and used. For this study, it is mainly the pavement slab and wall tomb that are relevant. While some freestanding memorials (with and without effigies) were constructed in Renaissance Rome (mostly to commemorate saints), they were more restricted during the Post-Tridentine period and not therefore commissioned. The two standard types of memorials used in the early modern period, pavement slabs and wall tombs, can be broken down into four secondary classifications in terms of their design: pavement slabs, with effigies and those without, and wall memorials with effigies and those without.³⁴⁵

³⁴⁵ While men sometimes also received equestrian tomb monuments in Rome in the Renaissance, this had fallen out of favor in the post-Tridentine period. The construction of monumental freestanding tombs (with and without effigies) was abolished for secular patrons during this period in Rome; I have not located any Roman examples of this type for any man or woman. On the prohibitions of certain types of tombs following

The majority of the commemorative markers commissioned for elite women in early modern Rome were pavement slabs without effigies. Up to eighty-nine percent of the examples from 1550-1750 in my database are of this type. Non-figural monument slabs covered the coffin that housed the body (or parts of the body) and were installed at the site of internment, in the floor of a church or graveyard. Such slabs, modest in size and placed underfoot, did not necessarily require a family chapel. They could be as simple as a stone marker with the name of the deceased, the date of birth and death (or sometimes just the age at the time of death), and usually a traditional invocation – usually “Deo optimo maximo” (“To God, Most Good, Most Great”) or “Pro Orate Me” [“Pray for me”]).³⁴⁶ Any details in addition to the inscription added to the expense of the slab. Some slabs incorporated biographical details, incised images of *putti* and *memento mori*, and coats of arms. The memorials for Clemenza Santacroce in Santa Maria in Publicolis (fig.38), for example, incorporated expensive polychrome marble and rare precious stones. With a higher rate of commission, it is clear that the non-figural slab monument was the most accessible type of memorial design.³⁴⁷ Its relative simplicity was, however, selected for other reasons. Under the influence of the Franciscans and other mendicant orders, simplicity could commemorate spiritual virtue for women of elite households connected to the papacy. For women who were able to

the Council of Trent, see Kathryn B. Hiesinger, “The Fregoso Monument: A Study in Sixteenth-Century Tomb Monuments and Catholic Reform,” 284.

³⁴⁶ This dedication to God is based on the pagan precedent, *Dii Manes*, abbreviated DM on classical epitaphs. In Christian epitaphs *Deo Optimo Maximo* is often abbreviated D.O.M on memorials. Arthur E. Gordon, *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983). The word *sacrum* would sometimes be added (D.O.M.S). For other variations on dedications, see: Kajanto, *Classical and Christian*, 24-25.

³⁴⁷ Floor slabs were the most common format for abbesses and nuns. Monastic women would have taken vows of personal poverty but they, like the secular women also commemorated in this manner, can all be described as “elite:” specially recognized individuals within sacred or secular communities. The corporate body of the church or order (or else a wealthy relative) would likely bear the expense for a nun’s memorial slab. Munman, *Sienese Renaissance Tomb Monuments*, 14.

commission their own monuments, the selection of a simple monument could reflect the strength of their moral and spiritual convictions and their connection to ascetic orders.

The construction of a tomb with an effigy of the deceased in early modern Italy was controlled by status.³⁴⁸ This was true for republican centers like Florence or Venice, where with few exceptions the commission of memorials with effigies was almost entirely suppressed for both men and women.³⁴⁹ In Post-Tridentine Rome, a figured slab could include a full-length effigy (fig. 39) or a half-length incised bust (fig. 40). While tombs slabs with portraits were generally the least expensive of the figured tombs, prices depended on the quality of the stone and reputation of the sculptor. Tomb slabs with effigies (either in *sgraffito* [incised] or low relief) could be costly to commission.³⁵⁰ We can find a rich variety in terms of “elite” social station and family origins:

³⁴⁸ In *De Pictura*, Leon Battista Alberti describes the portrait of “known and worthy man,” underscoring the early modern trope that a portrait was linked to a subject’s virtue. For the impact of Alberti’s statement on the development of early modern theories of portraiture, see: Keith Christiansen, Stefan Weppelmann, and Patricia Lee Rubin, eds., *The Renaissance Portrait: From Donatello to Bellini* (New York : New Haven [Conn.]: Metropolitan Museum of Art ; Distributed by Yale University Press, 2011), 78. Alberti’s remarks were mirrored in Gian Paolo Lomazzo’s 1584 treatise on painting, in a passage which notes that only the greatest of individuals – those in positions of authority or public regard – should be portrayed in *effigia*. He even proposes that people of lowborn status should not be commemorated in a portrait. “Tanto è lontano il pensare che permettessero a uomini plebei e vili il farsi ritraere dal naturale; anzi questo assolutamente era riservato solamente per principi e savi.” Gian Paolo Lomazzo, *Scritti Sulle Arti*, ed. R.P. Ciardi, vol. II (Florence: Centro Di, 1974), 375. See also: Butterfield, “Social Structure and the Typology of Funerary Monuments in Renaissance Florence,” 51-52.

³⁴⁹ Catherine King, *Renaissance Women Patrons: wives and widows in Italy c. 1300-c. 1550* (New York, NY: St. Martin’s Press, 1998), 3. On Venice in particular, see: Stanley Chojnacki, “Daughters and Oligarchs: Gender and the Early Renaissance State,” in *Gender and Society in Renaissance Italy* ed. Judith C. Brown and Robert C. Davis (New York: Longman, 1998), 63-87. Also cited Graham, “The Most Bitter and Untimely of Events: Women, Death, and the Monumental Tomb in Quattrocento Italy,” 164.

³⁵⁰ As Robert Munman argues, “while the expense of such a memorial was low compared to that of a large wall tomb, or freestanding sarcophagus, it was still sufficiently high that it was used only for the well-to-do or for important members of civic or religious orders.” On the early development of *sgraffito* and relief tomb slabs, see: Robert Munman, *Sienese Renaissance Tomb Monuments*, 13. See also, Julian Gardner, “Arnolfo Di Cambio and Roman Tomb Design,” *The Burlington Magazine* 115, no. 884 (July 1973): 420–439.

women from lesser Roman lineages, families just beginning to ascend the ranks, others in rapid decline, and some from obscure backgrounds whose familial names who do not feature in contemporary histories of the city.³⁵¹ Most of the women commemorated in both non-figured and figured slabs are, however, from prominent Roman families.

The most extraordinary of monuments for early modern Roman men and women was the wall memorial. In their simplest form, they consisted of an inscription contained within some sort of framework (fig. 41) but they could include more complex architectural elements, sculpted effigies, allegorical figures, and/or polychrome marble, as in the example of the monument Maria Eleonora Boncompagni Borghese (fig. 42). These were by far the most costly monuments to commission, even without a sculpted effigy.³⁵²

Given the incomplete nature of the sculptural record and premodern archives, we only have access to fifty-two surviving wall monuments for women. Table VI breaks these monuments down according to the social class of the interred.³⁵³ Analyzing these monuments collectively reveals a number of patterns in terms of the relationship between demography and tomb monuments in early modern Rome (Table VII). More than half of the women's memorials in the sample were produced for women from the aristocratic, *titled* classes, a broad group broken into the four hierarchical ranks of peerage in Rome.³⁵⁴ With this demographic and typological study and analysis as context,

³⁵¹ See for example, tomb slabs in Appendix A produced for Amadei, de' Angelis, Bonelli, Capocci, Fabi, Maccarani, Tebaldeschi, della Torre, and Ximenes families.

³⁵² Butterfield, "Social Structure and the Typology of Funerary Monuments in Renaissance Florence," 55.

³⁵³ The social classifications for these families are derived from Ferraro's exhaustive study. See Richard Ferraro, "The Nobility of Rome, 1560-1700: A Study of Its Composition, Wealth, and Investments" (1994).

³⁵⁴ About sixteen percent of known women's wall memorials in the Post-Tridentine period were commissioned for women of the princely families of Rome. Monuments for women connected to ducal families also constitute about sixteen percent; memorials for women of the marquisate class represent about twenty percent; and monuments for women of the countship, about four percent of all Roman women's

we will now examine modes of representation itself, considering the use of inscriptions, heraldry, and effigies in constructing the posthumous legacy of the female deceased.

3.2 TEXTUAL PRAISE AND HERALDIC DEVICES IN WOMEN'S MEMORIAL INSCRIPTIONS

As they represent the two most basic components of any funerary marker, first to be discussed will be inscriptions and heraldic devices. These elements were important within the context of a monument that marked the name, status, and provided in effect, concise erudite biographies of women written in Latin. Inscriptions were essential elements of a monument's program, that, like funerary effigies, were crafted and composed with care for the deceased's posthumous recognition. While these aspects are not directly concerned with the physical likeness of the individual, they contributed to the final effect of the memorial in substantiating her social position by noting her noble status, family connections, and her actions in life. Inscriptions provided the opportunity for the patron(s) to demonstrate a command of classical Latin and employ rhetorical devices and references to showcase knowledge of poetic forms and ideals. It was also the part of a monument where the patron could assert a role in the commission and make statements about his/her relationship to the deceased. Most inscriptions were composed by men, and they

wall monuments. Of this small subset of elite women who had tombs commissioned for them in Post-Tridentine Rome, the number of women's tomb commissions from ducal, and marquisate classes were roughly the same, in proportion to their demographic percentages, while the few numbers of women from the countship match their numerically much smaller subsection of the elite classes. It appears, then, that tomb commissions for women from elite families reflected the demographic representation of their class.

offer a compelling part of a monument to examine because they blended concerns of female representation with those of male humanist enterprise and display.

Inscriptions performed the first, essential function of identifying the subject of the memorial by name. In most instances, this included the given name, as well as the surnames of the woman's natal and marital families. If she had any titles, these were included within the context of the epitaph. Customarily, her date of death was also provided and usually the names of any patrons involved. Most inscriptions included a brief character sketch noting the deceased's primary virtues; more complex inscriptions could include biographical details.

Six of the most common epithets in early modern Roman women's monuments, "*clarissima*," "*amantissima*," "*carissima*," "*dulcissima*," "*illustrissima*," and "*pietas*" are also generic forms of praise standard in the memorials of women since the medieval period; these epithets are also found in the memorial inscriptions of men.³⁵⁵ More gender specific modes of praise celebrated the key actions and qualities expected of elite Roman noblewomen. Above all other female specific virtues mentioned, it was a woman's chastity ("*castita*") and subjugation to her husband that was most crucial to include within the context of an epitaph.³⁵⁶ As Nicoletta Giovè Marchioli has concluded for late medieval tombs, the suggestion of wifely autonomy in the household was "impossible," for a tomb, even when wives were commemorated by themselves.³⁵⁷

³⁵⁵ Iiro Kajanto, *Classical and Christian: Studies in the Latin Epitaphs of Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemia Toimituksia, Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae: Sarja B nide 203 (Helsinki: Suomalainen tiedeakatemia, 1980). See pages 94-97 for a succinct list of common epithets and their usage.

³⁵⁶ Kajanto, *Classical and Christian*, 132. See also Graham, "The Most Bitter and Untimely of Events," 211: "These poetic associations will be considered as a means of highlighting virtue, most prominently chastity, or a variation thereof, as the greatest possible achievement for Renaissance women, and the one most often emphasized on their tombs."

³⁵⁷ Nicoletta Giovè Marchioli, "L'Impossibilità Di Essere Autonoma Donne e Famiglie Nelle Fonti

The reason for the continued emphasis on chastity and wifely obedience in early modern memorials is clear: in early modern elite culture, as in the medieval period, familial success and honor continued to demand the chastity of wives above all else in order to legitimize dynastic succession. Chastity was also an attribute celebrated in the inscriptions of widows, because it suggested her enduring faithfulness to her deceased husband.³⁵⁸ Also common within the context of a woman's funerary inscription was reference to her prudence and modesty. Other common epithets referenced her obedience as a wife or widow and her ability to produce children.³⁵⁹ Physical beauty, a mark of virtue, was also invoked in women's funerary inscriptions, along with the related attributes of charm and loveliness, which suggested that wives were expected to be sweet-tempered and pleasing to their husbands.³⁶⁰

Some inscriptions, however, employ conventional virtues in expressive ways to comment on the harmonious nature of the marital bond between husband and a wife. In elegant Latin prose, the inscription on the tomb of Camilla Bonvisi (fig. 29) praises Camilla not only for her virtues of beauty, charm, modesty, prudence, and piety but also goes on to say she was "of one mind" with her husband, and lived with him "for thirty six years without any mishaps ever even slightly disturbing their harmonious relationship." The personal nature of this inscription, suggestive of a close marital bond, may have been composed by her husband Vincenzo himself, who as a consistorial lawyer would certainly have been well versed in composing in Latin.

Epigraphiche Tardomedievali," *Archeologica Medievale* XXXVIII, 19-32 (2011), 23.

³⁵⁸ Kajanto, *Classical and Christian*, 132.

³⁵⁹ Kajanto, *Classical and Christian*, 135, n611, n613. Kajanto notes several Renaissance women's tombs that mention of the female subjects fecundity, including an inscription which notes that the female deceased had birthed nineteen children, and another which states she has given birth to two sets of twins.

³⁶⁰ Kajanto, *Classical and Christian*, 135.

Most inscriptions resort to stock phrases that celebrate the deceased's piety and humility. In the Post-Tridentine period, a reference to the deceased's piety reinforced her commitment to Reform ideals and ardent spiritual devotion that was expected of all noble women. It is important to note, that although learning and intellect were central themes in the inscriptions of men,³⁶¹ not a single surviving epitaph produced for a woman makes mention of these qualities.³⁶² In the Post-Tridentine period, however, a *few* women's inscriptions praise women for their learning and talents. For instance, the remarkable tomb slab for Perna Sensi in S. Maria sopra Minerva (c. 1619) notes Perna's extraordinary talents as a learned midwife. The patron of the slab, perhaps Perna's husband, publicly acknowledged Perna's professional persona as worthy and even *erudite* – traditionally a masculine virtue – recognizing an intellectual component to the female and domestic realm of midwifery. This instance, although rare, indicates that for at least a few men, a woman's unconventional status could be a point of personal pride. As we will see in Chapter Three, this was especially true when the husband/patron was himself an intellectual who benefitted from his wife's status as a talented, educated woman.

Heraldry and other personal symbols were also among the design features used to communicate the identity and legacy of the subject of a monument as a member of an aristocratic family. The representation of coats of arms varied depending on the gender of the person being commemorated. A woman's coat-of-arms differed from that of a man: a married woman used the arms of her husband's family impaled with that of her father's, known as a "*scudo accollato*."³⁶³

³⁶¹ On the theme of education and erudition in men's funerary inscriptions, see: Kajanto, *Classical and Christian*, 128-130.

³⁶² Kajanto, *Classical and Christian*, 136. Graham notes one tomb in her study that of Sibilla Cetto commissioned an epitaph which she acknowledges her own wisdom. Graham, "The Most Bitter and Untimely of Events," 225.

³⁶³ On this tradition in Italian heraldry, see: Giacomo C. Bascapé, Marcello Del Piazzo, and Luigi Borgia,

The patron and designer of the memorial could choose whether or not to display the arms of her family and/or her impaled arms. These symbolic elements offer significant details about the patron's interest in the woman's family.

Statements, however, about the use of heraldry on women's tombs are difficult to assert. So far, the only foray into the topic has concerned medieval and Renaissance examples.³⁶⁴ It is clear from this study that the placement of arms on a tomb depended on the rank of the family, but not all families with arms chose to include them. Some monuments, such as those of Virginia Pucci, Elena Savelli, and Francesca Calderini Pecori Riccardi, use only the arms of the husband's family. Interestingly, as Carolyn Valone has demonstrated, women's impaled coats of arms also featured in commissions in which the patron of the tomb was a woman herself to signify both her married status, and her role as the primary patron of a work.³⁶⁵ In the self-commissioned tomb project of Vittoria della Tolfa, for example, her impaled coat of arms accompanies her husband's.³⁶⁶ In an unprecedented move, Lucrezia della Rovere signaled her role as patron by using only the della Rovere arms from her maternal line on her tomb slab and in her chapel's decorations.³⁶⁷ As Carolyn Valone has argued, this move was probably directly related to her fraught relationships with the Colonna, who attempted to cheat one of her daughters out of an

Insegne e Simboli: Araldica Pubblica e Privata Medievale e Moderna, Volume 11 of Pubblicazioni Degli Archivi Di Stato (Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Ufficio Centrale per i Beni Archivistici, 1983), 615.

³⁶⁴ Andreas Rehberg, "Aspetti Araldici Delle Sepolture Femminili Romane Del Rinascimento," *Donne Di Pietra. Immagini, Vicende, Protagoniste Delle Sepolture Romane Del Rinascimento: Una Ricerca in Corso* (2015).

³⁶⁵ Carolyn Valone, "Matrons and Motives: Why Women Built in Early Modern Rome," in *Beyond Isabella: Secular Patrons of Art in Renaissance Italy* (Truman State University Press, 2001), 317–335.

³⁶⁶ Carolyn Valone, "Matrons and Motives: Why Women Built in Early Modern Rome," 323.

³⁶⁷ Carolyn Valone, "Matrons and Motives: Why Women Built in Early Modern Rome," 324.

inheritance.³⁶⁸ The appearance of a woman's impaled arms on a tomb design could therefore sometimes indicate that the woman was directly involved as a patron. On the other hand, impaled arms were also used when the patron of a monument was a man. From the few known examples of tomb monuments with the clear display of family crests from sixteenth century and seventeenth-century Rome, there is no consistent approach to the use of heraldry on a woman's monument. These decisions were individually made depending on context and intended symbolic composition. The appearance of heraldry among the design of a tomb monument can indicate individual family desires, that the woman herself was directly involved in the commission, or they can point to intentions behind the memorial in terms of the subject's social status.

3.3 EXEMPLARITY: MOTIFS AND MODELS

Memorials for early modern women offered messages about the exemplary status of their female subjects. This was achieved not only through physical representation of the deceased in an effigy but also other accessory visual elements. When included within memorial designs, *putti* portrayed the expected emotional response to the death of exemplary women through their postures, gestures, and expressions.³⁶⁹ For instance, in the memorial of Virginia Pucci Ridolfi (fig. 2), the *putti* are shown slumped over, resting their heads on their hands, a traditional pose of

³⁶⁸ Carolyn Valone, "Matrons and Motives: Why Women Built in Early Modern Rome," 324.

³⁶⁹ Although it does not address tombs specifically, for a helpful source on the role and artistic theory surrounding *putti*, see Alexandra Korey's dissertation, "Putti, Pleasure, and Pedagogy in Sixteenth-Century Italian Prints and Decorative Arts" (The University of Chicago, 1997).

melancholy.³⁷⁰ In the seventeenth century, even more dramatic interplay was used. For instance the *putti* in the monuments to Giulia Ricci Parraviccini (fig. 43) and Francesca Pecori Riccardi (fig. 28) cover their eyes with their hands to express grief, or even attempt to dry their tears with an edge of drapery that wraps around their bodies (detail, fig. 44). As in the memorials to Flavia Bonelli (fig. 45), Girolama Naro Santacroce (fig. 46) and Queen Christine of Sweden (fig. 25), the *putti* even direct their gaze to the portrait effigies of the women, presenting the female subjects as worthy of adoration by heavenly beings. Most strikingly, in the examples of Suor Maria Raggi (fig. 8), and Suor Aurora Berti (fig. 27) a pair of *putti* appear to lift the memorial effigies of the women upward, showing that their apotheosis has been mediated and hastened by divine agents; this same arrangement can be seen in the memorials for secular women as well, as in the memorial for the noblewoman Leonora Ferretti (fig. 21), demonstrating that this visual schema was not limited to avowed nuns. The visual program of *putti* raising up an image or portrait was one also used in sacred imagery, notably in Rubens' altarpiece for the Chiesa Nuova (fig. 47, ca. 1618), which depicts a throng of *putti* assembled to support and lift an icon of the Madonna and Child. Viewers accustomed to this recurrent theme in sacred painted imagery would have understood its implied meaning in the context of a woman's funerary memorial, which elevated and consecrated the memory of the female deceased within the realm of holy worthies.

The theme of exemplarity was also communicated through allegorical figures – either painted or sculpted – that could be placed around the memorial of a woman. These were usually traditional virtues associated with women, like Charity and Religion (as in the memorial to Lesa

³⁷⁰ On this posture and its history in early modern art, see most recently: Laurinda S. Dixon, *The Dark Side of Genius: The Melancholic Persona in Art, Ca. 1500-1700* (University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013).

Deti Aldobrandini (figs. 48 and 49)), but in at least one case the virtues selected provided specific commentary on the life of the woman. The memorial of the widow Vittoria della Tolfa (fig. 50) is surrounded by frescoed allegories of Victory (a play on her name), but also an allegory of Perseverance (fig. 51). These allegories likely allude to her resolve in the several decades of her widowhood, but also perhaps her steadfastness in time of familial strife. When her husband Camillo lost Neapolitan land holdings, Vittoria was forced to live in Rome, which “did not please her.”³⁷¹ Camillo actually forbade her to return to Naples in his will.³⁷² Moreover, it was Vittoria’s own dowry and inheritance that sustained the couple in the wake of Camillo’s poor political maneuvers.³⁷³ The allegory of Perseverance may also reflect her dogged persistence in her dealings with her kin and beneficiaries, especially the Jesuits who denied her request for a plaque commemorating her bequest to them.³⁷⁴ The figure of Perseverance may have reminded the viewer of the Parable of the Persistent Widow, in which a relentless widow continues to go a judge, asking him to grant her justice against her foe.³⁷⁵ Finally, the determination of the widow pays off and the

³⁷¹ Francesco Sansovino, *L’Historia di Casa Orsini*, Venice. 1565. p. 114, n1. See Heidemann, p. 119, n31 for this reference.

³⁷² Francesco Sansovino, *L’Historia di Casa Orsini*, Venice. 1565. p. 114, n1. See Heidemann, p. 119, n31 for this reference.

³⁷³ Vittoria’s dowry brought substantial land holdings, including the marquisate of Guardia Grele (Chieti). This provided Camillo with a title and funds after he lost his Orsini lands. See Franca Allegrezza, “Formazione, dispersione, e conversazione di un fondo archivistico privato: Il fondo diplomatico dell’archivio Orsini tra medioevo ed età moderna,” in *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* 114 (1991):95. Also cited in Valone, “Matrons and Motives; Why Women Built in Early Modern Rome,” p. 333. n35.

³⁷⁴ Carolyn Valone, “Piety and Patronage: Women and the Early Jesuits.” p. 157-84. See also, Hufton (2001), Altruism and reciprocity: the Early Jesuits and Their Female patrons. *Renaissance Studies*, 15: 328–353.

³⁷⁵ (Luke 18:1-18:8) “And he spake a parable unto them *to this end*, that men ought always to pray, and not to faint; Saying, There was in a city a judge, which feared not God, neither regarded man: And there was a widow in that city; and she came unto him, saying, Avenge me of mine adversary. Yet because this widow troubleth me, I will avenge her, lest by her continual coming she weary me. And the Lord said, Hear what

unrighteous judge decides to assist her, lest she decide to take retribution on him; the parable serves as a reminder to keep faith and to continue to pray for even an unjust judge will listen to your prayer. The figure of Perseverance reflects the prayerful gesture in her sculpted bust, and serves as another symbol of Vittoria's unfaltering faith in God. The continuing theme of female prudence is also illustrated in the left lunette of Vittoria's chapel, which has been identified by Joanna Heidemann as a scene of the apostle Paul preaching. According to Heidemann, the subject represented may be Paul's first letter to Timothy:

It is my desire, therefore that everywhere prayers be said by the men of the congregation, who shall lift up their hands with pure intention excluding angry or quarrelsome thoughts. Women must dress in a becoming manner, modestly and soberly, not with elaborate hair-styles, not decked with gold and pearls, or expensive clothes, but with good deeds, as befits women who claim to be religious.³⁷⁶

While earlier representations of the scene show only one woman (as in Raphael's tapestry cartoon of St. Paul Preaching),³⁷⁷ here four women have a commanding presence in the front of the crowd (fig.52), and a mother and child listen attentively on the right hand side of the fresco. Importantly, two of the women appear in contemporary, rather than biblical dress – one expensively and lavishly outfitted and the other more solemnly dressed in the habit of a Roman widow, which is nearly identical to the dress Vittoria wears in her bust. The veiled woman seems to be instructing the younger woman to draw her attention away from her material concerns (she is shown touching her pearls) and to the sermon. This theme of the relinquishing of material

the unjust judge saith. And shall not God avenge his own elect, which cry day and night unto him, though he bear long with them? I tell you that he will avenge them speedily. Nevertheless when the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?"

³⁷⁶ I Timothy 2:8-15.

³⁷⁷ On Raphael's tapestries with associated bibliography, see: Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York: New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Yale University Press, 2002).

worldly good is again emphasized by the inclusion of Saints Clare and Elizabeth who appear in the stucco work on the chapel's arch (figs.53 and 54); both female saints were noblewoman (Elizabeth was a member of the royal family of Hungary) who gave up their material wealth to follow Franciscan rule.³⁷⁸ Their inclusion underscores the example of Vittoria's own generosity through the pious gifts she left to churches throughout Rome, demonstrating her devotion to the Catholic cause.

In summary, women's memorials served the obvious function of commemorating women worthy of emulation. Effigies were important markers of the exemplary status of a woman, but with the aid of accessory figures – such as *putti* and allegories – the exemplary function of a monument was enhanced. Within the context of an elaborate frescoed funerary chapel the theme of female role models could be further expressed by linking the funerary effigy of the deceased to narratives of women leading by example, as in the example of Vittoria della Tolfa. In this particular case, an example of a self-commissioned chapel, we can observe that the theme of female exemplarity was one that women patrons also took an active role in shaping, which will be covered in the final part of this dissertation.

3.4 WOMEN'S STATUS AND EFFIGY TYPE

When included, effigies were the most impactful part of a memorial. They recorded a likeness of the individual being commemorated, and visually reaffirmed the indicators of status offered by the attendant Latin inscriptions, understood only by elites with a classical education and

³⁷⁸ See Heidemann, p. 119

training. It is often suggested that commissions of figured monuments were not common for women.³⁷⁹ As my data shows, however, around 93% of the memorials catalogued in Table VI contained an effigy of some kind, a considerable proportion of the surviving monuments. Of course, the high incidence of their survival may be attributed to their expense and prestige as objects of high artistic value.

Six examples were cast bronze busts (11%), and approximately 83% were sculpted marble effigy busts. Of these, most were sculpted or cast in the round (81%); 19% were effigies in relief. Two women's monuments used the form of a full-length effigy (3%): the monuments for Lesa Deti Aldobrandini and Matilda of Canossa.³⁸⁰ Painted portraits and mosaic were uncommon in this sample: only 6% of the effigies used painted portraits installed within the wall monument; this may be an instance of poor survival of these types of monuments. Just one eighteenth-century example presented the effigy in mosaic: the tomb for Clementina Sobieski.

My data shows a surprisingly large ratio of women from *gentilhuomini* families to the rest of titled classes (1:4 roughly). Breaking this data further, 18% of surviving wall monuments for women with effigies were for members of the *gentilhoumini* class; followed by the marquise (22%), the ducal class (16%), the princely class (16%), foreign elites (14%), the countship class (4%), monarchs (4%), other women (2%), and those women of unknown origins (2%). The percentages among the aristocratic Roman groups (marquise, ducal, princely, and foreigner

³⁷⁹ Butterfield, "Social Structure and the Typology of Funerary Monuments in Renaissance Florence," 55. Butterfield notes that figured tombs for women were "exceedingly rare." Butterfield's discussion is limited to Renaissance Florence, but serves as a representative example for the general consensus that women's memorials with sculpted portraits were generally not common in the Renaissance or, furthermore, in the early modern period.

³⁸⁰ It is worth noting that Matilda of Canossa had a special significance as an historic figure who had been dead for over six centuries.

elites) are close enough in distribution to confirm that access to wall monuments with effigies was theoretically open to all levels of elite women. Moreover, the high percentage of memorials with effigies for women of the *gentilhuomini* class shows that it was used for wall memorials of wealthy and aristocratic as well as wealthy, untitled, women.

Scholarship has focused on monuments that feature sculpted busts in the round, but bas-relief effigies that depended on profile portraiture are important for understanding the perspectival methods used by sculptors to capture their female subjects. Eight monuments in my sample of women's tombs from 1550-1750 are wall monuments with an effigy of the deceased in relief, either in bronze or marble. The profile portrait was a mode of representation directly linked to the classical tradition and to the perspectival strategies of frontispiece portraits of authors. This overlap of artistic methods for memorial representation – sculptural relief and the engraved portrait – appears to have been among the approaches selected when the female subject was a poet. Two examples using this effigy type were acclaimed poets: Laura Bertani and Petronilla Massimi. As Renaissance and early modern books often sought to memorialize and visually identify the author through the use of an engraved profile portrait of the author in the frontispiece,³⁸¹ the use of profile portraits for memorialization of male and female literary figures was expected by a literate audience.³⁸² This type of profile portraiture also extended to royal figures. The large bronze medallion portrait of Christine of Sweden which caps her tomb was in fact based on a portrait medal of the queen that circulated in the late seventeenth century.³⁸³ The design of the medallion,

³⁸¹ P. Burke, “The Frontispiece Portrait in the Renaissance,” in *Bildnis Und Image: Das Portrait Zwischen Intention Und Rezeption*, ed. A. Köstler and E. Seidl (Wenen, 1998).

³⁸² P. Burke, “The Frontispiece Portrait in the Renaissance.”

³⁸³ Per Bjurström, *Christina: Queen of Sweden* (Egnellska Boktryckeriet, 1966), 342.

cast in Rome, idealized the subject and symbolically emphasized her position as a royal champion of the Roman Catholic faith.³⁸⁴ By recalling a medallion portrait struck during Christine's lifetime in her tomb memorial, the sculptors and papal patron involved chose to emphasize her political power through a familiar portrait image. The selection of portrait style for both men's and women's tombs was significant and at times drew on contemporary portraits to create recognizable brands that indicated both the status and achievements of the subject.

Some patrons chose the more economic format of a painted effigy. This is true for the memorials of Frances Montieux (fig. 19) and Giovanna Garzoni (fig. 37), in which a painted portrait has been embedded into a marble framework. In the instance of Frances, painted by an unknown artist, the humbler format may have been chosen as a type appropriate to the memorial of an abbess. In the case of Giovanna Garzoni, the painting of the memorial's portrait can be attributed: Giuseppe Ghezzi (the Secretary of the Academy of St. Luke) painted the image, following a visual program established by Giovanna herself, in her painted self-portrait for an illustrated herbarium.³⁸⁵ The selection of a painted effigy may in this instance have been intended to recall Garzoni's own self-presentation and through the medium of paint, to recall Garzoni's extraordinary talents and accomplishments as a painter.

As earlier in the Renaissance, full-length effigies were the rarest form of women's monument commissioned in the early modern period.³⁸⁶ I am aware of only one full-length effigy

³⁸⁴ Magnus von Platen, *Queen Christina of Sweden: Documents and Studies*, vol. Volume 12 of Skriftserie, Nationalmuseum (Sweden). (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1966), 51.

³⁸⁵ National Museum of Women in the Arts (U.S.) and Sylvestre Verger Art Organisation, *Italian Women Artists: From Renaissance to Baroque*, 1st ed (Milano : New York: Skira ; Distributed in North America by Rizzoli, 2007), 225.

³⁸⁶ Barry Robert Harwood, "Nicolo Cordieri: His Activity in Rome 1592-1612" (PhD, Princeton University, 1979).

sculpted for a woman during the first half of the cinquecento: the extraordinary monument for Francesca Carduli Cesi in S. Maria del Pace (c. 1515, fig. 53).³⁸⁷ Perhaps influenced by Counter Reform ideals of humility, from the period of 1550-1750, this type became even rarer, for the monuments of men and women. This type was ordered only for Lesa Deti Aldobrandini; her memorial project was directly commissioned by her son, Pope Clement VIII. Given the small number of full-length effigies that in the early modern period for both laymen and laywomen, we can assume these types were an unusually and highly controlled type of commemorative monument for women in the Post-Tridentine, commissioned only by the highest ranking member of Roman society: the pope. Although difficult to prove, it may also be that female patrons, although capable of providing the money necessary for such extreme monuments, chose not to commission this type of lavish memorial.

3.5 WOMEN'S AGE AND REPRESENTATION IN EFFIGIES

The relative age of a memorial honoree was one the most apparent social markers of women within a commemorative program. As scholars have noted, however, conceptions of age and aging were gendered, and expectations for aging women differed from those of men. This section will offer data on the ages of women presented in Roman memorials and discuss its relevance to developments in women's social standing in the Post-Tridentine period.

³⁸⁷ On this monument, see: Christoph Luitpold Frommel, *The Architectural Drawings of Antonio Da Sangallo the Younger and His Circle*, vol. II (Architectural History Foundation, 1994), 143.

Table VIII categorizes monumental tomb effigies by the age of the deceased. I have focused here only on women's memorials with effigies, which have been characterized by the age depicted. "Young" refers to women of childbearing age but under the age of thirty; "middle-age"³⁸⁸ to women of matron status but not depicted with any signs of more advanced age; "older" to post-menopausal women who are depicted with clear markers of aging. While in some instances it has been possible to accurately reconstruct the age of the women commemorated in a monumental effigy, this is usually not; their exact date of birth, or even death is not precisely known for some women. Consequently, this categorization is a loose system, but it reveals important general trends. Only five memorials from the period of 1550-1750 depict obviously "young" women. Middle-aged women are represented in fourteen examples. Older women are depicted in thirty-one memorial effigies, or about 61%. These figures also demonstrate a profound increase from the broad average in the quattrocento, in which tombs depicting "young" women accounted for about half of known examples across Italy.³⁸⁹

3.6 DRESS AND ACCESSORIES

Women's memorial sculptures attempt to capture the physicality of the person who lived, and they used sartorial gestures to convey to the public and the family the entirety of the woman's

³⁸⁸ This term, although anachronistic, is helpful as a shorthand for the early modern concept of the period of a woman's life, after settling into matronly status, but before menopause. See: *Time, Space, and Women's Lives in Early Modern Europe*, Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies v. 57 (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2001).

³⁸⁹ Brenna Graham, "The Most Bitter and Untimely of Events," 178.

posthumous legacy, both spiritual and temporal. As detailed above, this extended to the representation of the face and body, but in this section, the focus will be on the particular implications of costume choice.

New sumptuary legislation after the Council of Trent attempted to reinstate control over the adornment of elite women.³⁹⁰ In the 1550s, and throughout the following decades, the clothes, jewels, headdresses, and other ornaments of elite female costume were monitored with particular interest in codifying dress for elites of varying social stations to give the impression of categorical stability in the wake of Catholic Renewal. Historians of gender and material culture have been drawn to this subject because of the specific mechanisms of control exercised on women. Even before Trent, the official heading of *ornamenta mulierium* (“women’s ornament”) was used to refer to sumptuary statutes, even when the laws specifically address the clothing of men.³⁹¹ Similarly, the official in charge of administering sumptuary law was known as the “official of women.”³⁹²

Distinguishing honorable, elite women from lavishly dressed courtesans was a particular focus of sumptuary legislation in Post-Tridentine Italy.³⁹³ It was also an issue worthy of extensive

³⁹⁰ On new sumptuary legislation post-Trent, see: Elizabeth Currie, “Prescribing Fashion: Dress, Politics and Gender in Sixteenth-Century Italian Conduct Literature,” *Fashion Theory* 4, no. 2 (2000): 157–177; Jutta Gisela Sperling, “Marriage at the Time of the Council of Trent (1560-70): Clandestine Marriages, Kinship Prohibitions, and Dowry Exchange in European Comparison,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 8, no. 1 (2004): 67–108.

³⁹¹ Catherine Kovesi Killerby, *Sumptuary Law in Italy 1200-1500*, Oxford Historical Monographs (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

³⁹² Catherine Kovesi Killerby, *Sumptuary Law in Italy 1200-1500*.

³⁹³ On this legislation in Venice, see: Stanley Chojnacki, “La Posizione Della Donna a Venezia Nel Cinquecento,” in *Tiziano e Venezia; Convegno Internazionale Di Studi* (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1980), 65–70; Diane Owen Hughes, “Sumptuary Laws and Social Relations in Renaissance Italy,” in *Disputes and Settlements: Law and Human Relations in the West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 69–99.

social commentary, as evidenced by the number of fashion guidebooks produced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially Cesare Vecellio's text *Degli Habiti antichi e moderni di diverse parti del mondo* (*Ancient and Modern Costumes from Different Regions of the World*), published in Venice in 1590 and accompanied with over 400 woodcuts which illustrated costumes from all over the known world.³⁹⁴ While the reach of the text was encyclopedic, touching on the dress of ancients and foreigners alike, Vecellio's text is particularly focused on codifying and categorizing the manner of dress of his Italian contemporaries, underpinned by a strong impulse to regionalize and moralize various codes of dress. While Vecellio discusses the dress of men, it is the costuming of women that often takes center stage in text and illustration.³⁹⁵ According to Vecellio, the finery worn by Roman courtesans made it difficult to distinguish them from richly appointed Roman noblewomen:

Modern Roman courtesans dress in such a fine style that few people can tell them apart from the noblewomen of that city. They wear *sottane* of satin or ormesino, floor-length, over which they wear zimarre of velvet, decorated from top to bottom with gold buttons, with low necklines that expose their entire breast and neck, adorned with beautiful pearls, gold necklaces and ruffles of brilliant white They make their hair blonde by artificial means, and they curl it and tie it up with silk ribbons inside a gold net, prettily ornamented with jewels and pearls.³⁹⁶

³⁹⁴ This text was followed by another publication by Vecellio, *Degli abiti antichi e moderni di tutto il mondo* (*Ancient and Modern Costumes of the World*), published in 1598. Giulia Calvi, "Chapter Three: Gender and the Body, Costume Books," in *Finding Europe: Discourses on Margins, Communities, Images Ca. 13th - Ca. 18th Centuries*, ed. Anthony Molho, Diogo Ramada Curto, and Niki Koniordos (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007), 94.

³⁹⁵ On the gendered aspects of Vecellio's text, see again: Giulia Calvi, "Chapter Three: Gender and the Body, Costume Books."

³⁹⁶ Cited in Eugenia Paulicelli, *Writing Fashion in Early Modern Italy: From Sprezzatura to Satire* (Routledge, 2016), 11: Quoting Cesare Vecellio, *Degli Habiti antichi e moderni di diversi parti del mondo* (36: 88). See also Vecellio, *Degli Habiti*, (137:189).

Further commenting on the potential confusion between prostitute and honorable woman, Vecellio notes that “courtesans and prostitutes sometimes resemble married women in their dress, even wearing rings on their fingers as married women – and for this reason anyone lacking experience will be fooled by them.”³⁹⁷ Consequently, when addressing the issue of sumptuary adornment in tomb effigies in the early modern period, this notion of the visible control of elite female dress is crucial for understanding the implications of the gestures chosen by the patrons and sculptors. Dress and adornment were a central part of elite women’s identity, that in life they were able to exercise some control over within social and religious strictures. As a central element of the tomb effigy itself, the subject’s manner of dress was critical to the public and private representation of the deceased and her family.

Table IX is a chart of women’s monumental effigies with reference to the type of clothing worn by the deceased and notes the jewels or accessories, if any, that are included, as well as any head-coverings/veils worn, the type of necklines, and the styling of the female subject’s hair, if visible. Overwhelmingly, women are presented in secular dress, with nearly 70% of the sample wearing clothes associated with the laity. However there is enormous variation in the style and finery displayed among the sample. As Graham has observed for the quattrocento, there is a clear connection between age at death and the mode of dress. Women who died young are usually depicted in clothes that evoke the types of elaborate dress and wearing jewels that they would wear for nuptial celebrations. The bust effigy of Anna Moroni (fig. 56) depicts the sitter in a dress with a fancy scalloped lace overlay. She is depicted with her head uncovered, and in this instance she wears her hair completely down, in loose waves. That she does not have her hair plaited or fastened

³⁹⁷ See also Vecellio, *Degli Habiti*, (137:189). Cited in Eugenia Paulicelli, *Writing Fashion in Early Modern Italy: From Sprezzatura to Satire*, 118.

suggests her youthfulness: her hairstyle was usually indicative of an unmarried girl, although as her inscription notes, she was a “modest wife.”³⁹⁸

The bust funerary bust of Laura Frangipane Mattei (fig. 13) depicts the sitter in a beautiful ruff and pearl necklace, wearing a dress of fine brocade, and wearing a wide sash from which hangs a large, elaborate jewel pendant. Laura was forty-one at her time of death, demonstrating that conspicuous displays of clothing and jewels were not limited to the busts of young women shortly after marriage. The bust of Virginia Bonanni Primi (fig. 57), wife of a Sienese banker, also shows an older female sitter in exceptionally fine dress. She is wears a bodice with “embroidered” damask brocade stitching, billowing sleeves with scalloped lace trim, and a most visible gesture of wealth – an impressively large starched collar with delicate openwork lace edging, expertly rendered by Giuliano Finelli with a fine drill.³⁹⁹ She wears a copious amount of jewels, including a strand of pearls, a brooch, several rings and large pearl drop earrings, all delicately carved with attention to describing the fine details of the gems and their settings. The richly adorned presentation is reminiscent of Vecellio’s commentary on the types of boastful elegance of Roman who shared a similar social status to Virginia: the upper class wives of tradesmen. According to Vecellio, they “dress very sumptuously and grandly . . . their over garments are of *damasco* or beautifully patterned *broccatello*.”⁴⁰⁰ Here, Vecellio also draws out class distinctions in dress between the bourgeois and the titled elite, observing that Roman women of higher aristocratic

³⁹⁸ See Forcella, Vol. II, entry 420.

³⁹⁹Ruffs, of fine imported Venetian lace, were often one of the most expensive elements of an elite woman’s dress. On ruffs and lace as markers of conspicuous consumption, see: Marieke de Winkel, *Fashion and Fancy: Dress and Meaning in Rembrandt’s Paintings* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006).

⁴⁰⁰ Damask was an incredibly fine fabric made from silk and linen, with visible patterns on both sides of the fabric; *broccatello* was a luxury fabric of linen and silk with raised designs. Vecellio, *Degli Habiti*, (137:189). Cited in Paulicelli, *Writing Fashion in Early Modern Italy: From Sprezzatura to Satire*, 116.

station dress in a less ostentatious manner, wearing gloves and accessorizing with fans which suggest a more refined elegance.⁴⁰¹

The presentation of humble dress in a monument could also be a means for publically expressing religious conviction and commitment to ideals of asceticism on a personalized scale. Presenting the deceased in effigy wearing the types of simplified garb they may have chosen to wear in life (or in death) underscored this particular aspect of their religious devotion. In their wills, widows who had become tertiaries of a monastic order often requested to be buried in the habit of their affiliated order or in very simple dress. Whether a memorial effigy mirrors this desire or not can reveal how the deceased wished for their desires to be publically expressed. Although many of the women included in this study may have taken tertiary vows, because of lack of documentation, this most important aspect of their identity is not always confirmed. Therefore, in the known examples, it is not possible to say that the female subject had entered a convent as a tertiary member. What is clear, however, is that in *self-commissioned* examples, the female patron is usually presented in very modest dress without any type of adornment that expressed their status as widows, or else imitated the habits of nuns, as in the case of Vittoria Frangipane della Tolfa (fig. 7) and Anna Colonna Barberini (fig.58), two women who devoted their lives to pious commissions and religious reform. The funerary bust of Vittoria della Tolfa, for example, presents the subject an ideal widow, emphasized by her somber, humble dress and comportment in her

⁴⁰¹ Paulicelli, *Writing Fashion in Early Modern Italy: From Sprezzatura to Satire*, 116. On fans and gloves and the luxury trade in early modern Europe, see: Tove Engelhardt Mathiassen, *Fashionable Encounters: Perspectives and Trends in Textile and Dress in the Early Modern Nordic World* (Oxbow Books, 2014). On fans as accessories see: Evelyn S. Welch, "Art on the Edge: Hair and Hands in Renaissance Italy," *Renaissance Studies* 23, no. 3 (2009): 241–268; Flora Dennis, "Resurrecting Forgotten Sound: Fans and Handbells in Early Modern Italy," in *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and Its Meanings*, ed. Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson (Farnham, Surrey, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Pub, 2010).

portrait bust. She wears a long, double-layered veil (a customary marker of mourning) that falls over her shoulders and arms; her dress – a simple chemise tucked unto a bodice, which is belted loosely with a cloth cinch – corresponds to depictions in contemporary prints of Roman widows produced by Vecellio and Pietro Bertelli (fig. 59).⁴⁰² Since a widow's veil and weeds were sartorial reminders of a widow's social role and as widow faithful to her deceased husband's memory. Her veil completely covers her head and hairline, suggesting her modesty and her continued dedication to her husband.⁴⁰³ Anna Colonna Barberini wears simple garb and a widow's hood. In her will Anna expressed the desire to be buried in a simple chemise and overdress, wearing a veil; her monumental effigy presents her in a similar dress, perhaps intended to remind the viewer of the simplified dress she favored towards the end of her life, or the presentation of her body at her funeral. Finally, while some women may have requested simple burial attire in religious habits, the presentation of dress in their effigy did not always follow suit. For example, Petronilla Massimi (fig.23) requested a simple burial in the habit of a Carmelite nun.⁴⁰⁴ Her relief effigy, commissioned by her sons reflects, however, a more sumptuous dress with a low-cut bodice, her lower torso wrapped in a stole of fine fabric.

⁴⁰² Cesare Vecellio, *The Clothing of the Renaissance World : Europe, Asia, Africa, the Americas: Cesare's Habiti Antichi Et Moderni*, ed. Margaret Rosenthal and Ann Rosalind Jones (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2008).

⁴⁰³ A widow could signify her intention to remarry by revealing her hairline from underneath her widow's veil. Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, N.Y.) and Kimbell Art Museum, *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy* (New York : New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art ; Yale University Press, 2008), 286.

⁴⁰⁴ For Petronilla's will, see: Archivio di Stato di Roma (ASR) – Testamenti A.C. - Burattus – Volume 61, 702. “Uscita poi, che sarà l'Anima sua da quest'impura spoglia Mortale, desidera, con tutta l'umiltà del suo cuore, che sia fatta degna di restare nella vivifica sepoltura dell'amoroso cuore di Giesù, et il corpo vuole che sia esposto, e sepolto nella V: Chiesa di S. Egidio in Trastevere vestita, con l'abito della Religione riformata della S. Madre Teresa.”

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, a number of effigies were produced depicting the deceased in different types of clothes. The memorial busts for the Marchesa Veronica Rondinini Origo (fig. 22), Eleonora Boncompagni Borghese (fig. 36), and Flavia Bonelli (fig. 45) all depict the sitter wearing not the types of dress that they were known to wear in life, but wearing instead loose flowing outer garments suggestive of classical drapery. Eleonora Boncompagni Borghese wears an exceptionally fine draped dress, pinned with a fibulae at her shoulder, and delicate lace detailing on the sleeves. She wears her hair swept back from her face and under-curved in a low chignon at the base of her neck, tacked down in placed with bejeweled tiara, reminiscent of the styling of some Roman empresses found on ancient coins. This indicates that by the end of the seventeenth century new modes of display were available and chosen to represent women in a wider range of sartorial choices, mirroring choices made in allegorical painted portraits of women that had become fashionable for elite women in the second half of the seventeenth century.⁴⁰⁵

Also important to a woman's representation in her funerary bust was the incorporation of some type of head covering, and if her head was uncovered, the styling of her hair. As Susanna Burghartz has argued, women's veils were crucial elements of a woman's dress, coded with layers of meaning – religious, regional, and national – and subject to regulations “as unexpected as they were stereotypical.”⁴⁰⁶ Post-Tridentine treatises on women mandated some type of head covering

⁴⁰⁵ For excellent studies on allegorical portraits of women in seicento Italy, see: Eckhard Leuschner, “Women and Masks: The Economics of Painting and Meaning in the Mezza Figura Allegories by Lippi, Dandini, and Martinelli,” in *Firenze Milleseicentoquaranta: Arti, Lettere, Musica, Scienza*, ed. Elena Fumagalli, vol. 6, Studi e Ricerche (Venice: Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, Max-Planck- Institut, 2010), 311–323.

⁴⁰⁶ Susanna Burghartz, “Covered Women? Veiling in Early Modern Europe,” trans. Jane Caplan, *History Workshop Journal* no. 80 (2015): 1.

for women when they were in public. Vives, citing early church fathers, writes that a married woman must always have her head covered, as a sign of her fidelity and subjugation to her husband, and states that she should also cover the entirety of her bust⁴⁰⁷ As demonstrated in Table VII wives and widows are generally represented with some sort of head covering, suggesting that this social convention advocated in conduct books was generally followed in women's representations in their funerary effigies. For example noble wives like, Virginia Pucci Ridolfi (fig. 2), Elena Savelli (fig. 4), Lucrezia Tomacelli Colonna (fig. 34), Porzia del Drago (fig. 18), Francesca Calderini Riccardi (fig. 46) and Girolama Naro Santacroce (fig. 28) wear veils made of fine fabric, sometimes edged with decorative lace, or in few cases affixed to a tiara or comb, as in the bust of Virginia Pucci Ridolfi (fig. 2). In these instances, we can observe a variety in how much the veil may cover the head or face or the female subject. In some instances it completely covers the head and temples, in others it floats away from the face revealing the neck and hairline, and in some examples is attached to the crest or very back of the head, revealing most of the woman's head and hair. This variety of styles suggests that although women were expected to keep their heads' covered in public, there was a large degree of flexibility to choose conservative types of veils but also more delicate, less concealing types of veils. It was even possible to omit one completely; some women, like Laura Frangipane Mattei (fig. 13) and Giulia Ricci Parraviccini (fig. 43) wear no head covering at all. While this appears to be mostly limited to the memorial

⁴⁰⁷ "It is not fitting that a man cover his head since he is the image of God in the world. It does not behoove a woman since she is subject to the man. Every woman who has shaken off the law of her husband uncovers her head. If your head gleams with gold and precious stones, you set yourself against your husband. If you are covered in silk and brocade, you are not subject to your husband's authority. What good is an ineffectual sign without the reality to which it corresponds? You walk about without a head-covering, and you repudiate the command of the Apostle." Juan Luis Vives and Charles Fantazzi, *The Education of a Christian Woman a Sixteenth-Century Manual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000): 242.

portraits of young women, even a few older women did not wear veils, as in the busts of Elena Boncompagni Borghese (fig. 36),

Widows normally wore a severe type of veil to cover their entire head or wore a larger widow's hood, common in the middle of the seventeenth century. In the early modern period in Rome, widows could become "professed widows" through a "veiling" ceremony, much like those performed for consecrated virgins and nuns, in which the widow took the veil (a "velum pudoris et honoris," a veil of humility and honor) placed on the altar and extended it to the presiding bishop who placed it on her.⁴⁰⁸ Roman widows wore black or gray veils, which coordinated with their dark mourning dress, known as the *vesti nigri*.⁴⁰⁹ According to Roman statutes, Roman widows were not permitted to wear clothes other than the *vesti nigri*, which consisted of a plain robe, without accessories, and a veil or shawl that covered the head and any exposed part of the chest.⁴¹⁰ Status as a professed widow was a crucial component of an elite widow's identity that was not just a distinct period of life, but likened to an ecclesiastical profession through dedication to prayer and commitment to the poor;⁴¹¹ professed widows gained influence and respect "due to their 'veil of honor'" which "demanded the deference of other members of the community" both male and female.⁴¹² Given lack of available records, it is not possible to determine if the widows presented in this study indeed took on professed vows of widowhood, but it seems likely that for most of

⁴⁰⁸ Chiara Cherubini, "Widows in Post-Tridentine Rome" (PhD, Stanford University, 1998), 128.

⁴⁰⁹ Chiara Cherubini, "Widows in Post-Tridentine Rome," 130.

⁴¹⁰ Chiara Cherubini, "Widows in Post-Tridentine Rome," 130. Cherubini cites the Statutorum Almae Urbis Romae (Rome, 1567), 136.

⁴¹¹ Cherubini, "Widows in Post-Tridentine Rome," 132. For Post-Tridentine commentary on the role of professed widows, see: Piazza, *Cherosiglio*, 218-220 (cited in Cherubini, 132).

⁴¹² Cherubini, "Widows in Post-Tridentine Rome," 132, 316.

these women, known as charitable benefactresses of churches, hospitals, and organizations for the poor, the presentation of their personal commitment to their widowhood through official religious testament would be a crucial component of their identities and roles that they would likely be eager to affirm to God and to the public in church ritual. The presentation of a woman in the *vesti nigri* could therefore serve to establish and emphasize this special status. As the evidence shows, however, not all widows were presented in the traditional clothes of mourning, at least by the end of the seventeenth century. Caterina Raimondi Cimini (fig. 60) and Elena dal Pozzo (fig. 61), both widows at the time of their monuments' commissions, do not wear the large widow's peak hood common in other memorial portraits of widows.

The neckline of a dress was also cause for social concern and supervision, and as Table VII shows, most effigies depict women with high collars or elaborate ruffs which covered the entirety of their necks.⁴¹³ A few women wear more daring necklines that reveal the décolletage and even the contours of their breasts in their effigies. The bust of Porzia del Drago (fig. 18) shows the sitter with an open frilled collar, and a deep neckline, showing the top contours of her breasts.

⁴¹³ Vives writes: "As for the rest of her body, Jerome recommends that when she appears in public she should not expose her breast or neck, or throw back her pallium to reveal the back of her neck, but that she should conceal her face, leaving only one eye uncovered as she walks, to see her way . . . I do not see how there can be any modesty or virtue in showing off one's neck (although this can be tolerated) but also the breast . . ." Juan Luis Vives and Charles Fantazzi, *The Education of a Christian Woman a Sixteenth-Century Manual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000). See also Veronica Franco's admonitions of low-cut gowns: "Where once you had to go about combed with simplicity in a manner befitting an honest maiden, with her breasts covered and other attributes of modesty, you now encourage her to be vain, to bleach her hair and paint her face and, all of a sudden, you let her show up with curls dangling all around her brow and neck, her breasts exposed and popping out of her dress, her forehead high and without a veil plus all those tricks and embellishments that people use to promote the sale of their merchandise." Cited in James Turner, ed., *Sexuality and Gender in Early Modern Europe: Institutions, Texts, Images* (Cambridge, Eng. : New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1993): 118.

3.7 GESTURES AND PIOUS ACCESSORIES IN WOMEN'S EFFIGIES

Early modern texts describe the characteristics associated with particular gestures, which were understood as an uncontrollable reflex that emerged automatically from the soul and laid bare the interior state of the person.⁴¹⁴ How gestures and facial expression communicate human emotion and what triggered them in human beings was already discussed in antiquity.⁴¹⁵ Pose, gesture and facial expression, called the *affetti*, were used by sculptors when making an effigy to suggest the character of an individual.⁴¹⁶ Particular gestures could be amplified by including devotional accessories. This section will demonstrate the gendered implications of both gestures and devotional objects within the traditions of women's sculpted funerary portraits in Post-Tridentine Rome.

In the quattrocento, there were a limited number of gestures and accessories used in monumental design. In her study, Graham has described the three fundamental gestures in

⁴¹⁴ Evelyn S. Welch, "Art on the Edge: Hair and Hands in Renaissance Italy," *Renaissance Studies* 23, no. 3 (2009): 241–268; Peter Burke, "The Language of Gesture in Early Modern Italy," in *Varieties of Cultural History*, (Oxford: Polity Press, 1997), 61-2. In *On Painting*, Leon Battista Alberti describes the power of gesture in images, and its ability to represent the virtue of the sitter. "Thus I desire, as I have said, that modesty and truth should be used in every *istoria*. For this reason be careful not to repeat the same gesture or pose. The *istoria* will move the soul of the beholder when each man painted there clearly shows the movement of his own soul. It happens in nature that nothing more than herself is found capable of things like herself...These movements of the soul are made known by the movements of the body." Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting*, trans. John R. Spencer (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), 77

⁴¹⁵ On the *affetti* and the classical tradition, see: G. LeCoat, *The Rhetoric of the Arts 1550-1650`* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1975). Cited in Jonathan Unglaub, "Poussin's 'Esther Before Ahasuerus': Beauty, Majesty, Bondage," *The Art Bulletin* 85, no. 1 (2003): n6.

⁴¹⁶ On the classical origins and early modern discussions of the *affetti*, see most recently: Vernon Hyde Minor, *Baroque Visual Rhetoric* (University of Toronto Press, 2016); Joris van Gastel, *Il Marmo spirante: Sculpture and Experience in Seventeenth-Century Rome* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2013); Maarten Delbeke, *The Art of Religion Sforza Pallavicino and Art Theory in Bernini's Rome* (Farnham; Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2012).

Renaissance effigies of women: arms crossed at the abdomen, arms crossed at the waist, and arms crossed at the chest. In each of these types, the hands could be represented either as held together (indicating prayer) or palms down and crossed at the wrist. These traditional funerary gestures have been interpreted as a demonstration of humility or perhaps even as references to the cross.⁴¹⁷ In the twenty-five effigies analyzed by Graham, only four depict the deceased holding anything.⁴¹⁸ The gestural choices for women's funerary images were also limited in Post-Tridentine funerary sculpture; but, we can observe a small expansion of the types of gestures and accessories used, particularly the addition of prayer books and rosaries. These gestures and objects were directly related to discussions which centered on female literacy and personal devotional practices in Post-Tridentine culture.

Table IX examines the four main types of gestures and devotional accessories found in Roman women's monumental effigies in Post-Tridentine Rome: 1) clasping the hands together in prayer 2) one or both arms crossed over the chest and with the hand(s) pressing against the heart 3) holding a prayer book 4) and/or clutching a rosary.⁴¹⁹ My sample includes five of the first type and eleven of the second. Both of these gestures communicated the piety of the deceased, but the first was a more dramatic and forceful expression of the fervent prayer of the subject.⁴²⁰

⁴¹⁷ Moshe Barasch, *Giotto and the Language of Gesture* (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 17.

⁴¹⁸ The effigy of Chiara Gambacorti (1419) depicts the deceased with a lily; the tomb of Francesca Tornabouni holds an infant; the effigy of Maria Camponsechi holds a book; the effigy of Beatrice d'Este is depicted clutching a fur pelt. For an analysis of these specific accessories see, Graham, 187-191.

⁴¹⁹ These gestures and accessories are not mutually exclusive and it is certainly possible to see a combination of these categories delineated here within a single effigy.

⁴²⁰ On the use of this gesture in the sculpted images of saints, see: Shelley Karen Perlove, *Bernini and the Idealization of Death: the Blessed Ludovica Albertoni and the Altieri Chapel* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990).

Among known quattrocento women's effigies, only one example depicts the deceased with a book.⁴²¹ In my sample, women are shown holding devotional books in eight instances. The Council of Trent acknowledged that women should be able to read, but only to the degree necessary to teach scripture to children, thereby limiting the nature of female textual consumption exclusively to the sacred.⁴²² The inclusion of a devotional book in a funerary monument established that the reading habits of the sitter were firmly within the bounds of acceptable behavior. It is notable in these examples that women are shown in lively poses, reading and also actively *contemplating* the text; sometimes the book is held open in front of sitter (fig. 62, fig. 63) as she looks upwards, suggesting the subject has internalized the page's content to reflect on its divine truth. In other cases, (fig. 64, fig. 65) the women mark a particular page with a finger to indicate a passage to which they will later return. These examples display a more sophisticated level of literacy that encompassed not only comprehension, but also the intellectual processes of synthesis, contemplation, and reflection on the text's meaning.⁴²³ These associations are usually found in effigies of noblewomen, presumably because they were better educated. The funerary

⁴²¹ According to Graham, 187, the quattrocento tomb of Maria Camponeschi in Aquila, the "only extant woman's tomb ... that includes a book."

⁴²² Obviously, a number of elite women received humanist educations that also included the study of ancient Latin and Greek; some of these women pursued vocations as writers and poets. Virginia Cox, *Women's Writing in Italy, 1400-1650* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008). Letizia Panizza and Sharon Wood, eds., *A History of Women's Writing in Italy* (Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 5. Female literacy in the post-Tridentine period has been much discussed. It is generally assumed that female literacy in Italy lagged behind Protestant countries by an appreciable margin. See also, Barbara Whitehead, *Women's Education in Early Modern Europe: A History, 1500 to 1800* (Routledge, 2012).

⁴²³ The subject of female literacy in the early modern period is extensive. For a helpful bibliographic review, as well as discussion on the varying experiences of readership and literacy for women in early modern Italy, see: Belinda Elizabeth Jack, *The Woman Reader* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012). See also, Anne J. Cruz and Rosilie Hernández, eds., *Women's Literacy in Early Modern Spain and the New World, Women and Gender in the Early Modern World* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011).

monuments to literate women showcased their private acts of erudition and contemplation and offered the viewer positive messages about female literacy in the public realm.

The representation of the deceased with a rosary is used in only four examples in the sample. While rosaries featured in a memorial effigies of women in the Renaissance, they are usually passive types of accessories, attached to the dress of the deceased woman, or laid on top of a supine effigy.⁴²⁴ Rosaries, consisting of a series of spherical beads linked by delicate chain or cord, presented technical challenges in delicate carving for the sculptor to produce perfectly regular, round beads on a small scale without breaking the thin filament of marble. It is perhaps for this reason that sculptors may have chosen other solutions, like a prayer book, which were easier to carve. The monument to the Marchesa Veronica Rondinini Origo in S. Egidio (fig. 22) presents a creative solution for the inclusion of a rosary within the sculptural program. As seen in Carlo Fontano's preparatory drawings, as well as the completed monument, a rosary stands in as decorative edging around the niche which contains the funerary bust. Post-Tridentine Reform emphasized the daily recitation of the rosary for the laity as a spiritual imperative.⁴²⁵ In memorial effigies of women, we can observe the female subjects actively immersed in recitation of the rosary, as they appear to wrap the rosary through their fingers (fig.66) or touch individual beads (fig. 67), as they count and cycle through Marian prayer. The inclusion of a rosary, and especially the female subject's immersion in Marian devotion presented her as an ideal Catholic and reaffirmed the rosary's critical role in the daily rhythms of penitence and devotion.

⁴²⁴ See: Graham, "The Most Bitter and Untimely of Events."

⁴²⁵ On church reform and rosary practices in Post-Tridentine culture, see: Esperanca Camara, *Pictures and Prayers: Madonna of the Rosary Imagery in Post-Tridentine Italy* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002).

As a final point, mimesis of gesture and action could be further reinforced by the spatial relationships between sculpted bust and viewer. For instance, the memorial sculptures for Eleonora Boncompagni Borghese and Vittoria Parabiacchi Altieri depict the subjects in postures of prayer and contemplation, but they do not turn their attention to the chapel altar. Instead, they turn towards the nave aisle and out to the viewer (fig. 68, fig. 69), directly catching the eye and the attention of the passing viewer, who would be encouraged to take part in the spiritual drama of the moment.

3.8 CONCLUSIONS

In summary, the depiction of the woman's body within the overall design of a wall monument was an important for establishing a legacy of specific female identities for women of higher and lower ranks, bourgeois and foreign. While examples of prestigious wall monuments for women— and especially those with effigies – are fewer in number than those known for men, there was a visible increase in their numbers over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There was no specific “memorial type” assigned to women. Rather Roman women were featured in every tomb type by which men were represented, including wall monuments, although in smaller proportions. Monuments appear not to have been the privilege of only certain ranks of elite Roman society. Women's memorials were known among the “lesser” elite families of Rome and even women from the “lower rank” of *gentilhuomini* and professional status, like the Abbess Frances Montieux and Giovanni Garzoni, were commemorated in prestigious wall memorials with effigies.

Improvements in obstetrics and gynecological care increased gross reproduction rates and average life expectancy for Roman women in the Post-Tridentine age. In Rome, there was a

significant decrease in maternal mortality, which had profound results for women's memorialization.⁴²⁶ It is not possible to determine exactly how many of the memorials presented in this study were produced for women who died in childbirth, nor even the average age of the women commemorated, but we can observe that most of the monumental memorials with effigies depict older subjects past childbearing age, a general pattern in women's memorial sculpture that mirrors these important sociological and demographical trends. Within the public context of the Roman church, monuments for older women provided alternative visions of women's virtue for the living; as we will see in the second case study in this dissertation, old age took on special meaning in the wake of Post-Tridentine reforms. The production of elaborate memorials for older women suggest the substantial role some older women could achieve in Post-Tridentine Roman society.

Given the broad time span covered by this project, and changes in style and taste it is difficult to create definitive statements about women's dress in memorial effigies. In general it is possible to say, however, that the modes of dress in women's funerary effigies represent a wide range of displays, from modest, demure, and constrictive to less formal types of dress with loose constructions. These differences reflect changes in fashion and style over time, but even within short periods of time, there is considerable diversity in types of costuming and accessorizing. While Post-Tridentine reformers denounced women who went out in public without head

⁴²⁶ Eugenio Sonnino, "The Population in Baroque Rome," 69.. For more on post-partum care in early modern Europe, see Sylvia de Renzi, "The Risks of Childbirth: Physicians, Finance, and Women's Deaths in the Law Courts of Seventeenth-Century Rome," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* (Winter 2010): 549–577. Helen King, *Midwifery, Obstetrics and the Rise of Gynecology: The Uses of a Sixteenth-century Compendium*, Women and Gender in the Early Modern World (Aldershot, Hants ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Pub, 2007); Kirk D. Read, *Birthing Bodies in Early Modern France: Stories of Gender and Reproduction*, Women and Gender in the Early Modern World (Farnham ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Pub, 2011).

coverings and wearing dresses with low-cut necklines, a few examples demonstrate that women's memorial effigies did not always conform to rigid sumptuary codes and expectations. While this may not be entirely surprising, as painted portraits of women also depict women without veils and wearing dresses with plunging necklines, it is notable that artists and patrons did not always choose sober and modest types of presentations for the public and sacred sphere of the church, choosing instead to emphasize aspects of the family's material wealth or in some cases, wearing purposefully humble types of representations that upended their position as status bearers. This was especially true when the patron of the memorial was the female subject herself, an aspect we will examine in further detail in Part Three.

Regular prayer was demanded of all Catholics and it is therefore not surprising that this devotional practice was consistently emphasized in monumental effigies of both men and women. In the Post-Tridentine period, impassioned prayer, mediated through reading scripture and reciting rosary, was thought to lead to mystical experiences, as exemplified by the figures of St. Catherine of Siena and the Catholic Reformation mystics, St. Theresa of Avila and the Blessed Lodovica Albertoni. In early modern hagiographic imagery, these saints were commonly depicted with one or both hands on their hearts, signifying the precise moment of spiritual union and "internal receipt of Christ."⁴²⁷ Viewing effigies of women emulating female mystics could inspire other women to model themselves after these holy exemplars in turn.⁴²⁸ The funerary effigies of secular, contemporary women in particular, unlike sculpted images of saints, could present an achievable

⁴²⁷ Morgan Currie, "Sculpture and Sainthood in Early Modern Italy" (Harvard University, 2014), 197.

⁴²⁸ On exemplarity and sculpted images of saints, see: Helen Hills, "Demure Transgression: Portraying Female 'Saints' in Post-Tridentine Italy," *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 3 (2008).

model of prayer relatable to the everyday spiritual practices of Roman women, aspects which were emphasized through the selection of gestures and accessories in early modern funerary sculpture.

PART TWO: POST TRIDENTINE WOMEN'S MONUMENTS IN CONTEXT

4.0 ARS POETICA, ARS MORIENDI: MEMORIALIZING A FEMALE POET IN POST-TRIDENTINE ROME, C. 1565

The sculpted monument for the Italian poet Lucia Bertani (1500 -1565) has so far not featured in any major study of Post-Tridentine sculpture in Rome. Ugo Giambelluca has noted, however, it is remarkable among memorials produced in the middle of the sixteenth century for its innovative design and format, previously unknown in the city.⁴²⁹ While some other contemporary female poets, such as Laura Battiferra and Vittoria Colonna were represented in painted portraits and medals, none of the women ever received a monument.⁴³⁰ Lucia's commemorative monument, as the only known example of a female poet's memorial produced in the sixteenth century, therefore allows the opportunity to reconstruct and analyze certain aspects of her public representation that is unavailable for women of a similar status and sheds further light on the ways

⁴²⁹ The more typical format for a wall monument in the 1550s consisted of either a painted effigy, or a sculpted bust in the form of an *imago clipeata* within a rigorously classical architectural framework which resembled ancient altars or temple facades.

⁴³⁰ Vittoria Colonna was by far the female poet most represented in portraits; a portrait (ca. 1520/1525) in the Museo Nacional d' Art de Catalunya, attributed to Sebastiano del Piombo, is traditionally believed to be a portrait of Vittoria. Another portrait in the Colonna Gallery in Rome, attributed to the minor painter Bartolomeo Cancellieri, is dated to about 1535. Vittoria was also commemorated during her life in a number of bronze portrait medals as well as woodcuts that accompanied her books of verse. Laura Battiferra was famously featured in a half-length portrait by Bronzino (ca. 1550/1555, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence). A painting (ca. 1530-1540) by Moretto da Brescia and in the Bosio Collection in Brescia, has been identified as an allegorical portrait of in the guise of Salome. On images of Vittoria Colonna, see: Marjorie Och, "Portrait Medals of Vittoria Colonna: Representing the Learned Woman," *Women as Sites of Culture: Womens Roles in Cultural Formation from the Renaissance to the Twentieth century*, ed. Susan Shifrin. Aldershot, England, Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002):153-66; For Laura Battiferra, see most recently: Graham Smith, "Bronzino's Portrait of Laura Battiferri," *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 15, no. 4 (1996): 30–38. For a discussion of Moretto da Brescia's painting, Irma B. Jaffe and Gernando Colombardo, *Shining Eyes, Cruel Fortune: The Lives and Loves of Italian Renaissance Women Poets*, 1st ed (New York: Fordham University Press, 2002). 82-83 (with associated bibliography).

a literary woman could be celebrated and remembered within the public sphere in Post-Tridentine Roman society.

Lucia's monument (fig. 33) is composed of two essential parts: a squared-off marble base containing an inscription, and an upper portion consisting of a trapezoidal panel enclosed within a set of curved arms which culminate in a volutes (fig. 70). Inside the central trapezoidal panel of the monument, carved from Carrara marble, is a profile relief effigy of the subject, set against a dark background that gives the impression of an ancient gem or cameo.⁴³¹ Marking Lucia with this special type of honor connected her to a classical past.⁴³² This structure is festooned with a marble vegetal garland across the top, and capped by the head of a *putto*. The entire structure is surmounted by a large coat of arms (fig. 71). Ugo Giambelluca, the only modern scholar to comment on the monuments, suggests the novel monument structure recalls the form of Renaissance fireplaces, suggesting new associations in late Renaissance funerary design, and the participation of artists from outside of Rome, likely from the north. So far, no other monuments from this period in Rome have been connected to the output of the anonymous sculptors employed for the commission, and it is possible that Lucia's monument represents the only instance of their work.⁴³³ It is not known with whom the idea for this particular visual schema originated, but as

⁴³¹ Dark pigment residue on the marble suggests that the background of the relief was originally painted.

⁴³² Martha McCrory, "The Symbolism of Stones: Engraved Gems at the Medici Grand-ducal Court (1537-1609)," in *Engraved Gems: Survivals and Revivals*, ed. Clifford M. Brown, Studies in the History of Art / Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts; Symposium Papers 54. 32 (Washington: Hannover: National Gallery of Art; Distributed by the University Press of New England, 1997).

⁴³³ Ugo Giambelluca, "I Monumenti Funebri Della Famiglia Bertani in Santa Sabina a Roma," *Studi Romani* 50 (2002): 23–34. 33. As Giambelluca notes, Genoese and Venetian sculptors were particularly known for the production of elaborately sculpted fireplaces and chimneys.

suggested by Giambelluca, it may have been the patron of the monument, Gurone Bertani, who was Lucia's husband, and diplomat at the papal court.

Lucia's monument, like many in this study, was commissioned in conjunction with another monument; Gurone commissioned a matching memorial which commemorated his brother, Cardinal Pietro Bertani (1501-1558) to accompany Lucia's memorial.⁴³⁴ The paired monuments for Lucia and Pietro were placed in a newly constructed chapel, located to the left of the main altar in Santa Sabina, the mother church of the Dominican order in Rome.⁴³⁵ Through its Dominican affiliation, this church had personal meaning for the male members of the Bertani family; Gurone had taken Dominican minor orders prior to pursuing a political career, and Pietro had been a Dominican priest and influential preacher before being raised to cardinal.⁴³⁶ The exact date of the commission has not been established but both monuments bear the date of 1567 in the upper registers, indicating that they were commissioned and likely both completed in that same year. Since Pietro had died nine years before, in 1558, it follows that it was Lucia's death in 1567 that was the primary motivating factor in the commission. In fact, Gurone dedicated the chapel to St. Lucy at its completion, in apparent reference to Lucia's name saint.⁴³⁷

⁴³⁴ No contract for the memorial project is known to have been produced, and while it can be assumed that the project was a considerably expensive project, we cannot know how much Gurone actually spent on the commission.

⁴³⁵ F. Darsy, *Santa Sabina*, Volumes 63-64 of *Le Chiese Di Roma Illustrate*: Edizioni Roma Marietti (Rome: Marietti, 1961).

⁴³⁶ On Pietro Bertani's career, with special reference to his role in the papal conclaves of 1555, see: Lorenzo Cardella, *Memorie storiche de' cardinali della Santa Romana Chiesa*. Roma: Stamperia Pagliarini, 1793, IV, 318-320.

⁴³⁷ Ugo Giambelluca, "I Monumenti Funebri Della Famiglia Bertani in Santa Sabina a Roma," *Studi Romani* 50 (2002): 28 and note 20.

Identical in terms of materials, form, and proportion, the funerary monuments are not of equal quality. As noted by Ugo Giambelluca, Lucia's monument exhibits a higher level of craftsmanship, especially in her relief portrait effigy, which demonstrates an intricate carving of a network of braids, fillets, and pearls that twists through Lucia's soft wisps of curled hair and a sensitive and delicate rendering of her soft, fleshy facial features.⁴³⁸ From this we can conclude that the two works were produced by different sculptors of varying rank and ability, with preference for a more accomplished (although yet unknown) sculptor for the monument commemorating Lucia.

Although he commissioned elaborate monuments for his wife and brother, Gurone apparently made no plans for an independent wall memorial for himself. According to the inscription on Lucia's monument, the memorial marks the site of burial for Lucia and Gurone. Gurone died in 1562, and Lucia's pre-existing monument provided a convenient framework for a double conjugal monument and this may have been the original plan of the patron, intimated to his sons who were his heirs.⁴³⁹ In fact, as told in inscription (fig. 72), Gurone was interred in Lucia's monument according to a wish for the couple to "lie together in death, as they had in life."⁴⁴⁰

⁴³⁸ Ugo Giambelluca, "I Monumenti Funebri Della Famiglia Bertani in Santa Sabina a Roma," *Studi Romani* 50 (2002). "Stilisticamente, le opere mostrano una <<raffinata tecnica a graffito di elaborata fattura>>. Questa è evidente soprattutto nel ritratto di Lucia . . . L'analisi stilistica evidenzia nel ritratto di Lucia, oltre calligrafica definizione dei tratti somatici, una rotondità dei volumi, che non si riscontra nel busto del cardinale, in cui si nota invece la prevalenza della linea. Un maggiore senso del volume e una più acuta definizione naturalistica contraddistinguono anche gli altri elementi figurativi del monumento di Lucia, quali il festone e il cherubino, che nella tomba del cardinale sono condotti, invece, con un fare più sommario." 31.

⁴³⁹ It is possible to imagine the inscription for Lucia's monument may have been left purposefully brief, leaving space to accommodate the later addition of an inscriptional text for Gurone.

⁴⁴⁰ This quote is taken from the epitaph placed for Gurone: "Guronum Bertanum virum integerrium sommor(um)/pont(ificum) iussu multis ad potentiss(imos) principes lega/ tionib(us) summa cum laude perfunctum hoc tumolo/Hercules Octavius et Iulius filii condidere/ut cum qua coniunctissime vixit/cum eadem mortuus conquiescat/Vixit a(nnos) LXXIII Obit IV k(a)l(endis) decemb(ris) MDLXXII." The

While, as we previously noted in Part One, inscriptions were highly formalized and often highly idealized textual summaries of the key biographical elements of a person's life and their relationships, the inscription on Lucia's monument reflects a harmonious and cooperative union that is also suggested by the couple's collaborations in courtly affairs. As is noted in the monument's inscription Gurone established the monument in "fulfillment of a vow." This rhetoric characterizes Gurone as dutiful and honorable, two attributes essential for a man in high political and diplomatic office in service of the papal crown. The inscription also suggests that these elements of his character were crucial to his domestic life, and that he fulfilled the role of honorable and respectful spouse.

What is most striking in this instance, however, is the primary position of honor culminates in the single portrait effigy of a woman, rather than a portrait of a man, or even a dual portrait of husband and wife. This anomalous occurrence contradicts the assumption that conjugal memorials were always organized to prioritize the worlds of and status of husbands, making it a significant example of the manner in which monuments of women could demonstrate alternative notions of family relationships.

4.1 LUCIA BERTANI'S SOCIAL CIRCLE AND CONTEMPORARY PRAISE

While the substantial praise granted to Lucia in death indicates a woman of considerable literary merits and social position, in modern scholarship on Italian Renaissance female poets in

inscription is transcribed in Darsy, *Santa Sabina*, 147.; and Giambelluca, "I Monumenti Funebri Della Famiglia Bertani in Santa Sabina a Roma," 27.

Italy,⁴⁴¹ Lucia dall'Oro Bertani (1521-1567)⁴⁴² has only featured as a minor figure of middling talent. In assessing Lucia's role in the development of sixteenth-century poetry, the early 20th century literary critic Giulio Bertoni has even disparagingly remarked that little is known about Bertani, "who does not deserve to be removed from the discreet shadow that enfolds her."⁴⁴³

Certainly, in comparison to other more famous female poets of her age, like Vittoria Colonna (1492-1547), Tullia d'Aragona (ca. 1510-1556), and Laura Battiferra (1523-1589) we know substantially less about Lucia's life, writing practices, and social connections. Given the educated nature of her poetry which follows classical models and employs erudite poetic conceits, it follows that Lucia was educated in a manner only available to the daughter of a gentleman. Virtually nothing, however, is known about Lucia's family origins. The eighteenth-century scholar Girolamo Tiraboschi, in his monumental tome on the literary history of Modena, attempted to piece together Lucia's natal origins, and concluded that she was born in Bologna to a family of

⁴⁴¹For excellent general introductions on the topic of female literary culture in the sixteenth century, see: Beverly Allen, Muriel Kittel, and Keala Jane Jewell, eds., *Italian Feminist Poems from the Middle Ages to the Present: A Bilingual Anthology* (New York: Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 1986); Margaret King and Albert Rabil, eds. *Her Immaculate Hand: Selected Works by and About the Women Humanists of Quattrocento Italy*. 2nd ed., rev. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies. Binghamton, N.Y: Center for Medieval & Early Renaissance Studies, 1992; Letizia Panizza and Sharon Wood, eds., *A History of Women's Writing in Italy* (Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Diana Maury Robin, *Publishing Women: Salons, the Presses, and the Counter-Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Italy*, Women in Culture and Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); Virginia Cox, *Women's Writing in Italy, 1400-1650* (Baltimore: Johns Counter-Reformation in Sixteenth-century Italy, Women in Culture and Society (Hopkins University Press, 2008). Virginia Cox, *The Prodigious Muse: Women's Writing in Counter-reformation Italy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011).

⁴⁴² Ugo Giambelluca, citing F. Darsy, has given Lucia's date of birth as 1501, perhaps an error of transcription. All sources, including Darsy, give the date as 1521. Ugo Giambelluca, "I Monumenti Funebri Della Famiglia Bertani in Santa Sabina a Roma," *Studi Romani* 50 (2002): 25; F. Darsy, *Santa Sabina*, Volumes 63-64 of *Le Chiese Di Roma Illustrate*: Edizioni Roma Marietti (Rome: Marietti, 1961).

⁴⁴³ Giulio Bertoni, "Lucia Bertani e Laura Battiferra," *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* 85 (1925), 379-80." Laura Battiferri degli Ammannati and Victoria Kirkham, *Laura Battiferra and Her Literary Circle: An Anthology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 326, note 12.

minor nobles, about which nothing is recorded.⁴⁴⁴ In her funerary epitaph, her family name is given as “ab Auro.” Ugo Giambelluca has identified the coat of arms on her monument as that of the d’Aure family, a noble French house; Lucia probably descended from an Italian satellite branch of this Breton family that had settled in Bologna in a previous generation.⁴⁴⁵ She married Gurone Bertani, a member of a wealthy family that originated in Parma and later settled in Modena.⁴⁴⁶ The date of the marriage between Lucia and Gurone is not known, but it must have been sometime after 1535, when Gurone abandoned his Dominican minor orders to pursue a career as a papal diplomat. Through her marriage to Gurone,⁴⁴⁷ Lucia was directly connected to the most powerful political and ecclesiastical networks that spanned Europe. Gurone, a “model of the sixteenth-century Italian political diplomat,” was the papal agent assigned to missions in Italy and abroad, including several English expeditions to mediate between King Henry VIII and the Holy See.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁴ This aspect of her biography has been accepted by modern scholars. Girolamo Tiraboschi, *Biblioteca Modenese o Notizie Della Vita e Delle Opere Degli Scrittori Natii Degli Stati Del Serenissimo Signor Duca Di Modena* (Società Tipografica, 1786).

⁴⁴⁵ Ugo Giambelluca, “I Monumenti Funebri Della Famiglia Bertani in Santa Sabina,” 26.

⁴⁴⁶ Tommasino Lancillotto, in his *Cronaca of Modena*, suggests that Gurone renounced his orders in order to take a wife and pursue a diplomatic career. “Gurone Bertani chierico che aveva rinunciato ai benefizi per prendere in moglie una giovane Bolognese.” Cited in Tommaso Sandonnini, *Lodovico Castelvetro e La Sua Famiglia: Note Biografiche* (N. Zanichelli, 1882), 206. On the origins and history of the Bertani family, see: Tiraboschi, *Biblioteca Modenese o Notizie Della Vita e Delle Opere Degli Scrittori Natii Degli Stati Del Serenissimo Signor Duca Di Modena*, 32; Deputazione di storia patria per le province di Romagna, *Atti e Memorie Della Regia Deputazione Di Storia Patria Per Le Province Di Romagna* (Stab. tip. di G. Monti, 1893), 151.

⁴⁴⁷ According to Tiraboschi, the Bertani family originated from Parma, and later moved to Modena. Girolamo Tiraboschi, *Biblioteca Modenese o Notizie Della Vita e Delle Opere Degli Scrittori Natii Degli Stati Del Serenissimo Signor Duca Di Modena*.

⁴⁴⁸ Kenneth R. Bartlett, “Papal Policy and the English Crown, 1563-1565: The Bertano Correspondence,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 23, no. 4 (Winter 1992): 643–659. See also: Catherine Fletcher, *The Divorce of Henry VIII: The Untold Story from Inside the Vatican*, First Palgrave Macmillan Edition (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

Pietro Bertani, Gurone's younger brother and a significant figure at the Council of Trent,⁴⁴⁹ was twice counted among the *papabili* in the two papal conclaves that convened in 1555.⁴⁵⁰

Unlike the poets Tullia d'Aragona or Vittoria Colonna, Lucia does not appear to have established or belonged to any sort of formally organized coterie of writers.⁴⁵¹ Nonetheless, Lucia's poetic accomplishment was universally regarded in contemporary literary circles and recorded in a variety of still-existing sources.⁴⁵² Her sonnets, composed in vernacular, were first published in a poetry anthology by the Venetian Giolito press in 1551; her sonnets were again published in subsequent anthologies by the same press in 1559 and 1560.⁴⁵³ Lucia also composed elegiac verse

⁴⁴⁹ Pietro was sent as the papal envoy by the Council in 1546 to the court of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V to resolve the argument that arose following discussions to move the council to Bologna.

⁴⁵⁰ Bartlett, "Papal Policy and the English Crown, 1563-1565," 646. Sforza Pallavicino, *Istoria Del Concilio Di Trento: Divisa In Tre Parti*, vol. I (Marelli, 1745), 790.

⁴⁵¹ For instance, in a letter between Laura Battiferra and Benedetto Varchi dated to 1561, Laura notes that she is composing a sonnet for Lucia, known only to her by reputation. For the letter, see: Battiferri degli Ammannati and Kirkham, *Laura Battiferra and Her Literary Circle: An Anthology*, 326-327. Tullia d'Aragona established a literary salon of poets and philosophers at her house in Rome. "Tullia d'Aragona," in Rinaldina Russell, ed., *Italian Women Writers: a Bio-Bibliographical Sourcebook* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1994); Monika Antes, *Tullia d'Aragona: Cortigiana e Filosofa. Con Il Testo Del Dialogo "Della Infinità Di Amore"* (Edizioni Polistampa, 2011).

⁴⁵² As previously mentioned, nothing is known about Lucia's early education, but the erudite nature of her sonnets demonstrates study of the classical tradition. This suggests Lucia was given a humanist education rarely offered to young noblewomen that included the study of Greek and Roman verse. The very few young noblewomen who were given access to study ancient Greek and Latin; were usually forced to end their study upon reaching marriageable age. Renaissance literary academies may have provided some intellectual stimulation for elite female poets. However, in his study of female membership in Renaissance literary academies, Conor Fahy notes the rarity with which women were actually offered membership, dismissing any notion that such institutions fostered the broader intellectual status of women. As he argues, female intellectuals found only minimal support from literary academies. Contemporary authors discouraged female scholars from ever using oratory skills in a public forum, instructing them to leave the "rough and tumble of the forum entirely to men." Fahy notes the presence of only a handful of female writers permitted membership within literary academies including Veronica Gambarà (Sonacchiosi of Bologna), Laura Terracina (Incogniti of Naples), Tarquinia Molza (Innominati of Parma), Isabella Adreini (Intenti of Pavia), Eleonora di Toledo (Alterati of Florence). Conor Fahy, "Women and Italian Cinquecento Literary Academies," in *Women in Italian Renaissance Culture and Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). 438.

⁴⁵³ Diana Maury Robin, *Publishing Women: Salons, the Presses, and the Counter-Reformation in Sixteenth-*

for the volumes of poetry produced on the death of Irene of Spilimbergo and Lucrezia Gonzaga.⁴⁵⁴ Lucia is best known, however, for her role in moderating the famous scholarly feud between the poets Lodovico Castelvetro and Annibal Caro in 1553, following the publication of Caro's *Canzone of the Lilies*.⁴⁵⁵ Castelvetro took an aggressive stance against Caro's use of language in this series of sonnets, which diverged from standard Petrarchan usage.⁴⁵⁶ Lucia composed a series of letters to Caro, chiding Castelvetro and his followers for their uninspired imitations of prescribed forms.⁴⁵⁷ Her interventions between Caro and Castelvetro positioned her within a debate on the formation and usage of Italian vernacular, the so-called "*questione della lingua*."⁴⁵⁸ Lucia's public stance on this debate placed her within a distinguished web of poets and critics like Benedetto Varchi⁴⁵⁹ and Laura Battiferra,⁴⁶⁰ with whom she exchanged sonnets and engaged in

century Italy, Women in Culture and Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

⁴⁵⁴ *Rime di Diversi nobilissimi et eccellentissimi autori in morte della Signora Irene delle signore di Spilimbergo. Alle quali si sono aggiunti versi latini di diversi egregii poeti, in morte della medesima signore* (Venezia: Appresso Domenico & Gio. Battista Guerra, 1561); *Rime di Lode di Lucrezia Gonzaga* (1562).

⁴⁵⁵ Laura Battiferra degli Ammannati and Victoria Kirkham, *Laura Battiferra and her Literary circle: An anthology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 326, n12.

⁴⁵⁶ On this debate, see: Karen Pinkus, *Picturing Silence: Emblem, Language, Counter-reformation Materiality, The Body, in Theory* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996).

⁴⁵⁷ Virginia Cox, *Women's Writing in Italy, 1400-1650* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 76; Fabrizio De Donno and Stefano Jossa, "Exchanging Poetry with Theology: Ludovico Castelvetro between Humanism and Heresy," in *Beyond Catholicism Heresy, Mysticism, and Apocalypse in Italian Culture*. (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

⁴⁵⁸ Much has been written on the language debates that drove much of the sixteenth century humanist activity, and a complete bibliographic account is not possible here. For excellent summary analysis and bibliography, see: Richard Waswo, *Language and Meaning in the Renaissance* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2014). On women's roles in the language debate in particular, see: Helena Sanson, *Women, Language and Grammar in Italy, 1500-1900*, British Academy Postdoctoral Fellowship Monograph (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

⁴⁵⁹ For the original correspondence between Lucia and Benedetto Varchi, see Ms. Varchi I/35 Lettera, Modena 1561-09-20, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence.

⁴⁶⁰ Giulio Bertoni, "Lucia Bertani e Laura Battiferra," *Giornale Storico Della Letteratura Italiana* 85

philosophical discussion. Although, as Conor Fahy notes, even celebrated female writers operated “at best” on the margins of literary circles, they also used epistolary exchange to voice concerns about the major literary polemics of the day. By asserting her position in these language debates, Lucia took an active stance within a male driven discourse about the shaping of language.⁴⁶¹

Graceful, beautiful, and intelligent, Lucia was praised as an ideal courtly woman in texts by her male peers, in which she is mentioned alongside other noblewomen also recognized for their literary talents and erudition. In Lodovico Domenichi’s *Dialoghi* (published in Venice in 1562) Lucia and other Emilian noblewomen act as interlocutors on a philosophical debate on love.⁴⁶² She is also mentioned among fifty notable contemporary women singled out for praise of their spiritual and physical beauty within Betussi’s *Imagini del tempio della Signoria Donna Giovanna D’Aragona*, published in 1556.⁴⁶³ In addition to writing poetry and engaging in literary debates, Lucia fulfilled the expected duties of all noble wives to produce heirs and rear children: she gave birth to three children, all sons.⁴⁶⁴ Because her husband was frequently away on business, Lucia also performed the necessary duties of maintaining and running the elite household in

(1925): 379–380.

⁴⁶¹It should be noted that Italian in the sixteenth century was a language of the elite. “In the 16th century Italian was a literary language not accessible to the less educated, among them women, who would instead speak a local dialect.” Sanson, *Women, Language and Grammar in Italy, 1500-1900*.

⁴⁶² Lodovico Domenichi, *Dialoghi* (Venice, 1562).

⁴⁶³Betussi structures the text as a dialogue which unfolds within a temple between Fame and Virtue. Lucia is mentioned among the women represented on a altar dedicated to the texts illustrious dedicatee, Giovanna d’Aragona (1502-1575), the Duchess of Paliano and wife of Marc’Antonio Colonna. Betussi, *Imagini del tempio della Signoria Donna Giovanna D’Aragona* (Florence: Torrentino, 1556; Venice: de Rossi, 1557).

⁴⁶⁴ The sons were Ercole, Giulio, and Ottavio. Notably, Giulio was also a published poet of minor importance in the late sixteenth century. “Ella [Lucia] ebbe un figlio di nome Giulio, che dilettauasi di scriver poesie nel volgar dialetto della sua patria, e alcune Rime.” Girolamo Tiraboschi, *Storia Della Letteratura Italiana: Parte Terza.*, vol. VII, 1779, 48.

Nonantola (located in province of Modena), including entertaining visiting nobles.⁴⁶⁵ In the 1560s, Lucia took an active role in her husband's diplomatic affairs abroad. In the summer of 1564, when Gurone was working as the papal agent at the English court, Lucia wrote to Queen Elizabeth, expressing her wishes to serve the queen; Lucia had been collaborating with the Duchess of Tagliacozza, Giovanna d'Aragona, to obtain a position for an Italian noblewoman within the queen's household.⁴⁶⁶ These social connections are indicative of Lucia's position as wife to a worldly and genteel diplomat, but they also suggest her ability to parlay her literary skills and erudition into social advancement or gain on behalf of the family's interests.

Lucia died early in January of 1567. Although it seems she lived primarily in Nonantola, available sources record that she in fact died in Rome.⁴⁶⁷ No cause of death has been suggested. Given that her literary production effectively halted after 1565, one might theorize she died after an extended illness.

⁴⁶⁵ A contemporary account of the visit of Countess of Scandiano and Battista Varana to the Bertani household remarks on the erudite pleasantries that Lucia provide her guests.

⁴⁶⁶ Kenneth R. Bartlett, "Papal Policy and the English Crown, 1563-1565: The Bertano Correspondence," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 23, no. 4 (Winter 1992): 645, n. 11.

⁴⁶⁷ Salvatore Muzzi states that Lucia died in Rome; however, he does not provide a source. Salvatore Muzzi, *Vite D'italiani Illustri in Ogni Ramo Dello Scibile Da Pitagora a Gino Capponi Da Salvatore Muzzi*, vol. 2 (Nicola Zanichelli, 1876). Girolamo Tiraboschi, *Biblioteca Modenese o Notizie Della Vita e Delle Opere Degli Scrittori Natii Degli Stati Del Serenissimo Signor Duca Di Modena* (Società Tipografica, 1786), 31. A number of Lucia's letters, including her letters to Queen Elizabeth were sent from Nonantola.

4.2 MONUMENT LOCATION AND SPATIAL CONSIDERATIONS

Today, Lucia's and Pietro's monument can be found on the wall of the left hand side of the nave in Santa Sabina, at some distance from one another and separated from each other by two other unrelated monuments and a doorway (fig. 73). This strange location and placement, clearly, was not the original concept for the monuments. As noted previously, they were originally installed in the Capella Santa Lucia that Gurone commissioned, which no longer survives. During renovations to the church in the seventeenth century, the monuments were moved to make way for a new family chapel: Pietro's monument was moved to the Capella di Crocifisso, located at the top of the left hand aisle, and immediately in front of and adjacent to the sacristy, and Lucia's monument was put up in the sacristy itself.⁴⁶⁸ In the early nineteenth century, the church was renovated again, not without controversy, stripping the church of its Renaissance and Baroque chapel additions to reveal the Early Christian structures underneath. At this point the monuments were moved together to the left wall of the nave, "alle parete in fondo." During the second phase of renovations in the 1930s, the tombs were moved to their present position.⁴⁶⁹

Although we do not know anything of the original decorative schema conceived for the chapel nor its dimensions,⁴⁷⁰ we can nevertheless reconstruct the basic placement of the Bertani memorials in their sixteenth century context. The monuments for Lucia and Pietro would have

⁴⁶⁸ See Darsy, *Santa Sabina*, 116; Giambelluca, "I Monumenti Funebri Della Famiglia Bertani in Santa Sabina a Roma," 28-30.

⁴⁶⁹ Giambelluca, "I Monumenti Funebri Della Famiglia Bertani in Santa Sabina a Roma," 28-30.

⁴⁷⁰ A seventeenth-century source observed that in the Bertani chapel was an altarpiece depicting St. Sabina. G.A Bruzio, *Theatrum Romanae Urbis Sive Romanorum Sacrae Aedes; Santa Sabina, Ms. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 11885*, 17th century, f. 100. Cited in Giambelluca, "I Monumenti Funebri Della Famiglia Bertani in Santa Sabina a Roma," 28.

originally faced one another from opposite sides of the chapel, with the portraits of the deceased oriented towards the altar. Lucia's profile displays the right hand side of her face, and therefore, must have been placed on the left wall in order for her effigy to turn in the right direction towards the altar; accordingly, Pietro's monument would have been on the right lateral wall of the chapel. This arrangement, apparently selected by Gurone, confounds usual spatial considerations for the placement of men's and women's monuments within a chapel space; Lucia's monument is the only example in this study to have been purposefully placed in the position of honor, superior to the position of male kin.⁴⁷¹ This suggests that these spatial considerations, while fairly consistent in the production of early modern paired monuments, were not rigidly enforced, and could be altered depending on the choices of the patron. The pairing of monumental wall memorials for a brother and wife is not common within the traditions of family chapels in early modern Rome, where paired effigies of husband and wife, or brothers were more often paired.⁴⁷² The selection of monuments for the patron's closest family relations, in close contextual dialogue with each other, reinforced ideas about the family's distinctive character as distinguished by the extraordinary talent and learning of both its men and women, who exemplified the family's twofold success in elevating one of their own to the College of Cardinals and in Lucia's cultural achievements as a highly regarded and productive poet.

⁴⁷¹ As mentioned in Part One, the monument to Lesa Deti Aldobrandini in S. Maria in sopra Minerva is also on the left hand side of the altar, but this placement was a result of changes to the chapel structure and not the original plan of the patron. See the section on the heraldic placement of tombs in Chapter One of this study.

⁴⁷² See Auguste Griesbach, *Römische Porträtbüsten Der Gegenreformation* (Liepzig: Keller, 1936).

4.3 INSCRIPTIONAL PRAISE

Having examined the special circumstances of Lucia's monument as a dual monument commemorating husband and wife, and its placement within its original chapel context, I will turn to the inscription to observe some exceptional qualities, particularly within the monument's inscription. The Latin inscription, carved into the base of the monument is as follows:

Luciae ab Auro omnibus corporis et animi bonis
ornatissimae et supra sexum et supra saeculum
ingeniosae atque erudiate Guronis Bertanus
maritus contra votum superstes posuit

To Lucia dall'Oro, wife of Gurone, a woman highly endowed in all the good qualities of body and mind, intelligent and learned above women of her age. Her widowed husband, set up this monument in fulfillment of a vow he made.⁴⁷³

This inscription is notable in the history of tomb epitaphs for women in Rome. Physical beauty was the trait typically mentioned in the inscriptions of tombs produced for young brides and virginal daughters,⁴⁷⁴ its application in the monument for a woman beyond the age of forty is therefore compelling, since forty is normally conceived in contemporary treatises on gender as the benchmark age for women's entry into later life, and the beginning of her bodily decline.⁴⁷⁵ The invocation of female beauty in this instance suggests that like other virtues, this was not rigidly

⁴⁷³ I thank Benjamin Eldredge and J. Holland for help with this translation.

⁴⁷⁴ See: Iiro Kajanto, *Classical and Christian: Studies in the Latin Epitaphs of Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemia Toimituksia, Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae : Sarja B nide 203 (Helsinki: Suomalainen tiedeakatemia, 1980); Iiro Kajanto and Ulla Hälvä-Nyberg, *Papal Epigraphy in Renaissance Rome*, Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemia Toimituksia nide 222 (Helsinki: Suomalainen tiedeakatemia, 1982).

⁴⁷⁵ Silvana Seidel Menchi, "The Girl in the Hourglass: Periodization of Women's Lives in Western Preindustrial Societies," in *Time, Space, and Women's Lives in Early Modern Europe*, Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies v. 57 (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2001), 54-55.

enforced and depending on the wishes of the patron, would be used for the memorial of a woman of more advanced age.⁴⁷⁶ It is notable, that while Lucia is presented as very lovely in her memorial effigy – with loose curls, delicate mouth, and a high forehead – and it was not completely idealized: she has a slight double chin, and there is the suggestion of lines along the edges of her mouth.

Epitaphs ordered by male patrons usually assigned more conventionally feminine attributes of chastity, piety, modesty and/or virginity to the women being commemorated.⁴⁷⁷ Significantly, none of these attributes are associated with Lucia in her inscription, and although Lucia gave birth to three male children, her role as an ideal wife and mother is not mentioned. The author of the inscription, perhaps Gurone himself, grants Lucia “skill” and “erudition,” above all other women. While these traits may be appropriate for the tomb of a learned woman poet, it is highly unusual at this date, and is, I think, without precedent for a woman’s monument in Rome in this period.⁴⁷⁸ Kajanto’s exhaustive treatment of hundreds of Renaissance epitaphs notes that “*eruditio*” is used only on three occasions, in all cases for men holding political positions in the papal curia. It seems then that Lucia’s inscription uses a mode of inscriptional praise that was in fact used for men who

⁴⁷⁶ Notably, as Graham points out, older women were also described as “virginal” in their funerary epitaphs. On the age of forty as a turning point in women’s lives and social expectations, see: *Time, Space, and Women’s Lives in Early Modern Europe*, Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies v. 57 (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2001).

⁴⁷⁷ “Unsurprisingly, the virtues of the women were frequently mentioned in the inscriptions, though patterns emerge in the laudatory language used depending on whether the tomb was commissioned by a man or a woman. The most frequently mentioned virtues on tombs commissioned by men include: “chastity” or “virginity,” “modesty,” and “piety,” though there are few distinct patterns to the adjectives used to describe the women.” Graham, “The Most Bitter and Untimely of Events: Women, Death, and the Monumental Tomb in Quattrocento Italy” 236.

⁴⁷⁸ Kajanto, *Classical and Christian: Studies in the Latin Epitaphs of Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, 126, n499. The only other memorial I have found that uses “erudition” in the inscription is for Perna Sensi, a memorial which post-dates Lucia’s monument. See Appendix B of this study for a transcription of Perna’s memorial.

held political offices, a notable element within the context of a tomb for a diplomat's wife. And although it may just be a general praise of her high status, the particular phrasing of the monument's inscription, calling attention to Lucia's superlative status above all other women of her age, may intentionally recall the exemplars of Beatrice and Laura, who were also described by Dante and Petrarch, as women who surpassed all others of their age, invoking a poetic form of praise that touched on Lucia's role within elite culture.⁴⁷⁹

The use of "erudition" is especially remarkable within an epitaph commissioned by a man. In fact, it is traditionally in epitaphs commissioned by *women* that more unconventional virtues, like "prudence" and "worth" were used.⁴⁸⁰ In attributing these uncommon virtues to a female protagonist, Lucia's epitaph signals a small, but significant change in the production of women's funerary epitaphs, in which we can see a husband acknowledging a larger social role for his wife, eschewing customary phrasing about piety or wifely duty, to instead celebrate her intelligence above all other women.

The example of Gurone Bertani is striking in this instance, as a cosmopolitan diplomat who spent a considerable amount of time in England at the royal court, where he encountered the many charismatic, highly educated women who wrote extended verse in French, Italian and Latin; this included women at the court of Henry VIII, like Anne Boleyn, and especially Queen Elizabeth herself, whom Gurone served on his final diplomatic missions to England.⁴⁸¹ Epitaphs composed

⁴⁷⁹ On the superlative nature of Beatrice and Laura for Dante and Petrarch, see: Olivia Holmes, *Dante's Two Beloveds: Ethics and Erotics in the Divine Comedy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008),

⁴⁸⁰ Graham, "The Most Bitter and Untimely of Events: Women, Death, and the Monumental Tomb in Quattrocento Italy," 225.

⁴⁸¹ For an excellent study on early modern Englishwomen and education, see most recently: Kenneth Charlton, *Women, Religion and Education in Early Modern England*, 2002.

in honor of English noblewomen foreground the nature of their elite upbringing and learning as central components of their families' virtue.⁴⁸² This is also true of some contemporary English funerary epitaphs for men, which discuss the learned nature of daughters and wives. For instance, the memorial for William Roper, the husband of Margaret More (d. 1546, the daughter of Thomas More), records that Margaret was a woman "most learned in Greek and Latin letters."⁴⁸³ We do not know if Gurone viewed any woman's tombs while in England, but it is possible to speculate that the more progressive attitudes towards female learning at the English court may have been influential. The example of Lucia's monument suggests that a woman's learning was a valuable advantage for a man, although limited to a cases in which the appearance of erudition was also critical to his position and self-representation.

4.4 POETIC IDEALS AND POSTHUMOUS REPRESENTATION IN POST-TRIDENTINE ROME

As noted, inside the central trapezoidal panel of the monuments, carved from Carrara marble, is a profile relief effigy of Lucia. While the profile format was common enough in painted and paired portraits of men and women its use in a monument effigy at this date, is unprecedented

⁴⁸² See for example the later tomb inscription for Elizabeth Killigrew (c. 1638) which notes her "virtue, piety, and learning . . . nothing short . . . of any of her ancestors." Cited in Retha M. Warnicke, *Women of the English Renaissance and Reformation*, Contributions in Women's Studies no. 38 (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1983), 128.

⁴⁸³ For the entire inscription, see: Sarah Gwyneth Ross, *The Birth of Feminism: Woman as Intellect in Renaissance Italy and England* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009), 115.

in Rome.⁴⁸⁴ Ugo Giambelluca has associated the use of profile portrait effigies within the context of the Bertani monuments with the typology of Renaissance fireplace design that informs the basic structure of the memorial; these structures often included bas-relief panels of mythological scenes in similar placements and positions as the relief effigies of Lucia and Pietro on their monuments.⁴⁸⁵

While we must assume that this format was considered applicable and appropriate by the patron for both the commemoration of a wife and brother, the use of a profile relief effigy for the monument of Lucia is particularly interesting because of its associations with author portraits in Renaissance and early modern texts. Contemporary frontispiece images demonstrate that the profile format was among the favored modes of portraiture for the representation of female authors, as it was also for their literary male peers.⁴⁸⁶ Comparison with a few author portraits of female writers provides additional context for the choice of this particular portrait mode for Lucia's funerary image.

In her effigy, Lucia is depicted with an elaborate bound hairstyle of intertwined braids and decorative fillets that crisscross in a structured chignon fastened at the back of her head. This particular hairstyle, which attempted to recreate the elaborate braided hairstyles worn by Roman imperial women,⁴⁸⁷ was used in many painted portraits of fashionable women in the quattrocento

⁴⁸⁴ Giambelluca, "I Monumenti Funebri Della Famiglia Bertani in Santa Sabina a Roma," 3. For a recent review of cinquecento tomb typology, see: Philipp Zitzlsperger, "Formwandel Und Körperwanderung in Rom – Vom Kardinalsgrabmal Zum Kenotaph," in *Grabmal Und Körper. Zwischen Repräsentation Und Realpräsenz in Der Frühneuzeit*, 2010. Notably, Bernini revived the portrait relief effigy in the monument to Suor Maria Raggi in S. Maria in sopra Minerva.

⁴⁸⁵ Giambelluca, "I Monumenti Funebri Della Famiglia Bertani in Santa Sabina a Roma," 33.

⁴⁸⁶ On the tradition of the author portrait, see; Steven Rendall, "The Portrait of the Author," *French Forum* 13, no. 2 (1988): 14–51.; Giussepina Zappella, *Il Ritratto Nel Libro Italiano Del Cinquecento* (Editrice Bibliografica, 1988).

⁴⁸⁷ Elizabeth Bartman, "Hair and the Artifice of Roman Female Adornment" 105, no. 1 (January 2001): 1–25.

and cinquecento.⁴⁸⁸ A review of frontispiece portraits of other contemporary female poets shows that this hairstyle, with varying degrees of intricacy, was the type preferred for the depictions of female writers. For instance, in the frontispiece author portrait of the Lucchese poet Chiara Matriani (fig. 74, ca. 1555)⁴⁸⁹ the sitter's hair is styled with ribbons over the crown of her head; the bulk of her hair is neatly coiled, braided, and contained in a netted snood at the back of her head. An image of Laura Terracina (fig. 75, ca. 1560)⁴⁹⁰ shows the sitter with a similar but more elaborate hairstyle, with rolls of hair pinned in place along the temple, and the addition of a snood and wide ribbon to contain loose hair underneath a braid. Even more apparent similarities can be observed between Lucia's hairstyle in her effigy and another author portrait of Terracina (fig. 76, ca. 1584)⁴⁹¹ in which her hair is again embellished with ribbons and with a pearl necklace that twists around a braid, and is anchored at the crown of her head with a large jewel cabochon.⁴⁹²

⁴⁸⁸ Evelyn S. Welch, "Art on the Edge: Hair and Hands in Renaissance Italy," *Renaissance Studies* 23, no. 3 (2009): 241–268.

⁴⁸⁹ Chiara Matriani (1515-1604) was born into a family of wealthy textile merchants from Lucca; she was married to Vincenzo Cantarini in 1530; after his death in 1542, she maintained an open affair with the married poet Bartolomeo Graziani, and even established an informal literary salon with. She published her first book of poetry in 1555; the frontispiece author image mentioned here is taken from the first edition of her first text. *Rime et prose di Madonna Chiara Matraini gentildonna lucchese* (Lucca: Busdrago, 1555).

⁴⁹⁰ Author portrait of Terracina from a subsequent edition of *Discorso Sopra Il Principio Di Tutti i Canti d'Orlando Furioso*. (Venice: 1584).

⁴⁹¹ This author portrait comes from the opening section dedicated to Laura Terracina in *Discorso Sopra Il Principio Di Tutti i Canti d'Orlando Furioso*. (Venice: Domenico Farri, 1560).

⁴⁹² This tradition of associating elaborately bound coiffures with female poets can be traced back to Raphael's depiction of the Sappho in *Parnassus* in the Sala della Segnatura in the Vatican (ca. 1509-1511), in which the classical female poet is shown with her hair tied up in a interlaced arrangement of braids and ribbons, all secured at the top of her head in a knot, from which a few stray wisps of hair escape. As Marjorie Och has elegantly argued, this specific mode of hairdressing, complete with an undone topknot of hair, was borrowed for a portrait medal (dated loosely to the sixteenth century) of Vittoria Colonna, literally casting Colonna in the poetic image and guise of a new Sappho. Marjorie Och, "Vittoria Colonna in Giorgio Vasari's Life of Properzia de' Rossi," in *Wives, Widows, Mistresses, and Nuns in Early Modern Italy: Making the Invisible Visible Through Art and Patronage*, ed. Katherine A. McIver, Women and Gender in the Early Modern It must also be mentioned that a woman's hair was also definitely tied to poetic ideals established in Petrarch's *Canzoniere*, in which the poet discusses the alluring quality of his beloved Laura's

These examples informed the general selection of hairstyle for Lucia's representation in her effigy which visually connected her to a network of other contemporary women famous for their literary talents. That the particular hairstyle used in the images of these female poets was understood as a marker of ideal beauty and character is evidenced by a print depicting Dante's Beatrice (considered along with Petrarch's Laura, to be a paragon of female beauty and perfect piety) produced by the engraver Eneo Vico for an unrealized book project by the Renaissance humanist author, publisher, and antiquarian Antonfrancesco Doni (1513-1574).⁴⁹³ In this printed image, Beatrice wears her hair in a similar fashion, with a coils of braid at the nape of her neck and top of her head, accessorized with a thin metal fillet.

A comparison with the portrait medals of a contemporary Emilian noblewoman, Ippolita Gonzaga (1535-1563) provides even more similarities and context for Lucia's memorial effigy, and will help to further explain some of the particular representational choices for Lucia's monumental portrait. Such similarities suggest inspiration may have been even more personally sourced for Lucia's representation, and indicate possible social aspirations by the monument's patron. Ippolita Gonzaga, like Lucia, was a noblewoman from northern Italy, but her social rank was considerably higher than Lucia's; Ippolita was the daughter of Ferrante Gonzaga (the son of Isabella d'Este and Francesco II Gonzaga) and the wife of Fabrizio Colonna until his death in 1551.⁴⁹⁴ She was remarried in 1554 to Antonio Caraffa, the Duke of Mondragone. A portrait medal

hair, styled in evocatively undone tresses and braids. Welch, "Art on the Edge: Hair and Hands in Renaissance Italy.

⁴⁹³ The untitled book, a continuation of Doni's earlier published text on medals, was to include engraved portrait medals of famous men and women from history. On this commission, see: Wendy Thompson, "Antonfrancesco Doni's 'Medaglie'," *Print Quarterly* 24, no. 3 (September 2007): 223–238.

⁴⁹⁴ For a summary biography with accompanying bibliography, see: Philip Attwood, *Italian Medals C.1530-1600 in British Public Collections* (London: British Museum Press, 2003), entry 42.

of Ippolita (fig. 77, dated to 1551) bears striking resemblance to Lucia's portrait effigy. Comparison between the two images shows that the sculptor of Lucia's portrait effigy selected a hairstyle to match the one that is used in Ippolita's medal; in both portraits the primary braid loops and intersects in the same way around the sitter's head and is fastened in an identical manner at the ear and back of the neck, tacked down with a bit of cord or fabric. A fat, secondary plait is fastened in a "swag" in the middle of primary braid. In both portraits, the crown of curls is swept back and loosely piled around the sitter's head. A double strand of pearls, a consistent feature in the number of portrait medals of Ippolita, is also used in Lucia's effigy. Both female sitters are shown in clingy, low-cut chemises which mimic classical drapery, revealing the contours of their breasts. Given the sacred context of Lucia's effigy, the effect is more restrained, showing only the upper portion of her chest, but it is still surprisingly suggestive of the flesh of her chest underneath, and contributes to the overall sense of poetic grace and beauty that is alluded to in her epitaph.

The fame of Ippolita's medal, as a work by the celebrated sculptor Leone Leoni, perhaps contributed to the diffusion of its visual schema.⁴⁹⁵ In support of a connection between Lucia's monument and Ippolita's representation are their social connections: Gurone served Ferrante Gonzaga⁴⁹⁶ (the patron of Ippolita's medal) on diplomatic missions throughout the decade of the 1540s. He must have known of the medal, and maybe saw a version of it firsthand when at the

⁴⁹⁵ The medal was famously praised in a letter by Pietro Aretino (1492-1556) to the female poet Onorata Tancredi, who had sent Aretino another a version of the medal. In the letter, Aretino celebrates the work of Leoni in this medal of Ippolita, stating that Ippolita "breathes with the breath of life in the die, thanks to the spirit . . . given to it by the wonderful style of the knight Leone." Cited in Philip Attwood, *Italian Medals C.1530-1600 in British Public Collections* (London: British Museum Press, 2003), entry 42.

⁴⁹⁶ Gurone served Ferrante on a number of missions in the 1540s to the court of Francis I in France, and remained a close friend and confidante throughout his career. See Bartlett, "Papal Policy and the English Crown, 1563-1565: The Bertano Correspondence." See also, "Gurone Bertani," *Dizionario Biografico Degli Italiani*, 1967.

Gonzaga court.⁴⁹⁷ The similarities between the styling of Ippolita and Lucia in their portrait images, indicate that Gurone chose to represent his wife in a manner that associated her with both other extraordinary noblewomen of accomplishment (like Lucia, Ippolita was also praised for her poetry), and with women who were closely connected to figures in Bertani's political career. By commissioning an image of Lucia that bears resemblance to other women of the noblest Emilian lineages, Gurone emphasized her role within elite affinity groups that supported the Bertani's claims to membership of courtly society.

Although we have no record of Gurone's own opinions about his wife's status as a poet, subsequent commissions indicate it was a point of familial pride and honor that he wished to further celebrate and disseminate to other elites. A bronze portrait medal (fig. 78) was struck in Lucia's honor after her death; several surviving examples in European and American collections suggest that a number of copies were produced.⁴⁹⁸ In addition to Emilian prototypes, Gurone may have been inspired to publicize the poetic accomplishments of his deceased wife through a medal based on other Roman precedents; famously, the poet Vittoria Colonna was remembered in a number of portrait medals that circulated among members of elite society.⁴⁹⁹ Lucia's medal represents the only other known image of Lucia to have been produced. In this image, Lucia is again shown in a profile view, with the same hairstyle, but with the addition of a large, pearl drop earring, and even filmier, classicizing drapery. On the obverse of the medal is an image of the Three Graces,

⁴⁹⁷ For the several versions of this medal, see: Attwood, *Italian Medals C.1530-1600 in British Public Collections*, entries 42- 46, 70-74.

⁴⁹⁸ On this medal see Leonard Baskin, "The Nature of Medals," *Médailles* (1987), 12.

⁴⁹⁹ See note 485 of this chapter.

accompanied by the motto, *Nulli Larguis* (“To nobody more abundantly”), aligning Lucia’s persona with mythological figures known as entities of poetic inspiration.⁵⁰⁰

4.5 CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, in the quattrocento, male tomb patrons may have requested that a female effigy be idealized, youthful, and pleasing to the eye, even when a death mask was used as a physiognomic reference.⁵⁰¹ Lucia’s effigy suggests that this general trend was followed into the middle of the cinquecento. What is new however, in this instance, is the conflation of idealized beauty with the exemplary intelligence that is suggested by her inscription. Moreover, the type of effigy and inscription Gurone selected for his wife’s effigy defied the standard tropes of most tomb effigies produced in the middle of the sixteenth century, which emphasized the humility and piety of the female subject, over any type of intellectual accomplishment.

As this case study has presented, male patrons of women’s tombs had significant freedom in their choices to crafting memorial images and inscriptions for their wives that diverged from standard tropes of representation, though few may have exercised it. That Lucia’s monument is the single example produced in the sixteenth century for a female poet is a direct reflection of the rarity of this status in Post-Tridentine society, but it also suggests the increasing visibility and influence of such women on the cultural stage and public sphere. Moreover, the example of Lucia’s memorial, apparently the first to acknowledge the learning and erudition of a woman in early

⁵⁰⁰ Attwood, *Italian Medals C.1530-1600 in British Public Collections*, entries 698 – 699.

⁵⁰¹ See King, “Medieval and Renaissance Matrons, Italian-Style,” 391.

modern Rome, indicates that masculine attributes could be used within the tomb of a woman; however, such instances within the sixteenth century were reserved only for women whose learned achievements were substantiated by her status as a published writer, and confirmed in the court of opinion by contemporary praise by male peers.

5.0 CECILIA ORSINI AND THE POST TRIDENTINE IDEAL OF THE ROMAN MATRON, C. 1585.

In the previous case study, we examined how a female sitter's beauty and learned status were constructed through inscription and her representation an effigy to recall the image of idealized, educated beauties of the Post-Tridentine period, and to celebrate the individual, extraordinary merits of a female poet. In the last quarter of the sixteenth century, however, we can observe that some women's monuments emphasized the physical effects of time and aging on the female face and body.⁵⁰² The monuments produced for older lay women can reveal how age, social identity, and the presentation of family may have converged within public sculpted images of women.

One of the most striking examples is the memorial for Cecilia Orsini (1493-1575, fig. 6) produced around 1585 and installed in the Caetani-Orsini Chapel (the fourth chapel on the right hand side of the nave) in the Minim church of Ss. Trinità dei Monti.⁵⁰³ Cecilia's monument repeats the basic structure and materials used for the earlier monument of Cardinal Rodolfo Pio da Carpi on the opposite wall (fig. 79). Like Rodolfo's monument, Cecilia's monument takes up nearly the entire lateral wall of the chapel. It consists of a white marble base, decorated in high relief with garlands recalling swags *all'antica* on ancient sarcophagi and tombs. The base supports a black marble sarcophagus adorned with delicate yellow marble bands that appear as decorative straps.

⁵⁰² In the later seventeenth-century, sculptors especially employed effects of wrinkled skin and hollow cheeks as demonstrations of sculptural virtuosity and *verismo*. On this, see most recently: Vernon Hyde Minor, *Baroque Visual Rhetoric* (University of Toronto Press, 2016).

⁵⁰³ This chapel is sometimes referred to as the *Cappella Cecilia Caetani Orsini*.

The upper portion of the monument is a white marble aedicule type with accents of veined green stone. While scholars have attributed the bust of Rodolfo to the sculptor Leonardo Sormani, Cecilia's bust remains an anonymous work.⁵⁰⁴

Although Cecilia obtained the rights for her funerary chapel she did not commission any of its decorations. The monument to Cardinal Rodolfo da Carpi preceded the monument for Cecilia by over fifteen years. In fact, it was Pope Pius V who commissioned the monument to Carpi that is on the left hand side of the chapel. According to the epitaph that accompanies her monument, most of the decorative work on the chapel was ordered by Cecilia's grandsons and heirs— Enrico, Camillo, and Onorato Caetani – and initiated in the years following Cecilia's death in 1575.⁵⁰⁵ It is certainly the case that Cecilia's grandsons, who grew up in Rome, would have known her personally: she left them a sizable inheritance in her will, which was probably a significant factor in their choice to celebrate her in a monument.⁵⁰⁶

Quite originally for a woman's monument in the period, the sculptor positioned the bust of the sitter so as to subtly project from a round frame (fig. 80)⁵⁰⁷ – an *imago clipeata* – and shows

⁵⁰⁴ Rodolfo's monument is a documented work of 1567 by the sculptor Leonardo Sormani. See Marcia B. Hall, ed., *Rome, Artistic Centers of the Italian Renaissance* (Cambridge [U.K.]; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 251; Irving Lavin, "Five Youthful Sculptures by Gianlorenzo Bernini and a Revised Chronology of His Early Works," *The Art Bulletin* 50, no. 3 (September 1968): 227 n30. For the decade of 1560 -1570 and the commissioning of cardinals' tombs with portrait bust effigies, see: Joy Oygarden Flaetan and Tarald Rasmussen, *Preparing for Death, Remembering the Dead* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015), 83.

⁵⁰⁵ Lavin, "Five Youthful Sculptures by Gianlorenzo Bernini and a Revised Chronology of his Early Works," n30. While the activity of the Caetani at their own chapel in S. Pudienza has been the subject of recent study, the Caetani chapel in SS. Trinità has mostly been ignored by scholars. For the chapel's chronology see: *Ss. Trinità Dei Monti Al Pincio, Chiese Di Roma* (Centenari, 1958).

⁵⁰⁶ Sofia Boesch Gajano, Letizia Pani Ermini, and Gioacchino Gianmaria, *I Santi Patroni Del Lazio*, vol. 2-3, 2003, 327.

⁵⁰⁷ On this funerary type in ancient examples, see: R. Winkes, *Clipeata Imago: Studien Zu Einer Römischen Bildnisform* (Bonn, 1969).

the deceased with her right hand reaching out the drapery folds on the front of her cloak, a pose used in ancient Greek portraits of orators and philosophers,⁵⁰⁸ and was often employed on ancient Roman sarcophagi, examples of which were prominent in the collection of Rodolfo Pio da Carpi, Cecilia's relative who is also interred in the chapel.⁵⁰⁹ The nephew of Alberto Pio and Cecilia Orsini, Rodolfo Pio da Carpi was a renowned collector of antiquities in sixteenth-century Rome; his palazzo in the Campo Marzio contained four rooms dedicated to the display of ancient busts, vases, and inscriptional plaques, as well as the most complete collection of ancient utilitarian objects in cinquecento Rome. Even for those of the public who had not seen this collection, the techniques displayed in her memorial bust convey the impressions of timelessness and continuity with older fashions in portraiture, underscoring the family's claim to membership in Roman history.⁵¹⁰

Her bust is positioned so that her body leans ever-so-slightly to the left. She is depicted wearing a widow's veil sculpted to resemble pleated lace. She appears to wear a silk chemise tucked into a bodice, revealing just her throat and the top of her collarbone. This style of her underdress corresponds to the depiction of noble widows in prints by Vecellio and his contemporary, Pietro Bertelli (fig. 81, fig. 82) and which can be observed in the contemporary bust of another

⁵⁰⁸ Irving Lavin, "Five Youthful Sculptures by Gianlorenzo Bernini and a Revised Chronology of His Early Works," *The Art Bulletin* 50, no. 3 (September 1968): n26. On the use of the *clipeata imago*, see also: R. Winkes, *Clipeata Imago: Studien Zu Einer Römischen Bildnisform* (Bonn, 1969).

⁵⁰⁹ Gail Feigenbaum and Francesco Freddolini, eds., *Display of Art in the Roman Palace, 1550-1750* (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2014).

⁵¹⁰ The Orsini and Caetani (along with the Colonna) were considered among the oldest families of early modern Rome. The Orsini traced their lineage back to the Roman Republican ancestors, and the Caetani claimed to descend from the *gens* Anicia. See: Anthony Grafton, "The Ancient Coty Restored: Archaeology, Ecclesiastical History, and Egyptology," in *Rome Reborn: The Vatican Library and Renaissance Culture*, ed. Library of Congress (Washington: Vatican City: Library of Congress, in association with; Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1993).

Roman widow, Vittoria Orsini della Tolfa, usually dated to the same year at Cecilia's bust. In the case of Cecilia, the sculptor and patron opted for an even more modest portrayal, cloaking the upper torso in a shawl, edged with a simple decorative border of striated lines, a mode of dress that accords with Vives' recommendation that a widow should cover, in addition to her head, also her entire torso.⁵¹¹

5.1 NETWORKS OF FAMILY POWER

Cecilia's distinctive social position and her familial relationships with illustrious men in her family were critical aspects for the commission of her memorial. As for most noblewomen, these connections were instituted first through birth, and then through their marriage. Born the eldest child of Franciotto Orsini (1473-1534) and Violante Orsini di Mugnano, Cecilia Orsini, possessed a noble lineage of the highest degree in Rome.⁵¹² The Orsini – like the Colonna – were universally acknowledged as one of the most important and ancient families in the city. Through her paternal line, Cecilia could also claim illustrious connections to the papal court: she was first cousin (once-removed) to Pope Leo X.⁵¹³ Her ties to the papacy were more directly strengthened when her father was made cardinal deacon in 1517.⁵¹⁴ In 1518, at the age of twenty-five, Cecilia

⁵¹¹ Vives and Fantazzi, *The Education of a Christian Woman: A Sixteenth-Century Manual*: “I do not see how there can be any modesty or virtue in showing off one's neck (although this can be tolerated).” 127.

⁵¹² Barbara McClung Hallman, *Italian Cardinals, Reform and the Church as Property* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1985), 158.

⁵¹³ Franciotto Orsini was the first cousin and childhood friend to Giovanni di Lorenzo de' Medici, the future pope Leo X. See Litta, *Orsini di Roma*, table IX.

⁵¹⁴ G.B. Colonna, *Gli Orsini* (Milan: Casa Editrice Ceschina, 1955), 131-133.

was married to Alberto III Pio, who was eighteen years her senior.⁵¹⁵ Their union was celebrated with extensive wedding festivities attended by Pope Leo X himself.⁵¹⁶

Despite difficult times during political strife and exile, the marriage was apparently a suitable and happy match.⁵¹⁷ Cecilia gave birth to two daughters: Caterina, born in 1519, and Margherita, born in 1527. A son, Francesco, was born in 1524, but died in late infancy.⁵¹⁸ Political unrest following the death of Leo X threatened the position and personal safety of Pio at court. Sensing impending danger, Cecilia followed her husband in retreat to Carpi, the seat of the Pio family, where she resisted advancing imperial forces in 1523 as they had attempted to take the fiefdom of Novi where Cecilia had taken refuge. Cecilia's strength of character is documented by a letter she sent to Federico II Gonzaga, informing him of Charles V's fast-approaching troops towards Novi. In the letter Cecilia states that she does not fear the commander Prospero Colonna or his men, because they would receive no honor by defeating a woman of the Orsini family.⁵¹⁹

⁵¹⁵ The marriage union and its political implications are both discussed in Carlo Falconi, *Leone X: Giovanni De' Medici*, 1a ed, La Storia (Milano: Rusconi, 1987), 87.

⁵¹⁶ He expressed his satisfaction of the union by confirming the emperor's donation in 1512 of the towns of San Felice, Marano, and Fanano to Pio, and also granting Pio with the lordship of Sarsina and sixteen towns that had previously been under the control of the Malatesta. Philip J. Jones, *The Malatesta of Rimini and the Papal State: A Political History* (Cambridge, 1974), 242. Pio (an important dignitary and ambassador of the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I to the Holy See) was also granted permission to use the papal keys on his coat of arms, and was granted papal protection over his lands.

⁵¹⁷ "That Pio's marriage was not merely a political alliance is suggested by his decree of 1522 forbidding the practice in Carpi of dressing brides in black since this implied the marriage was burdensome rather than a cause for joy . . . [I]n the *XXIII libri* Pio insists that it must be entered upon freely (not under duress from parents) for it brings one into a lifetime of intimacy, a union that can be sweet and joyous and happy, that promotes the common good and the procreation of offspring." Nelson Minnich and Daniel Sheerin, "Introduction," in *Controversies*, Collected works of Erasmus, (Toronto ; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1993), xxxiv-xxxv.

⁵¹⁸ On Cecilia's children see: Barbara McClung Hallman, *Italian Cardinals, Reform and the Church as Property*, 158. Both daughters married well: Caterina married Bonifacio Caetani (of the Dukes of Sermoneta). In 1544, Margherita married Giangerolamo Acquaviva di Napoli, the duke of Atri.

⁵¹⁹ The letter, contained in the Gonzaga Archives in Mantua (Arch. Gonzaga, EXXXVI, Vol I, Busta 1309), is transcribed in: *Memorie Storiche e documenti sulla città e sull'antico principato di Carpi*, volume XI,

Cecilia and Alberto reunited in Rome, taking refuge together in the Castel Sant'Angelo during the Sack of Rome in 1527. Stripped of Pio's lands and titles, the couple were forced into exile in Paris, where they remained until Pio's death in 1531.

Shortly after the death of her husband, Cecilia returned to Rome with her daughters Caterina and Margherita. Alberto's will stipulated that Cecilia be provided for by his estate as long as she remained a widow.⁵²⁰ In Rome, with the assistance of her nephew Rodolfo da Carpi Pio, she began arranging advantageous marriages for her daughters. With no male heir to inherit, Cecilia must have been anxious to properly marry her daughters to well-established families in order to advance the family's social position. At the same time, Cecilia acquired the rights of possession for her funerary chapel in SS. Trinità dei Monti in 1537.⁵²¹ Her early support for Ss. Trinità dei Monti,⁵²² and the Order of the Minims who established it, indicates family motivations. In 1519, Pope Leo X officially canonized St. Francis of Paola, the mendicant founder of the Minim order.⁵²³ Cecilia, may have also been attracted to this community because of the order's devotion to Mary.⁵²⁴ The idea gains support from the fact that Cecilia dedicated the chapel to the Pietà of

Carpi 1931.

⁵²⁰ The will is most recently reproduced in part in: Desiderius Erasmus et al., *Controversies*, 389-391.

⁵²¹ This chapel should not be confused with the Orsini chapel in the same church commissioned by Elena Orsini in 1544, and decorated by Daniele da Volterra. On this project, see: Carolyn Valone, "Elena Orsini, Daniele Da Volterra, and the Orsini Chapel," *Artibus Et Historiae* 11, no. 22 (1990): 79-87.

⁵²² During this period the church was still under construction: by 1541 only the choir, transepts, and eastern end of the nave had been finished. Herwarth Röttgen, "Notes on the 'Oratorio Del Gonfalone' in Rome," *The Burlington Magazine* 110, no. 780 (March 1968): 141.

⁵²³ On St. Francis di Paola's canonization, see: P. J. S Whitmore, *The Order of Minims in Seventeenth-Century France* (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 1967), 3.

⁵²⁴ "The Marian devotion of the Capuchins also extended to the Minims, Oratorians, and Jesuits." *Patronage and Dynasty: The Rise of the Della Rovere in Renaissance Italy*, Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies v. 77 (Kirksville, Mo: Truman State University Press, 2007), xx. For the relationship between Marian devotion and bereavement of mothers in early modern Europe, see: P. J. S Whitmore, *The Order of Minims in*

Mary,⁵²⁵ the perfect devotional model for Cecilia – a mother who had also grieved for the death of her son. This theme was continued in the decoration of the chapel by Cecilia’s grandsons, who commissioned Paris Nogari for an altarpiece depicting *The Entombment of Christ* (c. 1580, now lost), an appropriate theme for a funerary chapel.⁵²⁶ Although no document has surfaced on the last decades of Cecilia’s life, it may be that– in the manner of other aristocratic women buried in this church,⁵²⁷ Cecilia was a member of the Minim Third Order, established by St. Francis di Paola to provide a community for lay noblewomen to engage in the spiritual mission of the Minims.⁵²⁸ Her elite status, the exceptionally long duration of her widowhood, and her apparent devotion to the community of SS. Trinità suggests this possibility. That the Minim brotherhood seems to have been strict in enforcing a code which limited the burial of elite women to those that had taken vows as *terziani* gives further support to the idea that Cecilia took on tertiary vows.⁵²⁹

Seventeenth-Century France (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 1967).

⁵²⁵ Ioele, “Giovanni Battista Della Porta Scultore (Porlezza 1542-Roma 1597),” 153.

⁵²⁶ Nogari’s altarpiece is mentioned by Baglione. “Alla Trinità de Monti la quarta capella a man dritta sopra l’altare ha di suo un Cristo morto con altre figure ad oglio e la volta fatta a fresco con istorie della passione di nostro signore.” Baglione, 1642, Vol. I, p. 89. A 19th century altarpiece by Louis Vincent Leon Pallière (1817) depicting *The Flagellation* is currently on display at the main altar. See Ioele, “Giovanni Battista Della Porta Scultore (Porlezza 1542-Roma 1597),” 154.

⁵²⁷ See for example the case of Lucrezia della Rovere in SS. Trinità. Lucrezia’s own chapel patronage – undertaken in the mid-fifteenth century, which overlapped with Cecilia’s involvement within the church – also celebrated Marian subjects. Carolyn Valone, “The Art of Hearing: Sermons and Images in the Chapel of Lucrezia Della Rovere,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 31, no. 3 (Autumn 2000).

⁵²⁸ Carolyn Valone, “The Art of Hearing: Sermons and Images in the Chapel of Lucrezia Della Rovere,” 761.

⁵²⁹ Carolyn Valone, “The Art of Hearing: Sermons and Images in the Chapel of Lucrezia Della Rovere,” 761.

5.2 REPRESENTING FAMILIAL RELATIONSHIPS WITH MEN

In an influential article on systems of art patronage and family structure in early modern Rome, Carolyn Valone has argued against a traditional “patrilineal, agnatic” understanding of patronage that emphasizes relationships between fathers and sons, and advocates instead for a “bilinear, cognatic” view of early modern culture that could express “affective ties between mothers and sons”; as we can see in the case of Cecilia Orsini affective ties could also move cross-generationally between aunts and nephews.⁵³⁰ In his will, Rodolfo di Pio expressed a personal wish to be buried in the chapel of his aunt, Cecilia. In his will, he refers to Cecilia as “amantissima zia,” suggesting a close family bond between them and clarifying the specific pairing of memorials for nephew and aunt in the same chapel.⁵³¹ From this we can perhaps conclude that the decision to create a memorial for Cecilia was part of the original plan for the chapel, but, Cecilia apparently made no preparations for the memorial herself, instead leaving the commission to her heirs.

According to a dedicatory plaque to the right of Cecilia’s monument,⁵³² the decorative work in the chapel was ordered by Cecilia’s grandsons – Onorato Caetani (1542-1592), Enrico (1550-1599), and Camillo (1552-1602), sometime in the years following Cecilia’s death in 1575.⁵³³ Documentation on the chapel is lacking, and the commission has not been studied at

⁵³⁰ Carolyn Valone, “Mothers and Sons: Two Paintings for San Bonaventura in Early Modern Rome,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 53, no. 1 (2000): 108–132.

⁵³¹ Giovanna Ioele, “Giovanni Battista Della Porta Scultore (Porlezza 1542-Roma 1597)” (Università degli Studi Roma Tre, 2010),

⁵³² The inscription is as follows: “HONORATVS HENRICVS ET CAMILLVS CAETANI EX CATERINAE NEPOTES AVIAE BENEMERENTI POSVERVNT ET SACELLUM AB EA ANNO CENSV AVCTVM EXORNARVNT VIXIT POSI MARTIUM ANN L OBIIT AN AETATIS LXXXII DIE XIX MARTII MDLXXV”

⁵³³ This chapel unlike other prominent chapels in the church, has not been the subject of individual study. Lavin, “Five Youthful Sculptures by Gianlorenzo Bernini and a Revised Chronology of his Early Works,”

length. Only the participation of Giovanni Battista della Porta and Tommaso della Porta has been established for some of the sculpted decorative elements of the chapel.⁵³⁴ Laura Gori and Giovanna Ioele have provided a basic chronology for the chapel: work began in 1575 when Cecilia's grandsons began decorating it (in the year mentioned on Cecilia's tomb), and it must have been completed by 1601 when the heirs to Giovanni della Porta received a payment in full for the chapel.⁵³⁵

The Caetani brothers were powerful figures on the Roman religious and political scene. Onorato was the Signore of Sermoneta and a central figure at the Battle of Lepanto; Enrico was elevated to the College of Cardinals in 1585; and Camillo served as the papal nuncio to Spain in the last decade of the sixteenth century.⁵³⁶ Although no contemporary document exists to explain the Caetani brothers' personal motivations in the commission, it seems likely that the memorial was commissioned out of affection and admiration. Cecilia's grandsons, who grew up in Rome,⁵³⁷ would have known her personally: she left them a sizable inheritance in her will.⁵³⁸

n30. While the activity of the Caetani at their own chapel in S. Pudienza has been the subject of recent study, the Caetani chapel in SS. Trinità has mostly been ignored by scholars. For the chapel's chronology see: *Ss. Trinità Dei Monti Al Pincio*, Chiese Di Roma (Centenari, 1958). Recently, Ioele has also suggested the participation of Nicolò Caetani along with the Caetani brothers, in the commission.

⁵³⁴ Ioele, "Giovanni Battista Della Porta Scultore (Porlezza 1542-Roma 1597), 154."

⁵³⁵ Laura Gori, "Le Sepolture Dei Cardinali Nicolò Ed Enrico: Loreto e La Cappella Caetani in Santa Pudenziana, in *I Caetani e Le Arti Nella Seconda Metà Del Cinquecento*" (Università degli Studi Roma Tre, 2007); Ioele, "Giovanni Battista Della Porta Scultore (Porlezza 1542-Roma 1597)," 153.

⁵³⁶ For the lives and careers of these men, see their biographical entries in *Dizionario Biografico Degli Italiani*, vol. 16, 1973.

⁵³⁷ The Caetani palace was located near the Campo dei Fiori.

⁵³⁸ For the will, see: Sofia Boesch Gajano, Letizia Pani Ermini, and Gioacchino Gianmaria, *I Santi Patroni Del Lazio*, vol. 2–3, 2003, 327.

The memorial commission also offered positive ideas about the Caetani heirs' descent from a line of cardinal-princes that was established through a maternal line. The inscription on Cecilia's memorial, makes special mention of Cecilia's father, Franciotto Orsini, and underscores his position as a cardinal of considerable importance.⁵³⁹

Cecilia Ursinae Franciotti Cardinalis Ex Matrimonio Alberti Pii Principis
Carpensis Vxori Antiquae Moris Feminae Formae Prudentiae
Et Sanctamoniae Fama Clarissimae

In memory of Caecilia Orsini, daughter of Franciotto Orsini,
wife of Alberto Pio the prince of Carpi.
She was a woman of traditional virtue,
highly reputed for her beauty, good sense and holiness.

The timing of Cecilia's monument commission,⁵⁴⁰ around the time Enrico Caetani was elevated to the College of Cardinals, may hint at aspirational aspects of the monument's inception and creation.⁵⁴¹ In calling attention to an illustrious line of descent from a maternal line, Onorato, Enrico, and Camillo foregrounded this maternal line as especially significant, and called attention to cross-generational ties with the Orsini as critical to their own self-presentation as the patrons of the chapel. The commission of Cecilia's monument points to a more complicated organization of the early modern Roman family clan that foregrounded and celebrated maternal kinship bonds that sometimes arose in specific family instances in which there was no apparent male heir. Because Cecilia and Alberto had no surviving son, Cecilia's life became financially intertwined with the experiences of her daughters, Caterina and Margherita, who relied on Cecilia's prudent

⁵³⁹ Franciotto was married to Violante Orsini Mugnano who died sometime around 1517.

⁵⁴⁰ The monument was completed about ten years after Cecilia's death.

⁵⁴¹ Parlato, "Enrico Caetani a S. Pudienza: Antichità Cristiane, Magnificenza Decorative e Prestigio Del Casato Nella Roma Di Fine Cinquecento," 143.

management of the estate and her generosity as a widow in dispensing funds upon her death. This is especially true for the older daughter Caterina, who stood to receive the greater portion of assets from Alberto's estate as provided by a provision in his will. This wealth, according to the will, was to be passed down to Onorato, Enrico, and Camillo.⁵⁴² By commissioning a monument to their grandmother, the Caetani confirmed her widowhood as an ideal state of grace, characterized as "good sense," and acknowledged these aspects of her legacy as crucial to providing for and shaping the future prospects of the family.

5.3 REPRESENTING OLD AGE AND FEMALE VIRTUE

No contemporary painted portrait of Cecilia has surfaced to provide a comparison for her funerary bust. Accounts of Cecilia in her youth, describe her as blonde, with dark eyes, but otherwise not very beautiful.⁵⁴³ In her bust, the sculptor did not attempt to conceal the physical markers of her advanced age: she was eighty-two when she died, reaching an age far beyond most of her female peers.⁵⁴⁴ Her eyes are sunken; thin skin bunches in folds around her eyes which are surrounded by incised lines running around the circumference of the sockets, indicating deep wrinkles and loose skin. The flesh under and around her mouth is pinched in pleats, and she has a

⁵⁴² For the provision in the will, see: Nelson Minnich and Daniel Sheerin, "Introduction," in *Controversies*, 390.

⁵⁴³ "Al Castello di Sant' Angelo, presente il Sommo Pontefice, e diversi reverendissimi cardinali sua signoria diede la mano alla sposa con gran fasto e celebrità. La sposa di anni 18 circa, bionda, occhi neri, ma a mio giudizio, non oltre le belle bella." Letter from Giovanni Perlotto to Marco Foscarelli, dated February 28, 1518. Elena Svalduz, *Da Castello a Città: Carpi e Alberto Pio (1472-1530)* (Rome, 2001), 358.

⁵⁴⁴ The average age of a Roman woman in the Post-Tridentine period was about thirty-nine. See Eugenio Sonnino, "The Population of Baroque Rome," 69.

protruding double chin with a distinct cleft. The loose skin hanging from the upper part of her neck is sculpted with the detail usually reserved for drapery effects (fig. 83). The overall effect is one of unsparing agedness and fierce resolve; at the same time, the inscription reminds the viewer of her “great beauty.” This instance further corroborates that allusions to female beauty in funerary inscriptions were not limited to cases of memorials of young, celebrated Roman beauties.

In his treatise first published in 1585, *Trattato dell' Arte della Pittura*, Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo recommended that physical defects of the body be covered up or suppressed when painting the portrait of a woman.⁵⁴⁵ “Galleries” of portraits of young and fashionably dressed noblewomen were popular among the noble houses of Rome, offering favorable connections between the wealth of the family and the beauty of its marriageable women.⁵⁴⁶ Images of aging women were often linked to the passage of time and its physical ravages on the body,⁵⁴⁷ as in Giorgione’s *La Vecchia*. More troublingly, old widows were the frequent subjects of ridicule in *mattinate* (songs performed at night or daybreak, often with an insulting or lascivious content) and their aging bodies were the focal point of derisive (and obscene) verse in anti-Petrarchan

⁵⁴⁵ Gian Paolo Lomazzo, “Trattato dell’Arte Della Pittura,” in *Scritti d’Arte Del Cinquecento*, ed. Paolo Barocchi, vol. III (Milan: R. Ricardi, 1971), 2743.

⁵⁴⁶ On the tradition of the “belle donne” cycles in Renaissance and early modern culture, see: Marta Ajmar and Thornton, Dora, “When Is a Portrait Not a Portrait” *Belle Donne on Maiolica and the Renaissance Praise of Local Beauties*,” in *The Image of the Individual: Portraits in the Renaissance* (London, 1998); For the seventeenth-century, see: Carla Benocci and Tommaso Di Carpegna Falconieri, *Le Belle: Ritratti Di Dame Del Seicento e Del Settecento Nelle Residenze Feudali Del Lazio* (Roma : [Italy]: Pieraldo : Regione Lazio, Presidenza : Gruppo dei romanisti, 2004).

⁵⁴⁷ In Bocaccio’s *Corbaccio*, the narrator denounces the aged body of his former lover as “stinking” and “foul,” her pudenda likened to a hell-mouth, or abyss like Scylla. In Cesare Ripa’s *Iconologia*, vices like avarice, envy, and sloth are characterized by an old woman, variously described as “brutta”, “pallida,” and “magra” and depicted with shriveled breasts and wrinkled, leathery skin. See; Patrizia Bettella, *The Ugly Woman: Transgressive Aesthetic Models in Italian Poetry from the Middle Ages to the Baroque*, Toronto Italian studies (Toronto ; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2005).

sonnets.⁵⁴⁸ In Frans Hals' *Malle Babbe*, the older woman is cast in the role of a licentious, vulgar inebriate, as "drunk as an owl."⁵⁴⁹ Touching on the clichéd depictions of a beautiful, young "Venus" at her toilette, satiric images of old women captivated by their reflection in the mirror were commonplace allegories of vanity. In Bernardo Strozzi's treatment of the theme, an old woman wearing a low-cut gown sits at her dressing table, surrounded by finery and attended by female servants, who embellish her elaborate coiffure with an ostrich feather and ribbons. Such behavior was denounced in Erasmus' *In Praise of Folly*, in which the author criticizes old women "who cannot tear themselves away from their mirrors," and do not hesitate to exhibit their repulsive, withered breasts."⁵⁵⁰

For Post-Tridentine Roman women, as for men,⁵⁵¹ the representation of old age was also virtuous. Authors of early modern conduct texts were by-and-large conservative in their

⁵⁴⁸ On the *mattinata* see, Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985. p. 274. In Reggio, the Podestà prosecuted *mattinate* directed at widows and the elderly.

⁵⁴⁹ On Hals' portrait see: Seymour Slive, "On the Meaning of Frans Hals 'Malle Babbe,'" *The Burlington Magazine* 105, no. 727 (October 1963): 432–436.

⁵⁵⁰ Cited in Christa Grössinger, *Picturing Women in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art*, Manchester Medieval Studies (New York: Manchester University Press, 1997), 136.

⁵⁵¹ In early modern Rome, aging was significant to the social, political, and religious structure of the city. While some cardinals were elected very young, most reached this position only in their middle age. Old age was understood as a requirement for the papal throne. In the seventeenth century, the average age of the pope upon his elevation was sixty-seven. The advanced age which characterizes most male tomb honorees is made apparent in their effigies: deep wrinkles, thinning hair, and double chins are commonly seen in male funerary busts. They represented the topos of "the beautiful old man" (*il bel vecchio*), whose advanced age symbolized ideal wisdom. Such realism was a characteristic used commonly for portraits of men to represent the "disparagement of mere beauty and appearance" that was typical in tombs of members of the upper class in ancient Rome. Catherine King, "Medieval and Renaissance Matrons, Italian Style," *Zeitschrift Für Kunstgeschichte* 55 (1992): 391. Medieval writers like John of Salisbury describe grey hairs as "a man's judgment," and a sign of his erudition. Narratives from classical antiquity also provided salutary models of male aging: in Cicero's *De Senectute*, old age is described as the apotheosis of Cato the Elder's life, freeing him from the folly of youth and granting him wisdom. Renaissance authors embraced such rhetoric in a variety of treatises ranging from practical medical manuals to treatises on artistic theory. In Gabriele Zerbi's *Gerontocomia* (first published in 1489), old men express "constancy, strong

discussions of women's social roles, and borrowed from hackneyed misogynist frameworks. In some instances, however, they do grant a significant role to elderly female wisdom. Vives, for instance, notes that old age brings women a mental soundness, and so their wisdom becomes a rival to the intelligence of men.⁵⁵² Post-Tridentine authors of conduct books began to devote a large portion of the text to women's later life, and examined the varying roles of older wives, young widows, older widows, and even the husbands of older wives. Within these texts, women's later widowhood is imagined as "her most holy life," and a period infused with intense spiritual meaning and practice.⁵⁵³ In Dolce's text, God is pleased by the works of widows above all other women. Vives notes that the old widow, free from carnal desire, "will emanate an odor that is more heavenly than earthly, and shall say and do nothing but what is of great sanctity and may serve as an example to those younger than she."⁵⁵⁴ Descriptions of such a "heavenly odor" conferred sanctity upon the old woman, as the incorrupt bodies of saints were often reported to emit sweet

understanding, and wisdom." In conduct manuals, the signs of aging became were marks of a man's of *sprezzatura* and virtue. Castiglione described the merits of old age, noting the increasing perspicacity – "acquired out of long experience" – that it bestows on the courtier. In *Della Famiglia*, Alberti connected the aged "bellezze" of old men to their sagacity: "The beauty of an old man . . . lies in his prudence, his amiability, and the reasoned judgment which permeates all his words and all his counsel." On the bodily expectations of the aging pope, see: Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *The Pope's Body* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000). For useful studies on male aging in the Renaissance see: Creighton Gilbert, "When Did a Man in the Renaissance Grow Old," in *Studies in the Renaissance*, Vol. 14 (1967), pp. 7-32. For a recent source with substantial bibliography, also see: Cynthia Skenazi, *Aging Gracefully in the Renaissance: Stories of Later Life from Petrarch to Montaigne*. Brill. 2013.

⁵⁵² Vives, *De l'ufficio del marito* (1546), 63.

⁵⁵³ ". . . when she arrives at this age, with all her children married, freed from earthly cares, turning the eyes of her body towards the earth, to which she must render her body, and with the eyes of her soul looking to heaven . . . she will raise all her senses, her mind and soul to the Lord and girdling herself for that departure, she will meditate on nothing that is not that journey." Juan Luis Vives et al., *De institutione feminae Christianae*, Selected works of J.L. Vives v. 6-7 (Leiden ; New York: E.J. Brill, 1996), 197.

⁵⁵⁴ Juan Luis Vives and Charles Fantazzi, *The Education of a Christian Woman: A sixteenth-Century Manual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 294.

fragrances.⁵⁵⁵ Age also brought old women a level of authority in household management and dominance over men.⁵⁵⁶ Vives also suggests the importance of older women as instructors to other women, recommending young widows keep an old widow in the home as a source of wisdom and advice.⁵⁵⁷ Importantly, the chastity of old widows offered a proper example for chaste virgins.

Typically, portraits featuring older sitters have been discussed for their verism. Recent studies have complicated this discussion, demonstrating the ways such naturalism was a part of a symbolic language about the virtue of the aged sitter. An un-idealized approach to the portrait, while naturalistic, was therefore highly constructed. As Erin Campbell has argued in her study on painted images of aging women, portraits of old widows in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries took on these more positive meanings that coexisted with adverse ones.⁵⁵⁸ As she argues, such images served as instructive models of female virtue within domestic contexts or convents.⁵⁵⁹

⁵⁵⁵ For instance, when the body of St. Theresa of Avila was exhumed, it emitted an odor of flowers that spread throughout the church. On the history of this saintly leitmotif, see: Frank Graziano, *Wounds of Love : The Mystical Marriage of Saint Rose of Lima* (Oxford University Press, 2003), 80-86.

⁵⁵⁶ “Then the truly good woman through obedience to her husband will hold sway and she who always lived in obedience to her husband will command great authority over him. Archippa, wife of Themistocles, through her unswerving obedience to her husband so won over his love and loyalty that this very wise man and spirited leader obeyed his wife in practically everything.” Vives also points to the biblical example of Abraham and Sarah, reminding the reader that “The Lord bade Abraham to listen to what Sarah told him, since she was now an old woman free of all carnal desires and would not counsel him anything that was childish or shameful, under the instigation of lust.” Vives et al., *De institutione feminae Christianae*, 195-197.

⁵⁵⁷ Dolce also advocates that the young widow keep an older companion in her home, preferably her mother-in-law, or older female friend. See Catherine King, *Renaissance Women Patrons: Wives and Widows in Italy c. 1300-c. 1550*, 37.

⁵⁵⁸ Erin J. Campbell, ed., *Growing Old in Early Modern Europe: Cultural Representations* (Aldershot, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006). See also most recently: Erin J Campbell, *Old Women and Art in the Early Modern Italian Domestic Interior*. (Taylor and Francis, 2015).

⁵⁵⁹ Erin Campbell, “Prophets, Saints, and Matriarchs: Portraits of Old Women in Early Modern Italy,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 63, no. 3 (Fall 2010): 807–849.

Portraits of secular widows at their devotions by Leandro Bassano (fig.84), Tiberio Titi (fig. 85), and Justus Suttermans (fig.86) similarly show the widowed sitters in advanced age.

A number of Post-Tridentine painted portraits of elderly women detail the wrinkles and loose skin associated with aging. A portrait by Giovanni Battista Moroni of the Abbess Lucrezia Agliardi Vertova (ca. 1557, fig. 87) the Carmelite convent of St. Anne in Albino (just outside of Bergamo) is striking in its realistic rendering of Lucrezia's goiter and heavily folded skin.⁵⁶⁰ With an unromanticized approach, this image and many others clearly individuated the features of specific people, and celebrated their features as emblems of virtue and perseverance, particularly if the female subject was also a widow.⁵⁶¹ These unidealized depictions have parallels in the biographies of holy women, in which the mortification and withering of flesh indicated virtue. Female saints and *beate*, like Catherine of Siena, Margaret of Cortona, and Theresa of Avila were known to fast, tear at their skin, and practice severe forms of self-mortification as testaments of their inner virtue.⁵⁶²

Just as we can observe a “flowering” of images of older women in painted imagery Post-Trent,⁵⁶³ we can observe, albeit in smaller proportions, the production of funerary busts of older

⁵⁶⁰ Andrea Bayer, “North of the Apennines: Sixteenth-Century Italian Painting in Lombardy and Emilia-Romagna,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 60, no. 4 (Spring 2003).

⁵⁶¹ The ideal model of female perseverance was exemplified by the ancient Queen Artemisia, whom Pliny praised for her strong will after the death of her husband. For useful case studies on this topic, see: Sheila ffolliott, “Once Upon a Tapestry: Inventing the Ideal Queen,” in *Images of a Queen's Power: The Artemisia Tapestries*, by Sheila ffolliott and Candace Adelson (Minneapolis: Minneapolis Institute of Arts), 1993, 13-19; ——. “Catherine de’ Medici as Artemisia: Figuring the Powerful Widow”, in *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe*, Eds. M. Ferguson, M. Quilligan, and N. Vickers (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 227-41.

⁵⁶² On Catherine of Siena, see: Carolyn Muessig, George Ferzoco, and Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *A Companion to Catherine of Siena* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012). For a discussion on St. Theresa's bodily mortifications, see: Sean Di Renzo, “Self-mortification in the Life and Reform Mission of Saint Teresa of Avila” (PhD dissertation, Ohio State University, 2000).

⁵⁶³ On the flourishing production of painted portraits of old women in Post-Tridentine Italy, see: Campbell,

women during the period following 1575 in Rome. At least two other funerary portraits of women produced within the span of ten years provide additional context for Cecilia's monument. Jacopo de Duca's monument to Elena Savelli (ca. 1570 fig. 4) includes small details that indicate the sitter's advanced age. Furrows along her mouth and corners of her eyes and sagging skin along her neck differentiate her portrait from images of younger noblewomen produced around the same year, like that of Virginia Pucci in S. Maria sopra Minerva (c. 1580, fig. 2). The funerary bust of Vittoria della Tolfa (c. 1585, fig. 7) also depicts deceased in advanced age. She holds an open prayer book in her left hand, while pressing her right hand against her breast, signaling a moment of intense contemplation of Holy Scripture. This solemn gesture complements her steadfast gaze fixed on the chapel altar. The polychromatic marble base completes the visual scheme of Vittoria kneeling behind a prie-dieu, aspiring for her own heavenly redemption. The engaging quality of the bust pulls the viewer into the spiritual urgency of the moment. Vittoria's bust reflects a woman much advanced in years; loose skin on her neck, wrinkles around her nose and mouth, thin lips, protruding cheekbones, hawk nose, and sunken eyes are all presented in this unapologetic vision of old age. Like the portrait of Abbess Lucrezia, the sculptors of these memorial busts included elements deliberately chosen to invoke the distinct, aged physiognomies of the individuals, and to glorify those facial elements as part of an ideal which connected bodily deterioration with moral perfection.

"Prophets, Saints, and Matriarchs: Portraits of Old Women in Early Modern Italy," 807.

5.4 MARIAN DEVOTION AND EXEMPLARY MATRONS AT SS. TRINITA DEI MONTI

Catholic Reform ideology stressed the importance of older women within the church oratory and actively encouraged their participation within religious communities as exemplars for younger women. The virtuous influence of older women for younger women is underscored by papal decrees issued in the 1570s commanding courtesans go to church in the entrusted care of widowed noblewomen.⁵⁶⁴ Monuments for older women provided a visual corollary to these roles. Cecilia's memorial, situated in a church with known histories of the conversions of young prostitutes and courtesans provides an interesting case to explore these issues of exemplarity and age.

As Carolyn Valone has argued in a number of studies, in the Post-Tridentine period, the role of the ancient Roman matron in the development of the Early Christian church was celebrated in text and visual imagery as a perfect example of wifely virtue and piety;⁵⁶⁵ the older Roman matron was especially a feature of Cesare Baronio's project to commemorate St. Sylvia (c.515-592, a notable Early Christian matron and the mother of St. Gregory the Great) at the church of S. Gregorio al Celio.⁵⁶⁶ An intriguing passage found in Gregory Martin's guidebook to Rome (*Roma*

⁵⁶⁴ See L. von Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, vol. 6, Freiburg im Breisgau. 1913. pp. 487, 491-492, and chapter V, pp. 506 ff.

⁵⁶⁵ See especially Valone's inaugural study on this study: Carolyn Valone, "Roman Matrons as Patrons," in *The Crannied Wall: Women, Religion, and the Arts in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Craig Monson, Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Civilization (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992). For an excellent appraisal of the roles of matrons in the ancient west, as well as the limitations of "matronage" as a helpful term, see: Emily Ann Hemelrijk, *Hidden lives, public personae: women and civic life in the Roman West*, 2015. 251.

⁵⁶⁶ See the section on women's monument location in Part One of this study: M. Smith O'Neil, "The Patronage of Cardinal Cesare Baronio at San Gregorio Magno: Renovation and Innovation," in *Baronio e*

Sancta),⁵⁶⁷ published in 1581, sheds further light on the topic of old, devout Roman matrons in early modern Rome:

Thou shalt have at this day Paula & Eustochium, Paulina and Fabiola, yea many of al sortes, widows, virgins, married women and Convertites, treading in their steppes, esteeming the service of God above all their temporalities, thou shalt se by their behavior in Church and to Churches, and in al holie places where they come, a livelie demonstration of al that S. Jerom writeth in describing the pilgrimage of the foresayed Paula: thou shalt see how they are to the old devout Matrones who deserved to be peculiarly prayed for in the publike service of the Church. . .⁵⁶⁸

As the ancient Roman matron became the focal point of Post-Tridentine Catholic mendicant and reformist movements, so did the focus on the her counterpart in contemporary Roman society: the well-born widow whose life and charitable actions would have been a focus of public attention. In this passage, Martin describes the various women he encountered in his time in Rome – those “al sortes, widows, virgins, married women and Convertites” – who exemplified the virtues of the Early Christian matrons Paula, Eustochia, Paulina, and Fabiola.⁵⁶⁹ Martin’s particular phrasing, recalling the “old devout Matrones” is similarly recorded in the praise found in Cecilia’s monument inscription, which describes Cecilia as a virtuous, “traditional” wife

L’arte (Sora: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, 10-13 October 1984, 1985), 145–171.

⁵⁶⁷ Gregory Martin (1542-1582) was a Catholic English priest and scholar who lived in Rome from 1576-1578, where he taught at the English Hospice (later known as the College of Cardinals). He began writing his *Roma Sancta* after his return to Rheims, completing it there before his death in 1582. On Martin’s experience in Rome, see: Lino Pertile, “Montaigne, Gregory Martin and Rome,” *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme Et Renaissance* 50, no. 3 (1988): 637–659. See also: Frederick J. McGinness. “The Rhetoric of Praise and the New Rome of the Counter Reformation,” in State University of New York at Binghamton. *Rome in the Renaissance: The City and the Myth: Papers of the Thirteenth Annual Conference of the Center for Medieval & Early Renaissance Studies*. Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies v. 18. Binghamton, N.Y: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, Center for Medieval & Early Renaissance Studies, 1982, 356.

⁵⁶⁸ Gregory Martin, *Roma Sancta* (1581). Cited in Valone, “Roman Matrons as Patrons,” 66.

⁵⁶⁹ On these Early Christian matron saints, see: Bonnie Bowman Thurston, *The Widows: A Women’s Ministry in the Early Church* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1989).

thereby aligning the example of Cecilia and the example of the Roman matrons of the ancient tradition. As a noble widow of considerable tenure, who commissioned pious works and gave money to the church, Cecilia embodied the perfect example of the early modern Roman matron as described in Martin's text and others,⁵⁷⁰ which made her worthy of praise and emulation. Her representation though visual and inscriptional means invoked the sort of matronly ideal that literally "deserved to be peculiarly prayed for in the public." "

Such discussions would have been of interest to at least one of the monument's patrons, Cardinal Enrico Caetani, the prelate of S. Sisto.⁵⁷¹ Caetani was a close associate of Cesare Baronio and was a central player in his important projects relative to the study and restoration of Rome's Early Christian churches and associated sites.⁵⁷² In fact, beginning in 1586, Caetani was a principal figure involved in the restoration of the Early Christian basilica of S. Pudenziana, the church Caetani chose for his own funerary chapel.⁵⁷³

⁵⁷⁰ For a fuller account of early modern texts celebrating the role of the matron see: Valone, "Roman Matrons as Patrons," with associated bibliography.

⁵⁷¹ Enrico was the prelate charged with caring for the poor at S. Sisto, a position he held for fifteen years.

⁵⁷² The bibliography on Baronio is substantial. For two excellent resources on the topic of the Early Christian Church in Post-Tridentine Rome, see: Patrizia Tosini, ed., *Arte e Committenza Nel Lazio Nell'età Di Cesare Baronio*, Atti Del Convegno Internazionale Di Studi Frosinone, Sora, 16-18 Maggio 2007 (Gangemi, 2008); Katherine Elliot Van Liere, Simon Ditchfield, and Howard Louthan, eds., *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World* (Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2012). See also, Jasmine Cloud, "Renovation in the Campo Vaccino: The Churches on the Roman Forum from Clement VIII to Alexander VII," (Temple, 2014).

⁵⁷³ As in the commission for Cecilia's funerary monument and the decorations of the chapel, Enrico chose to commission tombs with expensive polychrome marble, and commissioned monuments for himself and his brother, Camillo, that included memorial busts. On this project, see: A. Cozzi Beccarini, *La Cappella Caetani nella Basilica di Santa Pudenziana in Roma*, in «Quaderni dell'Istituto di storia dell'architettura», XXII, 127-132, 1975, Roma 1976; Enrico Parlato, "Enrico Caetani a S. Pudenziana: Antichità Cristiane, Magnificenza Decorative e Prestigio Del Casato Nella Roma Di Fine Cinquecento," in *Arte e Committenza Nel Lazio Nell'età Di Cesare Baronio*, ed. Patrizia Tosini, Atti Del Convegno Internazionale Di Studi Frosinone, Sora, 16-18 Maggio 2007 (Gangemi, 2008).

In her sculpted effigy, Cecilia is presented as an ideal member of the Minim community as a *terziana*: widowed and noble, in perpetual devotion to Mary. It is significant that Cecilia is depicted with a strand of rosary beads that snakes around her hand and between her fingers. While rosaries are often included in a funerary image, sometimes held by a sleeping effigy, to my knowledge Cecilia's bust is one of the first – if not the first – in early modern Rome to show the deceased woman *actively* employing the rosary in a gesture of spiritual meditation and Marian contemplation.⁵⁷⁴ Among other central spiritual requirements of *terziani* (including the adoration of the Trinity, and modeling a good example by their actions) was the daily recitation of the rosary.⁵⁷⁵ Cecilia's bust within this liturgical space, offered a model of behavior for other female *terziani*, reminding them of this essential daily practices. Cecilia's dedication to Mary is in fact substantiated by stipulations in her will that the church was to be paid 360 scudi per year for the celebration of masses in her chapel on feast days dedicated to the Virgin Mary.⁵⁷⁶

Effigies on monuments provided a visually dynamic manner for promoting Post-Reformation elite feminine charitable ideals to a public audience; since churches authorities had the power to authorize the placement of memorials within their space and regulate the mode of their display, it is also important to consider Cecilia's monument within the practices and pious traditions of Ss. Trinità dei Monti. Read within the context of sermon practice, women, and aging, and within the particular space of this Minim church, Cecilia's memorial bust takes on additional layers of meaning. Sacred oratory, which focused heavily on the role of exemplars, would have

⁵⁷⁴ For a helpful chart on the use of rosaries in women's funerary portraiture in this period, see Appendix C of this dissertation.

⁵⁷⁵ These requirements are set forth in a papal bull officially establishing the order. See *Bullarium Romanum* (Rome: Taurinorum, 1860), 5:391.

⁵⁷⁶ Ioele, "Giovanni Battista Della Porta Scultore (Porlezza 1542-Roma 1597)," 153.

been enlivened and enriched by the use of images of female saints and the Virgin Mary. The return to and formalization of Franciscan models of spirituality that focused on Christ's Passion and the role of Mary in his life were among the Catholic responses to the Reformation. At Ss. Trinità dei Monti in particular, priests of the Minim order, first founded in 1435 by St. Francis di Paola as a reformed Franciscan order, emphasized Marian devotion in their daily practices and focused Mary's special position as Mother of God in sermons given to the public.

In the sixteenth century, Ss. Trinità dei Monti had been the beneficiary of the highly public penitential patronage of a Roman courtesan, and the place of several public conversions of Roman prostitutes.⁵⁷⁷ As Rachel Geschwind has noted in her dissertation, Angela Greca, a famous Roman prostitute was converted in the church in a highly public ceremony in 1536, sponsored and accompanied by a Roman noblewoman of the highest rank, Vittoria Colonna.⁵⁷⁸ This suggests that it was also critical for the clergy at Ss. Trinità dei Monti to predominately feature in public addresses and monuments the holiness of childbearing and chaste widowhood as the salvation of all women, including those courtesans associated with the decadence of elite Roman society.⁵⁷⁹ Scholar of pre-modern sermonology John O'Malley notes that Bernardino de Busti (died in 1515), Cornelio Musso (1511-1574), and Bishop Luigi Lippomano (1500-1559) – three influential

⁵⁷⁷ On this chapel and on the Minim's mission to convert courtesans, see: Christopher Witcombe, "The Chapel of the Courtesan and the Quarrel of the Magdalens," *The Art Bulletin* 84, no. 2 (June 2002): 273–292.

⁵⁷⁸ As Rachel Geschwind has noted in her dissertation, Angela Greca, a famous Roman prostitute was converted in a highly public ceremony in 1536 at SS. Trinità dei Monti, sponsored and accompanied by a Roman noblewoman of the highest rank, Vittoria Colonna. Rachel Geschwind, "Magdelene Imagery and Prostitution Reform in Early Modern Rome and Venice, 1500-1700" (Case Western University, 2011), 166.

⁵⁷⁹ The proliferation of prostitutes in Rome was one of the primary critiques of the Catholic Church by the leaders of the Protestant Reformation. See Lyndal Roper, "Discipline and Respectability: Prostitution and the Reformation in Augsburg," *History Workshop* 19, no. Spring (1985): 3–28.

preachers in the early sixteenth century in Rome – centralized the role of Mary and the childhood of Christ within their sermons; many of these sermons were probably delivered at Ss. Trinità.⁵⁸⁰

Although we cannot know if Cecilia provided stewardship to any young courtesan, she exemplified the type of woman that would be deemed appropriate for this type of moral guidance. Cecilia's widowhood was exceptional in its length. Although, in his will, Alberto Pio granted Cecilia permission to remarry and reclaim the entirety of her dowry, she did not take on another husband, remaining a widow for forty-four years, an aspect of her wifely devotion made apparent by the widow's veil she wears in her memorial effigy and celebrated in her memorial epitaph.⁵⁸¹ The long period of Cecilia's widowhood signified her state of continual chastity, provided an aspirational model of piety and spiritual commitment, and which linked her to the vows of chastity undertaken by religious clerics, saints, other *terziani* and even *convertite* who were essential members of the church's community and mission.

5.5 CONCLUSIONS

As Carolyn Valone has discussed, in the drive to strengthen the ties between elite society and the Catholic community, Post-Tridentine preachers dedicated sermons to contemporary Roman noblewomen who embodied Marian perfection at each stage of female life: virgin, wife,

⁵⁸⁰ John O'Malley, "Form, Content, and Influence of Works About Preaching Before Trent: The Franciscan Contribution," in *I Frati Minori Tra '400 e '500: Atti Del XII Convengo Internazionale Assisi* (Naples: Edizione Scientifiche Italiane, 1986), 27–50.

⁵⁸¹ Nelson Minnich and Daniel Sheerin, "Introduction," in *Controversies*, Collected works of Erasmus v. 71, <72, 76-78, 83-84 > (Toronto ; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1993).

and widow.⁵⁸² Although Cecilia was not specifically praised in sermons made to the Roman public or the community at SS. Trinità, her monument effigy embodied a relatable, contemporary model of St. Anne-like widowhood that represented the bonds of charity between the elite and the public of the city.⁵⁸³ It is this connection of pious charity, aged wisdom, and public standing that makes Cecilia's monument so striking in its exaggerated representation of age in sculpted stone.

In these liturgical celebrations, Cecilia's monument reinforced her image as an ideal of Marian piety and united her image with the mission of the church. The long period of Cecilia's widowhood signified her state of continual chastity, providing an aspirational model of piety and spiritual commitment that linked her to the vows of chastity undertaken by religious clerics, saints, other *terziani* and even *convertite*. The length of Cecilia's life, vividly described through rich sculptural detail in her effigy is presented as the natural outcome and reward for her piety and devotion, qualities that assured her salvation in the afterlife.

⁵⁸² *Sermoni del Reverendo Luigi Lippomano Vescovo di Verona* (Venice: La Speranza, 1555), 204-29. Cited in Carolyn Valone, "The Art of Hearing: Sermons and Images in the Chapel of Lucrezia Della Rovere," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 31, no. 3 (Autumn 2000): n.42.

⁵⁸³ On the St. Anne, and also the prophetess Anna as spiritual models for older women, see: Erin Campbell, "Prophets, Saints, and Matriarchs: Portraits of Old Women in Early Modern Italy," *Renaissance Quarterly* 63, no. 3 (Fall 2010): 807-849.

6.0 GILDED VIRTUE: THE MONUMENT FOR LUCREZIA TOMACELLI

COLONNA, C. 1625

Adjacent to the main altar and tucked into the left corner⁵⁸⁴ of the Colonna Chapel in S. Giovanni in Laterano,⁵⁸⁵ the cenotaph (ca. 1625) for Lucrezia Tomacelli Colonna has escaped the notice of most scholars of seventeenth-century sculpture. It is remarkable, however, as one of the very few monuments produced for a woman of the Colonna family in Post-Tridentine Rome. Although some women of this elite household were granted tomb slabs in prominent churches, there is no evidence to suggest that any other Colonna women had been memorialized previously with a grand wall monument., Lucrezia della Rovere (the wife of Marc'Antonio Colonna) was commemorated with a humble tomb slab; Vittoria Colonna, was probably interred in an unmarked grave in Sant'Anna dei Funari.⁵⁸⁶

Constructed entirely of black marble and gilt-bronze, Lucrezia's cenotaph (figs. 34, 88) was one of the most imposing and lavish memorials produced for a woman in the first half of the seventeenth century, and unlike many women's monuments from this period, it is a documented work with a clear history. According to Giovanni Baglione, the cenotaph was designed by Teodoro

⁵⁸⁴ The awkward placement of this monument, somewhat cramped within the space and covering over expensive marble inlay, must not have been the original placement of the monument within the chapel. Laura Marcucci has also suggested that it may have been placed elsewhere in the chapel, perhaps a lateral wall. See: L. Marcucci, "Ponzio, Orazio Censore, Montano, Rainaldi Per La Cappella Colonna in San Giovanni in Laterano," *Quaderni dell'Istituto Di Storia dell'Architettura* 44–50 (2004): 211.

⁵⁸⁵ The Colonna Chapel can be accessed through the sacristy but is normally closed off to the public.

⁵⁸⁶ Vittoria's simple burial would be absolutely in accordance with the Marchesa's character and customs, and would furthermore account for the fact that no stone marks her tomb. Maud Jerrold, *Vittoria Colonna: With Some Account of Her Friends and Her Times* (J.M. Dent and Company, 1906), 210.

della Porta (1567-1638), an attribution universally upheld by modern scholars.⁵⁸⁷ It is notable as the only significant monument produced by this sculptor, whose output is represented by surviving small-scale bronze devotional paxes.⁵⁸⁸ The effigy and decorative elements for the monument were cast in 1625 by the bronze founder Giacomo Laurenziani (alternatively given by Baglione as Giacopo Laurenziano)⁵⁸⁹ according to Della Porta's instructions.⁵⁹⁰ These personalities are not the most familiar names associated with early modern sculpture, but they were connected to other prominent artists and workshops. Teodoro della Porta was the son of the famous Renaissance sculptor Guglielmo della Porta (c.1506-1577),⁵⁹¹ and Laurenziani operated an important foundry that was responsible for casting a number of works for Gianlorenzo Bernini in middle of the 1620s.⁵⁹² Their participation in Lucrezia's monument indicates the interest of the patron – Lucrezia's husband, Filippo I Colonna (1578-1639) – to engage artists and artisans with suitably illustrious artistic pedigrees and associations.

⁵⁸⁷ Giovanni Baglione, *Le Vite De' pittori, Scultori Et Architetti* (Rome, 1649), 325: “. . . il bel Sepolcro però della Tomacella, Duchessa di Paliano, è modello, e getto di Giacomo, col disegno del Cavalier Teodoro della Porta.”

⁵⁸⁸ Paxes were small liturgical objects, usually made of prized materials that were used during the mass to offer the “kiss of peace” (“*osculum pacis*”) to the congregation. See: Stephanie Walker, “A Pax by Guglielmo Della Porta,” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 26 (1991).

⁵⁸⁹ See note 579 above.

⁵⁹⁰ Laurenziani's involvement in the project is recorded in a number of early modern sources. See: Filippo Rossi, *Descrizione Di Roma Moderna* (La libreria di Michel'Angelo, e Pier Vincenzo Rossi. alla Salamandra, presso al banco di S. Spirito, 1708), 612; Gregorio Roisecco, *Roma Ampliata e Rinovata, o Sia Nuova Descrizione Dell'antica e Moderna Città Di Roma e Di Tutti Gli Edifizi Notabili* (Ottavio Puccinelli, 1750), 72.

⁵⁹¹ On Teodoro, see: Stephanie Walker, “A Pax by Gugliemlo Della Porta,” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 26 (1991).

⁵⁹² J. Paul Getty Museum and National Gallery of Canada, *Bernini and the Birth of Baroque Portrait Sculpture*, 286.

The location of the monument in S. Giovanni in Laterano – the seat of the Bishop of Rome, and prestigious place for the burial of popes – had clear familial associations for the Colonna as the site of the tomb for a prominent Colonna ancestor: Pope Martin V (r. 1417-1431).⁵⁹³ The Colonna Chapel, formerly the Winter Choir, was a site of family patronage in the previous generation.⁵⁹⁴ Upon the death of Lucrezia in 1622, after a short period of inactivity in the chapel's construction, Filippo took over possession and completion of the chapel, commissioning Lucrezia's monument, a set of intricately carved wooden choir stalls produced in Naples, and finished the vaulting with newly commissioned stuccoed elements.

Lucrezia's monument takes the form of an aedicule, framed by Corinthian columns and pilasters on each side of the monument that support a large broken entablature. The columns are either of *pietra di paragone*, a jet black basalt from Dalmatia, or precious *nero antico*, a material obtained from ancient ruins in Rome,⁵⁹⁵ a fitting design choice for the Colonna who claimed a status as a "first family" of Rome. The cenotaph incorporates a gilded half-length effigy of Lucrezia, who leans forward from an oval niche; as Steven Ostrow notes, Lucrezia's monument

⁵⁹³ On Martin V's tomb, see most recently: Robert Muchembled, E. William Monter, and European Science Foundation, eds., *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 178. See also: Joachim Poeschke, "Still a Problem of Attribution: The Tomb Slab of Pope Martin V in San Giovanni in Laterano," *Studies in the History of Art* 64 (2003): 56–71.

⁵⁹⁴ Ascanio Colonna (1560-1608), Filippo's uncle, had gained the rights of possession for this chapel located in one of the most important areas of the church: directly adjacent to the main altar and the sacristy. He sought out the architect Girolamo Rainaldi for the chapel's design. For the initial documents relative to Filippo's acquisition of the chapel space, see: L. Marcucci, "Ponzio, Orazio Censore, Montano, Rainaldi Per La Cappella Colonna in San Giovanni in Laterano," 218-222.

⁵⁹⁵ Available documentation does not mention the type of marble used for the monument, and there is no consensus on the material used for the columns. Nineteenth century sources state that the columns are *pietra di paragone*. Other modern guidebooks to Rome confidently state the material as *nero antico*. (See for instance: *Handbook for Rome and the Campagna* (E. Stanford, 1908, 144). On *nero antico*, see: Nicholas Penny, *Materials of Sculpture* (Yale University Press, 1995).

represents an early example of this innovative pose in sixteenth-century tomb design.⁵⁹⁶ The niche is edged in bronze with a beaded chain and a wreath of laurel, a vegetal motif derived from antiquity and used in early modern tombs to symbolize everlasting fame.⁵⁹⁷ In her effigy, Lucrezia is depicted with her hands held together in prayer, wearing a dress with decorative slashed edging along the shoulders, and delicate rows of buttons at the centerline of her bodice and at her wrists. This mode of dress, while sumptuous, also proclaims modesty, revealing as little bare skin as possible. She wears a large ruff which covers all of her neck, and a long veil. Unlike the veils worn by widows which cover the entirety of the head and temple area, Lucrezia's veil falls away from her head and body, and seemingly floats on her head revealing a crown of tight, corkscrew curls piled evenly on top.

At the bottom of the monument is a large bronze siren whose exposed breasts contrast with Lucrezia's demure presentation; her long tresses unfurl beneath a large crown to undulate along the length of her torso, mirroring the swirling energy of her forked fishtail lower body. She holds her arms above her head, directing the viewer's eye upwards and suggesting that she supports up the weight of the monument above her. The siren is flanked by the coat of arms of the Colonna to her left, and the impaled arms of the Tomacelli-Colonna on her right. Two young male *putti* dangle off the base of the monument, who point upwards to direct our attention to an unfurled scroll (suspended by a pair of wings) that contains the memorial inscription in gilded bronze Roman

⁵⁹⁶ Steven Ostrow notes Bernini's bust of Roberto Bellarmino (1623-1624) and Lucrezia's tomb as early instances of this dynamic pose in funerary art. See: J. Paul Getty Museum and National Gallery of Canada, *Bernini and the Birth of Baroque Portrait Sculpture*, 70.

⁵⁹⁷ On the use of laurel wreaths in tomb design, see: Clare Lapraik Guest, "Garland and Mosaic," in *The understanding of Ornament in the Italian Renaissance*, 2016.

capitals. It affirms Lucrezia's title as the Duchess of Paliano and celebrates her role as a devoted wife to Filippo.⁵⁹⁸

Philip Colonna set up this monument to Lucretia Tomacelli,
the wife of the duke of Paliano, an excellent woman of immortal merits,
in the Jubilee Year of 1625

The date of its completion is given as the Jubilee year of 1625, three years after her death.

The *terminus ante quem*, however, for the monument is January of 1628, when the *muratore* Paolo Selva was paid for the cenotaph's assembly in the chapel.⁵⁹⁹

6.1 NOBLE DEEDS AND PIOUS ACTIONS

Although Lucrezia is not as well-known to scholars as her daughter, Anna Colonna Barberini (1603-1659), she was nonetheless one of the most powerful women within elite networks in Rome at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and her life is better documented than most women in this study. She was born in 1576 in Naples to the Tomacelli,⁶⁰⁰ the Neapolitan family

⁵⁹⁸ The work has erroneously been discussed as a tomb monument (see Walker, "A Pax by Guglielmo della Porta," 173, where the author describes the work as a tomb). Descriptions of Lucrezia's funeral clearly indicate she was buried in the church of San'Andrea in the Colonna fief of Paliano. Fantoni, *Nell'essequie Dell'ill.ma & Eccell.ma Signora D. Lucretia Tomacello Colonna*, 4-5. LUCRETIAE TOMACELLIAE PALIANI DUCIS CONIVGIS OPTIMAE IMMORTALIBVS MERITIS PHILLIPVS COLVMNA ANNO IVBILEI MDCXX The inscription is transcribed in Vincenzo Forcella, *Iscrizioni Delle Chiese e Degli Altri Edificii Di Roma Dal Secolo XI. Fino Ai Giorno Nostri, Raccolte e Pubblicate Da V.F.*, Vol. VIII (Rome, 1869), 57, entry 150.

⁵⁹⁹ For a transcription of the record of payment to Selva for 30 *scudi*, see: L. Marcucci, "Ponzio, Orazio Censore, Montano, Rainaldi Per La Cappella Colonna in San Giovanni in Laterano," *Quaderni dell'Istituto Di Storia dell'Architettura* 44-50 (2004): n64.

⁶⁰⁰ P. Colonna, *I Colonna: Sintesi Storico Illustrativa* (Rome, 2010), 10, 143-144.

that wielded significant power in the south of Italy as the lords of Galatro.⁶⁰¹ She married Filippo in 1598 in an elaborate wedding festival in Rome attended by the most elite members of society.⁶⁰²

Filippo belonged to the Colonna di Paliano, the main branch of the Colonna family. Through her marriage to the Colonna, Lucrezia provided the financial aid that this Roman family desperately needed in the late sixteenth century.⁶⁰³ Her dowry brought with it ten feudal land holdings in Campania, including Galatro and Plaisano, thereby extending the reach of Colonna influence further into the south.⁶⁰⁴ What the Colonna lacked in funds, however, they more than made up in title and rank. As the dukes of the principality of Paliano, *Gran Conestabile del Regno di Napoli*, and *assistente al soglio* to the pope,⁶⁰⁵ they prevailed over the rest of Rome's nobles in the early seventeenth century.⁶⁰⁶ Through their possession of the principality of Paliano, the

⁶⁰¹ Pietro Tomacelli was Pope Boniface IX (1389-1404). Lucrezia's parents were Girolamo Tomacelli, *Signore di Galatro*, and Ippolita Ruffo.

⁶⁰² A description of the nuptial ceremonies and celebratory poems can be found in: Gasparo Murtola, *Epithalamio Di Gasparo Murtola Nelle Nozze Dell'illustrissimo & Eccellentissimo Sig. Don Filippo Colonna, e Della Signora Donna Lucretia Tomacelli* (Perugia, 1597). Copies of this volume can be found in four Italian libraries: Biblioteca Marucelliana (Florence), Biblioteca nazionale central (Rome), Biblioteca Casanatense (Rome), and Biblioteca dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana (Rome)

⁶⁰³ For an authoritative history of the family, see: Vincenzo Celletti, *I Colonna, Principi Di Paliano*, 1960. In the late sixteenth century, the Colonna were still recovering from a wake of destabilizing financial and political events of the middle of the sixteenth century. Lucrezia's dowry, however, was not the first time that a woman was instrumental in restoring some of the family's wealth. Returning to Rome after a period of exile Giovanna d'Aragona, rehabilitated the family's reputation and secured the family's financial situation. Together, Marc'Antonio and Giovanna parleyed strategic marriage alliances to negotiate the return of Colonna properties and titles that had been confiscated by the Pope Paul III in the 1540s.

⁶⁰⁴ A. Coppi, *Memorie Colonesi* (Florence: Tipografica Salviucci, 1855), 376.

⁶⁰⁵ The *assistente al soglio*, was a position of dignitary honor granted to the highest ranking secular noble at the papal court. M.A. Visceglia and R. Ago have published a number of helpful studies on the state rituals associated with the *assistente al soglio*. See: R. Ago, "Sovrano Pontefice e Società Di Corte Competizioni Cerimoniali e Politica Nella Seconda Metà Del XVII Secolo," in *Cérémonial Et Rituel à Rome (XVIe-XIXe Siècle)* (Rome: Collection de l'Ecole Française de Rome, 1997), 223–238; M.A. Visceglia, *La Città Rituale. Rome e Le Sue Ceremonie in Età Moderna* (Rome: Viella, 2002).

⁶⁰⁶ "Seventeenth-century treatises on etiquette show that as *assistenti al soglio* the Colonna and the Orsini ranked above all other Roman nobles but below a sovereign prince or royal ambassador." This sovereign

Colonna claimed sovereign princely status. This special distinction granted the women of the Colonna household a superior status and position amongst their elite peers as duchesses and princesses of Paliano; as the Duchess of Paliano, her status would have only been trumped by a member of the papal family or visiting royal.⁶⁰⁷

Lucrezia and her husband had an enviably large family. For the first fifteen years of the seventeenth century, Lucrezia was nearly constantly pregnant. She gave birth to eleven children: seven boys, securing the dynastic succession of the family, and three girls.⁶⁰⁸ All but one son, Francesco, survived into adulthood. Described in contemporary poetry as gracious, beautiful, pious, and charitable, Lucrezia embodied the ideal aristocratic Roman woman and mother in Post-Tridentine elite society. Like other women of her station, she was depicted in several independent portraits throughout the early seventeenth century. From inventories, we know nine portraits of Lucrezia are known to have been displayed in the Colonna palaces, indicating that the commission of Lucrezia's portrait was important to family patronage.⁶⁰⁹ Three of these portraits have survived and remained in the Colonna collections. In the Colonna Gallery in Rome, there are two portraits of Lucrezia: one full-length portrait (fig. 89) tentatively attributed to Anthony van Dyck but likely workshop, completed in 1622 (shortly before her death that same year) shows Lucrezia in similar dress to her monumental effigy, touching a richly decorated ornamental box, and holding a book

status, however, did not go uncontested by other Roman families. See Christina Strunck, "Old Nobility Versus New: Colonna Art Patronage During the Barberini and Pamphilj Pontificate (1623-1655)," in *Art and Identity in Early Modern Rome*, ed. Jill Burke and Michael Bury (Ashgate, 2008), 137.

⁶⁰⁷ Christina Strunck, "Old Nobility Versus New: Colonna Art Patronage During the Barberini and Pamphilj Pontificate (1623-1655)," 138.

⁶⁰⁸ The children were: Federico, Girolamo, Carlo, Marcantonio, Pietro, Prospero, Francesco, Giovanni Battista, Vittoria, Ippolita, and Anna.

⁶⁰⁹ Eduard A Šafařík et al., *Collezione dei dipinti Colonna inventari 1611-1795* (Munich; New Providence [N.J.]: K.G. Saur, 1996).

– possibly a prayer book, but also a potential reference to Lucrezia’s well-known intellect and role as a literary patron.⁶¹⁰ An earlier full-length portrait (now in the Sala del Baldacchino at the residence of Princess Isabelle, and not on view for the general public) variously attributed to Frans Pourbus the Younger or Ottavio Leoni (fig. 90), which shows Lucrezia at a younger age and in incredibly fine attire and holding a weasel pelt, a traditional symbol of fertility.⁶¹¹ Her dress is embroidered throughout with pearls and she wears a large ruff tipped with delicate lace details.⁶¹² She also wears tear-drop pearl earrings, and a large heavy gold chain with many large rubies and pearls, from which is suspended an impressive ruby and pearl pendant. A half-length portrait depicting the duchess recently appeared at auction, offered by Dorotheum in April of 2015; the work has been newly attributed to the workshop of Scipione Pulzone.⁶¹³

Through her actions as mother and supporter of the Catholic cause, Lucrezia was instrumental to the image of Colonna familial success and achievement in the early seventeenth century. Lucrezia’s personal role in the spiritual education of her children is evident in the choice to send her daughters Ippolita, Anna, and Vittoria as *educande*⁶¹⁴ to the convent church of S.

⁶¹⁰ E. Safarik, *Galleria Colonna* (Rome, 1981), 66. The Colonna Gallery is the only source to maintain this attribution to Anthony van Dyck. The most recent monograph on the artist grants the work to workshop production. See Susan J. Barnes and Anthony Van Dyck, eds., *Van Dyck: A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings* (New Haven: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 2004).

⁶¹¹ Musacchio, *The Art and Ritual of Childbirth in Renaissance Italy*.

⁶¹² As a work by Pourbus, see: P. Colonna, *I Colonna: Sintesi Storico Illustrativa* (Rome, 2010), 146. As a work by Ottavio Leoni, see: Francesco Solinas, *Ottavio Leoni (1578-1630): Les Portraits De Berlin* (Rome: De Luca Editori d’Arte, 2013), 20-21.

⁶¹³ See the sale catalogue for April 4, 2015, Palais Dorotheum, Old Master Paintings, lot 324.

⁶¹⁴ On the role of *educande* (convent boarders) within early modern convent culture and convent school curriculum in early modern Italy see: Elissa Weaver, *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women*, Cambridge Studies in Italian History and Culture (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 240.

Giuseppe dei Ruffi in Naples.⁶¹⁵ This church, a hub of Post-Tridentine female patronage,⁶¹⁶ was directly associated with the Ruffi and Tomacelli, particularly through the involvement of these families' women. In the seventeenth century, Colonna women would continue these family traditions of patronage:⁶¹⁷ Anna Colonna Barberini, in 1638, commissioned Pietro da Cortona for an altarpiece for the chapel of S. Alessio in this same church.⁶¹⁸

In addition to providing a proper Catholic education for her children, Lucrezia performed the role of noble female patron by commissioning artworks for the church San Silvestro in Capite in Rome. Although not a church belonging to the Colonna, S. Silvestro had been historically tied to this family since the late thirteenth century through Cardinal Pietro Colonna (1260-1326) and the Blessed Margherita Colonna (1255-1284), who founded the convent attached to the church.⁶¹⁹ This connection was renewed in the sixteenth century through another famous Colonna woman,

⁶¹⁵ Lucrezia also supervised their education at the Colonna Palace by her court poet Francesca Bufalini. Natalia Costa-Zalessow, "Francesca Turini Bufalini's Encomiastic Poems for Lucrezia Tomacelli Colonna" in *ITALICA*, 90, no. 3 (September 2013): 365-377. Zalessow has recently published a bilingual edition of Francesca's autobiographical poems: Francesca Turini Bufalini, Natalia Costa-Zalessow, and Joan E. Borrelli, *Autobiographical Poems: a Bilingual Edition*, VIA folios 59 (New York: Bordighera Press, 2009).

⁶¹⁶ On this church, and other Post-Tridentine convents in early modern Naples, see: Helen Hills, "Cities and Virgins: Female Aristocratic Convents in Early Modern Naples and Palermo," *Oxford Art Journal* 22, no. 1 (1999): 31-54.

⁶¹⁷ The Ruffi family was Lucrezia's maternal line. In 1604, Lucrezia's sister Chiara (Suor Catarina) provided 10,000 ducats for the church's foundation and was twice elected as prioress. Colonna daughters continued Ruffi/Tomacelli family traditions by giving extraordinary sums to the church, and commissioning altarpieces and architecture. Helen Hills, *Invisible City: The Architecture of Devotion in Seventeenth-Century Neapolitan Convents* (Oxford University Press, 2003), 106.

⁶¹⁸ Hills, *Invisible City: The Architecture of Devotion in Seventeenth-Century Neapolitan Convent*, 106.

⁶¹⁹ In the thirteenth century, Cardinal Pietro Colonna made provisions in his will for an altar to be set up in S. Silvestro. Eileen Kane, *The Church of San Silvestro in Capite in Rome* (B.N. Marconi, 2005), 59 n135. On Margherita Colonna's involvement at S. Silvestro, see: Giulia Barone, "Margherita Colonna e Le Clarisse Di S. Silvestro in Capite," *Roma Anno 1300: Atti Della IV Settimana Di Studi Di Storia Dell'arte Medievale Dell' Università Di Roma La Sapienza, 19-24 Maggio 1980* (Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1983): 799-805.

Vittoria Colonna, who took up residence in the convent in 1525.⁶²⁰ Continuing Colonna patronage, Lucrezia commissioned a large altarpiece depicting Phillip Neri (ca. 1617)⁶²¹ and other saints in adoration of the Virgin and Child, attributed to the Florentine artist Baccio Ciarpi (1574-1654).⁶²² She signaled her role as patron by including her impaled arms of the Colonna-Tomacelli on the altarpiece frame. Although this commission does not equal the grandeur of larger architectural commissions undertaken by other Roman matrons, it is notable that it was undertaken while Lucrezia was still married, suggesting that she herself funded the project without the use of her dowry. What is more, a significant aspect of her Colonna elite identity was her familial connection to Phillip Neri, the personal confessor of her mother-in-law, Anna Borromeo.⁶²³ These direct associations to well-known religious figures placed her within religious circles of influence. The inclusion of Neri within the altarpiece demonstrates Lucrezia's personal and aspirational choices for the commission: importantly, at the time of the altarpiece's commission in 1617, Neri had not yet been canonized.⁶²⁴ Lucrezia's commission, if it does in fact depict Neri,⁶²⁵ is indicative of her

⁶²⁰ On Vittoria's residency at the church, see: Mrs. Henry Roscoe, *Vittoria Colonna: Her Life and Poems* (London, 1868), 304. Eileen Kane, *The Church of San Silvestro in Capite in Rome* (B.N. Marconi, 2005), 60;

⁶²¹ See Kane, *The Church of San Silvestro in Capite in Rome*, 81.

⁶²² For the attribution to Ciarpi, see: Federico Zeri, *Pittura e Controriforma* (Turin, 1957), 111.

⁶²³ Giovannangiola Tarugi, "S. Carlo Borromeo e S. Filippo Neri a Roma Durante Il Giubileo Del 1575," *Studi Romani* 23, no. 4 (October 1975): 462–472. Lucrezia was also directly related by marriage to Saint Charles Borromeo, the uncle of her husband.

⁶²⁴ Zeri and Kane both date the altarpiece to around 1617. Federico Zeri, *Pittura e Controriforma* (Torino: Einaudi, 1957), 111; See Kane, *The Church of San Silvestro in Capite in Rome*, 81. Neri was beatified in 1615, but was not canonized until 1622.

⁶²⁵ Kane, disagreeing with Zeri has suggested that the figure of St. Phillip Neri may actually be Pope Steven II, the brother of St. Sylvester. Kane, *The Church of San Silvestro in Capite in Rome*, 81.

desire to support the cause of Neri's canonization (which would not occur until 1622), but also to situate herself within Colonna narratives of female piety and religious patronage.

Despite living through eleven childbirths, Lucrezia died unexpectedly and quickly in August of 1622 from a virulent fever.⁶²⁶ Upon her death, she was celebrated by her court poet Francesca Bufalini. Deeply saddened by the death of her personal friend and patron, Bufalini composed a series of funerary sonnets (*encomia*) dedicated to the duchess.⁶²⁷ In these commemorative poems, Bufalini celebrated Lucrezia's gentleness and grace, attributes traditionally ascribed to Roman noblewomen that reflected on the civilized politesse of their elite upbringing and personal accomplishments as virtuous ladies of Roman society. The sonnets go beyond mere abstract praise to portray Lucrezia as an exemplar of piety and virtue for other Roman women. While a traditional feature of a poet's funerary ode to a deceased patron, Bufalini also commends her patron for the perfect example of her charity. The poet notes in particular that it is the Duchess' perfect hands (described by Bufalini as lily-white and more beautiful than could be produced by painter or sculptor) that produce delicate needlework designs of fruits and flowers ("questa man fa con l'ago e frutti e fiori"),⁶²⁸ associating Lucrezia with traditional notions of elite

⁶²⁶ The suddenness of her death is implied in contemporary poetry by her court poet Francesca Bufalini, who notes her shock upon her death, as she had just been enjoying pleasantries in the country with her days before. See: Natalia Costa-Zalessow, "Francesca Turini Bufalini's Encomiastic Poems for Lucrezia Tomacelli Colonna" 90, no. 3 (September 2013), 372. Sebastiano Fantoni, *Ragionamento Funebre Del P. Sebastiano Fantoni Generale De' Carmelitani. Nell'essequie Dell'ill.ma & Eccell.ma Signora D. Lucretia Tomacello Colonna Duchessa Di Paliano* (Giacomo Mascardi, 1625), 4. "Fù l'infermità di quella Principessa una lenta febre, che potè ben ingannare i più sperimentati Medici, ma non già lei, che presaga del bene che li s'apprestava l'istesso giorno antecedente il suo felice passaggio havendo gli altri tolto ottimo augurio perchè si fusse riposata alquanto, ella che ben intendea quella poca quiete caparra d'eterno riposo, disse che meglio harebbe riposato la seguente notte, nella quale rendè l'anima al Creatore."

⁶²⁷ For a discussion of these *encomia*, with specific references to their place in Bufalini's career, see: Natalia Costa-Zalessow, "Francesca Turini Bufalini's Encomiastic Poems for Lucrezia Tomacelli Colonna."

⁶²⁸ Francesca Bufalini, *Rime*, Sonnet 31 (Citta di Castello: Molinelli, 1628). Cited in Costa-Zalessow, "Francesca Turini Bufalini's Encomiastic Poems for Lucrezia Tomacelli Colonna," 370. See also:

female domesticity and virtuous pursuits.⁶²⁹ Bufalini adds a new dimension, however, saying that Lucrezia's hands also dispense alms (“questa man, che ministra e di pietade largamente dispensa i suoi tesori”),⁶³⁰ adding an extra-domestic and public aspect to Lucrezia's virtue.⁶³¹ Bufalini goes on to say that Lucrezia's charity and piety were more than sufficient, they were *exemplary*, and worthy of emulation by other Roman women of high rank.⁶³²

6.2 FUNERARY DISPLAY AND COLONNA MAGNIFICENCE

In her sonnets, Francesca Bufalini commented on the perfect marriage of Filippo and Lucrezia, which should serve as a model of conjugal harmony for others; the poet notes the balance of their union in familial management, supported by mutual respect. Following her unexpected death in August, Filippo Colonna began preparations for the memorialization of his wife through a number of commissioned projects, which also demonstrate that he mourned her death

Francesca Bufalini, *Autobiographical Poems*, ed. Natalia Costa-Zalessow (Bordighera, 2009).

⁶²⁹ On women and needlework in early modern Europe, see: Patricia Crawford, “‘The Only Ornament in a Woman’: Needlework in Early Modern England,” in *All Her Labours. Two. Embroidering the Framework* (Sydney, 1984), 7–20; Ann Rosalind Jones, “The Needle and the Pen: Needlework and the Appropriation of Printed Texts,” in *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*, Cambridge Studies in Renaissance Literature and Culture (Cambridge [England] ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

⁶³⁰ Bufalini, *Rime*, Sonnet 31.

⁶³¹ Costa-Zalessow, “Francesca Turini Bufalini's Encomiastic Poems for Lucrezia Tomacelli Colonna,” 122.

⁶³² See in particular Sonnet 50 of the *Rime*, in which Bufalini notes that everyone cries for the death of such an exemplary woman. Costa-Zalessow, “Francesca Turini Bufalini's Encomiastic Poems for Lucrezia Tomacelli Colonna,” 371.

profoundly.⁶³³ The commissions spanned a range of public and private displays: a catafalque, sonnets and printed materials produced for Lucrezia's funeral, the restoration of a medieval Colonna tower in her name, and an altarpiece (c. 1623) by Pietro da Cortona destined for the family crypt in the church of San'Andrea in Paliano, the family's feudal seat. These projects offer an exceptional narrative for an elite, high-ranking Roman woman of this period.

Lucrezia's death was first marked on the third of November of 1622 with an elaborate funeral procession in the Roman *campagna* to transport her body from Gennazzo to Paliano (figs. 91, 92, 93, 94), a journey of five miles through hilly terrain. The procession was chronicled in a detailed festival pamphlet printed in 1625, compiled by the Umoristi member Girolamo Rocchi,⁶³⁴ containing lengthy elegies composed by Sebastiano Fantoni (the prior general of the Carmelitani of Palestrina)⁶³⁵ and Marco Antonio Cappello (a Capuchin friar and theologian), and engravings by Matteo (Matthias) Greuter⁶³⁶ and printed by the Mascardi press in Rome.⁶³⁷ For the

⁶³³ The commemorative imagery and events Filippo commissioned in Lucrezia's honor were the expression of a devoted husband; he remained a widower until his death in 1639.

⁶³⁴ The Academia degli Umoristi, was a prestigious literary confraternity formed in 1605 in Rome. Girolamo Rocchi (active early 17th century), seems to have been a central figure in the production of funerary pamphlets in the second quarter of the seventeenth century.

⁶³⁵ On Sebastiano Fantoni (1550-1623) and his role in the intellectual and religious culture of early modern Rome, see: Anna Maria Partini and Alexander, *Alchimia, architettura, spiritualità in Alessandro VII*, Biblioteca ermetica 29 (Roma: Edizioni mediterranee, 2007), 57-59.

⁶³⁶ On Greuter's role in the commission, see: Michela Lucci, "Sul Corteo Funebre Di Lucrezia Tomacelli Colonna in Una Sconosciuta Rappresentazione Di Matteo Greuter," ed. Università degli studi Roma Tre, *Roma Moderna e Contemporanea Rivista Interdisciplinare Di Storia* 2 (December 2008).

⁶³⁷ This press was well known in the seventeenth century for the printing of academic texts. Significantly, the same engraver (Greuter) and publisher of Lucrezia's festival pamphlet had collaborated in the production of Galileo's groundbreaking scientific treatise on sunspots, the *Istoria e dimostrazioni intorno alle macchie solari e loro accidenti comprese in 3 lettere* in 1613. On Greuter's illustrations for this text, see: Ruth Noyes, "[Galileo's] Greuter's Sunspots. Engraving and the essence of things in 17th-century Rome." *The Art Bulletin*, forthcoming in 2016.

festival pamphlet members of the Umoristi, including Francesco della Valle,⁶³⁸ composed funerary odes and epigrams in Italian, Latin, and Greek, Hebrew and even Arabic.⁶³⁹ The pamphlet's publication with Mascardi ensured it was seen by the literary elite that constituted the press's readership – namely the noblemen and intellectuals of the Umoristi – and elevated the nature of Lucrezia's funeral to erudite performance and display. The pamphlet contains a long (over six foot) illustrated fold-out panorama of the funeral procession, carefully identifying the varying participants through the aid of an accompanying key. This panoramic fold-out would have required an assembly of specialized plates that added to the expense and complexity of the project. I have not been able to ascertain the exact number copies that were produced, but I have located at least four surviving copies in European libraries, suggesting a specialized and limited print run.

Lucrezia's funerary procession was the first of Filippo Colonna's agenda of memorial projects for his wife, all of which helped to establish a personal, temporal, and spiritual legacy for his deceased wife. From the illustrated fold-out of her funeral procession, as well as the festival pamphlet's text, we learn that the funerary procession included a cavalcade of fifty men on horseback, a company of one hundred and fifty infantry men, various confraternities, with "300 *per sorte*," representatives of the Capuchins, Franciscans, the Augustinians, and over three

⁶³⁸ In a few instances, women were commemorated in non-religious celebrations arranged by intellectual societies; Lucrezia's ceremony bears similarities to the funeral for Gioreda Sitti Maani della Valle, the Syrian Nestorian wife of Pietro della Valle. She was honored in an extensive public funeral at Santa Maria in Aracoeli. The events roughly coincided with the arrival of her mummified corpse in Rome in 1626; she had died five years before accompanying her husband on his travels. Members of the Umoristi composed more than thirty commemorative poems for Maani, transcribed in Girolamo Rocchi's commemorative pamphlet which recorded visual materials and elegies produced in association with the event. Sitti Maani was buried in the Della Valle vault in Santa Maria in Aracoeli in 1626. For an excellent analyses of the funeral and its cultural influence, as well as the general consideration the distributions of funerary pamphlets, see: Cristelle Baskins, "Lost in Translation: Portraits of Sitti Maani Gioerida della Valle in Baroque Rome," *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal* (Vol. 7 2012): 248.

⁶³⁹ See: Fantoni, *Nell'essequie Dell'ill.ma & Excell.ma Signora D. Lucretia Tomacello Colonna*, 5.

hundred priests, totaling more than 2,000 participants.⁶⁴⁰ Such a large funerary cortege was typical of the funerals of royalty.⁶⁴¹ In addition, fifty young maidens (*zitelle*) processed alongside these formal religious and ceremonial groups. By leaving their private family domiciles in such an appropriately large company, the presence of a company of young women added the dimension of symbolic female virtue to the retinue that already represented military and spiritual might.⁶⁴²

The pamphlet includes an illustration and description of Lucrezia's catafalque. This elaborate structure (fig. 95) took the form of an ancient *tempietto*. Its dome (supported by a colonnade of Corinthian columns with tasseled swags of fabric) was decorated with a number of candles and capped by an allegorical figure of Fame who blows her horn to signify everlasting renown. Within this structure, Lucrezia's casket, draped in fabric, is surmounted with a crown, a symbol of the Colonna of Paliano's sovereign status. In addition to these symbols of familial power, the catafalque offered messages about Lucrezia's feminine virtues, particularly her selflessness and care for her children.⁶⁴³ The self-sacrificing role of a virtuous Christian is symbolized by the pelican that appears over the entrance of the catafalque (fig.96); according to iconographic tradition, the pelican pecked her own breast to feed her children, a metaphor for Christ's sacrifice, reinforcing, particularly in Post-Tridentine Rome, the Catholic belief in transubstantiation of the Body and Blood at Mass. The pelican symbolized the most perfect

⁶⁴⁰ Fantoni, *Nell'essequie Dell'ill.ma & Eccell.ma Signora D. Lucretia Tomacello Colonna*, 4. See the introduction to this study on women's funerals in Rome.

⁶⁴¹ See the introduction, with associated bibliography, to this study on the funerals for Christine of Sweden and Clementina Sobieski in Rome.

⁶⁴² Fantoni, *Nell'essequie Dell'ill.ma & Eccell.ma Signora D. Lucretia Tomacello Colonna*, 4.

⁶⁴³ As previously mentioned, Lucrezia gave birth to eleven children, and was personally involved in their education. Lucrezia managed the education her daughters, Anna and Isabella. It is likely that Lucrezia arranged Francesca Bufalini to be the tutor to Anna. See: Virginia Cox, *The Prodigious Muse: Women's Writing in Counter-reformation Italy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), n. 181.

example of Christian virtue of self-sacrifice and charity.⁶⁴⁴ The pelican was a fitting iconographic symbol for Lucrezia's catafalque, the ephemeral architectural display which would have been a focal point for the elite members of Roman society who attended her funerary celebrations.

6.3 PUBLIC AND PRIVATE FORMS OF COMMEMORATION

Having noted Lucrezia's extensive funeral commemoration, conducted in a provincial outpost and available only to a select literate audience, contrasted with other forms of public forms of commemoration dedicated to her. We will consider especially the specific messages of female virtue Filippo wanted to relay to a Roman audience about his dead wife through more permanent modes of display in prints, a painted altarpiece, and especially her monument in S. Giovanni.

Lucrezia's piety – richly described in Bufalini's sonnets – was given visual expression in an altarpiece by Pietro da Cortona (c. 1623), commissioned by Filippo shortly after Lucrezia's death, depicting Christ's Resurrection with the narrative of the salvation of the Colonna family⁶⁴⁵

⁶⁴⁴ It is worth noting that the emblem of the pelican figures prominently in royal portraits of Queen Elizabeth I of England. On the history of this symbol and its incorporation within Elizabeth's imagery, see: Meryl Bailey, "'Salvatric Mundi': Representing Queen Elizabeth I as a Christ Type," *Studies in Iconography* 29 (2008): 176–215; Roy Strong, *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (UK: Random House, 2003).

⁶⁴⁵ Cortona's idiosyncratic composition shows members of the Colonna family being pulled from stone sarcophagi to begin a heavenly ascent. Not all of the figures have been identified,⁶⁴⁵ but the three figures in the foreground are easily recognized by likeness and accompanying inscriptions on their tombs as Filippo, Lucrezia, and Anna Borromeo. Lucrezia appears in the middle, with Filippo to her right and his mother Anna Borromeo to Lucrezia's left. They are beneath an apparition of the Risen Christ, and above, the heavens open with a vision of God the Father, while the rays indicating the presence of the Holy Spirit gilds the space around the body of Christ, the burial shroud barely clinging to his exposed thighs. Parallel to the Risen Christ, the Colonna men appear unclothed, indicating in this altarpiece the pious sentiment of the impermanence of earthly possessions.

at Final Judgment (fig.97), destined for the Colonna church of S. Andrea in Paliano.⁶⁴⁶ Lucrezia is effectively the main focus and anchor of altarpiece composition as a central figure, positioned directly under the image of the Risen Christ, the top of her veil elevated slightly above Filippo on the left and Anna Borromeo (her mother-in-law) on her right. As in her cenotaph, her head is upright, and she looks into the distance with calm expectation and her hands clasped in prayer, an indication of spiritual and moral virtue and reflection upon the mysteries of life after death. In the altarpiece, she is rewarded for her piety with the gift of everlasting life, being directly aided by an angel to begin her upward ascent to join Christ, positioned directly above her. In this altarpiece Lucrezia wears a much simpler mode of dress than in her funerary monument, appropriate to the religious narrative and personalized context of a family church. Her entire upper torso was wrapped in a crimson shawl and with a veil, made slightly more elegant by the line of white lace framing her alert features. This presentation complimented the funerary plaque for Lucrezia that Filippo also commissioned for apse of S. Andrea in Paliano which described her virtues in detail – her fecundity, her noble birth, and above all, her exemplary virtue.⁶⁴⁷

⁶⁴⁶ This work (now in the Colonna Gallery in Rome) was originally installed in the family crypt of the Colonna church of S. Andrea in Paliano, which Filippo was renovating as a family church and mausoleum Anna Lo Bianco, ed., *Pietro Da Cortona: 1597-1669. Exhibition Catalogue Published in Association with Palazzo Venezia (Rome, Italy)* (Milano: Electa, 1997): 296-297. On the role of Paliano in Colonna family patronage, see: Fausto Nicolai, “Pittura di storia e nascita di un mito : il Trionfo di Marcantonio Colonna nella fortezza di Paliano,” *Arte e committenza nel Lazio nell'età di Cesare Baronio*, 2009. See also: Alba Costamagna, “I principi di Paliano e alcuni momenti della committenza Colonna nella "campagna," *Saggi*, 1990. At the same time, Filippo was also busy with renovating a medieval fortress in Frosinone that belonged to the Colonna; he rededicated the fortress Palazzo Tomacella, in honor of Lucrezia’s natal family. *Relazione Del Viaggio Fatto Da N.S. PP. Gregorio 16. Alle Provincie Di Marittima e Campania Nel Maggio 1843 Scritta Dal Principe Massimo* (Alessandro Monaldi, 1843), 131; Sabrina Pietrobono, *Carta Archeologica Medievale - Frosinone. Forma Italiae Medii Aevi. F° 159-I* (All’Insegna del Giglio, 2006), 99.

⁶⁴⁷ Lucrezia funerary slab is found in the main apse of S. Andrea in Paliano, among slabs for other members of the Colonna family, including Anna Borromeo. Lucrezia’s inscription reads: Lucrezia Tomacelli Foemina Incomparabili Quae Praetar Nobilitatem A Stirpe Bonifacii XI A Marchionibvs Piceni A Dvcibvs Spoleti Dedvctam Colvmnesi Familia Attvilit Foecvdutaie Dvodecim Liberorvm Vitrtvtv Omniv

Lucrezia's expression and pose in Cortona's altarpiece and cenotaph mirror a significant passage in Sebastiano Fantoni's elegiac praise for her that compares the character of the swan and siren, noting the way their song differs when about to die: filled with joy at the hour of its death, the swan sings. Conversely, the siren sings all her life, and approaching death, begins to weep. According to Fantoni this is due to the diverse natures of the two creatures; the swan has a pure blood and is filled with sweetness which gives it strength to sing when about to die. Fantoni notes that Lucrezia died as a "celestial swan,"⁶⁴⁸ singing and smiling as though immersed in thought about the heavenly pleasures that she would receive from her pious works and good deeds on Earth.⁶⁴⁹ Fantoni's description of Lucrezia upon her deathbed is obviously poetic in its exaggerations, as Lucrezia died a sudden, and unexpected death characterized by virulent illness. In the engraved portrait of Lucrezia that accompanies the funeral pamphlet, Lucrezia is depicted with a bright expression and an apparent smile (fig. 98), recalling Fantoni's praise of her "good" death. While her expression is less lively in her funerary monument, she has a calm and placid appearance that again presents her as a woman humbly prepared for death at any time, exhibiting an appropriate and Catholic attitude to death.

Domvmmq Acem Talivm Exemplorvm Exepi V Ipsa Posteris Fvtvra Api Ficavit.

⁶⁴⁸ Fantoni, *Nell'essequie Dell'ill.ma & Eccell.ma Signora D. Lucretia Tomacello Colonna*, 6.

⁶⁴⁹ Fantoni, *Nell'essequie Dell'ill.ma & Eccell.ma Signora D. Lucretia Tomacello Colonna* 6. ". . . la Signora Lucretia Tomacello Colonna, della quale io ragiono, morisse come un Cigno celeste, che morisse cantando. Morì cantando, e morì ridendo . . ." Neither the Colonna Altarpiece, nor Lucrezia's cenotaph contain a figure of a swan, but it is interesting that the cenotaph does feature two visual references to wings, in a figure of a classicized female head with unfolded wings, and a pair wings that support the inscriptional scroll. While these may be purely decorative, and may be more angelic than avian, they do at least suggest the swan emblem associated with Lucrezia throughout Fantoni's text, which offered a positive, natural counterpart her piety and spiritual grace.

6.4 FAMILY NARRATIVES OF WEALTH AND PRESTIGE

The bust shares major similarities with the printed portrait of Lucrezia that was included in the funeral festival pamphlet, and is possible that this was the visual reference used in constructing her cenotaph bust. The extreme luxury of the bronze and gold used for Lucrezia's monument in the Lateran also reaffirm extraordinary public legacy Filippo wanted to construct in her honor. It is one of just six bronze monuments produced for women in early modern Rome; although not the first bronze memorial for a woman,⁶⁵⁰ it is probably the first *gilt* bronze memorial produced for a woman in the city.⁶⁵¹ The cost of the gold leaf alone, imported from the Venetian mint and valued at 689 *scudi*, was nearly triple the cost one might expect to pay for a large painted altarpiece by a reputable artist.⁶⁵² For the commission, Filippo also ordered the use of costly black marble, instilling the monument with a sense of magnificence, tempered by the severity of the somber black color that aligned with ideals of Reform.⁶⁵³

Throughout the early modern period, gilt bronze was a recognized as material for the tombs of royalty.⁶⁵⁴ The use of gilt bronze was an especially important feature in Spanish royal funerary

⁶⁵⁰ The bronze memorial for Elena Savelli, also in the Lateran, was installed in 1570. Sandro Benedetti, *Giacomo Del Duca e L'architettura Del Cinquecento* (Rome: Officina, 1973), 4.

⁶⁵¹ Other bronze tombs produced for women in Rome are: Elena Savelli [1570], Clarice d'Aste [c.1643], Suor Maria Raggi [1647], tomb of Ortensia Spinola Raggi [1672], and Anna Colonna Barberini [1659]. Of these, the monument of Maria Raggi, Ortensia Raggi and Anna Colonna Barberini were also gilt bronze, but all post-date Lucrezia's monument.

⁶⁵² For excellent analysis of artists fees in early modern Rome, see: Richard Spear, "Scrambling for Scudi: Notes on Painter's Earnings in Baroque Rome," *The Art Bulletin* 85, no. 2 (June 2003): 310–320.

⁶⁵³ In the Post-Tridentine period, black marble and other types of black stone were often used for decorative effect in chapels and monument design. On black marble, or *dinant*, see" Nicholas Penny, *Materials of Sculpture* (Yale University Press, 1995), 96 and 296.

⁶⁵⁴ Across Europe, bronze– and especially gilt bronze – was recognized as the most prestigious material for a tomb. In Tudor England for example, gilt bronze monuments were associated with royalty. In his will,

traditions at the end of the sixteenth century, namely in the monument to Charles V, Philip II, and male and female members of the royal family for the Capilla Mayor at the Escorial (figs. 99, 100), completed by Pompeo Leoni in 1591.⁶⁵⁵ While it is not possible to say if Filippo had this particular example in mind when he commissioned the memorial for his wife, there are some striking similarities between the cenotaph project for the Spanish Royal family and Lucrezia's cenotaph. For instance, both use gilded bronze effigies, set against a dark marble backdrop, and depict their subjects in a gesture of prayer as if kneeling before a holy image. Admittedly, these similarities are general, and the two commemorative projects vary enormously in terms of scope and scale; Lucrezia's effigy is a half-length bust and set within an aedicule, while the members of the Spanish royal family are full-length and independent of an architectural framework. The basic similarities suggest however the intertwined nature of the Colonna and the Spanish royal family at this moment. Since the middle of the sixteenth century, the Colonna of Paliano were effectively rendered servants to the Spanish crown, a connection that linked them to Charles V and his successor, Philip II. The Colonna di Paliano received financial backing from the Spanish royal family, and conceived of their family power as an extension of the Spanish imperial throne.⁶⁵⁶ In

Henry VII noted the connection between monarchs and gilded bronze effigies: "... the same Monasterie is the comen Sepulture of the Kings of this Reame ... And upon the same [Tombe], oon Ymage of our figure ... of Copure and gilte." English contemporaries noted the luxurious elements of Tudor monuments, "framed and artificially formed of bras, richly gilded with pure gold," which were elements recognized as international signs of monarchical power. Not suprisingly, Henry ordered lavish gilt bronze tombs from the Italian sculptor Pietro Torrigiano for himself and his consort, Elizabeth of York that were placed in his funerary chapel in Westminster Cathedral. Bronze was equally used in Flemish and German royal tombs for members of the House of Burgundy. The full length effigies of Mary of Burgundy [constructed c. 1495 and her father Charles the Bold [c. 1558] in the Church of Our Lady of Bruges rest upon black marble sarcophagi, and represent some of the finest gilt bronze effigies in the region. See: *Renaissance Bodies: The Human Figure in English Culture, c. 1540-1660*. Edited by Lucy Gent and Nigel Llewellyn, 233.

⁶⁵⁵ Barbara Von Barghahn, *Age of Gold, Age of Iron: Renaissance Spain and Symbols of Monarchy*, vol. Vol I-II (University Press of America, 1985).

⁶⁵⁶ Strunck, "Old Nobility Versus New: Colonna Art Patronage During the Barberini and Pamphilj

Rome, they performed their allegiance to Spain through public patronage and commissions.⁶⁵⁷ The two families were also connected by a highly regulated network of ambassadors and agents. The Colonna sent agents regularly to the royal court in Madrid, and the Spanish ambassador in Rome was a frequent guest at the Colonna court.⁶⁵⁸ Importantly, Lucrezia's Neapolitan origins strengthened bonds between the Kingdom of Spain and the Roman Colonna court.

It is notable that Lucrezia, in her memorial effigy wears a large ruff and the more severe mode of dress that was favored by Spanish aristocrats.⁶⁵⁹ As in her full-length portrait dated to the same year as the monument, Lucrezia wears a dress with a *verdugado*, a type of farthingale preferred by Spanish noblewomen which created the impression of a conical waist with a modified peplum, imitating the construction of armorial breastplate designs;⁶⁶⁰ Lucrezia is also shown wearing a dress with the same type of slashed sleeves and wrist ruffs favored by the Spanish queen, Elisabeth of France (figs. 101). While this was a style also adopted by other Roman noblewoman, as evidenced by contemporary portraits by Ottavio Leoni (fig. 102, fig. 103, fig. 104), its use in Lucrezia's monument, was meaningful, pointing to the social connections between the Colonna and the Spanish crown.

Pontificate (1623-1655),”

⁶⁵⁷ See: Thomas James Dandeleet, “The Spanish Faction and the Roman Patronage System,” in *Spanish Rome, 1500-1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

⁶⁵⁸ Hans Cools, Marika Keblusek, and Badeloch Noldus, eds., “Between Courts: The Colonna Agents in Italy and Iberia, 1555-1600,” in *Your Humble Servant: Agents in Early Modern Europe* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2006). Thomas James Dandeleet and John A. Marino, eds., *Spain in Italy: Politics, Society, and Religion 1500-1700*, The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World v. 32 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2007).

⁶⁵⁹ Amanda Wunder, “Women’s Fashions and Politics in Seventeenth-Century Spain: The Rise and Fall of the Guardainfante,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 68, no. 1 (Spring 2015): 133–186.

⁶⁶⁰ Wunder, “Women’s Fashions and Politics in Seventeenth-Century Spain: The Rise and Fall of the Guardainfante,” 136.

6.5 FAMILY SYMBOLS

As previously noted, on the base of the monument is the figure of a siren, a favorite family emblem of the Colonna; the figure of a siren is repeated in two other instances on the monument, capping the coat of arms of the Colonna and impaled arms of Tomacelli-Colonna on either side of the monument's base. The siren never figured in the personal imagery of Lucrezia during her lifetime. Oddly, as Fantoni noted in his work, sirens, those mythological seducers and murderers of sailors, are suggestive of female lust and carnality and seem therefore to be an inappropriate emblem for a pious woman. It was also a symbol of sloth and pride.

The symbol had been adopted by the Colonna family, and in association with the great military heroes of the family, Stefano and Marc'Antonio Colonna. Paolo Giovio described the siren as the personal emblem of Stefano Colonna that paired with his personal motto, "Contemnit tuta procellas" ("*She defies the tempests*").⁶⁶¹ In Stefano Colonna's adaptation of the image, she has been transformed into a brave figure, defiant in the face of danger and natural disaster. Marcantonio Colonna (1535–1584) famously defeated the Turks at the battle of Lepanto in 1571, an event for which he received a triumphal entry in Rome. In his portrait a siren appears on his armor and sirens are visible on top of two columns in a broadsheet memorializing his military victory.

While signifying the martial might and ascendancy of the male Colonna line, the siren was also the perfect symbol to signify the qualities that Filippo chose to represent Lucrezia. Considering Filippo's attention to Lucrezia's natal roots in the various commissions upon her

⁶⁶¹ Ian Wardropper, *European Sculpture, 1400–1900, In the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 2011), 90.

death, the siren may have referred to Lucrezia's association with the mythological siren, Parthenope. According to the foundation myth of Naples, the centaur Vesuvius was in love with the siren, Parthenope. In a fit of jealousy, Zeus turned Vesuvius and Parthenope into the city of Naples. Lucrezia's descent from the Tomacelli, one of the most illustrious families of Naples, was an important part of her identity. This is substantiated further by the poems that accompanied Lucrezia's funerary praise, casting her in the role of the mythological Parthenope.

In the poems, Parthenope/Lucrezia is hailed as the exception: a virtuous siren with a voice of beauty that "could join hearts with her words" and who literally gives her body for the founding of the timeless city of Naples and Rome until the end of heavens. This would have been very appropriate metaphor for Lucrezia, since her success as a mother ensured the continuation of the Colonna. While admittedly a poetic artifice, this poem suggests that contemporary viewers of the cenotaph would have seen the fittingness of the design in establishing her role within Colonna family legacies.

6.6 CONCLUSIONS

Filippo's commissions for his dead wife demonstrate a breadth and expense only available to nobles of the highest rank of Roman society. They show that Filippo conceived of created different sets of images of his wife for private display and some for public presentations. While both modes – public and private – celebrated Lucrezia as a model of piety, they communicated different messages about her role and posthumous legacy. For the public representations that circulated in imagery related to her funeral, and in her funerary monument in S. Giovanni Laterano itself, the artists and patron selected a formal presentation of Lucrezia in stately, elegant garb that

affirmed her most elite social position as a bearer of Colonna status. Comparison with her portraits from 1622 (fig.89) shows that the artist and patron of Lucrezia's monument selected the mode of dress that she was known to wear at the end of her life which befitted a pious matron of high birth and was suitably appropriate for the sacred context of the church, rather than highly decorated, accessorized, and lavish mode of dress she wore as a younger woman (fig. 90).

The sartorial choices in her bust effigy and the chosen media for her tomb – gilt-bronze and black marble – were the preferred media for the tombs of the princely courts of Europe. They indicate Filippo's ambitions for aligning his familial legacy with the power of royal courts. Alternatively, in the private Colonna chapel in Paliano, the altarpiece by Pietro di Cortona centered firmly Lucrezia within the legacy of the Colonna men and women, wearing a less-extravagant form of dress that highlighted her humility and connected her to Filippo's mother Anna Borromeo, known for her religious devotion. This unaffected, more personalized image of Lucrezia would be an expressive and poignant memorial for close members of the family moved by the biographical sketch contained in her funerary inscription in S. Andrea in Paliano or reading Bufalini's odes commemorating her exceptional virtues.

Filippo's consistent references to Lucrezia's female virtues must be seen within Filippo's particular affection for his wife, but also in this moment in family history as well. In 1623, Filippo was in the midst of these events at a critical time when he was also arranging the marriage of his daughter Anna Colonna to Taddeo Barberini, the nephew of Maffeo Barberini. This coincided with Maffeo's ascendancy to the papal throne as Pope Urban VIII.⁶⁶² The memorial representations of

⁶⁶² On the marriage negotiations and contract, see Christina Strunck, "Old Nobility Versus New: Colonna Art Patronage During the Barberini and Pamphilj Pontificate (1623-1655)," 144. The contract was finalized, after long negotiations, in 1627.

Lucrezia Tomacelli Colonna presented her as an ideal embodiment of early modern Roman female virtues and as a member of the most elite echelon of Roman society, an identity that would have also been reflected in her living female heirs as well. That Lucrezia's monument was understood as an appropriate memorial type for a Colonna woman is indicated by the fact that her own daughter, Anna Colonna, ordered a monument made from the same materials, and with a similar visual scheme when she was commissioning her own memorial. Anna's memorial, a significant example of a self-commissioned independent memorial will be detailed in further discussion in the next section of this study.

**PART THREE: FEMALE PATRONAGE AND ALTERNATIVE VISIONS OF
COMMEMORATION**

7.0 BUILDING FAMILY MEMORY: WOMEN AS MEMORAL PATRONS IN POST TRIDENTINE ROME

7.1 WOMEN AS FUNERARY PATRONS FOR KIN

In Part One of this dissertation, we examined the patronage of women's monuments by men, noting that the commission of a woman's monument in Post-Tridentine Rome was a practice undertaken by elite kinsmen and also men unrelated to the female subject. Importantly, it was not only men who commissioned monuments in Rome; women were also responsible for a number of wall memorials for male and female kin, and in rare occasions, even for themselves. In this section, we will first explore the roles of female patrons in commissions for tombs for their own kin, before considering these special circumstances of women's self-commissioned examples.

As conduct books addressed to women feature sections on the topic of tomb patronage, it is clear that female patrons of tombs were visible enough for social commentary and critique. In his 1545 conduct text, *De Institutione feminae Christianae* (On the Education of the Christian Woman), Lodovico Dolce admonishes women for commissioning expensive tombs:

I know that the marbles, bronzes, gilding, intaglios, the grandiose epitaphs and statues with which tombs are adorned are useless to the deceased. I wish the money which is consumed by these vain pomps and tokens of our pride to be used on works of charity, which are alms for the needy, not offerings left to those who are rich. True alms are assisting widows, wretched orphans, hospitals, or wherever their need seems greatest, not leaving huge bequests to rich convents in order to make a sumptuous sepulchre for one's body, or a memorial chapel with family arms.⁶⁶³

⁶⁶³ Lodovico Dolce. *Dialogo della institutione delle donne*. Venice: Giolito, 1545.

Women were the primary mourners in Mediterranean funeral rites;⁶⁶⁴ as “narrators” and chroniclers of familial bereavement, women played a necessary role in constructing monuments that was difficult to stamp out. Their demonstrations of grief recounted the individual woman’s personal despair but also stood for the collective sorrow of the family.⁶⁶⁵ The intensity of their sorrow conveyed messages about the honor and worthiness of the deceased.

The role of the good Christian widow, according to the late cinquecento Veronese reform bishop, Agostino Valier, was to serve God.⁶⁶⁶ In addition, one of the primary expectations of a widow, Valier wrote, was providing for the “memoria” of her husband. The ideal mourner was exemplified in Queen Artemisia, whom Pliny praised for the patronage of her husband’s mausoleum at Halikarnassas.⁶⁶⁷ Like Artemisia, a widow should visit the tomb of her husband to pay tribute to his memory, to pray for his soul, and through her exemplar, remind her children to keep the memory of their father alive. However, as we shall see, women followed patronage

⁶⁶⁴ “Tradition called for women to mourn dramatically, crying out, unbinding their hair, and tearing their skin and clothing. Women also had the practical role of washing the body and dressing it for burial, usually in its best apparel. Sometimes preparing the corpse, as well as transporting it, was the job of specialists such as the *beccamorti* in Florence, but usually this task fell to ordinary women who were available when needed.” Elizabeth Storr Cohen, *Daily Life in Renaissance Italy*, The Greenwood Press “Daily Life Through History” Series (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 2001), 211.

⁶⁶⁵ Cristelle Baskins, “Trecento Rome: The Poetics and Politics of Widowhood,” in *Widowhood and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003).

⁶⁶⁶ On Valier and female patronage, see: Carolyn Valone, “Matrons and Motives: Why Women Built in Early Modern Rome,” in *Beyond Isabella: Secular Women Patrons of Art in Renaissance Italy*, Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies Series v. 54 (Kirksville, Mo: Truman State University Press, 2001).

⁶⁶⁷ For useful case studies on this topic, see: Sheila ffolliott, “Once Upon a Tapestry: Inventing the Ideal Queen,” in *Images of a Queen’s Power: The Artemisia Tapestries*, by Sheila ffolliott and Candace Adelson (Minneapolis: Minneapolis Institute of Arts), 1993, 13-19; ——. “Catherine de’ Medici as Artemisia: Figuring the Powerful Widow”, in *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe*, Eds. M. Ferguson, M. Quilligan, and N. Vickers (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 227-41.

patterns similar to that of their male kin. Like them, women commissioned monuments for members of their family, beyond their spouses. They ordered works in expensive materials destined for the same churches chosen by male patrons and commissioned tombs with portrait busts from the best sculptors also employed by men.

Social art historians have observed some characteristics that are distinctive to women's patronage. With regards to the commission of sculpture, it was "widows [who] were quite often responsible for the patronage of family tombs," but "social norms restricted self-aggrandizing monuments [with] sculpted portraits" of the female patron.⁶⁶⁸ According to Catherine King, women did not commission "free-standing tombs with effigies of themselves" and "bought only modest [tomb] portrayals, placed on or near the ground, in low relief, not high, and never of bronze."⁶⁶⁹ Reinforcing this position, King has recently argued that when women ordered prestigious figured tombs, "they did so for men."⁶⁷⁰ Backing this up, it appears that only in the

⁶⁶⁸ David Drogin and Kathleen Wren Christian, eds., *Patronage and Italian Renaissance Sculpture* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 9.

⁶⁶⁹ Catherine King, *Renaissance Women Patrons*. 154. Other similar quotes: "A few women commissioned these things for men, but not for themselves. A tiny number of laywomen gave themselves an effigy on a floor slab, or on the side of a tomb chest. No laywoman to my knowledge commissioned a portrait bust for herself or another woman at this period, and laywomen paid for a full-length effigy of a woman as if lying on the top of a tomb only when the woman commemorated was regarded as a saint," 7. See also, p. 11: "If women patrons had limited access to the use of marble, they seem to have had no access at all to the other medium which had classicizing references – that is, to bronze, which cost roughly ten times more than marble." The recent dissertation (2014) by Brenna Graham on quattrocento female tomb production also cites Shelly Zuraw on the topic of female patronage: "In general, the number of tombs commemorating women is, not surprisingly, rather small. In almost every case, they are associated with an important male patron unless the woman was a figure of political import. ...The only extant large-scale tombs [for women] were commissioned by sons or husbands." Shelley Zuraw, "The Sculpture of Mino da Fiesole (1429-1484)," (Ph. D diss., New York University, 1993), 967-968. There is little evidence of medieval Roman women commissioning portrait effigies of themselves, although some powerful women may have commissioned commemorative tomb slabs with epitaphs.

⁶⁷⁰ King, *Renaissance Women Patrons*, 80. This quote is also cited in Graham, p. 131, n. 311. It is primarily the role of Renaissance female patrons for tombs of men that has been given any critical treatment in the literature. See Chapter Five in Catherine King, "Commemorating Dead Men," in *Renaissance Women Patrons: Wives and Widows in Italy c. 1300-c. 1550* (Manchester, UK; New York; New York, NY, USA:

role of a widow were dramatic tombs commissioned by women: the lavish sculpted tombs of Antonio Vanni Strozzi, Raynaldo del Doce, and Leonardo Tomacelli are but a few examples of tomb projects that were initiated and overseen by the deceased's widows. Fortified by centuries of scholarly positions, it appears a foregone conclusion that even though tomb commissions were among the most common and numerous examples of female and male patronage in early modern Italy, women patrons inhabited a distinctly gendered and therefore limited sphere of agency in their commissions of tombs, ordered only for deceased male kin.

Nevertheless, new research and a broader methodological basis of inquiry have complicated this traditional understanding of monumental commissions by women. Brenna Graham has uncovered at least six monumental self-commissioned tombs in quattrocento Italy commissioned by women.⁶⁷¹ Three included impressive marble effigies of the female subject.⁶⁷² Although early modern scholars have acknowledged a very few self-commissioned women's tombs in Rome, there are more than the current state of research would lead us to believe. There is a wide diversity of types among them, including a number with effigies.

Manchester University Press ; Distributed exclusively in the USA by St. Martin's Press, 1998), pp. 99-128.

⁶⁷¹ "Though this is a limited number in relation to the total number of extant women's tombs, it is dramatically greater than previously posited, given that scholars have assumed there were *no* tombs patronized by women whether for themselves or for others." Graham, "The Most Bitter and Untimely of Events," 129.

⁶⁷² Graham lists the tombs of Caterina dei Francesi (1405), Agnese da Mosto Venier (c. 1410), Sibilina Cetto (1421), Isotta degli Atti (1447), Maria Pereira and Beatrice Camponeschi (1488) and Lucrezia Pico della Mirandola (1503) as self-commissioned monuments. The tombs for Caterina, Sibilina, and the dual monument for Maria Pereira and Beatrice Camponeschi (Maria's infant daughter) all include effigies of the deceased. As Graham notes, the tombs for "Agnese da Mosto Venier and Isotta degli Atti) had patrons in other categories as well, leaving four (of thirty-five, or 11.4%) tombs exclusively patronized by their subjects." Graham, "The Most Bitter and Untimely of Events," 129.

Female tomb patrons have not been given the same attention as those who commissioned architecture in Rome,⁶⁷³ although many more women commissioned tombs than churches or *palazzi*.⁶⁷⁴ Unraveling women's roles as patrons of commemorative monuments can help us understand how women approached the commission of this elite medium, for their kin and for themselves. By focusing on the role of women as tomb patrons and also as the subjects of their own tombs, I demonstrate the many ways in which early modern women participated in this enterprise to centralize their own concerns about family, status, religious reform, and desires for commemoration.

Table XI presents a breakdown of all known monumental tomb commissions for male and female kin associated with female patrons from the period of 1550-1750. From this list, a few general points can be made relative to the age and social status of these female patrons. All of them were approaching older age; although younger women may have been able to commission a tomb slab or inscriptional plaque,⁶⁷⁵ I have found no evidence of women under the age of forty commissioning a more elaborate wall monument in Rome.⁶⁷⁶ Like all female subjects

⁶⁷³ Carolyn Valone "Women on the Quirinal Hill: Patronage in Rome, 1560–1630." *The Art Bulletin* 76, no. 1 (1994): 129-146; ——. "Roman Matrons as Patrons: Various Views of the Cloister Wall." *The Crannied Wall: Women, Religion, and the Arts in Early Modern Europe* (1992): 49-72. For a recent collected volume with special emphasis on female architecture patrons, see: Helen Hills, *Invisible City: The Architecture of Devotion in Seventeenth-Century Neapolitan Convents* (Oxford University Press, 2003).

⁶⁷⁴ Cynthia Miller Lawrence, *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe: Patrons, Collectors, and Connoisseurs* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997).

⁶⁷⁵ In the quattrocento, Clarice Strozzi commissioned a tomb slab for her mother, Alfonsina Orsini (wife of Lorenzo de' Medici) when she was just twenty-seven. On this, see Sheryl Reiss, "'Widow, Mother, Patron of Art: Alfonsina Orsini de' Medici'" in *Beyond Isabella: Secular Women Patrons of Art in Renaissance Italy*, Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies Series v. 54 (Kirksville, Mo: Truman State University Press, 2001), 138, n147, n148.

⁶⁷⁶ The youngest patron I have been able to account for in this period is Caterina Zeferina Colonna, who was forty-eight when she commissioned the monument for her mother.

commemorated in wall memorials, these female patrons were all elite. Most were financially independent older widows (many holding titles) without children from long-established Roman families. This aspect demonstrates that the combination of title, lands, and lack of any dependents were important factors for a woman's ability to commission a monument.

We can observe that female patrons would sometimes resume an abandoned commission upon the death of the original patron, and would signal her role within the inscription. When Vincenzo Nobili died in 1649 during work on his memorial chapel in San Bernardino al Terme, his widow Leonora Orsini oversaw the remainder of the project. She ordered the tomb for her deceased husband, her patronage acknowledged in the accompanying inscription.⁶⁷⁷ In some instances, as in the case of the chapel for Giuseppe Bonanni and Virginia Primi in Santa Caterina a Magnanapoli, documents indicate that *both* husband and wife participated in the commission for the chapel and some of its associated monuments; a document in the Vatican Archive records the altar in their chapel as being “fabricato da essa Virginia, e da Giuseppe Bonanni suo marito.”⁶⁷⁸ Giuseppe died before his funerary monument was finished; as per the inscription, Virginia oversaw the final completion and installation of Giuseppe's monument.⁶⁷⁹

⁶⁷⁷ On this project see: Ferrari and Papaldo, *Le Sculture Del Seicento a Roma*, 57 with associated bibliography.

⁶⁷⁸ Archivio Segreto Vaticano, S. Caterina a Magnanapoli, vol. 2, 408. Cited in Mario Bevilacqua, *Santa Caterina Da Siena a Magnanapoli; Arte e Storia Di Una Comunità Religiosa Romana Nell'età Della Controriforma* (Rome: Gangemi Editore spa, 2009), 75, n.11.

⁶⁷⁹ The inscription for Giuseppe's monument is transcribed in Forcella, Vol. X, entry 615.: IOSEPHO BONANNO GENVENSIS VIRO VERAE BONO ET CONIVGI DVLCISSIMO IN APRILI CLIMATERICI SVI MAGNI VITA FVNCTO VIRGINIA PRIMI ROMANA MVTVI AMORIS ET MARITALIS AFFECTVS NON IMMEMOR SVPRA FIDEM MOESTISSIMA MONVMENTVM POSVIT ANNO MDCXLVIII.

Women also collaborated with other male members of the family on tomb projects. The funerary inscription for the sculpted tomb of Virgilio Malvezi (d.1691) in Santa Maria del Popolo records not only the involvement of his wife, Caterina Roverella, but also his brother Gaspare and sons Sigismondo and Lucio.⁶⁸⁰ The monument to Cavaliere d'Arpino was also a collaborative project between the painter's widow, Dorotea Maggi, and their sons.⁶⁸¹ Girolama Naro Santacroce collaborated with her brother-in-law on the commission for a funerary monument (c.1707/1708) to her husband Antonio Santacroce in S. Maria in Publicolis; for the tomb (c. 1749) of Scipione Publicola Santacroce in the same church, Maria Isabella Vecchiarelli (Scipione's widow) collaborated with her son for her husband's tomb.⁶⁸² In this instance, while both parties were involved in the patronage, it was Maria who actually paid the major part of the total sum of the monument.⁶⁸³

Of course, women could – and did – commission monumental sculpture without the help or support of men. In most instances, women commissioned monuments for their husbands to emphasize their role as ideal wives; of the thirteen instances of wall memorials commissioned by women catalogued here, eight were commissioned by widows for a husband. Comparing this data to that of husbands commissioning for wives, we observe that both parties commissioned

⁶⁸⁰ The inscription notes that Malvezi was a senator from Bologna. Ferrari and Papaldo, *Le Sculture Del Seicento a Roma*, 311.

⁶⁸¹ D'Arpino's monument has been traditionally attributed to the sculptor Nicola Menghini, based on a seventeenth-century source. See, Mola, 1662, 113; Ferrari and Papaldo, *Le Sculture Del Seicento a Roma*, 148.

⁶⁸² For both of these tombs, see Jennifer Montagu, "The Santacroce Tombs in S. Maria in Publicolis, Rome," *The Burlington Magazine* 139, no. 1137 (December 1997): 849–859.

⁶⁸³ Montagu, "The Santacroce Tombs in S. Maria in Publicolis, Rome," 850.

monuments in comparable percentages.⁶⁸⁴ Therefore, the evidence of this larger data set does not suggest a gendered aspect for women's performance as commissioners of memorials.

While cases of widows commissioning for their late husbands have been the focus of study,⁶⁸⁵ perhaps leading to the assumption that all female tomb patrons were women of such status,⁶⁸⁶ I have located five examples of monuments commissioned by women – and not all widows – who ordered a monument for an individual other than a spouse: some female patrons commissioned wall monuments for a child, a parent, or extended family members. Women erected tombs for their sons, publically demonstrating their grief and role as ideal mothers. Described as a “praestantissima matron” (“most outstanding matron”) by the numismatist Exechial Spanheim,⁶⁸⁷ Felice Zacchia Rondinini commissioned Domenico Guidi to sculpt a wall memorial in Santa Maria del Popolo for her son, Natale Rondinini, complete with a bust effigy;⁶⁸⁸ her role as mother and grieving patron is recorded in the accompanying inscription.⁶⁸⁹ Livia Prini Santacroce also ordered

⁶⁸⁴ As previously observed in Part One, husbands were involved in about sixty percent of all cases of male patronage of women's monuments.

⁶⁸⁵ Catherine King, *Renaissance Women Patrons: Wives and Widows in Italy c. 1300-c. 1550* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1998).

⁶⁸⁶ The introduction in *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe* features several female patrons of monumental tomb sculpture. However, all the examples are those of widows commissioning for husbands: Jeanne d'Evreux, Margaret of Austria, and Catherine de' Medici. Sarah Churchill. *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe*.

⁶⁸⁷ Exechial Spanheim, *Dissertationes de praestantia et usu numismatum antiquorum* (Amsterdam, 1671), 42. Spanheim also describes Felice as “illustre matronarum decus” (“noted glory of matrons”) (p. 584). and “illustri matrona” “noted matron” (p. 612). These references are noted in Harry B. Evans, *Aqueduct Hunting in the Seventeenth Century: Raffaello Fabretti's De Aquis Et Aquaeductibus Veteris Romae* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2002). 76.

⁶⁸⁸ Natale Rondinini served as the papal secretary to Alexander VII. He died young, at the age of thirty.

⁶⁸⁹ Oreste Ferrari and Serenita Papaldo, *Le Sculture Del Seicento a Roma* (Roma: Ugo Bozzi, 1999), 321.

a monument in the Carmelite church of Santa Maria della Scala for her son, Prospero Santacroce, who died in 1643 while fighting in the War of Castro.⁶⁹⁰

Women also commissioned monuments for other women. As the broad evidence shows, some Roman women commissioned slabs for daughters,⁶⁹¹ sisters,⁶⁹² and mothers.⁶⁹³ The artist and nun Caterina Ginnasi commissioned an entire funerary chapel in the family church of S. Caterina di Ginnasi, with monuments for her uncle, the cardinal Domenico Ginnasi and her mother, Faustina Ginnasi (fig. 105).⁶⁹⁴ A female bust in the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 106, c. 1660) tentatively identified as the female painter Caterina Ginnasi may have been commissioned as part of a monument for herself to be placed among the monuments she commissioned for her mother and uncle.⁶⁹⁵ If this is in fact the case, her example provides a compelling instance of a self-commissioned monument by a woman, who – although elite – was unmarried, a nun, and a female painter, confounding common conceptions that female patrons of memorial sculpture were all widows commissioning for husbands and male kin. Similarly, Caterina Zefirina Salviati commissioned a tomb for her mother, Lucrezia Rospigliosi Salviati, in the Colonna chapel in SS.

⁶⁹⁰ Jennifer Montagu, *Alessandro Algardi* (New Haven: Published in association with the J. Paul Getty Trust by Yale University Press, 1985), cat. 173. Ferrari and Papaldo, *Le Sculture Del Seicento a Roma*, 328.

⁶⁹¹ There is no evidence for women commissioning monumental sculpture for daughters, but as previously mentioned, neither did men. See for example in App. A for the entry for Lucrezia Carafa in Appendix A. As per the inscription, it was placed for eight year old Lucrezia by her mother.

⁶⁹² See App. A, for the memorial of Girolama Pallavicini Montori (set up by her sister, Maddalena Pallavicini), the memorial to Lavinia Alicornes (set up by her sister Cornelia), and for the memorial to Porzia Guidi del Bagno (placed by her sisters Laura and Theodora).

⁶⁹³ See the entries in App. A for the memorials to Ortensia Falconi and Flaminia Brancadora, which were both placed by daughters to commemorate mothers.

⁶⁹⁴ Damian Dombrowski, “Addenda to the Work of Giuliano Finelli.” *The Burlington Magazine*, 824-828 (1998).

⁶⁹⁵ Martinelli, V., *Novita Berniniane Commentari*. vii, Rome, 1956, 32; Raggio, Olga. “Catalogue of Italian Sculpture in the Victoria and Albert Museum,” *Art Bulletin*. Vol. L, 1968, p. 104

Apostoli. (fig. 107).⁶⁹⁶ When Caterina commissioned this work, she was still married, suggesting that she either was granted permission to use her dowry or had access to independent funds.⁶⁹⁷ This demonstrates that for some women, at least in the latter time frame covered by this project, there was no barrier to commission,⁶⁹⁸ however such commissions would be restricted to women of means and high status.

A few examples of “rejected” monuments help to expand our frame of reference for women’s memorials and their roles as patrons. These few known instances, while not indicative of a general trend or pattern, do reveal the editorial process of some female patrons as complex and discriminating as that of men. Although Louise Debonaire did not commission the monument for her husband, John Barclay, she demanded to have his bust removed from his monument in San Lorenzo fuori la Mura and transported to her house because she believed the bust (by Duquesnoy) to be an unworthy tribute for her husband;⁶⁹⁹ she requested a more appropriate monument to be erected near the tomb of Torquato Tasso.⁷⁰⁰ Apparently dissatisfied by Francesco Mochi’s

⁶⁹⁶ Enggass, *Early Eighteenth-Century Sculpture in Rome*.

⁶⁹⁷ There is an enormous amount of research on the dowry in Renaissance. Far fewer studies have treated the subject of women’s rights to property and funds in the later sixteenth and seventeenth century. For a helpful treatment on dowry use in the Post-Tridentine period, with extensive bibliography, see: Jutta Gisela Sperling, “Marriage at the Time of the Council of Trent (1560-70): Clandestine Marriages, Kinship Prohibitions, and Dowry Exchange in European Comparison,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 8, no. 1 (2004): 67–108.

⁶⁹⁸ On the loosening of restrictions placed on women’s spending Post-Trent, as well as the broadening inclusion of daughters as universal heirs in the seicento, see Cohn, *Women in the Streets*, 71.

⁶⁹⁹ John Barclay was a Scottish writer and tutor who came to Rome in 1616 under the support of Pope Paul V. Barclay’s tomb was commissioned by Francesco Barberini as part of a pendant memorial project which was ordered to commemorate Barberini’s teachers; Barclay’s monument joined a monument for Bernardo Gugliemi, who instructed Barberini in canon law. The bust was apparently taken down in 1632, when the bust is described in a documents, discovered by Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, as in Debonaire’s house, “a canto del Monte della Pietà.” J. Paul Getty Museum and National Gallery of Canada, *Bernini and the Birth of Baroque Portrait Sculpture*, 147. See also: Ferrari and Papaldo, *Le Sculture Del Seicento a Roma*, 184.

⁷⁰⁰ J. Paul Getty Museum and National Gallery of Canada, *Bernini and the Birth of Baroque Portrait*

solutions for a monument for her son, Prospero Santacroce, the previously mentioned Livia Prini Santacroce rejected two preparatory *bozzetti* for the work; she eventually commissioned Algardi for the project instead.⁷⁰¹ In both cases, we do not have a record of the women's commentary on the taste making process, but these few examples prove that given the opportunity elite women could express public gestures of disapproval by rejecting – and even apparently disassembling – monumental works of sculpture.

The diversity of female patrons, even within this one elite social stratum, compounds the difficulty of creating broad statements about their aesthetic preferences. Overall, there was not a gendered female “approach” to the commission of monumental sculpture although some women – like many men – may have ordered more frugal types of monuments. Nearly every example of female patrons of monumental sculpture were indeed widows, but the few exceptions to this practice indicate female patrons did not necessarily need to dip into their dowry in order to commission a work of monumental sculpture.⁷⁰² My analysis also supports the conclusion that female patrons could be as demanding and discriminating as male patrons sometimes were, requesting revisions to original plans and dictating the specific visual agenda of a monument for their kin. As we shall see, this same care and attention to detail is evident when the female patron was commissioning a memorial for herself.

Sculpture, 147.

⁷⁰¹ Ferrari and Papaldo, *Le Sculture Del Seicento a Roma*, 328.

⁷⁰² As Carolyn Valone and others have shown, women commissioned painted and even architectural works using their own money. In the example of Porzia dell'Anguillara Cesi, the female patron testified before the Camera Apostolica in 1585 that her male kin were trying to cheat her, and noted that she had spent many thousands of her own scudi on restoring her palace in Rome. Valone, “Mothers and Sons: Two Paintings for San Bonaventura in Early Modern Rome,” 121.

7.2 WILLS AND TESTAMENTS: VOICING CONCERN FOR SELF COMMEMORATION

In his analysis of Post-Tridentine Siena, historian Samuel Cohn situates the evolving nature of women's piety through their wills and testaments, describing their utility in understanding "new forms of women's consciousness" and pious giving.⁷⁰³ Roman noblewomen composed wills in order to facilitate the disbursement of their estate after their death. In lieu of other archival material, these documents offer substantial keys in understanding trends in Roman women's material wealth and social status. They also provide information on the female testator's wishes for her own funeral decorations, setting out the relative expense, size, and pageantry of their funeral. Special attention is also usually given to the manner of dress at burial; requesting burial in the habit of a tertiary, an elite woman could invert their function as status bearers. Such documents help to map wider trends in women's commemorative aspirations, and locate women's pious networks that stretched across the urban landscape. As concerns for funerals are usually explicit within these documents, it is useful to examine women's directions regarding these ceremonies, and when appropriate, consider how their desires for funerary celebration coincide with those relative to a memorial.

Perhaps influenced by Catholic Reform prohibitions on elaborate display and the practices of clergy, most Roman noblewomen left instructions for very simple burial rites for themselves, expressing more typically female concerns of humility, piety, and charity.⁷⁰⁴ Even Michelangelo's

⁷⁰³ Samuel Kline Cohn, *Death and Property in Siena, 1205-1800: Strategies for the Afterlife*, The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science 106th ser., 2 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 199.

⁷⁰⁴ On nun's funerals in Early Modern Rome, see K.J.P Lowe, "Suor Orsola Formicini of S. Cosimato in Rome," in *Nuns' Chronicles and Convent Culture: Women and History Writing in Renaissance and Counter-Reformation Italy* (Cambridge, U.K. ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003). See also, Sharon Strocchia, *Death and Ritual in Renaissance Florence*. While some cardinals were

erudite patron and accomplished poet, Vittoria Colonna (1492-1547), was likely buried in an unmarked common grave of nuns in the Roman church of Sant'Anna dei Funari.⁷⁰⁵ Detailed attention is usually given to the female testator's wishes for their funeral preparations, masses to be said for her soul, and the beneficiaries of her pious giving.⁷⁰⁶ For instance, Anna Colonna Barberini (1601-1658), one of the wealthiest women in Rome, and founder of the Discalced Carmelite convent of S. Maria Regina Coeli wished to be dressed for burial in a simple chemise, overdress, and black veil accompanied by a simple painted wooden crucifix.⁷⁰⁷ The Roman noblewoman Clarice Guerrini⁷⁰⁸ asked for a simple funeral, "with every simplicity" and requested to be buried in a nun's habit.⁷⁰⁹ Clelia Farnese (1556-1611) – the celebrated Roman beauty and daughter of Alessandro Farnese – expressed wishes to be buried "senza alcuna di pompa."⁷¹⁰ When

commemorated in sumptuous affairs, some requested simple burials. Cardinal Augusta [Otto Truchsess von Waldburg] died and was buried with no funeral ceremony at Santa Maria dell'Anima. "La medesima mattina a 16 hore passò di questa a miglior vita il cardinale d'Augusta [Otto Truchsess von Waldburg] dopo esser' stato alcuni giorni indisposto di stomaco per una vena che se gl'era rotta nel petto. Ha fatto il suo testamento del quale ha lassato esecutori l'illustrissimo [Alessandro] Farnese, Urbino [Giulio della Rovere], Altemps [Mark Sittich von Hohenems], et il padre don Luvigi [Luis] spagnolo giesuito, lassando che si paghino tutti i suoi debiti et quelli che avanzerà lassa al Colleggio di Telighe in Germania, la cui morte è dispiaciuta a infinitamente a tutta questa corte. E questa mattina senza pompe è stato seppellito in Santa Maria dell'Anima." (ASF, Vol. 4026, f. 211). The cardinal Bernardino Savelli was buried with no funeral ceremonies and dressed in a Capuchin habit. (ASF 4027, fol. 349)

⁷⁰⁵ The ultimate resting place of Vittoria has been, and still is subject of much controversy. Visconti and Reumont confidently affirm that she was buried in a common grave of nuns, and with the same simple funerary ceremonial: this would be absolutely in accordance with the Marchesa's character and customs, and would furthermore account for the fact that no stone marks her tomb. Maud Jerrold, *Vittoria Colonna: With Some Account of Her Friends and Her Times* (J.M. Dent and Company, 1906), p. 210.

⁷⁰⁶ On Catholic Renewal trends in obit masses, see: Cohn, *Death and Property in Siena, 1205-1800: Strategies for the Afterlife*, 221.

⁷⁰⁷ ASR, 30 Notai, Ufficio 28, Testamenti 1657 – 1667, 144v.

⁷⁰⁸ Clarice Guerrini (d.1648) was the wife of Fabrizio Muti, of a noble Roman family.

⁷⁰⁹ ASR 30 Notai, Uff. 28, Testamenti. 1645-1653. Archivio Capitolino: A.U. Sezione XXIV Tomo 28. Folio 4.-5.

⁷¹⁰ ASR, Notai A. C. Testamenti, Ferracutus, vol. 24, cc. 404r-424v.

drawing up her will in 1681, the wealthy heiress Marchesa Maria Veralli (1616-1686), (known in a single portrait in the Galleria Spada) petitioned her husband the Marchese Orazio Spada to bury her in the Spada chapel in Santa Maria in Valicella using “every modesty.”⁷¹¹ The poet Petronilla Massimi requested burial in the habit of a Discalced Carmelite nun.⁷¹² Women’s instructions for decorations are also austere. Maria Virginia Borghese (1642-1718) and Olimpia Pamphilj (1672-1751) requested simple funerals, accompanied only by four torches (“con sole quattro Torce”); Cecilia Nuñez (d.1754) , wife of Francesco Maria Spada, only permitted two (“con Soli due fiaccolelli”).⁷¹³

7.3 PROVIDING FUNDS, ENTREATING HEIRS

While noblewomen often mentioned their wishes for a funeral and desired place of burial,⁷¹⁴ very few women’s wills mention tomb monuments. A few aristocratic women, however, most certainly did take the opportunity to use their will to ensure that a monument in their honor would indeed be erected. While not properly the patrons of their own monuments, they deserve special attention in this chapter on female patronage to illustrate one of the ways in which women expressed unconventional desires to be memorialized in stone.

⁷¹¹ “Il mio Cadavero voglio sia seppellito nella Chiesa di S. Maria in Vallicella della Cong.^{ne} di S. [F]illipo Neri, e nella Cappella di S. Carlo, fabricata dal Sig.^r Marchese Horatioⁱⁱ mio Consorte con quel funerale, che à lui a piacerà, pregandolo ad usare in ciò ogni modestia.” Archivio di Stato di Roma (ASR), Notai A.C., Strumenti 1686, Vol. 907, folio 1. Notary: Laurentius Bellus.

⁷¹² See note 393 of this dissertation.

⁷¹³ ASR, 30 Notai, Ufficio 10, Testamenti 1753-1758.

⁷¹⁴ On this topic, see, *Death and Property in Siena, 1205-1800*.

As we have already observed, in her will, the painter Giovanna Garzoni made the Academy of St. Luke her universal heir, on the condition that they set up a monument in her honor in the guild's church of S. Luca e Martina.⁷¹⁵ Although Giovanna died in 1670, her monument was not set up until nearly thirty years later in 1698.⁷¹⁶ In a remarkable case of posthumous female estate management, Eleonora named the nuns of S. Lucia the universal beneficiaries in her will, granting them the largest part of her fortune, as well as authority of the management of her estate.⁷¹⁷ As stated in the inscription the Discalced nuns set up the monument as an “everlasting record of their gratitude” for her support of the convent.⁷¹⁸ The large monument (finished c.1705) was made of expensive polychrome marble, and sculpted by Andrea Fucigna for the considerable sum of 800 *scudi*.⁷¹⁹ While documentary evidence does not provide information on how the nuns financed her monument, it is reasonable to assume it was funded through Eleonora's bequest to the convent community. Eleonora's will, drawn up shortly before her death in 1695, mentions obit masses to

⁷¹⁵ Lucia Tongiorgi Tomasi, “‘La Femminil Paziienza’: Women Painters and Natural History in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries,” in *The Art of Natural History: Illustrated Treatises and Botanical Paintings, 1400-1850*, ed. Therese O'Malley, Amy R. W. Meyers, and Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts (U.S.), Studies in the History of Art, Symposium Papers / Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts 69. 46 (Washington : New Haven: National Gallery of Art ; Distributed by Yale University Press, 2008),

⁷¹⁶ Jane Couchman, Katherine MacIver, and Allyson Poska, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), n98.

⁷¹⁷ “Voglio che subito sciolto lo spirito dal mio corpo, mi si facciano celebrare, oltre le Messe di san Gregorio, di san Lorenzo fuori delle mura, di santa Prassede alla Colonna del Salvatore, e di santa Maria Liberatrice, et oltre la solita messa cantata sopra il Cadavere, che Voglio sia portato, e sepolto in quella più humile forma, che approvarà l'infrascritto mio esecutore Testamentario, nella Chiesa delle Madri Ginnasie mie infrascritte Eredi Universali.” Eleonora's will is preserved in the Archivio di Stato in Rome. *ASR, Notai A.C., Galloppus Astulphus - Volume 839*.

⁷¹⁸ For the contract made on July 15, 1702 between the Deputy of the monastery of S. Lucia and Fucigna, see: H. Hager, *Il monumento alla principessa Eleonora Borghese opera di G.B. Contini e A. F.*, in *Commentari*, XX (1969): 121.

⁷¹⁹ Fucigna worked from designs made by Giovanni Battista Contini. H. Hager, *Il monumento alla principessa Eleonora Borghese opera di G.B. Contini*, 110.

be said at her sepulcher, suggesting that the construction of a monument may have already been prearranged between Eleonora and her heirs, perhaps as a provision for the bequest.⁷²⁰ Eleonora was renowned, like her relative Camilla Orsini Borghese, for her commitment to religious causes, which she pursued alongside her duties to her husband and children.⁷²¹ Through her support of the convent in life, and through her generosity in death, Eleonora established a network of relationships that existed outside of her family who fulfilled the duty of providing for her posthumous legacy. Her role in the community as an exemplar of faith was obviously valued by the nuns who benefitted tangibly from her monetary support, and also through the elite connections that she brought to the community as a relative of the pope through her natal and marital families.⁷²² The singularity of this mode of patronage however, reflects that it was only in extreme cases of exceptional wealth and posthumous bequests could such a grand monument be commissioned by a cloistered community of nuns.⁷²³

In another case, women's desires for commemoration in their will seems to have been driven by a reference to a monument whose style was attractive. In a more detailed testament, Petronilla Paolini Massimi (1663-1726) requested a "sepolcro simile a q(ue)llo della Rondanini

⁷²⁰ *Archivio di Stato Roma, Notai A.C., Galloppus Astulphus, Volume 839.*

⁷²¹ On Camilla Orsini Borghese, see: Marilyn Dunn, "Women as Convent Patrons in Seicento Rome," in Cynthia Miller Lawrence, *Women and art in early modern Europe: patrons, collectors, and connoisseurs* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 176-183.

⁷²² On Eleonora's role as a spiritual example for other elite Roman women see: Caroline Castiglione, *Accounting for Affection: Mothering and Politics in Early Modern Rome*, Early Modern History : Society and Culture (Houndsmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

⁷²³ The commission, although at the behest of the nuns of Corpus Christi, was managed by the male deputies of the monastery. For the original documents, see Hager, "Il Monumento Alla Principessa Eleonora Borghese Di G. B. Contini e A. Fucigna," 121.

Orighi [the monument to Veronica Origo in S. Egidio, fig. 22].”⁷²⁴ It is hard to know exactly what Petronilla meant in her request for a “similar” monument. Her selection, however, of the Origo monument (designed by Carlo Fontana and consisting of an elegant and sumptuously dressed bust effigy framed within a delicately carved niche with an inscriptional scroll) at the very least indicates Petronilla’s desires for an exceptional type of memorial. It appears on the basis of this case that in referencing another woman's tomb in her will, a noblewoman could indicate additional information regarding her desires for memorialization; however, Petronilla’s sons commissioned a monument (fig. 23) that does not, in fact, resemble the Origo monument, indicating her sons’ had complete control to dictate the direction of the commission.

7.4 DEFINING THE PATRONAGE OF SELF COMMISSIONED WOMEN’S MONUMENTS

While there are a number of known examples of men’s self-commissioned monuments that were erected during the lifetime of their patrons, there are comparatively few examples of Italian women doing so. Isabella d’Este, the most famous female patron of early modern Italy, was an active tomb patron (commissioning a tomb for the Beata Osanna Andreasi (destroyed in the 18th century) and solicited advice from Baldassare Castiglione on building a tomb for her husband, but she never commissioned a sculpted tomb monument for herself.⁷²⁵ Nor did many other acclaimed

⁷²⁴ ASR, Testamenti A.C. Burattus Volume 61, 702r.

⁷²⁵ The tomb for Isabella d’Este, erected by her son in the convent Corpus Domini in Mantua was destroyed in 1797, during a siege by French troops. On Isabella’s commission for the tomb of Beata Osanna Andreasi, see Sally Hickson, *Women, Art and Architectural Patronage in Renaissance Mantua: Matrons, Mystics and*

Renaissance noblewomen, some of whom, like Caterina Sforza or Eleonora da Toledo, held lofty positions as regents at court. In fact, only the shared tomb of Piccardia Bueri and Giovanni de' Bicci memorializes a woman of the Medici family; no effigial tomb commemorating a Medici woman is known to have been produced in Florence in the quattrocento.⁷²⁶ Even in the two most prominent examples of Renaissance female tomb patronage – the example of Maria Camponeschi and Lucrezia Pico Mirandola – were set up several years after their death.⁷²⁷

Before 1500, only one Roman example of a women commissioning a monument and seeing its completion is known.⁷²⁸ However, by the end of the quattrocento, a small number of Italian

Monasteries, Women and Gender in the Early Modern World (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012).

⁷²⁶ Graham, “The Most Bitter and Untimely of Events,” 167.

⁷²⁷ On the patronage of these tombs, see: Graham, “The Most Bitter and Untimely of Events.”

⁷²⁸ In 1484, the Roman widow Maddalena degli Arlotti commissioned an elaborate wall tomb with bust-length effigies in high-relief of her husband and son, Stefano and Giovanni Battista Satri. The tomb Maddalena commissioned for her male kin is a powerful representation of the prestige and constructed “ancient” lineage of Satri men. In the *all'antica* style, the tomb effigies were closely modeled on the visual program of an Augustan monument, now in the Vatican Museum. The patronage of *all'antica* monuments was particularly associated with distinguished, public Roman businessmen and nobles. See for example, the tomb for Antonio and Michele Bonsi (c. 1500) in San Gregorio Magno al Celio, the tomb of Antonio Pollaiuolo and his brother (c. 1500) and Giovanni Battista Cavalieri (c. 1507) in Santa Maria in Aracoeli. The inscription demonstrates as especially confident female patron, reflected in her effigy of herself that accompanies those of her husband and son.: Maddalena (the “most dutiful wife”) erected the tomb for her husband and for their son (“*filio dulcissimo*”), and, in preparation for her own eventual death, herself (“*vivens sibi...posuit*”). Curiously, Maddalena’s role in commissioning the monument has been ignored, or else attributed to her husband. “Stephano civi romano conjugii carissimo basilice huius instauratori eiusdemque bonorum fructuum quae donatori ac Johanni Baptistae utriusque filio dulcissimo olim vita functis Magdalena Dearloctis uxor pientissima vivens sibique moriture deinceps posuit.” (“Maddalena degli Ariotti most dutiful wife during her life set up this monument to Stefano, Roman citizen, her most dear spouse, the restorer of this basilica and donor of its goods and fruits, and to their most sweet son Giovanni Battista, both formerly deceased, and subsequently to herself also when about to die.” Translation author’s own). In her dissertation, Brenna Graham discusses the monumental self-commissioned tombs of Maria Periera Camponeschi and Lucrezia Pico della Mirandola. These two monuments were commissioned roughly around the same time as the Satri/Degli Ariotti tomb. The tomb was likely first constructed for the church of San Salvatore, and later moved to San’Omobuono. E. Steinman, “Die Stiftungen Der Satri in Sant’Omobono,” *Zeitschrift Für Bildende Kunst* XII (1901): 239–243; P.L. Williams, “Two Roman Reliefs in Renaissance Disguise,” *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* IV (1941 1940): 54-55; Kathleen Wren Christian, “From Ancestral Cults to Art: The Santacroce Collections of Antiquities,” *Annali*

women were beginning to self-commission tombs that hardly accord with King's "modest portrayals."⁷²⁹ According to Graham, nearly 17% of all monumental quattrocento women's tombs produced across the peninsula were self-commissioned – a figure much greater than previously supposed.⁷³⁰ By the end of the seventeenth century in Rome, this aspect of female patronage had grown: Table XII lists the known cases in Rome of self-commissioned women's monuments by date and location.

The data represented here suggests that during the Post-Tridentine period, the self-commission of women's monuments increased, by a small but noticeably larger margin. Within the single urban ambit of Post-Tridentine Rome, less than 10% of women's wall monuments were self-commissioned. This is in stark contrast to Protestant England, where noblewomen often chose to commemorate themselves (and often their children) with an effigy in family tomb projects they commissioned for their late husbands.⁷³¹ While this is admittedly a small proportion and lower than the pan-Italic average from the previous period, it represents a substantial increase when taken from the perspective of individual urban centers.

A few general statements about instances of known self-commissioned monuments can be made. Firstly, they were all widows.⁷³² Secondly, only in a few instances did women commission

Della Scuola Normale Superiore Di Pisa. Classe Di Lettere e Filosofia 14 (2002): 255–272.

⁷²⁹ King, *Renaissance Women Patrons: Wives and Widows in Italy c. 1300-c. 1550* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 154: "Sculpted effigies were rarely commissioned by widows for themselves, and even then widows bought only modest portrayals, placed on or near the ground, in low relief, not high, and never of bronze."

⁷³⁰ Graham, "The Most Bitter and Untimely of Events," 75.

⁷³¹ On ideas of death and familial honor in Post-Reformation English tombs, see: Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (OUP Oxford, 2002).

⁷³² Graham has concluded for the quattrocento that "[a]ll of the six [women] who patronized their own tombs were widows, except for Isotta degli Atti [in Rimini]" "Though Isotta was eventually left widowed, her tomb was commissioned and construction begun when Sigismondo Malatesta was still alive, and in

a wall monument for just themselves; in most instances presented in this chapter, women commissioned a tomb for a husband or son to accompany their own monument. In the case of Girolama Naro Santacroce in particular, the patron opted for a single memorial containing effigies of herself and her husband. Only in the particular case of Anna Colonna Barberini, can we observe women requesting a single monument for herself.

In the sample, we can distinguish two types of patronage strategies employed by female patrons in the commission of their own monument: 1) commissions stipulated in the deceased's will with specific instructions and funds allocated for the production of a monument to be completed shortly after death, and/or 2) also commissions begun (but not completed) while the female subject was still living. Importantly, in all these instances, only a small percentage of the self-commissioned monuments were actually installed during the lifetimes of their female subjects, an aspect of their production that distinguished their patronage from men.⁷³³ Some memorials, like the monument for Vittoria Orsini Frangipane della Tolfa may even have been modeled on a death mask. This aspect of female monument patronage may perhaps be explained by changes in attitudes towards self-commemoration fostered by Catholic Renewal, which emphasized personal piety and humility. By leaving the physical construction of their monuments to their heirs, female patrons avoided the suggestion of vanity or indulgent self-praise.

Because early modern Roman women did not usually order tombs to be set up while they were still living, their participation within their own memorial legacy is different than other models

fact, Isotta and Sigismondo were not even yet married." As Graham notes, though mistresses were regular features of fifteenth-century Italian courtly life, Isotta's pseudo-official position as "concupina," might have opened the door for the patronage of her funerary monument while she was still alive." Graham, "The Most Bitter and Untimely of Events," 81.

⁷³³ See also Graham, "The Most Bitter and Untimely of Events," 81.

of patronage in which the patron could oversee each aspect of the commission, including its completion. The women in this chapter, however, can also be considered the patrons of their own monuments because they provided the funds necessary to commission their monuments, as well as specific instructions for their monuments. The realization of a woman's monument therefore depended on two significant factors: a woman's desire for a monument, either stipulated in her will and/or her preparatory actions in life, as well as the willingness of her heirs to fulfill and complete her request according to her specific directions. The self-commission of a woman's memorial was therefore a collaborative act of patronage which required the participation of the women and their living heirs. This complex patronage framework, therefore, can bring to light a great deal about how the women viewed themselves, and can also reveal more about their social relationships with their heirs and the level of esteem with which they were held by their chosen beneficiaries.

7.5 SOCIAL STATUS AND WOMEN'S SELF - COMMISSIONED MONUMENTS

From the few known examples, general patterns relative to the social status of the women who commissioned their own sculpted memorials in early modern Rome can be crafted. Most of the women associated with such projects (Vittoria della Tolfa [Frangipane], Livia Prini Santacroce, Anna Colonna Barberini, and Girolamo Naro Santacroce) were from families that were firmly established in Rome for at least two centuries, if not more; the Colonna, Frangipane, Santacroce, and Orsini families, who were recorded in the city as early as the twelfth century. Thus, most of these women could all claim authentic *romanitas* either through their natal or marital families. Given Rome's large population of inhabitants from outside of Rome, descent from and marriage

into proper Roman families gave these women special status among the Roman elite. A number of female patrons of memorials were largely connected to families that had ancient legacies in Rome and strong traditions of family chapels, some even featuring memorials for women.⁷³⁴

In general, many of these women were also in possession of exceptionally large dowries that greatly supplemented the wealth of the families they married into. For example, Vittoria Orsini Frangipane was an heiress of exceptional wealth;⁷³⁵ she was the primary recipient of her husband Camillo's wealth upon his death.⁷³⁶ Anna Colonna Barberini had one of the largest dowries of any Roman woman of her age.⁷³⁷ However, we can also see the commission of women's monumental sculpture by women outside of this particular group of elite, baronial women. Caterina Raimondi, wife to a wealthy Roman merchant and business man, commissioned her own monument to accompany her husband's. Even within the seemingly stable category of elite women patrons, the case of Caterina Raimondi Cimini complicates the assumption of homogeneity among elite patrons, whether male or female. Caterina was the widow of Giovanni Battista Cimini, the perfumer to the papal court and a member of the Cimini (or Cimino) family that had once held a significant position in the city.⁷³⁸ Giovanni Battista and Caterina appear to have lived a very

⁷³⁴ See App. A for medieval and Renaissance tomb slabs of featuring women connected to these families.

⁷³⁵ Vittoria's dowry brought substantial land holdings, including the marquisate of Guardia Grele (Chieti). This provided Camillo with a title and funds after he lost his Orsini lands. See Franca Allegrezza, "Formazione, dispersione, e conservazione di un fondo archivistico privato: Il fondo diplomatico dell'archivio Orsini tra medioevo ed età moderna," in *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* 114 (1991)77-99: 95. Also cited in Valone, "Matrons and Motives; Why Women Built in Early Modern Rome," 333 note 35.

⁷³⁶ Camillo had a son Enrico from a previous marriage, who died before him. See G.B. Colonna, *Gli Orsini*. Milan. 1955.

⁷³⁷ For a comparative table on Roman womens' dowries, see: Francesco Calcaterra, *La Spina Nel Guanto: Corti e Cortigiani Nella Roma Barocca*, Roma Storia, Cultura, Immagine 13 (Roma: Gangemi, 2004).

⁷³⁸ The Cimini family was of high ranking extraction, but apparently down on their luck in the seventeenth century. Caterina's birth name, Raimondi, features in lists of Roman noble houses; I have been unsuccessful

comfortable upper-class lifestyle with a disposable income; they do not appear to have had any children. References in Caterina's will to a few painted works demonstrate that she collected devotional works, albeit on a somewhat modest scale.⁷³⁹ An esteemed tastemaker for the papal court, Giovanni Battista associated the most influential members of the curia, foreign dignitaries, and local elite.⁷⁴⁰ Giovanni Battista's occupation as a perfumer to the papal court,⁷⁴¹ and having a respected ancestry granted him access to the hub of cultural and political exchange at the papal court, maintaining a status which most other members of the merchant class could not obtain. Giovanni Battista and Caterina, however, did not share equal social rank with the most elite members of Roman society. Significantly, Giovanni Battista owned and oversaw a business, distinguishing him from members of the noble, titled peerage who – in accordance with social

in connecting Caterina to any of the illustrious branches of this family. The couple leased a house on the Via della Scrofa from the Portuguese Congregation connected to the church of Sant'Antonio dei Portoghesi. For the testament of Gio. Battista Cimini, see: *Archivio Sant'Antonio dei Portoghesi, Book of Testaments*, f.101-124.

⁷³⁹ *Archivio Sant'Antonio dei Portoghesi, Book of Testaments*, f.101-124.

⁷⁴⁰ Giovanni Battista was mentioned in the will of Juan de Cordobá, the Spanish agent for Diego Velázquez in Rome, recompensing Giovanni for gloves he produced, for Beltran de Guevara, the Marquis of Campo Real, and Councilor of Philip IV of Spain. "Item ordina e vuole che si paghino al signor Giovanni Battista Cimini profumiere scudi cinquanta e baciocchi 40 moneta per tanti guanti havuti da lui dalla sua bottega mandati al Signor Beltram de Guevara a Gaeta in conformità del conto che ha il signor Carlo de Angelis, quia sic pariter." ASR, Trenta Notai Capitolini, uff. 33, vol. 274, cc. 967, r-v 1006r. The price paid for these gloves (over fifty scudi) was a very substantial sum, indicating the luxury status of Giovanni's manufacture. These gloves were the sort of scented gloves given as prized gifts at court. Catherine de' Medici imported scented gloves from Italy, and instituted them as a fashion at the Parisian royal court. Catherine even brought her favorite perfumer, Renato Bianco, from Florence to Paris when she married Henri II. Holly Dugan, *The Ephemeral History of Perfume: Scent and Sense in Early Modern England* (Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 132. See also: Amanda E Herbert, *Female Alliances, Gender, Identity, and Friendship in Early Modern Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014). See also: Alessandra Anselmi, ed., *I rapporti tra Roma e Madrid nei secoli XVI e XVII: arte, diplomazia e politica* (Roma: Gangemi editore SpA international publishing, 2014), 383.

⁷⁴¹ On the social role of perfumers in Italy, see: Evelyn S. Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance: Consumer Cultures in Italy 1400-1600* (New Haven, [Conn.]; London: Yale University Press, 2005).

custom – did not earn money through trade or entrepreneurial activity. Therefore, while extremely wealthy and well-connected as a patron, Caterina’s status varies from the other noblewomen known to have been involved in the commission of their own monuments.

7.6 NOTES ON SELF-COMMISSIONED MEMORIAL LOCATIONS

As Samuel Cohn has argued for the post-Tridentine period, the long-range effects of male testators, showing increasing “mutual respect and affection, rather than discipline and control,” opened up freedom of choices and increasing autonomy to widows.⁷⁴² This trend affected the decisions women made about the location of their burials and memorials. Lucrezia della Rovere (the niece of Pope Julius II and the wife of Marc’Antonio Colonna) commissioned Daniele da Volterra in 1550 to decorate a chapel in Trinità dei Monti that would serve as her place of burial, but *not* her husband’s. In instances of women commissioning their own monuments, female patrons often made explicit desires to be memorialized individually in a church closely associated to their own charitable giving. In most instances, these were not the churches where their husband or other kin by marriage were buried.⁷⁴³ Women requested burial in many churches; unsurprisingly, the churches selected by female patrons for impressive monuments exhibit only a small range: S. Maria in Aracoeli, S. Maria in Regina Coeli, S. Maria della Scala, S. Egidio, S. Antonio dei Portoghesi, and S. Maria in Publicolis.

⁷⁴² Cohn, *Women in the Streets*, 63.

⁷⁴³ “The Counter Reformation affected the choices women made with their bodies, at least in the last resort: the choice of their graves . . . women often selected places other than the vaults or ditches of their spouses.” Cohn, *Women in the Streets*, 63.

The memorials for Livia Prini Santacroce and Anna Barberini were located in churches belonging to the reformed mendicant order of Discalced Carmelites. In the early seventeenth century, this order gained monetary support through the largesse of Roman noblewomen Faustina Orsini and Margherita Colonna, the princess of Venafro, thereby connecting the order to two of Rome's most illustrious and ancient families.⁷⁴⁴ Connected to this ascetic order that focused on pious works and vows of poverty, the preference for participation or patronage of religious efforts with a direct effect on relieving urban or local poverty in part supports the propensity for women's self-commissioned memorials in these churches in Rome: Anna Colonna Barberini in fact founded the Discalced Carmelite church where she was buried.. In the remaining instances, family traditions of husbands seem to have been a motivating factor. Girolama Naro Santacroce ordered a monument for herself and husband in S. Maria in Publicolis, the church historically associated with Santacroce family.⁷⁴⁵ In the case of Caterina Raimondi Cimini, her husband had expressed specific plans for a chapel in S. Antonio in Portoghesi.

Within these church spaces, women chose honorific placements for their monuments. In the most extreme example, Anna Colonna Barberini's monument was originally placed to the right of the high altar of Santa Maria Regina Coeli, exemplifying the collaboration of installation and design with liturgical symbolism accessible to the most powerful Romans. According to a stipulation in Anna's will, her monument was to be placed at the high altar of Santa Maria Regina Coeli. This aspect of the monument is acknowledged in the accompanying inscription, which notes that the monument was set up "to be an image for an altar." In close spatial association with the

⁷⁴⁴ Saverio Sturm, *L'architettura Dei Carmelitani Scalzi in Età Barocca: La "Provincia Romana". Lazio, Umbria e Marche (1597-1705)* (Rome: Gangemi Editore Spa, 2015).

⁷⁴⁵ Montagu, "The Santacroce Tombs in S. Maria in Publicolis, Rome."

high altar and the celebration of communion mass, the monument's placement completed the visual conceit that Anna kneels at her prie-dieu in perpetual devotion of the Eucharist. The monument would have faced the window through which the Discalced Carmelite nuns of Santa Maria in Regina Coeli received Eucharist, reminding them of the role their benefactress in their personal salvation.⁷⁴⁶ Further reinforcing this role, Anna is posed with one hand on her breast, and the other extended in a gesture of offering; this gesture perhaps was intended to mirror the gesture of the priest extending the Eucharist to the nuns at the high altar. The complexity of this arrangement indicates the ways in which wealthy, influential women from Rome's most powerful families could have exercised control of the installation and design of their familial monuments in order to heighten the layered impact and liturgical significance of their own contribution to the church and congregation.

7.7 SELF COMMISSIONED MEMORIAL STRATEGIES: FINANCING A MONUMENT

In some cases of women's memorial patronage, women were entrusted with funds from their husbands in order to complete a memorial project. The well-documented patronage of the Vittoria della Tolfa provides some insight into these issues of "conjurally" self-commissioned monuments. Vittoria's husband, Camillo Orsini, died in 1553 leaving her a large sum of 17,000

⁷⁴⁶ Anna stipulated the exact placement of the monument at the main altar in her will, "incontro al fenestrino della Communione delle monache." *ASR, 30 Notai, Ufficio 28, Testamenti, 1657 – 1667*, f. 140r. See also: Marilyn Dunn, "Piety and Patronage in Seicento Rome: Two Noblewomen and Their Convents," *The Art Bulletin*, 76, no. 4 (December 1994): 644–663.

scudi that he had earmarked for a grand chapel and funerary monument in the Lateran to “be maintained by ten chaplains.”⁷⁴⁷ The childless Marchesa became the primary recipient of Camillo’s wealth upon his death. She was probably a generation younger than her husband, and outlived him by a substantial margin. During the thirty-three years of her widowhood – from 1553 until her death in 1586 – Vittoria commissioned a number of chapels and generously endowed religious houses. She was also an important advocate of the “new orders” as the founder and benefactress of the Jesuit Collegio Romano. In addition to her funerary chapel in the Aracoeli, Vittoria commissioned chapels in San Giacomo degli Incurabili and Santa Maria in Transpontina. In her will, Vittoria left one thousand *scudi* to the hospital at Santo Spirito, on the condition that a chapel be built within two years of her death, or the funds would be rescinded. In the chapel she funded there (dedicated to the Pentecost) Vittoria was given posthumous praise in a commemorative plaque and altarpiece attesting to her central role as church patron. Vittoria seems to have been equally litigious in her negotiations with her legacy at the Aracoeli. In 1581, she repealed the 2,000 *scudi* she had initially allocated to the Aracoeli, stipulating instead that her heirs pay annual installments of 150 *scudi* for the friars’ vestments.⁷⁴⁸ This endowment hinged on the condition that the friars celebrate a daily mass in her chapel. Vittoria instead chose to allocate the funds in a manner that coincided with more typically female concerns of humility, piety, and charity by apportioning the funds to a church and convent for Franciscan nuns. No known artists’ contracts for her own funerary chapel in S. Maria in Aracoeli survive. However, as Carolyn Valone

⁷⁴⁷ Johanna Heideman, “The Cinquecento Chapel Decorations in S. Maria in Aracoeli in Rome” (PhD, Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht, 1982), 118.

⁷⁴⁸ Johanna Heideman, “The Cinquecento Chapel Decorations in S. Maria in Aracoeli in Rome.” 119.

has argued, Vittoria's "formidable personality make it very unlikely that [she] would turn her money over in a docile manner" without having made her wishes made apparent.⁷⁴⁹

Vittoria instead chose to allocate Camillo's funds in a manner that coincided with more typically female concerns of humility, piety, and charity by apportioning the funds to churches and convent for Franciscan nuns. She later decided to erect the chapel (the Chapel of the Ascension) in the Aracoeli, which had previously been a beneficiary of her endowment. The Marchesa also ordered the entire decoration of her chapel, and allocated 1,000 *scudi* to the Reverend Antonio Gallo to supervise the installment of family coats of arms.⁷⁵⁰ Vittoria's case indicates that in special cases of women of independent means, women could break with the guidelines set forth by their husbands in order to more explicitly assert their own interests and concerns. Equally, their tomb patronage must be understood as part of the entire pious campaigns these women often undertook in order to demonstrate their largesse in pious bequests to a number of religious foundations.

As we have noted, Anna Colonna Barberini commissioned an especially magnificent monument: a gilt-bronze portrait bust set upon a black marble base in the shape of prie-dieu with a large cushion.⁷⁵¹ While the monument was set up after her death, it was clear, from stipulations in her will naming the artists to be used and outlining the monument's basic program, that she had control over her desires for funerary commemoration. For most female patrons, the type

⁷⁴⁹ Carolyn Valone, "The Pentecost: Image and Experience in Late Sixteenth Century Rome," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 24, no. 4 (1993): 801.

⁷⁵⁰ Heideman, "The Cinquecento Chapel Decorations in S. Maria in Aracoeli in Rome," 120.

⁷⁵¹ On Anna's monument see, "Anna Colonna Barberini," in *Art Quarterly* IX, 3 (Summer 1946): 270-273.; Katherine Neilson, "A Statue of Princess Anna Colonna Barberini," in *Buffalo Fine Arts Academy Albright Art Gallery: Gallery Notes* XI, 2 (January 1947): 3-21; Andrew C Ritchie, ed. *Catalogue of the Paintings and Sculpture in the Permanent Collection, Albright Art Gallery, Buffalo*. Buffalo, NY, 1949, p. 158-159, 203. no. 77; Giuseppe Sacchi Lodispoto, "Anna Colonna Barberini ed il suo monumento nel monastero di Regina Coeli," *Strenna dei Romanisti* XLIII (April 1982): 460-78.

expenditure lavished on tombs by popes and cardinals would be not feasible,⁷⁵² but Anna clearly invested an impressive sum in commissioning a monument. Anna funded the expense of her two new chapels in S. Maria in Regina Coeli and her own memorial through the 10,000 *scudi* obtained through the sale of jewels she offered from her own collection and which she wore in life: a gold and diamond *Madonna and Child* and a diamond cross given to her by Anne of Austria, the queen of France and a close friend.⁷⁵³ Anna apparently felt it appropriate that the sale of these items would fund pious works at her convent and provide the monetary backing for her memorial.⁷⁵⁴ By the sale of the jewels, with deep personal and sentimental meaning as well as being incredibly luxurious objects, would have increased the convincing nature of such a public act of self-abnegation, in complete accord with Discalced Carmelite ideals; the humble nature of her dress and lack of any jewelry in her effigy reflected on Anna's spiritual largesse and her public acts of relinquishing worldly material wealth to fund her religious commissions.⁷⁵⁵

⁷⁵² For the tomb of Lesa Deti Aldobrandini, Clement VIII spent over 1,000 scudi. Jennifer Montagu, *Alessandro Algardi* (New Haven: Published in association with the J. Paul Getty Trust by Yale University Press, 1985).

⁷⁵³ "Item lascio ordinato espressamente al mio erede che eseguita la mia morte faccia pigliare tra le mie robbe una gioia di diamanti consistente una Madonna d'oro con il bambino parimente d'oro tutta impessata di diamanti grossi, e piccoli con tre grosse gocce di Diamanti quale e riposta in una Casetta di velluto rosso sigillata con cera di Spagna nera con il mio sigillo, quale e la medesima che la Regina di Francia mi dono à me propria, et è stimata di valore di sei mila scudi. Questa il detto mio erede farà subito vendere al maggior prezzo che si troverà et il danaro che ne ritarrà lo dipositerà nel Monte della Pietà per eseguirne quanto dirò di sotto specificando nel deposito che il denaro previene dalla vendita di d.e gioie. Item lascio ordinato parimente al mio erede che eseguita la mia morte faccia pigliare tra le mie robba una gioia fatta in forma di Croce composta di quattro grossi diamanti fatti a facetta legati alla francese senza foglia e questa è la medesima Croce che mi donò S. Em.mo Sig.r Cardinal Antonio Barberini mio Sig.re cogniato, e questa è posta in una Casetta di Cerame dipinto sigillato con il mio sigillo con cera di Spagna nera, et si crede assenda il suo valore a scudi quattro mila, e questa il mio erede fara subito vendere, et il danaro che ne ritarrà farà subito depositare al Monte della Pietà dichiarando che previene dalla vendita di d.a Croce, e questo per eseguire quanto io diro appresso." *ASR, 30 Notai, Ufficio 28. Testamenti 1657-1677*.

⁷⁵⁴ Marilyn Dunn, "Piety and Patronage in Seicento Rome: Two Noblewomen and Their Convents," *The Art Bulletin*, 76, no. 4 (December 1994): 648.

⁷⁵⁵ Anna also makes clear in her will that her jewels and precious should benefit the convent of S. Maria in

7.8 CELEBRATING MOTHERHOOD

In recent study on early modern motherhood, Caroline Castiglione has shown Roman noblewomen took great stock and personal involvement in the raising of children.⁷⁵⁶ While most elite women in the study were mothers, not all of them were celebrated as such in the memorial. For instance, the memorial for Eleonora Boncompagni Borghese – a woman known for the extremely active role she took in the rearing of her children – does not mention her role as mother at all.⁷⁵⁷ In some-self commissioned examples of memorials, however, we can observe that women wished to centralize this aspect of their identity. Anna Colonna Barberini in particular emerges in her study as a woman who tirelessly advocated for her families – both the Colonna and Barberini – and provided for her children, especially after her husband Taddeo Barberini fled to France, leaving Anna in Rome to manage Barberini affairs. Unsurprisingly, Anna’s role as an ideal mother is celebrated in the inscription of her memorial, which notes, among other virtuous traits, that she “left behind some living images of herself in the form of offspring of holiness and high status,” who were “distinguished by leadership and great serenity in the exercise of authority” made all the

Regina Coeli. “Me Alla gran Madre di Dio Maria sempre vergine: e ciò in discolpa di tutto quello che io ò speso in tutto il tempo di mia vita per adornare il mio Corpo così di gioie et vestimenti desiderando che vice versa siano queste gioie che sono legittimamente mie vadino in adornare la chiesa della gran Regina del Cielo et il Santiss. che in essa si riposa Per tanto prego et incarico il mio erede à premere di fare eseguire il tutto subito eseguita la mia morte che se cio farà non solo iddio li sarà largo remuneratore Ma io gliene farò sentire la debita gratitudine se per la Divina misericordia dio mi darà luogo di pace.” *ASR, 30 Notai, Ufficio 28. Testamenti 1657-1677*. Also cited in Marilyn Dunn, “Piety and Patronage in Seicento Rome: Two Noblewomen and Their Convents,” 662.

⁷⁵⁶ Caroline Castiglione, *Accounting for Affection: Mothering and Politics in Early Modern Rome*, Early Modern History: Society and Culture (Houndsmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

⁷⁵⁷ For discussion of Eleonora’s commission, see the section “Providing Funds, Entreating Heirs” in this chapter.

more illustrious because they “were imbued with noble blood and education,” that Anna provided.⁷⁵⁸

In at least one instance, a Roman woman commissioned a pair of monuments for herself and her deceased child which stressed her role as an ideal caretaker and mourner. The widow Livia Prini Santacroce commissioned Alessandro Algardi for a monument for her young son, Prospero Santacroce, who died at a young age in battle in the War of Castro.⁷⁵⁹ Livia chose the site of S. Maria della Scala for the tomb probably because it contained a chapel the belonged to the Prini family; this is significant because the Santacroce, Livia’s marital family, already had a family church which was the historic burial site for most members of the Santacroce family.⁷⁶⁰ In commissioning her monument (and that constructed for her son) in this church, Livia expressed her autonomous desires to be buried and commemorated in the space of her own ancestors, rather than indicating her particular connections to the family of her husband.

As recorded in the inscription for the tomb of her son (fig. 108), she was personally responsible for retrieving his body from Ferrara, a detail that certainly attests to Livia’s strength of character and resolve in difficult times.⁷⁶¹ Overcome by her grief, it appears Livia invested her energy and funds in an expensive monument for her son, rather than for a husband, Francesco Santacroce.⁷⁶² At the same time it appears that she also imagined a distinctive memorial program

⁷⁵⁸ It is not known who penned the memorial inscription, but it seems likely, given the amount of control Anna exercised over the commission, that she likely had it set out before her death.

⁷⁵⁹ Montagu, *Alessandro Algardi*. Cat. 173.

⁷⁶⁰ For the role of this church in Santacroce family narratives, see: Montagu, “The Santacroce Tombs in S. Maria in Publicolis, Rome.”

⁷⁶¹ Montagu, “The Santacroce Tombs in S. Maria in Publicolis, Rome.”

⁷⁶² I have not been able to determine the date of death for Francesco, but it likely would have been some time before 1643, the date of Prospero’s death, and the date of Livia’s commission for his memorial.

for herself, commissioning Domenico Guidi for her own monument, which mirrors the basic structure of Prospero's earlier memorial. Guidi's bust of Livia cuts an imposing figure: she wears a large widow's peak, amplifying her proportions, and looks expectantly out into the distance (fig. 109). The memorial was "almost certainly" finished while Livia was still alive, making it one of only two examples of women's self-commissioned monuments to be installed during the lifetime of its female patron.⁷⁶³

Livia's own memorial inscription is a forceful and moving record on Livia's personal grief, and a desire for her memory to live on in close relationship with her son.

Livia Prini, wife of the marquis Francesco Santacroce, a Roman. She was a woman of measured wisdom and immeasurable devoutness, who chose as her own place of rest the one she had tended for her son, who had previously enjoyed good health, so that, being of one blood, their ashes might rest together.

The inscription characterizes Livia as a woman of "measured wisdom." While the inscription is quick to counterbalance this attribute with a more conventional reference to her extreme devoutness, it also suggests that Livia was inspired to adopt more traditionally masculine attributes in her self-presentation. Livia was already engaging in the masculine role of tomb patron, and it is therefore not entirely surprising that she might use this less-conventional mode of presentation in her memorial inscription.

While Livia is shown wearing a large widow's peak, an obvious signal of her fidelity to her husband, the inscription also foregrounds her role as an ideal mother. Underscoring this aspect of her identity even more, at the top of both the memorials for Prospero and Livia, is the sculpted figure of a pelican (fig. 110), who is shown pecking at her breast and to feed her children. As

⁷⁶³ Ferrari and Papaldo, *Le Sculture Del Seicento a Roma*, 328.

previously mentioned, this symbol was connected to the ideal of self-sacrifice, and in particular Christ's sacrifice for humanity, but in the context of Livia's commissions it also surely reflected on the patron's selfless acts as a mother, a role she, reaffirmed through her acts upon the death of her son, and continued in her own death, ensuring that she and her son would rest together in the afterlife. Although, it is not surprising that Livia presents herself as a grief-stricken mother – women were traditionally the central protagonists of Mediterranean funerals – it is noteworthy that she chose to publicize this aspect of her identity both in the inscription for the monument for her son, and in a commission for her *own* tomb, installed while she was still alive. As such, Livia's commissions can be seen as a powerful reflection on the capability of some early modern noblewomen to express personal autonomy in their choices for the location of the tomb within her own natal family traditions, and to use memorial commissions as a vehicle to declare their own substantial role as ideal mothers in the care of children.

7.9 DUTIFUL WIVES, DEFYING EXPECTATIONS

Two examples of self-commissioned sculpted monuments produced in the later-seventeenth century demonstrate a broadening autonomy for women of wealth to include themselves in commissions of monumental sculpture. In some instances, a woman's ability to commission a monument for herself was a result of a husband's concern and care for his wife. The example of the Caterina Raimondi Cimini, who we have previously met, provides an example of a husband's particular care for the commemoration for his wife, but also demonstrates the ways a female patron once again could manipulate the details put forth in her husband's will to emphasize her own personal agenda in her funerary monument.

Shortly before his death on October 7, 1682, Caterina's husband, named his wife the executor of his will and granted her possession of all his property, including his chapel in Sant'Antonio dei Portoghesi,⁷⁶⁴ which was then dedicated to St. Joseph. He left a sum to Caterina of 1500 scudi to be used in the construction and redecoration of the chapel, with a new dedication to John the Baptist, his name saint.⁷⁶⁵ Caterina's role as patron in Sant'Antonio dei Portoghesi is documented in the archives. This church and her own chapel clearly had deep personal meaning to Caterina: she spent the last ten years of her life decorating the funerary chapel. She ordered a hagiographic fresco cycle of the Life of the Baptist, painted by the artist Giacinto Calandrucci, who also painted the main altarpiece, a *Baptism of Christ* (fig. 111) Caterina commissioned a funerary bust of her husband Giovanni Battista that was installed around 1683 (fig. 112). As her husband expressed that Caterina should do in his will, Caterina made provisions for her own monument and accompanying inscription on the opposite wall. Caterina's testament also provides an uncommonly specific set of instructions for the visual program of the monument as well as its materials: it was to include her portrait and be accompanied by an inscription not simply carved but using gilt-metal inlay for the text: the text, as Caterina specified, was to detail all of her pious works, including her donations to the church.⁷⁶⁶ The lengthy inscription that accompanies Caterina's bust reiterates she was very famous because "unrivaled in her love of generosity and the reverence of her husband Giovanni, she was made his universal heir."⁷⁶⁷ In the case of such

⁷⁶⁴ For a list of associated members of the parish, see: *Livro dos Instrumentos perpetuos pertencentes a Ven. e Real Igr^a e Hospital de St^o Antonio da Nação Portuguesa de Roma* (Livro dos Instrumentos), II, ff.41-58, 4 luglio 1691.

⁷⁶⁵ Archivio Sant'Antonio dei Portoghesi, Book of Testaments, f.101-124.

⁷⁶⁶ *Archivio Sant'Antonio dei Portoghesi, Book of Testaments, f.101-124.*

⁷⁶⁷ This is recorded in the inscription accompanying Caterina's own memorial. I have loosely translated this slab as follows: "For Caterina Raimondi Cimini. She was very famous because unrivaled in her love of

conjugal commissions of monumental sculpture, the final products commissioned by women could express the marital harmony of the couple, and therefore the dutiful obedience of the wife. In fact, although Caterina worked tirelessly for ten years to ensure the completion of the chapel (and even commissioned the sculptural decoration of the church's high altar) the commemorative dedication plaque for the chapel gives all the credit to Giovanni Battista.⁷⁶⁸ At the same time, however, in the final bust that Caterina commissioned for herself, she is shown displaying a gesture of perpetual devotion (fig. 113, 114) towards the altarpiece (even mirroring Christ's exact posture), while the bust of her husband focuses his attention and adoration towards Caterina. Caterina's bust depicts in her in an austere manner of dress. She is clothed plainly in a bodice with little adornment, apart from a simple bow which fastens at the wide collar; her hair is tucked into a tight, neat bun. Such effective restraint contrasts with the more flamboyant dress of her husband, who wears a sumptuous coat with billowing sleeves. Her simple dress stands in sharp contrast with more elaborate costuming and sumptuary textures found on other contemporary funerary busts of Roman women. Indications of intentionality in these sumptuary choices around her bust can be seen in more clarity when comparing her bust to those of Girolama Naro Santacroce and Eleonora Boncompagni Borghese, both dated to around the same decade as Caterina's bust, who both wear much more sumptuous garb. The simple dress may reflect Caterina's own sartorial choices in life;

generosity and the reverence of her husband Giovanni, who on the third of December in the year 1703 he made her heir of all his goods. This shrine, once said of the forerunner of Christ erected by the same John, baptized Cimini, with the responsibility and enjoyments originating from his entire wealth that his expense it pleases him to provide the sacrament of the seven day Eucharist on the second venerable May holy day to the altar of his royal church of the nation of Portugal) and nay lest anyone have disagreement with such a great act of kindness for promoting piety of all the followers of Christ and increasing the congregation of the same nation of Portugal he (Cimini) of a grateful soul cared to build this everlasting monument." Many thanks to Tami Munford for assistance with the translation.

such a humble display aligned Caterina's presentation with the spiritual goals of the ascetic orders like the Franciscans; importantly, the church was dedicated to one of the most notable Franciscan saints, St. Anthony of Padua, who was particularly known for his extreme piety, his humility, and his vows of poverty. The lasting effect of Caterina's bust is one that demonstrates her role as humble Christian penitent, aligning her identity with the mission and ideals of the church community at S. Antonio, which contrasted to the life of luxury she was afforded as the wife to an esteemed merchant.

Additionally, as Jennifer Montagu's study on the Santacroce monuments in S. Maria Publicolis has brought to light, Girolama Naro Santacroce played a crucial role in the commission of family memorials, including her own funerary image.⁷⁶⁹ In commissioning a memorial for her husband, Antonio, Girolama fulfilled the stipulations of his will, which required his heirs to produce a tomb for him. However, it does not appear that Antonio had envisioned a memorial for his wife within the provisions of his will.⁷⁷⁰ By including her funerary image within the context of a funerary memorial, Girolama seems to have exercised a considerable amount of autonomy to ensure that her memorial would be included within family narratives of commemoration as well, demonstrating another instance in which female patrons could alter the expectations set out by their husbands.

⁷⁶⁹ Montagu, "The Santacroce Tombs in S. Maria in Publicolis, Rome."

⁷⁷⁰ See Montagu, "The Santacroce Tombs in S. Maria in Publicolis, Rome" for Antonio's will and stipulations regarding the commission.

7.10 CONCLUSIONS

The lack of contemporary biographical studies on many Roman noblewomen has effectively rendered many Roman women and their commemorative monuments “invisible” within studies of the early modern papal city. Recent art historical studies, however, have pioneered reexamination of the social position and social power of early modern Roman women. Examining the role of female religious patronage in Baroque Rome, scholars such as Carolyn Valone and Marilyn Dunn have explored women at the forefront of the Counter Reformation. Through their active roles as patrons of ecclesiastical texts and large-scale artworks, as founders of convents, and particularly through their commissioning of religious architecture, many noblewomen of sixteenth and seventeenth-century Rome gained public visibility and secured positions of authority that Renaissance societal and legal strictures had prevented. While these scholars have given significant attention to women’s large scale architectural patronage, they have yet to consider women who commissioned monuments, personal works which publically recorded their own lives and ambitions through inscriptions, and sometimes even their images in portrait busts.

As we have seen in this chapter, mourning and commemoration were familial concern not exclusive to men, so monuments were commissioned by all family members (both male and female) of the deceased. In the Post-Tridentine period, women were involved in the commission of tombs as patrons for monuments for their kin. While these commissions ostensibly commemorated the memory of other people, the inclusion of women’s names as patrons also gave them recognition in the public sphere as dutiful wives, daughters, sisters, and mothers.

Although women were sometimes patrons of sculpted memorials for kin, according to prevailing scholarship, only a “tiny number of laywomen gave themselves an effigy on a floor

slab,” nor “commissioned a portrait bust for [themselves] ... and never in bronze.”⁷⁷¹ In her study of female monastic patronage, K.J.P Lowe has pointed to a few Roman nuns commissioning their own funerary slabs.⁷⁷² Multiple avenues were available to elite women in considering their own funerary commemoration. Elite early modern women, as we have seen in this chapter did not always commission “humble” or “quiet” kinds of tombs, and in one instance, the patron even commissioned a monument for herself in bronze. Some women, while acknowledging their desire for a funerary monument in their wills, left the commission of a monument to their appointed heirs. A very few women commissioned their own monuments, but most were set up only after the death of the female patron. In the case of Vittoria Frangipane Orsini, the female patron spent significant energy on the construction of her chapel, but perhaps out of spiritual concerns, she did not place her own monument while living. Some elite women, like Girolama Naro Santacroce, commissioned and installed their own funerary image while still living. In the remarkable case of Livia Prini Santacroce, the female patron commissioned her monument as a pendant for the monument she commissioned for her son. We can also observe in the Post-Tridentine period that wealthy, non-aristocratic women were involved in the patronage of their monument. In the case of Caterina Raimondi Cimini, the female patron invested considerable energy in fulfilling her husband’s vision for a funerary chapel to light. While the inscription to her memorial gives deference to her husband’s role in the monument’s commission, her own representation in her funerary bust presents a clear motivation to be commemorated as more than a dutiful wife.

⁷⁷¹ Catherine King, *Renaissance Women Patrons*, 7.

⁷⁷² K. J. P. Lowe, *Nuns’ Chronicles and Convent Culture: Women and History Writing in Renaissance and Counter-Reformation Italy* (Cambridge, U.K. ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

While contemporaries such as Dolce and Vives insisted that a woman should never draw attention to herself, these female tomb patrons actively demanded the attention of a viewer. Importantly, these women chose sculpted, dimensional tomb portraits, commanding and thrusting themselves into the space of the viewer. Through the mediums of stone and bronze, these female patrons made their image permanent within the city.

EPILOGUE

8.0 BEYOND ROME: EARLY MODERN WOMEN'S MONUMENTS IN ITALY

This thesis, the first close study of women's memorials in early modern Rome, has catalogued over fifty wall monuments for women. I have shown that women in this city were not just praised for their activities in the domestic sphere, but were celebrated for their contributions to civic and religious life in the city as well. My analysis of the patronage of these memorials demonstrates that they were commissioned by a range of elite men *and* women wishing to publically acknowledge that some women's characters and actions were exempla which functioned alongside and even independently of the memorials of their male peers. As such, my thesis not only adds to the expanding body of scholarship on women patrons of Roman architecture, but also adds a significant new dimension by considering female patrons and subjects of public sculpture. Furthermore, many of the observations made in this study apply to women's funerary memorials from these centuries made in other Italian cities that so far have been neglected by scholars. This brief post-script describes some key examples and outlines possible avenues for future research.

8.1 EFFIGIES, GENDER, AND IDENTITY IN EARLY MODERN NAPLES

Like Rome, Naples was – as it still is – an Italian metropolis with a diverse population and a relatively fluid social hierarchy. It is especially worthy of future analysis because of the large number of women's monuments produced there in the early modern period. According to Yoni Ascher, women's memorials in this urban center were commissioned in a greater proportion than

in Rome.⁷⁷³ Most of these monuments included full length effigies. While many early examples followed the Neapolitan tradition of placing the woman's effigy (carved in relief) at the lower register of a husband's tomb,⁷⁷⁴ some women were memorialized in individual monuments, as in the tomb of Caterina Pignatelli (ca. 1515-1520) and Caterina della Ratta (ca. 1510).⁷⁷⁵

In the period of Catholic Reform, Neapolitan women also received grand memorial effigies. The enormous free-standing monument commissioned by Don Pedro de Toledo in S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli (ca. 1550-1570) includes full-length effigies of the male patron and his wife, Maria Orsorio Pimentel (fig. 115).⁷⁷⁶ The full-length effigy and memorial of Vittoria del Caro Cacace in San Lorenzo Maggiore (figs. 14, 116, ca. 1653) by Andrea Bolgi is larger than anything produced for any of her contemporaries in Rome, perhaps with the exception of Nicolas Cordier's monument to Lesa Aldobrandini. The Neapolitan monument commemorates the mother of the chapel's patron, Giovan Camillo Cacace, a successful Neapolitan lawyer.⁷⁷⁷ Notably, the type of full-length effigy used in Vittoria's memorial, depicting the deceased kneeling in genuflection, was used on

⁷⁷³ See Yoni Ascher, "Politics and Commemoration in Renaissance Naples: The Case of Caterina Pignatelli," 145.

⁷⁷⁴ See for example the tomb of Giovan Francesco Pignone and Cecilia Orsini (c. 1550) in San Lorenzo Maggiore and the tomb of Giovannello de Cuncto and Lucrezia Filangieri in S. Maria delle Grazie e Caponapoli (first decade of the 15th century). On the prevalence of this monument type in Naples, see: J.C. Robinson, *Italian Sculpture of the Middle Ages and Period of the Revival of Art* (London, 1862), 112.

⁷⁷⁵ On these tombs see: Ascher, "Politics and Commemoration in Renaissance Naples: The Case of Caterina Pignatelli."; Yoni Ascher, "The Tomb of Caterina Della Ratta and the Iconography of the Reclining Reader in Renaissance Sepulchral Art," *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 14, no. 2 (1995): 11–18.

⁷⁷⁶ On this tomb, and its significance within Italo-Iberian politics, see most recently, Piers Baker-Bates, Piers Baker-Bates, and Miles Pattenden, *The Spanish Presence in Sixteenth-Century Italy: Images of Iberia* (Routledge, 2016).

⁷⁷⁷ On Cacace, see: Francesco Abbate, *Storia Dell'arte nell'Italia Meridionale*, Progetti Donzelli (Roma: Donzelli, 1997), 45.

several occasions for the tombs of Roman men,⁷⁷⁸ but never employed for the tomb woman in Rome.

The Spinelli Chapel in S. Caterina in Formiello contains an impressive number of women's memorials. The memorials for Caterina Orsini (d. 1566) and Virginia Carraciolo (d. 1576), each containing a bust effigy, were constructed as pendants to the memorials of their husbands, Traiano Spinelli and Giovanni Vincenzo. While the authorship of these monuments is debated and the dating problematic, they were certainly among the first tombs commissioned for women in this grand chapel by the high altar.⁷⁷⁹ The wall memorials produced for Dorotea Spinelli, the Countess of Palena and Isabella Spinelli, the countess of Nicastro (both dated circa. 1570-1590, figs. 117 and 118)⁷⁸⁰ are especially worthy of attention among late sixteenth century Neapolitan women's tombs for their unusual visual schemes which both contain full-length effigies in high relief which are shown seated – not standing or recumbent – on bench.⁷⁸¹ Art historians have given attention to

⁷⁷⁸ See for example the monuments produced for the men of the Bolognetti family in the church Gesù e Maria.

⁷⁷⁹ For an early description of the Spinelli chapel, see Cesare d'Eugenio Caracciolo, *Napoli Sacra: Que Oltre Le Vere Origini, e Foundationi Di Tutte Le Chiese, Monasterij, Cappelle, Spedali, e D'altri Luoghi Sacri Della Città Di Napoli, e De' Suoi Borghi. Si Tratta Di Tutti i Corpi, e Reliquie De' Santi* (Naples: Ottavio Beltrano, 1623), 150. For problems of dating and attribution, see; Alessandro Grandolfo, "La Decorazione Scultorea Della Cappella Turbolo in Santa Maria La Nova a Napoli," in *Cinquantacinque Racconti Per i Dieci Anni. Scritti Di Storia Dell'arte* (Catanzaro: Soveria Mannelli, 2013), 203–220.

⁷⁸⁰ Caracciolo, *Napoli Sacra*, 150.

⁷⁸¹ Like other tombs in this chapel, various sculptors have been suggested for these tombs. In the upper lunette portion of each tomb are holy figures: a relief of the Virgin and Child appears on the tomb of Dorotea, and God the Father is placed above Isabella's effigy on her monument; both women hold prayer books in their effigy and look upward towards the reliefs above them, suggesting the heavenward direction of their prayers. Both Dorotea and Isabella wear loose fitting, simple gowns and veils, perhaps indicating their status as religious tertiaries. Significantly, is shown with her hand resting on her temple, a pose used in painting and sculpture used to symbolize a melancholic disposition. In a funerary context, it was a pose more often used for men and especially the tombs of artists and scholars. The chapel also contain a tomb slab commemorating Ippolita di Capua. See: Caracciolo, *Napoli Sacra*, 150.

the secular patronage of Spinelli men in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century in commissions that attested to the great learning and social position of this family in Naples. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Spinelli sought to advance and secure their position under the imperial rule of Spain and marked their rise to princely status with large palazzi containing splendid libraries and collections of art.⁷⁸² The contributions of women from this family, however, have not been studied, although they also apparently commissioned religious works of art and amassed impressive art collections.⁷⁸³ Spinelli women were acknowledged and publically celebrated in their tomb commissions by male kin; the tomb for Dorotea, to make one example, refers to her “illustrious” qualities, an intentional reference, perhaps, to the earlier tombs for female members of the royal Angevin dynasty, Agnese and Clare Durazzo (ca. 1408), in S. Chiara, or the tomb for Margherita Durazzo (ca. 1412) in nearby Salerno, which each include specific references to the “illustrious” character of the women.

As Helen Hills has observed, Naples – like other Baroque cities – has been primarily understood as a city built “top-down” by men in positions of power.⁷⁸⁴ As Carolyn Valone has argued for women in Rome, Hills has similarly observed that elite Neapolitan women shaped the

⁷⁸² On the library of Prince Ferdinand Vincenzo Spinelli, Prince of Tarsia, see: Paola Bertucci, “The Architecture of Knowledge: Science, Collecting, and Display at the Museo Tarsia,” in *New Approaches to Naples C.1500-c.1800: The Power of Place*, ed. Melissa Calaresu and Helen Hills (Farnham, Surrey, UK ; Burlington, VT, USA: Ashgate, 2013).

⁷⁸³ In her book chapter on the role of women in early modern Naples, Elisa Novi Chavarria mentions that Isabella Spinelli had a significant art collection, not yet the subject of study. In the sixteenth and seventeenth century, there were several women named Isabella from this family and Chavarria does not clarify to which Isabella she refers to. Elisa Novi Chavarria, “The Space of Women,” in *A Companion to Early Modern Naples*, ed. Tommaso Astarita, Brill’s Companions to European History volume 2 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2013), 181.

⁷⁸⁴ Helen Hills, “Cities and Virgins: Female Aristocratic Convents in Early Modern Naples and Palermo,” *Oxford Art Journal* 22, no. 1 (1999): 31.

appearance of their city through patronage, both secular and sacred.⁷⁸⁵ The monuments commissioned for Spinelli women, and likely other Neapolitan women yet to be discussed, show another way women in this city were represented as female worthies who elevated the family's honor and prestige.

8.2 FLORENCE: MEMORIALIZING A FEMALE PAINTER AT THE COURT OF MARIA MADDALENA DE'MEDICI

Florence— ruled by republican government for most of the in the fifteenth century —has been singled out by Catherine King as a city in which the representation of a woman with a tomb effigy was especially rare. As Natalie Tomas and Gabrielle Langdon have argued, the public influence and role of elite women changed during sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when Florence was under the control of the Medici Grand Dukes;⁷⁸⁶ the Grand Duchesses Joanna of Austria, Mara Maddalena, and Vittoria della Rovere shaped the development of art, music, and literature through their patronage and supported a number of creative women at their respective courts.

The tomb monument (ca. 1625, fig. 119) for Arcangela Paladini (1599-1622) in S. Felicitá in Florence memorializes the favorite artist and musician at the court of the Medici Grand Duchess Maria Maddalena, acclaimed for her talents as a painter and singer.⁷⁸⁷ Notably, the tomb includes

⁷⁸⁵ See most recently, Helen Hills, *Invisible City: The Architecture of Devotion in Seventeenth-Century Neapolitan Convents* (Oxford : New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁷⁸⁶ Natalie Tomas, *The Medici Women: Gender and Power in Renaissance Florence*, Women and Gender in the Early Modern World (Aldershot, Hampshire, England ; Burlington, Vt: Ashgate, 2003); Gabrielle Langdon, *Medici Women: Portraits of Power, Love and Betrayal from the Court of Duke Cosimo I* (Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2006).

⁷⁸⁷ According to Barbara Russano Hanning, Paladini may have even served as the young model for

a sculpted bust effigy of Arcangela, which rests above a black marble sarcophagus. The accompanying inscription to Arcangela's tomb, comparing her to Pallas Athena and Apelles, invites the visitor to leave tears and roses as tribute.⁷⁸⁸ Allegorical figures on either side of the tomb, appropriately representing Painting and Music, seemingly mourn Arcangela's death: Painting props her head on her chin suggesting melancholy, while Music looks heavenward with a solemn expression.

Arcangela's tomb shows how the career of a creative woman working at the highest level of Florentine society and the artistic patronage of an aristocratic woman overlapped with the project of memorialization in the seventeenth-century. Commissioned by Maria Maddalena, Arcangela's monument is the only example of a tomb that I am aware of that was commissioned by a member of the Grand Ducal household to commemorate an artist, either male or female. Therefore it is significant as an example of court patronage that concerns the celebration of a non-aristocratic individual. The monument was erected in the loggia of S. Felicitá, the church associated with the Medici who obtained private access from the Vasari Corridor. In this context Arcangela's memorial image was connected to her most famous portrait that she produced in life: in 1621, Paladini was requested by the Medici to complete a self-portrait which was included among the collection of portraits of famous men and women that lined the gallery of the Vasari Corridor. In this way, she was represented in multiple in different, but linked contexts, which attested to the fame she accrued during her short life, and validated her female accomplishment as worthy of

Artemisia Gentileschi's paintings of St. Cecilia, a saint devoted by the Medici Grand Duchesses. Barbara Russano Hanning, "From Saint to Muse: Representations of Saint Cecilia in Florence," *Music in Art: International Journal for Music Iconography* 29, no. 1/2 (2004).

⁷⁸⁸ The inscription is transcribed in Alessandro da Morrona, *Pisa Illustrata Nelle Arti Del Disegno*, vol. 2 (Presso G. Marenigh, 1812), 493.

special remembrance among members of the Medici court.

8.3 IMPERIAL POWER: MONUMENTS FOR MARGARET OF PARMA AND BARBARA OF AUSTRIA

Major social histories treating women's legal rights, marriage and dowry, and women's monastic communities have concentrated on northern Italy, with a focus on Tuscan and Emilian topics. Art historians have also centered their research on female networks of patronage within these more studied regions.⁷⁸⁹ In particular, Katherine McIver and Sally Hickson have shown the ways Northern Italian women manipulated and shaped their environments through patronage – including the commission of architecture – to a much larger degree than has been previously thought.⁷⁹⁰

The monuments for early modern Italian women in the northern courts show that the agency that elite women exercised within Emilia was recognized and acknowledged by their male peers. The memorial sculpted by the Simone Moschino for Margaret of Parma (1522-1586) in San Sisto in Piacenza (ca. 1586-1587, fig. 120) displays the way one women of the highest rank was

⁷⁸⁹ For a general treatment of artistic culture at the northern courts, see recent volume of collected essays in Charles Rosenberg, ed., *The Court Cities of Northern Italy: Milan, Parma, Piacenza, Mantua, Ferrara, Bologna, Urbino, Pesaro, and Rimini*, Artistic Centers of the Italian Renaissance (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

⁷⁹⁰ See: Katherine A. McIver, *Women, Art, and Architecture in Northern Italy, 1520-1580: Negotiating Power, Women and Gender in the Early Modern World* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006); Sally Hickson, *Women, Art and Architectural Patronage in Renaissance Mantua: Matrons, Mystics and Monasteries, Women and Gender in the Early Modern World* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012).

remembered on a scale that rivaled papal commissions in Rome. The size of the monument is fitting for the social standing of its dedicatee: Margaret was the natural daughter of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, wife of Ottavio Farnese, and mother to Alessandro Farnese.⁷⁹¹ Through her connections to two of the most politically significant dynasties in Europe – the Habsburgs and the Farnese – Margaret played a key political role on the Italian and European stage. She served as co-regent of the Netherlands from 1559 to 1567; from 1567 to her death, she served as governor of Abruzzo (which was under Farnese control) while also serving as an advisor to her son, recently appointed the Governor General of the Low Countries.⁷⁹² Her death in 1586 was marked with elaborate funerary celebrations throughout Italy, but most notably at San Sisto in Piacenza, her elected place of burial.⁷⁹³ Her massive pyramidal tomb structure, taking up the entire altar wall of its chapel, is constructed of precious black and yellow marble, with reclining allegorical figures, putti, and imperial symbols; while the monument does not contain a portrait of Margaret, original plans for the monument may have included a bronze full-length effigy.⁷⁹⁴

The commission and iconography of Margaret's tomb has been discussed by Bruno Adorni, but so far there has been no effort to contextualize her monument with others produced for women in the north of Italy, notably the tomb for her cousin Barbara of Austria (1539-1572) in the Gesù

⁷⁹¹ For a recent biography on Margaret of Parma, see: Charles R. Steen, *Margaret of Parma: A Life* (Brill, 2013).

⁷⁹² See: Massimo Sargiacomo, "Accounting and the 'Art of Government': Margaret of Austria in Abruzzo (1539–86)," *European Accounting Review* 17, no. 4 (2008): 667–695; Katherine Wallace, "Mia Patrona e Signora—Politics, Patronage, and Performance Among the North Italian Duchesses," *Sun Yat-sen Journal of Humanities* 28 (January 2010): 49–63.

⁷⁹³ On the obsequies produced for Margaret, see: Schraven, *Festive Funerals in Early Modern Italy*, 142–143.

⁷⁹⁴ Bruno Adorni, *L'Architettura Farnesiana a Piacenza, 1545-1600* (Luigi Battei, 1982), 182.

in Ferrara (fig. 121).⁷⁹⁵ Through her marriage to Alfonso II d'Este in 1569, Barbara strengthened the Ferrarese connection to the Habsburg court, an ally which backed Este claims to precedence during conflicts with the Medici and Papal Crown.⁷⁹⁶ Like many other wealthy women discussed in this study, Barbara exerted influence through her religious commissions. In one of her most public acts of patronage, she used her own funds to establish the *Conservatore delle Orfane di Santa Barbara*, which provided aid to young orphan girls displaced by a devastating earthquake in 1570.⁷⁹⁷ Barbara was also among the earliest supporters of the Jesuits in Ferrara. As an act of her devotion to the order, she founded the church of the Gesù in the early 1570s, and also left them a large sum of money upon her death.⁷⁹⁸

Like Alfonso's first wife, Lucrezia de' Medici, Barbara died at a young age (likely of tuberculosis), but of Alfonso's wives, only Barbara was honored with a funerary monument. Apparently loyal to Barbara throughout his life, Alfonso commissioned the work nineteen years after Barbara's death and while still married to his third wife, Margherita Gonzaga. The monument, designed and sculpted by the Ferrarese sculptor Francesco Casello, was placed at the main apse of the church. It is composed of a red marble base decorated with white marble festoons and sculpted

⁷⁹⁵ Apart from a few mentions in secondary literature on early modern Ferrara, however, neither Barbara's position at court nor her monument have been fully developed by scholars.

⁷⁹⁶ For the most recent discussion of the precedence controversy, see Alessandra Contini, "Aspects of Medicean Diplomacy in the Sixteenth Century," in *Politics and Diplomacy in Early Modern Italy The Structure of Diplomatic Practice, 1450–1800*, ed. Daniela Frigo, Cambridge Studies in Italian History and Culture (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

⁷⁹⁷ Joanna Weinberg, "'The Voice of God': Jewish and Christian Responses to the Ferrara Earthquake of 1570," *Italian Studies* 46, no. 1 (1991): 69–91.

⁷⁹⁸ Anthony Colantuono, "Estense Patronage and the Construction of the Ferrarese Renaissance, c. 1395–1598," in *The Court Cities of Northern Italy: Milan, Parma, Piacenza, Mantua, Ferrara, Bologna, Urbino, Pesaro, and Rimini*, ed. Charles Rosenberg, Artistic Centers of the Italian Renaissance (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 236.

putti who also hold up the monuments simple inscriptional plaque: “BARBARA ARCHIDVCISSA AVSTRIA DVCISSA FERRARIA.” The base is surmounted by an eagle – a prominent symbol of the Este – and a large sarcophagus upon which sit full length allegorical figures of Strength and Glory. The monument is capped by a portrait bust of Barbara. While the portrait bust of Barbara has been described as a “blandly predictable,” example the monument is nonetheless notable as one of the major sculptural projects completed in the last quarter of the sixteenth century in Ferrara.⁷⁹⁹ The unusual selection of the figures of Strength and Glory, virtues more commonly associated with the rule of men, suggests that Barbara’s life – nearly twenty years after her death – resonated with the Este as a powerful symbol of the family’s authority and contributions to religious culture, even as this branch of the Este line faced extinction.⁸⁰⁰

The tombs for Margaret and Barbara are just two of the most significant women’s memorials produced within the northern courts during this period, and are emblematic of the power these daughters of the Habsburg dynasty wielded politically and religiously in support of the Catholic cause. These impressive memorials, constructed just six years apart from one another, provide the opportunity to consider the role and legacy of these women within courtly networks of patronage that existed between the Farnese, Este, and Imperial crown at the close of the sixteenth century.

⁷⁹⁹ Colantuono, “Estense Patronage and the Construction of the Ferrarese Renaissance,” 236.

⁸⁰⁰ On this aspect of Este history, see: Colantuono, “Estense Patronage and the Construction of the Ferrarese Renaissance.”

8.4 ON THE EDGES: WOMEN'S MONUMENTS IN APULIA

A pan-Italic treatment of women's monuments must also engage with sculptural production in regions that have been underrepresented in major studies on early modern Italian sculpture. Apulia especially remains on the periphery of scholarly focus. A few studies by Italian scholars, however, have highlighted the city of Bari as an active site of artistic patronage in this region.⁸⁰¹ Notably for this research, a grand memorial (ca. 1593, fig. 122) for the Italian born consort of King Sigismund I of Poland, Bona Sforza (1494-1557), was constructed in the biggest and most prestigious church in Bari: S. Nicola. While it has been little discussed by art historians, this monument constitutes perhaps the most significant example of a royal woman's tomb produced outside of Rome in the late cinquecento.

The suspicious nature of Bona's death – she was perhaps poisoned by her political advisor in Bari⁸⁰² makes her monument a compelling commission within a politically charged and volatile climate. Suspicious of Bona's Italian customs and influence, contemporary Polish critics painted an unattractive image of the dowager queen as a ruthless woman with a penchant for poisoning her enemies, a practitioner of love magic, and as an unfit mother who brokered and gambled the lives of her children to further her own political ambitions.⁸⁰³ The unhappy

⁸⁰¹ Clara Gelao, ed., *Scultura Del Rinascimento in Puglia: Atti Del Convegno Internazionale, Bitonto, Palazzo Municipale*, 21-22 Marzo 2001 (Bari: Edipuglia, 2004).

⁸⁰² Shortly after Bona's death, rumors circulated that Bona had been poisoned by her trusted advisor, Giovan Lorenzo Pappacoda, on the instruction of Philip II of Spain who owed a considerable sum to Bona for a sizeable loan. For the political context surrounding the relationship between Spain and Bona's court at Bari, see: Enrique Martinez Ruiz, "Philip II and the Duchy of Bari," in *Spain and Sweden in the Baroque Era (1600-1660)* (Fundación Berndt Wistedt, 2000), 242.

⁸⁰³ Meredith K. Ray, *Daughters of Alchemy: Women and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2015); Carey Fleiner and Elena Woodacre, *Virtuous*

relationship between Bona and her son is reflected in an anecdote from the court at Krakow: after rumors emerged that Bona had poisoned Barbara Radziwill (her daughter-in-law and Protestant sympathizer whom Bona notoriously regarded with disdain),⁸⁰⁴ her son, Zygmunt August II, apparently only met with her wearing gloves, a precautionary measure to prevent the transference of poison through the skin.⁸⁰⁵ In 1556, despite protestation from her son who preferred a “genteel incarceration” for his mother in Krakow, Bona returned to her native Bari, where she died penniless, obliged to cede her claims to estates in Naples to Philip II of Spain.⁸⁰⁶

The tomb, sculpted by anonymous artists from Carrara, takes up the entirety of the back wall of the apse, altering the appearance and original Byzantine configuration of this space. The central focus of the massive tomb, Bona’s full-length, genuflecting effigy – set on top of a black marble sarcophagus, and flanked by reclining allegorical figures and statues of Polish saints Casimir and Stanislaus – presents Bona in the modest widow’s garb she wore at the end of her life as Duchess of Bari. Orienting her attention and prayers towards the altar of St. Nicolas, Bona plays the role of pilgrim to this site of saintly devotion, humbly coming to God as a true penitent on her knees.

This monument presents the opportunity to discuss the female relationships that existed within pan-European dialogues of dynasty, power and rulership. Bona’s daughter Anna Jagiellon

or Villainess? The Image of the Royal Mother from the Early Medieval to the Early Modern Era. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016),

⁸⁰⁴ On the uneasy relationship between Barbara and Bona, see: Daniel Z. Stone, *The Polish-Lithuanian State* (University of Washington Press, 2014), 52-54.

⁸⁰⁵ See: Marianne Sághy, *Women and Power in East Central Europe: Medieval and Modern* (Los Angeles: Schlacks, 1993), 118 note 3.

⁸⁰⁶ Sharon L Jansen, *The Monstrous Regiment of Women: Female Rulers in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2002), 168; Peter G. Bietenholz, Thomas Brian Deutscher, and Desiderius Erasmus, eds., *Contemporaries of Erasmus: a Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation* (Toronto ; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 165.

(1523-1596), who reigned Queen of Poland and Duchess of Lithuania), was the patron of Bona's memorial. Anna ordered her mother's monument while still living at court in Krakow, personally coordinating and managing networks of artistic patronage from hundreds of miles away. Although Anna is known for her memorial commissions in Poland for other male members of her family, her involvement in establishing a monument for her mother clearly shows that the reaffirmation of her maternal connection to Italy was particularly important to her identity.

Women's monuments in Apulia were not only limited to those examples of royal women. The tomb constructed for Beatrice Acquaviva (fig. 123, ca. 1637) in Cavallino (in the province of Lecce) represents a memorial dedicated to a woman in the provincial center of her influence. Upon her death, Beatrice was honored with an exceptional funeral that included extensive funerary celebrations, orations, and the production of a large catafalque.⁸⁰⁷ Her husband, Marquis Francesco Castromeridiano, commissioned her tomb shortly after her death, placed in the church of S. Nicolo e Domenico. Her memorial, although clearly the work of a lesser sculptor is significant for its unusual visual program, which depicts husband and wife in full-length standing effigy standing atop a marble base supported by rampant lions. Notably, the effigies of Beatrice and Francesco clasp hands. While this scheme was common in late medieval tombs produced in England, I am unaware of any other Italian example which presents the effigies in this more personalized type of gesture. This example proves that the commemoration of a wife with an intimate expression of love and devotion was a choice available to patrons, although few may have selected it.

⁸⁰⁷ Francesca Cannella, "The Ephemeral Baroque of the Exequies for Beatrice Acquaviva D'Aragona (Cavallino-Lecce, 1637)," *Music in Art* 37, no. 1/2, *The Courts in Europe: Music Iconography and Princely Power* (Fall 2012): 101–110.

8.5 CONCLUSIONS

Some of the women discussed here are well-known historical figures – for example, Margaret of Parma and Bona Sforza– but so far their monuments have only been studied from the perspective of formal analysis, with little consideration of how their monuments presented messages about their individual lives, characters, or how their tombs collaborated with other portraits that circulated in their lifetimes. Apart from these examples, however, the majority of these women have not been studied. It is clear that even at this preliminary stage, we can already observe a rich tapestry of women’s monuments that includes examples beyond just those tombs produced for noblewomen of the highest rank and position. As for the case of Rome, women’s monuments were also produced for women from lesser noble families and even celebrated creative women of non-aristocratic rank who had achieved significant recognition for their talent.

The continued study of women’s effigies, memorial inscriptions, tomb locations, and types of patronage can recover a rich body of public testimonials that serve as evidence to the various ways women were celebrated in the seventeenth century across the Italian peninsula. The examples illustrated here are just some of the few monuments that I have located so far. There are certainly more examples across Italy that survive in archival material, drawings, and in the churches themselves. My next step, therefore, in developing this study of women’s sculpted memorials will be to find them and weave them together in discussion.

The regions discussed in this epilogue were controlled by a variety of governments and political climates, from Grand Ducal Florence, to the Kingdom of Naples under Spanish control. It is apparent, however, that differences in governmental structure and local sculptural traditions affected the development of women’s monuments in each region at different times, and influenced the choices made when constructing a woman’s funerary monument. The construction of a tomb

for Beatrice Acquaviva in the small town of Cavallino shows that the commemoration of women was not limited to large urban contexts, nor to the confines of the northern courts and Papal States. A more complete image of women's history and sculpture can be achieved by studying these examples produced in provincial or rural contexts. Moreover, the examination of women's memorials can uncover the influence and role of women in southern areas – like Campania and Apulia – which have been a geographical blind spot in the discipline and have not factored in study of early modern women and art at all. As shown in the examples of women like Margaret of Parma, Barbara of Austria, and Bona Sforza, women's monuments can also give us a better picture of the movements of elite women across regions and how their various roles as duchesses and governors were commended in light of local, regional, and transnational political concerns.

Finally, by studying women's monument across Italy, we can obtain a more complete image of the role of female artists and other creative women in the early modern period. In this period, a few exceptional women gained international acclaim through their creative talents; although a small number of these women were given major funerals, only a very select few were given any type of funerary memorial. By cataloguing and examining these memorials, we can arrive at different ideas about the roles and positions of women artists that further enrich our understanding of how women artists were perceived, honored, and visually represented in the public domain.

Although these monuments are posthumous and idealized portraits of the women they commemorate, they reflect the social parameters and gender attitudes of their environments. Early modern Italy was a patriarchy in which women were subservient to men, but the extent of male social control and dominance varied by degrees depending on location. Differences in early modern Italian government structures, legal codes, and other factors between regions – and even cities with the same province – require a nuanced approach to male and female relationships within

specific areas. With the continued study of monuments produced for women in a variety of locales we will arrive at a far more complex understanding of the ways women accessed power and achieved recognition across the backdrop of major urban renewal, religious change, and social shifts.

APPENDIX A

Table 1. Women’s Memorials in Rome, 1300-1750

Name	Description	Self-Commi ssioned	Date	Linked with Male tomb	Church	Bib.	Notes	Image [redacted]
Giovanna (Vanna) Aldobrandeschi dei Conti di Santa Flora	Full-length sarcophagus	No	Date of death sometime in the 13th century. 15th and 17th century reconstructions.	Yes-Tomb of Honorius IV and Luca Savelli.	Sta. Maria in Aracoeli	Federici and Garms, Tombs of Illustrious Italians at Rome. 123-124.	A short epigraph dated 1407 may commemorate the translation of Vanna’s remains to the Aracoeli [See Forcella, Vol. I, entry 486.]	
Bartholomea Massimi	Memorial slab with full length incised effigy of deceased	No	13th century (exact date unknown)	No	Sta. Maria in Aracoeli	Panvinio (Cod. Vat. 6168); Casmiro, Memorie Istoriche Della Chiesa e Convento Di S. Maria in Aracoeli Di Roma, 272; Forcella, Iscrizioni Delle Chiese e Degli Altri Edificii Di Roma. Vol. I, entry 407; Davies, p. 258.		Photo Image Source: Fototeca Zeri, Università di Bologna, entry 71994. Pompeo, Famiglie celebri italiane, Vol. III, 23. n. 4.
Angela Catellani	Memorial slab with full length incised effigy of deceased	No	13th century (date unknown)	No	S. Barbara de’Librai	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. II. Cl. X, n. 5, p. CCXCIV; Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 790.		
Egidia Alberini	Memorial slab with full length effigy of the deceased	No	14th century (exact date unknown)	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Galletti, T. III. Cl. XX, no. 91. p. CCCCXXIV; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 466.	Forcella sites this tomb as a “fragment” in front of the chapel of St. Paul. See also	

							the example of the tomb of Giovanni Alberini (circa. 1490) in S. Maria sopra Minerva.	
Lelia Stinchi	Memorial slab with effigy of the deceased	No	14th century (exact date unknown)	No	S. Matinello al Ponte a Pietà	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253. P. II. fol. 284; Forcella, Vol. X, entry 352.		
Maria Frangipane	Memorial slab with full-length incised effigy of defunct with coats of arms	No	14th century (exact date unknown)	No	Santa Cecilia in Trastevere	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8254. P. I, fol. 27v; Forcella Vol. II, entry 71.		
Giacoma Caranzoni	Small memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	14th century (exact date unknown)	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 79; Galletti, T. III. Cl. XX. no. 88, p. CCCCXXIII; Forcella Vol. I, entry 469.	Galletti records this simple pavement slab in front of the chapel of S. Matteo.	
Paola Caudulfini [alternately Paola di Giovanni Rainolfo]	Memorial slab with full length incised effigy and coat of arms.	No	14th century (exact date unknown)	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 250; Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XX, n. 28 p. CCCVII; Forcella Vol. I, entry 416; Davies, p. 256.	Forcella records this tomb slab in the pavement, between the sixth and seventh column on the left side of the nave.	Photo Image Source: Fototeca Zeri, Università di Bologna, entry 71996.
Francesca Antonacci	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	14th century (exact date unknown)	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Cassiano dal Pozzo, f. 131; Casmiro, p. 292; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 474.	Inscription copied by Cassiano dal Pozzo and Casmiro.	
Gosmata Porcari	Very simple memorial	No	14th century (exact	No	S. Maria ad Martyres	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XX, n.	Inscription in vernacular. Simple	

	slab with inscription, no effigy.		date unknown)			111, p. CCCCXXVI. Forcella, Vol. 1, entry 1116.	inscription accompanied by a candelabra design motif.	
Perna Cesarini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1303	No	S. Ambrogio della Massima	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253. P. I, fol. 75; Forcella, Vol. IX, entry 631.		
Giovanna Gisi	Memorial slab with full-length incised effigy of the deceased.	No	1306	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253, p. 1, f. 32v; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 424; Davies, 253	Copied by Gualdi. Davies notes that that figure of Giovanna (the wife of a chemist) has almost disappeared.	
Stefania de Isola [de Isola]	Memorial slab with full length incised effigy of the deceased. Shown with a book and arm raised as if reading aloud.	No	1313	No	S. Sabina	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. I. Cl, n.8, p. DIX; Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 599; Davies, p. 859.	Inscription notes Stefania was the hospitalier general of the Order of Preachers [Dominicans]. The de Isola (Dell'Isola) was a powerful Roman family in the 14th century. On the late-medieval religious community at S. Sabina, see most recently: John Barclay Lloyd, "Medieval Dominican Architecture at Santa Sabina, c. 1219-1320," Papers of the British School. Vol. 72 (Summer 2004), pp. 231-292.	
Donna Odilena Manganelli	Memorial slab with full length incised figures of the	No	1313	No	S. Sabina	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XX, n.9, p. CCCCXXIII; Forcella, Vol.	Wife of Angelo de Magnanella and daughter of Normanno de Monte Mariae.	Image: Fototeca Zeri, Università di Bologna, entry 71979.

	deceased between coats of arms (a boat under sail and a mountain [Monte Mariæ arms] and Savelli arms)					VII, entry 600. Davies, p. 859.		
Perna Savelli	Memorial slab with full length incised figure of the deceased. Savelli Coats of arms made with mosaic.	No	1315	No	S. Sabina, Rome	Davies, Renaissance: The Sculptured Tombs of the Fifteenth-century in Rome, 860.		Image: Fototeca Zeri, Università di Bologna entry 72802.
Filippa Bonaventura	Memorial slab with full-length incised effigy of the deceased	No	1323	No	S. Francesco a Ripa	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T III, Cl. XX, n. 74, p. CCCCXXI; Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 905.		
Agnese Cenci Massimi	Memorial slab with full-length incised effigy of the deceased	No	1328	No	S. Francesco a Ripa	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XX, n. 16, p. CCCIII; Forcella Vol. IV, entry 906; Davies, Renaissance: The Sculptured Tombs of the Fifteenth-century in Rome, 219.	Wife of Pietro Andrea Massimi.	Image: Litta Pompeo, Famiglie celebri italiane. 1839. Vol. III, tavola 4.
Giovanna Orsini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1329	No	S. Giovanni in Laterano	Forcella, Vol. VIII, entry 24.		
Giacoma Quatrasi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1335	No	S. Maria sopra Minerva	Forcella, Vol. 1, entry 1559.		

Lorenza Rossi delle Valle	Memorial slab with full-length figure in relief (in "abito borghese") with coats of arms.	No	1336	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 189; Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8254, f. 21; Forcella, Vol. 1, entry 448.	Forcella describes it as "assai consumata."	
Margherita Capocci	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1340	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Caffarelli, p. 154; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 449.		
Margherita Sobattari	Memorial slab with full-length effigy in relief with coats of arms	No	1342	No	S. Maria in Via Lata	Forcella, Vol. VIII, entry 921.		
Francesca Nuvelli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1343	No	S. Maria Maggiore	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253. P. II, f. 330; Forcella, Vol. XI, entry 17.	Gualdi sites this pavement tomb by the sacristy.	
Lucia de Magistris	Memorial slab with full-length incised effigy of the deceased within an ornate decorative border.	No	1348	No	S. Giovanni della Pigna	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. I, Cl. III n 2. p. CCCXVI; Forcella, Vol. IX, entry 971.	Transcribed by Galletti.	
Caterina Iacobini	Memorial slab with (full-length incised figure?)	No	1350	No	S. Sisto	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XX, n. 102, p. CCCCXXV; Forcella, Vol. X, entry 903.	Galletti notes that tomb was placed at the entrance of the convent.	
The Abbess Lucia of the Monastery of S. Bibiana	Memorial slab with full-length figure in relief, with crossed arms and monastic garb.	No	1351	No	S. Bibiana	Davies, 208.		

Lucrezia Ardouini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1364	No	S. Francesca a Ripa	Terribilini, Cod. Casanat, XX. XI, 9, T, IX; Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 267.		
“Giacoma”	Memorial slab with (full-length incised figure?)	No	1366	No	S. Pietro in Vincolis	Davanzati, Nota Incipt. c. 93; Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 175.	Recorded by Davanzati in the central nave.	
Bona Mattei	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1375	No	S. Francesco a Ripa	Forcella Vol. IV, entry 912.		
Caterina Tasca Buccabella	Memorial slab with full length effigy and coats of arms	No	1382	Yes, tomb of Cecco Tasca, her father.	San Marcello al Corso	Forcella Vol. II, entry 925; Tombs of Illustrious Italians at Rome, p. 103.	Figure wearing nuptial dress.	
Agnese Carboni	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1391	No	S. Spirito in Sassia	Cod. Vat. Reg. 770, car. 11v; Forcella, Vol. VI, entry 1167.		
Angela Baroncini	Double memorial slab with effigy in relief	No	1396	Yes tomb slab shared with her husband, Paolo	S. Maria Nuova	Valesio, Cod. Capit. Cred. XIV, n. 40, f. 346; Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XX, n. 48. p. CCCCXIII; Forcella, Vol. II, entry 8.	This lost tomb is preserved in Valesio’s drawing. See Garms, Die Mittelalterliche n Grabmäler. fig. 101, cat. 36.	Image source: Garms, Die Mittelalterlichen Grabmäler. fig. 101, cat. 36.
Giacoma de Vico	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1398	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Gualdi, Cod Vat. 8253. P. II, f. 274; Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. X, n. 74. p. CCCXC. ; Casmiro, p. 450; Forcella, Vol. 1, entry 459.	Galletti notes that this slab was part of a lavomano in the refectory.	
Cornelia Lelli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1399	No	S. Maria Nuova	Cassiano dal Pozzo, Cod. Visc. f. 167; Forcella Vol. II, entry 9.	Cornelia described as “venerabilis mulier” in her inscription.	
Brigida de Teotenice	Memorial slab with	No	15th century (exact	No	S. Giacomo de’ Spagnoli	Forcella, Vol. III, entry 531.		

	inscription, no effigy.		date unknown)					
Margherita Nanni	Memorial slab with full-length incised figure	No	15th century (exact date unknown)	No	S. Matinello al Ponte a Pietà	Gualdi, Cod Vat. 8253. P. II, f. 284; Forcella, Vol. X, entry 358.	Church no longer extant.	
Generosa Franchetti-della Rovere	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	15th century (exact date unknown)	No	S. Cosma e Damiano	Galletti, Cod Vat. 7921, car. 33v, n. 94; Forcella, Vol. X, entry 544.	.	
Giacobina Apostata	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	15th century (exact date unknown)	No	S. Anastasia	Cod. Chigi, I, V, 167, f. 263v; Forcella, Vol. X, entry 74.		
Paolina Balloini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	15th century (exact date unknown)	Yes, a dual memorial for Paolina and her husband Giovanni	S. Agostino	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253, p. I, f. 20v; Forcella, Vol. V, entry 67.	Gualdi records this memorial by the chapel of St. Monica.	
Veronica Tranquilli	Very simple memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	15th century (exact date unknown)	No	S. Agostino	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253. p. I. f. 3.; Forcella, Vol. V, entry 68.	Gualdi recorded this small pavement memorial on the right hand side of the nave.	
Giacoma Diotiguardi	Simple memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	15th century (exact date unknown)	No	SS. Sergio e Bacco	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253, P. II, fol. 456 and 457; Forcella, Vol. IX, entry 690.	Simple inscription accompanied by a candelabra design motif.	
Maria [Marina] Trinci	Memorial slab with effigy in relief under a gothic arch. Shown in dress of Roman matron.	No	1400	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Agostino Alterii, Istoria della Famiglia Trinci. p. 193; Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253, P. I, f. 247; Casmiro, p. 112; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 480.	Bears the arms of the Savelli and Trinci families.	
Antonia Luzi	Memorial slab with full-length figure in relief	No	1400	No	S. Nicola in Carcere	Gualdi, Cod. Vat 8283; Forcella, Vol IV, entry 269.	Gualdi notes that there was a carved full-length effigy of the deceased.	
Fillippa Tedallini	Memorial slab with	No	1400	No	SS. Veneziano	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253. P. I,	Gualdi and Galletti record	Image: BNF ,

	full-length figure in relief				ed Annovino	f. 210; Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XIV, n. 165. p. DIX; Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 237.	this slab by the main entrance of the church. Church destroyed in the 1928. Tomb presumed lost.	fr. 24674, f. 99r. G. Camilli (Cited in Federici, "Milin e il 'veritable . . .'", p. 330)
Leonarda Buzi	Memorial slab with full-length figure in relief and coats of arms	No	1411	No	Santa Maria in Trastevere	Grabmaler I, p. 224 (n. XLL, 5); Forcella, Vol. II, entry 1046.	Lost tomb preserved in drawing in Windsor Album.	Image: Federici and Garms, entry 177.
Ocilenda Colonna	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1411	No	S. Giovanni in Laterano	Gualdi, Cod Vat. 8253. p. I, f. 194v; Forcella, Vol. VIII, entry 35.	Ocilenda was the wife of Nicolò de Montenegro.	
Angelotia de Scutiis	Memorial slab with full length effigy and coats of arms	No	1414	No	S. Maria in Aquiro	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253, P. II, f. 372. ; Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7913, c.183, n. 625; Forcella Vol. II, entry 1339.		
Antonella de Fiorucio	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1419	No	S. Lorenzo in Damaso			
Maria Frangipani Margani	Memorial slab with half-length incised effigy	No	1422	No	S. Cecilia in Trastevere	Gualdi, Codex Vat. lat. 8254, fol. 269		
Abess Maria	Memorial slab with full-length figure in relief	No	1424	No	S. Bibiana	Forcella, Vol. XI, entry 283.	Forcella sites this pavement slab in the right hand side of the nave.	Image: Sopr. BAS Roma 1595362
Andreozza Normanni	Memorial slab with full length effigy with incised and coats of arms	No	1425	No	S. Maria in Aquiro, Rome	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XX, n. 58, p. Forcella, Vol. II, n. 1340. p. CCCCXVI; See Mariano Armellini, Le Chiese.	Still in situ.	Image: Author's own.
Giovanna Omnia Sancti	Memorial slab with full-length figure in	No	1427	Yes, tomb of her husband	SS. XII Apostoli	Federici & Garms, cat. 98. Forcella, Vol. II, entry 653.	Lost tomb known from drawing.	Image source: Garms, cat. 98. Forcella, Vol. II,

	relief and coats of arms			Antonio Lorenzo.				entry 653.
Leandra Diaz	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by her heirs.	1428	No	S. Agostino	Schradero, Monument. Ital. p. 124r; Forcella, Vol. V, entry 3.		
Paolina Stinchi	Memorial slab with full length effigy of the deceased in low relief	No	1429	No	S. Martinello al Monte di Pietà	Gualdi, Vat. 5853, P. II. c. 285; Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7904, 124; Forcella, Vol. X. entry 354.		
Gentilesca Nari	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by Francesco Margani	1432	No	S. Agostino	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253. p. I, f. 27; Forcella Vol. V, entry 4.	Gualdi locates near the chapel of St. Monica.	
Maria Cenci	Memorial slab with full-length figure in relief and coats of arms	No	1440	No	S. Agostino	Gualdi, (Codex Casanant, L III, 13, 305). Forcella, Vol. V, entry 6.	Depicted wearing Augustinian habit. Gualdi locates this tomb near the main portal.	Image source: Federici, Fabrizio. "Francesco Gualdi e gli arredi scultorei n delle chiese romane," <i>Arnolfo di Cambio. Una rinascita nell'Umbria medievale</i> . 2005 . pp. 91-95
Paola Calisti	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by Lorenzo Altieri	1442	No	S. Maria sopra Minerva	Galletti, Inscr Rom. T. III, Cl. XVII, n. 4, p. CLIV; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1584.	Forcella records this pavement slab by the Chapel of the Saints.	
Lelia Casali	Memorial slab with full-length figure in relief	No	1448	No	S. Agostino	Gualdi, Codex Vat. lat. 8254, fol. 270, Forcella V, entry 38		
Maddalena de Steccatis	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1448	Yes, a dual memorial for Maddalena and Nucio.	S. Agostino	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVI, n. 5, p. LXII; Gualdi, Cod. Vat, 8253, p. I, f. 44v; Forcella, Vol. V, entry 8.		
Memorial of a female member of	Memorial slab with full-length effigy	No	1450	No	San Lorenzo in Damaso		In poor condition - excavated in 1991.	See: Bib. Hetz. Fototeka (File: San Lorenzo in Damaso)

the Muti family								
Lorenza Tomarozzi	Memorial slab with full length sculpted effigy wearing dress of Roman matron and coats of arms	No	1453	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 112; Forcella, Vol. 1, entry 480.	Bears the coats of arms of the Tomarozzi and Pierleoni families.	
Lodovica Enrici	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1454	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 281; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 512.		
Giacoma Novelli	Memorial slab with full-length incised figure and coats of arms	No	1457	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 293. Forcella Vol. I, entry 514.		
Caterina Antonelli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1461	No	S. Maria del Popolo	Forcella Vol. 1 entry 1193.	Last known location by the chapel of S. Girolamo.	
Gregoria Capizucchi	Memorial slab with full length effigy of deceased depicted in dress of a Roman matron in low relief and coats of arms	No	1463	Yes - tomb of Lodovico Capizucchi in the same church. [See Federici, <i>Le Interesse</i> ... p. 198.]	S. Maria in Campitelli	Gualdi, Cod. Casanat, E. III. 13; Forcella, Vol. V, entry 1018.	Design known from a drawing by an anonymous late 18th/early 19th century artist. <i>Biblioteca dell'Istituto nazionale di archeologia e storia dell'arte, Lanciani 9, c. 36r.</i>	Image reproduced in: Federici, <i>Le Interesse</i> ... p 199.
Ginevra Casini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1464	No	S. Maria sopra Minerva	Forcella Vol. I, entry 1594.	Inscription notes husband – Antonio Casini – was Florentine.	
Saint Monica	Full-length sculpted portrait effigy on bier/sarcophagus in elaborate architectural	No	1466	No	S. Agostino		Tomb still in situ. Tomb houses the ashes of the saint brought over from Ostia - tomb dismantled in 1750; only the	

	framework (Isaia da Pisa)						sarcophagus and figure remain	
Caterina Resta	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1468	No	S. Agostino	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253.p. I, f. 41v; Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. VII, n. 4, p. CXCI; Forcella Vol. V entry 26.		
Lodovica Mattei	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1468	No	S. Maria ad Martyres (The Pantheon)	Forcella Vol. 1, entry 1111.		
Gentilesca	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, set up by her kin.	1472	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 226; Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XX. n. 69. p. CCCXIX; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 531.		
Maddalena Orsini	Full-length sculpted portrait effigy on bier in elaborate architectural framework with sculpted figures of Madonna and Child, St Anne (?)	No, set up by her son Rinaldo	1474	No	San Salvatore in Lauro, (Salone dei Piceni) Rome;	Royal Collection, RL 11946A; Tosi, Tav. XXXVIII; Litta XV Orsini di Roma, tav. IX; Riccoboni, p. 33; Golzio, Zander 1968, fig, CCXXXII; Giambelluca 2001, pp. 57-61;	The tomb is attributed to the circle of Mino da Fiesole. Commission likely connected to tomb of St. Monica.	Image Source: Federici and Garms, <i>Tombs of illustrious Italians at Rome.</i>
Johanna Revelo de Griffone	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1474	No	S. Maria in Campo Santo	Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7916, c. 88, n. 352; Forcella Vol. III, entry 782.	Inscription notes Johanna was from Liege. Nuns of the Campo Santo community set up the inscription.	
Roletta Perontina	Memorial slab with full length effigy - Bronze belt, coat of	No	1476	No	San Lorenzo in Damaso	See: A. Sommerlechne n I monumenti funerari di età medievale in L'antica		Image: Biblioteca Hertziana U.Pl. D 37679

	arms necklace and shoes					basilica di S. Lorenzo in Damaso, pp. 148-172.		
Gismonda de Antea	Memorial slab with full-length figure in relief and coats of arms	No	1476	No	S. Maria ad Martyres	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XX, n. 70. p. CCCCXIX; Forcella Vol. I, no. 1112.	Forcella records this tomb in the chapel of S. Stefano, and in poor condition. Current location and condition unknown.	
Cesarina dei Cesarini	Memorial slab with full-length figure incised in relief and coats of arms	No	1476	No	Originally from San Lorenzo in Damaso. Moved to the cortile in the Palazzo della Cancelleria	See: Frommel, Pentiricci: L'antica basilica di S. Lorenzo in Damaso. Indagini archeologiche (...), Rom 2009, vol. 2, 103-109, n1.	Recycled slab from the ancient sarcophagus of Julia Calvina, shown below	Image: Biblioteca Hertziana U.Pl. D 37615
Constantia Ammanati	Full length sculpted portrait on a bier w/ architectural framework	No, commissioned by Jacopo Ammanati and Pope Sixtus V.	1477	Yes - Tomb of Jacopo Ammanati	S. Agostino		Constantia was the mother of Jacopo Ammanati	
Francesca Pitti Tornabouni	Full length effigy on a sculpted bier with allegorical virtues	No	1477	Yes, that of her nephew Francesco, which occupied the same chapel	S. Maria sopra Minerva	Graham, "The Most Bitter and Untimely of Events: Women, Death, and the Monumental Tomb in Quattrocento Italy," 61-65.	Destroyed after Nari family took possession of the chapel in the seventeenth century.	
Catherine, Queen of Bosnia	Memorial slab with full length effigy of the deceased in low relief wearing a crown	No	1478	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8254, p. II. f. 275; Casmiro, p. 148; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 541; Davies, p. 248.	In situ. Affixed to the pier above the Gospel ambo.	
Jeanne de Toriens	Dual memorial	No	1478	Yes - slab of	S. Maria dell' Anima	Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7016, c.	May have been moved to San	Image: Biblioteca

	slab with sculpted full length effigies			Jacotinus Brutere		80. n. 317; Forcella Vol. III, entry 1054.	Luigi dei Francesi, where it is now catalogued in the Hertziana's photo collection.	Hertziana U.Pl. D 46872
Pellegrina de Aversis	Memorial slab with full-length incised effigy of the deceased with coats of arms	No	1481	No	S. Francesco a Ripa	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XX, n. 74, p. CCCCXXI; Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 923.		
Giulia Maffei	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1482	No	S. Maria sopra Minerva			
Stefano and Maddalena Satri (Magdalen a degli Ariotti)	Portrait busts "all-antica" of Stefano, Giovanni, and Maddalena in an elaborate architectural framework	Yes	1484	Yes, memorials of her husband and son	S. Omobuono	Galletti, Inscr. Rom., T. III, Cl. XIV, n. 107, p. DX; Forcella Vol. X, entry 883; See Margaret H. Longhurst, Notes on Italian Monuments of the 12th to 16th centuries. Plate z.16; Davies, p. 313.	In situ. Probably came from S. Salvatore in Portico.	
Ambrogia, Franchesina and Altobella Fossatti	Memorial slab with full length incised effigies of the Fossatti daughters	No, placed by their father Giovanni Fossatti	1484	No	S. Agostino	Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7910, n. 412; Schradero, Monument. Ital. p. 124r; Forcella, Vol. V, entry 42.		
Lucrezia Andreozzi	Memorial slab with full-length figure		1484		SS. Simeone e Guida (formerly S. Maria a Monte Giordano). Now in San Silvestro in Capite (cloister).	Forcella, Vol. II, entry 612; Davies, p. 367.		Image: Author's own
Generosa Franchetta	Memorial slab with	No	1485	No	San Cosamito			

della Rovere	inscription, no effigy.							
Lucrezia Maffei	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her kin.	1485	No	S. Maria sopra Minerva	Forcella, Vol. 1, entry 1621.		
Maria Margarelli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1485	No	S. Giacomo de' Spagnoli	Schradero, p. 133v.; Forcella Vol. III, entry 510.		
Lodovica Matori	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by her husband Pietro Azola	1486	No	S. Stefano del Cacco	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253. p. II, f. 448; Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XVII, n. 10, p. CLVII; Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 990.		
Paola Albertoni	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by her husband Paolo Astalli	1487	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 228; Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVI, n. 13, p. LXV; Forcella, Vol. 1, entry 553.		
Giacoma Albertoni	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1488	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 228; Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T., Cl. XVI. n. 14, p. LXV; Forcella, 92Vol. 1, entry 557.	Galletti sites this memorial in front of the Chapel of the Transfiguration.	
Pellegrina de Spagnolis	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, set up by Gio. Paolo de Spagnolis	1489	No	S. Agostino	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253, p. I, f. 46v; Forcella, Vol. V, entry 47.		
“Dona” Daverzeli of the Hospitalera of Santa Cecilia	Memorial slab with full-length figure incised in relief; white marble		1490	No	S. Cecilia in Trastevere		.	Photo: Author’s own.
Laura Matacleni	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, by her kin.	1490	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 45. Forcella, Vol. 1, entry 560.	Current location and condition unverified.	
“Stefania”	Memorial slab with	No	1494	Yes, dual monument	SS. Sergio e Bacco.	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253, p. I,	A pavement slab seen by	

	inscription, coat of arms; effigy of her husband in relief			for Stefania and her husband Jacopo, who is depicted wearing a toga.		f. 455v.; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 688.	Gualdi. Current location and condition unverified.	
Elisabetta Orsini dell'Anguilara	Memorial slab with full-length figure wearing matron's dress in sculpted relief with coats of arms	No - set up by her nephew Bernardo Orsini	1496	No	S. Giovanni in Laterano	Forcella, Vol. VIII, entry 47.; Federici & Garms, cat. 128.	Now in the cloister of San Giovanni in Laterano (originally by the Porta Pia)	
Lidia Sandri	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1496	No	S. Agostino	Cod. Chigi, I, V, 167, f. 8.; Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253, p. I, f. 50.; Schardero, Monument. Ital. p. 126.; Forcella Vol. V, entry 59.		
Garzia de Sanromen	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1496	No	S. Giacomo de'Spagnoli	Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7917, c. 99. n. 322.; Forcella, Vol. II, entry 518.		
Giulia Manili	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her kin.	1496	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Cassiano dal Pozzo, f. 133.; Casmiro, p. 207.; Forcella, Vol. 1, entry 574.		
Vannoza Tebaldeschi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1496	No	S. Agostino	Forcella, Vol. V, entry 55.		
Faustina Splendre	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1497	No	S. Maria sopra Minerva	Forcella, Vol. 1, entry 1637.		
Angela Cianteri	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1498	No	San Francesco a Ripa	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl, XVI, n. 25, p. LXIX.; Alveri, p. 359, col. 2.;	Galletti records this inscription in the pavement by the Chapel of the Immaculate Conception.	

						Forcella Vol. IV entry 929.		
Latina Beccalua	Memorial slab with full-length figure in relief and coats of arms	No	1499	No	S. Maria sopra Minerva	Gualdi (Cod. Vat. 8253). Forcella Vol. I, entry 1640.	Gualdi notes the slab was placed between the Salviati and Giustiniani chapels.	
Prudenza Cecchini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her husband Gio. Pietro Rotondi	16th century (exact date unknown)	No	S. Maria sopra Minerva	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XVII, n. 14, p. CLIX.; Forcella Vol 1 entry 1694.		
Anne Trullier	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	16th century (exact date unknown)	No	S. Luigi dei Francesi	Magalotti, Delle Notitie, Vol. VI, c. 255.; Forcella, Vol. III, entry 79.	Inscription notes that Anne was French.	
Sigismonda Cuidulini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by Tommaso Martario	16th century (exact date unknown)	No	S. Gregorio a Ponte Quattro Capi	Galletti, nscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVII, n. 15, p. CLIX).; Forcella, Vol. X, entry 226.		
Angela Castalda	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.		16th century (exact date unknown)	No	S. Maria in Trastevere	Forcella Vol. II, entry 1069.	Inscription notes that the inscription was placed by Angela during her own lifetime (“sibi vivens posuit”).	
Olimpia Castellani	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	16th century (exact date unknown)	No	S. Benedetto in Piscinula	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XV, n. 79, p. XXXII.; Forcella, Vol. X, entry 160.		
Maria della Rovere	Memorial slab with full-length figure in relief and coats of arms	No	16th century (exact date unknown)	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 174.; Forcella, Vol. 1, entry 613.		
Paolina Capocci	Memorial slab with full length effigy in	No, placed by her hus-	16th century (exact	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Gualdi, Cat. Vat. 8254, p. I. f. 93v. ; Casmiro, p.	Recorded by Gualdi and Casmiro, who both record the	

	dress of Roman matron, inscription, and coats of arms of the Altieri and Capocci	band Paolo Capocci	date unknown)			222.; Forcella , Vol. I, entry 814.	slab by the Chapel of S. Antonio of Padua.	
Lucrezia Fabi	Memorial slab with full-length figure in relief and coats of arms	No, placed by Francesco Fabi (her father)	16th century (exact date unknown)	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Gualdi, Forcella, Vol. I, entry 799.		
Lorenza Cannis	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	16th century (exact date unknown)	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Cassiano dal Pozzo, f. 167.; Casmiro, p. 292.; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 809.	.	
Diamante Ferrari	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, her husband Stefano Ferrari set up the slab	16th century (exact date unknown)	No	SS. Trinità dei Monti	Forcella, Vol. III, entry 390.	Forcella locates this tomb in the pavement next to the main altar.	
Caterina Camgi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	16th century (exact date unknown)	No	S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini	Schradero, p. 136.; Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 1147.		
“Giulia”	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by her kin.	16th century (exact date unknown)	No	S. Lorenzo in Damaso	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III Cl. XVII, n. 181, p. DL.; Forcella, Vol. V, entry 558.		
Maria Bibieni	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by her heirs.	16th century (exact date unknown)	No	S. Maria ad Martyres	Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1122.	Forcella records this slab by the altar of the Madonna del Sasso.	
Polidora Masci	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	16th century (exact date unknown)	No	S. Agostino	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. II, Cl. XIV, n. 10, p. CCCXVIII.; Gualdi, Cod. Vat. p. I, f. 7.; Forcella, Vol V. entry 239.	Recorded by Galletti in the pavement by the first pilaster on the left.	

Caterina Costanzi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.		16th century (exact date unknown)		S. Marcello al Corso	Forcella, Vol. II, entry 964.		
Agata Manciacauli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by her husband Jacopo Manciacauli	1500		S. Maria sopra Minerva	Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1656.		
Caterina Houbrak	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by her husband, Wilhem	1500	No	S. Maria sopra Minerva	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253 p. II, f. 302. Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1655.	As per the inscription, Catherine's husband was a merchant from Delft.	
Alessandra Cortesi	Memorial slab with inscription; incised effigy of Alessandra's brother (also interred).	No, set up by kin.	1500	Yes, a shared memorial for Alessandra and her brother, Paolo.	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 6253, p. I, F. 247.; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 584.	Gualdi records this pavement memorial on the left hand side of the nave. Inscription in vernacular.	
Camilla Tozoli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1500	No	S. Francesca a Ripa	Alveri, p. 358, col. 1.; Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. II. Cl. VIII, n. 8, p. CXCIII.; Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 932.	Galletti records this tomb in the pavement by the Chapel of the Conception.	
Maria Baena	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by Giovanni Baena	1500	No	S. Onofrio	Forcella, Vol. V, entry 829.	Maria is noted as "virgin." Forcella records this slab by the third chapel on the left.	
Katherine Kittenberger	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1501	No	S. Maria in Campo Santo	Forcella, Vol. III, entry 798.	Alveri, p. II., 2, n. 27.; Forcella, Vol. III, entry 798. Inscription notes "hic fuit sepulta." Alveri describes this slab on the exterior wall of the church.	
Faustina Altasella	Memorial slab with full-length	No, commission-	1502	No	Santo Stefano in Piscinula	Tomb is described in BAV, Cod.	Lost tomb. Preserved in Windsor	Image source: <i>Tombs of</i>

	figure in relief and coats of arms	ed by her husband Ludovico Mosca.				Vat Lat 8253, p. II fol. 449v.	drawing. Tombs of Illustrious Italians at Rome, L'Album di Disegni RCIN 970334 della Royal Library Windsor (Federici & Garms), p. 231	<i>Illustrious Italians at Rome, L'Album di Disegni RCIN 970334 della Royal Library Windsor (Federici & Garms), p. 23.</i>
Maria Calisti	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by her husband Antonio Filippo and her heirs	1502	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 66.; Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVII, n. 17, p. CLIX.; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 587.;		
Giulia Pisoni	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her kin.	1503	No	S. Maria in Transpontina	Cod. Vat. Reg. 770, car. 60v.; Forcella, Vol. VI, entry 1097.		
Margherita Altemburgk	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1503	No	S. Maria in Campo Santo	Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7916, c. 81, n. 329.; Forcella Vol. III, entry 803		
Barbara Beck	Memorial slab with incised full-length figure in relief	No	1504	No	S. Maria in Campo Santo	Alveri, p. II, p. 239, n. 38.; Forcella Vol. III, entry 806.	Alveri records this tomb by the main altar.	
Elisabetta Daroz	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by Giovanni Grasso	1504	No	S. Maria in Campo Santo	Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7916, c. 88, n. 356.; Forcella Vol. III, entry 810.		
Catherine Cron	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her husband Bartolomeo	1504		S. Maria in Campo Santo	Forcella Vol. III, entry 808.	Inscription notes Catherine was from Hamburg. Forcella cites this slab to the right of the organ.	
Lucilla Pamphili Marchesi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy	No	1504	No	San Lorenzo in Damaso	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253, p. II, f. 387.; Forcella Vol. V, entry 475.		

Beatrice and Lavinia Ponzetti	Paired portrait busts within all'antica architectural framework	No - set up by Ferdinando Ponzetti	1505	Connected to the Ponzetti family tomb - unknown if the tomb of their uncle (Ferdinando Ponzetti) is interred nearby.	S. Maria della Pace	Forcella Vol. V, entry 1297.	Tomb in situ. Nieces to Ferdinando Ponzetti, the Fiscal Secretary to Julius I. Both Beatrice and Lavinia died in an outbreak of the plague.	Image: Author's own.
Perna Nicoletti	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by Perna's sons Nicola and Giovanni	1505	No	S. Agostino	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XV, n. 9. p. IV.; Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253, p. I, f. 22v.; Schradero, p. 125.; Forcella Vol. V, entry 83.	Forcella records this slab by the chapel of St. Monica.	
Sancta Casini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by her heirs.	1505	No	S. Agostino	Forcella, Vol. V, entry 84.	Inscription notes that Sancta was Florentine.	
Tranquilla Martedi-Cesi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, set up by kin.	1506	No	S. Agostino	Cod. Chigi, I. V. 167, f. 5v.; Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XVII, n. 16, p. CCLXXVI.; Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253, p. I, f. 19.; Forcella, Vol. V, entry 89.		
Pellegrina Cerasani	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.		1507		S. Nicola in Carcere	Forcella Vol. IV entry 278.		
Principessa Cantacuenza Floridi and her daughter Isabella Cippo in	Memorial slab with elegant architectural framework,	No, placed by her husband Ettore Lengles	1508	No	S. Maria sopra Minerva	Galletti, Inscr. Illyr. Creten. e Cypriae. n. 23; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1679.; Archivio Storico		

the base relief	and effigy in relief.	(Langlois)				Italiano, Vol. 20, p. 453.		
Girolama Damiani	Memorial slab with full-length figure in sculpted relief	No	1508	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 202-203; Forcella, Vol. 1, entry 590.	Photo image seems to correspond with description in Forcella.	Image: Author's own.
Elisabetta Tornabouni	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by Pandolfo della Casa	1510	No	San Gregorio al Celio	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253, p. I. n. 174.; Forcella Vol. II, entry 285.	Gualdi cites the slab in the central nave.	
Lucrezia Bartolomei	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1510	No	S. Maria in Campo Santo	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVIII, n. 19. p. CCLXXVII.; Forcella Vol. III, entry 818.		
Brigida Milizia	Memorial slab with full-length figure in sculpted relief with coats of arms.	No, placed by Bernardo Milizia	1510	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Amayden, Famiglia Milizia.; Casmiro, p. 155.; Cassiano dal Pozzo, f. 209.; Forcella Vol. I entry 594.	Forcella records this slab in the chapel of S. Gregorio.	
Paolina Marroni	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by Tommaso Cuccini and her heirs.	1510	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Cassiano dal Pozzo, f. 168.; Casmiro, p. 286.; Forcella, Vol. 1, entry 593.	Recorded by Cassiano dal Pozzo and Casmiro.	
Girolama Marescotti	Memorial slab with full-length figure in incised relief and coats of arms	No, set up by her kin.	1510	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 293. Forcella, Vol. I, entry 599.	Forcella records this slab in front of the chapel of S. Pietro Alcantara.	
Imperia (Roman Courtesan)	Memorial slab with inscription	No	1511	No	San Gregorio al Celio		Popular legend that Imperia's tomb was repurposed in the tomb of Lelio Guidiccioni.	
Faustina Antonizi	Memorial slab with	No, inscrip-	1512	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 59.; Galletti,		

	full-length figure in sculpted relief and coats of arms	tion notes it was placed by her husband, Antonio.				Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XVII, n. 19, p. CLX.; Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253, p. I, f. 249.; Forcella Vol. I, entry 601.		
Matuzia Palli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1512	No	San Gregorio al Celio	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. I, Cl. V, n. 36, p. CCCCXXVI.; Forcella Vol. II, entry 104.		
Lucrezia Cribardi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by Jacopo Cribardi	1513	No	S. Maria del Popolo	Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1272.	Lucrezia is stylized as "virgini" in the inscription.	
Adriana Sanguigni	Memorial slab with full-length figure in low sculpted relief	No. Inscript-ion notes it was placed by the executors of her will.	1514	No	S. Maria sopra Minerva	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. Lat. 8253. par. II, f. 292.; Forcella Vol. I, entry 1692.		
Elisabetta Epifani	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by her son Leonardo	1514	No	S. Barbara de'Librai	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8252, P. I. f. 105.; Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 794.		
Lodovica Angelotti	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1515	No	S. Agostino	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253, p. I. f. 26v.; Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XVII, n. 20, p. CLXI.; Forcella Vol. V entry 96.	.	
Margherita Berued	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1516	No	S. Maria in Campo Santo	Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7916, c. 97, n. 49.; Forcella Vol. III, entry 826.		
Giovanna Bianchini	Memorial slab with	No, placed by Ant-	1516	No	S. Maria sopra Minerva	Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1696.		

	inscription, no effigy.	onio Bianchini						
Lucrezia Rosi	Memorial slab with full length effigy in relief and coats of arms. Decorative garland border.	No	1516	Yes - On same slab, a full length effigy of Stefano Pierleoni, Lucrezia's husband	San Nicola in Carcere	Federici & Garms, 188.	Lost tomb; preserved in Windsor drawing.	Image source: Federici & Garms, cat. 188.
Gentilesea Flavi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by husband Antonio de Serrai	1517	No	S. Angelo in Pescheria	Cod. Chigi. I, V, 167, f. 132.; Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 229.		
Giulia Maffei	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her husband Raimondo Cappoferro	1517	No	S. Maria sopra Minerva	Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1698.		
Virginia de Puritatis	Memorial slab with figure of deceased in incised relief	No	1517	No	S. Ambrogio alla Massima	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XV, n. 14, p. VI.; Forcella, Vol. IX, entry 639.	Forcella records this pavement slab in a small room before the stairs leading to the convent.	
Caterina Fontana Bono	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by her kin.	1518	No	S. Giovanni in Laterano	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253. p. I, f. 191.; Forcella, Vol. VIII, entry 52.	Gualdi records this pavement slab by the Chapel of the Crucifix.	
Catherine Clockerin	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1518	No	S. Maria in Campo Santo	Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7916, c. 81, n. 324. Forcella Vol. III, entry 829.		
Francesca Carduli Cesi	Full-length sculpted portrait effigy on sarcophagus in elaborate architectural framework.	No	1518	Yes, memorial for her husband	S. Maria del Pace	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. I. Cl. II, n. 51, p. CCXV. Forcella, Vol. V, entry 1300.	In situ in the first chapel on the right.	Image: Author's own.

Vanozza Cattanei	Surviving inscription slab from a larger memorial (no longer extant)	No	1518	No	S. Maria del Popolo	Alberici.; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1276.; Pöpper, Das Grabmal des Gunstlings.	Larger memorial removed from the church of S. Maria del Popolo under orders of Clement VIII in 1593.	
Roberta Ubaldi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1519	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 41.; Forcella, Vol. 1, entry 610.		
Bernardina Mastrozi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by Giovanni Mastrozi	1519	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 221.; Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVII, n. 24, p. CLXII.; Forcella, Vol. 1, entry 609.	.	
Menica della Rota	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1521	Yes, a dual slab for Menica and her husband Bartolomeo	S. Maria in Campo Santo	Forcella, Vol. III, entry 839.	Inscription written in vernacular.	
Paolina de Bove	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1522	No	S. Cosma e Damiano	Cod. Chigi, I, V, 167, fol. 23v.; Forcella, Vol. X, entry 545.		
Laura Albertoni	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	c.1523	No	Santa Maria Nuova	Forcella, Vol. II, entry 42		
Sempronia Basi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1523	No	S. Giacomo de' Spagnoli	Forcella Vol. III, entry 570.		
Faustina Grasso	Memorial slab with full length effigy	No	1522	No	San Simeone in Profeta	Forcella, Vol. II, entry 583		
Margherita Ferrarini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	c. 1522	No	S. Maria Maddalena al Corso	Cod. Chigi, I, V, 167, f. 22.; Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVI, n. 21. p. LXVII.; Forcella Vol. XII, entry 526.	Church destroyed in the 19th century. It had been a popular church for Roman courtesan convertite.	

Caterina de Magio	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1523	No	S. Luigi dei Francesi	Magalotti, Delle Notitie, Vol. VI, c. 234. Forcella Vol. III, entry 28.		
Alessandra Rigellari	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1524	No	S. Silvestro al Quirinale	Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 94.		
Brigida Azetti	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1524	No	SS. XII Apostoli	Forcella, Vol. II, entry 699.		
Margherita Stampa	Memorial slab with inscription. Painted portrait.	No	1525	No	S. Agostino	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. II, cl, XIB, n. 56, p. CCCXXXIX. Forcella Vol. V entry 273.		
Camilla Guidoni	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by her husband and other male kin.	1525	No	S. Onofrio	Forcella, Vol. V, entry 839.	Forcella records this slab by the first chapel on the left.	
Alfonsina Orsini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	Yes, set up by Alfonsina's daughter, Clarice Strozzi.	c. 1525	No	S. Maria del Popolo	Cod. Chigi I, V, f. 386; Cassiano dal Pozzo, f. 241. Alberici, p.109.; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1282.		Image: Author's own.
Cornelia de Brel	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1526	No	S. Maria in Campo Santo	Galletti, 7913, c. 105. n. 319.; Forcella, Vol. III, entry 844.	Tomb inscription notes that Cornelia was German (Theutonica).	
"Dianora"	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1526	No	S. Stefano dal Cacco	Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7917, c. 40, n. 123.; Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 492.	Memorial notes that Dianora was Spanish (from Cordobà). Galletti records this pavement tomb by the third column on the nave..	
Pentesilea Grifi	Memorial slab with inscription	No	1527	No	S. Agostino	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253, f. 39.; Forcella,		Image: Author's own.

	with sculpted portrait bust of the deceased. Coat of arms.					Vol. V, entry 115.		
Diana Martedi-Cesi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by kin.	1527	No	S. Agostino	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253, p. I, f. 19.; Cod. Chigi, I. V, 167, f. 5v.; Forcella, Vol. V, entry 114.		
Cassandra Palosi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1527	No	S. Maria in Campo Marzo	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. I. Cl. VI, n. 24. p. DXV.; Forcella, Vol. X, entry 871.		
Cornelia Vena-Raimondi-Martire	Memorial slab with full length effigy in dress of Roman matron and inscription	No	1527	No	San Gregorio al Celio	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253, p. I, f. 175.; Forcella Vol. II, entry 296.		
Beatriz Casali	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No - set up by female kin, Agnese Casali.	1527	No	S. Maria in Monserrato	Cod. Chigi, f. 127.; Forcella, Vol. III, entry 672.	Tomb inscription notes that Beatrice was Spanish.	
Blanca de Xerxes Fernandez	Memorial slab with incised portrait bust and inscription.	No	1527	No	S. Maria in Monserrato	Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7917, c. 97, n. 311. Forcella Vol. III, entry 674.		
Lucia Donati	Memorial slab with full length incised effigy, inscription, and coats of arms	No	1527	No	S. Giovanni Decollato		In situ in the church cloister.	Image source: GFN F 32406 (Bib. Hertz, Rome) Image: Author's own.
Ginevra de Ioannis	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her husband Filippo	c. 1527	No	San Gregorio al Celio	Gualdi, Inscr. Rom. Cod. Vat. 8253, P. I, f. 175.; Forcella Vol. II, entry 297.		

		Ca- pponi						
Costanza Corazia	Memorial slab with half-length incised effigy of the defunct accompanied by two incised effigies of Costanza's deceased children Angelo and Giovanni Battista	No, set up by Antonio and Mari-anna Corazia	1528	Yes, linked with her male children	S. Giovanni Decollato	Forcella Vol. VII, entry 58.	In situ in the room in front of the oratory. Costanza was Florentine.	Image: Author's own.
Caterina Piccolomini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1530	No	San Gregorio al Celio	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253, p. I, f. 174.; Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7913, c. 171, n. 572.; Forcella, Vol. II, entry 298.		
Orsolina Micheli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1532	No	S. Caterina della Rota	Forcella, Vol. IV entry 669.		
Caterina Alberti	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.		1534		San Gregorio al Celio	Forcella, Vol. II, entry 299		
Anastasia Mattuzzi Milizia	Memorial slab with full-length figure incised in relief and coats of arms		1535		S. Maria in Aracoeli	Forcella Vol. 1, entry 166.		
Faustina Maffei	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by Giulio Porci	1536	No	S. Maria sopra Minerva	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253. p. II, f. 297.; Forcella, Vol. 1, entry 1716.		
Girolama Mattei	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1537	No	SS. Trinità de'Monti	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVI, n. 51, p. LXXVIII.; Forcella, Vol. III, entry 292.		

Maddalena de Manchano	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1537	No	S. Benedetto in Piscinula	Forcella, Vol. X, entry 154.		
Domenichin a Franchi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1537	No	S. Rocco	Alveri, p. 69, col. 1.; Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 914.		
Margherita Maleti	Memorial slab with full-length figure incised in relief and coats of arms	No	1538	No	SS. Cosma e Damiano			Image: Biblioteca Hertziana U.PI. D
Beatrice Paregge	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1539	No	S. Agostino	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253. p. I, f. 25v.; Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XVI, n. 52. p. LXXVII.; Forcella, Vol. V, entry 119.		
Giulia Mirai	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1539	No	S. Luigi dei Francesi	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVII, n.31, p. CLXV.; Forcella Vol. III, entry 33.		
Anna Michlarin	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1540	No	S. Maria in Campo Santo	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. 7916, c. 96, n. 396.; Forcella Vol. III, entry 855.		
Giulia Azetti	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1540	No	S. Martinello al Monte di Pietà	Galletti, Cod. Vat., 7904, c. 108, n. 230.; Forcella, Vol. X, entry 363.		
Johanna Smedt	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1540	Yes, slab also commemorates her husband, Giovanni	S. Maria dell'Anima	Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7916, c. 81, n. 323.; Forcella, Vol. III, entry 1095.		
Maddalena Castaldi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1541	No	S. Maria dell'Orto	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XVI, n. 53 p. LXXIX.; Forcella, Vol. V, entry 1467.		

Caterina (del) Castillo	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1543	No	SS. Trinità de'Monti	Cod. Chigi, f. 121.; Forcella Vol. III, entry 294.		
Graziosa Ricci	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by Claudio de Sablone, the executor of her will.	1543	No	S. Agostino	Cod. Chigi, p. I. V, 167, f. 6v.; Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253, p. I, f. 23.; Forcella Vol. V entry 121.		
Nicoletta Cattanei (Cattaneo)	Monumental memorial with architectural framework. Inscription surmounted by a relief depicting her husband praying to a funerary monument, while the defunct is lifted heavenward by angels.	Likely commissioned by Nicoletta's husband, Antonio Pallavicini.	1543	No	S. Maria del Popolo	Tomb mentioned in Jacopo Alberici, Compendia delle grandezze dell'illustre, et devotissima chiesa di Santa Maria del Popolo di Roma. 1660. p.17; Forcella, Vol. 1, entry 1301.	Current location and condition unverified.	Image source: Progetto ArtPast Culturitalia.
Faustina Lucia Mancini/Ortensia Mancini	Sarcophagus with putti, garlands, obelisk and bust	No, set up by Paolo Attavanti	1544	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Forcella, Vol.1, entry 636. See Windsor drawing for the original tomb drawing.	Tomb partially dismantled in the 19th century; the sarcophagus was reused for the tomb of Barbara Clarelli; Faustina's bust was the inspiration for a late 17th century bust of Ortensia Mancini Mazarino.	Image: Author's own.

Laudomia Cosacci	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1544	No	S. Maria del Popolo		Recorded by Cassiano dal Pozzo.	
Paola Remedi-Biretti	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1544	No	S. Maria del Popolo		Restored in 1627 by Pietro Rotti.	
Prudenza Alberici	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, set up by Jacopo Passari, her husband	1545	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 84.; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 639.	Casmiro locates this slab in front of the chapel of S. Pietro Alcantara.	
Bernardina Alessandra Querri	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No	1546	No	S. Agostino	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XVI, n. 58. p. LXXXI.; Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253. p. I. f. 18.; Forcella Vol. V, entry 127.	.	
Elisabetta de Prata	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by Cipriano de Prata	1546	No	S. Agostino	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253, p. I, f. 43.; Forcella Vol. V entry 131.		
Faustina Montana	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1546	No	S. Agostino	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253, p. I, f. 30; Forcella, Vol. V, entry 130.		
Margary Kibli	Memorial slab with an incised effigy of the defunct in prayer - shown praying to the Virgin and Child	No	1548	No	San Tommaso di Canterbury	Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 356.	Inscription notes that Margery was English.	Photo, Sopr. BAS Roma neg. n. 138389
Caterina Vaylati	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No, placed by her heirs.	1548	No	S. Rocco	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253. p. II, c. 131v.; Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 913.	Inscription copied by Gualdi.	
Beatrice Mingoti	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No, placed by her kin.	1548	No	S. Maria del Popolo	Cassiano dal Pozzo, f. 339.; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1312.		

Appollonia Bonelli [Urbetani]	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by Nicolò Bonelli, her son	1549	No	S. Maria in Campo Santo	Forcella, Vol. III, entry 863.	Forcella records this pavement tomb by the main altar.	
Penelope Aragoni	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No	1549	No	S. Agostino	Gualdi, Cod Vat. 8253, p. I, f. 16.; Forcella, Vol. V, entry 137.	Gualdi records this memorial by the main altar.	
Cinzia Pocchi	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No, placed by Battista Salviati	1550	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 44.; Galletti, T. III. n. 79, p. CCCXCIII.; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 644.	In situ.	Image: Author's own.
Blanca Sanct	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No	1550	No	S. Maria in Monserrato	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T II. Cl. XII, n. 7. p. CCCLXX.; Forcella, Vol. III, entry 683.		
Faustina Sardi	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No, set up by male kin.	1550	No	S. Salvatore in Lauro	Schradero, p. 174.; Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 181.	Inscription notes that Faustina was Neapolitan.	
Agnese Hofferin	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No, set up by Conrad Bor.	1550	No	S. Tommaso in Parione	Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7916. c. 81. n. 325.; Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 1095.		
Cagenua Mancini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1551		S. Maria in Aracoeli	Forcella, Vol. I, entry 645		
Silvia Mancini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.		1551		S. Maria in Aracoeli	Forcella, Vol. I, entry 645		
Costanza Guidi Rossi	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No	1552	No	S. Salvatore in Primicerio	Cod. Chigi. I, V, 167, f. 102.; Forcella, Vol. XI, entry 322.	.	
Maddalena Fantori	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No, placed by her husband Jacopo	1552	No	S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini	Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 1131.	Inscription notes that Maddalena was Florentine.	

		Montira-poli						
Agnesina Strambi	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No, placed by her kin	1552	No	S. Giacomo Scossacavalli	Alveri, p. II, p. 133, col. 1.; Forcella, Vol. Vi, entry 1004.	Forcella records this pavement slab on the right hand side of the nave. Church demolished in 1937.	
Diana Cardoni Romulazi Guicciardini	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No, placed by Gio. Battista Romulazi and Vincenza Guicciardini	1553	No	S. Lucia del Gonfalone	Cassiano dal Pozzo, Cod. Visconti. Vol. III, c. 45. Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 869.		
Chiara Rusconi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1554	No	S. Lucia del Gonfalone	Forcella, Vol. VII, entry		
Giulia Mattei	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1554	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Forcella, Vol. I, entry 652		
Ortenzia Greci	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by her kin.	1555	No	S. Lorenzo in Lucina	Forcella, Vol. V, entry 353.	Forcella records this pavement slab by the sacristy.	
Angela Chiappelli	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No	1556	No	Santa Maria in Trastevere	Forcella, Vol. II, entry 1066.		
Maddalena Salvagi	Memorial slab with full length effigy in relief	No	1556	No	S. Maria in Campo Santo	Forcella Vol. III entry 876.	Forcella locates this tomb by the stairs by the main altar.	
Drusiana Fata	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No	1556	Yes, dual slab for Drusiana and her husband, Jacopo Bonamori	S. Rocco	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253, p. II, f. 434v.; Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 915.	.	

Maria Elisabetta Calvi	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No, set up by her husband Bartolomeo da Imola	1557	Yes, the memorial also commemorates her sons, Paolo and Renzo.	S. Maria dell'Orto	Alveri, p. II, p. 376, c. 1.; Forcella, Vol. V, entry 1172.	Recorded by Alveri. Inscription written in vernacular.	
Lucrezia della Rovere	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy; incised putti and decorative motifs. Coat of arms.	Yes	1557	No	SS. Trinità de'Monti	Forcella Vol. III, entry 300.	Originally placed outside the chapel that Lucrezia commissioned. Now placed in between pews in the central nave of the church.	Image: Author's own.
Brigida Lucatelli	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No, set up by heirs.	1557	Yes, a dual tomb for Brigida and for her husband Galeazzo Lucatelli	S. Lorenzo in Damaso	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XVI, n. 165, p. DXLII.; Forcella, Vol. V, entry 545.		
Giulia Rosi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1557	No	SS. Trinità de'Monti	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. n. 177.; Forcella, Vol. III, entry 304.		
Tarquinia Bori	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No	1557	No	S. Giovanni della Malva	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III Cl. XVII, n. 43. p. CLXX.; Alveri, p. 329, col. 2.; Forcella, Vol. IX, entry 716.	Galletti records this pavement slab in the middle of the nave.	
Constanza Buti	Memorial slab inscription		1558		S. Marcello al Corso Rome	Forcella, Vol. II, entry 952.	Costanza was Florentine.	
Adriana Eugeniani	Memorial slab with full length effigy in relief; depicted in dress of Roman matron.	No	1559	No	S. Agostino	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253. p. I, f. 26.; Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7906, n. 13. Forcella, Vol V, entry 152.		
Lucia Torelli (de Torellis)	Memorial slab with inscription	No	1560	No	SS. Crocifisso	Forcella, Vol. II, entry 1028.	In the pavement in front of the main altar.	

	under with an incised portrait of the deceased.				in San Marcello			
Caterina Mannini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by Antonio Mannini	1560	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Cassiano dal Pozzo, f. 177.; Casmiro, p. 277.; Forcella, Vol. 1, entry 663		
Giacoma Giuliana Santini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1561	No	S. Maria sopra Minerva	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253. Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1777.		
“Aldachiar ella”	Memorial slab with inscription under half-length incised portraits of an man and woman	No	1562	Yes	SS. Trinità de’Monti	Forcella, Vol. III, entry 311.	Forcella records the slab in the pavement, on the right hand side of the church by the seventh chapel.	
Giulia Antunez	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1562	No	SS. Trinità de’Monti	Forcella, Vol. III, entry 309.	Forcella cites this pavement slab the right hand side of the church, towards the main altar. Inscription notes that Giulia was Andalusian.	
Paolina Antonetti	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by her heirs.	1562	No	SS. Sergio e Bacco	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253, P. II, Fol. 457. Forcella, Vol. IX, entry 693.	Gualdi records this slab to the left of the main altar.	
Cornelia Colonna	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1562	No	San Gregorio al Celio	Forcella, Vol. II, entry 313.		
Sigismonda Viccardi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by Francesco Salamanca.	1562	No	S. Lorenzo in Damaso	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. n. 163, p. DXLI.; Forcella Vol. V entry 499.		
Maria Maheu	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by Gregorio and Elisa-	1562	No	S. Maria del Popolo	Alveri, p. II, p. 30.; Cassiano dal Pozzo, f. 314.; Forcella,	.	

		beta Petri.				Vol. I, entry 1385.		
Sigismonda Gentili-Fusconi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by Adriano Fusconi	1562	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 342.; Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. I, Cl. III, n. 22, p. CCXXVI.; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 669.		
Porzia Cochi-Brigidi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1562	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 50. Forcella, Vol. I, entry 665.	Inscription notes that Porzia was from Viterbo.	
Bernardina Becuti	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1563	No	San Simeone in Profeta	Forcella, Vol. II, entry 589.	Inscription notes Bernardina was from Turin.	
Marietta Salviati	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.		1563	Yes, dual tomb slab for Marietta and Francesco Bonafida	S. Agostino	Galletti, Cod. Vat. c. 173.; Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253, p. I, f. 5.; Forcella Vol. V entry 158.		
Porzia Torsellini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her husband Vincenzo Mancini	1564	No	S. Gregorio al Celio	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. II, Cl. IX, n. 17, p. CCXLIX.; Forcella, Vol. II, entry 317.		
Maria Fioravanti	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1564		S. Maria in Aracoeli	Forcella, Vol. I, entry 673.		
Giulia Tagliacozzi	Memorial slab with incised full length effigy	No placed by Marco Pallavicini	1565	No	S. Rocco	Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 918.	Forcella records this tomb by the third chapel on the right.	
Camilla Stiavacci	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her kin	1565	No	S. Giacomo Scossacavalli	Cod. Chigi. I, V. 167, f. 338. Forcella, Vol. VI, entry 1008.	Church demolished in 1937.	
Giulia Saccocci-Fiamberti	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1566	No	SS. Trinità de'Monti	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. II, Cl. n. 22, p. CC.; Forcella, Vol. III, entry 319.		

Maddalena de Morachis	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1566	No	S. Caterina della Rota	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVII, n. 48. p. CLXXII.; Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 674.	Forcella records this slab in the pavement by the church entrance.	
Costanza de Conti	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1566	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 138.; Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. I. Cl. II. n. 67, p. CCXXV.; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 683.	Forcella records this slab by the main altar.	
Ersilia Amadei	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her heirs.	1566	No	S. Spirito in Sassia	Alveri, p. 277.; Forcella, Vol. VI, entry 1212.	Alveri records this pavement slab by the organ.	
Caterina Albergotti	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1567	No	S. Maria sopra Minerva	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253. P. II. fol. 306.; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1806.	Copied by Gualdi, who locates this memorial in front of the chapel dedicated to All Saints.	
Camilla Conzaga	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by her heirs.	1567	No	S. Maria sopra Minerva	Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1802.		
Virginia Pucci	Portrait bust within architectural framework, accompanied by putti, caryatids, and coat of arms of the Pucci family.	No	1568	No	S. Maria sopra Minerva	Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1809	Tomb in situ. Likely based on a bronze portrait bust, now in the Bargello collection in Florence. See: C. Ricci, 'Ritratti di Virginia Pucci Ridolfi', Bollettino d'arte, 9, 1915, pp. 374-76.	Image: Author's own.
Ortenzia Colonna	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by her heirs.	1568	No	S. Maria del Popolo	Cassiano dal Pozzo, f. 232.; Alveri, p. II, p. 27.; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1344.		
Ippolita Raineri	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1569	No	SS. XII Apostoli	Forcella Vol. II, entry 739.	Forcella notes that this pavement slab is located in	

	Coat of arms.						front of the chapel of the Pietà.	
Angelica Spini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by Bono Spini	1569	No	S. Maria della Pietà	Galletti, Inscr. Venetae, Cl. XIII, n. 3. p. CXIV.; Forcella, Vol. VI, entry 1613.		
Gregoria Fricianti	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1570	No	S. Agostino	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253, p.1 f. 37. Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVIII, n. 56.		
Elena Savelli	Bust portrait in bronze set with an elaborate marble framework. Accompanying bronze medallion reliefs depicting Christ, and a Last Judgment.	No, placed by Bernardo Savelli	c. 1570	No	S. Giovanni in Laterano	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVII, n. 58, p. CLXXV.; ; Forcella, Vol. VIII, entry 72.		Image: Author's own.
Margherita de Vachis	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1570	No	SS. Trinità de'Monti	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XIX, n. 26, p. CCCXXXII; Forcella, Vol. III, entry 333.		
Girolama della Valle	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by her husband Camillo de Citer	1570	No	San Gregorio al Celio	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. p. TIII, Cl. 17, n. 59, p. CLXXVI.; Forcella Vol. II, entry 321.		
Emilia Tebaldeschi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her husband Antonio de Contrera	1570	No	San Gregorio al Celio	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVII, n. 55, p. CLXXIV.; Forcella Vol. II, entry 320.		

Porzia de Domino	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1570	Yes, a dual slab for Porzia and her husband Francesco	S. Rocco	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVI, n. 61, p. LXXXII.; Alveri, p. 67-68.; Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 920.	Forcella records this slab on the right hand side of the nave, between the first two chapels.	
Marzia Fabiani	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1570	No	S. Lorenzo in Damaso	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III Cl. XVII, n. 54, p. CLXXIV.; Forcella Vol. V, entry 506.		
Anna Sematter	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1571	No	S. Maria in Campo Santo	Forcella, Vol. II, entry 890.		
Caterina Pardi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	Yes, inscription notes that Caterina commissioned the slab within her own lifetime	1571	No	S. Maria del Popolo	Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1354.		
Ortenzia Falconi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by daughter Giovanna Morona	1571	No	S. Maria in Campo Santo	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XV, n. 43, p. XVII.; Forcella Vol. III, entry 889.		
Margherita de Laurenzi	Memorial slab with half-length incised effigy. Shown sleeping.	No	1571	No	S. Maria in Aquiro; Originally installed in the demolished church of SS. Martino e Giuliano	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVII, n. 61. p. CLXXVI.; Forcella Vol. II, entry 1359.		Image: Author's own
Clemenza Santacroce	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by her husband Fabio	1571	No	S. Maria in Publicolis	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XVII, n. 62. p. CLXXVII.; Forcella, Vol.		Image: Author's own

		Santa-croce				IV, entry 1115.		
Caterina Albertini	Memorial slab with coat of arms	No	1571	No	S. Crisogno	Forcella, Vol. II, entry 516.		
Angela Martelli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1571	No	S. Caterina della Rota	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XVIII, n. 36. p CCLXXXV.; Forcella Vol. IV, entry 676.		
Giacoma Zaccone	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	Yes, placed by her mother Ippolita Zacc-one	1571	No	SS. Silvestro e Martino	Forcella Vol. IV, entry 19.	Forcella records this pavement slab on by the second column on the right.	
Caterina Meliori	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1571	No	S. Tommaso in Parione	Galletti, Inscr. Picenae, T. II. Cl. VII, n. 25, p. CCI.; Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 1096.		
Caterina Pardi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	Yes, inscription notes that Caterina commissioned the slab within her own lifetime.	1571	No	S. Maria del Popolo	Alveri, p. II, p. 24.; Forcella, Vol. 1, entry 1354.	Inscription copied by Alveri.	
Paolina Cocci	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, inscription records it was placed by her father Gio. Battista Cocci.	1571	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Cassiano dal Pozzo, f. 399.; Casmiro, p. 295.; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 700.		

Lucrezia Sforza-Bombelli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1572	No	San Gregorio al Celio	Forcella Vol. II, entry 322.		
Laura Settini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by her husband Cosimo Tolentino	1572	No	San Gregorio al Celio	Galletti, Inscr. Piceni. Cl, XVII, n. 4, p. 154.; Forcella, Vol. II, entry 323.	Forcella sites this slab in the portico, on the left hand side.	
Faustina Gregoriani	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her brother Giovanni	1572	No	S. Spirito in Sassia	Galletti, Inscr. Picenae, Cl. XI, n. 15, p. 120.; Forcella, Vol. VI, entry 1219.	Faustina is stylized as “virgini” in the inscription.	
Pentesilea Sanguigni	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1572	No	S. Caterina dei Funari	Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 806.	Forcella records this slab in the pavement by the Chapel of S. Gio. Battista, on the left.	
Marta and Gregoria Grossi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by Pietro Paolo Grossi.	1572	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Cassiano dal Pozzo, f. 257.; Casmiro, p. 295.; Galletti, T. I. Cl. V, n. 48. p. CCCXLII.; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 703.		
Lucia Bertani	Wall monument with bas-relief bust	No, placed by Gurone Bertani	1572		S. Sabina	Ugo Giambellucci, “I monumenti funebri della famiglia Bertani in Santa Sabin a Rome,” in Studi Romani. 2002.		Image: Author’s own.
Giovanna Passerini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by Francesco Boniperto	1573	No	S. Girolamo della Carità.	Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 640.	Forcella records this tomb on the pavement, near the second chapel on the left.	
Giulia Capocéfali	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by Alessandro	1573	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 48.; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 706.		

	Coat of arms.	Capoc-efali.						
Antonia de Rossi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by Francesco Boccaccio.	1575	No	S. Agostino	Galletti, Inscr. Venetae, Cl. XIV, n. 5, p. CXXI.; Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253, p. I, f. 14v.; Forcella Vol. V entry 186		
Ginevra Delfini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, set up by her heirs.	1575	No	S. Giacomo degli Incurabili	Forcella, Vol. IX, entry 251.	Inscription notes that Ginevra was Neapolitan. Forcella records this pavement slab by the Chapel of S. Giacomo, to the left of the altar.	
Bernardina Mazzarelli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by Domenico de Domino	1575	No	S. Anna de Funari	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVII, n. 69, p. CLXXX.; Forcella, Vol. X, entry 139.	Forcella records this slab on the left hand side of the nave, by the entrance.	
Isabella di Capua	Tomb slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1575		San Gregorio al Celio	Forcella Vol. II, entry 324.	Inscription in vernacular; Isabella was the sister of Ferrante di Capua (Duke of Termoli)	
Maria Huberin	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1575	No	S. Maria in Campo Santo	Alveri, P. II. p. 239, col. 1, n. 45.; Forcella, Vol. III, entry 894.	Current location and condition unverified.	
Laura Gioacchina Romuli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1575	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 287.;Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVII, n. 70, p. CLXXX.; Forcella, Vol. 1, entry 713.	Current location and condition unverified.	
Caterina de Palude	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1575	No	S. Maria in Campo Santo	Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7916, c. 76, n. 229.; Alveri, p. II, 233, col. I,	Current location and condition unverified.	

						n.69.; Forcella, Vol. III, entry 893.		
Elisabetta Andreucci	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1575	No	S. Stefano del Cacco	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XVII, n. 67. p. CLXXIX.; Forcella Vol. VII entry 1001.	Current location and condition unverified.	
Cecilia Orsini	Sculpted portrait bust within architectural framework, shown holding rosary. Inscription and coats of arms.	No	1575	Yes, tomb of Rodolfo di Pio	S. Trinità dei Monti	Forcella, Vol. III, entry 344.	In situ.	Image: Author's own.
Lucrezia Santilli-Pane	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, set up by her husband Battista Pane.	1575	No	S. Maria in Montecelli	Forcella Vol V, entry 1365.	Forcella records this slab on the left side of the nave, near the front entrance.	
Giulia Costacciano	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by Angelino Baratti.	1575	No	S. Maria del Popolo	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XIX, n. 28. p. CCCXXXII.; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1369.		
Flaminia Brancadoro	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	Placed by her daughter Lucrezia de Benedetti.	1575	No	S. Maria del Popolo	Cassiano dal Pozzo, f. 385; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1367.		
Bartolomea Manardi	Memorial slab with inscription (surmounted by bust of Stefano Cerasi)	No	1575	Yes, tomb of Stefano Cerasi	S. Maria del Popolo	Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1368.		
Brigida Sabini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1576	No	S. Lorenzo in Damaso	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVI, n. 91, p. XCV.;		

						Forcella Vol. V, entry 514.		
Isabella Ximenes	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1576	No	S. Maria di Montserrat	Galletti, Cod. Vat., 7908. c.66, n. 194.; Forcella, Vol. III, entry 691.		
Eufemia Braganti	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by her husband Vincenzo Mancinelli	1576	No	S. Lucia del Gonfalone	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl XVII, n. 68, p. CLXXIX.; Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 878.		
Laura Fonti	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1577	No	S. Nicolo dei Prefetti	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253. P. III, car. 395.; Forcella, Vol. X, entry 371.	Gualdi notes that the memorial was a pavement slab.	
Maria Giulia Rialdi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.		1577	No	S. Maria del Popolo	Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1375.		
Caterina Catani	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her heirs.	1577	No	S. Lorenzo in Damaso	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XVI. n. 92, p. XCVI.; Forcella, Vol. V. entry 516,		
Drusilla Altieri	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her parents Emilio and Plautilla.	1577	No	S. Maria sopra Minerva	Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1825.	Forcella records this slab by the Chapel of the Saints.	
“Lodovica”	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1577	No	S. Salvatore della Corte	Forcella, Vol. IX, entry 658.	Inscription written in vernacular.	
Giovanna Campi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1577	No	SS. XII Apostoli	Forcella, Vol. II, entry 750.		
Maria Lopez de Leon	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1578	No	S. Maria in Campo Santo	Forcella Vol. III, entry 896.	Forcella locates this small marble slab by the sacristy.	
Agnesina Colonna Caetani	Memorial slab with inscription,	No, placed	1578	No	S. Pietro (in the grotta). Originally	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XVII, n.	Agnesina was the wife of Onorato	Image: Author’s own.

	no effigy. Coat of arms. Bronze accents.	by her kin.			by the Porta Iudicii.	74, p. CLXXXIII.; p. Forcella, Vol. VI, entry 245.	Caetani, the governor of Borgo and Duke of Sermoneta.	
Flamina Astalli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1578	No	SS. Trinità dei Monti	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253, P. II, p. 490.; Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. I, Cl. IV, n. 25, p. CCCLXVII.; Forcella, Vol. III, entry 348.	.	
Francesca de Stinchis	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her kin.	1578	No	SS. Sergio e Bacco.	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253 f. 346.; Forcella, Vol. IX, entry 626.		
Claudia de Strepigny	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1579	No	S. Maria del Popolo	Cassiano dal Pozzo, f. 264.; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1383.		
Camilla Bonvisi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by her husband, Vincenzo Parenzi, consistorial counselor from Lucca.	1579	No	S. Maria del Popolo	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. I, Cl. IV, n. 28, p. CCCLXIX.; J.G. Keysler: Travels through Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, Switzerland, Italy and Lorrain, London, 1760, Vol. II. p. 235 Cassiano dal Pozzo, f. 235.; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1382.	Forcella records this slab on the last column on the right of the nave.	Image: Author's own.
Ortenzia della Porta	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her heirs.	1579	No	S. Francesco a Ripa	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III Cl. XVI, n. 178, p. DXLVIII.; Alveri, p. 354, col. 1.; Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 946.		
Angelica Ivi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her husband.	1579	No	S. Tommaso in Parione	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVII, n. 77. p. CCXXXIV.;		

						Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 1098.		
Margherita Stramba	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1579	No	S. Giovanni Decollato	Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 141.	Forcella records this slab in the oratory.	
Aurelia Sarazzi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by her father Cesare Sarazzi and kin.	1579	No	S. Maria de Loreto	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XV, n. 51, p. XX.; Forcella, Vol. IX, entry 424.		
Lucia Corneli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by her husband Bartolomeo Corneli	1579	No	S. Maria de Loreto	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVII, n. 60, p. CLXXVI.; Forcella, Vol. IX, entry 425.	.	
Laura de Febreris	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by Lodovico Caronica	1580	No	SS. Trinità dei Monti	Forcella Vol. III, entry 352.	Forcella records this slab in the pavement by the second chapel on the right.	
Virginia Mannelli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1580	Yes, a dual slab for Virginia and Giovanni (her husband)	S. Lucia del Gonfalone	Cassiano dal Pozzo, Cod. Visconti, Vol. III, c. 175.; Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 881.		
Marcia Bufali	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by her sons Paolo and Octavio	1580	No	S. Silvestro al Quirinale	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVI, n. 96. p. XCVIII.; Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 100.		
Elisabetta Corsi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her son, Pietro	1580	No	S. Giovanni della Malva	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Ck. XV, n. 54.; Alveri, p. 329.; Forcella, Vol. IX, entry 718.	Copied by Galletti.	
Marta de Rossi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by Silvestro	1580	No	S. Maria del Popolo	Forcella Vol. I, entry 360.		

		Perelli, her hus- band.						
Anna Cham	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1581	No	S. Maria in Campo Santo	Galletti, Cod. Wat. 7916, c. 53, n. 244.; Forcella Vol. III, entry 904.		
Prudenza Giganti	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her kin.	1581	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 95.; Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. II, Cl. IX, n. 25 p. CCLII.; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 424.	Forcella records this slab in front of the chapel of S. Diego.	
Brigida Montori	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, tomb placed by her parents Consta ntino and Dianora	1581	No	SS. Trinità dei Monti	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T.III, Cl. XV, n. 57. p. XXII.; Forcella Vol. III, entry 358.		
Livia Pusterla	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, inscript -ion notes that it was set up by her heirs and execu- tors of her will	1581	No	SS. Trinità dei Monti	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVIII, n. 42. p. CCLXXXVI.; Forcella Vol. III, entry 355.		
Lucrezia Frontameli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1581	Yes - slab also commem orates her husband Filippo Bravo	S. Maria in Valicella	Inscr. e lapidi sepolcrali, c. 198.; Forcella Vol. IV entry 338.		
Bacchina Giacomelli de Danis	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1581	No	S. Lucia della Tinta	Forcella, Vol. XI, entry 376.		
Olimpia Rustici - Standardi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by Matteo Stan- dardi	1581	No	S. Silvestro al Quirinale	Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 101.	Forcella records this pavement slab by the third chapel.	

Caterina Renuzi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1582	No	S. Lorenzo in Damaso	Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7913, c. 185. n. 610.; Forcella Vol. V, entry 522.	Inscription notes that Caterina was Florentine.	
Antonia Oferini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by Antonio Oferini.	1582	No	S. Andrea delle Fratte	Cassiano dal Pozzo, Cod. Visconti. Vol. 1, f. 65.; Forcella, Vol. VIII, entry 553.	Recorded by Dal Pozzo.	
Margherita de Sorogett	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by Giulio and Angelo	1582	No	S. Pietro in Montorio	Alveri, p. II, p. 220, col. 1.; Forcella, Vol. V, entry 723.		
Vittoria Orsini della Tolfa	Portrait bust with prayer book in hand. No inscription; part of an extensive chapel program	Yes	1582	Yes - tomb of her husband Camillo Orsini in the same chapel	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Auguste Griesbach, <i>Römische Porträtbüsten Der Gegenreformation</i> (Liepzig: Keller, 1936).		Image: Author's own
Lucrezia Pierleoni	Portrait bust within simple framework. Accompanying inscription.	No	1582	Yes, tomb of Andrea Pelucchi, her husband.	S. Maria della Consolazione	Galletti, Isc. Rom. T. II, CI. XIV, no. 38. Forcella Vol. VIII entry 799.	In situ. On Lucrezia's role at the Osepdale SM della Consolazione: Pietro Pericoli, <i>L'Ospedale di S. Maria della Consolazione di Roma</i> . 1879. p. 123.	Image: Author's own.
Cinzia Valeri	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by her father.	1582	No	S. Tommaso in Parione	Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 1100.	Transcribed by Galetti. Inscription remarks that Cinzia was a young daughter of the Valeri family.	
Alessandra Arrieas	Memorial slab with arms and inscription	No	1583	No	Santa Prassede	Forcella, Vol. II, entry 1526.		
Lucrezia Orsini and Eleonora Anguillara	Double tomb slab with full length	No	1583	No	S. Francesco a Ripa	Forcella Vol IV, entry 947.	On Lucrezia Orsini (who died childless), see: Enzo Litta,	Image: Fototeca Zeri, Università di Bologna, entry 72811.

	effigies in relief, inscription and coat of arms.						La comunita' di mazzano e gli statuti del 1536-1542. p. 52-53.	
Maddalena Medici	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by Leo Strozzi, her husband	1583	No	S. Maria Maggiore	Forcella, Vol. XI, entry 88.		
Olympia Morgania	Marble inscription, painted portrait in medallion		1583	No	Santa Maria del Popolo			Image: Author's own
Lorenza de Peverata	Tomb slab with inscription, Coat of arms.	No, placed by her father, Francesco Peverata	1585	No	S. Onofrio	Gualdi, p. II, f. 393v.; Alveri, p. II, p. 291, col. 1.; Forcella Vol. V, entry 859.	According to Gualdi, originally included an incised effigy and putti. (Cod. P. II, fol. 395).	
Lucrezia Marrani Iacobacci	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1585	No	S. Agostino	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253, p.i, f. 7.; Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XIX, n. 35, p. CCCXXXV.; Forcella Vol. V, entry 200.	Inscription notes that Lucrezia was a nun affiliated with the order of St. Monica.	
Livia Massimi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1586	No	S. Maria in Aquiro	Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7904, C. 82, n. 167.; Forcella Vol. II, entry 1363.		
Ortenzia Mattei-Santacroce	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1586	No	S. Prassede	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVI, n. 103. p. Cl.; Forcella Vol. II, entry 1528.		
Margherita Musci Vasi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by Emilia Vasi	1587	No	SS. Trinità dei Monti	Forcella Vol. III, entry 366.	Inscription also commemorates an "Isabella." Forcella locates this pavement slab between the sixth and seventh chapel on the right.	

Lucrezia Coffi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by Pietro Coffi	1587	No	S. Maria dell'Orazion e della Morte	Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7908, c. 66. n. 192.; Gauldi, Cod. Vat. 8253. p. II, .f. 378v; Forcella, Vol. VIII, entry 1103.	Recorded by Galletti near the main altar.	
Diana Galluzzi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No - placed by husband Giovanni Galluzzi	1587	No	S. Cosma e Damiano	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVI, n. 105. p. CII.; Forcella Vol. IV, entry 64.		
Chiara Vignodi	Round memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	Placed by her parents, Giovanni and Camilla	1587	No	S. Maria in Valicella	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XV, n. 65. p. XXV.; Forcella Vol. II, entry 346.	Galletti records this memorial as in the round.	
Giulia Strozzi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1588	No	San Marcello al Corso	Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7904. c. 99, n. 211.; Forcella, Vol. II, entry 961.		
Giulia Bellanti	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	Placed by her sons, Giovanni and Antonio Melori.	1588	Yes, slab also commemorates her husband, Alberto Melori	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 107.; Forcella Vol. I, entry 754.	Forcella records this slab by the chapel of S. Pasquale.	
Camilla Cordonelli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her heirs.	1588	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 84.; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 757.	Forcella records this slab by the chapel of S. Pietro Alcantara, and in a corroded state.	
Giovanna Marcelli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1588	No	S. Maria in Posterula	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XV, n. 67. p. XXVI. Forcella, Vol. X, entry 215.		

Giovanna Cristiani	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by her husband Michelangelo.	1588	No	S. Biagio della Pagnotta	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253 f. 113.; Forcella, Vol. IX, entry 823.		
Marzia Nicolini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by Bernardo Nicolini, her father.	1588	No	S. Pietro in Montorio	Alveri, p. II. p. 317, c. 2.; Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XV. n. 69. p. XXVII.; Forcella Vol. V, entry 731.	Inscription notes that Marzia was an infant daughter. Forcella records this pavement slab by the second chapel on the right.	
Marzia Colonna	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1589	No	San Gregorio al Celio	Forcella, Vol. II, entry 336.		
Lodovica Crassi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1589	No	S. Barbara de'Librai	Forcella Vol. VII, entry 803.	Forcella, records this slab in the pavement by the first altar on the left.	
Camilla Nugoglionni	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1589	Yes, dual slab for Camilla and her husband Bernardo Moreti	S. Crisogno	Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7912, c. 105, n. 336.; Forcella Vol. II, entry 1591.		
Flaminia Mantacheti	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by Domenico Michelletti	1589	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p.54.; Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. II. Cl. IX. n. 30, p. CCLV.; Forcella, Vol. 1, entry 762.	Forcella records this slab as much eroded.	
Afra von Fleckenstein	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1590	No	S. Maria in Campo Santo	Forcella Vol. III, entry 912. On the Segesser Family, see: The Genealogical Magazine, Vol. 4. 1901.	Afra was the 2nd wife of Jossier Segesser, Knight of Lucerne.	
Claudia Cecconi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, inscription records that it was set	1590	No	S. Maria in Valicella	Forcella, Vol. IV entry 353.		

		up by Andrea Masc-alino						
Elisabetta de Antiquis	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1590	No	S. Giovanni in Laterano	Gualdi, Cat. Vat. 8253, p. I, f. 186v.; Forcella, Vol. V, entry 117.	Seen by Gualdi.	
Porzia Anguillara	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by Andrea Cesi	1590	No	S. Maria sopra Minerva	Gualdi, Cod. Casanat. E. III. 13, Famiglia Anguillara. Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1831. Valone, Mothers and Sons," 118.	Originally sited in the chapel of S. Giacinto, in front of the altar.	
Tuzia Colonna Mattei	Portrait bust within simple framework. Accompanying inscription.	No	1590	Yes, the memorial of Paolo Mattei.	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casimiro, p. 44.; Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. II, Cl. XIV, n. 50. p. CCCXXXVI.; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 767. Laura Russo, Santa Maria in Aracoeli. p. 123.	In situ in the chapel of the Pietà.	Image: Author's own
Settimia Colapietra	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by Antonio Bruni	1590	No	SS. Sergio e Bacco	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253, fol. 457.; Forcella, Vol. IX, entry 699.	.	
Caterina de Lege	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by her husband Marc' Antonio	1591	No	S. Barbara de'Librai	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253. p. I, f. 104v.; Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 804.		
Caterina Luciani Maccarani	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by her husband Gio. Battista Maccarani.	1591	No	S. Maria del Popolo	Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1412.	Forcella records the slab in the nave pavement on the left.	
Domenica Patavina	Memorial slab with	No	1591	No	S. Maria del Popolo	Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1413		

	inscription, no effigy.							
Giuditta de Ursis	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1592	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casimiro, p. 78.; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 775.		
Costanza Porta	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1592	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Forcella, Vol. 774.		
Ortenzia Serlupi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1592	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casimiro, p. 231-232.; Forcella, Vol. 1, entry 773.		
Dorotea Pulsoni	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her father, Scipio Gaetano	1592	No	S. Maria in Aquiro	Malvasia, p.188.; Forcella Vol. II, entry 764.		
Marta Laudati	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, set up by kin.	1592	No	S. Lucia del Gonfalone	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVI, n. 110. p. CIV.; Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 886.		
Francesca Cuppis	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her brother, Adriano de Cuppis	1592	No	S. Luigi dei Francesi	Magalotti, Delle Notitie, Vol. VI, c. 213.; Forcella Vol. III, entry 74.		
Cassandra Cavalcanti Bandini	Half-length portrait bust, hands shown clasped together; inscription and coat of arms.	No	1592	Yes-Tomb of her husband Pietro Antonio Bandini	S. Silvestro al Quirinale	Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 105.		Image: Author's own.
Isabella Mervilli and Giulia Rangioni	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1593	No	S. Maria in Valicella	Inscrizioni e lapidi sepolcrali, c. 76.; Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 359.	Inscription also commemorates both women interred (consepoltae)	
Maddalena de Tibaldis	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by Tomm-	1593	No	S. Lorenzo in Damaso	Forcella, Vol. V, entry 539.	Inscription describes Maddalena as "virgin."	

		aso Tibaldi						
Angelica Leonori	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by Antonio Tazzo.	1593	No	S. Maria del Popolo	Cassiano dal Pozzo, f. 269.; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1415.		
Angela Bolsoni	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1594	No	San Gregorio al Celio	Forcella, Vol. II, entry 339.		
Vincenza Vincenzi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1594	No	San Gregorio al Celio	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVII, n. 104. p. CXCVII.; Forcella Vol. II, entry 347.		
Lucarella de Statis	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by Alessandro Boncori	1594	No	S. Stefano dal Cacco	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XII, n. 103. p. CXCVI.; Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 1005.		
Maria Vazquez	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1594	No	S. Giacomo dei Spagnoli	Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7917, c. 80, n. 262.; Forcella, Vol. III, entry 594.	Inscription notes that Maria was Spanish.	
Laudomia Mancini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by Lucrezia Mancini and other kin.	1594	No	S. Maria al Foro Romano	Cassiano dal Pozzo, Cod. Visconti, T. II, c. 133.; Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVIII, n. 58, p. CCXCIII.; Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 825.		
Cinzia Castellani	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1595	No	S. Caterina in Borgo Nuovo	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253. P. I, f. 125.; Forcella, Vol. XI, entry 662.		
Costanza Serriatori	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her son Vincenzo Mazzini	1595	No	S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini	Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 9.	Forcella records this pavement slab in the nave by the fourth arch on the right.	

Clemenza Tesauri	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1595	Yes, a dual memorial for Clemenza and her husband Giulio	S. Agostino	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253, p. I, f. 44v.; Forcella, Vol. V, entry 221.		
Laura Madalotti [Nadalotti]	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by sisters of the convent	1595	No	S. Agostino	Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7911, c. 27. n. 117.; Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253. p. I, f. 21.; Forcella, Vol. V, entry 219.		
Olimpia Cappoci	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1596	No	San'Ivo de Brettoni	Forcella, Vol. II, entry 472.		
Lavinia de Monte	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1596	Yes, memorial of her husband Pietro Paolo de Monte – same visual program.	S. Caterina della Rota, Rome			Foto Sopr. Beni Arti e Stor. Roma Neg. no.s: 136624 and 136645.
Maria de Brhenna	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1596	No	SS. Trinità dei Monti	Forcella, Vol. III, entry 382.	Inscription notes that Maria was French (Galla).	
Dorotea Varroni	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No - placed by father Silverio Varroni	1596		S. Francesco a Ripa	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XV, n. 76, p. XXX.; Alveri, p. 354, col. 1.; Forcella, Vol. IV entry 957.	Inscription notes that Dorotea was eleven years old.	
Faustina Garenetti	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	Yes, inscription remarks that Faustina set up the monument in her	1596	Yes, a dual slab for Faustina and Francesco Garenetti	S. Giovanni Decollato	Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 146.		GFN F 32377 (Bib. Hertz.)

		own lifetime						
Brigida Paradisi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by her heirs.	1596	No	S. Giovanni della Malva	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, CL. XVI, n. 111, p. CIV.; Alveri, p. 329.; Forcella, Vol. IX, entry 719.	Recorded by Galetti by the altar of the Madonna.	
Maria Ridolfi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by Flaminio Delfino	1597	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 52; Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVII, n. 111, p. CC.; Forcella, Vol. 1, entry 793.		
Elisabetta de Santantonio	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by Bianchina de Santantonio	1597	No	S. Francesca a Ripa	Alveri, p. 360, col. 1.; Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 959.	Inscription notes that Elisabetta was a Dominican tertiary.	
Euridice Angelini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by Tiberino Gallarani	1597	No	S. Lorenzo ai Monti	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253, p. 1, f. 231v.; Forcella, Vol. V, entry 446	.	
Ortenzia Ferrazi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by Muzio Ferrazi.	1597	No	S. Maria del Popolo	Galletti, T. III. Cl. XVII. n. 52. p. CCXCI.; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1425.		
Cinzia Castellani Grossi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her heirs.	1597	No	SS. Quattro Coronati	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. II Cl. XIV, n. 61. p. CCCXLII. Forcella, Vol. VIII, entry 724.		
Orinzia Bonanni	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her heirs.	1597	No	S. Francesco a Ripa	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XV, n. 77. p. XXX.; Alveri, p. 360.	Alveri records this pavement memorial by the Chapel of the Conception.	

						Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 958.		
Ortenzia Borghese	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, inscription notes that Scipione Borghese set up the tomb.	1598	No	SS. Trinità dei Monti	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253 p. II, f. 490.; Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. I. Cl. II, n. 121. p CCXLVII.; Forcella, Vol. III, entry 383.		
Giulia Ferrari	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by Muzio Boccap-aduli.	1598	No	S. Maria in Transpontina	Alveri, p. 129. c. 1.; Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XVII, n. 112, p. CC.; Forcella, Vol. VI, entry 1114.	Alveri records this pavement slab by the chapel of S. Canuto.	
Lucrezia Capriolis	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her kin.	1598	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Cassiano dal Pozzo, f. 364.; Casmiro. p. 296.; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 795.		
Girolama Pallavicini Montori	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by her sister Maddalena Pallavicini	1598	No	S. Maria della Scala	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XVI, n. 114. p. CV.; Forcella, Vol. V, entry 1407.	Forcella records this pavement slab by the third chapel on the left.	
Clarice de Findis	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by her kin.	1598	No	S. Maria in Via Lata	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVI, n. 112, p. CV.; Forcella, Vol. VIII, entry 936.		
Caterina Begher	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1599	No	S. Maria del Anima	Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7916, c. 92, n. 379.; Forcella Vol. III, entry 1151.	Inscription notes that Caterina was from Valsucana (Tyrol).	
Caterina Sensi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1599	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 190.; Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XV. n. 78, p. XXXI.; Forcella, Vol. 1, entry 798.		

Barbara Eetterman	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her heirs	1599	No	S. Maria Campo Santo	Alveri, p. II, p. 337, col. 1. n. 31.; Forcella, Vol. III, entry 920.		
Lucrezia Cafari	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by Caterina Cafari, her mother.	1599	No	S. Francesco a Ripa	Alveri, p. 357, col. 1.; Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 961.	Lucrezia was eight years old.	
Elena de Chinis	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by her sons.	1599	No	S. Agostino	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. Cl. XII, n. 8. p. CLLI.; Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253, p. I. f. 4.; Forcella, Vol. V, entry 231.	Recorded by Gualdi and Galletti who both note its placement by the Chapel of St. Monica.	
Graziadea Benali	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by her husband, Battista Rota.	1599	No	S. Maria della Pietà.	Galletti, Inscr. Venetae. Cl. XIV. n. 8, p. CXXII.; , Vol. VI, entry 1623.	Forcella records this pavement slab by the second altar dedicated to the Crucifixion.	
Elisabetta Cabrera	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	Yes, inscription notes that Elisabetta set up the memorial herself.	1599	No	S. Michele Arcang. e Magno al Vaticano	Forcella, Vol. VI, entry 973.	Forcella records this slab by the altar of the Holy Conception.	
Virginia Velli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1599	No	S. Maria sopra Minerva	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253, p. II, f. 304. Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1856.		
Caterina Spenazzi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her husband Pietro Nardi	17th century (exact date unknown)	No	S. Filippo in Via Giulia	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVII, n. 190. p. CCXXXIX.; Forcella, Vol. XI, entry 774.		
Vittoria Vincenti	Very simple memorial slab with	No	17th century (exact	No	S. Maria del Popolo	Galletti, T. III, Cl. XX, n. 136, p. CCCCXXXIII.		

	inscription, no effigy.		date unknown)			; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1440.		
Ortenzia Cinquini	Marble inscription with painted portrait in medallion	No	17th century (exact date unknown)	Yes, paired with the memorial for Sertorio Teofili	S. Maria del Popolo	Casmiro, p. 99.; Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. I. Cl. IV, n. 73. p. CCCXCVII.; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 836.		
Vittoria Aragoni	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, set up by her heirs.	17th century (exact date unknown)	No	S. Maria della Consolazione	Forcella, Vol. VIII, entry 810.	Inscription notes Vittoria was the wife of Antonio Sacchi. Current	
Cangenua Peci	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.		17th century (exact date unknown)	Yes, a dual commemorative slab for Cangenua and her husband Andrea Baiochi	S. Maria in Transpontina	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XVII, n. 121. p. CCIV.; Forcella, Vol. VI, entry 1142.		
Maria Felicia Ventimaglia	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her heirs	17th century (exact date unknown)	No	S. Nicola da Tolentino	Forcella, Vol. IX, entry 936.	Forcella records this slab by the second chapel on the nave.	
Lucrezia Mancini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by Giacomo Frumententi	17th century (exact date unknown)	No	S. Nicola da Tolentino	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVII, n. 128, p. CCVI.; Forcella, Vol. IX, entry 937.	Galletti records this slab in the pavement by the choir.	
Laura Simonetti	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by her husband, Giovanni Francesco Bavori.	1600	No	S. Onofrio	Galletti, Inscr. Picenae, Cl. XVII n. 6 p. 155.; Forcella, Vol. V entry 872.		

Margherita Angillotti	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by Agostino Angillotti.	1600	No	S. Spirito in Sassia	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVII, n. 110. p. CC.; Forcella, Vol. VI, entry 1257.	Galletti records this pavement slab by the first chapel on the left.	
Costanza Guidi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by her sons.	1600	No	S. Lucia del Gonfalone	Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 892.		
Girolama Rodriguez	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1600	No	S. Antonio dei Portoghesi	Gualdi, Cod. vat. 8253. p. 1, f. 65v.; Galletti, Inscr. Rom. 7917, c. 95, n. 303.; Forcella, Vol, III1288.		
Girolama Ferreri	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1600	No	S. Francesca a Ripa	Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7912, c. 46, n. 147.; Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 966.	Current location and condition unverified.	
Francesca Binagi Adobati	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her heirs.	1600	No	S. Stefano del Cacco	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVI, n. 111, p .CXXI.; Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 1010.	Current location and condition unverified.	
Francesca Mali	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, set up by Ambrosio and Bernardo, her kinsman.	1600	No	S. Giacomo Scossacavalli	Forcella, Vol. VI, entry 1018.	Church demolished in 1937. Current location and condition unverified.	
Isabella Termini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.		c.1601		SS. XII Apostoli	Forcella Vol. II, entry 781.	Produced for a young daughter of the Termini family.	
Cherubina Lupi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by Claudio Lupi	1601	No	S. Maria del Popolo	Alveri, p. III, p. 31.; Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVII, n. 131. p.	Inscription mentions Cherubina was twenty-seven. Forcella	

	Coat of arms.					CCVIII.; Forcella Vol. I, entry 1437.	described this slab as in very bad condition.	
Angela Cocozoli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by Bernardo Massari.	1601	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 48. Forcella, Vol. I, entry 820.		
Margherita Valtrotti	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1601	No	S. Giovanni della Malva	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. II, Cl. XIV, n. 70. p. CCCXLVIII.; Alveri, p. 339.; Forcella, Vol. IX, entry 721.	Galletti records this pavement tomb in the middle of the nave.	
Fulvia Caesarini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by her mother, Costanza del Bufalo.	1602	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 50.; Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XV, n. 91, p. XXXVII.; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 822.	Forcella records this pavement slab by the chapel of S. Girolamo.	
Margherita Burelli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No placed by her husband Pietro Arcioffi	1603	No	S. Silvestro e Martino	Galletti, Inscr. Venetae. Cl. XIV, n.11, p. CXXXIII.; Forcella, Vol. iv, entry 32.	.	
Ortenzia Venusti de Rossi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her kin.	1603	No	S. Giovanni in Laterano	Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7901. c. 100. n. 2121. Forcella, Vol. VIII, entry 139.		
Tomb of Lesa Aldobrandini (mother of Clement VIII)	Full-length sculpted portrait within an elaborate architectural framework - holds a prayer book and rosary beads	No - commissioned by Clement VIII	1603	Yes - Tomb of her husband Silvestro Aldobrandini in the same chapel	S. Maria sopra Minerva			Image: Author's own.
Maria Mecchlen	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No - slab set up by her husband, Gas-	1604	No	S. Maria dell'Anima	Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7916, c. 98, n. 415.; Magalotti, V. V, n. 682.; Forcella Vol. III, entry 1155.		

		pard Manart (Bel- gian merch- ant).						
Costanza Bucei	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1604	No	S. Maria della Scala	Galletti, Inscr. Picenae, Cl. V. n 2. p. 67.; Forcella, Vol. V, entry 1408.	Forcella records this pavement memorial by the chapel of S. Filippo on the left.	
Marzia Gubernali	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1605	No	SS. XII Apostoli	Malvasia, Compedio Historico..., p. 103.; Forcella Vol. II, entry 783.		
Margherita de Bonis	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No placed by her heirs.	1605	No	S. Maria sopra Minerva	Gauldi, Cod. Vat. 8253,; f. 304.; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1877.		
Marzia Baronio	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No - Commi- ssioned by her son Cesare Baronio	1605	No	San Gregorio al Celio	Forcella, Vol. II, entry 363.	In the chapel of Santa Sylvia.	
Lucida Caffetti	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1606	No	San Crisogno	Forcella, Vol. II, entry 1597.		
Giulia Cinquini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1607	No	S. Maria della Purificazion e	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVIII, n. 187, p, DLII.; Forcella, Vol. X, entry 559.		
Caterina Guidacci	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by their heirs and exe- cutors.	1607	Yes, a dual memorial for Caterina and her husband Francesco Capparelli	S. Lorenzo in Damaso	Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7913, c. 152. n. 502.; Forcella, Vol. V, entry 558.		
Giulia Baglioni Marescotti	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1608	No	S. Maria sopra Minerva	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III., Cl. XX, n. 148. p. CCCXXXVI.;	Galletti transcribed this slab..	

						Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1880.		
Felicia Melchiori	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by Caterina Orsini, her mother	1608	No	S. Eligio de'Ferrari	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XV, n. 93, p. XXXVII.; Forcella, Vol. XI, entry 454.	Inscription notes that Felicia was an infant (fifteen months and three days).	
Camilla Roncalli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1608	No	S. Maria del Popolo	Alveri, 19.2.; Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVII, n. 142, p. CCXIII.; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1446.	.	
Margherita Romani	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1608	Yes, dual slab for Margherita and Giovanni de Santis	S. Agostino	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. I, Cl. VI, n. 39, p. DXXII.; Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253, p. I, f. 28.; Forcella Vol. V entry 254.	Inscription copied by Galletti.	
Flaminia Velli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her heirs.	1608	No	S. Susanna	Forcella, Vol. IX, entry 1043.	Forcella records this pavement slab by the sacristy.	
Aurelia Gabri-Abbagari	Memorial slab with inscription, small painted portrait.	No	1609	No	S. Maria Egiziaca	Forcella, Vol. X, entry 675.		
Francesca Marchet	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1609	Yes, Linked inscription with husband.	SS. Trinità de'Monti	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVII, n. 13. Forcella Vol. III, entry 398.	Forcella describes the marble as "molto consumato."	
Ginerva Avellani	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by her husband Bernardo Sburlati	1609	No	S. Onofrio	Forcella, Vol. V, entry 880.	Forcella records this pavement slab by the chapel of S. Onofrio on the right.	
Olimpis de Cuppis	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1610	Yes, a dual slab for Olimpia	S. Maria di Loreto	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVII, n. 145, p.		

				and her husband Bartolomeo		CCXV.; Forcella, Vol. IX, entry 439.		
Maddalena Teudini-Briscioni	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1611	No	S. Francesco a Ripa	Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 974.		
Giulia Benzoni	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by her husband Gio. Battista Veralli	1611	No	S. Agostino	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253, p. I, f. 49.; Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XVII, n. 148, p. CCXVI.; Forcella, Vol. V, entry 257.		
Plautilla Zannetti	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, set up by Antonio Zannetti	1612	No	S. Stefano dal Cacco	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XVII, n. 149, p. CCXVII.; Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 1015.	Transcribed by Galletti..	
Antonia de Curti	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by Pietro de Curti.	1612	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Cassiano dal Pozzo, f. 335.; Casmiro, p. 292. Forcella, Vol. I, entry 842.		
Settima Ioli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by Pietro Ioli	1612	No	S. Stefano del Cacco	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVIII, n. 66, p. CCXVIII.; Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 1014.		
Katherine Sennenbergin	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her daughter Maria Theresa	1613	No	S. Maria in Campo Santo	Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7016, c. 49, n. 211. Forcella, Vol. III, entry 929.		
Margherita Savelli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by her parents Paolo and Caterina	1613	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 144.; Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. II, Cl. X, n. 44, CCCXV.; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 343.	Inscription notes that Margherita was eight years and six months when she died.	

Ortenzia Mazziotti	Memorial slab accompanied by a painted portrait	No, set up by her kin.	1614	No	Santa Maria della Pace	Galletti, Insc. Rom. T. III. CL. XVII, n. 65. p. CLXXVII.; Forcella Vol. V, entry 1318.	Current location and condition unverified.	
Domitilla de Santis	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1614	Yes, a dual memorial for Domitilla and Gio. Battista Bonaventura	S. Onofrio	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XV, n. 99, p. XLI.; Forcella, Vol. V, entry 885.	Forcella records this pavement slab by the first chapel. location and condition unverified.	
Giulia Panseri	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1614	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Forcella, Vol. 1, 846.		
Porzia Drago Santacroce	Portrait bust within simple classicizing framework	No	1614	No	San Gregorio al Celio		In situ in the church cloister.	Image: Author's own
Lucrezia Minuzi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by Michele Bava	1615	No	SS. Simeone e Guida (formerly S. Maria a Monte Giordano)	Forcella Vol. II, entry 619.		
Lucrezia de Pistoia	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by her heirs.	1616	Dual slab for Lucrezia and Gio. Battista Testa.	S. Pietro in Montorio.	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XVI, n. 131. p. CXIV.; Forcella, Vol. V, entry 755.		
Olimpia Orsini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1616	No	Il Gesù	Forcella, Vol. X, entry 752.	.	
Julia Cruibeech	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1616	No	S. Maria Campo Santo	Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7916, c. 84, n. 339.; Forcella Vol. III, entry 936.	Inscription notes that Julia was from Hamburg.	
Lodovica Nicolosi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by Mercurio Petrig-nami.	1616	No	S. Lorenzo in Damaso	Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7905. c. 23. n. 60. Forcella, Vol. V, entry 570.	Cited by Galletti.	

Laura Macarani	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by her heirs.	1616	No	S. Maria sopra Minerva	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. I. Cl. VI, n. 44. p DXXV.; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1893.		
Claudia Santacroce	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1617	Yes, a dual slab for Claudia and her husband, Giovanni Battista Ciriaco	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casimiro, p. 74.; Forcella, Vol. 1, entry 858.		
Lucrezia Ricci	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1617	No	S. Maria sopra Minerva	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVI, n. 132. p. CXIV.; Forcella, Vol. 1, entry 1893.		
Isabella Nardoni	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1617	No	S. Onofrio	Forcella, Vol. V, entry 887.	Forcella records this slab by the altar of the chapel of S. Onofrio.	
Caterina Parma	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1618	No	S. Angelo in Pescheria	Magalotti, Delle Notitie delle Famiglie, Vol. V. c. 1119.; Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 243.		
Gregoria Lentuli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1618	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli			
Caterina Butella [Burella?]	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her husband Bartolomeo Butella [Burella]	1618	No	SS. Biagio e Carlo a'Catinari	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XVII, c. 139, p. CCXII.; Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 544.	Forcella records this pavement slab by the second chapel on the right.	
Perna Sensi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1619	No	S. Maria sopra Minerva	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253, P. II, f. 303.; Forcella, Vol. 1, entry 1897.	Inscription notes that Perna was from Orvieto and a "erudite" midwife.	

Barbara Antonioli	Classical framework with Ionic columns containing inscription and coat of arms	No, set up by her heirs.	1620	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casimiro, 41.; Forcella, Vol. 1, entry 864.	Inscription notes Barbara was from Perugia. Forcella records this monument at the end of the right hand side of the nave.	Federici and Garms, cat. 61. Image: Author's own
Caterina Centolanci	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1620	No	S. Maria della Sanità	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. II. Cl. XIX, n.101, p. CCCCLXI.; Forcella, Vol. XI, entry 341.	Forcella sites this slab in nave pavement. The church was demolished in 1929.	
Girolama Sporti-de Pace	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her kin.	1620	No	S. Maria dell'Orazione della Morte	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253. p. II, f. 377v.; Forcella, Vol. VIII, entry 1109.	Gualdi records this slab by the main altar.	
Vittoria Ricci	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1622	No	S. Nicolas degli Incornati	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253, P. II, f. 394.; Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVII, n. 160. p. CCXXII.; Forcella, Vol. XI, entry 414.		
Erminia Ricci	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by her heirs.	1622	No	S. Ambrogio della Massima	Forcella, Vol. IX, entry 641.	Forcella records the location of the pavement slab in front of the first altar on the left. Currently in the loggia of the church.	
Olimpia Ceuli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1622	No	SS. Silvestro e Martino	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XV, n. 196. p. XLIII.; Forcella Vol. IV, entry 37.		
Bernardina Numai	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1622	No	S. Maria in Monterone	Forcella Vol. II, entry 219.	Inscription notes she was from Forlì.	
Veronica Cerra-Dal Pozzo	Memorial slab with	No	1622	No	S. Francesco a Ripa	Alveri, p. 358, col. 2.; Galletti, Cod.	Current location and condition unverified.	

	inscription, no effigy.					Vat. 7912. c. 80, n. 263.; Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 987.		
Claudia Mattei	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, set up by Alessan- dro Mattei	1622	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p.73.; Galletti, Inscr. Rom.T. III, Cl. XVII, n. 158. p. CCXXII.; Forcella, Vol. 1, entry 576.		
Angelica Usubelli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No - placed by Pietro Bo- viglia	1622	No	S. Caterina della Rota	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVII, n. 159, p. CCXXII.; Forcella Vol IV, entry 691		
Paola and Lucia Lucarone	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	Yes, inscript- ion notes that Paola and Lucia placed the memori- -al, “being mindful of death.”	1622	No	S. Onofrio	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XIX, n. 75. p. CCCLV.; Forcella, Vol. V, entry 897.	A dual monument set up for Paola and Lucia.	
Dianora Colonna	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1622	No	S. Maria in Transpontin a	Forcella, Vol. VI, entry 1125.		
Lodovica de Matthia	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, Inscript- ion set up by the church and hospital .	1623	No	S. Stanislao de’Polacchi	Forcella Vol. III, entry 726.	Forcella locates this slab by the stairs near the main altar.	
Paola Nuti	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1623	No	San Luigi dei Francesi	Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7913, c. 131, n. 422.; Forcella, Vol. III, entry 100.	Forcella records this slab on the right hand side of the nave by the Chapel of the Crucifixion; he also notes it	

							is in poor condition.	
Olimpia Cavalieri	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her sons.	1623	No	S. Stefano del Cacco	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XVII, n. 161, p. CCXXIII.; Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 48.	Forcella records this slab in the nave, by the main altar.	
Giovanna Caputi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1624	No	SS. XII Apostoli	Forcella, Vol. II, entry 812.		
Cassandra Caputi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her kin.	1624	No	S. Salvatore della Coppelle	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. II, Cl. IX, n. 16, p. CCLXIX.; Forcella, Vol. VIII, entry 1166.		
Paola "Bosna"	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	c.1624	No	San Girolamo degl' Illirici	Galletti, Inscr. Illyr. p. CXLVII.; Alveri, Roma in Ogni Stato, p. II, p. 76. col. 1.; Forcella, Vol. III, entry 755.		
Gloria Biondo	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her kin.	1624	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 259. Forcella, Vol. I, entry 882.	Forcella records this pavement memorial by the last column on the right. Current location and condition unverified.	
Lucrezia Tomacelli	Gilt bronze bust in bronze set in a black antique framework, with putti, inscription, and, and other gilt bronze grotesque motifs.	No, set up by her husband Filippo I Colonna	1625	No	S. Giovanni in Laterano	Forcella, Vol. VIII.	In situ. Buried in the Colonna church of San Andrea, Paliano.	Image: Author's own
Lucrezia Guiducci	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her mother	1625	No	S. Lucia della Tinta	Cod. Chigi, I, V, 167, f. 102.; Forcella, Vol. XI, entry 377.	Inscription notes that Lucrezia was an adolescent.	Image: Author's own.

		Giovanna						
Lucrezia Sordi-Bonfili	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her mother Dorotea Bonfili	1625	No	S. Maria in Valicella	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVI, n. 137. p. CXVII. Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 375.		
Felica Gauli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1625	No	S. Marcello al Corso	Forcella, Vol. II, entry 972.		
Girolama Mori	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1626	No	SS. XII Apostoli	Galletti, Inscr. Venet. Cl. XII, n. 23, p. CVII.; Forcella Vol. II, entry 802.		
Piera Impieracci	Very simple memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1626	No	San Francesco a Ripa	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. I. Cl. VI. n. 58, p. DXXI.; Forcella Vol IV, n. 994.	Inscription notes that Piera was a Franciscan tertiary.	
Maria Maddalena Baila-Ceva	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1627	No	San Gregorio al Celio	Forcella, Vol. II, entry 379.		
Lucrezia Cececchini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by Camillo Capranica	1627	No	S. Maria sopra Minerva	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XVII, n. 174. p. CCXXVIII.; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1907.	.	
Francesca Montiox	Marble inscription, architectural framework and painted portrait in medallion	No	1628	No	S. Rufina e Seconda (a Trastevere)	Forcella, Vol. XI entry 620.		Image: Author's own.
Vittoria Margani Stefanucci	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her kin	1628	No	S. Maria dell'Orazone e della Morte	Gualdi, Cod. f. 377.; Forcella, Vol. VIII, entry 1112.	.	
Laura Petroni	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1629	No	S. Anna de Funari	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XVI, n. 141, p. CXIX.; Forcella, Vol. X, entru 141.		
Francesca Ornani	Memorial slab with	No, placed	1629	No	S. Francesco a Ripa	Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7912, c.	Inscription notes that	

	inscription, no effigy.	by her heirs.				106, n. 341.; Forcella Vol. IV entry 997.	Francesca was from a noble Corsican family.	
Giulia Confalonieri	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by Giovanni Battista Confalonieri	1629	No	S. Onofrio	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. III, Cl. XVIII, n. 71, p. CCXCIX.; Forcella, Vol. V, entry 901.		
Grazia Bianchi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by Antonio Bianchi	1629	No	S. Onofrio	Forcella, Vol. V, entry 902.	Inscription notes that Grazia was from Tivoli. Forcella records this memorial in the pavement of the portico, to the right of the convent door.	
Camilla Barbadori	Memorial with porphyry portrait bust in profile	No	1629	Yes, intended accompanied by a porphyry portrait of Antonio Barbernin	S. Andrea della Valle	Forcella, Vol. V, entry 669.	Related bust: Bernini, 1609. Originally Bernini's bust was also intended for the Barberini Chapel. Image source: National Museum of Denmark.	Image: Author's own
Elena Zielli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed Giuseppe Magnoni	1630	No	S. Lorenzo in Damaso	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. n. 174, p. CCXXX.; Forcella Vol. V, entry 576.	.	
Marianna de Zunica	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1631	No	S. Pietro in Montorio.	Alveri, p. II, p. 309, c. 1.; Forcella, Vol. V, entry 768.	Inscription notes that Marianna was Spanish.	
Livia Rusconi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1631	No	S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini	Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 61.	Forcella records the slab between the first and second pier on the right of the nave..	
Antonia Brancaleoni	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by benefactors.	1631	Yes, a dual slab for Antonia and her	S. Maria dell'Orto	Alveri, p. II, p. 365. c. 1.; Forcella, Vol. V, entry 1235.	Copied by Alveri.	

				husband Luciano.				
Tomb for the remains of the Countess Matilda of Canossa	Full-length upright sculpted "portrait," sculpted sarcophagus	No	1633	No	S. Pietro			Image: Author's own
Maddalena Casali	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	Yes, inscription notes that she placed it herself.	1633	No	San Crisogno	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XIX, n. 56. p. CCCLI. Forcella, Vol. II, entry 556.		
Maria Sodorini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1635	No	S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane	Galletti, Cod Vat. 7913, c. 189, n. 658. Forcella, Vol. III, entry 635.	Forcella describes the slab as much erased. Current location and condition unverified.	
Maddalena Stampa	Memorial slab with inscription, small painted portrait.	No	1635	No	S. Agostino	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. II, Cl. XIV, n. 56, p. CCCXXXIX.; Forcella, Vol. V, entry 273.	Galletti transcribed this monument.	
Virginia Bonanni Primi	Portrait bust within architectural framework, shown holding rosary	No	1634	Yes - Tomb of her husband Giuseppe Bonanni	S. Caterina da Siena a Magnanapoli			Image: Author's own
Clarice Margana	Bronze portrait bust within architectural framework, shown holding a book and one hand on heart	No	1636	Yes - Tomb of her husband Giovanni Battista d'Aste	S. Maria in Via Lata	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XVI, n. 127. p. CXI.; Forcella, Vol. VIII, entry 946.; Dorothy Metzger Habel.		Image: Author's own
Lavinia Cenci	Tomb slab with inscription and coat-of-arms	No	1636	No	S. Prassede	Forcella, Vol. II, entry 1546.		

Isabella Abbatti	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1636	No	SS. Silvestro e Martino	Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7908, c. 66, n. 194.; Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 42.		
Silvia Scarsi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	Yes, slab notes that Silvia set up the monument while still living.	1636	No	Il Gesù	Galletti, Inscr. Roma. T. III, Cl. VIII, n. 81.; Forcella Vol X, entry 773.		
Diana de Rosellis	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1636	No	S. Maria in Monserrato	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVII, n. 186. p. CCXXXVI.; Magalotti, Vol. V, c. 1159.; Forcella Vol. III, entry 715.		
Clelia Vico-Orsi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, inscription notes that it was set up her heirs	1637	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 298.; Forcella, Vol. 1, entry 906.		
Laura Frangipane Mattei	Portrait bust within complex architectural framework	No, placed by her husband	1637	No				Image: Author's own
Felicia Perez	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No - Inscription notes that the slab set up by the church.	1638	No	S. Giacomo de'Spagnoli	Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7917, c. 83, n. 271.; Forcella Vol. I, entry 616.		
Isabella della Porta	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her kin.	1638	No	S. Maria dell'Orazione e della Morte	Forcella, Vol. VIII, entry 114.		

	Coat of arms.							
Lavinia Alicornes	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No placed by Lavinia's sister, Cornelia	1638	No	S. Benedetto in Piscinula	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. I. Cl. VI, n. 66, p. DXXXV.; Forcella, Vol. X, entry 161.		
Laura Gallinelli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by her heirs.	1638	No	S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini	Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 64.		
Lucrezia Macchiavelli	Portrait bust within simple architectural framework over dedicatory inscription	No	1638	No	S. Maria sopra Minerva	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XVI, n. 143, p. CXX.; Forcella Vol. I entry 1913.		Image: Author's own
Lucia Ferrazi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, set up by her husband Duranto Ferazzi	1639	No	S. Giovanni Calabita	Forcella, Vol. X, entry 340.		
Cecilia Tiberi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1640	No	SS. XII Apostoli	Malvasia, p. 103-104.; Forcella, Vol. II, entry 814.		
Giulia Cenci Naro	Portrait bust within simple architectural framework	No	1640	Yes - Memorial of her husband Orazio Naro	S. Maria sopra Minerva	Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1823.	In situ in the Naro chapel.	Image: Author's own.
Cornelia de Magistris	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No	1640	No	S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XX, n. 159. p. CCCCXXXIX.; Forcella Vol. III, entry 636.		
Caterina Rota	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1642	No	S. Marcello al Corso Rome	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. II, Cl. IX, n. 63, p. CCLXXXVI.; Forcella, Vol. II, entry 975		
Marta Calisti	Memorial slab with	No, placed	1642	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 197.; Galletti,		

	inscription, no effigy.	by her heirs.				Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVI, n. 147, p. CXXII.; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 913.		
Camilla Macarani	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1643	No	S. Maria dell'Umilità	Galletti. Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVI, n. 150, p. CXXIV.; Forcella, Vol. X, entry 255.		
"Vittoria Giustina"	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1643	No	S. Caterina a Magnanapol i	Forcella, Vol. X, entry 614.		
Flavia de Ghetis	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	Yes, slab notes that Flavia set up the monu- ment while still living.	1643	No	S. Maria in Valicella	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. I. Cl. IV, n. 55, p. CCLXXV.; Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 380.		
Suor Maria Raggi	Poly- chrome and black marble with gilt bronze effigy medallion of the deceased in high relief, surrounded by gilt bronze putti	No	1643	No	S. Maria sopra Minerva	Forcella, Vol. 1, entry 1862.		Image: Author's own.
Francesca Palermi	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No	1644		SS. Simeone e Guida (formerly S. Maria a Monte Giordano)	Forcella Vol. II, entry 628.	Forcella notes that this slab is on the right hand side of the nave, by the second pilaster.	
Ersilia Alberini- Rogeri	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	Yes, inscript- ion notes that	1644	No	S. Maria sopra Minerva	Gauldi, Cod. Vat. 8253. p. II, f. 314. Forcella Vol. I, entry 1919.	Current location and condition unverified.	

	Coat of arms.	Ersilia commissioned the slab within her own lifetime in expectation of her own death.						
Marchesa Pallavicini Montoro - benefactor of the Confraternity of Piceni	Extensive colored marble work, sarcophagus and obelisk. No sculpted portrait.	No	1645	Yes - Memorial of her husband (?) Giovanni Castellani	S. Salvatore in Lauro		In situ.	Image: Author's own
Katherine Vreston [Weston]	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No	1645	No, set up by Richard White	S. Tomasso di Canterbury	Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7919, c. 43. n. 83.; Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 374.	Katherine was English. Transcribed by Galletti.	
Faustina Gottardi Ginnasi	Portrait bust in marble within a square frame and holding a prayer book; surrounded by accompanying putti and coat of arms.	No, part of a family monument set up by Caterina Ginnasi	1646	Yes	S. Lucia de'Ginnasi	Forcella, Vol. V, entry 1104.		Image: Author's own.
Maddalena Clarantis	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No	1646		SS. Celsco e Giuliano	Forcella, Vol. II, entry 439.		
Olimpia Silvestri	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No, inscription records that it was set up by	1646	No	S. Gregorio a Ponte Quattro Capi	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVII, n. 189, p. CCXXXVIII; Forcella, Vol. X, entry 228.		

		son Erasmus						
Girolama Vazielli	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No, placed by Gio. Fran- cesco Feurr- ucci.	1646	No	SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio a Trevi	Galletti, Inscr. Picenae, Cl. IX, n. 8, p. 101.; Forcella, Vol. IX, entry 557.		
Flaminia Scarnatti	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No	1646	No	S. Stefano del Cacco	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. II, Cl. X. n. 58, p. CCCXXII.; Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 1026.	Slab transcribed by Galletti.	
Anna Moroni	Half-length portrait bust in elaborate decorative framework	No	1647	No	S. Maria in Monterone			Image: Author's own.
Domenica de Pintis	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No	1647	No	SS. Veneziano ed Ansovino	Gualdi, Cod. Vat. 8253. P. I. f. 210.; Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 247.	Church destroyed in 1928.	
Lodovica Gessi	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No, placed by Rocco Gessi, her hus- band	1647	No	S. Francesca a Ripa	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XV, n. 116, p. XLIX.; Alveri, p. 361, col. 2.; Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 1010.		
“Anna Maria “	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No	1648	No	S. Quattro Coronati	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. I, Cl. VI, n. 78, p. DXLII.; Forcella, Vol. V, entry 729.	Forcella records this pavement memorial on the left hand side of the nave. Inscription notes that Anna Maria was a nun.	
Caterina Vittoria Gondi	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No, placed by her son, Pietro Fran- cesco Gondi.	1648	No	S. Giovanni della Malva	Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7913, c. 180, n. 621.; Forcella, Vol. IX, entry 729.	Inscription notes Caterina was Florentine.	

Cinzia Urighi	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No, placed by Vincenzo Urighi	1649	No	S. Maria sopra Minerva	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. II. Cl. X, n. 62. p CCCXXVI.; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1922.		
Dorotea Cinatti	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No	1649	No	S. Maria dell'Anima	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XVII, n. 194. p. CCXLI.; Forcella Vol. III, entry 1180.		
Cecilia Buti Consalvi	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No, placed by Nicola Buti	1649	No	S. Maria di Loreto	Forcella, Vol. IX, entry 452.		
Lucrezia de Vecchis	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No, placed by Matteo de Seri and her heirs	1650	No	S. Susanna	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVIII, n. 91, p. CCIX.; , Vol. IX, entry 1052.	Forcella records this pavement slab by the first chapel on the left. Current location and condition unverified.	
Artemisia Ghisleri Dulioli	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No	1650	No	S. Francesca a Ripa	Alveri, p. 361, col. 2.; Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 105.		
Maria Comparetti	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, set up by Agostino Visigna	1650	No	S. Stefano del Cacco	Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7912, c. 94. n. 284.; Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 1027.	.	
Eufrosia Pinnardi	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No, set up by her kin.	1650	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 52. Forcella, Vol. 1, entry 919.	Eufrosia is stylized as "virgini" the inscription.	
Caterina Gubernati	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.		1650		S. Maria in Aracoeli			
Apollonia Vannini	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No, placed by her heirs	1652	No	S. Omobuono	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XVII n. 197, p. CCXLIII.; Forcella, Vol. X, entry 892.		
Barbara Kuster	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No	1652	No	S. Maria in Campo Santo	Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7916. c. 86, n. 347.;		

						Forcella Vol. III entry 963.		
Dorotea Bonfiglioli	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No, placed by her kin.	1652	No	SS. Quattro Coronati	Galletti, Inscr. Bonon. Cl. XI, n.9, p. CXLVII.; Forcella, Vol. VIII, entry 730.		
Antonina Versi	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No	1653	No	Santa Maria in Trastevere	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVI, n. 49, p. LXXVII.; Forcella, Vol. II, entry 1099.		
Polita de Elmis	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No, placed by her kin.	1653	No	S. Giovanni in Ayno	Forcella, Vol. IX, entry 987.	Forcella records this pavement slab to the left of the main altar.	
Giacoma Silenzi	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No	1655	No	Il Gesù	Galletti, Inscr. Picenae, Cl. XVI, n. 13, p. 150.; Forcella, Vol. X, entry 786.	.	
Margherita Tamarelli	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No, placed by her kin.	1655	No	S. Marco	Forcella, Vol. I, entry 599.	Inscription notes that Margherita was the infant daughter of the Venetian Tamarelli family. The slab notes it also serves as the marker for the family.	
Vittoria Lili	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No	1656	No	S. Anna de Funari	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XX, n. 162. p. CCCXL.; Forcella, Vol. X, entry 145.		
Aurora Capizucchi	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No	1656	No	S. Pudienza	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. I. Cl. VI, n. 81.; Forcella, Vol. XI, entry 269.		
Girolama Chigi	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No	1656	No	S. Maria in Valicella.	Inscrizioni e lapidi sepolcrali, c. 151.; Forcella		

						Vol. IV, entry 388.		
Olimpia Cervini	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No	1657	No	S. Stefano del Cacco	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XVIII, n. 91. p. CCCXI.; Forcella Vol. VII, entry 505.	Dual slab also pays homage to Olimpia's sister Francesca.	
Anna Colonna Barberini	Gilt bronze half-length bust figure wearing widow's weeds on a black marble prie-dieu	No	1659	No	Santa Maria in Regina Coeli	Forcella, Vol. XI, entry 772.	Forcella cites this monument by the left hand side of the altar. The church was destroyed in the 19th century. This monument was sold to the Albright Knox in the early 20th century.	
Women of the Baccelli family	Black African marble sarcophagi topped by coats of arms and putti	No, placed by Vincenzo Baccelli	1659		S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini			Image: Author's own
Violante Brandoni de Mendes	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by Antonio Brandoni	1659	No	S. Lorenzo in Lucina	Forcella, Vol. V, entry 380.	Forcella records this pavement memorial by the third chapel on the left. Inscription notes Violante's Spanish origins (from Andalusia).	
Maria Vittoria Angelini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1659	No	SS. Biagio e Carlo ai Catinari	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. I, Cl. VI, n. 90, p. DXLVIII.; Forcella Vol. VII, entry 551.		
Marta Arciuffi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1661	Yes, dual slab for Marta and Giovanni Battista Asinario, placed during their lifetime	S. Rufina e Seconda (a Trastevere)	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. VII, n. 20, p. CCXLV.; Forcella, Vol. XI, entry 621.		

Caterina Giani	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1661	No	S. Maria della Scala	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XX. n. 163. p. CCCXLI.; Forcella, Vol. V, entry 1420.	This pavement slab was recorded by Galletti, who sites it near the entrance on the left.	
Maria Anastasi de Reinach	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	Yes, inscription states that Maria erected the monument while still living	1661	No	S. Bernardo al Terme	Forcella, Vol. IX, entry 361.	Forcella locates this pavement slab by the right altar.	
Livia Prini Santacroce	Portrait bust within architectural framework	Yes – commissioned by Livia herself	1662	Yes - the tomb of her son, Prospero Santacroce	S. Maria della Scala			Image: Author's own
Laura Prefetti	Portrait bust within architectural framework	No	1662		S. Maria della Scala			
Marchesa Giulia Ricci Parravicini	Half-length portrait bust accompanied by putti within architectural frame. Cinerary urn device with inscription. Coats of arms.	No	1662	Not in current context - may have been part of a larger memorial program in the Ricci chapel.	S. Francesco a Ripa	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XVII. n. 200. p. CCXLIV.; Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 1017.	In situ.	Image: Author's own.
Giovanna Teresa Panicoli Scipioni	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her heirs.	1662	No	S. Giovanni in Ayno	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVII, n. 199, p. CCXLIV.; Forcella, Vol. IX, entry 988.	Forcella records this slab to the right of the main altar. Current location and condition unverified.	
Clelia Sannesì	Portrait bust on socle	No	1663	Yes, related tombs of	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Forcella Vol. I entry 933.		Image: Author's own.

	within a scallop shell framing device. Coats of arms and elaborate, epitaph with scrolled ornament.			male kin in the Chapel of S. Gregorio.				
Ottavia Sacchetti	Medal relief, shown frontally, paired with husband, who is shown in profile - elaborate sculptural and architectural framework	No	1665	Yes - Tomb of her husband Orazio Falconieri	S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini			Image: Author's own
Elisabetta Ruggieria	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No	1667	No	Santa Cecelia in Trastevere			
Cecilia Turchi	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No, placed by her kin.	1667	No	S. Andrea delle Fratte	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVII, n. 205. p. CCXLVII.; Forcella, Vol. VIII, entry 575.	Galletti records that this slab may have been added to the memorial for her pre-deceased children.	
Margherita Betti	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1669	No	S. Girolama della Carità	Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 660.	Current location and condition unverified.	
Cristiana Duglioni-Angellelli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1669	No	S. Lorenzo in Lucina	Forcella, Vol. V, entry 387.	Forcella records this slab by the main altar. Current location and condition unverified. See also Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1487.	

Elena Maria Publicola Santacroce	Memorial slab with inscription on black marble, and small painted portrait, set within an elaborate decorative framework, Coat of arms.	No	1670	Yes, part of family monument containing memorials for other male members of the Santacroce family	S. Maria in Publicolis	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl, XVIII, ns. 207-208 p. CCXLIX.; Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 1124.	In situ by the presbytery.	Image: Author's own.
Clarice Vaini	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No, set up by her kin.	1670	No	S. Giovanni in Laterano	Forcella, Vol. VIII, entry 179.	Forcella records this pavement slab by the chapel to the left of the main altar.	
Marchesa Francesca Calderini Pecori-Riccardi	Half-length portrait bust within architectural frame and putti	No	1670	No	S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini	Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 74.		Image: Author's own.
Margherita Campaua (Campana?)	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No	1670	No	San Girolamo degl'Illirici	Forcella, Vol. III, entry 765.		
Ortensia Spinola Raggi	Portrait in bronze - architectural framework - one hand clasped at heart, the other holding rosary	No, placed by her heirs.	1672	Yes - Tomb of her husband Tommaso Raggi	S. Francesco a Ripa	Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 1029.		Image: Author's own.
Beatrice Baleni	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No	1672	No	S. Croce alla Lungara	Forcella Vol. XII, entry 183		
Porzia Giudi dal Bagno	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, set up by her sisters Laura and Theodora	1673	N	S. Lucia in Selci	Forcella, Vol. X, entry 595.	Forcella notes that this memorial is set in the pavement near the main altar.	
Cecilia Progani	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No	1673	No	Gesù e Maria	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XX, n. 165. p.		

						CCCCXLI.; Forcella, Vol. IX, entry 189.		
Elena dal Pozzo Marcaccioni	Half-length portrait bust on socle with inscription	No	1703	Yes, the memorial of her husband Gaspare Marraccio ni	S. Maria del Suffragio	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. II, Cl. XIV. n. 263. p. DLX.; Forcella, Vol. VIII, entry 1046.		Image: Author's own.
Anna Massucci	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by Mic- hele Driobi	1674	No	S. Marco	Forcella, Vol. IV entry 850.	Forcella records this memorial to the right of the entrance.	
Porzia Gottardi	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No, set up by her heirs.	1674	No	S. Urbano a Campo Carleo	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. II, Cl. XIV, n. 205, p. DXXXV.; Forcella, Vol, IX, entry 1061.	Inscription stylizes Porzia as "erudite."	
Giovanna Cecilia Croci- Bracci	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No, set up by Gio. Battista	1675	No	S. Lorenzo ai Monti	Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7912, c. 92. n. 276. Forcella, Vol. V, entry 452.	Copied by Galletti.	
Porzia Muti- Papazurri	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1676	No	S. Sabina	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XVI, n. 172, p. DXLV.; Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 649.		
Teresa Alberti	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, set up by her heirs.	1676	No	SS. Angeli Custodi	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVI, n. 163. p. CXXX.; Forcella, Vol. IX, entry 508.		
Claudia della Torres	Memorial slab with inscription. No effigy.	No, placed by her heirs.	1676	No	S. Maria della Scala	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XVI, n.162. p. CXXI.; Forcella, Vol. V, entry 1427.	Inscription notes Claudia's origins from a Spanish family.	
Margherita Barberi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1677	No	S. Maria in Trastevere	Forcella, Vol. II, entry 1105.		

Fulvia Pucchetti	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, set up by her heirs.	1678	No	SS. Silvestro e Martino	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. I, Cl. VI, n. 103, p. DLVI.; Vol. IV, entry 63.	.	
Antonia Felice Verni	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.		1678		SS. Silvestro e Martino	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. II, Cl. XIII, n. 24. p. CCCI.; Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 64.	Forcella records this pavement memorial by the second altar on the right.	
Ottavia Corsini	Memorial slab with inscription on black marble, and small painted portrait, set within an elaborate decorative framework, Coat of arms.	No	1679	Yes, part of family monument containing memorials for other male members of the Santacroce family	S. Maria in Publicolis	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVIII, ns. 207-208 p. CCXLIX.; Forcella Vol. IV entry 1125.	In situ by the presbytery.	Image: Author's own.
Anna Maria Costaguti Vidman	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1679	No	SS. Concezione	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. I, Cl. IV, n. 68, p. CCCXIV.; Forcella Vol. IV, entry 533.		
Barbara Pelucchi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	Yes, inscription notes that Barbara and heirs installed the memorial	1680	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 89.; Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XIX, n. 123. p. CCLXIII.; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 793.	.	
Barbara Pelucchi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her kin.	1680	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 89.; Galletti, T. III. Cl. XIX. n. 123, p. CCCLXIII.; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 949.	Inscription copied by Casmiro,	
Porzia Orsini	Memorial slab with inscription	No	1681	No	S. Maria in Campitelli	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. I. Cl. VI, n. 104. p.	Galletti mentions a	

	in a hexagonal ring, no effigy.					DLVII.; Forcella, Vol. II, entry 1399.	tomb for Porzia. Lost tomb.	
Faustina Paravicini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, set up by Giovanni Battista Casali and Antonio Casali	1681	No	S. Giuseppe a Capo le Case	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. I, Cl. II, n. 84. p. CCXXXII.; Forcella, Vol. X, entry 286.		
Angela Salcioli-Stanchi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by Francesco Stanchi, her son.	1681	No	S. Maria della Vittoria	Current location and condition unverified.		
Lavinia Santinolli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by Pietro Capelletti	1681	No	S. Andrea della Valle	Galletti, Cod. Vat. c.. 29, n. 73.; Forcella, Vol. VIII, entry 68.		
Maria Rinaldi-Fullacchi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by her heirs	1682	No	S. Paolo alla Regola	Forcella, Vol. IV entry 1269.	Forcella records this pavement slab in the middle of the nave, by the second chapel.	
Vincenza Danesi	Marble inscription with painted portrait in medallion. Originally included a sculpted bust.	No, set up by her heirs.	1682	No	S. Maria del Popolo	Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1493.	Forcella records this tomb on the right hand side of the nave, by the entrance. Missing bust.	Image: Author's own
Isabella/Violante Fonseca	Half-length portrait bust within architectural frame	No	1682	Yes, the memorial of Gabriele Fonseca	S. Lorenzo in Lucina			Image: Author's own
Anna Maria Caradini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her kin.	1683	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 82.; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 953.	Casmiro locates this memorial by the chapel of S. Pietro Alcantara.	

Caterina Alberici	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1683	No	S. Crisogno	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. II, Cl. XIV, n. 230, p. DXLII.; II Forcella, Vol. II, entry 561.	Inscription mentions her devotion to the Carmelites.	
Caterina Querciola	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	Yes, the inscription notes that Caterina prepared her memorial herself.	1685	No	S. Maria del Suffragio	Forcella, Vol. V, entry 1045.	Inscription notes Caterina was from Florence.	
Imperia Amadei	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by Luca Orsolini.	1685	No	S. Francesco di Paolo	Forcella, Vol. IX, entry 64.	Inscription mentions that Imperia was from Cortona.	
Bernardina Bufali	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by Serafina Aragona	1687	No	S. Maria in Campo Marzo	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. I, Cl. VI. n. 29, p. DXVIII.; Forcella, Vol. X, entry 873.		
Maria Pieri	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by "Peregrino"	1687	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 247.; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 955.		
Maria Catanei Costa	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by her heirs.	1688	No	S. Isidoro	Forcella, Vol. IX, entry 27.		
Caterina Manini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	Placed by her son, Gasparo Origo.	1688	No	S. Marcello al Corso	Forcella, Vol. II, entry 981.		
Maria Isabella Massimi Muti Papzurri	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by Pompeo	1690	No	S. Pietro in Montorio	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVII. n. 220. p. CCLVI.;		

		Muti Papazurri				Forcella, Vol. V, entry 782.		
Beatriz de Guzman	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1691	No	S. Antonio dei Portoghesi	Forcella Vol. III, entry 1305.		
Chiara Stivani	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by her husband.	1691	No	S. Maria in Monticelli	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVII, n. 221, p. CCLVII.; Forcella Vol. V, entry 1385.	Forcella records this slab in the pavement by the main altar, and as much erased.	
Caterina Has	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1692	No	S. Maria in Campo Santo	Forcella, Vol. III, entry 298.	Forcella locates this tomb by the Sacristy.	
Giuliia Polani de Crispotis	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, set up by her heirs.	1692	No	S. Susanna	Forcella, Vol. IX, entry 1055.	.	
Paola Sciamanni-Mattei	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, set up by her heirs.	1692	No	S. Maria della Vittoria	Galletti, Inscr. Bonon. Cl. IV, n. 12. p. CXVII.; Forcella, Vol. IX, entry 127.	Paola was the second wife of Giuseppe Mattei Orsini, the Duke of Paganica.	
Bernardina Luci-Antonini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by kin.	1692	No	S. Maria ad Martyres	Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1151.	Inscription notes that Bernardina was from Nursia (Norcia).	
Anna Caffarelli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1693		Santa Maria in Monterone	Forcella, Vol. II, entry 979.		
Diana de Albis	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by her heirs	1695	No	SS. Trinità de'Monti	Forcella Vol. III, entry 424.	Forcella records this slab on the right hand side of the church, by the seventh chapel.	
Caterina and Maddalena Minotti	Memorial slab for both Minotti sisters with	No, set up by their father Franc-	1695	No	S. Pietro in Montorio	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. II. Cl. XIV. n. 249. p. DLII.; Forcella, Vol. V, entry 785.		

	inscription, no effigy.	esco Minotti						
Cristina of Sweden	Bronze portrait medal in profile, sculpted sarcophagus and putti	No	1696	No	S. Pietro			Image: Author's own.
Bianca Maria Neri	Profile portrait in relief, set with an elaborate decorative framework	No, set up by Bianca's heirs	1697	No	S. Rufina e Seconda (a Trastevere)	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. Cl, XI, n. 16, p. CL.; Forcella, Vol. XI, entry 622.	Near the altar on the right hand side of the nave.	Image: Author's own.
Francesca Becci de Spigliatis	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by her son and heirs	1697	No	S. Pietro in Montorio	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVI, n. 171, p. CXXXIV.; Forcella, Vol. V, entry 786.		
Anna Maria Ruggia	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1698	No	S. Paolo alla Regola	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. I. Cl. n. 114, p. DLXII.; Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 1271.		
Giovanna Garzoni	Painted portrait, set with an elaborate decorative framework	No – set up by her heirs, the Academy of St. Luke	1698	No	SS. Luca e Martina			Image: Author's own
Agnese de Castro	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1699	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 69.; Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XX, n. 169, p. CCCXLII.; Forcella Vol. I entry 252.	Galletti records this slab by the chapel of the Crucifix.	
Veronica Cicconi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.		18th century (exact date unknown)	No	S. Maria de'Monti	Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7906, c. 50, n. 140.; Forcella, Vol. IX, entry 793.		
Anna Cidoni	Memorial slab with	No	1700	No	S. Nicola in Cacere	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, n. 176, p.		

	inscription, no effigy.					CXXXVIII. Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 311.		
Margherita Rota-Tagliacozzi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, set up by Paolo Manfredi	1700	No	S. Domenico e Sisto	Forcella, Vol. X, entry 608.		
Angela Francesca Bartolacci	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by Marco Antonio Baberini	1701	No	S. Francesco delle Stimate	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. II, Cl. XIV, n. 260. p DLVIII.; Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 1158.	.	
Felicia Burgiotti-Clementini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, set up by her heirs.	1701	No	S. Giuseppe a Capo le Case	Forcella, Vol. X, entry 287.		
Anna Massimi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by her heirs	1702	No	S. Francesco di Paola	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XX, n. 185. p. CCCXLV.; Forcella, Vol. IX, entry 67.	Forcella locates this pavement memorial by the second chapel on the left.	
Caterina Lucarelli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1702	No	S. Salvatore delle Copelle	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XVII, n. 223. p. CCLVIII.; Forcella, Vol. VIII, entry 1172.	Memorial is written in vernacular. Slab notes that Caterina was the wife of Bartolomeo Razzi.	
“Orsola Caterina”	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1702	No	S. Marcello al Corso	Forcella, Vol. II, entry 983.		
Caterina Raimondi	Half-length portrait bust within architectural framework of multicolored marble, and shown clasping hands to heart.	Yes	1703	Yes, the tomb of her husband Giovan Battista Cimini - the the same chapel	S. Antonio dei Portoghesi	Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 1310.	In situ.	Image: Author’s own.

	Lengthy inscription.							
Vittoria Parabiacchi Altieri	Half-length portrait bust within decorative frame, obelisk	No	1703	Yes, memorial of her husband Principe Angelo Altieri	S. Maria in Campitelli			Image: Author's own.
Caterina de Rian	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1703	No	S. Antonio Abate	Forcella, Vol. XI, entry 256.		
Innocenza Asnaghi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by Giuseppe Cazola	1704	No	Gesù e Maria	Forcella, Vol. IX, entry 204.	Forcella records this pavement slab by the second chapel on the right. Current location and condition unverified.	
Marchesa Veronica Rondinini Origo	Memorial portrait bust within framework and coat of arms	No, set up by her husband Vincenzo Origo	1706	No	S. Egidio	Forcella Vol. X, entry 330.	In situ; on the right wall near the main entrance. Carlo Fontana's preparatory drawings for the project housed in Windsor collections. See: RCIN 909456.	Image: Author's own.
Laura Pitti	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1705	Yes - Tomb of her husband Giovanni Battista Pitti	San Marcello al Corso, Rome			Image: Author's own
Leonora Ferretti	Portrait bust within architectural framework. Coat of arms.	No	1705	No	S. Maria della Scala	Galletti, Inscr. Picenae, Cl. IX, n. 10, p. 103.; Forcella, Vol. V, entry 1436.	By the entrance, to the left.	Image: Author's own.
Anna Isabella Magnani	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by Bibiana Magnani and Dion-	1706	No	S. Maria in Valicella	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. II, Cl. n. 84. p. CCLXXXVI.; Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 408.		

		isio de Baudi						
Principessa Eleonora Boncompagni Borghese	Portrait bust within architectural framework, shown with hands clasped together - in classicizing dress with a large diadem crown	No	1707	No	S. Bonifacio e Alessio	Moved from Santa Lucia Botteghe Oscure.		Image: Author's own.
Flavia Bonelli, Principessa d'Altomare	Portrait bust on socle with putti, set within a multi-colored marble framework	No	1707	No	SS. Nomi di Gesù e Maria	Forcella, Vol. IX, entry 196.	In situ.	Image: Author's own.
Girolama Naro Santacroce	Half length bust shown reading from prayer book. Complex multicolored marble, "theater box" framework.	Yes, set up by Girolama while she was still living.	1707	Yes, shared monument with her husband, Marquis Antonio Publicolis Santacroce	S. Maria in Publicolis	Forcella, Vol. 4, entry 1129. Jennifer Montagu, Jennifer Montagu, The Santacroce Tombs in S. Maria in Publicolis. The Burlington Magazine. Vol. 139, No. 1137 (Dec., 1997), pp. 849-859		Image: Author's own.
Ortenzia Publicola Santacroce	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1707	No	S. Maria in Publicolis	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XV. n. 123, p. LIII.; Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 1127.	Inscription notes that Ortenzia was sixteen, and the daughter of Girolama and Antonio Santacroce.	
Maria Lucrezia Ricci Macarrani	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1708	No	S. Maria della Scala	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XIX, n. 136, p. CCCLXVIII.;	Stylized as "Marchesa" in inscription. Forcella records this slab by the	

	Coat of arms.					Forcella Vol. V, entry 1437.	second chapel on the left.	
Lucrezia Tedeschi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1709	No	S. Marco	Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 859.	Forcella records this slab in the pavement on the right side of the nave, by the baptismal font.	
Maria Francesca Abbati Olivieri	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.		1712		SS. XII Apostoli	Forcella, Vol. II, entry 835.		
Angela Margherita Gentili	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1713	No	S. Giuseppe a Capo le Case	Galletti, Forcella, Vol. X, entry 288.	Current location and condition unverified.	
Anna Maria Mellini Falconieri	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, set up by Lelio Falconieri	1713	No	S. Giuseppe a Capo le Case	Galletti, Inscr. Picenae, Cl. II, n. 19, p. 175.; Forcella, Vol. X, entry 289.	Current location and condition unverified.	
Maria Camilla Pallavicini	Half length bust on a socle, within a niche, surrounded by multicolored marbled framework, allegorical figures. Black marble and gilt bronze sarcophagus at lowest level.	No	1714	Yes, monument of her husband and other male kin.	S. Francesco a Ripa	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVIII, n. 229. p. CCLIXI.; Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 1049.	Bernardo Luti, Galleria Pallavicini. Mazzouli, Galleria Pallavicini.	Image: Author's own.
Girolama Cavalieri Ginnetti	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her heirs.	1714	No	S. Andrea della Valle	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. II, Cl. XIV. n. 278. p. DLXIX.; Forcella, Vol. VIII, entry 687.	Stylized as "marchiones" in the inscription.	
Claudia de Angelis	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1715	No	S. Sabina	Forcella Vol. VII entry 653.		

Maria Theresa Falconieri-Raggi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1715	No	S. Giuseppe a Capo le Case	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVII, n. 231, p. CCLXII.; Forcella, Vol. X, entry 291.		
Urania Galluzzi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1719	No	S. Maria Maddalena	Forcella, Vol. VIII, entry 1006.	Forcella records this pavement slab by the main entrance to the church.	
Aurora Berti	Portrait bust within multi-colored architectural framework, inscription and putti. Deceased depicted in nun's habit, clasping hands to heart.	No	1720	No	S. Pantaleone	Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 1330.		Image: Author's own.
Isabella Ruini Gonzaga	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1721	No	SS. Concezione	Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 538.		
Maria Anna della Tremoille	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by her kin.	1722	No	S. Giovanni in Laterano	Forcella, Vol. VIII, entry 202.	Maria Anna married into the Orsini (Bracciano line). Forcella records this slab on the pilaster by the first chapel on the right of the nave.	
Diana Savelli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, set up by Fabrizio Savelli	1724	No	S. Silvestro al Quirinale	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. IV. n.33, p. CCCLXXI.; Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 135.		
Lucrezia Savelli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1724		S. Maria in Aracoeli	Forcella, Vol. 1, entry 990.		
Alfidia Sinbaldi	Memorial slab with	No, placed	1725	No	S. Francesco a Ripa	Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XVI, n.		

	inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	by her son Carlo Anguillara				180. p. CXL.; Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 1042.		
Tomb of Virginia Colomba Vicentini	Half-length portrait bust within architectural frame, "theater box" type		1725	Yes- Tomb of her husband Antonio Vicentini	SS. Nomi di Gesù e Maria.			Image: Author's own.
Francesca Giovanna del Re	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1725	No	S. Pantaleone	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XVI, n. 183. p CXLII.; Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 1331.		
Diana Isabella Savelli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.		1725		San Silvestro al Quirinale			
Petronilla Paolini Massimo	Portrait in relief medallion, being carried by a putto. Sarcophagus set against an obelisk, with putto and various symbols of poetry and the arts	No	1726	No	S. Egidio	Forcella Vol. X, entry 211.	In situ. Found on the left wall, by the entrance. Petronilla's will is found in the ASR, Testamenti A.C. Vol. 61, fol. 701-707.	Image: Author's own.
Giulia Ceuli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by her heirs.	1726	No		Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XIX, n. 155, p. CCCLXXIII.; Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1966.		
Teresa Angela Casali	Tomb slab with inscription	No	1727	No	SS. XII Apostoli	Forcella, Vol. II, entry 847.		
Eleonora Nunes	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1728		S. Bonaventura (al Monte Palatino)	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XIX, n. 158. p. CCCLXXIV.; Forcella, Vol. V, entry 626.		

Vittoria Buglielli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by Paolo Buglielli	1729	No	S. Maria in Campitelli	Forcella, Vol. V, entry 1046.		
Margherita Peluzzi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by her heirs.	1730	No	S. Francesco delle Stimate	Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 1165.	Forcella records this slab in the pavement by the first chapel on the right.	
Margherita de Rubeis	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1730	No	S. Maria in Valicella	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XVI, n. 189. p. CXLV.; Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 423.		
Camilla Lodi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by her male kin.	1730	No	S. Maria del Pianto.	Forcella, Vol. V, entry 1200.	Forcella records this slab to the right of the main altar.	
Maria Virginia Caffarelli	Tomb slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, Set Carlo Muti	1731	No	S. Stefano del Cacco	Forcella Vol. VII, entry 1031.	Still in situ.	Image: Author's own.
Marta Amichari	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1731	No	SS. Cosma e Damiano	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. VI, n. 134, p. DLXXIII.; Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 172.	Forcella records this slab by the chapel of S. Anthony of Padua.	
Caterina Santarelli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, set up by her heirs.	1733	No	S. Francesco di Paola	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. II, Cl. XIII, n. 38, p. CCCIX.; Forcella, Vol. IX, entry 78.	Forcella records this pavement slab by the main altar.	
Costanza Boacci Bucceli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by her husband Sebastiano Carozza	1733	No	S. Nicola in Carcere	Galletti, Cod. Vat. 7906, c. 29.; Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 316.		
Caterina Pegni	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by her heirs, accord-	1734	No	S. Agostino	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. I, Cl. VI, n. 136. p. DLXXIV.;	.	

		ing to her will.				Forcella, Vol. V, entry 306.		
Clelia Cesarini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1735	No	S. Nicola e Biago (a Cesarini)	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. I, Cl. IV, n. 96. p. CCCX.; Forcella Vol. IV, entry 730.	Related portrait: Ferdinando Vouet. See Carla Benocci and Tommaso Di Carpegna Falconieri, <i>Le Belle: Ritratti Di Dame Del Seicento e Del Settecento Nelle Residenze Feudali Del Lazio</i> .	
Anna Bianchini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1735	No	S. Francesca a Ripa	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XX, n. 189, p. CCCXLVII; Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 1057.	.	
Francesca Pavoletti	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by Giovanni Pica	1735	No	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Galletti, Cod. Vat 7915, c. 71, n. 239; Forcella, Vol. X, entry 649.		
Elena Maria Bardi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by Giovanni Battista Bardi	1736	No	S. Maria in Valicella	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XIX, n. 161, p. CCCLXXVI; Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 428.		
Bartolomea Fortini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by Francesco Cerotti	1736	No	S. Giovanni in Laterano	Forcella, Vol. VIII, entry 223.	Forcella records this slab in the pavements by the Leonine portal.	
Maria Clementina Sobieski	Monument inserted onto a pier - obelisk and cherubim - by Filippo della Valle	No	1737	No	SS. Apostoli			Image: Author's own.
Vetulia Tini	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1737	No	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Casmiro, p. 6.; Forcella, Vol. 1, entry 1001.		

Vittoria Mareri	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1737	No	S. Maria in Valicella	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XVI, n. 194. p. CXLVII; Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 444.		
Margherita Sforza	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1740	No	S. Maria in Publicolis	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XVI, n. 195. p. CXLVII; Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 1134.	In situ.	Image: Author's own.
Maria Maddalena Fiscari	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No, placed by her heirs.	1741	No	S. Spirito in Sassia	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVI, n. 196. p. CXLVIII. Forcella, Vol. VI, entry 1436.	Forcella records this pavement slab by the fourth chapel on the left.	
Maria Elena Coccaginis	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1742	No	SS. Concezione	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. XVII, n. 224, p. CCLXVIII; Forcella, Vol. IV, entry 546.		
Angela Gellei	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1742	No	S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XVII, n. 245. p. CCLXVIII; Forcella, Vol. VII, entry 97.		
Caterina Restante	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by husband Pieter Ziegler	1743	No	S. Maria Campo Santo	Forcella, Vol. III, entry 1002.	Forcella locates this pavement slab by the high altar.	
Dorotea Savelli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1743	No	S. Maria dell' Umilità	Forcella Vol. X, entry 260.	Described as "virgini spectactissima" in inscription.	
Maria Clementina Sobieski	Monument side aisle of St. Peter's obelisk and allegorical figures	No	1744	No	S. Pietro		In situ.	Image: Author's own.

Maria Eleonora Boncompagni-Ludovisi	Wall slab with allegorical figures and designs in pietre dure, inscription, and coat of arms within an elaborate decorative framework	No, placed by her kin.	1745	No	S. Maria del Popolo	Forcella, Vol. I, entry 1505.		Image: Author's own.
Teresa Gambardelli	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1749	No	S. Francesco delle Stimmate	Forcella Vol. IV entry 1174.		
Livia del Grillo and Maria Theresa, Duchess of Avello	Double tomb monument; large architectural setting with portrait roundels with sculpted allegorical figure, putti and sculpted drapery	No, commissioned by Giovanni Andrea II, Duke of Tursi and Don Lamazzo Doria	1749	No	S. Andrea del Fratte, Rome	Enggass, Early Eighteenth-century Sculpture in Rome.		Image: Author's own.
Maria Laura Nerli-Rusponi	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1749	No	S. Maria in Regina Coeli	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. II, Cl, XIV, n. 327, p. DXCVI; Forcella, Vol. XI, entry 777.	The inscription stylizes Maria as "Marchesa." Likely lost tomb slab. Church razed in the 19th century.	
Lucrezia Rospigliosi Salviati	Sculpted angel and putti, cinerary urn with momento mori and obelisk	No	1749	No	SS. XII Apostoli	Enggass, Early Eighteenth-century Sculpture in Rome.		Image: Author's own.
Caterina Fidan	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1752	No	S. Maria Egiziaca	Forcella, Vol. X, entry 712.	Part of the inscription is written in Armenian. Forcella notes that that slab is	

							near the main altar, on the left.	
Teresa Torreglias	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, placed by Gaetano Calcina .	1753	No	S. Maria in Via	Forcella, Vol. VIII, entry 900.	Forcella, records this pavement slab by the first chapel on the right.	
Clementina Meighan	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No, set up by Thomas Meighan and heirs.	1756	No	S. Isidoro	Forcella, Vol. IX, entry 38.	Inscription notes that Clementine's maiden name was O'Neill. Forcella records this pavement memorial slab by the main altar.	
Anna Maria Cenci	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy.	No	1756	No	SS. Vincenzo e Anastasio	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III. Cl. XVI, n. 203. p. CLII; Forcella, Vol. IX, entry 583.	Forcella records this pavement slab by the second chapel.	
Maria Maddalena Sacchetti	Memorial slab with inscription, no effigy. Coat of arms.	No	1757	No	S. Caterina da Siena a Magnanapoli	Galletti, Inscr. Rom. T. III, Cl. V, n. 16. p. DXXXIX; Forcella, Vol. X, entry		

APPENDIX B

Table 2. Select Translations from women's memorials in Rome, 1550-1750

*Translations were worked out with substantial and generous assistance of Benjamin Eldredge, J. Holland, and Tami Munford.

No. 1

Lucia Bertani, c. 1567

S. Sabina

LVCIA AB AVRO OMNIBUS CORPORIS ET ANIMI BONIS ORNATISSIMAE ET SVPRA SEXVM ET SVPRA SAECVLVM INGENIOSAE ATQVE ERVDIATE GVRONIS BERTANVS MARITVS CONTRA VOTVM SVPERSTES POSVIT	To Lucia, wife of Gurone, a woman highly endowed in all the good qualities of body and mind, intelligent and learned above her sex of her age, Bertani, her widowed husband, set up this monument in fulfillment of a vow he made.
---	--

No. 2

Camilla Bonvisi, c. 1579

S. Maria del Popolo

<p>CAMILLA BONVISIAE LVCENSI NOBILITATE GENERIS FORMA CORPORIS MORVM AMABILITATE PVDICTIA PRVDENTIA RELIGIONE ADMIRABILI VINCENTIVS PARENTIVS ADVOCATVS CONSISTORIALIS CONIVNX CONIVGI VNAMINI QVA CVM TRIGINTA SEXANNOS NVLLIS VNQVAM EVENTIS NE LEVITER QVIDEM TENTATA CONCORDIA VIXIT MOESTISS POS</p>	<p>Vincenzo Parenti, an advocate in the consistory court, set up this monument in his profound grief for his wife Camilla Bonvisi, a noblewoman of Luca, and a woman of extraordinary physical beauty, delightful character, modesty, good sense and religious devotion. She was of one mind with him, and he lived with her for thirty six years without any mishaps ever even slightly disturbing their harmonious relationship.</p>
---	--

No. 3

Cecilia Orsini c. 1585

S. Trinità dei Monti

<p>CECILIA URSINAE FRANCIOTTI CARDINALIS EX MATRIMONIO ALBERTI PII PRINCIPIS CARPENSIS VXORI ANTIQUE MORIS FEMINAE FORMAE PRVDENTIAE ET SANCTAMONIAE FAMA CLARISSIMAE</p>	<p>In memory of Caecilia Orsini, daughter of Franciotto Orsini, wife of Alberto Pio the prince of Carpi. She was a woman of traditional virtue, highly reputed for her beauty, good sense and holiness.</p>
--	--

No. 4

Perna Sensi, c. 1619

S. Maria sopra Minerva

<p>QVOD MORTALE ERAT PAERNAE SENSÆ VENTVRAE SENSI CIVIS VRBEVETANI ET FRANCISCI LEONIS VX HONESTATIS PRVDENTIAE INDVSTRIA ORNATISSIMAE QVAE SIC EXPERTA ET ERVDITA IN OBSTRETICVM ARTE FVIT AC APVD MAIORES NOBILES</p>	<p>Here, beneath this stone, lie preserved the mortal remains of Perna Sensi Ventura, the wife of Sensus, a citizen of Orvieto, and Francesco Leo, a woman of the most distinguished virtue, intelligence and industry. Such was her experience and knowledge of the midwife's art, and such was the singular affection and love felt for her</p>
---	---

<p>AMABILIS SINGVLARITER ET CARA QVOD VNICA INTER PERITAS OBSTRETICES APPELLATA EST SVB HOC LAPIDE SERVATVR</p>	<p>among our noble forebears, that she was called ‘matchless’ among skilled midwives.</p>
---	---

No.5

Lucrezia Tomacelli Colonna, c. 1625

S. Giovanni in Laterano

<p>LUCRETIAE TOMACELLIAE PALIANI DUCIS CONIVGIS OPTIMAE IMMORTALIBVS MERITIS PHILLIPVS COLVMNA ANNO IVBILEI MDCXXV</p>	<p>Philip Colonna set up this monument to Lucretia Tomacelli, the wife of the duke of Paliano, an excellent woman of imperishable merits, in the Jubilee Year of 1625.</p>
--	--

No. 6

Laura Frangipane Mattei, c. 1632

S. Francesco a Ripa

<p>DOM</p> <p>Laurae Frangipaniae Hieronymi Filia quae sortita a maioribus nobilitatem a natura formam a se pudicitiam omnia Deo pietate restituit.</p>	<p>To God the Best and Greatest This is the tomb of Laura Frangipane, the daughter of Geronimo. From her ancestors she inherited her nobility, from nature her beauty and from herself her modesty. She gave back all of these to God through her devoutness.</p>
--	--

No. 7

Anna Moroni, c. 1637

S. Maria in Monterone

<p>ANNAE MORONAE CINERES TEGIT HIC LAPIS. EXTINGTOS ILLOS QVIDEM NON TAMEN SVA SINE LVCE. SCILICET PRAENOBILEM HANC FEMINAM. COMITIS MICHAELIS. PATRITII. MEDIOLANENSIS. FILIA. DVCTA A MAIORIBVS SANGVINIS AFFINITAS ILLVSTRISISSIMA.</p>	<p>This stone covers the ashes of Anna Moroni, extinguished but not without their own light, as this woman was exceedingly noble. She was the daughter of count Michael, a nobleman of Milan. She was a most noble relative by blood of great princes, but much more closely kin to heaven through the incorruptible radiance of her heart and</p>
--	--

MAGNIS ET IAM PRINCIPIBUS
 CONIVNXIT SED MVLTTO MAXIME
 CAELO. CONIVNXERVNT
 EANDEM ANIMI SPLENDOR
 INCORRVPTVS. ET VIRTVTVM
 SYDERA PLVRIMA HAEC INTER
 PRAETER SINGVLAREM IN DEVM
 DIVOSQVE PIETATEM PRAETER
 OMNIS RELIGIONIS STVDIA
 ATQVE OFFICIA QV AESITIORA
 QVOQVE MVLIEBRIS EFFVLSIT
 MODESTIA PARI IN CONSORTEM
 AMOR OBSERVANTIA MAIOR IN
 CONSORTIS PATRV[?] PLVRA SE
 NON EMICANT HORVM CINERVM
 LVMINA MIRETVR NEMO SVVM
 ANNA MERIDIEM NON
 ATTIGIT FA TO CEDERE COACT
 A INTEMPESTIVO EREPT AQVE
 FERME SVB A VRORAM OBIIT
 ANNVM AGENS XXIII CVI VT
 RELIQVVM VIT AE SVPLEA T
 ETIAM POST FVNVS VT LVCEM

her many elevated virtues. In addition she had a unique devotion to God and the saints, showing an attachment and duty greater than could be expected. She shone forth with womanly modesty, and showed equal love towards her husband, whilst her respect towards her husband's father (?) was even greater. No greater lights could gleam forth from ashes – let none be surprised at this. Anna did not attain her full potential. She was compelled to yield to fate and snatched away in an untimely manner, almost at her dawning on the world. She died aged 23.

Raphael Androsilla had this set up in order that she might shine forth for the rest of her life even though in death, in order that he might add some light to her even in death, as an everlasting monument to his deceased, mutually

<p>ALIQUAM ADIVNGA T ETIAM EXTINCTAE HOC PONI IVSSIT REDEMANTIS CONIVGIS PERPETVVM MONVMENTVM RAPHAEL ANDROSILLA AD MADCXLVII</p>	<p>loving wife, in the year 1647.</p>
--	---------------------------------------

No. 8

Anna Colonna Barberini, c. 1659

S. Maria in Regina Coeli (now in the Albright Knox Gallery)

<p>ANNAE BARBERINAE HVIVS CAENOBII FVNDATRICIS EFFIGEM QVAM IN AERE SPIRANTEM VIDES NICOLAVS BARBERINVS CONGREGATIONIS ORATORII PRAESBITER FILIVS ET HAERES POSVIT IMAGINEM ALTAREM IPSA VIRTVTIBVS AETERNAVIT RELIGIONE PRVDENTIA PVDICTIA</p>	<p>Here you see a statue of Anna Barberini in living and breathing bronze, the founder of this convent. Her son and heir Nicolo Barberini, a priest of the Congregation of the Oratorians, set it up to be an image for an altar. She practiced the varied virtues of religious devotion, prudence and modesty; she was an admirable married woman from the Colonna</p>
--	--

<p>MATRONALI GENTILIS COLVMNAE LAVDE CONSTANTIA ET BENEFICENTIA BARBERINA SED VIVAS QUOQVE IMAGINES RELIQVIT SVT TVM SACRAM ET PVRPVRATAM TVM PRINCIPATV ET SERENISSIMO DIADEMATE INSIGNEM SOBOLEM EXPRESSIORES QVIA SANGVINE ET EDVCATIONE COLORATAS</p>	<p>family and exhibited that steadfastness and charity expected in a member of the Barberini family. In addition she left behind some living images of herself in the form of offspring of holiness and high status, distinguished by leadership and great serenity in the exercise of authority, all the more expressive because they were imbued with noble blood and education.</p>
---	--

No. 9

Livia Prini Santacroce, c. 1662

S. Maria della Scala

<p>LIVIA PRINI UXOR FRANCISCI MARCHIONIS SANCTACRVCII</p>	<p>Livia Prini, wife of the marquis Francesco Santacroce, a Roman. She</p>
--	---

<p>ROM INTRA MODVM PRVDENS ET SINE MODO PIA VT VNIVS SANGVINIS CINERES VNA CONQVIESCERENT QVAM PRIVS PROSPERO FILIO CVRAVERAT QVIETIS SEDEM SIBI ELEGIT</p>	<p>was a woman of measured wisdom and immeasurable devoutness, who chose as her own place of rest the one she had tended for her son, who had previously enjoyed good health, so that, being of one blood, their ashes might rest together.</p>
--	---

No. 10

Eleonora Boncompagni Borghese, c. 1707

S. Bonifacio e Alessio (originally Santa Lucia Botteghe Oscure)

<p>ELEONORAE BONCOMPAGNA BVRGHESIA SVLMONIS PRINCIPIS CINERIBVS EIVS SVB HOC MAMORE CONDITIS AETERNVM GRATI ANIMI MONVMENTVM MONIALES CORPORIS XRISTI GYMNASIIS</p>	<p>The nuns of Corpus Christi set up in the church of St. Lucia dei Ginnasi this everlasting record of their gratitude to Eleonora Boncompagni Borghese, whose heirs they are in accordance with her will. She was the wife of the prince of Sulmona, and her</p>
---	---

<p>EX TESTAMENTO HEREDES POSVERE</p>	<p>ashes are buried beneath this marble monument.</p>
--	---

APPENDIX C

TABLES AND CHARTS

Table 3. Monuments for Foreign Women, 1550-1750

	Name	Date/Church	Regional Identity
1	Laura Bertani	1567/S. Sabina	Emilian
2	Virginia Pucci	1568/S. Maria sopra Minerva	Tuscan (Florentine)
3	Camilla Bonvisi	1579/S. Maria del Popolo	Tuscan (Lucchese)
4	Vittoria Orsini Frangipane della Tolfa	1585/S. Maria in Aracoeli	Neapolitan
5	Cassandra Cavalcanti Bandini	1592/S. Silvestro	Tuscan (Florentine)
6	Lesa Deti Aldobrandini	1603/S. Maria sopra Minerva	Tuscan (Florentine)
7	Lucrezia Tomacelli Colonna	1625/S. Giovanni in Laterano	Neapolitan
8	Camilla Barbadori Barberini	1629/S. Andrea della Valle	Tuscan (Florentine)
9	Baccelli Women	1659/S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini	Tuscan (Florentine)
10	De Sylva Women	1661/S. Isidoro	Spanish
11	Francesca Calderini Pecori Riccardi	1670/S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini	Tuscan (Florentine)

12	Christine of Sweden	1698/St. Peter's	Sweden
----	---------------------	------------------	--------

Table 4. Relationships of Women's Wall Monuments to Other Memorials, 1550-1750

	Name	Date	Independent or paired	Paired monuments, if applicable
1	Faustina Lucia Mancini	c.1544	Independent	N/A
2	Lucia Bertani	c.1567	Paired	Husband, Gurone, also commemorated in Lucia 's monument; paired with the tomb of Pietro Bertani (brother in law to Lucia)
3	Virginia Pucci	c.1568	Independent	N/A
4	Elena Savelli	c. 1570	Independent	N/A
5	Camilla Bonvisi	c. 1579	Independent	N/A
6	Lucrezia Pierleoni	c. 1582	Paired	Paired with the tomb of her husband
7	Vittoria Orsini Frangipane	c. 1585	Paired	Paired with the monument for her husband, Camillo Orsini
8	Cecilia Orsini	c. 1585	Paired	Paired with the tomb of Cardinal Pio de Carpi
9	Tuzia Colonna Mattei	c. 1590	Paired	Paired with the tomb of her husband
10	Cassandra Cavalcanti Bandini	c. 1592	Paired	Paired with the tomb of her husband
11	Lesia Deti Aldobrandini	c.1603`	Paired	Paired with the tomb of her husband

12	Porzia del Drago Santacroce	c. 1614	Independent	N/A
13	Lucrezia Tomacelli Colonna	c. 1625	Independent	N/A
14	Francesca Montieux	c. 1628	Independent	N/A
15	Camilla Barbadori	c. 1629	Paired	Paired with the memorial of her husband
16	Matilda of Canossa	c. 1633	Independent	N/A
17	Virginia Bonanni Primi	c. 1634	Paired	Paired with the memorial of her husband
18	Clarice d'Aste	c. 1636	Paired	Paired with the memorial of her husband
19	Giulia Cenci Naro	c. 1640	Paired	Paired with the memorial of her husband
20	Suor Maria Raggi	c. 1643	Independent	N/A
21	Marchesa Pallavicini Montoro	c. 1645	Paired	Paired with the memorial of her husband
22	Faustina Gottardi Ginnasi	c. 1646	Paired	Paired with the memorial of her brother-in-law
23	Anna Moroni	c. 1647	Independent	N/A
24	Anna Colonna Barberini	c. 1659	Independent	N/A
25	De Sylva Women	c. 1661	Paired	Paired with male kin
26	Giulia Ricci Parravicini	c. 1662	Paired	Paired with male kin

27	Clelia Sannesesi	c. 1663	Paired	Paired with male kin
28	Ottavia Sacchetti	c. 1665	Paired	Paired with male kin
29	Elena Maria Publicola Santacroce	c. 1670	Paired	Paired with male kin
30	Francesca Calderini Pecori-Riccardi	c. 1670	Independent	N/A
31	Ortensia Spinola Raggi	c. 1672	Paired	Paired with memorial for husband
32	Ottavia Corsini	c. 1679	Paired	Paired within memorial for husband
33	Vincenza Danesi	c. 1682	Independent	N/A
34	Isabella or Violante Fonseca	c. 1682	Paired	Paired with male kin
35	Queen Christina of Sweden	c. 1698	Independent	N/A
36	Bianca Maria Neri	c. 1698	Independent	N/A
37	Caterina Raimondi	c. 1703	Paired	Paired within memorial for husband
38	Elena dal Pozzo Marcaccioni	c. 1703	Paired	Paired with the memorial for her husband
39	Vittoria Parabiacchi Altieri	c. 1703	Paired	Paired with the memorial for her husband
40	Leonora Ferretti	c. 1705	Independent	N/A
41	Marchesa Veronica Rondinini Origo	c. 1706	Independent	N/A

42	Principessa Eleonora Boncompagni Borghese	c. 1707	Independent	N/A
43	Flavia Bonelli, Principessa d'Altomare	c. 1707	Independent	N/A
44	Girolama Naro Santacroce	c. 1707	Paired	Paired with a memorial of her husband
45	Maria Camilla Pallavicini	c. 1714	Paired	Paired with a memorial of her husband
46	Aurora Berti	c. 1720	Independent	N/A
47	Virginia Colomba Vicentini	c. 1725	Paired	Paired with a memorial of her husband
48	Petronilla Paolini Massimi	c. 1726	Independent	N/A
49	Maria Clementina Sobieski	c. 1737	Independent	N/A
50	Maria Eleonora Boncompagni-Ludovisi	c. 1745	Independent	N/A
51	Livia del Grillo and the Duchess of Avello	c. 1749	Paired	Paired monument commemorating mother and daughter
52	Lucrezia Rospigliosi Salviati	c. 1749	Paired	Paired with monument of male kin

Table 5. Memorial Patrons and Relationships to the Female Deceased, 1550-1750

	Name	Date	Patron's relationship to the deceased
1	Faustina Lucia Mancini	c.1544	Husband
2	Lucia Bertani	c.1567	Husband

3	Virginia Pucci	c.1568	Husband
4	Elena Savelli	c. 1570	Husband
5	Vittoria Orsini Frangipane	c. 1585	Self
6	Lucrezia Pierleoni	c. 1582	Husband
7	Cecilia Orsini	c. 1585	Grandsons
8	Tuzia Colonna Mattei	c. 1590	Husband
9	Cassandra de' Cavalcanti Bandini	c. 1592	Son
10	Lesa Deti Aldobrandini	c. 1603	Pope/Son
11	Porzia del Drago Santacroce	c. 1614	Husband
12	Lucrezia Tomacelli Colonna	c. 1625	Husband
13	Camilla Barbadori Barberini	c. 1629	Pope/Son
14	Matilda of Canossa	c. 1633	Pope
15	Virginia Bonanni Primi	c. 1634	Husband
16	Laura Frangipane Mattei	c. 1637	Husband
17	Suor Maria Raggi	c. 1643	Church canons; Ottaviano, Lorenzo, and Tommaso Raggi (Nephew)
18	Faustina Gottardi Ginnasi	c. 1646	Daughter
19	Anna Colonna Barberini	c. 1659	Self
20	Olimpia de' Cavalieri Bacelli	c. 1659	Son
21	Wife of Vincenzo Bacelli	c. 1659	Husband
22	Giulia Ricci Parravicini	c. 1662	Husband
23	Livia Prini Santacroce	c. 1662	Self
24	Clelia Sannesesi	c. 1663	Husband
25	Ottavia Sacchetti	c. 1665	Son
26	Francesca Calderini Pecori-Riccardi	c. 1670	Husband
27	Ortensia Spinola Raggi	c. 1672	Husband

28	Isabella Fonseca/Violante Fonseca	c. 1682	Son/Brother
29	Queen Christina of Sweden	c. 1698	Pope
30	Giovanna Garzoni	c. 1698	Academy of St. Luke
31	Caterina Raimondi Cimini	c. 1703	Self
32	Vittoria Parabiacchi Altieri	c. 1703	Husband
33	Eleonora Boncompagni Borghese	c. 1707	Nuns of the Convent of Corpus Christi, S. Lucia di Ginnasi
34	Girolama Naro Santacroce	c. 1707	Self
35	Maria Camilla Pallavicini	c. 1717	Husband
36	Aurora Berti	c.1720	Self
37	Virginia Colomba Vincentini Muti	c. 1725	Husband
38	Petronilla Paolini Massimi	c. 1726	Sons
39	Maria Clementina Sobieski	c. 1737	Pope
40	Maria Eleonora Boncompagni- Ludovisi	c. 1745	Sons
41	Livia del Grillo and Maria Teresa Doria, the Duchess of Avello (double monument)	c. 1745	Husband; Father
42	Lucrezia Rospigliosi Salviati	c. 1749	Daughter

Table 6. Women's Wall Memorials by Social Class of the Interred, 1550-1750

	Name	Date	Family Status in the early modern period
1	Faustina Lucia Mancini	c.1544	Ducal
2	Lucia Bertani	c.1567	Foreign
3	Virginia Pucci	c.1568	Foreign
4	Elena Savelli	c. 1570	Princely
5	Camilla Bonvisi	c. 1579	Foreign

6	Lucrezia Pierleoni	c. 1582	<i>Gentilhuomini</i>
7	Vittoria Orsini Frangipane	c. 1585	Ducal
8	Cecilia Orsini	c. 1585	Princely
9	Tuzia Colonna Mattei	c. 1590	Ducal
10	Cassandra Cavalcanti	c. 1592	Foreign
11	Lesia Deti Aldobrandini	c. 1603	Princely
12	Porzia del Drago Santacroce	c. 1614	Marquisate
13	Lucrezia Tomacelli Colonna	c. 1625	Princely
14	Francesca Montieux	c. 1628	Other
15	Camilla Barbadori Barberini	c.1629	Princely
16	Matilda of Canossa	c. 1633	Other
17	Virginia Bonanni Primi	c. 1634	Foreign
18	Clarice Margana d'Aste	c. 1636	<i>Gentilhuomini</i>
19	Laura Frangipane Mattei	c. 1637	Ducal
20	Giulia Cenci Naro	c. 1640	Marquisate
21	Suor Maria Raggi	c. 1643	Marquisate
22	Marchesa Pallavicini Montoro	c. 1645	Marquisate
23	Faustina Gottardi Ginnasi	c. 1646	<i>Gentilhuomini</i>
24	Anna Moroni	c. 1647	<i>Gentilhuomini</i>
25	Anna Colonna Barberini	c. 1659	Princely
26	Monument to Baccelli Family Women	c. 1659	Foreign
27	Monument to De Sylva Women	c. 1661	Foreign
28	Giulia Ricci Paravicini	c. 1662	<i>Gentilhuomini</i>

29	Livia Prini Santacroce	c. 1662	Marquisate
30	Clelia Sannesi	c. 1663	Ducal
31	Ottavia Sacchetti	c. 1665	Marquisate
32	Elena Maria Publicola Santacroce	c. 1670	Marquisate
33	Francesca Calderini Pecori-Riccardi	c. 1670	Foreign
34	Ortensia Spinola Raggi	c. 1672	Marquisate
35	Ottavia Corsini	c. 1679	Marquisate
36	Vincenza Danesi	c. 1682	Unknown
37	Isabella and Violante Fonseca	c. 1682	<i>Gentilhuomini</i>
38	Queen Christina of Sweden	c. 1696	Monarch
39	Bianca Maria Neri	c. 1697	Marquisate
40	Giovanna Garzoni	c. 1698	Other
41	Caterina Raimondi Cimini	c. 1703	<i>Gentilhuomini</i>
42	Vittoria Parabiacchi Altieri	c. 1703	<i>Countship</i>
43	Elena dal Pozzo Marcaccioni	c. 1705	<i>Gentilhuomini</i>
44	Leonora Ferretti	c. 1705	Countship
45	Veronica Rondinini Origo	c. 1706	Marquisate
46	Eleonora Boncompagni Borghese	c. 1707	Princely
47	Flavia Bonelli	c. 1707	Ducal
48	Girolama Naro Santacroce	c. 1707	Marquisate
49	Maria Camilla Pallavicini	c. 1717	Princely
50	Aurora Berti	c. 1720	Other

51	Virginia Colomba Vincentini Muti	c. 1725	Ducal
52	Maria Clementina Sobieski	c. 1737	Monarch
53	Maria Eleonora Boncompagni- Ludovisi	c. 1745	Princely
54	Petronilla Paolini Massimo	c. 1745	Marquisate
55	Livia del Grillo and the Theresa Duchess of Avello	c. 1745	Marquisate
56	Lucrezia Rospigliosi Salviati	c. 1749	Ducal

Table 7. Distribution of Women’s Wall Monuments (figured and non-figured) by Social Class , 1550-1750

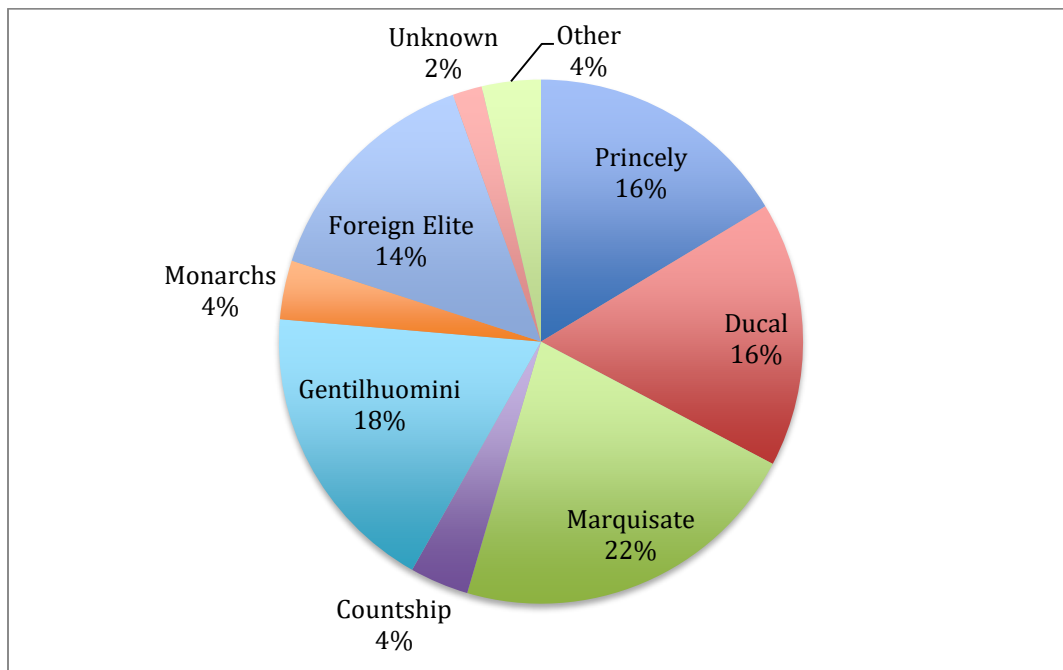


Table 8. Women's Wall Monuments (with effigies) by the Relative Age of the Deceased, 1550-1750

	Name	Date	Relative Age Depicted in Effigy
1	Faustina Mancini	c.1544	Young (lost effigy – presumed)
2	Lucia Bertani	c. 1567	Middle Age
3	Virginia Pucci	c.1568	Young
4	Elena Savelli	c. 1570	Older
5	Lucrezia Pierleoni	c. 1582	Older
6	Cecelia Orsini	c. 1585	Older
7	Vittoria Orsini Frangipane	c. 1585	Older
8	Tuzia Colonna Mattei	c. 1590	Older
9	Cassandra Cavalcanti Bandini	c. 1592	Older
10	Lesia Deti Aldobrandini	c. 1603	Older
11	Porzia del Drago Santacroce	c. 1614	Older
12	Lucrezia Tomacelli Colonna	c. 1625	Middle Age
13	Francesca Montieux	c. 1628	Older
14	Camilla Barbadori	c.1629	Older
15	Virginia Bonanni Primi	c. 1634	Older
16	Clarice Margana d'Aste	c. 1636	Older
17	Laura Frangipane Mattei	c. 1637	Younger
18	Giulia Cenci Naro	c. 1640	Middle Age

19	Suor Maria Raggi	c. 1643	Middle Age
20	Faustina Gottardi Ginnasi	c. 1646	Middle age
21	Anna Moroni	c. 1647	Younger
22	Anna Colonna Barberini	c. 1659	Older
23	Livia Prini Santacroce	c. 1662	Older
24	Giulia Ricci Parravicini	c. 1662	Younger
25	Clelia Sannesesi	c. 1663	Middle Age
26	Ottavia Sacchetti	c. 1665	Older
27	Elena Maria Publicola Santacroce	c. 1670	Older
28	Francesca Calderini Pecori-Riccardi	c. 1670	Middle Age
29	Ortensia Spinola Raggi	c. 1672	Older
30	Ottavia Corsini	c. 1679	Older
31	Isabella/Violante? Fonseca	c. 1682	Older
32	Queen Christina of Sweden	c. 1696	Older
33	Bianca Maria Neri	c. 1697	Middle Age
34	Caterina Raimondi	c. 1703	Older
35	Vittoria Parabiacchi Altieri	c. 1703	Middle Age
36	Elena dal Pozzo Marcaccioni	c. 1705	Older

37	Leonora Ferretti	c. 1705	Older
38	Veronica Rondinini Origo	c. 1706	Middle Age
39	Eleonora Boncompagni Borghese	c. 1707	Middle Age
40	Flavia Bonelli	c. 1707	Older
41	Girolama Naro Santacroce	c. 1707	Older
42	Maria Camilla Pallavicini	c. 1717	Older
43	Aurora Berti	c. 1720	Older
44	Virginia Colomba Vincentini	c. 1725	Middle Age
45	Maria Clementina Sobieski	c. 1737	Middle Age
46	Petronilla Paolini Massimo	c. 1745	Middle Age
47	Livia del Grillo	c. 1745	Older
48	Theresa, Duchess of Avello	c. 1745	Middle Age

Table 9. Women's Funerary Effigies: Dress and Accessories, 1550-1750

	Name	Date	Type of Dress	Jewelry	Hairstyle	Neckline
1	Lucia de Aura Bertani	c. 1567	Secular Dress	Necklace	Worn up in braided chignon; decorative fillets and pearls	Low cut dress, loose drapery.
2	Virginia Pucci	c.1568	Secular Dress	Brooch	Wearing veil	High, open collar, revealing throat
3	Elena Savelli	c.1570	Secular Dress	N/A	Wearing veil	High, open collar, revealing throat

4	Lucrezia Pierleoni	c. 1582	Secular dress	N/A	Wearing veil	Open chemise, revealing throat
5	Cecelia Orsini	c. 1585	Wearing shawl - secular garb?	N/A	Wearing veil	Open chemise, revealing throat
6	Vittoria Orsini Frangipane	c. 1585	Secular dress	N/A	Wearing veil	Open chemise, revealing throat
7	Tuzia Colonna Mattei	c. 1590	Secular dress	N/A	Wearing veil	Open chemise, revealing throat
8	Cassandra Cavalcanti Bandini	c. 1592	Secular dress	N/A	Wearing veil	Open chemise, revealing throat
9	Lesa Deti Aldobrandini	c. 1603	Secular dress	N/A	Wearing veil	Open chemise, revealing throat
10	Porzia del Drago Santacroce	c. 1614	Secular dress	N/A	Wearing veil	Frill collar, revealing chest
11	Lucrezia Tomacelli Colonna	c. 1625	Secular dress	N/A	Wearing veil	Lace ruff, covering entire neck
12	Francesca Montieux	c. 1628	Nun's habit	N/A	Wearing veil	High collared abbess habit
13	Camilla Barbadori	c. 1629	Secular dress	N/A	Wearing veil	Open chemise, revealing throat
14	Virginia Bonanni Primi	c. 1634	Secular dress	Necklace, rings, brooch, earrings	Braided chignon	Lace ruff, covering entire neck
15	Clarice Margana d'Aste	c. 1636	Secular dress	N/A	Hair worn up	High, open collar, revealing throat
16	Laura Frangipane Mattei	c. 1637	Secular dress	Medallion on ribbon, and necklace	Chignon and loose curls	Lace ruff, covering entire neck
17	Giulia Cenci Naro	c. 1640	Secular dress	Necklace	Chignon	Lace ruff, covering entire neck
18	Suor Maria Raggi	c. 1643	Nun's habit	N/A	Wearing veil	High collared nun's habit
19	Faustina Gottardi Ginnasi	c. 1646	Secular dress	Brooch on sleeve	Wearing veil	Low, open collar, revealing throat
20	Anna Moroni	c. 1647	Secular dress	Necklace	Hair in loose curls	Lace mantle covering entire upper torso
21	Anna Colonna Barberini	c. 1659	Secular dress	N/A	Widow's peak veil	Low, open collar, revealing throat and collarbone
22	Livia Prini Santacroce	c. 1662	Secular dress	N/A	Widow's peak veil	Low, open collar, revealing throat

23	Giulia Ricci Parravicini	c. 1662	Secular dress	N/A	Hair in loose chignon and curls	Lace mantle covering entire upper torso
24	Clelia Sannesesi	c. 1663	Secular dress	N/A	Hair in loose chignon and curls	Lace mantle covering entire upper torso
25	Ottavia Sacchetti	c. 1665	Secular dress	N/A	Chignon	Low, open collar, revealing throat
26	Elena Maria Publicola Santacroce	c. 1670	Secular dress	N/A	Chignon	Low, open collar, revealing throat
27	Francesca Calderini Pecori-Riccardi	c. 1670	Secular dress	N/A	Wearing veil	Low, open collar, revealing throat, collarbone and upper chest
28	Ortensia Spinola Raggi	c. 1672	Secular dress	N/A	Chignon	Low, open collar, revealing throat
29	Ottavia Corsini	c. 1679	Secular dress	N/A	Chignon	Low, open collar, revealing throat
30	Isabella/Violante? Fonseca	c. 1682	Secular dress	N/A	Wearing veil	Low, open collar, revealing throat
31	Queen Christina of Sweden	c. 1696	Secular dress	Brooch	Hair in loose chignon and curls; embellished with jewels	Loose drapery, revealing collarbone and upper chest
32	Bianca Maria Neri	c. 1697	Secular dress	Earrings	Hair in loose chignon and curls	Loose drapery, revealing collarbone
33	Caterina Raimondi	c. 1703	Secular dress	N/A	Chignon	Mantle covering entire upper torso
34	Vittoria Parabiacchi Altieri	c. 1703	Secular dress	N/A	Hair in loose chignon and curls	Lace mantle covering entire upper torso
35	Elena dal Pozzo Marcaccioni	c. 1705	Secular dress	N/A	Chignon; cloth cap	Mantle covering entire upper torso
36	Leonora Ferretti	c. 1705	Secular dress	N/A	Widow's peak veil	Low, open collar, revealing throat
37	Marchesa Veronica Rondinini Origo	c. 1706	Secular dress	N/A	Hair tied back and curls	Loose drapery, revealing collarbone and upper chest

38	Eleonora Boncompagni Borghese	c. 1707	Secular dress	Stone diadem in hair	Chignon	Loose drapery, revealing collarbone and upper chest
39	Flavia Bonelli, Principessa d'Altomare	c. 1707	Secular dress	N/A	Wearing veil	Loose drapery, revealing collarbone and upper chest
40	Girolama Naro Santacroce	c. 1707	Secular dress	N/A	Wearing veil	Low, open collar, revealing throat, collarbone and upper chest
41	Maria Camilla Pallavicini	c. 1717	Secular dress	N/A	Chignon	Loose drapery, revealing collarbone and upper chest
42	Aurora Berti	c. 1720	Nun's habit	N/A	Wearing veil	High collared nun's habit
43	Virginia Colomba Vincentini	c. 1725	Secular dress	N/A	Hair in loose chignon and curls	Low, open collar, revealing throat, collarbone and upper chest
44	Maria Clementina Sobieski	c. 1737	Secular dress	Brooch	Hair in loose chignon and curls	Low, open collar, revealing throat, collarbone and upper chest
45	Petronilla Paolina Massimi	c. 1745	Secular dress	N/A	Hair in loose chignon	Low, open collar, revealing throat, collarbone and upper chest
46	Livia del Grillo	c. 1745	Secular dress	Brooch	Hair in loose chignon and curls	Low, open collar, revealing throat, collarbone and upper chest
47	Theresa Duchess of Avello	c. 1745	Secular dress	Earrings	Hair in loose chignon and curls	Low, open collar, revealing throat, collarbone and upper chest

Table 10. Pious Gestures and Accessories in Women's Memorial Effigies, 1550-1750

	Name	Date	Rosary	Book	Gesture
1	Elena Savelli	c. 1570	N/A	N/A	Yes, hands clasped in prayer

2	Cecelia Orsini	c. 1585	Yes	N/A	Yes, hand to chest
3	Vittoria Orsini Frangipane	c. 1585	N/A	Yes	Yes, hand to chest
4	Cassandra Cavalcanti Bandini	c. 1592	N/A	N/A	Yes, hands clasped in prayer
5	Lesia Deti Aldobrandini	c. 1603	Yes	Yes	N/A
6	Lucrezia Tomacelli Colonna	c.1625	N/A	N/A	Yes, hands clasped in prayer
7	Virginia Bonanni Primi	c.1634	Yes	Yes	N/A
8	Clarice Margana d'Aste	c.1636	N/A	Yes	Yes, hand to chest
9	Suor Maria Raggi	c. 1643	N/A	N/A	Yes both hands pressed against chest
10	Faustina Gottardi Ginnasi	c. 1646	N/A	Yes	N/A
11	Anna Colonna Barberini	c. 1659	N/A	Yes	Yes, hand to chest
12	Francesca Calderini Pecori-Riccardi	c. 1670	Yes	Yes	Yes, hand to chest
13	Ortensia Spinola Raggi	c. 1672	N/A	N/A	Yes, hand to chest
14	Isabella/Violante? Fonseca	c. 1682	N/A	N/A	Yes, hands clasped in prayer
15	Caterina Raimondi	c. 1703	N/A	N/A	Yes both hands pressed against chest
16	Vittoria Parabiacchi Altieri	c. 1703	N/A	Yes	N/A
17	Principessa Eleonora Boncompagni Borghese	c. 1707	N/A	N/A	Yes, hands clasped in prayer
18	Girolama Naro Santacroce	c. 1707	N/A	Yes	N/A
19	Aurora Berti	c. 1720	N/A	N/A	Yes, both hands against chest
20	Virginia Colomba Vincentini	c. 1725	N/A	N/A	Yes, hands clasped in prayer

Table 11. Women's Monument Commissions for Kin, 1550-1750

	Name	Date	Female Patron	Monument Type	Relationship of female patron to deceased
1	Camillo Orsini	c. 1585	Vittoria Orsini Frangipane	Wall memorial with portrait bust effigy	Wife
2	Andrea Pelucchi	c. 1585	Lucrezia Pierleoni	Wall memorial with portrait bust effigy	Wife
3	Ottaviano Ubaldini della Gherardesca	c. 1644	Isabella Accoramboni	Wall memorial with portrait effigy in mosaic	Wife
4	Prospero Santacroce	c. 1645	Livia Prini Santacroce	Wall memorial with portrait bust effigy	Mother
5	Cardinal Domenico Ginnasi and Faustina Ginnasi	c. 1645	Caterina Ginnasi	Wall memorial with portrait bust effigy	Niece; Daughter
6	Vincenzo Nobili	c. 1649	Leonora Orsini	Wall memorial with portrait bust effigy	Wife
7	Natale Rondinini	c. 1657	Felice Zacchia Rondinini	Wall memorial with portrait bust effigy	Mother
8	Cavaliere d'Arpino	c. 1660	Dorotea Maggi	Wall memorial with portrait bust effigy	Wife
9	Gasparo Marcaccioni	c. 1674	Elena dal Pozzo	Wall memorial with independent portrait bust	Wife
10	Pietro Martire Mola and Gaspare Morone Mola	c. 1678	Isabella Morone	Wall memorial with bust effigy in relief	Wife; Sister
12	Giovan Battista Cimini	c. 1682	Caterina Raimondi Cimini	Wall memorial with independent portrait bust	Wife
	Virgilio Malvezi	c. 1691	Caterina Roverella	Wall memorial with sculpted putti and	Wife

				memento mori (no effigy)	
13	Antonio Santacroce	c. 1707	Girolama Naro Santacroce	Dual conjugal monument wall monument (“theater box” type) with portrait	Wife
14	Lucrezia Rospigliosi Salviati	c. 1749	Caterina Zefirina Salviati	Wall memorial with sculpted obelisk, sarcophagus and angels	Daughter

Table 12. Women’s Monument Self-Commissioned Monuments, 1550-1750

	Name	Date	Location	Installed during lifetime/after death
1	Vittoria Orsini Frangipane	c. 1585	S. Maria in Aracoeli	Put up after death
2	Livia Prini Santacroce	c. 1662	S. Maria della Scala	Put up while still living
3	Anna Colonna Barberini	c. 1659	S. Maria in Regina Coeli	Put up after death
4	Caterina Raimondi Cimini	c. 1703	S. Antonio dei Portoghesi	Put up after death
5	Girolama Naro Santacroce	c. 1707	S. Maria in Publicolis	Put up while still living

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abbate, Francesco. *Storia Dell'arte nell'Italia Meridionale*. Progetti Donzelli. Roma: Donzelli, 1997.
- _____. "La Scultura Dei Seicento a Napoli e Nel Regno." In *Storia Dell'arte nell'Italia Meridionale*. Progetti Donzelli. Roma: Donzelli, 1997.
- Adorni, Bruno. *L'Architettura Farnesiana a Piacenza, 1545-1600*. Luigi Battei, 1982.
- Ago, R. "Sovrano Pontefice e Società Di Corte Competizioni Cerimoniali e Politica Nella Seconda Metà Del XVII Secolo." In *Cérémonial Et Rituel à Rome (XVIe-XIXe Siècle, 223-238*. Rome: Collection de l'Ecole Française de Rome, 1997.
- Ajmar, Marta, and Thornton, Dora. "When Is a Portrait Not a Portrait?" Belle Donne on Maiolica and the Renaissance Praise of Local Beauties." *The Image of the Individual: Portraits in the Renaissance*. London, 1998.
- Alberici, Giacompo. *Compendio Delle Grandezze Dell'illustre Et Devotissima Chiesa Di Santa Maria Del Populo Di Roma*. Rome: Stampatori Camerali, 1600.
- Alberti, Leon Battista. *The Family in Renaissance Florence*. Translated by Renée Neu Watkins. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1969.
- Allegrezza, Franca. "Formazione, Dispersione, e Conversazione Di Un Fondo Archivistico Privato: Il Fondo Diplomatico Dell'archivio Orsini Tra Medioevo Ed Età Moderna." *Archivio Della Società Romana Di Storia Patria* 114 (1991).
- Allen, Beverly, Muriel Kittel, and Keala Jane Jewell, eds. *Italian Feminist Poems from the Middle Ages to the Present: a Bilingual Anthology. The Defiant muse*. New York: Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 1986.
- Amussen, Susan Dwyer. "Gender, Family, and the Social Order, 1560-1725." In *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England*. Cambridge, UK.: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Andersen, Jaynie. "Rewriting the History of Art Patronage." *Renaissance Studies* 10, no. 2 (1996): 129-138.
- Angelini, Alessandro. *Baroque Sculpture in Rome*. Gallery of the Arts 5. Milan: 5 Continents, 2005.
- Antes, Monika. *Tullia d'Aragona: Cortigiana e Filosofa. Con Il Testo Del Dialogo "Della Infinita Di Amore"*. Edizioni Polistampa, 2011.

- Ascher, Yoni. "Tommaso Malvito and Neapolitan Tomb Design of the Early Cinquecento." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 63 (2000): pp. 111–140.
- _____. "Form and Content in Some Roman Reclining Effigies from the Early Sixteenth Century." *Gazette Des Beaux Arts* 139. 6 (2002): 315–330.
- _____. "Manifest Humbleness: Self-Commemoration in the Time of Catholic Reform." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 35, no. 2 (Summer 2004): 329–356.
- _____. "Politics and Commemoration in Renaissance Naples: The Case of Caterina Pignatelli." *Zeitschrift Für Kunstgeschichte* 69, no. 2 (2006): 145–168.
- _____. "The Drama of the Dead and the Living: Theatrical Design of Sepulchral Chapels in Renaissance Naples." *IKON* 4, no. 1 (2011): 223–232.
- Ascheri, Mario, Giovanni Mazzoni, and Fabrizio Nevola, eds. "The Chapel of Saint Catherine in San Domenico: a Study of Cultural Relations Between Renaissance Siena and Rome." In *L'Ultimo Secolo Della Repubblica Di Siena, Arti, Cultura e Società, Atti Del Convegno Internazionale*. Siena: Accademia Senese degli Intronati, 2008.
- Aston, Margaret. "Gods, Saints and Reformers: Portraiture and Protestant England." In *Albion's Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain, 1550-1660*, edited by Lucy Gent, 181-220. New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1995.
- Bacchi, Andrea. ed. *Scultura del '600 a Roma*. Longanesi: Milan. 1996.
- Bacchi, Andrea, and Stefano Pierguidi. *Bernini e Gli Allievi: Giuliano Finelli, Andrea Bolgi, Francesco Mochi, François Duquesnoy, Ercole Ferrata, Antonio Raggi, Giuseppe Mazzuoli*. Firenze: Il Sole 24 ore, 2008.
- Bacchi, Andrea and Catherine Hess. "A Proposed Attribution to Alessandro Algardi: Maria Cerri Capranica at the J. Paul Getty Museum." *Sculpture Journal* 20, no. 2 (2011): 117–127.
- Baernstein, P. Renée. "'In My Own Hand': Costanza Colonna and the Art of the Letter in Sixteenth-Century Italy." *Renaissance Quarterly* 66, no. 1 (Spring 2013): 130–168
- Baglione, Giovanni. *Le Vite De' pittori, Scultori Et Architetti*. Rome, 1649.
- Bailey, Meryl. "'Salvatrix Mundi': Representing Queen Elizabeth I as a Christ Type." *Studies in Iconography* 29 (2008): 176–215.
- Baillio, Joseph, Odile Poncet, and Chloe Chelz, eds. *The Arts of France from Francois Ier to Napoleon Ier. A Centennial Celebration of Wildenstein's Presence in New York*. New York, NY: Wildenstein, 2005.
- Baker-Bates, Piers, Piers Baker-Bates, and Miles Pattenden. *The Spanish Presence in Sixteenth-Century Italy: Images of Iberia*. Routledge, 2016.

- Bartlett, Kenneth R., ed. *The Civilization of the Italian Renaissance: A Sourcebook*. 2nd ed. North York, Ontario ; Tonawanda, New York: University of Toronto Press, 2011.
- Barone, Giulia. "Margherita Colonna e Le Clarisse Di S. Silvestro in Capite." *Atti Della IV Settimana Di Studi Di Storia Dell'arte Medievale Dell' Università Di Roma La Sapienza* (1983): 799–805.
- Barzman, Karen-Edis. "Gender, Religious Representation and Cultural Production in Early Modern Italy." In *Gender and Society in Renaissance Italy*. London: Longman, 1998.
- Baskins, Cristelle. "Trecento Rome: The Poetics and Politics of Widowhood." In *Widowhood and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003.
- _____. "Lost in Translation: Portraits of Sitti Maani Gioerida Della Valle in Baroque Rome." *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 7 (2012).
- Beldon Scott, John. "Papal Patronage in the Seventeenth Century: Urban VIII, Bernini, and the Countess Matilda." In *L'âge D'or Du Mécénat (1598 - 1661)*, 119–127. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1985.
- Bell, Janis and Thomas Willette, eds. *Art History in the Age of Bellori: Scholarship and Cultural Politics in Seventeenth-Century Rome*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Bellori, Giovanni Pietro. *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti moderni*. Rome: Mascardi, 1672.
- Bendiscoli, Mario. *Dalla Riforma e Controriforma*. Bologna, 1974.
- Benedetti, Sandro. *Giacomo Del Duca e L'architettura Del Cinquecento*. Rome: Officina, 1973.
- Bennett, Judith M. "Women's History: A Study in Continuity and Change." *Women's History Review* 2, no. 2 (1993): 173–184.
- Bernstein, JoAnne G. "The Tomb of Medea Colleoni in the Nineteenth Century: New Documents, 1841–1842." *Arte Lombarda* 151, no. 3. Nuova Series (2007): 25–32.
- Bernstock, Judith E. "Bernini's Memorial to Maria Raggi." *The Art Bulletin* 62, no. 2 (June 1980): 243–255.
- Benocci, Carla, and Tommaso Di Carpegna Falconieri. *Le Belle: Ritratti Di Dame Del Seicento e Del Settecento Nelle Residenze Feudali Del Lazio*. Roma : [Italy]: Pieraldo : Regione Lazio, Presidenza : Gruppo dei romanisti, 2004.
- Bershand, D. L. *Domenico Guidi: A 17th Century Sculptor*. Ph.D. Dissertation. The University of California: Los Angeles. 1970.
- _____. "A Series of Papal Busts by Domenico Guidi," in *The Burlington Magazine*. Vol. 112, no. 813. December 1970. pp. 805-811.

- Bertoni, Giulio. "Lucia Bertani e Laura Battiferra." *Giornale Storico Della Letteratura Italiana* 85 (1925): 379–380.
- Bertucci, Paola. "The Architecture of Knowledge: Science, Collecting, and Display at the Museo Tarsia." In *New Approaches to Naples C.1500-c.1800: The Power of Place*, edited by Melissa Calaresu and Helen Hills. Farnham, Surrey, UK ; Burlington, VT, USA: Ashgate, 2013.
- Bestor Fair, Jane. "Titian's Portrait of Laura Eustochia: The Decorum of Female Beauty and the Motif of the Black Page." *Renaissance Studies* 17 (2003): 628–673.
- Bevilacqua, Mario. *Santa Caterina Da Siena a Magnanapoli; Arte e Storia Di Una Comunità Religiosa Romana Nell'età Della Controriforma*. Rome: Gangemi Editore spa, 2009.
- Bissell, Gerhard. "Melchiorre Cafà at S. Caterina a Magnanapoli." In *Melchiorre Cafà: Maltese Genius of the Roman Baroque*, edited by Keith Scriberras, 83-88. Malta: Midsea Books Ltd., 2006.
- Black, Christopher. *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth century*. Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Boehman, Jessica Marie. "Maestro Ercole Ferrata." PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2009.
- Bolland, Andrea. *Desiderio and Diletto: Vision, Touch and the Poetics of Bernini's Apollo and Daphne*." *Art Bulletin* , 2 (2000): 309-30.
- Bourne, Molly. "Medici Women at the Gonzaga Court, 1584-1627." In *Italian Art, Society, and Politics: A Festschrift in Honor of Rab Hatfield*, edited by Barbara Deimling, Jonathan K. Nelson, and Gary M. Radke, 223–28. Florence: Syracuse University in Florence, 2007.
- Brasavola, Rodolfo. *Ragguaglio Della Vita, Martirio, e Miracoli Di San Pantaleo Medico Descritto Dal P. Ridolfo Di San Girolamo Ferrarese*. Rome: Gio. Giacomo Komarek Boemo alla Fontana di Trevi, 1695.
- Bratu-Minott, Anca. "From the Bosom of Abraham to the Beatific Vision: On Some Medieval Images of the Soul's Journey to Heaven." In *Death and Dying in the Middle Ages*, 189–219. New York: Peter Lang, 1999.
- Brown, Judith C., and Robert C. Davis, eds. *Gender and Society in Renaissance Italy. Women and Men in History*. London ; New York: Longman, 1998.
- Brummer, Hans Henrik. "Cesare Baronio and the Convent of Gregory the Great." *Journal of Art History* 43, no. 1–4 (1974).
- Brundin, Abigail. *Vittoria Colonna and the Spiritual Poetics of the Italian Reformation. Catholic Christendom, 1300-1700*. Aldershot, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008.

- Burckhardt, Jacob. "Randglossen Zur Skulptur Der Renaissance." In *Jacob Burckhardt Gesamtausgabe*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1929.
- Burke, Jill. *Changing Patrons: Social Identity and the Visual Arts in Renaissance Florence*. University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004.
- Burke, Jill, and Michael Bury, eds. *Art and Identity in Early Modern Rome*. Aldershot, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008.
- _____. "Monument and Memory in Early Renaissance Florence." In *Art, Memory, and Family in Renaissance Florence*, edited by Giovanni Ciappelli and Patricia Lee Rubin, 135–162. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Burke, Peter. "The Language of Gesture in Early Modern Italy." In *Varieties of Cultural History*, 60-76. Oxford: Polity Press, 1997.
- Burroughs, Charles. *From Signs to Design: Environmental Process and Reform in Early Renaissance Rome*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1990.
- Butterfield, Andrew. "Social Structure and the Typology of Funerary Monuments in Early Renaissance Florence." *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 26 (1994): 47–67.
- Calcaterra, Francesco. *La Spina Nel Guanto: Corti e Cortigiani Nella Roma Barocca*. Roma Storia, Cultura, Immagine 13. Roma: Gangemi, 2004.
- Campbell, Erin J., ed. *Growing Old in Early Modern Europe: Cultural Representations*. Aldershot, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006.
- _____. "Prophets, Saints, and Matriarchs: Portraits of Old Women in Early Modern Italy." *Renaissance Quarterly* 63, no. 3 (Fall 2010): 807–849.
- _____. *Old Women and Art in the Early Modern Italian Domestic Interior*. Taylor and Francis, 2015.
- Campbell, Stephen. "Eros in the Flesh: Petrarchan Desire: The Embodied Eros, and Male Beauty in Italian Art, 1500-1540." *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 35, no. 3 (Fall 2005): 629–662.
- Campbell, Lorne. *Renaissance Portraits: European Portrait-painting in the 14th, 15th, and 16th Centuries*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990.
- Campbell, Lorne, Philip Attwood, and National Gallery (Great Britain), eds. *Renaissance Faces: Van Eyck to Titian*. London : [New Haven, Conn.]: National Gallery Co. ; Distributed by Yale University Press, 2008.
- Cannella, Francesca. "The Ephemeral Baroque of the Exequies for Beatrice Acquaviva D'Aragona (Cavallino-Lecce, 1637)." *Music in Art* 37, no. 1/2. The Courts in Europe: Music Iconography and Princely Power (Fall 2012): 101–110.

- Caracciolo, Cesare d'Eugenio. *Napoli Sacra: Que Oltre Le Vere Origini, e Foundationi Di Tutte Le Chiese, Monasterij, Cappelle, Spedali, e D'altri Luoghi Sacri Della Città Di Napoli, e De' Suoi Borghi. Si Tratta Di Tutti i Corpi, e Reliquie De' Santi*. Naples: Ottavio Beltrano, 1623.
- Cardella, Lorenzo. *Memorie Storiche De' Cardinali Della Santa Romana Chiesa*. Stamperia Pagliarini, 1793.
- Carpino, Alexandra. "Margaret of Austria's Funerary Complex at Brou: Conjugal Love, Political Ambition or Personal Glory?" In *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe*. University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997.
- Casciaro, Raffaele. "La scultura." In *Il barocco a Lecce a nel Salento*, edited by Antonio Cassiano. Lecce, Edizioni de Luca, 1995.
- Casmiro, F. *Memorie Istoriche Della Chiesa e Convento Di S. Maria in Araceli Di Roma*. Rome: R. Bernabo, 1736.
- Castiglione, Caroline. *Accounting for Affection: Mothering and Politics in Early Modern Rome*. Early Modern History : Society and Culture. Houndsmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.
- Cavallo, Sandra. *Charity and Power in Early Modern Italy: Benefactors and Their Motives in Turin, 1541-1789*. Cambridge History of Medicine. Cambridge ; New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Cavallo, Sandra, Moira Donald, and Linda Hurcombe. "What Did Women Transmit? Ownership and Control of Household Goods and Personal Effects in Early Modern Italy." In *Gender and Material Culture in Historical Perspective*. Basingstoke [England] ; New York: MacMillan, 2000.
- Cavazzini, Patrizia. "The Ginetti Chapel at S. Andrea Della Valle." *The Burlington Magazine* 141, no. 1156 (1999): pp.401–413.
- Cecchelli, Margherita. "Ottone III e l'Aristocrazia Romana: Domina Mizina Della Famiglia Massimo." *Studi Romani* (2004): 407–425.
- Celletti, Vincenzo. *I Colonna, Principi Di Paliano*, 1960.
- Cellini, A. Nava. "Un tracciato per l'attività ritrattistica di Guiliano Finelli," in *Paragone*. Vol. 131. 1960. pp. 9-30.
- _____. "Contributi a Melchiorre Caffà," in *Paragone*. Vol. 83. 1956. pp. 17-31.
- _____. "Ritratti di Andrea Bolgi," in *Paragone*. Vol. 147. 1962. pp. 24-40.

- Chavarria, Elisa Novi. "The Space of Women." In *A Companion to Early Modern Naples*, edited by Tommaso Astarita. Brill's Companions to European History volume 2. Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2013.
- Chipps Smith, Jeffrey. "The Tomb of Anne of Burgundy, Duchess of Bedford, in the Musée Du Louvre." *Gesta* 23, no. 1 (1984): 39–50.
- Chiti, Antonella, Rita Iacopino, and Cristina Cheli. *Le Lapidi Terragne Di Santa Croce*. Testi e Studi 28. Firenze: Polistampa, 2012.
- Chesters, Timothy. *Ghost Stories in Late Renaissance France: Walking by Night*. Oxford Modern Languages and Literature Monographs. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Christian, Kathleen Wren. "From Ancestral Cults to Art: The Santacroce Collections of Antiquities." *Annali Della Scuola Normale Superiore Di Pisa. Classe Di Lettere e Filosofia* 14 (2002): 255–272.
- _____. *Empire Without End: Antiquities Collections in Renaissance Rome, C. 1350-1527*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010.
- Cohen, Elizabeth Storr. *Daily Life in Renaissance Italy*. The Greenwood Press "Daily Life Through History" Series. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 2001.
- _____. "Fragments from the 'life Histories' of Jewelry Belonging to Prostitutes in Early-modern Rome." *Renaissance Studies* 19, no. 5 (2005): 647–657.
- _____. "To Pray, To Work, To Hear, To Speak: Women in Roman Streets C. 1600." *Journal of Early Modern History* 12 (2008): 289–311.
- _____. "Women in Roman Streets, C. 1600." In *Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets*. Brill, 2009.
- _____. "Open City: An Introduction to Gender in Early Modern Rome." *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 17, no. 1 (Spring 2014): 35–54.
- Cohen, Kathleen. *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol: The Transi Tomb in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. California Studies in the History of Art 15. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973.
- Cohn, Samuel Kline. *Women in the Streets: Essays on Sex and Power in Renaissance Italy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- Colantuono, Anthony. "Estense Patronage and the Construction of the Ferrarese Renaissance, C. 1395-1598." In *The Court Cities of Northern Italy: Milan, Parma, Piacenza, Mantua, Ferrara, Bologna, Urbino, Pesaro, and Rimini*, edited by Charles Rosenberg. Artistic Centers of the Italian Renaissance. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

- Colantuono, Anthony, and Steven F. Ostrow, eds. *Critical Perspectives on Roman Baroque Sculpture*. University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014.
- Colonna, G.B. *Gli Orsini*. Milan: Casa Editrice Ceschina, 1955
- Comerford, Kathleen. “The Care of Souls Is a Very Grave Burden for [the Pastor]’: Professionalization of Clergy in Early Modern Florence, Lucca, and Arezzo.” *Nederlands Archief Voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 85, no. 1 (2005): 349–368.
- Contini, Alessandra. “Aspects of Medicean Diplomacy in the Sixteenth Century.” In *Politics and Diplomacy in Early Modern Italy The Structure of Diplomatic Practice, 1450–1800*, edited by Daniela Frigo. Cambridge Studies in Italian History and Culture. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Cools, Hans, Marika Keblusek, and Badeloch Noldus, eds. “Between Courts: The Colonna Agents in Italy and Iberia, 1555-1600.” In *Your Humble Servant: Agents in Early Modern Europe*. Hilversum: Verloren, 2006.
- Cornelison, Sally J., and Scott B. Montgomery, eds. *Images, Relics, and Devotional Practices in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies v. 296. Tempe, Ariz: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2006.
- Costa-Zalessow, Natalia. “Francesca Turini Bufalini’s Encomiastic Poems for Lucrezia Tomacelli Colonna” 90, no. 3 (September 2013).
- Couchman, Jane, Katherine MacIver, and Allyson Poska. *The Ashgate Research Companion to Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013.
- Cox, Virginia. *Women’s Writing in Italy, 1400-1650*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008.
- _____. *The Prodigious Muse: Women’s Writing in Counter-Reformation Italy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011.
- Cranston, Jodi. *The Poetics of Portraiture in the Italian Renaissance*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Crawford, Patricia. “‘The Only Ornament in a Woman’: Needlework in Early Modern England.” In *All Her Labours. Two. Embroidering the Framework*, 7–20. Sydney, 1984.
- Currie, Morgan. “Sculpture and Sainthood in Early Modern Italy.” Harvard University, 2014.
- Da Morrona, Alessandro. *Pisa Illustrata Nelle Arti Del Disegno*. Vol. 2. Presso G. Marenigh, 1812.
- Dandeleit, Thomas James, and John A. Marino, eds. *Spain in Italy: Politics, Society, and Religion 1500-1700*. The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World v. 32. Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2007.

- Dandeleit, Thomas James. "The Spanish Faction and the Roman Patronage System." In *Spanish Rome, 1500-1700*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.
- Darsy, F. *Santa Sabina*. Volumes 63-64 of *Le Chiese Di Roma Illustrate*: Edizioni Roma Marietti. Rome: Marietti, 1961.
- Davies, Gerald. *Renascence: The Sculptured Tombs of the Fifteenth-century in Rome*. London: J. Murray, 1910
- De Divitiis, Bianca. "Giovanni Pontano and His Idea of Patronage." In *Some Degree of Happiness: Studi Di Storia Dell'architettura in Onore Di Howard Burns*, edited by Caroline Elam and Howard Burns. Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2010.
- De Lucca, Valeria. "Strategies of Women Patrons of Music and Theatre in Rome: Maria Mancini Colonna, Queen Christina of Sweden, and Women of Their Circles." *Renaissance Studies* 25, no. 3 (2011).
- De Prano, Maria. "Lux Aeterna: Commemoration of Women with Candles in the Santa Maria Novella Book of Wax in Fifteenth-Century Florence." *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 6 (2011).
- De Vega, Rodrigo. *Roma Sacra, Antica e Moderna : Figurata, e Divisa in Tre Parti*. Rome: G.B. Molo, 1687.
- De Vries, Joyce. *Caterina Sforza and the Art of Appearances: Gender, Art, and Culture in Early Modern Italy*. Women and Gender in the Early Modern World. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005.
- Delbeke, Maarten. "Gianlorenzo Bernini's *Bel Composto*: The Unification of Life and Work in Biography and Historiography." In *Bernini's Biographies: Critical Essays*, edited by Maarten Delbeke, Evonne Levy, and Steven Ostrow, 251-74. University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006.
- _____. *The Art of Religion Sforza Pallavicino and Art Theory in Bernini's Rome*. Farnham; Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2012.
- Dennis, Kimberley L. "Rediscovering the Villa Montalto and the Patronage of Camilla Peretti." In *Wives, Widows, Mistresses, and Nuns in Early Modern Italy: Making the Invisible Visible Through Art and Patronage*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012.
- Di Dio, Kelley Helmstutler, ed. *Making and Moving Sculpture in Early Modern Italy*. Visual Culture in Early Modernity. Farnham, Surrey, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015.
- Di Gioia, Elena. *Le Collezioni Di Scultura Del Museo Di Roma. Il Seicento*. Le Grandi Collezioni Romane. Roma: Campisano, 2002.
- Ditchfield, Simon. *Liturgy, Sanctity, and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

- Dolce, Lodovico. *Dialogo Della Institution Delle Donne*, 1545.
- Dombrowski, Damian. *Giuliano Finelli: Bildhauer Zwischen Neapel Und Rom*. Schriften Zur Bildenden Kunst Bd. 7. Frankfurt am Main ; New York: P. Lang, 1997.
- _____. "Addenda to the Work of Giuliano Finelli." *The Burlington Magazine*. 824-828 (1998).
- _____. "Fashioning Foreign Identities: Finelli's 'Opportunism' of Style." *Sculpture Journal* 20, no. 2 (2011): 265-274.
- Drogin, David and Kathleen Wren Christian, eds. *Patronage and Italian Renaissance Sculpture*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010.
- Dugan, Holly. *The Ephemeral History of Perfume: Scent and Sense in Early Modern England*. Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011.
- Dunn, Marilyn. "Piety and Patronage in Seicento Rome: Two Noblewomen and Their Convents." *The Art Bulletin*, 76, no. 4 (December 1994): 644-663.
- _____. "Invisibilia Per Visibilia: Roman Nuns, Art Patronage, and the Construction of Identity." In *Wives, Widows, Mistresses, and Nuns in Early Modern Italy: Making the Invisible Visible Through Art and Patronage*. Women and Gender in the Early Modern World. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012.
- Enggass, Robert. *Early Eighteenth-century Sculpture in Rome: An Illustrated Catalogue Raisonné*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976.
- _____. "Un problème du baroque romain tardif: Projets de sculptures par des artistes non sculpteurs." *Revue de l'art*. 31 (1976): 21-32.
- Enggass, Robert and Jonathan Brown. *Italian and Spanish Art, 1600-1750; Sources and Documents*. Evanston, Il.: Northwestern University Press, 1999.
- Ehrlich, Tracy L. *Landscape and Identity in Early Modern Rome: Villa Culture at Frascati in the Borghese Era*. Monuments of Papal Rome. Cambridge, U.K. ; New York: Cambridge University Press : in association with the American Academy in Rome, 2002.
- Erll, Astrid. "Cultural Memory Studies: An Introduction." In *Media and Cultural Memory: Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, edited by Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008.
- Evans, Harry B. *Aqueduct Hunting in the Seventeenth Century: Raffaello Fabretti's De Aquis Et Aquaeductibus Veteris Romae*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2002.
- Fahy, Conor. "Women and Italian Cinquecento Literary Academies." In *Women in Italian Renaissance Culture and Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

- Fantoni, Sebastiano. *Ragionamento Funebre Del P. Sebastiano Fantoni Generale De' Carmelitani. Nell'essequie Dell'ill.ma & Eccell.ma Signora D. Lucretia Tomacello Colonna Duchessa Di Paliano*. Giacomo Mascardi, 1625.
- Federici, Fabrizio. "Il Trattato Delle Memorie Sepolcrali Del Cavalier Francesco Gualdi: Un Collezionista Del Seicento e Le Testimonianze Figurative Medievali." *Prospettiva* (July 2003): 149–159.
- _____. "Francesco Gualdi e Gli Arredi Scultorei Nelle Chiese Romane." In *Arnolfo Di Cambio. Una Rinascita nell'Umbria Medieval. Exh. Cat, Perugia and Orvieto, July 7 2005 – January 8, 2006*, edited by V. Garabaldi and B. Toscano. Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2005.
- _____. "L'interesse Per Le Lastre Tombali Medievali a Roma Tra Ricerche Epigrafiche e Documentazione Figurativa (secoli XVI-XIX)." *Opera, Nomina, Historiae: Giornale Di Cultura Artistica* 4 (2011): 161–210.
- _____. "Alla Ricerca Dell'esattezza: Peiresc, Francesco Gualdi e L'antico." In *Rome-Paris 1640: Transferts Culturels Et Renaissance D'un Centre Artistique*, 18–62. Collection D'histoire De L'art De l'Académie De France à Rome. Paris: Académie de France à Rome ; Somogy, 2010.
- Federici, Fabrizio, and Jörg Garms. "*Tombs of illustrious Italians at Rome*": *l'album di disegni RCIN 970334 della Royal Library di Windsor*. Bollettino d'arte. Volume speciale 2010. Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 2011.
- Felini, Pietro Martire. *Trattato Nuovo Delle Cose Maravigliose Dell'alma Città Di Roma : Ornato De Molte Figure, Nel Quale Si Discorre De 300 & Più Chiese*. Bartolomeo Zannetti, 1615.
- Ferraro, Richard. "The Nobility of Rome, 1560-700: A Study of Its Composition, Wealth, and Investments." 1994.
- Ferrari, Oreste, and Serenita Papaldo. *Le Sculture Del Seicento a Roma*. Roma: Ugo Bozzi, 1999.
- ffoilliot, Sheila. "Catherine de'Medici as Artemisia: Figuring the Powerful Widow." In *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe*. Women in Culture and Society. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.
- _____. "Once Upon a Tapestry: Inventing the Ideal Queen." In *Images of a Queen's Power: The Artemisia Tapestries*, edited by Sheila ffoilliot and Candace Adelson, 13–19. Images of a Queen's Power: The Artemisia Tapestries: Minneapolis Museum of Arts, 1993.
- Fleiner, Carey, and Elena Woodacre. *Virtuous or Villainess? The Image of the Royal Mother from the Early Medieval to the Early Modern Era*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- Forcella, Vincenzo. *Iscrizioni Delle Chiese e Degli Altri Edificii Di Roma Dal Secolo XI. Fino Ai Giorno Nostri, Raccolte e Pubblicate Da V.F.* Vol. 1–12. Rome, 1869.

- _____. *Iscrizioni Delle Chiese e Degli Altri Edifici Di Milano Dal Secolo VIII Ai Giorni Nostri Raccolte Da V. Forcella*. Milan, 1889.
- Foster, Kurt. "Aby Warburg's History of Art: Collective Memory and the Social Mediation of Images." *Daedalus* 105, no. 1 (Winter 1976): 169–176.
- Foucault, Michel. *Histoire De La Folie à L'âge Classique; Folie Et Déraison*. Civilisations D'hier Et D'aujourd'hui. Paris: Plon, 1961.
- Galletti, Pierluigi. *Inscriptiones romanae infimi aevi Romae exstantes*. J.G Salomonj: Rome. 1760.
- Gardner, Julian. "Arnolfo Di Cambio and Roman Tomb Design." *The Burlington Magazine* 115, no. 884 (July 1973): 420–439.
- Garrard, Mary D. *Artemisia Gentileschi: The Image of the Female Hero in Italian Baroque Art*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1989.
- Gastel, Joris van. *Il Marmo spirante: Sculpture and Experience in Seventeenth-Century Rome*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2013.
- Gaylard, Susan. "Vanishing Women: Gendering History in Sixteenth-Century Portrait Books." In *Gender, Agency and Violence European Perspectives from Early Modern Times to the Present Day*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013.
- Geary, Patrick. "The Historical Material of Memory." In *Art, Memory, and Family in Renaissance Florence*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Gelao, Clara, ed. *Scultura Del Rinascimento in Puglia: Atti Del Convegno Internazionale, Bitonto, Palazzo Municipale, 21-22 Marzo 2001*. Bari: Edipuglia, 2004.
- Gentili, Antonio and Mauro Regazzoni. *La spiritualità della riforma cattolica. La spiritualità italiana dal 1500 al 1650*. Bologna: Edizioni Dehoniane Bologna, 1993.
- Geschwind, Rachel. "Magdelene Imagery and Prostitution Reform in Early Modern Rome and Venice, 1500-1700." Case Western University, 2011.
- Giambelluca, Ugo. "I Monumenti Funebri Della Famiglia Bertani in Santa Sabina a Roma." *Studi Romani* 50 (2002): 23–34.
- Gill, Meredith J. "'Remember Me at the Altar of the Lord': Saint Monica's Gift to Rome." In *Augustine in Iconography*, edited by Joseph C. Schnaubelt and Frederick Van Fleteren. New York: Peter Lang, 1999.
- Giometti, Cristiano. *Domenico Guidi, 1625-1701: Uno Scultore Barocco Di Fama Europea*. LermArte 5. Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2010.
- Giovè Marchioli, Nicoletta. "L'Impossibilità Di Essere Autonoma Donne e Famiglie Nelle Fonti Epigraphiche Tardomedievali." *Archeologica Medievale* XXXVIII. 19-32 (2011).

- Goldthwaite, Richard A. *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300-1600*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.
- Gombrich, Ernst. "Sculpture for Outdoors." In *The Uses of Images: Studies in the Social Function of Art and Visual Communication*. London: Phaidon, 1991.
- Gori, Laura. "Le Sepolture Dei Cardinali Nicolò Ed Enrico: Loreto e La Cappella Caetani in Santa Pudenziana, in I Caetani e Le Arti Nella Seconda Metà Del Cinquecento." Università degli Studi Roma Tre, 2007.
- Götzmann, Jutta. *Römische Grabmäler der Hochrenaissance: Typologie - Ikonographie - Stil*. 1. Aufl. Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance 13. Münster: Rhema, 2010.
- Gowing, Laura. "'The Freedom of the Streets': Women and Social Space." In *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London*, edited by P. Griffiths and M. Jenner. Manchester: St. Martin's Press, 2000.
- Graham, Brenna. "The Most Bitter and Untimely of Events: Women, Death, and the Monumental Tomb in Quattrocento Italy." PhD, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, 2014.
- Grandolfo, Alessandro. "La Decorazione Scultorea Della Cappella Turbolo in Santa Maria La Nova a Napoli." In *Cinquantacinque Racconti Per i Dieci Anni. Scritti Di Storia Dell'arte*, 203–220. Catanzaro: Soveria Mannelli, 2013.
- Francesco Mochi, 1580-1654: In Occasione Delle Mostre Per Il Quarto Centenario Della Nascita*. 139. Firenze: Centro Di, 1981.
- Griesbach, Auguste. *Römische Porträtbüsten Der Gegenreformation*. Leipzig: Keller, 1936.
- Guichard, Claude. *Funerailles, & Diuerses Manieres D'enseuelir Des Rommains, Grecs, & Autres Nations*. Lyon, 1581.
- Habel, Dorothy Metzger. "Bernini's d'Aste Family Tombs in S. Maria in Via Lata, Rome: A Reconstruction." *The Art Bulletin* 79, no. 2 (July 1997): 291–300.
- Habel, Dorothy Metzger. *The Urban development of Rome in the Age of Alexander VII*. Cambridge University Press: New York. 2002.
- Hager, H. "Il Monumento Alla Principessa Eleonora Borghese Di G. B. Contini e A. Fucigna." *Commentari* XX (1969): 109–124.
- Hanning, Barbara Russano. "From Saint to Muse: Representations of Saint Cecilia in Florence." *Music in Art: International Journal for Music Iconography* 29, no. 1/2 (2004).
- Hall, Marcia B. "The Counter Reformation and the End of the Century." In *Rome. Artistic Centers of the Italian Renaissance*. Cambridge [U.K.]; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

- Harris, Ann Sutherland, and Linda Nochlin. *Women Artists, 1550-1950*. 1st ed. Los Angeles : New York: Los Angeles County Museum of Art ; distributed by Random House, 1976.
- Harris, Ann Sutherland. *Seventeenth-Century Art and Architecture*. Laurence King, 2005
- Hartt, Frederick. *The Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal, 1434-1459, at San Miniato in Florence*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964.
- Harwood, Barry Robert. "Nicolo Cordieri: His Activity in Rome 1592-1612." PhD, Princeton University, 1979.
- Haskell, Francis. *Patrons and Painters: a Study in the Relations Between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque*. Rev. and enl. ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980.
- Heideman, Johanna. "The Cinquecento Chapel Decorations in S. Maria in Aracoeli in Rome." PhD, Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht, 1982.
- Herbert, Amanda E. *Female Alliances, Gender, Identity, and Friendship in Early Modern Britain*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014.
- Hersey, George L. *Alfonso II and the Artistic Renewal of Naples, 1485-1495*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969.
- Hickson, Sally. *Women, Art and Architectural Patronage in Renaissance Mantua: Matrons, Mystics and Monasteries*. Women and Gender in the Early Modern World. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012.
- Hiesinger, Kathryn B. "The Fregoso Monument: A Study in Sixteenth-Century Tomb Monuments and Catholic Reform." *The Burlington Magazine* 118, no. No. 878 (May 1976): 282–293.
- Hills, Helen. "Cities and Virgins: Female Aristocratic Convents in Early Modern Naples and Palermo." *Oxford Art Journal* 22, no. 1 (1999): 31–54.
- _____. *Invisible City : The Architecture of Devotion in Seventeenth-Century Neapolitan Convents*. Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Holgate, Ian. "The Cult of Saint Monica in Quattrocento Italy: Her Place in Augustinian Iconography, Devotion and Legend." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 71 (2003): 181–206.
- Hollingsworth, Mary, and Carol M. Richardson. *The Possessions of a Cardinal: Politics, Piety, and Art, 1450-1700*. University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010.
- Holmes, Megan. "Ex-votos: Materiality, Memory, and Cult." In *The Idol in the Age of Art: Objects, Devotions and the Early Modern World*, edited by Michael Cole and Rebecca Zorach, 165–188. Aldershot, Hampshire: UK: Ashgate, 2009.

- Hsia, R. Po-chia. *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770*. New Approaches to European History 12. Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Hoffman, Philip T. "Wills and Statistics: Tobit Analysis and the Counter-Reformation in Lyon." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 14 (1984): 813–834.
- Hufton, Olwen. *The Prospect Before Her: a History of Women in Western Europe*. Vol. I, 1500–1800. London: Harper Collins, 1995.
- _____. "Altruism and Reciprocity: The Early Jesuits and Their Female Patrons." in *Renaissance Studies*, Vol, 15, No, 3 (September 2003). p. 328-523
- Hunt, John M. "Carriages, Violence, and Masculinity in Early Modern Rome." *I Tatti: Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 17 (2014): 175–196.
- Hyde Minor, Vernon. *Baroque Visual Rhetoric*. University of Toronto Press, 2016.
- Ioele, Giovanna. "Giovanni Battista Della Porta Scultore (Porlezza 1542-Roma 1597)." Università degli Studi Roma Tre, 2010.
- Jaffe, Irma B., and Gernando Colombardo. *Shining Eyes, Cruel Fortune: The Lives and Loves of Italian Renaissance Women Poets*. 1st ed. New York: Fordham University Press, 2002.
- Jacobs, Fredrika Herman. *Defining the Renaissance Virtuosa: Women Artists and the Language of Art History and Criticism*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- _____. *Votive Panels and Popular Piety in Early Modern Italy*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Jansen, Sharon L. *The Monstrous Regiment of Women: Female Rulers in Early Modern Europe*. New York: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2002.
- Jerrold, Maud. *Vittoria Colonna: With Some Account of Her Friends and Her Times*. J.M. Dent and Company, 1906.
- Jungmann, Joseph A. *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development*. New York: Benzinger, 1951.
- Kaborycha, Lisa. *A Corresponding Renaissance: Letters Written by Italian Women*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Kane, Eileen. *The Church of San Silvestro in Capite in Rome*. B.N. Marconi, 2005.
- Kelly Gadol, Joan. "Did Women Have a Renaissance?" In *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1977.
- Kennedy, Trinita, Donal Cooper, Holly Flora, Trinita Kennedy, Amy Neff, Janet Robson, and Frist Center for the Visual Arts (Nashville, Tenn.), eds. *Sanctity Pictured: The Art of the*

- Dominican and Franciscan Orders in Renaissance Italy*. Nashville: Frist Center for the Visual Arts, 2014.
- Kent, Dale. "Women in Renaissance Florence." In *Virtue & Beauty: Leonardo's Ginevra De' Benci and Renaissance Portraits of Women*, edited by David Alan Brown. National Gallery of Art, 2001.
- Kessler, Hans-Ulrich. "A Portrait Bust of Luisa Deti by Ippolito Buzio." *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 32 (1997): 77–84.
- Kiefer, Frederick, ed. *Masculinities and Femininities in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*. Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance v. 23. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2009.
- King, Catherine. *Renaissance Women Patrons: Wives and Widows in Italy c. 1300-c. 1550*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1998.
- Kirkham, Victoria. *Laura Battiferra and Her Literary Circle: An Anthology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.
- Kirshner, Julius. *Marriage, Dowry, and Citizenship in Late Medieval and Renaissance Italy*. Toronto Studies in Medieval Law. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015
- Korey, Alexandra. "Putti, Pleasure, and Pedagogy in Sixteenth-Century Italian Prints and Decorative Arts." The University of Chicago, 1997.
- Koortbojian, Michael. "Desegni for the Tomb of Alexander VII," in *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*. Vol. 54. 1991.
- Ladegast, Anett. "Liturgie Und Memoria Bei Den Ammanati-Grabmälern in S. Agostino." In *Vom Nachleben Der Kardinäle Römische Kardinalsgrabmäler Der Frühen Neuzeit*, edited by Arne Karsten and Philip Zitzlsperger,, 2012. Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 67-98.
- Laitinen, Riitta, and Thomas V. Cohen, eds. *Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets*. Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2009.
- Lankheit, Klaus. *Florentinische Barockplastik. Die Kunst Am Hofe Der Letzten Medici, 1670-1743*. München, 1962.
- Langdon, Gabrielle. *Medici Women: Portraits of Power, Love and Betrayal from the Court of Duke Cosimo I*. Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2006.
- Laurence, Anne. "How Free Were Englishwomen in the Seventeenth-Century." In *Women of the Golden Age: An International Debate on Women in Seventeenth-Century Holland, England and Italy*, edited by Els Kloek, Nicole Teeuwen, and Marijke Huisman. Hilversum: Verloren, 1994.
- Lavin, Irving, and Marilyn Aronberg Lavin. "Duquesnoy's 'Nano Di Crequi' and Two Busts by Francesco Mochi." *The Art Bulletin* 52, no. 2 (June 1970): 132–149.

- Lavin, Irving. "On Illusion and Allusion in Italian Sixteenth-Century Portrait Busts." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 119, no. 5 (October 1975): 353–362.
- _____. *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*. The Franklin Jasper Walls Lectures 1975. New York: [Published for] Pierpont Morgan Library [by] Oxford University Press, 1980.
- _____. *Gian Lorenzo Bernini: New Aspects on His Art and Thought*. London. 1985.
- Le Goff, Jacques. *The Birth of Purgatory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984.
- Leonard, Amy, and Karen L. Nelson, eds. *Masculinities, Childhood, Violence: Attending to Early Modern Women--and Men: Proceedings of the 2006 Symposium*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2011.
- Leone, Stephanie C. *The Pamphilj and the Arts: Patronage and Consumption in Baroque Rome*. 1st ed. Chestnut Hill, MA: McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College, 2011.
- Liebreich, A.K. "Piarist Education in the Seventeenth Century." *Studi Secenteschi* 26 (January 1985).
- Lindley, Phillip. *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship: Medieval Monuments in Early Modern England*. Donington, UK.: Shaun Tyas, 2007.
- Lingo, Estelle. "The Evolution of Michelangelo's Magnifici Tomb: Program Versus Process in the Iconography of the Medici Chapel," *Artibus Et Historiae* 16, no. 32 (1995): 91–100.
- _____. "The Greek Manner and a Christian 'Canon': François Duquesnoy's 'Saint Susanna'." *The Art Bulletin* 84, no. 1 (March 2002): 65–93.
- Lingo, Estelle Cecile. *François Duquesnoy and the Greek Ideal*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.
- Llewellyn, Nigel. *The Art of Death: Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual, C. 1500-c. 1800*. London: Published in association with the Victoria and Albert Museum by Reaktion Books, 1991.
- _____. *Funeral Monuments in post-Reformation England*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Lo Bianco, Anna, ed. *Pietro Da Cortona: 1597-1669. Exhibition Catalogue Published in Association with Palazzo Venezia (Rome, Italy)*. Milano: Electa, 1997.
- Lodispoto, Giuseppe Sacchi. "Anna Colonna Barberini Ed Il Suo Monumento Nel Monastero Di Regina Coeli." *Strenna Dei Romanisti* XLIII (April 1982): 460–478.
- Lowe, K. J. P. *Nuns' Chronicles and Convent Culture: Women and History Writing in Renaissance and Counter-Reformation Italy*. Cambridge, U.K. ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

- Lucci, Michela. "Sul Corteo Funebre Di Lucrezia Tomacelli Colonna in Una Sconosciuta Rappresentazione Di Matteo Greuter." In *Roma Moderna e Contemporanea Rivista Interdisciplinare Di Storia*, edited by Università degli studi Roma Tre. Vol. 7, 2008.
- Madonna, Maria Luisa. *Roma Di Sisto V: Le Arti e La Cultura*. Edited by Centro di studi sulla cultura e l'immagine di Roma. Roma: Edizioni de Luca, 1993.
- McCrary, Martha. "The Symbolism of Stones: Engraved Gems at the Medici Grand-ducal Court (1537-1609)." In *Engraved Gems: Survivals and Revivals*, edited by Clifford M. Brown. Studies in the History of Art / Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts ; Symposium Papers 54. 32. Washington : Hannover: National Gallery of Art ; Distributed by the University Press of New England, 1997
- McOmber, Christina. "Recovering Female Agency: Roman Patronage and the Dominican Convent of SS. Domenico e Sisto." Ph.D, dissertation. University of Iowa .1997.
- McIver, Katherine A. *Women, Art, and Architecture in Northern Italy, 1520-1580: Negotiating Power*. Women and Gender in the Early Modern World. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006.
- _____. "An Invisible Enterprise: Women and Domestic Architecture in Early Modern Italy." In *Wives, Widows, Mistresses, and Nuns in Early Modern Italy: Making the Invisible Visible Through Art and Patronage*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012.
- McIver, Katherine A., ed. *Wives, Widows, Mistresses, and Nuns in Early Modern Italy: Making the Invisible Visible Through Art and Patronage*. Women and Gender in the Early Modern World. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012.
- MacLean, Rosemarie. "The Carriage: A Ceremonial Symbol in 17th Century Rome." PhD, Courtauld Institute of Art, 1991.
- Malgouyres, Phillipe. "From Invention to Realization: Three Curious Instances of Autography in Bernini's Œuvre." *Sculpture Journal* 20, no. 2 (2011): 147–154.
- Maly, Thomas. "Early Modern Purgatory: Reformation Debates and Post-Tridentine Change." *Archiv Für Reformationsgeschichte* (2009): 241–247.
- Mancini, Claudio, and Francesca Baglioni. "Dei Conti Di Castel Di Piero, Dalla Corte Medicea Alla Clausura Di Roma." *Biblioteca e Società* 3 (1997): 8–13.
- Martinelli, V. "Andrea Bolgi a Roma e a Napoli," in *Commentari*. Vol. X. 1959. pp. 137-58.
- Mormando, Franco. *Bernini: His Life and His Rome*. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2011.
- Marangoni, Giovanni. *Il Divoto Pellegrino Guidato, Ed Istruito Nella Visita Delle Quattro Basiliche Di Roma, Per Il Giubileo Dell'anno Santo MDCCL*. Rome: Nella stamperia del Chracas, 1749.

- Marcucci, L. "Ponzio, Orazio Censore, Montano, Rainaldi Per La Cappella Colonna in San Giovanni in Laterano." *Quaderni dell'Istituto Di Storia dell'Architettura* 44–50 (2004): 203–222.
- Marshall, David Ryley. *The Site of Rome: studies in the art and topography of Rome 1400-1750*. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2014.
- Marshall, Peter. "Fear, Purgatory, and Polemic, in Reformation England." In *Fear in Early Modern Society*, edited by W.G. Naphy and P. Roberts. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997.
- _____. *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Marshall, Sherrin, ed. *Women in Reformation and Counter-reformation Europe: Public and Private Worlds*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989.
- Martin, John. "Out of the Shadow: Heretical and Catholic Women in Renaissance Venice." *Journal of Family History* 5 (1985): 21–34.
- Matthews Grieco, Sara F., and Geraldine A. Johnson, eds. *Picturing Women in Renaissance and Baroque Italy*. Cambridge, [Eng.] ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Migiel, Marilyn, and Juliana Schiesari, eds. *Refiguring Woman: Perspectives on Gender and the Italian Renaissance*. Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1991.
- Miller, Peter N. *Peiresc's Orient: Antiquarianism as Cultural History in the Seventeenth Century*. Variorum Collected Studies Series CS998. Burlington, VT.: Ashgate, 2012.
- Modesti, Adelina. *Elisabetta Sirani: Una Virtuosa Del Seicento Bolognese*. Donne Nell'arte. Bologna: Compositori, 2004.
- Montagu, Jennifer. *Roman Baroque Sculpture: The Industry of Art*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.
- _____. "The Literature of Art: Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts." *The Burlington Magazine* CXXIV (1982).
- _____. *Gold, Silver, and Bronze: Metal Sculpture of the Roman Baroque*. Bollingen Series XXXV, 39. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- _____. "Innovation and Exchange: Portrait Sculptors of the Early Roman Baroque." In *Bernini and the Birth of Baroque Portrait Sculpture*. Los Angeles: Ottawa:J. Paul Getty Museum ; National Gallery of Canada, 2008.
- Montagu, Jennifer, and Rijksuniversiteit te Groningen. *The Aesthetics of Roman Eighteenth Century Sculpture: Late Baroque, Barocchetto, or a Discrete Art Historical Period?* Baarn: De Prom, 2001.

- Montagu, Jennifer, and Frick Collection. *Why Francois du Quesnoy Should Have "Dy'd Mad": A Consideration of Roman Baroque Sculptors' Intentions*. New York: Frick Collection, 2007.
- Moskowitz, Anita Fiderer. *Italian Gothic Sculpture: C. 1250-c. 1400*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Moxey, Keith P. F. *Peasants, Warriors, and Wives: Popular Imagery in the Reformation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.
- Murtola, Gasparo. *Epithalamio Di Gasparo Murtola Delle Nozze Dell'illustrissimo & Eccellentissimo Sig. Don Filippo Colonna, e Della Signora Donna Lucretia Tomacelli*. Perugia, 1597.
- Mullett, Michael A. *The Counter-Reformation and the Catholic Reformation in Early Modern Europe*. Lancaster Pamphlets. London ; New York: Methuen, 1984.
- Munman, Robert. *Sienese Renaissance Tomb Monuments*. Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society v. 205. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1993.
- Murphy, Caroline. *Lavinia Fontana: a Painter and Her Patrons in Sixteenth-century Bologna*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.
- Musacchio, Jacqueline Marie. *The Art and Ritual of Childbirth in Renaissance Italy*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.
- _____. *Art, Marriage, and Family in the Florentine Renaissance Palace*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.
- National Museum of Women in the Arts (U.S.), and Sylvester Verger Art Organization. *Italian Women Artists: From Renaissance to Baroque*. 1st ed. Milano : New York: Skira ; Distributed in North America by Rizzoli, 2007.
- Neilson, Christina. *Parmigianino's Antea: a beautiful artificer*. New York: Frick Collection, 2008.
- Nolan, Kathleen. "The Queen's Body and Institutional Memory: The Tomb of Adelaide of Maurienne." In *Memory and the Medieval Tomb*, edited by Elizabeth Valdez del Alamo and Carol Stamatis Pendergast, 246–267. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2000.
- Norberg, Kathryn. *Rich and Poor in Grenoble, 1600-1814*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.
- Noreen, Kristin. "The High Altar of Santa Maria in Aracoeli: Recontextualizing a Medieval Icon in Post-Tridentine Rome." *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 53 (2008): 99–128.
- Norman, Joanna. "Performance and Politics in the Urban Spaces of Baroque Rome." In *Perspectives on Public Space in Rome, from Antiquity to the Present Day*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013.

- Nussdorfer, Laurie. *Civic Politics in the Rome of Urban VIII*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1992.
- _____. “The Politics of Space in Early Modern Rome.” *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*. 42 (1999).
- Nygren, Robert Barnaby. “The Monumental Saint’s Tomb in Italy 1260-1520.” Harvard University, 1999.
- O’Connor, Robert Barnard. *Evolution of Italian Tombs from the Thirteenth-Century to Bernini*. London. 1917.
- Och, Mary Ann. “Vittoria Colonna: Art Patronage and Religious Reform in Sixteenth-Century Rome.” Ph.D, Bryn Mawr College, 1993.
- _____. “Portrait Medals of Vittoria Colonna: Representing the Learned Woman.” In *Women as Sites of Culture*, edited by Susan Shifrin, 153–154. Aldershot, 2002.
- _____. “Vittoria Colonna in Giorgio Vasari’s Life of Properzia de’Rossi.” In *Wives, Widows, Mistresses, and Nuns in Early Modern Italy: Making the Invisible Visible Through Art and Patronage*, edited by Katherine A. McIver. Women and Gender in the Early Modern World. Farnham, Surrey, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012.
- Oexle, Otto Gerhard. “Memoria Und Memorialbild.” In *Memoria: Die Geschichtliche Zeugniswert Des Liturgischen Gedenkens Im Mittelaltern*, edited by K. Schmid and J. Wollasch. Munich, 1984.
- Osborne, John. “A Possible Colonna Family Stemma in the Church of Santa Prassede.” In *A Wider Trecento Studies in 13th- and 14th-century European Art Presented to Julian Gardner*, edited by Julian Gardner, Louise Bourdua, and Robert Gibbs. Boston: Brill, 2012.
- Ostrow, Steven F. *Art and Spirituality in Counter-Reformation Rome: The Sistine and Pauline Chapels in S. Maria Maggiore*. Monuments of Papal Rome. Cambridge [England] ; New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Ottosen, Knud. “Liturgy as a Theological Place: Possibilities and Limitations in Interpreting Liturgical Texts as Seen in the Office of the Dead.” In *Liturgy and the Arts in the Middle Ages: Studies in Honour of C. Clifford Flanigan*, edited by C. Clifford Flanigan, Eva Louise Lillie, and Nils Holger Petersen. Copenhagen S: Museum Tusulanum Press, University of Copenhagen, 1996.
- Panciroli, Ottaviano. *Roma Sacra, e Moderna Gia Descritta Dal Pancirolo Ed Accresciuta Da Francesco Posterla*. Rome: Mainardi nella piazza di Monte Citorio, 1725.
- Panizza, Letizia, and Sharon Wood, eds. *A History of Women’s Writing in Italy*. Cambridge [England] ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000

- Panofsky, Erwin. *Tomb Sculpture : Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1964.
- Parlato, Enrico. "Enrico Caetani a S. Pudienza: Antichità Cristiane, Magnificenza Decorative e Prestigio Del Casato Nella Roma Di Fine Cinquecento." In *Arte e Committenza Nel Lazio Nell'età Di Cesare Baronio*, edited by Patrizia Tosini. Atti Del Convegno Internazionale Di Studi Frosinone, Sora, 16-18 Maggio 2007. Gangemi, 2008.
- Partner, Peter. *Renaissance Rome, 1500-1559: A Portrait of a Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976.
- Passeri, G. *Vite De' Pittori, Scultori, Ed Architetti Che Anno Lavorato in Roma Morti Dal 1641. Fino Al 1673*. Rome: Settari, 1772.
- Pasulka, Diana Walsh. *Heaven Can Wait: Purgatory in Catholic Devotional and Popular Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Penny, Nicholas. *Materials of Sculpture*. Yale University Press, 1995.
- Perlove, Shelley Karen. *Bernini and the Idealization of Death: the Blessed Ludovica Albertoni and the Altieri Chapel*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990.
- Pertile, Lino. "Montaigne, Gregory Martin and Rome." *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme Et Renaissance* 50, no. 3 (1988): 637–659.
- Perucci, Francesco. *Pompe Funebri Di Tutte Le Nazioni Del Mondo*. Verona, 1646.
- Philippy, Patricia, and Mihoko Suzuki. "'Herself Livinge, to Be Pictured': 'Monumental Circles' and Women's Self-portraiture." In *The History of British Women's Writing 1610-1690*, 129–151. Palgrave, 2001.
- Pincus, Debra. *The Tombs of the Doges of Venice*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Pittoni, Leros. *Antonio Raggi: dalla Bottega di Bernini, un grande sculture ticinese*. Editore La Voce del Tempo: [Subiaco?]. 2002.
- Poeschke, Joachim, and B. Kusch. *Praemium Virtutis. Grabmonumente Und Begräbniszeremoniell Im Zeichen De Humanismus*. Münster, 2002.
- _____. *Praemium Virtutis II. Grabmonumente Und Begräbniszeremoniell Im Zeichen Des Humanismus*. Münster, 2005.
- Pontano, Giovanni. *I Trattati Delle Virtu Sociali : De Liberalitate, De Beneficentia, De Magnificentia, De Splendore, De Conviventia*. Translated by Francesco Tateo. Rome, 1965.
- Pope Hennessy, John. *Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture*. New York: Phaidon, 1963.

- Pöpper, Thomas. “Zur Mutmaßlich Multimedialen Memorialstrategie Papst Alexanders VI., Seiner Mätresse Vannozza Cattanei Und Ihrer Kinder in Santa Maria Del Popolo, Rom.” Edited by Anne Karsten. *Das Grabmal Des Günstlings: Studien Zur Memorialkultur Frühneuzeitlicher Favoriten* (2011): 169–188.
- Porcacchi, Tomaso. *Funerali Antichi Di Diversi Popoli, Et Nationi: Forma, Ordine Et Pompa Di Sepulture*. Venice, 1574.
- Posterla, Francesco. *Roma Sacra, e Moderna: Abellita Di Nuove Figure Di Rame, e Di Nuovo Ampliata, Ed Accresciuta Con Le Piu Fedeli Autorità Del Baronio, Del Ciacconio, Del Panciroli, e D'altri Gravi Autori*. Francesco Gonzaga, 1707.
- Pressouyre, S. *Nicolas Codier. Recherches sur la sculpture à Rome autour de 1600*. Vol. II. Bocard: Rome. 1984.
- Prior, Mary. “Freedom and Autonomy in England and the Netherlands: Women’s Lives and Experience in the Seventeenth-Century: A Response to Anne Laurence.” In *Women of the Golden Age: An International Debate on Women in Seventeenth-century Holland, England and Italy*, edited by Els Kloek, Nicole Teeuwen, and Marijke Huisman. Hilversum: Verloren, 1994.
- Priuli, Lorenzo. In *Prov. I. Par 2. Actorum Pars. I, Acta Ecclesia Mediolanensil a Sancto Carolo Cardinali S. Praxedis, Archiep. Mediolan. Condit, Federici Cardinasis Borromaei*. Vol. 1. Lyon, 1683.
- Proceedings of a Conference on Early Modern Rome 1341-1667: Held on May 13-15, 2010 in Rome*. Ferrara: Edisai, 2011.
- Ray, Meredith K. *Daughters of Alchemy: Women and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2015.
- Rehberg, Andreas. “Aspetti Araldici Delle Sepulture Femminili Romane Del Rinascimento.” *Donne Di Pietra. Immagini, Vicende, Protagoniste Delle Sepulture Romane Del Rinascimento: Una Ricerca in Corso* (2015).
- Reiss, Sheryl E., and David G. Wilkins, eds. *Beyond Isabella: Secular Women Patrons of Art in Renaissance Italy*. Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies Series v. 54. Kirksville, Mo: Truman State University Press, 2001.
- Reiss, Sheryl E. “Widow, Mother, Patron of Art.” In *Beyond Isabella: Secular Women Patrons of Art in Renaissance Italy*. Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies Series v. 54. Kirksville, Mo: Truman State University Press, 2001.
- Rietbergen, Peter. *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome: Barberini Cultural Policies*. Leiden: Brill, 2006.

- The Renaissance Portrait: From Donatello to Bellini*. Edited by Keith Christiansen, Stefan Weppelmann, and Patricia Lee Rubin. New York : New Haven [Conn.]: Metropolitan Museum of Art ; Distributed by Yale University Press, 2011.
- Renzi, Sylvia de. "The Risks of Childbirth: Physicians, Finance, and Women's Deaths in the Law Courts of Seventeenth-Century Rome." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* (Winter 2010): 549–577.
- Riccoboni, Alberto. *Roma Nell'arte : La Scultura Nell'evo Moderno Dal Quattrocento Ad Oggi*. Rome: Casa Editrice Mediterranea, 1946.
- Richardson, Carol M., Kim Woods, and Michael W. Franklin, eds. *Renaissance Art Reconsidered: An Anthology of Primary Sources*. Malden, MA ; Oxford : Milton Keynes, UK: Blackwell Pub. ; In association with The Open University, 2007.
- Richardson, Carol M. "'Ruined, Untended and Derelict': Fifteenth-century Papal Tombs in St. Peter's." In *Art and Identity in Early Modern Rome*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008.
- _____. *Reclaiming Rome: Cardinals in the Fifteenth Century*. Brill's Studies in Intellectual History v. 173. Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2009.
- Russell, Rinaldina, ed. *Italian Women Writers: a Bio-bibliographical Sourcebook*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1994.
- Roberts, Ann M. "The Chronology and Political Significance of the Tomb of Mary of Burgundy." *The Art Bulletin* 71, no. 3 (1989): 376–400.
- Robinson, J.C. *Italian Sculpture of the Middle Ages and Period of the Revival of Art*. London: Chapman and Hall, 1862.
- Roiseco, Gregorio. *Roma Ampliata e Rinovata, o Sia Nuova Descrizione Dell'antica e Moderna Città Di Roma e Di Tutti Gli Edifizi Notabili*. Ottavio Puccinelli, 1750.
- Rogers, Mary. "Sonnets on Female Portraits from Renaissance North Italy." *Word and Image* II (1986): 291–299.
- _____. "The Decorum of Women's Beauty: Trissino, Firenzuola, Luigini, and the Representation of Women in Sixteenth-Century Painting." *Renaissance Studies* II (1998): 47–89.
- Rossi, Filippo. *Descrizione Di Roma Moderna*. La libreria di Michel'Angelo, e Pier Vincenzo Rossi. alla Salamandra, presso al banco di S. Spirito, 1708.
- Ruiz, Enrique Martinez. "Philip II and the Duchy of Bari." In *Spain and Sweden in the Baroque Era (1600-1660)*. Fundación Berndt Wistedt, 2000.
- Safarik, E. *Galleria Colonna*. Rome, 1981.

- Sansovino, F. *Venetia Citta Nobilissima . . . Descritta Dal Sansovino Con Nove e Copiose Aggiunte De D. G. Martinioni*. Venice, 1663.
- Sághy, Marianne. *Women and Power in East Central Europe: Medieval and Modern*. Los Angeles: Schlacks, 1993.
- Sargiacomo, Massimo. "Accounting and the 'Art of Government': Margaret of Austria in Abruzzo (1539–86)." *European Accounting Review* 17, no. 4 (2008): 667–695.
- Scott, Joan Wallach. *Gender and the Politics of History*. Gender and Culture. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.
- Sénécal, Robert. "The Caetani Chapel in S. Pudienza, Rome: Late Sixteenth-Century Chapel Decoration." *Apollo* 142 (1995): 37–42.
- Sherlock, Peter. *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England*. Aldershot, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008.
- Smith, Graham. "Bronzino's Portrait of Laura Battiferri." *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 15, no. 4 (1996): 30–38.
- Solinas, Francesco. *Ottavio Leoni (1578-1630): Les Portraits De Berlin*. Rome: De Luca Editori d'Arte, 2013.
- Sonnino, Eugenio. "The Population in Baroque Rome." In *Rome, Amsterdam: Two Growing Cities in Seventeenth-Century Europe*, edited by Pieter van Kessel and Elisja Schulte van Kessel. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1997.
- Spear, Richard. "Scrambling for Scudi: Notes on Painter's Earnings in Baroque Rome." *The Art Bulletin* 85, no. 2 (June 2003): 310–320.
- _____. *Painting for Profit: The Economic Lives of Seventeenth-century Italian Painters*. New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 2010.
- Sperling, Jutta Gisela. *Convents and the Body Politic in Late Renaissance Venice*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
- _____. "Marriage at the Time of the Council of Trent (1560-70): Clandestine Marriages, Kinship Prohibitions, and Dowry Exchange in European Comparison." *Journal of Early Modern History* 8, no. 1 (2004): 67–108.
- Starita, Simona. "Andrea Aspreno Falcone e La Scultura Della Metà Del Seicento a Napoli." PhD, Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II, 2011.
- Steen, Charles R. *Margaret of Parma: A Life*. Brill, 2013.
- Steinman, E. "Die Stiftungen Der Satri in Sant'Omobono." *Zeitschrift Für Bildende Kunst* XII (1901): 239–243.

- Stone, Lawrence. *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965.
- _____. *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800*. New York: Harper & Row, 1979.
- _____. *An Open Elite?: England, 1540-1880*. New York: Clarendon Press, 1984.
- Stone, Daniel Z. *The Polish-Lithuanian State*. University of Washington Press, 2014.
- Storey, Tessa. *Carnal Commerce in Counter-Reformation Rome*. New Studies in European History. Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Strocchia, Sharon T. "Remembering the Family: Women, Kin, and Commemorative Masses in Renaissance Florence." *Renaissance Quarterly* 42 (1989): 635–654.
- _____. *Death and Ritual in Renaissance Florence*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.
- Strong, Roy. *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I*. UK: Random House, 2003.
- Strunck, Christina. "Old Nobility Versus New: Colonna Art Patronage During the Barberini and Pamphilj Pontificate (1623-1655)." In *Art and Identity in Early Modern Rome*, edited by Jill Burke and Michael Bury, 135–153. Ashgate, 2008.
- Sturm, Saverio. *L'architettura Dei Carmelitani Scalzi in Età Barocca: La "Provincia Romana". Lazio, Umbria e Marche (1597-1705)*. Rome: Gangemi Editore Spa, 2015.
- Syson, Luke. "Alberti e La Ritrattistica." In *Leon Battista Alberti*, edited by Joseph Rykwert and Anne Engel. Ivrea, Italy: Milano: Olivetti ; Electa, 1994.
- Tarugi, Giovannangiola. "S. Carlo Borromeo e S. Filippo Neri a Roma Durante Il Giubileo Del 1575." *Studi Romani* 23, no. 4 (October 1975): 462–472.
- Terpstra, Nicholas. *The Politics of Ritual Kinship Confraternities and Social Order in Early Modern Rome*. Cambridge. 2000.
- Thompson, Wendy. "Antonfrancesco Doni's 'Medaglie'." *Print Quarterly* 24, no. 3 (September 2007): 223–238.
- Tiraboschi, Girolamo. *Storia Della Letteratura Italiana: Parte Terza*. Vol. VII, 1779
- _____. *Biblioteca Modenese o Notizie Della Vita e Delle Opere Degli Scrittori Natii Degli Stati Del Serenissimo Signor Duca Di Modena*. Società Tipografica, 1786.
- Titi, Francesco. *Studio Di Pittura, Scoltura Et Architettura Nelle Chiese Di Roma*. Rome: Mancini, 1674.
- Titi, Filippo, Bruno Contardi, and S. Romano. *Studio Di Pittura, Scoltura, Et Architettura, Nelle Chiese Di Roma*. Firenze: Centro Di, 1987.

- Tomas, Natalie. *The Medici Women: Gender and Power in Renaissance Florence*. Women and Gender in the Early Modern World. Aldershot, Hampshire, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003.
- Tomasi, Lucia Tongiorgi. “‘La Femminil Pazienza’ : Women Painters and Natural History in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries.” In *The Art of Natural History: Illustrated Treatises and Botanical Paintings, 1400-1850*, edited by Therese O’Malley, Amy R. W. Meyers, and Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts (U.S.). Studies in the History of Art, Symposium Papers / Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts 69. 46. Washington : New Haven: National Gallery of Art ; Distributed by Yale University Press, 2008.
- Tosini, Patrizia, ed. *Arte e Committenza Nel Lazio Nell’età Di Cesare Baronio*. Atti Del Convegno Internazionale Di Studi Frosinone, Sora, 16-18 Maggio 2007. Gangemi, 2008.
- Totti, Pompilio. *Ritratto Di Roma Antica : Nel Quale Sono Figurati i Principali Tempij, Teatri, Anfiteatri, Cerchi, Naumachie, Archi Trionfali, Curie, Basiliche, Colonne, Ordine Del Trionfo, Dignità Militari, e Civili, Riti, Ceremonie, Medaglie, & Altre Cose Notabili*. Rome: Per Andrea Fei, a spese di Pompilio Totti libraro, 1627.
- Trapp, J.B. “Petrarch’s Laura: The Portraiture of an Imaginary Beloved.” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 64 (2001): 55–192.
- Turini Bufalini, Francesca, Natalia Costa-Zalessow, and Joan E. Borrelli. *Autobiographical poems: a bilingual edition*. VIA folios 59. New York: Bordighera Press, 2009.
- Valdez del Alamo, Elizabeth. “Lament for a Lost Queen: The Sarcophagus of Doña Blanca in Nájera.” *The Art Bulletin* 78, no. 2 (1996): 311–333.
- Valone, Carolyn. “Women on the Quirinal Hill: Patronage in Rome, 1560-1630.” *The Art Bulletin* 76, no. 1 (March 1994): 129–146.
- _____. “The Art of Hearing: Sermons and Images in the Chapel of Lucrezia Della Rovere.” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 31, no. 3 (Autumn 2000): 753–777.
- _____. “Mothers and Sons: Two Paintings for San Bonaventura in Early Modern Rome.” *Renaissance Quarterly* 53, no. 1 (2000): 108–132.
- _____. “Architecture as a Public Voice for Women in Sixteenth-century Rome.” *Renaissance Studies* 15, no. 3 (2001): 302–327.
- _____. “Matrons and Motives: Why Women Built in Early Modern Rome.” In *Beyond Isabella: Secular Patrons of Art in Renaissance Italy*, 317–335. Truman State University Press, 2001.
- Van Liere, Katherine Elliot, Simon Ditchfield, and Howard Louthan, eds. *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World*. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2012.

- Villani, Stefano. "Britain and the Papacy: Diplomacy and Conflict in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century." In *Papato e Politica Internazionale Nella Prima Età Moderna*. Rome: Viella, 2013.
- Visceglia, M.A. *La Città Rituale. Rome e Le Sue Ceremonie in Età Moderna*. Rome: Viella, 2002.
- Vives, Juan Luis, and Charles Fantazzi. *The Education of a Christian Woman a Sixteenth-Century Manual*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
- Von Barghahn, Barbara. *Age of Gold, Age of Iron: Renaissance Spain and Symbols of Monarchy*. Vol. Vol I-II. University Press of America, 1985.
- Von Pastor, L. *Geschichte Der Päpste*. Vol. 6. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1913.
- Wallace, Katherine. "Mia Patrona e Signora—Politics, Patronage, and Performance Among the North Italian Duchesses." *Sun Yat-sen Journal of Humanities* 28 (January 2010): 49–63.
- Wardropper, Ian. *European Sculpture, 1400–1900, In the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York, 2011.
- Warwick, Genevieve. *Bernini: Art as Theatre*. New Haven ; London: Yale University Press, 2012.
- Weaver, Elissa. *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women*. Cambridge Studies in Italian History and Culture. Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Weinberg, Joanna. "'The Voice of God': Jewish and Christian Responses to the Ferrara Earthquake of 1570." *Italian Studies* 46, no. 1 (1991): 69–91.
- Welch, Evelyn S. "Engendering Italian Renaissance Art - A Bibliographic Review." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 68 (2000): 201–216.
- _____. *Shopping in the Renaissance: Consumer Cultures in Italy 1400-1600*. New Haven, [Conn.] ; London: Yale University Press, 2005.
- Westin, Robert, and Jean Westin. "Contributions to the Late Chronology of Giuseppe Mazzuoli." *The Burlington Magazine* 116, no. 850 (January 1974): 36–41.
- Weston-Lewis, Aidan. *Effigies and Ecstasies: Roman Sculpture and Design in the Age of Bernini*. National Gallery of Scotland: Edinburgh. 1998.
- Wickersham, Jane. "Results of the Reformation: Ritual, Doctrine and Religious Conversion." *The Seventeenth Century* 18, no. 2 (2003): 266–289.
- Wiesner, Merry E. *Christianity and Sexuality in the Early Modern World: Regulating Desire, Reforming Practice*. Christianity and Society in the Modern World. London ; New York: Routledge, 2000.