

PRESTIGE, PIETY AND MORAL PERFECTION; DERUTA MAIOLICA AND THE
SOCIAL AND CULTURAL VALUE OF A DECORATIVE OBJECT

by

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B.A., University of Saskatchewan, 1989

M.A., University of Saskatchewan, 1995

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDIES

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

October 2006

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Abstract

A study of four of images commonly found on Deruta maiolica produced between 1500 and 1550 is used to show how the lives of Umbrian middle class women were affected by comportment and social interaction, private devotional interests and their relationship with the Catholic Church hierarchy. The conclusions are based on four categories of images (*bella donna* plates, four female lay saints, St. Francis receiving the stigmata and St. Francis in prayer) combined with information from literary, archival and visual sources.

Women were given *bella donna* plates by their husbands. These encouraged the new bride to study exemplary women, such as Isabella d'Este and the Erythrean sibyl in order to learn how to interact in public. Although the illustrious or exemplary aristocratic women were unknown to middle class women, much of their behaviour was assumed by looking at their carefully comported images. Middle class women were also provided with comportment manuals to further educate themselves.

The ceramic plates featuring the four lay saints show how middle class Umbrian women embraced a specific typology of saint. The four saints possessed a common story to the degree that they almost seemed interchangeable. This specific typology appealed to Umbrian women because they represented their personal concerns: namely, the conflict between their devotional needs versus the demands of marriage and children.

The two images of St. Francis in prayer and receiving the stigmata on Deruta plates show how the Franciscan Order had bonded with Umbrian women and relied on them to adopt and disseminate the cult of its saint and its devotional practices. The authority of St. Francis and the Franciscan Order spread rapidly throughout Italy during 16th century, because of the devotional and monetary support of middle class Umbrian women. While they had little power of their own within the Church and social hierarchy of Italy, they were able to affect the culture of Italian society through their support of specific religious orders.

Finally, this study examines the history of maiolica collecting in order to determine how the placement, time and the gender of the owner and the observer can alter the significance of the object throughout history. This concept, known as axiology, is examined in order to determine how maiolica is valued presently as a museum object and a subject of scholarly study.

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Introduction

This thesis will examine Deruta maiolica, a variety of tin glazed earthenware produced in central Italy, in the region of Umbria c. 1500-1550. This pottery was famous for its brightly coloured decoration and was most noted for the female figures painted onto the ceramic surface. This dissertation will focus on four categories of images found on Deruta maiolica and study the significance of both the pottery and its iconography with respect to the social, political, economic and religious lives of the Italian Renaissance middle class. While the exact definition of the middle class cannot be clearly articulated by historians, since it encompasses a diverse sector of society inhabiting a wide variety of occupations, educational backgrounds and economic resources, for the purposes of this dissertation the middle class refers primarily to the artisans, shopkeepers and traders outside the patriciate, whose wealth, prosperity and available income increased during the 15th and 16th centuries with greater urbanization.

This thesis will also examine the value of Deruta maiolica pieces to later collectors, who accumulated them for their private study, reflecting their personal tastes and ambitions. The history of maiolica collecting from 1650 to the present will also be examined from an axiological point of view. This approach will draw attention to cultural phenomena which contributed to the perceived value of Deruta maiolica, from the moment of the object's creation to the present day. As a mode of historical investigation axiology demonstrates that the value and the perception of an object is never static but is subject to changing environmental, social, religious, economic and political factors. Each of these factors can affect the value, function and significance of an object dramatically. As will be demonstrated, Deruta maiolica's value changed over time based on the gender

of its owner and the space in which it was placed. Women at the time of maiolica production were the primary arbiters of its value. In contrast, following the 1550's, male collectors determined the worth of maiolica; it has been only in the last few decades with its re-evaluation by feminist scholars that its value has been determined by women once again. Although this thesis examines the history of maiolica collecting, its primary focus will be on the context, significance and meaning of maiolica at the time at which it was first produced.

Renaissance middle class families paid considerable attention to the comportment and household obligations of women. This preoccupation is reflected in the genre of comportment manuals and dialogues dealing with the models of ideal behaviour and conduct of their wives and daughters. Cherubino of Siena,¹ Leon Battiste Alberti,² Jacobus da Voragine,³ Giovanni Boccaccio,⁴ Giuseppe Bettussi and Baldesar Castiglione⁵ were the most popular writers of this genre. They debated the role of middle class women in marriage. This tradition offered specific advice to husbands and their families on these issues, providing rules for expected behaviour of their wives, employing a group of legendary, mythological, courtly and religious women as exemplars. Although this tradition of defining feminine exemplarity was generally read by men, certain works within this tradition were given to wives and daughters for study. Chief among these texts was De Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*. While the primary instruction for new wives was

¹ Cherubino da Siena, *Regole della Vita Matrimoniale di Frate Cherubino da Siena*, ed. F. Zambrini and C. Negrini (Bologna: Commissione per I Tessi di Lingua, 1969).

² L. B. Alberti, *I Primi Tre Libri della Famiglia*, ed. F. C. Pellegrini (Firenze: Sansoni, 1946).

³ Jacobus de Veragine, *Legenda Aurea: Vulgo Historia Lombardica Dicta*, ed. Th. Graesse (Osnabrück: O. Zeller, 1969).

⁴ G. Boccaccio, *Famous Women*, ed. and trans. V. Brown (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001).

⁵ S. Kolsky, "Donne Gonzaghesche nella Additione al Libro delle Donne Illustri di Giuseppe Bettussi (1545)" in *Civiltà Mantova* 33 (1998), 78-79; B. Castiglione, *Il Libro dei Cortegiano*, ed. G. Preti (Torino: Giulio Einaurdi Editore, 1960).

provided by husbands, women could also learn for themselves how they could be better wives and mothers from these written texts.

Social and legal restrictions limited Renaissance middle class women from interacting socially, especially in environments outside of the household. Nor did the increasing economic affluence of urban families entail greater mobility or social freedom for women. The ratification of sumptuary laws restricted the clothing, jewelry, colours and fabrics middle class women were permitted to wear. Additionally, physical limitations were placed on their movements beyond the household. For example, women could not leave the household except for specific reasons, such as going to church or the market. Only in the confines of the household could women enjoy any degree of liberty.⁶

The artisans of Deruta recognized the importance of this literary tradition, as well as contemporary legislation and social conventions regarding the behaviour of women. Hence, they crafted ceramics for the use of husbands and families to instruct and orient wives with respect to proper deportment and public behaviour. As will be discussed more fully later in chapter two, the artisans depicted the exemplary women described in these literary texts on *bella donna* plates, a ceramic genre given to young brides at the time of their marriage [Figures 17, 20, 22, 25, 29, 30; pp. 104, 108, 114, 119, 132]. Husbands hoped that their wives, by gazing at the images depicted on these plates, might learn the gestures and even recall the many lauded virtues of the figure portrayed.

⁶ Cherubino da Siena, op. cit., p. 30. "*Così ancora tu, figliuola mia diletissima, governa bene tutte le cose di casa ...*" (My esteemed little daughter, rule well all the things of the house). G. Lanteri, *Della Economica Tratto di Giacomo Lanteri* (In Ventia: Appresso Vincenzo Balgris, 1560), pp. 38-38. "...*la parte della casa piu segreta alle donne doveresi dar così ancora dico ... nelle istes se loro camere doveresi porre le cose di maggior valuta, cioè gli argenti, le tapezzare de prezzo ... et altre simil cose ...*" (The most secret part of the house ought to be assigned to women ... in their room they ought to take care of things of great value, that is, the silver, the precious tapestries ... and other such things ...).

Deruta artisans also produced plates with the images of four female lay saints reflecting the spiritual and devotional interests of women. The saintly figures depicted on these plates were based on a specific hagiographic typology. The hagiographies of these female Saints - St. Barbara, St. Catherine of Alexandria, St. Cecilia and St. Lucy - were important to lay women because they demonstrated how a wife might remain morally impeccable, while coping with a sinful spouse. Namely, these saintly figures demonstrated that in order for the wife to encourage virtuous behaviour in her husband she had to set an example for him through her own irreproachable conduct. Marriage, as Cherubino of Siena stated, did not necessarily have to be in conflict with spiritual goals and it was a wife's religious duty to help her husband work toward spiritual perfection.

Finally, the Deruta artisans produced plates with images of St. Francis in prayer and with the stigmata. These pieces were placed in the woman's bedroom or in devotional areas, such as household private chapels. The production of Deruta maiolica pottery with images of St. Francis was the result of three needs. First, the increased affluence of middle class families enabled them to build private chapels in their households. The ceramic pieces with the images of St. Francis were produced not only as souvenirs but they also fulfilled the need to equip these chapels with liturgical apparatus. Second, in competition with the Dominicans, the Franciscan Order desired to extend their influence in lay houses among the middle class. This type of Deruta pottery, meeting the Franciscan need to promote their Order, facilitated this development. Third, the imagery of St. Francis in prayer promoted recent Franciscan prayer reforms which they desired the laity to adopt. This was achieved by creating an image of St. Francis on Deruta pottery to

be sold to the laity which demonstrated the proper stance and gesture the Friars desired their supporters to emulate when they were conducting private prayer.

In order to investigate properly the complex context and associations of Deruta maiolica it is essential to take an interdisciplinary approach. An inclusive study of Deruta maiolica requires the perspective and integrated application of a number of academic disciplines: Art History, Archaeology, Economic, Political and Social History, Italian Literature, Material Culture and Museum Studies, Religious Studies and Women's Studies. It is only through a combined interrelated approach utilizing the scholarship of these varied fields that a complete perspective on Deruta maiolica's function and meaning can be gained.

The Interdisciplinary Nature of this Study

The need for this interdisciplinary approach was first promoted by the Mayor of Deruta, Umberto Pagliacci in 1980, when he revealed plans to erect a museum devoted entirely to the collection and study of Deruta maiolica.⁷ A museum with such a mandate, he asserted, would be an important catalyst for interdisciplinary scholarship, attracting academics whose research provided unique perspectives and interpretations of this ceramic genre. With the completion of the Museo Regionale della Ceramica di Deruta in

⁷ U. Pagliacci, "Introduction," *Antiche Maioliche a Deruta*, ed. G. Guaitini (Spoleto: Nuova Guaraldi, 1980), p. 10. "*Certo, si tratta di un obiettivo ambizioso: basti pensare, ad esempio, a ciò che comporta, in questo settore, la strumentazione e l'avvio di un vasto programma di ricerche multidisciplinari, o la organizzazione di una sistematica schedatura e riproduzione dei materiale umbri disseminati in musei e collezioni situate in ogni parte del mondo, o la stessa costruzione di un patrimonio di oggetti e di documenti sufficientemente rappresentativo per consentire il funzionamento di un centro museale di questo tipo.*" (Certainly, we are talking about an ambitious objective. It is enough to think, for example, about what the organization of a vast program of multidisciplinary research would entail. This would include the organization of a cataloguing system, the reproduction of all Umbrian research scattered in museums and collections throughout the world. What would also be included would be the building up of a sufficiently representative heritage collection of objects and documents which would allow for a central museum of this kind).

1998, a unique interdisciplinary discourse has been established on the subject of Deruta maiolica with fruitful results. Between 1980 and 2004 the Museum has produced a series of publications focusing on Deruta maiolica production. However, these studies have not placed these objects within their whole context. Nor has enough attention been given to the relevance of Deruta maiolica, in particular, to the lives of Renaissance women.

Because Deruta maiolica was produced for middle class consumers using unsophisticated and frequently repeated imagery, it has often been overlooked as an object worthy of study. Yet, since these ceramic objects were so intrinsic to middle class life, and in particular, to the lives of women, and were placed specifically in their daily sphere of activity [Figures 1, 2; pp. 37, 38], they can contribute much to our understanding of women's lives of the period.

The disciplines of Art History, Archaeology, Economic, Political and Social History, Italian Literature Studies, Material Culture and Museum Studies, Religious Studies and Women's Studies are all critical to understanding the role and importance of Deruta maiolica and its contexts. The analysis of Deruta maiolica requires an interrelation of many disciplines, because these objects can be understood only through an integration of approaches and methods to produce new knowledge about the Renaissance and the position of women.

The discipline of Art History is of fundamental importance to the study of Deruta maiolica. Studies on Renaissance art, with particular reference to domestic genres, such as the work of Michael Baxandall,⁸ Rosemary San Juan,⁹ Marta Ajmar and Peter

⁸ M. Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in 15th Century Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973).

⁹ R. San Juan, "Mythology, Women and Renaissance Private Life: The Myth of Eurydice in Italian Furniture Painting," *Art History* 15 (June, 1992), 127-145.

Thorton¹⁰ help to conceive of Deruta maiolica as a household decorative piece. Art historical methodologies - in particular, the analysis of imagery - explain the significance of visual conventions encoded in the imagery of these plates. As will be discussed in greater depth later in chapter two, the work of Elizabeth Cropper,¹¹ Patricia Simons,¹² and Mary Rogers¹³ is especially important to this thesis. These scholars were the first to draw attention to the fundamental dissimilarities between Renaissance portraits depicting male and female figures, reflecting the different social roles of men and women in Renaissance Italy. Their examination of female court portraiture suggests that its conventions represented the standards of feminine behaviour considered necessary in all levels of Italian society. This thesis will argue that the Deruta artisans borrowed visual conventions from female court portraiture. The artisans did this because they recognized that aristocratic women were considered models for Renaissance middle class women. Middle class women were expected to deport themselves in the same chaste and modest manner as their noble counterparts. They learned such behaviour from the visual conventions encoded in Deruta maiolica.

¹⁰ M. Ajmar and D. Thornton, "When is a Portrait not a Portrait: *Belle Donne* and the Praise of Local Beauties," *Image and the Individual: Portrait in the Renaissance*, eds. N. Mann and L. Syson (London: British Museum Press, 1998), pp. 138-149.

¹¹ E. Cropper, "Introduction," *Concepts of Beauty in Renaissance Art*, ed. Francis Ames-Lewis (Hants: Ashgate Books, 1998), pp. 1-11; Cropper, "The Beauty of Women: Problems in the Rhetoric of Renaissance Portraiture," *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe*, ed. M. Ferguson, M. Quilligan and N. Vickers (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), pp. 175-190; E. Cropper, "On Beautiful Women, Parmigiano, Petrarchismo and the Vernacular Style," *The Art Bulletin*, 58 (1976), 374-395; E. Cropper, "The Place of Beauty in the High Renaissance," *Place and Displacement in the Renaissance*, ed. A. Vos (Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1995), pp. 159-205.

¹² P. Simons, "Portrait, Portrayal and Idealization: Ambiguous Individualism in Representations of Renaissance Women," *Language and Images of Renaissance Italy*, ed. A. Brown (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), pp. 263-312; P. Simons, "Women in Frames: The Gaze, the Eye and the Profile in Renaissance Portraiture," *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History* ed. N. Broude and M. Garrard (New York: Icon Editions, 1992), pp. 39-57.

¹³ M. Rogers, "The Decorum of Women's Beauty: Trissino, Firenzuola, Luigini and the Representation of Women in Sixteenth-Century Painting," *Renaissance Studies* 2 (1988), 47-69; M. Rogers, "Sonnets on Female Portraits from Renaissance North Italy," *Word and Image* 12 (1986), 291-305.

Ironically, since the artisans borrowed these conventions from the genre of high art, scholars from previous decades have condemned Deruta maiolica as banausic, or an inferior, "low brow" genre. As this study will show, the notion that Deruta maiolica pottery is nothing but a vulgarization of high art is simplistic and not consistent with current scholarly views. The visual conventions of Deruta maiolica, previously conceived as backward and regressive, are, in fact, a representation of particular conservative trends favoured by the middle class, representing standards of behaviour for women.

Archaeological studies are also important. The work of Giuseppe Palumbo,¹⁴ Giulio Busti and Franco Cocchi¹⁵ and David Whitehouse¹⁶ are important for the discussion of proto-maiolica (c. 1250-1490) and the early relationship between the Deruta artisans and the Franciscan monastery at Assisi. Without this work, it would be very difficult to understand the background and origins of maiolica pottery of the "golden age" (c. 1500-1550) as well as the long term association between the artisans and the Friars of St. Francis. Through their archaeological fieldwork and their analysis of documents in the archives in Perugia, we learn of the evolution of Deruta pottery from the proto-maiolica stage in the 14th century to its culmination in maiolica pottery of the 16th century, and how the needs of the monastery were responsible for such changes. This will be discussed in greater depth with reference to the development of images of St. Francis on Deruta maiolica in chapter four.

¹⁴ G. Palumbo, "Vasi Medievali Ad Assisi," *Faenza* 57 (1971), 82-83; G. Palumbo "Un Nuovo Gruppo di Ceramiche Medievali Assisiane," *Atti IV: Convegno Internazionale della Ceramica* (May-June 1971), pp. 332-365.

¹⁵ G. Busti and F. Cocchi, "Prime Considerazioni su Alcuni Frammenti da Scavo in Deruta," *Faenza* 73 (1987), 14-25.

¹⁶ D. Whitehouse, "The Origins of Italian Maiolica," *Archaeology* 31 (1978), 42-49.

Research on Italian, Patristic and Classical literature is no less essential to the study of Italian maiolica. Without reference to the complex Italian literary tradition of feminine exemplarity, dating back to the 13th century, it would be impossible to understand properly the moral background underlying the visual conventions found on Deruta maiolica pottery. This literary tradition reflects the serious and near obsessive interest by writers, philosophers and theologians (Boccaccio, Bettussi, da Voragine, Petrarch, Cherubino of Siena and Alberti) regarding the issue of women and their role and deportment in the family and society. In order to understand Deruta pottery it is necessary to consider this tradition and the ideals it promoted. However, the study of Deruta maiolica is also grounded upon the literature of Christian Humanism. Ancient texts such as the Bible and the Classics, influenced Renaissance notions of women inasmuch as the virtuous female figures portrayed in these texts were upheld as worthy of emulation. Thus, it is necessary to look at the writings of early Christian Fathers such as St. Augustine (*Epistulae*) and St. Jerome (*Epistulae*), and medieval authors, such as St. Bonaventura (*Legenda Maior*) and Nicholas of Cusa (*De Visione Dei*). It is only through an examination of diverse literary sources that we can properly comprehend the background and meaning of Deruta maiolica in women's lives.

The work of the economic historian Richard Goldthwaite is most instructive in terms of understanding the rise of the urban Renaissance middle class and their corresponding ability to afford Deruta maiolica, which was, in fact, a luxury item. Goldthwaite's work is critical to this study as it describes the economic transformation of 15th century Italy and its effect on the Italian middle class. As a result of this transformation there was an explosion in the production of high quality Deruta maiolica

pottery after 1500, and if it were not for the increased spending power of middle class families, the Deruta artisans would not have had a market for their relatively expensive pieces. Secondly, this increase in middle class wealth had ramifications in terms of the devotional life of these families. Increased affluence permitted families, encouraged by the Franciscan Order, to build private chapels within their households, requiring the acquisition of liturgical apparati (in the form of Deruta maiolica) to make them functional. Franciscan friars, who were itinerate and lived among the laity, performed religious rituals, such as the Eucharist, in these household chapels.¹⁷ Families also set up devotional altars in their homes and performed private prayer rituals under the instruction of the Franciscan Friars. This will be examined more fully in chapter four with reference to the image of St. Francis in prayer and its prolific appearance on Deruta maiolica.

The perpetual presence of the Friars in the household ensured the dominance of this Order in Umbria.¹⁸ Finally, the increased economic power of the middle class gave to its male members the opportunity for social mobility.¹⁹ Middle class men now had access to higher social circles via wealth. Although they could never equal the social rank of aristocrats because of their lowly birth, they could emulate aristocratic pretensions, such as the pursuit of Humanism. This interest in Classical literature and culture had an impact on the imagery and inscriptions chosen for Deruta maiolica, as the artisans attempted to satisfy the desire among the middle class to show cultural sophistication.

Up to the early 20th century, the Renaissance period tended to be seen through the lens of political history, the ruling elites and the careers of important statesmen, princes,

¹⁷ R. Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy: 1300-1600* (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), pp. 105-107.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

¹⁹ Goldthwaite, "The Economic and Social World of Italian Maiolica," *Renaissance Quarterly* 42 (1989), 17.

religious figures and artists. This was the result of the surviving written sources which recorded the lives of those figures whose achievements were considered to shape the history of the Renaissance. The study of Deruta maiolica is an important counterweight inasmuch as it is a testament to the values and aspirations of the often overlooked middle class. Although the Deruta artisans relied on the Italian aristocracy for patronage and protection, this group did not generally purchase Deruta maiolica.

The discipline of Religious Studies is also important in terms of understanding the devotional interests of middle class women. In the Renaissance, the division between secular and religious was not as distinct as it is today. Religion and devotional practices were an essential part of the lives of Renaissance women. The impact of religion, especially the cult of St. Francis of Assisi and the four female lay saints in Umbria, was immense. The presence of these saintly figures on Deruta maiolica reveals that religious concerns, such as creating a spiritual marriage and fulfilling familial and devotional obligations as discussed above, were paramount in the lives of Renaissance women. As well, the depictions of St. Francis and the four female lay saints reflect contemporary 16th century devotional and ritual patterns and preferences. Examination of the writings of medieval theologians such as St. Bonaventura and Nicholas of Cusa allows us to place into context these saintly images found on Deruta maiolica. Even though the urban middle class laity was not concerned with more obscure theological issues such as Christology, they did express an interest in religious subjects, especially the effect that certain saints could have on their personal lives. The main preoccupations among the laity were maintaining a Christian marriage and the saints' performance of miracles on their behalf. Both of these concerns are reflected in Deruta maiolica through the depiction

of the hagiographies of St. Francis and the four female lay saints. The work of Giovanni Casagrandi,²⁰ Chiara Frugoni²¹ and Daniel Bornstein,²² is especially insightful with respect to this subject.

Next, the discipline of Material Culture and Museum Studies will be important to this thesis in order to gain insight into the display and promotion of maiolica collections in museums and galleries throughout the world. This will include an investigation in chapter one of collections of maiolica throughout the 17th to 19th centuries and the intellectual, social and psychological motivations which led individuals like Cardinal Mazarin (1601-1661, statesman), William Morris (1834-1896, designer, writer) and Walter Koerner (1898-1955, industrialist, collector) to purchase and collect maiolica. The research conducted by Susan Pearce,²³ who studied the collecting patterns of men and women, and Mark Goodwin,²⁴ who focuses on Henry Cole (1808-1882, director of the South Kensington Museum) and the South Kensington Museum, one of the first maiolica collection on display to the general public, will be of particular importance to this study.

Finally, the discipline of Women Studies is essential. Since this thesis examines the lives of Renaissance middle class women and their role in the domestic environment, the scholarship of a number of feminist scholars working in this area is extremely

²⁰ C. Casagrande, "Presenza di Chiara in Umbria nei Secolo XIII-XIV: Spunti e Appunti," *Collectanea Franciscana* 62 (1992), 481-505.

²¹ C. Frugoni, "Female Mystics, Visions and Iconography," in *Women and Religion in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, eds. D. Bornstein and R. Rusconi (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), pp. 135-153; C. Frugoni, "St. Francis a Saint in Progress," in *Saints: Studies in Historiography*, ed. S. Sticca (Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1996), pp. 161-190.

²² D. Bornstein, "Women and Religion in Late Medieval Italy: History and Historiography," in *Women and Religion in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, ed. D. Bornstein and R. Rusconi (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), pp. 3-8.

²³ S. Pearce, *Collecting in Contemporary Practice* (London: Sage Publications, 1998).

²⁴ E. Goodwin, "Objects, Belief and Power in Mid-Victorian England: The Origins of the Victoria and Albert Museum," in *Objects of Knowledge*, ed. S. Pearce (London: Athlone Press, 1990), pp. 9-49.

relevant. Cynthia Lawrence,²⁵ Susan Reverby,²⁶ Dorothy Helly and Roberta Gilchrist²⁷ examine gendered space, gendered archaeology and the collecting patterns of Renaissance women. They argue that the domestic environment was the center of Renaissance women's daily activities and that the decorative objects displayed in these environments both reflected and reinforced the requirements for women as wives and mothers as well as their interests and personal affinities. Using their work as a model in chapter one of this study, I will demonstrate that the placement, imagery and function of Deruta maiolica provide great insight into the lives of middle class women in the Renaissance.

Geographical Limits of this Study

This study is limited to the pottery production of Deruta in the central Italian region of Umbria. Although other pottery centres such as Castel Durante, Gubbio, Faenza and Urbino also produced tin-glaze earthenware (maiolica), the nature of the imagery on the ceramic pieces from these pottery studios was quite distinct. These pottery centres generally produced ceramic plates in the *istoriato* (It. "historical") style; that is, their pottery depicted complex illustrations from Biblical, Classical and vernacular texts. *Istoriated* pottery was more expensive than Deruta pottery and was generally produced for the aristocracy. The themes which characterized *istoriated* pieces were rarely produced on Deruta maiolica prior to 1550. The reason for this absence at Deruta may be due to a

²⁵ C. Lawrence, *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe: Patrons, Collectors, Connoisseurs* (University Park, The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997).

²⁶ S. Reverby and D. Helly, *Gendered Domains: Rethinking Public and Private in Women's History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992).

²⁷ R. Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture: The Archaeology of Religious Women* (London: Routledge, 1994).

general disinterest in *istoriato* subjects among the middle class. Renaissance middle class families generally were more concerned with issues of deportment, morality and religion as they related to wives and mothers, than with humanistic themes derived from Classical culture.²⁸ Since this thesis concentrates on Deruta maiolica and its relationship to Umbrian women, an examination of the pottery from other workshops in central and northern Italy is beyond its scope. However, a future study of *istoriato* Italian maiolica based on an interdisciplinary approach is certainly a *desideratum*.

This thesis is also limited to the discussion of “golden age” Deruta maiolica c. 1500-1550. As will be discussed later, this period of maiolica was later esteemed as representing the zenith of Deruta ceramic production. However, reference will be made to Deruta ceramics made prior to 1500, termed proto-maiolica pottery, and to the changes in imagery occurring on this ceramic following the golden age after 1550.

The Database of Deruta maiolica pieces

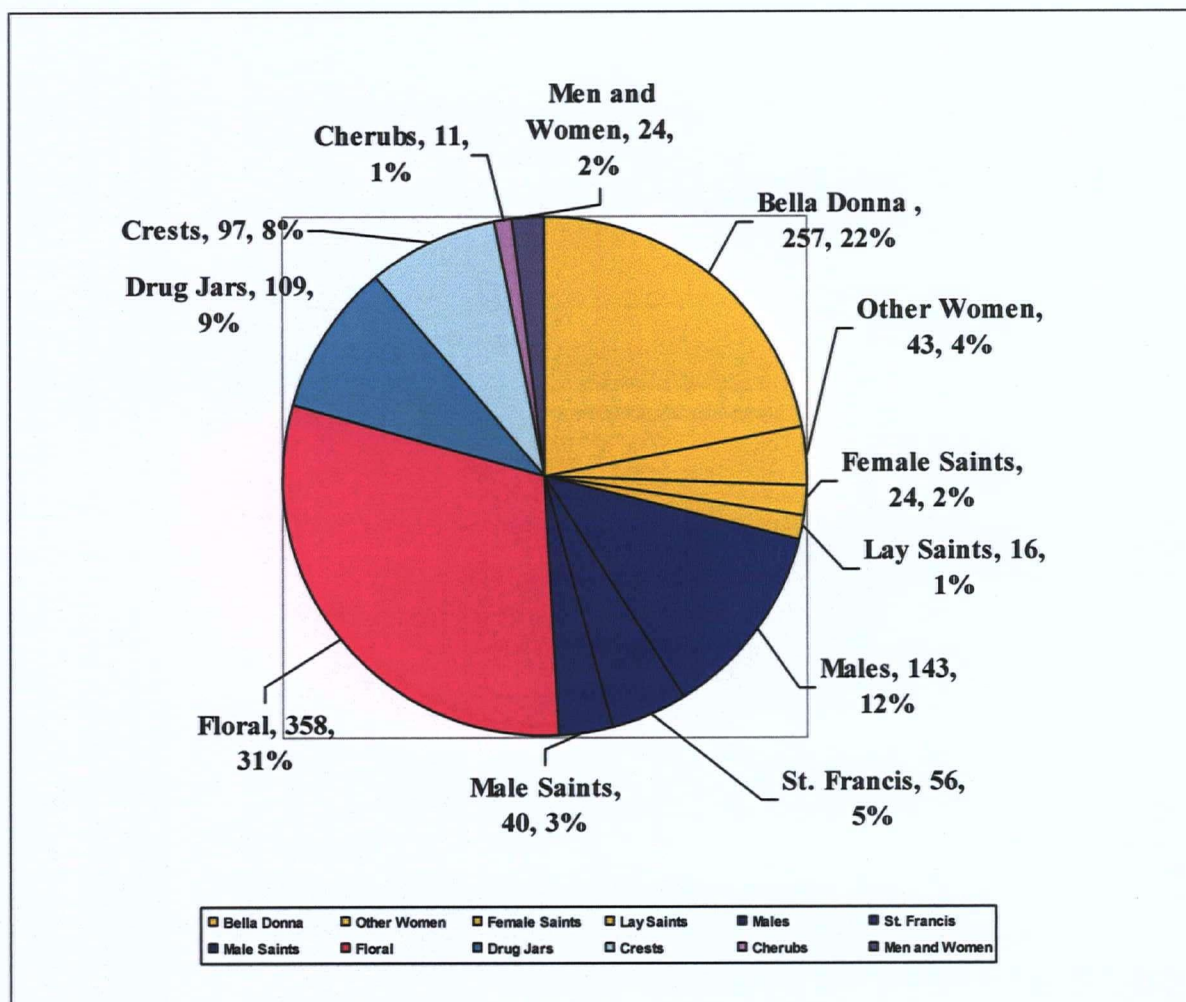
Given the number of plates unaccounted for in private collections throughout the world, it is impossible to enumerate with complete accuracy the number of surviving Deruta maiolica plates (c. 1500-1550) in existence today. Until a comprehensive and systematic study of maiolica collections, public and private, is completed, the actual number will not be determined with any certainty. However, an examination of plates featured in museum publications, as well as auction house catalogues, such as those from Sotheby's and Christie's, reveals that there are large quantities of Deruta maiolica in

²⁸ See Appendix D: “Quotations on *Bella Donna* plates: Proverbial Sayings and Inscriptions.” The one humanistic element on Deruta maiolica *bella donna* plates was the inscriptions. These inscriptions appealed to their husband's desire to display his intellectual sophistication and generally derived from the ancient Classics, the *Bible* and Petrarchan literature.

existence.²⁹ Extant plates come from a wide array of collections throughout the world, mostly in the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, the United States, Russia and Canada, but a few pieces are also found in Poland and the Netherlands. So far 1214 pieces (c. 1500-1550) have been accounted for in museum collections and from auction catalogues [See Chart I]. However, 329 pieces of Deruta maiolica have been set apart for study in this thesis because they conform to the four distinct categories of images studied here: 257 *bella donna* plates, 16 with the image of female lay saints and 56 with St. Francis (St. Francis receiving the Stigmata, St. Francis in prayer).

²⁹ Sotheby's and Christie's are two of the main auction houses in Europe and America. Although their headquarters are in London, they also have locations in Rome, Florence, New York and Berlin. As my databases will show, maiolica collections are frequently sold by these houses. Rarely, however, are entire auctions devoted to Italian maiolica, rather they are sold along with other decorative arts such as porcelain, Delft pottery as well as antique furniture.

Chart I: Distribution of Motifs on Existing Pieces of Deruta Maiolica (c. 1500-1550)
Total Number of Pieces: 1214



The Nature of the Database

This database of Deruta plates is derived primarily from two sources: auction catalogue and museum publications. There are a few additional sources used in this database such as the accession records of unpublished collections, e.g. those from the Koerner Collection at the Museum of Anthropology, Vancouver, B.C. Moreover, a few pieces have been found in connoisseur journals on maiolica collections in English

manors, such as the Bowes Museum,³⁰ Polesden Lacey³¹ and the Wernher Collection.³²

These institutions offer publications with high quality photographs and a description of the house, the collection and the collector itself.

Auction Catalogues

Museum collections are not the only source from which the research database has been compiled. Ninety-nine examples of Deruta maiolica have been found in Sotheby's, Christie's, Bonham's and Finarte Milan auction catalogues. These catalogues feature pieces sold at auction between 1963 to the present.³³ The sale of the Deruta pieces has taken place in locations throughout North America and Europe: New York, London, Rome and Florence. Well preserved pieces of Deruta maiolica, in particular, are frequently sold by the auction houses of Sotheby's and Christie's. These auctions offer insight into the variety of Deruta maiolica collections owned privately throughout the world.

Auction catalogues by their very nature are of limited value for the researcher because they provide little information beyond a cursory description of the object. Each catalogue entry includes a photograph, the estimated date of production, a brief

³⁰ E. Conran, *The Bowes Museum* (London: Scala Books, 1992).

³¹ J. V. G. Mallet, "Maiolica at Polesden Lacy: Pts. 1-3," *Apollo* 92 (Oct., 1970), 260-265; 92 (Nov. 1970), 340-345; 93 (March, 1971), 170-183.

³² T. Wilson, "Italian Maiolica in the Wernher Collection," *Apollo* 155 (May, 2002), 35-40.

³³ I have chosen to study auction catalogues between 1963 and 2004 because of availability. While there were important maiolica auctions prior to this period, especially the auctions from the late 19th and early 20th century, many of the pieces sold during these auctions were acquired by museum curators and important collectors, and thus are, in actual fact, already part of the database. After the 1920's the acquisition of maiolica pieces by major museums became much more infrequent. I have chosen the date of 1963 as a beginning point for the study of auction catalogues because the UBC Museum of Anthropology's collection (Vancouver, B. C., Canada) starts at this time. J. Hovarth donated his large collection of auction catalogues to the Museum of Anthropology library. Hovarth's collections encompass the years 1963 to 1996. Since 1997 the auction houses of Christie's, Sotheby's, Finearte Milan and Bonham's have placed their auction catalogues on the internet. This has expedited research greatly. I continue to collect data on the Deruta maiolica pieces sold at recent auction.

description of the imagery, as well as its colour and condition. The catalogue also gives the name of a previous owner of the object; however, the history of the object before the most recent owner is rarely given. Such limited information serves one purpose: to attract potential buyers, with a focus on the authenticity and perfect or near pristine condition of the piece. Typically, an object's condition determines its monetary value; accordingly, a decorative piece with unusual imagery, but in a fragile state, is rarely sold at auction or displayed in a catalogue. The imagery is mentioned chiefly to appeal to the aesthetic interests of the buyer. Catalogue entries fail to include important information such as the literary origins of a unique inscription or the prototypes for the imagery on these plates. Hence, these auction catalogues are of marginal value with respect to their social, historical and religious significance because an object's marketability is placed above its scholarly questions. However, auction catalogues are excellent for contributing to a database emphasizing iconographic trends.

Exhibit Catalogues

Museum collection exhibit catalogues are more valuable for the researcher because, in addition to the date, description and condition of the object, the museum curator often provides further insights into the imagery and iconography of objects, such as social significance and the history of the piece before reaching the museum. Often the curator provides background information on the collectors who donated their pieces to the museum. The curator's insight into the collector's personal interests and values informs the researcher about the criterion the collectors employed when they selected individual pieces. The following chapter will show that collectors often had specific

aesthetic, intellectual and social criteria in mind when they acquired objects. These criteria have affected the varieties of pottery found in museum collections and may even have determined which categories of Deruta maiolica survived and which were destroyed or discarded.

However, there are limitations to the academic value of museum catalogues as well. Curators, like the collector, can impose their own personal values and tastes when selecting the contents of a catalogue. Decisions made in the process of writing and production of the catalogue affect the usefulness of the catalogue as a research source. The size of the photographs, their colour quality, and even the decision to include certain pieces in the catalogue at all, are examples of some of the decisions a curator must make when producing a publication. It is not possible to know if the catalogue represents the entire maiolica collection possessed by the museum or if the pieces featured were selected for their excellent quality, condition and visual interest. Through additional correspondence with the individual curators I have been able to resolve many of these questions.

Comprehensiveness of the Database

The database created for this thesis includes the collections of 128 museums and 62 auction catalogues. Collections of maiolica are found throughout continental Europe (Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Italy, Sweden) and the United Kingdom (Britain, Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales), Eastern Europe (Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, Russia), United States, Canada and Australia. In *Antiche maioliche a Deruta* (1980), the first formal publication issued by ceramic

scholars at Deruta, the ceramic scholar Grazietta Guaitini, compiled a list of 102 Deruta maiolica collections throughout Europe and North America.³⁴ This compilation was a very useful starting point for this database. However, the database I have compiled has gone beyond Guaitini's list in size, scope and detail. For example, I have noted errors in Guaitini's list; specifically, collections listed as possessing Deruta maiolica that do not. As well, I have indicated when collections have been transferred from one museum to another, and also when a museum's name has changed. As well, Guaitini's list of 102 art institutions does not include many museums in the United Kingdom, such as collections in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. These collections, which existed prior to Guaitini's publication, may not have been included because they were deemed too small in quantity to be considered significant. In addition, Guaitini does not include the collection at the Museum of Anthropology, Vancouver, B.C., which was formed in 1990, a decade after the list's completion.³⁵ Although Guaitini's compilation provides a sizable list of important collections of Deruta maiolica, he did not provide any precise information on the number of pieces in each collection or the imagery on individual pieces. Furthermore, he did not collect these pieces in a database to be utilized by other scholars of Deruta maiolica. The database I have compiled is the foundation of my research. It is an important source from which to assess and study trends, particularly, among three categories of Deruta maiolica; *bella donna* plates, plates depicting female lay saints and objects with images of St. Francis.

³⁴ Guaitini, op. cit., pp. 62-63.

³⁵ C. Mayer, "The Koerner Ceramics Collection at the University of British Columbia," *The Potters Art: Contributions to the Study of the Koerner Collection of European Ceramics*, ed. C. Mayer (Vancouver, B.C.: The University of British Columbia, Museum of Anthropology, 1997), pp. 3-14.

Lacunae: the Parameters of the Database

The methodology underlying the formation of this database was to gather as many pieces of Deruta maiolica as possible in the hope that, inductively, significant trends would emerge. However, an exhaustive accounting of Deruta pieces in existence is not the primary purpose of this study. Because of the constraints of distance, time and funding, it was impossible to visit all museums listed in Guaitini's appendix and study their collections first hand. As well, not all collections had pieces which fit within the focus of this study. For example, many collections housed pieces which extended beyond the 50 year time frame (c. 1500-1550) of this thesis. However, I was able to study the pieces in many unpublished collections by obtaining valuable information directly from museum curators through e-mail and written correspondence. It was through their generous assistance, as noted in Appendix A, Table I, that I was able to create an extensive and well-rounded database.

The database, while not entirely comprehensive, is large and demonstrates emerging trends with reference to the comportment, moral exemplars and devotional practices of middle class Umbrian women. It also reveals that not all images were produced in equal number. For example, the number of *bella donna* plates far outweighs the numbers of devotional plates (female lay saints and images of St. Francis). Although one might expect maiolica pieces with saintly imagery to be more prominent, this is not the case. The popularity of *bella donna* plates, as evidenced by their high survival rate, demonstrates the importance of marriage and the mentoring of wives during this period. However, it can also be suggested that of the four categories of maiolica images in our survey (*bella donna* plates, lay saints, St. Francis receiving the Stigmata and St. Francis

in prayer) *bella donna* plates most appealed to the intellectual and aesthetic tastes of male collectors from 1650 to the present. This will be demonstrated in chapter one "Axiology, Placement and the Collection of Renaissance Deruta Maiolica Collectors." The preference for *bella donna* plates ensured that this type of maiolica would survive in greater numbers than those depicting female lay saints, which did not suit the aesthetic and intellectual interests of collectors.

It would be wrong to conclude that the fewer numbers of saintly images on Deruta maiolica, when compared to *bella donna* plates, means that they were any less significant to Umbrian families. Rather, the small number of saintly figures on Deruta maiolica may have been due to the competitive market with respect to devotional objects. Whereas *bella donna* imagery was only represented by the genre of maiolica, devotional imagery was found in a wide variety of media, namely paintings, statues and inexpensive prints which were readily obtained in bookstores. Thus, although the saintly images produced on the pottery were popular figures, and possibly more popular than *bella donna* plates, the media depicting these saints was also more diverse.

Since this thesis studies four categories of images on Deruta maiolica - *bella donna*, female lay saints, and the figures of St. Francis receiving the Stigmata and in prayer - relating to the social, moral and religious interests of Umbrian families and women between 1500-1550, there are many categories of Deruta maiolica images which are not included in this study. For example, with the exception of images of St. Francis, the images of other male saints found on Deruta maiolica (St. John the Baptist, St. Sebastian, St. Jerome and St. Thomas) are excluded from this study because at this point in my research a specific typology has not emerged. Other male images, such as the

Turkish horse riders, will not be studied because they do not appear to have any direct relevance to the lives of Umbrian women. Conversely, *deschi da parto* (birth plates) represent an important part of women's lives but are omitted from this study. First, they are not discussed here because they have been studied at length by Jacqueline Musacchio.³⁶ Second, while *deschi da parto* provide important insight into women's lives, there are very few Deruta pieces of this variety featuring the categories of images (i. e. *bella donna* plates, lay saints etc.) studied in this thesis. While Musacchio's work emphasizes childbirth with relation to Italian Renaissance women, this thesis emphasizes other aspects of their lives, namely models of comportment and devotional rituals. As well, the erotic plates studied by Catherine Hess will not be included in this study.³⁷ While these plates represent an interesting moral opposition to the themes of feminine chastity and modesty of *bella donna* plates, such a subject, while relevant to women's lives, is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Fundamental Findings of this Thesis

Using these interdisciplinary methods I discovered four major aspects of these plates, which represent my main contribution to the study of Italian maiolica, and of Deruta maiolica in particular.

First, these objects were stored in women's bedrooms, where the women were not only responsible for their care and upkeep, but also where they contemplated the objects and their significance to their lives. Lanteri states that it was the role of the wife to

³⁶ J. M. Musacchio, *The Art and Ritual of Childbirth in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999).

³⁷ C. Hess, "Getting Lucky: Maiolica Ceramics and the Italian Renaissance" in *Sex Pots: Eroticism in Ceramics*, ed. P. Mathieu (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 2003), pp. 64-79.

examine the decorative objects in the bedroom and maintain their upkeep. Figures 1 and 2 demonstrate how many decorative objects, such as candlesticks, books, tapestries, glass and maiolica, were housed in the bedroom.

Second, each plate had a unique significance to the life of the woman who possessed it. Some plates, like the *bella donna* plates, [Figures 17, 20, 22, 25, 29, 30; pp. 104, 108, 114, 119, 132] were acquired by husbands and given to young brides at the time of marriage to assist in their successful transition from young women to wives. A wife was expected to bring honour to her new family through her chastity, pristine comportment and moderate behaviour.

Third, the four female lay saints depicted on Deruta pottery demonstrated that personal spiritual development was important to women [Figures 32, 34, 35; pp. 175, 177]. These four saints fit a specific typology, or theme. A study of the four female lay saints through their hagiographical sources reveals that the theme of marriage and familial obligation preoccupied the Umbrian women who possessed an affinity for this saintly typology. This study examines the anxiety women had regarding marriage, the pressures placed upon them to marry, and how Umbrian women, who unlike the lay saints could not escape marriage, bridged the competing demands for a spiritual life with those of marriage.

Fourth, this dissertation demonstrates that the Franciscan Order gained great influence and popularity among Umbrian women by attempting to settle the needs and demands in Umbrian women's lives. In particular, the Franciscans created a set of devotional exercises for women to perform in the privacy of their own homes, specifically in their bedrooms. These exercises, depicted on Deruta maiolica pieces

[Figures 45, 46; pp. 232, 233], enabled women to take moments out of their busy day to meditate, pray and work on their spiritual development. In turn, the Franciscan Order gained considerable influence because middle class women in Italy supported the Order.

Finally, I would like to emphasize that there are limitations to this study. The Deruta pieces used in the database have survived entirely because collectors chose to save them. It is difficult to know if these pieces are truly representative of what was created by the Deruta potters 500 years ago. What has survived has been dependant entirely on the personal taste of collectors. American and British collectors preferred to collect *bella donna* plates, whereas French collectors appreciated Saints' plates. As a result, we cannot know with accuracy whether the database is numerically representative of all the *bella donna* plates, saints' plates, and, in general, all the pottery produced by Deruta artisans.

Since it is ultimately the taste of maiolica collectors from the 17th century to the present which has determined the variety and scope of the Deruta maiolica pieces in existence today, we must begin this thesis with the history of Deruta maiolica collecting.

Chapter I:

Axiology, Placement and the Collection of Renaissance Deruta Maiolica

Deruta maiolica ceramics at the time of their production (c.1500 to 1550) were valued by Renaissance women as a decorative medium which reinforced moral, social and religious values. Featuring the images of exemplary women and saintly figures, these objects were placed in women's bedrooms and devotional areas such as household chapels and were contemplated daily. They were also important to husbands who used these pieces as a means to educate their wives. These ceramic pieces remained in the possession of middle class Italian families, after 1550 ("the Golden Age of Maiolica"), but were assigned less value. These pieces were no longer objects housed in the bedroom to be contemplated, but rather they were used as kitchen utensils for mundane family functions such as cooking and serving.

However, following 1650, international collectors began to view these maiolica pieces with new interest after a century of hibernation in private family collections. As a result, maiolica pieces became a valuable commodity in the decorative art market. Although Deruta maiolica was not valued to the same degree as "Old Master" paintings and monumental sculpture, beginning in the 18th century it became a decorative genre which attracted the eye of collectors for a number of reasons. Placed in public receiving rooms Deruta maiolica was considered a visible manifestation of the courtly love tradition and represented high quality craftsmanship which was also considered a technological wonder. In the 19th century private collectors with their "Italiophile" interests, began to collect Italian maiolica for its perceived association with Old Masters, such as Raphael, as well as with the intent of placing it in their studies to create a

Renaissance ambience and recreate an ideal past. Collectors and dealers made frequent buying trips to Italy in search of items from the Renaissance to transform their studies and libraries into sanctuaries of culture and beauty amidst the drab industrial environment which marked 19th and early 20th century England and Europe. In the eyes of Victorian reformers maiolica, among other beautiful objects, should be collected and displayed in public museums to offer a model for social change. On the other hand, it was also collected by American industrialists as an accessory to Old Masters and monumental art, which created a personal legacy for the owners. As a result of both of these trends maiolica finally came to be housed in public museums where it resides today.

Five hundred years of maiolica acquisition and collecting (1500-2005) is a broad scope for one historical study and indeed one chapter. Yet, it is essential to examine this lengthy period of history to determine why Deruta maiolica was collected; by both male and female, as well as middle class and aristocratic collectors. Although this dissertation focuses on a fifty year period of ceramic production at Deruta (1500-1550), an examination of the social, religious, aesthetic and intellectual forces influencing collectors from 1550 to the present is essential. These patterns have shaped the nature of maiolica collections today.¹

The acquisition and collecting of an object is directly related to its perceived value. It is therefore important to demarcate the characteristics which define that value. As argued below two characteristics which reflect an object's value are placement and

¹ Ultimately, the maiolica which survives is a reflection of particular collecting patterns. The maiolica pieces which did not interest collectors over the last 500 years did not survive. Thus, it is important to identify these patterns, since they had an immense impact upon what we can know about Deruta maiolica. This is most suggested by the existence of 257 known *bella donna* plates, whereas only 16 lay saints and 56 St. Francis plates survive. As the following discussion will demonstrate *bella donna* plates appealed to later collectors.

gender: the nature of placement of the object in its environment and the gender of the person who acquires the object. Whether in a middle class Umbrian woman's bedroom, a 17th century or 18th century gentlemen's receiving hall, a 19th century male dilettante's study or even in contemporary public museum displays, maiolica pottery has consistently enjoyed a pride of place for varied reasons. The placement of maiolica in these different spaces raises the issue of the perceived value of a given object within a society over a period of time. The gender of the person possessing the object is of equal importance to determining the valuation of the object. Gender has a direct influence on the placement of the object in a given environment. Therefore, in order to determine an object's value, we must consider both placement of the object and the gender of the owner.

Paul Veyne, following Max Weber, refers to such historical investigation as axiology.² In his view such research is not centred on the events or facts occurring in a specific historical time frame. Nor does the researcher make value judgments on the aesthetic worth of an object. Rather an axiological historian focuses on one object or one historical phenomenon and assesses its perceived value over time. The historian assumes that the value of an object is never static, but rather subject to changing environmental, social, religious, economic, and political conditions. Each new historical milieu adds a new dimension to the perception of the object and its estimated worth. Additionally, these changes in value can only be measured in comparison to earlier historical periods. In this thesis the perceived value of Deruta maiolica in the first half of the 16th century will be compared to that of the 17th through 21th centuries. An axiological survey will demonstrate that Deruta maiolica was valued for different reasons at different periods in

² P. Veyne, *Writing History: Essay on Epistemology*, trans. M. Moore-Rinvulcri (Middleton: Wesleyan University Press, 1984), p. 66; citing M. Weber, *Essais sur la Théorie de la Science*, trans. J. Freund (Paris: Plon, 1967), pp. 260-264.

history. The changing perceptions of the value of Deruta maiolica corresponds to the gender of the purchaser (men or women),³ the buyer's social class (aristocratic or middle class), the object's social, religious and cultural function (utilitarian, devotional or aesthetic) as well as its placement. The placement and the gender of the buyer are two key aspects in the measurement of value over time.

We cannot say that Umbrian Renaissance middle class families "collected" Deruta maiolica in the same sense that aristocrats collected maiolica from the 17th century on. Deruta maiolica was acquired for particular reasons relating to middle class women's lives. However, following the insights of Veyne, Weber and Greenblatt we may argue that the valuation of maiolica was expressed in a similar way by the nature of its placement and display within its surrounding environment. The value of Deruta maiolica in Renaissance middle class households is reflected by its placement in secure and private female quarters and private chapels in the household. Correspondingly, Deruta maiolica valuation is seen in the 17th century, by its placement in the receiving rooms and studies of wealthy aristocratic males. Today, Deruta maiolica's value is expressed by its display in public museums.

Placement and Value

Following the Renaissance, the placement of Deruta maiolica changed radically, indicating that the ceramic pieces had been subject to an abrupt shift in perceived value. Whereas Veyne and Weber discuss the impact of social attitudes on the perceived value of an object over time, Michel Foucault describes the variables of time and space and

³ C. Lawrence, "Introduction," in *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe: Patrons, Collectors and Connoisseurs*, ed. C. Lawrence (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), p. 11.

their potential to transform an object's value.⁴ Foucault argued that the placement of an object within domestic and institutional spaces can enhance or diminish an object's value. Foucault suggested that space can also indicate an object's function. The placement of the object whether in a private bedroom, public receiving room or centre for institutional activity determines the significance of the object to the observer. The more formal and prestigious the space, the higher the social significance accorded to the object. For example, spaces set apart for their specialized or ritualistic functions, such as churches, museums, prayer spaces, contain objects of the highest value. Places used for generic tasks such as cleaning and cooking possess objects of the least value. On the other hand, the bedroom is a storehouse for objects of sentimental value. In Foucault's view, the placement of an object in private quarters indicated that it is an object of intimate and personal value. This view is also expressed by Greenblatt, who added that along with placement, the manner of display contributes to the perception of the object and its value. Specifically, the manner and care with which an object is placed, (such as, the quality, expense and stylistic execution of an object's mount and environment) enhances the appearance, importance and value of an object.⁵

From an axiological perspective, the economic and cultural value of Deruta maiolica has changed radically over the last five centuries.⁶ It is no longer simply an

⁴ M. Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," *Diacritics* 31 (Spring, 1986), 22-27.

⁵ S. Greenblatt, "Resonance and Wonder," in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), pp. 42-56. This article argues that the presentation of an object not only reveals its perceived value, it also succeeds in enhancing (or diminishing) the value in the eyes of viewers. The history of collecting Deruta maiolica demonstrates that its fluctuating social and cultural value is conveyed through its placement and display (i.e. the environment in which an object is displayed). The placement of a maiolica piece, whether in a woman's bedroom, a man's study or a public institution, such as a museum, each imparts unique and important information regarding the social and economic value of the object.

⁶ I emphasize "changed" here. The value of a *bella donna* plate to an individual woman in the Renaissance was equal, if not greater, in value to that of a 19th century male aristocratic collector. This study

object used for private prayer and moral reflection in the intimacy of a woman's private devotional space but now an object featured in major public and cultural institutions. Deruta maiolica is stored and displayed within increasingly elaborate and sophisticated exhibitions and placed in galleries created specifically for the showing of this single ceramic genre.⁷ In the Renaissance these pieces were placed in a woman's bedroom perched openly on a *credenza* or shelf along with a wide array of personal and decorative articles. Currently, maiolica collections are housed in museum galleries protected by electronic alarms and enclosed in velvet and glass. Such an environment attests that the perceived monetary value of Deruta maiolica has grown exponentially.⁸

However, it is important to remember that economic value is not synonymous with cultural and personal significance. Bernard Berenson (1865-1959), the early 20th century art critic and historian, lamented that some collectors were only interested in acquiring objects bearing the names of prestigious artists and artisans. These high profile art objects were deemed excellent investments. As a result 19th and early 20th century collectors failed to appreciate a whole array of objects with immense cultural value because they were produced by nameless artisans of little market value.⁹ The artisans of Deruta did not sign their works and for this reason Deruta maiolica was overlooked as an

demonstrates the varying valuation of maiolica. Although the economic value of maiolica has increased a thousand fold (maiolica pieces in good condition can sell for \$10,000-15,000 today), these objects were priceless to middle class female owners. Cf. B. Berenson's comments later.

⁷ S. Reverby and D. Helly, *Gendered Domains: Rethinking Public and Private in Women's History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), p. 13; Lawrence, op. cit., p. 12.

⁸ Greenblatt, op. cit., 42-56; J. Mallett, "Michelangelo on Maiolica: An Istoriatto Plate at Waddesdon," *Apollo* 139 (April, 1994), 50-54; Museum collections can further shape the perceived value of maiolica through their displays. Some museums, such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York display maiolica as a Renaissance decorative art of lesser import than other high art pieces from the period. By contrast, other museums, such as the Gardiner Museum, Toronto, Ontario and the Koerner Gallery, Museum of Anthropology, Vancouver, B.C, present maiolica in a gallery of its own, demonstrating that maiolica is a unique and important visual medium, with a unique historic and cultural value.

⁹ D. Miller, "Things Ain't What They Used To Be," *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, ed. S. Pearce (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 17; B. Berenson, *The Passionate Sightseer: From the Diaries 1947-1956* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1960), p. 162.

object of value by art critics and collectors. As this study will demonstrate, the artisan's identity was not important to Umbrian women and their families rather Deruta maiolica was valued for its social, moral, religious and devotional qualities.

Gender and Value

As feminist social historians Helly and Lawrence have argued, the gender of an object's observer affects the evaluation, interpretation and social function of the object. Correspondingly, the observer's gender affects three factors: the perception of the object, its function, and its physical placement. This perspective is further developed by the work of Reverby, Helly, Lawrence and Gilchrist in their research on gendered archaeology¹⁰ and gendered space.¹¹ Helly examines historic spaces and how their decorative elements reinforced the social norms of the people that inhabited them.¹² Lawrence compares public and private spaces in order to demonstrate that historically, the public environment was entirely a male space. In contrast, private spaces, such as the household, were designed to contain and protect women and to reinforce socially accepted values of femininity. For example, in many Renaissance Italian towns, statues and monuments were erected in public forums to be viewed by men who engaged in business and trades in the vicinity. These statues and monuments reinforced Renaissance masculine ideals and goals of local pride and familial honour. By contrast, small decorative objects, such as maiolica pieces, inhabited female spaces such as the bedroom and devotional areas.

¹⁰ R. Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture: Archaeology of Religious Women* (London: Routledge, 1994); S. Rees Jones, "Women's influence on the Design of Urban Homes," *Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. M. Erler and M. Kowaleski (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), pp. 190-211; Reverby and Helly, op. cit., p. 13.

¹¹ Lawrence, op. cit., p. 12; K. Grier, "Introduction: Gendered Spaces and Aesthetics: A Special Issue," *Winterthur Portfolio* 31 (Winter, 1996), 199-201. The entire volume is devoted to the theme of gendered space.

¹² Reverby and Helly, op. cit., p. 13.

Since women were the intended audience for these pieces, it followed that the images depicted on these pieces reflected and reinforced the values particular to women: familial duty, modesty and religious devotion.¹³ Gendered archaeology and the architecture of domestic space have heavily influenced discussions about women in Renaissance society.¹⁴ Through the approaches of gendered archaeology and gendered space questions regarding the display of Deruta maiolica and its significance to the lives of middle class Renaissance Italian women can be more fully explored.

Maiolica Ceramics as a Middle Class Collectable Object

Goldthwaite has demonstrated that Deruta maiolica was not a decorative object commonly purchased by aristocrats.¹⁵ The only maiolica which appealed to this elite market was the *istoriato* variety and even this type of maiolica was not highly prized but considered a serviceable ware reserved for casual dining such as lunch or picnics at the country villa.¹⁶ Among aristocratic houses maiolica was not an object of great value, it was more functional and utilitarian than decorative; the omission of any references to

¹³ Lawrence, op. cit., p. 12.

¹⁴ Reverby and Helly, op. cit., p. 13; Gilchrist, op. cit., p. 150. Although Gilchrist uses the archaeological evidence from convents, she also provides some evidence from domestic spaces. She concludes that the woman's sphere in the household was marginalized by constructing physical barriers with the outside world. She notes that women's rooms were placed deep within the house creating more distance from the male space of the public world. As will be shown later, the Renaissance author, G. Lanteri (*fl.* 1560), advocated the separation of women in the household for their safety.

¹⁵ R. Goldthwaite, "The Economic and Social World of Italian Maiolica," *Renaissance Quarterly* 42 (Spring, 1989), 14.

¹⁶ P. Thornton, *The Italian Renaissance Interior: 1400-1600* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1991), p. 106. Thornton describes how maiolica was used by Isabella d'Este at her villa. *Istoriated* is a variety of Italian maiolica produced largely in the northern Italian pottery centers of Urbino, Faenza, and Castel Durante. The *istoriated* (*It.* "historical") style is characterized by complicated and highly detailed scenes from Classical, Italian literature and the *Bible*. The artisans utilizing the *istoriated* method adapted artistic innovations such as architectural drawing, perspective, and rendered figures with highly developed musculature. Deruta did not adopt such methods and preferred to retain two dimensional, figurative representations. In the course of my study I have found only 5 Deruta maiolica plates, out of 1214, made between 1500-1550, which approximate to the *istoriated* style.

maiolica in the household inventories of noble families attests to this. An aristocrat such as the Marchesa of Mantua, Isabella d'Este (1474-1539), purchased *istoriato* maiolica pieces as part of her table service, but she did not consider them among her prestigious "fine art pieces."¹⁷ Goldthwaite states that most maiolica appealed to the middle class economically and decoratively. He concluded that whereas *istoriato* artisans had considerable social pretensions and desired to elevate their status by attempting to appeal to the ruling elite,¹⁸ Deruta artisans catered to the less elite, middle class market. Thus, they did not adopt the *istoriato* style with its highly involved perspective techniques, nor did they include complicated architectural backdrops and multiple images, which increased costs.¹⁹ While plates depicting St. Francis receiving the stigmata, and the *bella donna* plates, were ornate and vivid, these plates were purchased as commemorative pieces marking important life events such as marriage or the completion of a pilgrimage. Other Deruta pieces, such as the four female lay saints and images of St. Francis in Prayer, were more austere in decoration, reflection of their daily devotional function.

¹⁷ C. M. Brown, ed., *Isabella d'Este and Lorenzo da Pavia: Documents for the History of Art and Culture in Renaissance Mantua* (Genève: Librairie Droz S.A., 1982), pp. 219-222. Priority is given to accounts where Isabella received gifts of porcelain and vases of stone, such as agate, carnelian, crystal. These materials were considered more rare and precious than maiolica. There appears to be no mention of maiolica in the inventory of Isabella d'Este. Hence, maiolica does not have seemed to be important enough for her to mention in her letters. Despite this paucity of references to maiolica in d'Este's correspondence, it is known that she collected maiolica pieces. There is a piece from Isabella d'Este's ceramic service in the Fitzwilliam Museum: J. E. Poole, *Italian Maiolica and Incised Slipware in the Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) cat. no. EC.30-1938. This piece was made by a maiolica artisan from Urbino, Nicola di Gabriele c. 1524. The ceramic piece depicts the Greek myth of Peleus and Thetis: J.V.G. Mallet, "Mantua and Urbino: Gonzaga Patronage of Maiolica," *Apollo*, 114 (Sept., 1981), 162-166; J. M. Musacchio, *Marvels of Maiolica: Italian Renaissance Ceramics from the Corcoran Gallery of Art Collection* (Charlestown: Bunker Hill Publishing Inc. 2004), pp. 31-32.

¹⁸ R. Goldthwaite, op. cit., (1989) 14.

¹⁹ The exception to this rule was the souvenir pieces of St. Francis receiving the stigmata. These pieces were bought by pilgrims traveling to Assisi.

Placement and Value of Deruta Maiolica (c.1500 to 1550)

According to Greenblatt, two factors convey the social value an owner accorded to an object: first, the space in which an object is placed, such as a sacred or institutional space versus a mundane domestic space, and second, the quality of an object's presentation within that space.²⁰ The larger and more formal the decorative mount the greater the prestige attached to the object. Between 1500 and 1550 Deruta maiolica was placed in women's bedrooms and devotional spaces (e.g. private chapels); places where women and children were regular inhabitants and would view these objects daily.²¹

According to Giacomo Lanteri (1560) in his *Della Economica* (Lat. "Concerning the Economy," 1560), the female bedroom, in middle and upper class Renaissance homes was the location where the prized decorative objects were placed along side metal platters, plates and accoutrements.²² From contemporary paintings of Renaissance women's bedrooms, it is clear that the *credenza* (or display shelf) could take two forms: a sideboard attached to the wall or just a long shelf above the bed.²³ A *credenza* can be seen in the painting by Carlo Crivelli (active 1457-1493) the *Visitation of St. Emidius* c. 1486 [Figure 1]. The *credenza* enabled *piatto da pompa* (i.e. maiolica) to be gazed at and appreciated on a regular basis, but it also set it apart from functional areas of the room

²⁰ Greenblatt, op. cit., p. 51.

²¹ Thornton, op. cit., p. 168.

²² G. Lanteri (Venice: 1560) *Della Economica Tratto di Giacomo Lanteri Gentiluomo* (In Venetia: Appresso Vincenzo Balgris, 1560), p. 37: "Si come adunque dicemmo nel ragionamento di hieri, la parte della casa piu segreta alle donne doversi dar cosi ancora dico (pero che tocca loro la maggior cura intorno all'addobbamēto) nelle istesse loro camere doversi porre le cose di maggior valut, cioè gli argenti, le tapezzarie di prezzo, che di continuo non si adoprano, le biancherie, e altre simili cose..." (Thus, as we said in our discourse yesterday, the woman's part of the house is most secret, that part of the house [nevertheless, it is their responsibility to take the most care as far as the decorating goes]. In this their rooms they ought to place the objects of the greatest value, that is: the silver, the expensive tapestries that are not used at all times, the linens and similar things).

²³ C. Hess, *Italian Ceramics: Catalogue of the J. Paul Getty Museum Collection* (Los Angeles, California: J. Paul Getty Publications, 2002), p. 45. The catalogue shows a Carlo Crivelli (1430/35-1495) painting. It demonstrates how decorative goods as well as expensive objects of utility were stored in a woman's bedroom. The details in the painting illustrate Lanteri's description.

ensuring that the object's pristine condition was preserved.²⁴ The reason why the ceramic objects were placed in prominent positions on women's quarters is explained in the writings of Giovanni Pontano (1446-1503) in *I Trattati delle Virtù Sociali* (It. "Treatise of Social Virtue") and Lanteri *Della Economica*.

As well, from Lanteri we learn that household valuables were placed in the women's rooms. Lanteri offers two reasons for this. First, insisting that the protection of the decorative objects was part of their wifely duty, he encouraged women to be responsible for household decoration.²⁵ Second, according to Lanteri, the female chambers were in the most removed and inaccessible areas in the house, hence the bedroom protected both the wife and the household valuables from violation.²⁶ *The*

²⁴ See Appendix B, Database III: Deruta Plates with the Images of St. Francis Plates. *Piatti da Pompe* (It. "Ceremonial plates") tend to be better preserved than other shapes of Deruta maiolica. This is especially apparent in the case of the Deruta pieces bearing images of St. Francis. The *piatti da pompe* with images of St. Francis receiving the stigmata are generally in good condition. However, the other pieces with St. Francis praying before a cross tend to be in a more fragile state. In order to emphasize this difference I have, where possible, provided the condition of these objects in the database. Pontano notes this distinction in the use of objects. G. Pontano, *I Trattato delle Virtù Sociale* (Roma: Edizioni dell'Antenore, 1965), p. 272. "*La vista loro è piacevole e procura prestigio al padrone di casa, purché a frequentare la casa e ad ammirare siano molti. Ma gli oggetti ornamentali, come si richiede che siano magnifici e vari il più possibile, così bisogna collocar i a loro posto: c'è un oggetto che è adatto al salone, un altri alla camera da letto. Inoltre alcuni sono destinati ad un ornamento quotidiano, altri conservati per i giorni festivi e per le solennità.*" (Seeing them is pleasant and provides prestige to the master of the house; on the condition that during the visit to the house [visitors] admire the many decorative objects. The decorative objects should be as magnificent and as diverse as possible, it is also necessary to locate them each in its own place. There is one object that is perfect for the salon and another in the bedroom. Others still are destined to be used as every day decorative objects, and others saved for festival days or for [religious] observances).

²⁵ Lanteri, op. cit., pp. 166-167. "*Io per prima andai inuestigando alla giornata se cosa alcuna all'ornamento della casa mancaua ... Ma la prima, e più importante provisione ch'io feci, fu, l'ornamento delle stanze, cioè delle tapezzarie che mancauano, ouero che per non essere così à proposita voleano essere mutate.*" (I, at the start of the day, investigate all the decoration of the rooms [to see] if anything is missing ... But the first and most important provision that I made was that the ornament of the house, such as the tapestries, are not missing or rather are suitable or needed to be replaced).

²⁶ Ibid., p. 17. "*Facendo sopra tutto, che le donne da tutta l'altra famiglia stiano separate; le quali lung dalle entrata habbiano alberghi à bastanza, con la corte (se si può) congiunta al giardino, e à i luoghi de' lavatoi, e delle dispese, ò saluarobbe; Ai quail luoghi tutti, esse donne possano andare à piacer loro, senza passare pel rimanente dalla casa, ove possano esser vedute.*" (Ensuring that above all the women are separated from the rest of the family, the women have chambers far away from the entrance of the house, with the courtyard adjoining the garden and the places of work, as well as the wardrobe and the pantry. In these places women are able to go as they please without passing through the rest of the house where they can be seen).

Annuciation with St. Emidius painted by the Venetian artist Carlo Crivelli (painted c. 1486), demonstrates the array of objects (Hispano-Moresque jars, bowls, books and glass) stored in a wife's bedroom.²⁷



1. Carlo Crivelli, Detail of *The Annunciation with Saint Emidius*, 1486. National Gallery of Art, London, England. (Ng 739) (This photo appears with kind permission from the National Gallery of Art, London). A woman praying in her bedroom. The household decorative objects are stored on a shelf above the bed. The painting features a house in Ascoli, a town 105 km. from Deruta.

²⁷ The jar, on the shelf, second from the left appears to be an *albarelo* (It. "drug jar"). This is a Hispano-Moresque piece and is evidence that by 1486 this type of pottery appears in Italian homes.

Many of these objects were displayed on a shelf above the bed for safekeeping. As can be seen from Vittore Carpaccio's (1455-1525) painting *The Birth of the Virgin* (c. 1502), maiolica plates were placed on a ledge above eye level in the annex to the bedroom ensuring that they would be viewed while sitting in and exiting the bedroom.²⁸



2. Vittore Carpaccio, *The Birth of the Virgin*, c. 1502. Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, Italy. Dip. 731 (This photo is reproduced with the kind permission of the Accademia Carrara, Bergamo Italy). Maiolica plates are placed on a ledge off in the distance. Personal maiolica items are also placed by the bedside.

²⁸ The date of this painting is 1502. The placement of plates on the shelf is a visual confirmation of maiolica in Italian households.

Hence, from this textual and visual evidence we may conclude that the decorative objects, including maiolica, were placed in a woman's bedroom and entrance rooms. It was from this vantage point that the wife contemplated them.

Lanteri states women gazed daily at these decorative objects in their bedrooms for a number of reasons. First, women were encouraged to keep a vigilant eye on the adornments in their rooms to mark their condition and note if these objects were in need of repair. Second, the lady of the house was required to survey her room and consider if the decorative objects were in their appropriate places and ensure none were missing.²⁹ Hence, wives were encouraged to examine their bedrooms and decorative objects closely and frequently. Lanteri exhorted that such visual surveys were not just for pleasure, but were part of her daily conjugal responsibilities.³⁰ Thus, while she examined the condition of these decorative pieces their images should register in her thoughts.

This placement in the most secure and recessed area of the household indicates how greatly Deruta maiolica was valued by Renaissance families. It was not placed in entrance halls or utilitarian areas such the kitchen. Maiolica's relative pristine condition today is a reflection of this. Other varieties of maiolica were also found in private household chapels, also reflecting its value in terms of the devotional practices of women and their family. In particular, it was the genre of maiolica depicting St. Francis in prayer which was used as a ritual object and was placed in household chapels or devotional spaces. Richard Goldthwaite refers to objects used for devotional rituals as *liturgical apparati*. As will be demonstrated in Chapter Four, these domestic chapels and devotional spaces gave women the opportunity to develop a spiritual life in the confines

²⁹ Lanteri, op. cit., p. 166.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 144.

of the domestic environment and these liturgical apparati with their images of St. Francis praying gave Umbrian middle class women a model of how to pray according to Franciscan standards.

Gender and Value of Deruta Maiolica: Renaissance Middle Class Husbands

The perception and value of maiolica was also affected by gender. Men purchased *bella donna* plates to honour their brides and as a talisman for a propitious marriage (it also, as we will show later, had an important didactic function). Women acquired maiolica depicting the lay saints and St. Francis in order to decorate their homes and for devotional purposes. Evidence for women purchasing maiolica themselves is scant, however, both Lanteri and a maiolica plate from Cafaggiolo suggest that they had the wherewithall and input in such acquisitions. Deruta maiolica was also valued by Renaissance men. *Bella donna* plates were purchased by men at the time of marriage and possessed qualities important to them. Deruta maiolica with devotional images was likely purchased by women and was valued for different reasons. We will first examine why Renaissance middle class men purchased and valued *bella donna* plates. A contemporary poem suggests that *bella donna* plates were purchased at the time of marriage as a love charm so as to secure a successful union.

Andreano da Concole's (*fl.* 1557) poem, addressed *Al Maestro de Lavorio a Diruta* (It. "To the Master of Arduous Work at Deruta") suggests that the *bella donna* plates were purchased by grooms for their prospective brides at the time of marriage.³¹

³¹ G. Ballardini, "Un Breve Componimento Poetico del Sec. XVI," *Faenza* 31 (1934) 111. For text and translation, see Appendix G: Text and Translation: *Al Maestro de Lavorio a Diruta*. We know that this poem refers to *bella donna* plates because da Concole instructs the potters to inscribe the names of the beloved on this pottery and this is the only ceramic genre produced at Deruta on which a woman's name is

That the poem refers to *bella donna* plates is clear from the fact that the women's names mentioned in the poem (*Lucretia, Faustina, Giulia, Madelina, Pantasilea*, etc.) are also found on surviving *bella donna* plates (1500-1550).³² Da Concole describes here how suitors commissioned these plates to serve as a romantic talisman or love charm with the hope of making their future marriage happy and prosperous. That the grooms and not their brides were responsible for the purchase of *bella donna* plates as love charms can be deduced from contemporary gender roles. Women were expected to be modest and chaste throughout their entire life. It would be unfitting for a woman to go publically to an artisan and commission a ceramic piece by herself. Not only would it be considered immodest for her to buy a plate with a love charm for a man, it would be inappropriate for her to have her own name inscribed on the plate, as it would be a sign of vanity. The key section of the poem reads:

You will work slowly and not frantically
and paint at the best phase of the moon
So that you will not have even a little bowl left behind.
The first couple chosen:
Colonna Perugina, soul Baldesca
Madonna Francesca of Mr. Favio
Now do not regret to write these names
more often with the very dear Braccio
The [lady] Franceschina the anchor of
Bartolaccio
Do not hesitate to pledge [swear an oath to
the following women].³³

found. The date of this poem leads to an important question. The end of the golden age of Deruta maiolica was generally been characterized as the first half of the 16th century (c. 1550). The poem was written seven years after the end of the so-called "Golden Age" of maiolica, raising the question whether the time frame for the "golden age" should be reconsidered and extended by ten years c. 1560.

³² These names are found on surviving Deruta *bella donna* plates (See Appendix C, Specific Literary Aspects of *Bella Donna* Plates: Names, Epithets and Quotations) confirming that the poem by da Concole is referring to this genre of maiolica. Ballardini, op. cit., p. 111. For text and translation see Appendix G.

Da Concole advises the potter to infuse the *bella donna* plates with mystical properties. To do so he instructs the artisan to write the name of the betrothed woman on the plate during the right phase of the moon "*pigliace il buon punto de la luna*" (paint at the best phase of the moon). The rituals adopted during the production infused the ceramic plate with mystical properties ensuring the object's successful sale "*Che non te ha da restare una tazzetta.*" (So that you will not have even a little bowl left behind).³⁴ It also served as a tribute to the young woman who received the plate from her groom.

This poem also indicates that it was the groom (such as Messer. Favio and Bartolaccio) who purchased *bella donna* plates, in order to pay homage to their new brides, commemorate her beauty, pledge his affection and initiate a fortuitous beginning to their marriage.³⁵ As the poem by Da Concole demonstrates, Italian Renaissance middle class husbands valued decorative pieces as a means to express their desires and ambitions. They also saw them as a symbol of their sophistication and a talisman for future prosperity in marriage.

Finally, although it is clear from literary and visual evidence that maiolica was placed in female bedrooms and private chapels, there is no evidence that the four Deruta maiolica genres discussed in this thesis (*bella donna* plates, the four lay saints and St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata and Praying before a Cross) were placed in male quarters such as *studioli*. This reinforces the notion that these maiolica pieces were used for women alone. While men were encouraged to possess decorative objects and there were

³⁴ The reference to a "little bowl" means "So that you will not have even a little bowl left behind." This line addresses the artisan and seller of *bella donna* plates. The poet exhorts him to undertake important rituals to ensure the sale of the plates.

³⁵ As the discussion of the *bella donna* plates will show husbands bought these plates to instruct their wives in the proper comportment. This can be deduced from the literary tradition of feminine exemplarity.

genres of maiolica that were more suited to male tastes such as the Turkish horseriders and plates with erotic themes, thus discussion of these genres is beyond the scope of this thesis.³⁶

Gender and Value of Deruta Maiolica: Renaissance Middle Class Women

The Renaissance writer Gordiano Pontano writes that it was essential for a gentleman to possess beautiful decorative pieces, the greater the array the better. Pontano encouraged even the man of most modest income to acquire at least a few decorative objects to exhibit his appreciation for beauty among his family and peers.³⁷ There is also literary evidence suggesting that wives did, in fact, acquire decorative pieces:

You will be more praiseworthy, if in exchange for overwhelmingly costly adornments, you should prefer to see the house well decorated (as long as you stay within your limits). For the decoration of the house lasts throughout your youth and into your old age also. However, these things you put on within a few months they have become tattered.³⁸

³⁶ For a discussion of the limitations and parameters of this thesis see Introduction, p. 21-23.

³⁷ Pontano, op. cit., p. 272. *“È da uomo modesto, non splendido, possedere suppellettili e oggetti ornamentali per quel che basti; di solito, anzi, si fanno molte lodi, quando al numero e alla rarità della suppellettile si vede aggiunta la varietà della lavorazione, dell'arte e della materia in una serie di oggetti dello stesso genere ... Non si richiede, infatti, soltanto che risplendano sull'abaco moltissime tazze, ma che siano varie, che ce ne siano d'oro, d'argento o di porcellana, che allo stesso modo sia sempre diversa la forma: a calice, a cratere, a forma di brocca, di piatto, con manichi lunghi, o corti. Di queste alcune devono sembrare acquistate per l'uso e per ornamento. Altre solo per ornamento ed eleganza; inoltre alcune son rese pregevoli dal costo e dalla grandezza altre soltanto dalla finezza e rarità, o dalla mano di un artistico da qualche altro motivo di pregio. Ma passiamo agli oggetti ornamentali, quantunque essi in gran parte appartengano alla suppellettile.”* (For it is enough for a modest man, not wealthy, to possess ornaments and decorative objects. Usually people give much praise when the number and rarity of ornaments is added to a variety of workmanship in both technique and media, as well as a series of objects of the same variety. It is not necessary that one have many cups sparkling on the shelf but that there be variety - some in gold and that their form be varied as well; a chalice, a wine bowl, a jug in any size, a plate with long handles or short. One ought to be seen to acquire some of these objects for use and ornament. Some [objects] are used solely for ornament and elegance. Furthermore, others are made valuable through their cost and size, others through their fineness and rarity or through a certain artist's hand and some objects for their decorative motifs. But let us go on to [the subject of acquiring objects] even though they, in great part, belong to the [larger genre] of decorative objects).

³⁸ Lanteri, op. cit., p. 144. *“Più lodaramente sarai, tu, se in scambio di cotesti ornamenti souerchi, vorrai vedereti la casa bene adobbata (pur che tu stia ne I tuoi termini) di Quello cose che all qualità vostra conoscer di conveniresi; perciocchi gli ornamenti della casa dureranno nella tua gioventute, et nella vecchiezza ancora; là ove quei del vestire in pochi mesi sogliano logorarsi.”* (See above p. 18).

The words “if in exchange for overwhelming costly adornments, you should prefer to see the house well decorated,” assumes that women had a choice between buying objects for their personal attire or objects that would beautify the household. However, he warns women that, even though they will gain much praise for the way they have beautified their home, they should be realistic and remain within their budget. This indicates that not only did women acquire decorative objects, like maiolica, but that these purchases must remain economical. A contemporary plate suggests that women played a role in the acquisition of, not only decorative objects, but maiolica itself. A maiolica plate from Cafaggiolo (c. 1510) in Tuscany suggests this.³⁹



3. Cafaggiolo, *Maiolica Plate with a Ceramic Painter and his Patrons*, c. 1510. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, England. 1717-1855 (With kind permission from the Victoria and Albert Museum, London).

³⁹ Ibid., p. 144.

This maiolica plate depicts a couple sitting before a ceramic artisan, who is applying the finishing details to their commission. The ceramic plate being painted in front of the couple is clearly not a *bella donna* plate, because the central medallion is uncharacteristically small for such an image. A crest, saint or an allegorical figure is more likely to be depicted in this small space.⁴⁰ While it is clear from Andreano da Concole's "To the Master of Arduous Work at Deruta," that grooms were the purchasers of *bella donna* plates, the Cafaggiolo plate demonstrates that a man and a woman (husband and wife) went together to the artisan's workshops to acquire other varieties of maiolica plates (i.e. saints plates). However, a closer inspection of the plate raises new questions. It is clear that it is the female who holds a purse in her hand. Why is the woman entrusted with carrying the money? Is the male present her husband or simply a male chaperone?⁴¹ Finally, for whom was the object created and what is its value to the individuals purchasing it? One can conjecture that this maiolica plate depicts a married couple purchasing a maiolica plate for their household. The exact purpose for the plate, whether moral or devotional, cannot be determined because we cannot clearly see the image depicted on the plate.

⁴⁰ W. Watson, *Italian Renaissance Maiolica from the William A. Clark Collection* (London: Scala Books, 1986), p. 67. This hypothesis is supported by Cafaggiolo scholar Dr. Alessandro Alinari, E-mail correspondence, 17 June, 2005. The plate painted by the artisan is certainly not a *bella donna* plate. If it was a saint then this would suggest that the woman was the purchaser, hence the change purse in her hand. The presence of the man there was as a chaperone, since the woman could not make purchases herself.

⁴¹ Ibid., 7 June, 2005. Dr. Alessandro Alinari agrees that it is likely a married couple.

Value of Decorative Objects: the Moral and Spiritual Development of Women and Children

Hagiographic literature, such as Jacobus da Voragine's (1230-1295) *Legenda Aurea*, provided women with an array of exemplary figures and saints to study and emulate.⁴² As part of a young girl's moral development, parents, at the insistence of religious leaders, were encouraged to place saintly images in their daughters' bedroom. Generally, it was a specific group of female saints (St. Catherine of Alexandria and St. Lucy) who were designated as suitable models worthy of meditation and emulation. As will be studied later, these saints were (along with St. Barbara and St. Cecilia) introduced to young girls in their childhood and remained important models to women throughout their lives. These saintly figures were represented on Deruta maiolica and were part of the household decorative objects placed in a woman's bedroom. As a result, when a wife took daily inventory of the objects in her bedroom, she was not only inspecting the condition of the piece, but she was looking at images which featured significantly throughout her life, right from childhood. Hence, these saints' plates appealed to not only a woman's spiritual affinities, but also in some way to a sense of nostalgia, as these saints had played a role in their childhood spiritual and moral development. Although I suggest that women acquired maiolica with these saintly figures after their marriage, their personal devotion to these saints had been established long before during childhood

⁴² G. Domenici, "Regola del Governo di cura familiare," *Italian Art: 1400-1500: Sources and Documents* ed. C. Gilbert (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1980), pp. 145-146. "And so too, little girls should be brought up in the sight of the eleven thousand virgins, discussing, fighting and praying. I would like them to see Agnes with the fat lamb, Cecilia crowned with roses, Elizabeth with many roses, Catherine with the wheel, with other figures that would give them love of virginity with their mother's milk, desire for Christ, hatred of sins, disgust at vanity, shrinking from bad companions and a beginning through the considering of the saints, of contemplating the supreme saint of saints."

Two Renaissance writers, Giovanni Domenici (*fl.* 1410) and Giovanni Michele Bruto (1517-1592), attest to the value of introducing important female images to young women in childhood.⁴³ Domenici encouraged families to acquire decorative pieces with images of female saints so that young girls might learn the behaviour expected of a Renaissance female of the middle class.⁴⁴ Meditation on idealized female figures and saints on decorative pieces was not just restricted to childhood. Women had to consider anew these figures as they educated their own children. As we learn from Leone Battista Alberti (1404-1472), it was the role of the wife to educate her children and guide their moral development.⁴⁵ Thus, these particular female saints and exemplary figures

⁴³ G. Michele Bruto, *La Institutione divina Fanculla Nata Nobilamente* (Antwerpen: Antwerpsche Bibliophielen, 1956), p. 13, 30-31. "*Molti chiari et illustri essempli, di virtuose donne, e famose, se le leggano piu tosto dalla sauia maestro; che ella con assidua et accurata lettione, parte dale sacre lettere, parte dalle historie de vecchi et de moderni tempi, haverà raccolti; donde non solo le porgerà diletto; ma quasi con aguto stimolo et pugnente le moverà l'animo à volere et à desiderare la virtù; et à sprezzare, et avere in odio il vitio. Divengono in questa guisa, gli animi grandi et heroici; ne pure di noi già fatti mature, et di natura virile; ma delle tenere et delicate fanciulle etiendo; ne mai se le rappresenteranno innanzi, quelle famose Claudie, Portie, Lucretie et Ottavie, che non si desti ne loro animi, generosa emulatione, di divenire quandochesia, simili à loro; in tutto di disprezzado quelle, che per contraria via, habbiano corsi i giorni da loro vita.*" (Many brilliant and illustrious examples of virtuous and famous women should be read [by young girls] or, rather, by the sensible teacher. She will gather, with diligence and accurate tutelage, a collection [of stories of famous women] in part from sacred literature; in part from history, from both old and modern times. Hence, not only will the stories yield much delight but also with great force and feistiness, the stories will move the soul to wish for and desire virtue and also to despise and have hatred for vice. The girls [hearing the stories] will become, in this manner, great and heroic souls. Not only can one not put before [young girls], these famous women, Claudia, Portia, Lucretia and Octavia, without arousing in their souls the [desire] for overwhelming emulation to become at some point, whenever possible, like them. But also those of us who are already mature [feel the same way]. In addition, to despising those who lived out their days taking the opposite path); "... poiche tutto hoggimai in questa nostra età, è recato da dotti huomini nella lingua nostra; oltre à sacri libri, i quali copia grande femministrano, che fanno al culto e all'ornamento degli animi; quello che scrisse Plutarcho delle donne illustri, degli antique tempi; e quello che molti secoli poi, il Boccaccio istesso; e degli altri alcuni anchora piu vicini à questa età ..." (Since everything these days in our age is brought by learned men into our language [the vernacular] aside from sacred books, copies of which adorn the soul that which Plutarch wrote, about the illustrious women of ancient times and that many centuries later of Boccaccio himself and of others some of whom are even closer to this age).

⁴⁴ Domenici, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-146.

⁴⁵ L. B. Alberti, *I Primi Tre Libri della Famiglia*, ed. F. C. Pellegrini (Firenze: Sansoni, 1946), p. 48; L. B. Alberti, *The Family in Renaissance Florence*, ed. R. Neu Watkins (Columbia, S. C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1969), p. 40-50. "*Ma pure non per contradirti, ma per certificarmi ove tu dicevi che sino dalla fascia e padri truovano ne' figliuoli sì gravissime maninconie, non mi persuade che un savio padre debba pigliarsi non che tristezza nell'animo alcuna, ma incarco, di molte altre cose, et di questo in prima, quale s'appartiene alla femmine, alla nutrice, alla madre più che al padre. Stimo tutta quella età tenerina*

remained models of proper feminine behaviour throughout a child's lifetime.⁴⁶ As a result, one can conclude that when women looked at these decorative pieces in their bedroom, they were not only surveying their placement and condition (as Lanteri suggested) but also they were reminded of the personal significance of that image. In turn, they contemplated the use of these images in the instruction of their children. As Domenici stated, images of female saints should be carefully selected and placed near young girls to teach them the important feminine virtues of "despising vanity" and "loving chastity."⁴⁷ As discussed in chapter three, the primary saints representing these values were St. Catherine, St. Barbara, St. Cecilia and St. Lucy.

The placement of these images was critical to the promotion of the values of modesty and chastity. According to Alberti, the bedroom itself was the place where women and young girls, pondered the theme of chastity during their hours of domestic confinement. Bedrooms should be consecrated as "temples to chastity," an environment facilitating chaste thoughts. Such a chaste environment would strengthen the moral efficacy of exemplary figures. Alberti states in his *L'Architettura*: "I think that the locations [have] to be equally restricted and consecrated to religion and chastity; then also I would want clean private-quarters to be assigned to girls and virgins wherein their tender minds could control themselves."⁴⁸ Hence, Alberti's words reinforce the

più tosto dovuta al riposo delle donne che alle exercitio degli uomini." (Here let me say something, not to contradict you, but just to clarify for myself what you said about children and how, from the time of swaddling clothes on, they cause their father much anxiety. I am not convinced that a wise father would burden his soul or even concern himself at all with certain things, especially those which are women's domain and properly fall to the nurse and the mother much more than to the father, It seems to me that this whole tender age is more properly assigned to women's quiet care than to the active care of men.)

⁴⁶ Bruto, op. cit., p. 12. With the exception of the *bella donna* plates, wives themselves selected, acquired and interpreted the images on these decorative pieces for their children.

⁴⁷ Domenici, op. cit., pp. 145-146.

⁴⁸ L. B. Alberti, *L'Architettura [De Re Aedificatoria]* ed. G. Orlandi (Milano: Il Edizioni Il Polifilo, 1966), L. 5. cap. XVII, pp. 425-427: "*Ex Aemilio Probo historico solitos memini apud Graecos nonnisi in*

arguments made by Lawrence (as well as Reverby and Helly) that female spaces in the Renaissance household were created architecturally and decoratively to reinforce the desired feminine values.⁴⁹ As well, the objects within the bedroom were specifically selected in order to remind the wife that the themes of modesty and chastity should be on her mind when she rested and meditated in her private quarters.

From an axiological perspective the value of Deruta maiolica was derived from its ability to use images to educate and influence its female audience. Its axiological importance was not only based upon the imagery itself but, as Foucault and Greenblatt would have noted its placement in the bedroom and chapels. However, after 1550, maiolica ceased to have such an importance in women's lives as a didactic object and was no longer esteemed as an object of high value, reflected by a new placement in kitchens and utilitarian rooms.

conviviis propinquorum uxores adhibere, et partes aedium, ubi sedeant mulieres, quasdam esse, quo praeter cognates propinquiores homo accederet nemo. Et profecto, ubi quidem congruant mulieres, loca esse oportere arbitror non secus atque dicata religioni et castimoniae; tum et lauta velim istiusmodi assignari puellis et virginibus diversoria, quo molliculi earum animi istiusmodi conclavi minore cum tedio sui sese contineant. Matrona utilius illic assidebit, unde quae quisque domi agat intelligat. Sed non quae ad patrios cuiusque mores condicant, sequamur." (From the historian Aemilius Probus I remember that among the Greeks they were accustomed to confine their wives, except at meals with relatives and that there were certain parts of the houses where women resided to which no man had access except for close relatives. And actually, when indeed women meet, I think that the locations had to be equally restricted and consecrated to religion and chastity; then also I would want clean private-quarters to be assigned to girls and virgins wherein their tender minds could control themselves. An adult woman will quite usefully reside there so that she may know what each is doing at home. But let us follow what they dictate according to the ancestral customs of each).

⁴⁹ Reverby and Helly, op. cit., p. 13; Lawrence, op. cit., p. 12.

The End of the “Golden Age” of Deruta Maiolica: The Diminishing Value of Deruta Maiolica

The reasons for the end of the “golden age of maiolica,” (post 1550) are complex.⁵⁰ After 1550 the imagery, colouring, and even pottery shapes of Deruta maiolica changed dramatically. W. David Kingery has attributed this change in style to the growing demand for Chinese porcelain by Italian aristocrats.⁵¹ Demand exceeded supply, and resultingly, aristocrats encouraged local potters, in particular, from Faenza and Urbino, to experiment with local minerals, clays and glazes in order to replicate the porelessness, durability and scratch resistant properties of porcelain. Although Deruta potters’ chief market was the middle class, they also adopted the pseudo-porcelain style because their middle class market also desired to emulate aristocratic tastes.

Unable to recreate the qualities of porcelain, Deruta artisans instead adopted the blue and white colour palette and floral design scheme of Chinese porcelain and experimented with the ceramic formula. Although the Deruta artisans could not physically replicate porcelain, they attempted to give their ceramic pieces at least a similar veneer. As a result of these attempts, the Deruta artisans abandoned their traditional visual styles and ceramic technology and the maiolica manufacturing methods of the “golden age” were lost. As Cipriano Piccolpasso (1524-1579) states in *Li Tre Libri dell’Arte del Vasaio* (It. “The Three Books of the Potters Art;” c. 1548), the methods of maiolica production used during the “golden age” were rarely written down but passed

⁵⁰ F. Abbozzo and T. Biganti, “Introduttivo: La Ceramica di Deruta, Un Quadro Storico,” in *Antiche Maioliche di Deruta per un Museo Regionale della Ceramica Umbra* (Firenze: Nuova Guaraldi Editrice, 1980), pp. 13-14.

⁵¹ W. D. Kingery and P. B. Vandiver, *Ceramic Masterpieces: Art, Structure and Technology* (New York: The Free Press, 1986), p. 135. Chinese porcelain possessed two essential ingredients, making it more durable and scratch resistant than maiolica: kaolin and petunse. These key components were unknown in the clays of Europe, but found in the Chinese mountains.

down from father to son.⁵² By 1600, traditional “golden age” Deruta maiolica was so little sought after that the artisans did not consider documenting the modes of production. Deruta artisans began to produce pseudo-porcelain with floral motifs instead of maiolica of all varieties (*bella donna* plates, lay saints, St. Francis, Turkish horseriders, male saints).



4. Deruta, *Dish with St. Cecilia*, c. 1600. Museum of Anthropology, UBC, Vancouver, B.C. Appendix B, Database II, no. 16. Ce 284 (This image appears with kind permission of the Museum of Anthropology).

Although inspired by the aristocratic desire for porcelain, Deruta still produced pottery for a middle class market. As opposed to the pseudo-porcelain produced at Faenza and Urbino, which depicted aristocratic emblems, and heraldry the pseudo-porcelain motifs produced by Deruta artisans featured non-aristocratic motifs appealing to the middle class (cherubs, florals and fauna).

⁵² C. Piccolpasso, *Li Tre Libri dell'Arte del Vasaio*, trans. B. Rackham and A. Van du Put (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1934), p. 1. “... *gli segreti de dett'Arte, escetto certo recolette che tengano coloro che segretamente la maneggiano, tra quai molti sonno che per fin'alultimo della lor Vita li tengano cellati ai propri figliuoli, conoscendosi vicini al morire, tra le altre fachultà che lassano, chiamato a se il maggiore e piu aveduto figliuolo, che habbiano, a quello publicano questo secreto.*” (... the secrets of the [maiolica] arts, except for the recipes, they keep hidden even from their own children until the end of their lives. Then knowing themselves to be near death, they call to their bedside the oldest and most esteemed son and they reveal this secret to him).



5. Deruta, *Molded floral plate*, c. 1600. Museum of Anthropology, UBC, Vancouver, B.C. Ce 221
(This image appears with kind permission of the Museum of Anthropology).

According to Kingery, Italian aristocrats became avid collectors of blue and white porcelain, because this genre permitted them to convey symbols of their authority, such as crests, surrounded by small floral decorations.⁵³



6. Deruta, *Moulded Armorial Plate*, c. 1600. Museum of Anthropology, UBC, Vancouver, B.C. Ce 279
(This image appears with kind permission of the Museum of Anthropology).

⁵³ W. D. Kingery, op. cit., p. 136. Figure 6 is exceptional, it was produced at Deruta as a diplomacy gift but the vast majority of Deruta pieces were produced for the middle class. As Chart I: Distribution of Motifs on Existing Pieces of Deruta Maiolica (c. 1500-1550) demonstrates Deruta always produced small numbers of crest plates about 8% of their total ceramic production. The crests indicate that there were aristocratic patrons of Deruta maiolica but they were rare and one cannot attribute the success of Deruta maiolica in the Renaissance to aristocratic patronage.

Since aristocratic motifs could not have been purchased by middle class families, what cultural, social and aesthetic factors explain the abandonment of traditional Deruta maiolica images and why did pseudo-porcelain take its place ? Although an interest among the middle class in the conceits and aesthetics of court culture may explain a rapid change in taste among middle class buyers, the following chapter will show that middle class maiolica buyers were only partially influenced by the art and aesthetics of court culture. Rather, middle class buyers' tastes were dictated largely by their cultural and social needs. This seems to suggest that traditional Deruta maiolica no longer met the immediate needs of Italian middle class families after 1550. What changed in the lives of middle class Umbrian families which rendered *bella donna* plates unnecessary ? Clearly, families were still concerned with issues relating to marriage, but for unknown reasons, felt it no longer necessary to convey these values through pottery. Thus, axiologically, traditional Deruta maiolica had less value. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to investigate this question. However, one can hypothesize that growing literacy among men and women and less dependence upon imagery lessened the need for the promotion of values through ceramic objects.

The Late 17th – Early 18th Century: Maiolica as a Male Collectable Object

During the 17th century maiolica began to be formally collected. However, the qualities which drew male buyers to acquire and collect Italian maiolica were not the same as those which attracted the original buyers: Renaissance middle class families. Deruta maiolica ceased to be acquired as an inspirational and devotional object reinforcing moral, social and religious values. Instead, it became a collectable antique

reflecting the erudition and sophistication of its owner. Deruta pieces initially made for middle class Umbrian Renaissance women were now purchased and formally collected by European aristocratic men, who viewed these plates as a visible endorsement of their status, knowledge, and learning.⁵⁴ Male collectors now placed Deruta maiolica in their studies, libraries and staterooms which were specifically male environments, populated by gentlemen and dignitaries, an area of the domestic space, ironically, in which women were forbidden to enter. Thus, women rarely gazed at Deruta maiolica after the 1600's, and instead upper class gentlemen were the owners and interpreters of these objects.

Deruta maiolica pieces underwent a dramatic axiological shift in meaning and cultural significance reflected by the new gender of its owner and its placement. In the eyes of European collectors these pieces were appreciated because they depicted images with Classical, Neo-classical, humanistic and courtly themes, not moral and devotional themes. As will be discussed later, many of the prototypes used for maiolica imagery were derived from the engravings made by the artist Marcantonio Raimondi who based his work on Raphael (1483-1520).⁵⁵ Raphael greatly appealed to 18th and 19th century English and European gentlemen, and for this reason the documents and archives of the period refer to maiolica as *Raphael ware*.⁵⁶ As the name indicates, collectors associated Italian maiolica with the high art of the Renaissance masters and placed maiolica and

⁵⁴ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Italian Journey*, ed. and trans. W. H. Auden and E. Mayer (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1962), p. 128; V. Coltman, "Classicism in the English Library: Reading Classical Culture in the late 18th Century and Early 19th Century," *The Journal of the History of Collections* 11 (Nov., 1999), pp. 35-50.

⁵⁵ D. Landau and P. Parshall, *The Renaissance Print: 1470-1550* (London: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 103.

⁵⁶ C. Drury E. Fortnum, *Maiolica: South Kensington Museum Art Handbooks* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1875), p. 62. Fortnum states: "... the name 'Raffaelle Ware' was doubtless derived from the subjects after his designs with which so many pieces were painted, [*sic*] and from the grotesques after his manner."

paintings together in an environment commensurate with a piece of high art (like a Raphael painting), the gentlemanly library or state room.

According to Vesey Norman, the personal inventories of Cardinal Mazarin in France (1603-1661) show that he collected Italian Renaissance maiolica and regarded them as important pieces to his personal art collection.⁵⁷ Mazarin was the first recorded "collector" of Italian maiolica. Mazarin's household inventory shows he owned thirteen maiolica pieces (with religious scenes and mythological scenes) which were placed on the mantelpiece in his drawing room, a prominent place in his household, clearly visible to visitors and dignitaries.⁵⁸ European royalty, such as the Romanovs at the imperial court in St. Petersburg (their collection later became the Hermitage Museum) and Queen Christina of Sweden (1626-1684), also began to amass large maiolica collections during the 17th century.⁵⁹ Maiolica's placement was public, advertising its owner's sophistication and learning.

It is difficult to determine whether families of lesser nobility collected the pieces of Italian Renaissance maiolica at this time. It is likely that most maiolica pieces of the "golden age" (c. 1500-1550) remained in the homes of Italian middle class families, who had originally purchased them. Instead of being sold they were handed down to the succeeding generations. Thornton argues that significant pieces of maiolica, such as *deschi da parto* (It. "birth plates"), were saved by mothers and passed on to their

⁵⁷ A. V. B. Norman, *Wallace Collection: Catalogue of Ceramics 1: Pottery, Maiolica, Faience, Stoneware* (London: Trustees of the Wallace Collection, 1976), p. 19.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 20. The way of describing the pieces in terms of their mythological and religious content reflects the preoccupation and interests of the collector, Cardinal Mazarin, who clearly acquired the pieces because they reflected his interests in such themes. As noted above, the manner in which collectors organized, catalogued and displayed their pieces greatly affects the way in which they are interpreted. This inventory is informative because it not only describes the imagery on these plates, but it also indicates where it was placed, reflecting the axiological notion of its relation to value.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 21; H. Dahlbäck Lutteman, "Kristina-Servisen," in *Majolika från Urbino och andra Orter I Italaen I Nationalmuseum, Stockholm* (Stockholm: Liber Fölag, 1981), p. 11-23.

children.⁶⁰ However, it was apparent that families who owned these artifacts did not assign any particular monetary or social value to them because they were not included in family household inventories after 1550. This demonstrates the relative insignificance of these pieces and that they may have even been used as kitchen ware, not considered valuable enough to be included in the household accounting.⁶¹

It is not until the 17th century that maiolica pieces were finally recorded in household inventories of aristocratic houses, signifying that maiolica was an object again appreciated for its aesthetic and cultural value. The sudden appearance of maiolica in household inventories after an extended period of neglect demonstrates the growing esteem for maiolica among aristocratic circles in particular. It is ironic that it was aristocratic collectors were responsible for a revival of interest in maiolica in the late 1660's, for 150 years earlier, during the "golden age," Renaissance aristocrats rarely purchased Italian maiolica. The presence of maiolica in the inventory of Cardinal Jules Mazarin of France (1602-1661) and Queen Christina demonstrates that this decorative object was now esteemed by an entirely new audience. Maiolica no longer met the tastes of middle class Umbrian women and families. Rather, by the late 17th century, private collectors throughout Europe began to esteem maiolica as a representation of their intellectual and aesthetic ideals.

⁶⁰ Thornton, op. cit., p. 268.

⁶¹ Abbozzo and Biganti, op. cit., pp. 13-14; O. Impey and A. MacGregor, "Introduction," in *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe*, ed. O. Impey and A. MacGregor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 3; L. Seelig, "Munich Kunstkammer, 1565-1807," *ibid.*, p. 82. Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria (1550-1579) purchased a maiolica service in 1576, but it was only used as kitchen ware and was not recorded in his private inventories. However, when his collection was converted into a museum, the Munich Kunstkammer, maiolica pieces were recorded in the inventory of the collection 1667. It was at this time that maiolica was first considered a collectable object and one worthy of display.

The 18th Century: Maiolica as an Object of Technical Wonder

The initial desire to collect maiolica during the 18th century was limited to a few royal houses and high level members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, such as the French Cardinal Mazarin. It was not until the publication of Giambattista Passeri's (1610-1679) *Istoria delle Pitture in Maiolica Fatte in Pesaro* (It. "History of Paintings made in Pesaro") that interest in Italian maiolica, especially Deruta maiolica, was sparked.⁶² This was a new trend, since previously only *istoriato* maiolica of Urbino, Faenza, Castel Durante had been valued by 17th century collectors. Passeri argued that Deruta maiolica should be appreciated for its aesthetic value and also as an elusive "technological wonder," since the method by which the tin glaze and gold coloured overglaze (*coperta*) was produced had been lost and therefore deemed an extinct and mysterious invention.⁶³ Passeri's work was of particular interest to aristocratic collectors who desired to place these pieces in their private libraries and studies as examples of technical innovation and uniqueness.⁶⁴ Coincidentally, at the same time, after two centuries (1550-1750) of neglecting polychrome maiolica of the "golden age" in favour of blue and white maiolica, Deruta artisans again began to experiment with glazing techniques in order to relearn the lost methods of tin glaze production.⁶⁵ In the 18th century Deruta maiolica pieces were

⁶² C. Fiocco and G. Gherardi, *Deruta Pottery from the 13th to the 18th Century* (Perugia: Volumina Editrice, 1994), pp. 85-93.

⁶³ See A. Shelton, "Cabinets of Transgression: Renaissance Collectors and their Incorporation of the New World," in *The Cultures of Collecting*, ed. J. Elsner and R. Cardinal (London: Reaktion Books 1994), p. 178; J. G. Hurst, "Italian pottery imported into Britain and Ireland," in *Italian Renaissance Pottery: Papers Written in Association with a Colloquium at the British Museum*, ed. T. Wilson (London: British Museum, 1992), pp. 215-216. This desire to acquire exotic and irreproducible objects was consistent with the 18th century intellectual trends in connoisseurship described by Shelton. In his view, gentlemen of the 18th century preferred objects from foreign lands or objects whose method of production eluded contemporary craftsmanship and 18th century science. Maiolica pieces were placed in the British "cabinets of curiosities." It is clear that the maiolica pieces, most of which came to England as souvenirs by British travelers, were prized and given mounts, as well as a special display places in the library or cabinets of curiosities.

⁶⁴ Shelton, op. cit., p. 187.

⁶⁵ Fiocco and Gherardi, op. cit., pp. 85-93.

considered as desirable as Chinese porcelain since this maiolica was now considered a technological feat of a past age eluding contemporary technical knowledge.⁶⁶ Among the most devoted collectors it became popular to experiment with glazes and firing temperatures in order to devise the formula to replicate the unique Renaissance lustreware surface.⁶⁷

According to Anthony Shelton, many collectors in the 18th century were largely driven to acquire objects embodying the unexplainable mysteries of the natural world. Chinese porcelain and Italian maiolica matched this category, as their technologies were either unknown or lost.⁶⁸ Thus, part of the purpose of collections in the 18th century was to explore historical and geographical regions of the unknown. Collections were compiled in order to astonish, amaze and create an element of exoticism within the confines of one's home. In addition, these collections were used by amateur scientists as a resource to discover technologies which eluded contemporary science. Thus, axiologically, Deruta maiolica was a passive representation of learning and erudition; its value being based upon the interests and aspirations of male European collectors.

⁶⁶ Unknown author, "Bellamy Gardner: English China Collectors of the Past," *English Ceramics Circle Transactions IV* (15 Jan., 1938), p. 23; John Carswell, *Blue and White Chinese Porcelain and Its Impact on the Western World* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 1985), p. 42. Porcelain was considered so extraordinary by collectors, such as Elizabeth I of England, that they had it mounted in silver and gold for better presentation. There were many theories regarding the formulation of porcelain. One belief held that porcelain was buried underground for one hundred years and this produced a scratch resistant surface. Another theory was that porcelain was produced from egg shells. The true properties of porcelain eluded collectors for centuries until the Meissen factory discovered the formula (c. 1710). Porcelain is a high fired at around 1100°C containing the key ingredients of kaolin and petunse.

⁶⁷ Fiocco and Gherardi, op. cit., pp. 86-87.

⁶⁸ Shelton, op. cit., p. 187. Also included in these "cabinets of curiosities" were objects from realms considered "exotic": Africa, Asia and the New World.

Gendered Space and Maiolica Collecting in the 19th Century: The Grand Tour and the Gentleman's Library

Italian and Deruta maiolica in particular, began to be collected by gentlemen buyers in the 18th century because the male audience admired these ceramic objects for both their aesthetics and technological complexity. With the rediscovery by a chemist (Giusto Giusti) in 1847 of the formula for lustre ware, Deruta maiolica artisans once again began to produce traditional lustre ware after a lapse of three hundred years. Interest in Italian maiolica pottery was now twofold. First, original maiolica pieces of the golden period (c. 1500-1550) were avidly sought by aristocratic collectors. Second, contemporary replicas were created by artisans who had relearned the traditional 16th century production methods. The second group was purchased by collectors who either could not obtain or afford original Renaissance pieces. The rediscovery of original maiolica production methods resulted in a great demand for Deruta pottery and its traditional images in the 19th century.⁶⁹ The success of replication techniques ensured that maiolica pieces were available to less affluent members of European society.⁷⁰ Although European aristocrats traveling to Italy desired to acquire original Deruta maiolica pieces, many collectors could not always obtain them and instead purchased copies of the

⁶⁹ Fiocco and Gherardi, op. cit., p. 87.

⁷⁰ G. Conti, *Monstra della Maiolica Toscana le Riproduzione Ottocentesco* (Monte San Sovino, 1974), pp. 1-3; C. Wainright, "Shopping for the South Kensington: Fortnum and Henry Cole in Florence, 1858-1859," *Journal for the History of Collections*, 11 (1997), 174; T. J. Hoving, "The Game of Duplicity," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 25 (Nov-Dec., 1967), 247; R. W. Lightbrown, "Souvenirs of Italy for Nineteenth Century Travelers," *The V and A Album* 4 (1985), 179, 185; E. Warburton, "C.D.E Fortnum, DCL (Oxon.) JP, FSA, of Hill House, Great Stanmore," *Journal of the History of Collections* 11 (1997), p. 143. Although real antiquities were the most desirable of objects for European travelers, not all people who came to Italy could afford them. In the place of genuine antiquities, tourist art objects were readily available, such as alabaster copies of antiquities, small mosaics and cameos. Maiolica was also part of this trend, copies of maiolica pieces being readily available. Wainright believes that many of these smaller maiolica pieces could be acquired from curiosity shops in Italy for very little money. (See Appendix A, Table: The Changing Value of Deruta Maiolica).

originals.⁷¹ Maiolica was collected in Italy and sent back to other European centers to be displayed in a gentleman's private library.⁷² Ironically, these household libraries functioned in the same way as the Renaissance *studiolo*; a purely masculine domain, where the husband studied during his leisure hours,⁷³ contemplated humanism, Classical and Renaissance culture and discussed it with his male colleagues and friends.⁷⁴

English and European collectors acquired maiolica pieces from personal journeys to Italy. The stated intention of these trips was pedagogical; as a final stage in the completion of a humanistic education. The ideal of these 19th century collectors was to create a sense of transcendence from the current age to the Classical and Renaissance past. Each object they acquired was a relic from these venerated periods of Classical and Christian humanism. However, this objective betrayed a materialistic orientation. These buying trips enabled the English and European gentlemen to travel to Italy in search of *objets d'art*, which they aimed to transport *en masse* back to their personal libraries. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), in his *Italian Journey: [1786-1788]*, gives testimony to the large quantities of ancient and Renaissance objects acquired by gentlemen on their *Grand Tours*. Goethe described the buying habits of a fellow traveler, Sir William Hamilton, who acquired as many antiquities as possible without any aesthetic or academic priorities:

“Sir Walter Hamilton showed us his secret treasure vault, which was crammed with works of art and junk, all in the greatest confusion. Oddments from every period, busts, torsos, vases, bronzes, decorative implements of all kinds made of Sicilian agate, carvings, paintings

⁷¹ Conti, op. cit., pp. 1-3.

⁷² Coltman, op. cit., pp. 35-50.

⁷³ J. W. von Goethe, *Italian Journey*, eds. and trans. W. H. Auden and E. Mayer (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1962), p. 128. Rome, 1 Nov, 1786: “I am convinced that the many treasures I shall bring home with me will serve both myself and others as a guide and an education of a lifetime.”

⁷⁴ Coltman, op. cit., pp. 35-50; Welch, op. cit., pp. 301-307.

and chance bargains of every sort, lay about all higgledy-piggledy.”⁷⁵

Gentlemen purchased statuary, coins, pottery and miniature replicas of famous architectural landmarks. Included in this category of collectable pieces was Italian maiolica.⁷⁶ The ambition of these gentleman collectors was not to create a collection with a refined theme, but to acquire objects that would recreate, by sheer volume, past ages of learning and humanism in the privacy of their own study. Possessing Italian maiolica, along with other historical decorative objects in large quantities, was considered essential for such transcendence.⁷⁷ Italian maiolica was not valued as a decorative object *per se*, but was just one type of artefact within a collection combined to create an impression of humanistic learning and the recreated past.

Italian Renaissance Maiolica and Transcendence in the 18th and 19th Centuries

The artefacts and texts in the private libraries of gentlemen collectors were valued because they promoted an image of the owner as a man of great learning and social standing. The library not only housed the gentleman's extensive Classical library of ancient Greek, Latin and Renaissance authors, but also contained the objects he collected on *Grand Tours* enhancing the transcendental ability of the library and study. Vicchy Coltman, a scholar of the history of British collecting, argues that such private collections were formed to create a sense of release from contemporary times and a removal to the idealized societies of Classical Greece and Rome and Renaissance Italy. By surrounding themselves with these objects, the gentlemen collectors believed they could transport

⁷⁵ Goethe, op. cit., p. 315.

⁷⁶ Coltman, op. cit., pp. 35-50; Goethe, op. cit., p. 314. Goethe says that courses in the replication of ancient gems and coins were offered to travelers so they could make models of priceless objects and save them as souvenirs of their journey.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 128.

themselves from their contemporary environment, absorb the knowledge imparted in their surroundings and achieve fluency in the language, literature, philosophy and culture of antiquity. Coltman does not specifically mention the existence of Italian maiolica in such a library; he only refers to manuscripts, architectural miniatures of the ancient buildings, (such as the Roman Coliseum), as well as cameos, intaglios and colour prints of ancient Roman vistas. However, maiolica pieces were frequently collected by men who owned these other objects as well, and clearly maiolica pieces were displayed in these libraries. An example of this can be seen in many famous 19th century libraries, such as Hertford House in London, England, now called the Wallace Collection.



7. Vittore Carpaccio, *Life of St. Jerome: Vision of St. Augustine*, c. 1502. Venice Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni. (Photograph appears with kind permission of Dr. Michael Greenhalgh, William Dobell Professor University of South Australia, Canberra, Australia). Compare the layout of this room with the 16th century room at Hertford House.

A comparison of Vittore Carpaccio's paintings *The Birth of the Virgin* (1502) [Figure 2], and *Life of St. Jerome: Vision of St. Augustine* (1502) [Figure 7] and with the photograph of the 16th century room in Hertford House [Figure 8] is illuminating. An examination of the three rooms highlights the much changed value of maiolica in terms of placement and gendered space. It appears from the painting that during Carpaccio's time (c. 1502) maiolica was only placed in women's bedrooms and would never have been placed in their husband's *studiolo*. In the 19th century Deruta maiolica would only be placed in the male study and never in a woman's bedroom.

The rooms featured in Carpaccio's painting of *Life of St. Jerome: Vision of St. Augustine* and in the photograph of the 16th century room at Hertford House possess many similarities in respect to layout and décor. The 16th century room at Hertford House was decorated to replicate the spirit of Classical revival during the Renaissance period.⁷⁸ However, the presence of Deruta maiolica in the room at Hertford house illuminates the changed value of maiolica. Carpaccio's *studiolo* has no such objects. In contrast, the 16th century room at Hertford House has a large number of maiolica pieces, sixteen pieces in all.

⁷⁸ T. Cox, *A Short Illustrated History of the Wallace Collection and Its Founders* (London: Trustees of the Wallace Collection, 1936), pp. xvi, xvii. The illustrations contained in this catalogue show where the maiolica was housed. It was placed in the library known as "the 16th century room."



8. Hertford House, *The 16th Century Room, looking north*, c. 1890. Wallace Collection, London. (This photograph is reproduced with kind permission of the Trustees of the Wallace Collection). Four Deruta maiolica pieces (c. 1500-1550) clearly hang above the doorway. The inventory suggests 12 others were in the room.



9. Hertford House, *The 16th Century Room, looking north*, c. 1890. Wallace Collection, London. (This photograph is reproduced with kind permission of the Trustees of the Wallace Collection). Close-up of four Deruta maiolica pieces (c. 1500-1550) clearly hang above the doorway.

This comparison demonstrates that by the 18th and 19th century maiolica became an object collected *en masse* and typically displayed in a gentleman's study. Yet, a comparison of the Carpaccio paintings *The Birth of the Virgin* [Figure 3] with *Life of St. Jerome: Vision of St. Augustine* [Figure 7] clearly show that in the first half of the 16th maiolica was placed in the woman's bedroom. The two early 16th century paintings and the late 19th century photograph are a visual testimony of Reverby, Helly and Lawrence's view that the gender of the collector affects the placement of an object. This in turn indicates a change in the object's value.

Hertford House established the paradigm for many gentlemen of the 19th century.⁷⁹ However, this paradigm was an unattainable dream for most collectors. The size of Hertford House and the breadth of the collection could not be matched by those of more financially limited resources. Whereas most English gentlemen possessed a house with one study, which created an environment evoking the Classical and Renaissance worlds, Hertford House possessed a number of rooms, each dedicated to a particular decorative genre or historical era and environment.⁸⁰

The practice of collecting objects from antiquity and the Renaissance, in conclusion, was the result of three factors. First, during the 18th and 19th century certain European gentlemen desired to collect objects of antiquity, as well as Greek and Latin texts, to testify to the breadth of the owner's academic and intellectual ability. Second,

⁷⁹ J. Walker, *Self Portrait with Donors* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1974), pp. xii-xiii. The collections at Hertford House were acquired over four generations. Each succeeding Marquess of Hertford contributed substantially to the collection. The collection was first initiated in the 17th century and it was converted into a Museum collection, known as the Wallace Collection, when Sir Richard Wallace (1818-1896), the illegitimate son of the 4th Marquess, inherited the family's estates.

⁸⁰ There are a number of rooms devoted to individual decorative and collectable objects such as rooms with weaponry and armour, rooms with sculpture, decorative objects and art, as well as rooms devoted to watercolour paintings. The 16th century and 19th century rooms recreated the ambience of these periods.

possessing ancient and Renaissance objects became an important means to gain social status among peers. Third, scholars surrounded themselves with ancient and Renaissance objects in order to create an environment which would create a sense of transcendence. These collections were a visible testimony of the aesthetic and intellectual identity of the owner.⁸¹ The collector and collection became a single entity, particularly after the collector's death. Frequently, after the owner's passing and sometimes within his own lifetime these objects were donated to public museums. Part of the terms of transfer from private library house to museum was that the collection remained intact, thereby possessing the original character of the collection (and collector). The presence of a personal collection displayed in a museum or gallery reflected the wealth, discerning eye and tastes of the owner, even after his death.

Renaissance Maiolica and Gendered Space in the 19th Century: from the Private Sphere of Women to the *Studioli* of Men

According to Reverby and Helly, gender specific virtues or social traits are reinforced by the creation of separate spaces within the household. For example, the special modesty and chastity of the Italian Renaissance wife's bedroom was reinforced through exemplary and saintly images surrounding them. According to Florence Nightingale (1820-1910), the heroine of the Crimean War, the drawing rooms in 18th and 19th century European households were the female centered space.⁸² These rooms were

⁸¹ E. Goodwin, "Objects, Belief and Power in Mid-Victorian England: The Origins of the Victoria and Albert Museum," in *Objects of Knowledge*, ed. S. Pearce (London: Athlone Press, 1990), p. 10; T. Wilson, "Il Papa delle Antiche Maioliche: D. E. Fortnum and the Study of Italian Maiolica," *Journal of the History of Collections* 11 (1999), 209; Wainright, op. cit., p. 182.

⁸² Reverby and Helly, op. cit. p. 13. Reverby and Helly argue that unique male and female virtues are generated by separate spheres. They add that, historically, it was a male need to exclude women from

decorated with a large table on which were placed objects used to occupy women throughout the day, such as mending, needlepoint, little story books, and photographic prints. She added that men often mocked drawing rooms and the feminine pursuits which occurred there.⁸³ The male 19th century *studiolo*, by contrast, with its large collections of antique and Renaissance objects established a domain strictly for men. The value of Renaissance maiolica, as an object representing erudition and social prestige, is indicated by the object's placement in a gentleman's study.⁸⁴

Within a three hundred year (1550-1850) period the perceived value of maiolica experienced a monumental shift. Although originally an embodiment of Umbrian Renaissance middle class feminine values, maiolica came to be viewed by 19th century English and European gentlemen as a symbol of masculine virtues, namely intellectual sophistication, social prominence and personal legacy. Therefore, maiolica, over time, cut across the lines drawn by the gendered domains, entering new spaces and serving new social functions.⁸⁵ While these ceramic pieces retained the same outward appearance for three hundred years, their manner of display and the viewing audience changed

certain spheres, especially the public arena. Certainly, women of this period were often denied any access to a Classical education and this further separated them from enjoining the significance of the *studiolo*/ study

⁸³ Nightingale, *ibid.*, p. 32-52. F. Nightingale, *Cassandra: An Essay*, intro. M. Stark (Old Westbury: New York: The Feminist Press at the University of New York, 1979), p. 39. Nightingale discussed the separate spheres in the household of the 18th and 19th century. She states that the household spheres were defined by genders. Men were given their time and space to pursue their studies and careers where they would not be disturbed. However, women were confined to the drawing room, to sew or attend to their domestic duties. Nightingale adds that, at most women were allowed two hours of private time during which they could pursue studies. However, the demands of domestic duties were overwhelming and limited their abilities to pursue non-domestic interests. Nightingale also adds that it was considered unmanly for a man or boy to stay in the drawing room for an extended period of time. Young men who stay in the drawing room as opposed to their studies were taunted and called "drawing room heroes." Nightingale concludes that because these gender-drawn spheres were so clearly delineated in the household that husbands and wives rarely crossed paths. In addition, because their experiences, environments and duties were so diverse spouses had very little in common and rarely talked.

⁸⁴ Reverby and Helly, *op. cit.*, p. 13; Foucault, *op. cit.*, 22-27.

⁸⁵ Goethe, *op. cit.*, pp. 102, 128. Goethe comments on collectable Italian decorative arts such as: copper engravings and encaustic painting.

dramatically. These aesthetic and social changes profoundly affected the value of the object.

Renaissance Maiolica and English 19th Century Middle Class Social, Aesthetic and Intellectual Aspirations

The acquisition of maiolica collections, among other Italian Renaissance decorative objects, was an important way for a 19th century English and European gentleman to demonstrate their sophistication, learning and social status among peers. Renaissance maiolica also served a social and political purpose among artistic circles in English society. Maiolica became a means by which social activists, such as William Morris and Henry Cole, promoted their formula for social and political change in England. Morris and Cole believed maiolica and other decorative arts, which they termed “industrial arts,” were an important means toward creating an egalitarian society. As Bernard Berenson noted, the proponents of the Pre-Raphaelite and “Arts and Crafts” movements created an inversion in the art world. They favoured, acquired and promoted decorative pieces previously assigned little value and social prestige.⁸⁶ For example, they elevated the importance of pottery, like Deruta maiolica, and other household utilitarian objects, to the level of the “high arts” such as sculpture and painting. They even favoured the work of artists who had previously been given little attention. For example, Berenson states that Sandro Botticelli’s work (1444/5-1510) was largely ignored until the Pre-

⁸⁶ This should not be seen as a contradiction of what was stated earlier. Morris and Cole felt that Italian Renaissance ceramics were of such a high value that they could stand on their own as decorative piece equivalent to a works of high art, and not just an object auxiliary to works of the Great Masters. William Morris, “The Arts and Crafts Today: An address delivered in Edinburgh before the National Association for the Advancement of Art in October, 1889,” *The Theory of Decorative Art: An Anthology of European and American Writings 1750-1940*, ed. I. Frank (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 62: “But if these applied arts are necessary, as I believe they are, to prevent mankind from being a mere ugly and degraded blotch on the surface of the earth, which without him would certainly be beautiful ...”

Raphaelites took an interest in it. Thus, from an axiological perspective, the contribution of the "Arts and Crafts Movement" was to assign great value to objects that were previously perceived as individually banausic, and possessing little worth. The "Arts and Crafts Movement" and the Pre-Raphaelites elevated objects and industrial art forms and generated a demand for these utilitarian pieces among collectors and aesthetes. Deruta maiolica had an essential role to play in this aesthetic movement. Whereas Deruta maiolica and other decorative objects were considered only minor components in large collections up to this time, Morris promoted ceramics and "industrial arts" as valuable objects worthy of a museum of international standing.

Cole and Morris insisted that it was through the promotion of decorative arts like maiolica in the collections of great public museums that the self-esteem, political participation and social profile of the lower classes could be improved. Morris and Cole believed that if the working classes of England were surrounded by beauty, especially in their everyday environment, they would be uplifted and take pride in their living space, their culture and their nation. During the 19th century there was a great social and economic divide and the working class in England lived in poverty. Cole and Morris envisaged that decorative objects like Deruta maiolica would be an important way to elevate the morale and lot of the working classes. They theorized that the spread of beauty could be achieved in two ways: first, by public access to these objects in museums and, second, with the reemphasis on the production of industrial arts which were both affordable for the general public as well as attractive and functional. Morris theorized that these factors would elevate the daily standard of living and the psychological morale of the working class. It was hoped that with the spirit of mass society elevated, the working

class would begin to actively seek greater opportunities for education, culture and political involvement.

William Morris (1834-1896), proponent of the "Arts and Crafts Movement," and his companions, favoured Deruta maiolica, in particular, and viewed it as a manifestation of their political and aesthetic ideals. To Morris, Deruta maiolica was an example of a decorative object which was both functional and attractive. He compared these highly ornate ceramic objects to the bland pieces produced in his own time. He judged contemporary English pottery to be innately demoralizing for it neither beautified the home, nor gave personal pleasure or satisfaction to the viewer:

Try to understand what I mean: You want a ewer and basin, say: you go into a shop and buy one; you probably will not buy a merely white one; you will scarcely see a merely white set. Well, you look at several, and one interests you as much as another-that is, not at all; and at least in mere weariness you say "well, that will do" and you have your crockery with a scrawl of fern leaves and convolvulus over it which is its "ornament." The said ornament gives you no pleasure.⁸⁷

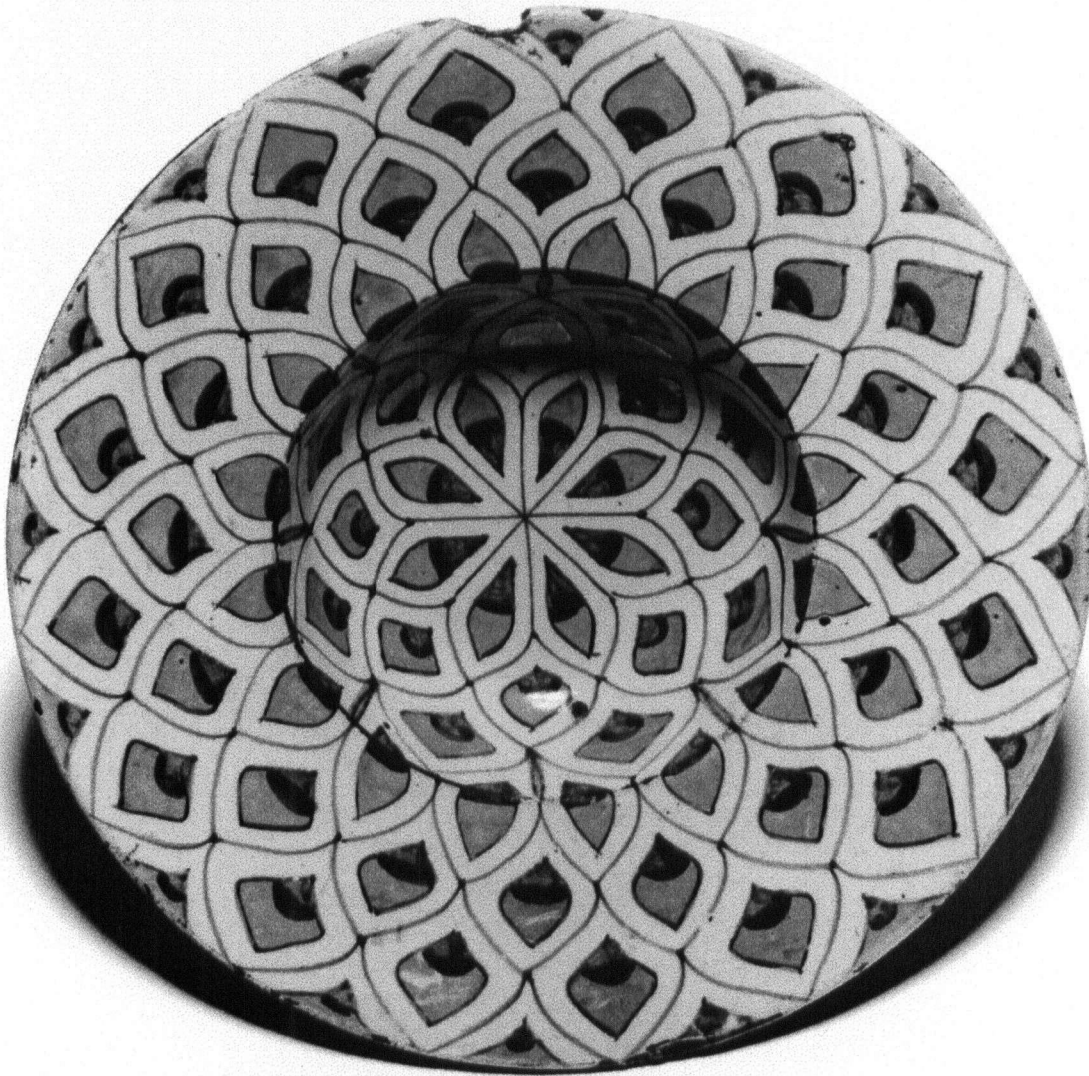
Morris believed that the highly skilled Renaissance Italian maiolica artisans and the pottery they produced might set an example to English industrial society regarding the capacity of utilitarian objects to contribute to the social, political and aesthetic betterment of the working classes. Morris had an affinity for Deruta maiolica in particular. Accession information contained in the catalogue of the Fitzwilliam Museum's collection of Italian maiolica indicates that Morris himself owned two Deruta maiolica plates c. 1500-1530 [Figures 10, 11] and one Tuscan maiolica jug.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Morris, op. cit., p. 67.

⁸⁸ Julia E. Poole, Personal E-mail correspondence, 25 June, 2001.



10. Deruta, *Maiolica Piatto* owned by *William Morris*, c. 1500-1530. The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England. C13-1931 (Reproduced with the kind permission of the Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge, England).



11. Deruta, *Maiolica Piatto* owned by *William Morris*, c. 1500-1530. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge England. C14-1931 (Reproduced with the kind permission of the Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge).

The “Arts and Crafts Movement” valued Deruta maiolica because it represented the social, political and aesthetic ideals which the movement desired to promote, to elevate “craft” or the work produced by the cottage industries to the status normally accorded to high art. They also believed that once England’s objectives shifted from industrial mass production to a return to beauty, family and community well-being,

society would once again thrive and prosper.⁸⁹ The Renaissance Deruta workshops which had produced maiolica pottery suited this perspective completely, because they were family-run cottage industries.⁹⁰ Piccolpasso states that fathers and sons worked closely together to produce Deruta maiolica. Upon the potter's death his techniques and unique recipes for his ceramic glazes were passed on to the sons as part of their patrimony.⁹¹ This tradition based on family and community appealed to Morris and his "Arts and Crafts" proponents, because it contrasted starkly with contemporary pottery production. Pottery manufacture during the industrial revolution relied on factory and assembly-line production. Even more demoralizing for the worker, the factory system removed workers from their families and communities. This new environment was without cultural traditions and communal associations, nor did the worker have the opportunity to take pride in his work. Factory jobs required little technical training, ensuring that the worker was easily replaced. Hence, in Morris' view British society and culture was dissolving. In his estimation the mass produced objects arising from the factory were of low quality, visually ugly, uninspired and emblematic of the larger artistic, political, and social

⁸⁹ Morris, op. cit. p. 67. "Now we have seen that this applied art is worth cultivating, and indeed that we are here to cultivate it; but it is clear that, under [these present conditions] its cultivation will be at least difficult. For the present conditions of life in which the application of art to utilities is made imply that a very serious change has taken place since those works of co-operative art were produced in the Middle Ages, which few people I think sufficiently estimate"; He continues "I am forced to say that the glorious art of good building is in itself so satisfying, that I have seen many a building that needed little ornament, wherein all that seemed needed for its complete enjoyment was some signs of sympathetic and happy use by human beings; a stout table, a few old-fashioned chairs, a pot of flowers will ornament the parlour of an old English yeoman's house far better than a wagon-load of Rubens will ornament a gallery in Blenheim Park," p. 64.

⁹⁰ T. Biganti, "La Produzione di Ceramica a Lustra a Gubbio e Deruta tra la Fine del Secolo XV el'Inizio del Secolo XVI: Primi Risultati di una Ricerca Documentaria," *Faenza* 73 (1987), 214. These documents indicate that the Deruta potters brought together two families or more for the purpose of establishing individual pottery workshops. The *catastali* records of 1489 in Deruta show that there were three branches of the Masci family. This was a family of potters whose transactions are quoted in existent documents.

⁹¹ Piccolpasso, op. cit., p. 1.

problems of British society.⁹² Deruta maiolica, on the other hand, handcrafted by highly skilled artisans, appealed to the “Arts and Crafts Movement” because it was the fruitful result of a close family and community. These ceramic objects were produced by highly skilled artisans who trained for decades to master their art form. As well, these artisans did not produce their pieces for only the most elite sectors of society, but provided vibrant objects for a wide range of people in Italian society.⁹³

Finally, William Morris and the “Arts and Crafts Movement” favoured Deruta maiolica because it expressed the Petrarchan ideals of love and beauty, especially with respect to the ideal of women as objects of adoration and inspiration.⁹⁴ This interest in Petrarchan and chivalric themes of the Renaissance court features prominently in the poetry of Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-1882), a friend of Morris. Rossetti wrote love sonnets with imagery and themes borrowed from the work of Dante, Boccaccio and Petrarch.⁹⁵ Deruta *bella donna* plates were seen as manifestations of Petrarchan love and promoted as love tokens given by Renaissance men to young women as a token of their affection and intended betrothal.⁹⁶ However, as the painting below [Figure 12] shows, the members of the “Arts and Crafts Movement” began to associate all Deruta pottery, not only *bella donna* plates with the courtly tradition of love.

⁹² Morris, op. cit., p. 67.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 63, 65.

⁹⁴ D. N. Mancoff, *Jane Morris: The Pre-Raphaelite Model of Beauty* (Fullbridge, Walden, Essex: Pomegranate Books, 2000), p. 8.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 53; G. Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism, and Histories of Art* (London: Routledge, 1988), p. 102.

⁹⁶ Ajmar, op. cit, p. 138, See Appendix G.



12. John Everett Millais, *Isabella*, c. 1848-1849. (This painting is reproduced with kind permission of the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool). The convergence of three popular “Arts and Crafts” themes: love, courtly chivalry and Deruta pottery in one work of art. On the table are examples of 19th century reproductions of Deruta pottery. Walker Gallery of Art, Liverpool, England



13. Deruta, *Ricco Deruta*, c. 2004. (This plate appears courtesy of the Haus Fortuna Company, Petaluma, California). This is an example of the Renaissance revival ceramics used in the painting and presently produced by Deruta artisans.

The popularity of Deruta maiolica as a representation of the ideals of the “Arts and Crafts Movement” added the impetus for collectors to seek out original Renaissance

pieces from Italy. In this case collectors such as Morris were not only forming private collections in their libraries (*cf.* Hertford House) reflecting their personal aesthetic, social and intellectual pursuits; they also wished to amass maiolica for public display in galleries and museums. By placing maiolica in an art institution, members of the working class, who were normally excluded from the rarified world of art, would be exposed to new aesthetics and new ideas.⁹⁷

Renaissance Maiolica and Public Museums

The driving force behind the formation of maiolica collections in English museums was Sir Henry Cole (1808-1882).⁹⁸ Cole, the first curator of the South Kensington Museum in London, England, saw the donation of maiolica collections along with other decorative arts as an important way to promote his political and social goals. Cole, like Morris, believed that the decorative arts which he referred to as “industrial arts,” should be given priority in English culture, so that all citizens, even non-aristocrats, could receive the benefits of a harmonious household environment. In addition, Cole believed that the acquisition of beautiful decorative objects would elevate morale and beautify the country as a whole. He theorized that if people from less affluent sectors of English society could be given the opportunity to improve their own environment, they

⁹⁷ Hurst, *op. cit.*, pp. 212, 215. Hurst states that it is very difficult to trace the history of importation of Italian maiolica into England and Ireland because the pottery consists mostly of single sherds and it is difficult to determine the patterns and artistic trends from this material. However, he adds that the one of a kind art pieces that are presently housed in museums, such as Deruta pieces, are not found in archaeological excavations. Rather, they are unique artistic pieces or “one-offs”, regarded as gifts or souvenirs and did not reach England through importation but rather were bought in Italy by the collector with the intention of contributing to the owner’s personal art collection. Hunt’s research can be applied to this present study because it supports the notion that most of the *istoriato* objects which reached England during the 18th and 19th century were acquired by English gentlemen who were purchasing maiolica to suit their “cabinets of curiosities” and libraries which were the fashion of the time. Later these one-of-a-kind pieces were placed in museum collections.

⁹⁸ Goodwin, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

would begin to look beyond their own communities and recognize the part they could play in English society as a whole. This, in turn, would lead them to take a more active role in the political life of their nation.⁹⁹ As an important proponent of the "Arts and Crafts Movement," Cole believed that Renaissance decorative arts could be the paradigm for the revival of industrial design in England.¹⁰⁰ He, like Morris, felt that a re-examination of the decorative arts tradition in the Renaissance would make the craftsmen and tradesmen of England take renewed pride in their work. Additionally, they would realize that the decorative arts had an essential role to play in the morale and political future of England.¹⁰¹

The Formation of Maiolica Museum Collections in England

High social and political ideals were behind the formation of some decorative arts collections, particularly the collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum (originally named the South Kensington Museum, and directed by Cole in 1857) the mandate of which was to create a space where people of all classes could gather to learn about and enjoy the decorative arts. However, despite the egalitarian ideals which gave formation to these museums, most of these collections relied on the benevolence of wealthy collectors. Many of these collectors were willing to donate their personal collections, but there was

⁹⁹ Goodwin, op. cit., p. 10. In Cole's correspondence there is a great deal of national pride expressed in acquiring these objects. He shows great concern with the arising competition with collectors from other countries. Thus, the decorative art collections would not only elevate the lower classes but also contribute to England's status in the world as a whole. J.V.G. Mallet, "Historian and Historicism: Fortnum, Cantagalli and Castellani," *Faenza* 64 (1978), 46. Henry Cole Writes to Fortnum from Roma on 2 February, 1870: "... Some of the French and Italian dealers have been here and I have reason to believe have purchased, at full prices, some of the pieces I have in view. It would seem that majolica is in considerable demand in France and Germany and Dutch as also Russians are buying."

¹⁰⁰ Goodwin, op. cit., p. 9.

¹⁰¹ *ibid.*, p. 10.

often a great deal of self-interest involved in their acts of charity.¹⁰² Donors typically had two aims when they endowed their collections to museums. First, many sought out and were given the title of curator and other positions of academic and social distinction from these institutions. Second, the collections enhanced their reputation as aesthetes and gentlemen of learning.¹⁰³ For men like Sir Henry Cole and Charles Drury Fortnum (1820-1899), both *novi homines* (self-made men), without an aristocratic background, their association with the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford was a welcome means by which to gain entrance to the highest levels of British society.

Renaissance Maiolica Collecting in America

For American collectors, Renaissance maiolica was just one collectable genre among a sizeable array of possible decorative and artistic objects. Their collections reflected the Europhile orientation that many American collectors generally desired to cultivate.¹⁰⁴ Unlike English and European collectors, American collectors in the 19th century did not view their collections as part of their education in Classical and humanist culture. Nor did they wish to immerse themselves in the ambience evoked by Classical and Renaissance objects. Rather, American collectors were industrialists and

¹⁰² Warburton, op. cit., p. 143.

¹⁰³ Wainright, op. cit., p. 182. Wainright discusses Fortnum's acquisition of maiolica and position as Head of the maiolica collections at the Victoria and Albert Museum.

¹⁰⁴ Walker, op. cit., pp. xii-xiii. Walker's book *Self Portrait with Donors* documents the career of the Director of the National Museum of Washington. Not only does this work describe his early life as a student in Art History at Harvard, it also discusses his early career as secretary for Bernard Berenson, the famous American art historian. During his association with Berenson he lived in Florence, and helped in the establishment of *Villa I Tatti*, the famous art historical centre connected with Harvard University. This book provides important insight on the collecting patterns of 20th century American collectors. Walker provides insight into this area through the relationships he developed among some of America's wealthiest art collectors, such as: Andrew Mellon and his children, Samuel Kress and Armand Hammer. This book illustrates that these collectors not only employed dealers to acquire art objects for them but these dealers, in turn, hired an array of art historians to advise the dealers regarding the authenticity of these works American entrepreneurs desired to purchase.

entrepreneurs who spent most of their time devoted to business. Nor did they have the inclination to research and involve themselves too deeply in their collections. As a result they relied entirely on professional dealers to assist them in the acquisition of their collections. These personal collections were, as a result, an extension of their business interests and not personal aesthetic or intellectual aspirations. Just as their businesses gave them wealth and social notoriety, their personal collections gave that wealth an air of cultural sophistication and social legitimacy among the rarified world of English and European nobility. Finally, these collections were used to create a legacy, which would ensure their fame and reputation continued after their death. These American collectors gave substantial grants to museums in the United States along with their personal collections. This ensured their collections remained on display at these museums and their names were forever associated with these precious objects.

The difference between collecting patterns of American and British collectors is understandable. Whereas European collectors were concerned with humanistic values, as well as their social status in European society, the American collectors were more concerned with emulating the sophistication of European nobility, in particular, British aristocrats. According to J. Walker, Director Emeritus at the National Gallery in Washington, American collectors truly desired to imitate the collecting patterns of the British nobility, but they did not have a frame of reference to do so.¹⁰⁵ The concern of American collectors between the late 19th century and the 1950's was the desire to imitate the aesthetic of British nobility in the design of their homes and their personal art collections. In particular, for American entrepreneurs such as Andrew Mellon (1855-1937) of Pittsburgh and William A. Clark Jr. (1839-1925) of Los Angeles, it became

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 93.

extremely desirable to create an oasis of culture and style amidst the bleakness of the industrialized city. American collectors viewed Hertford House (now the Wallace Collection) as the model of aristocratic British taste. Hertford House possessed many collections, such as large quantities of maiolica, along with European furniture, paintings, sculpture and Renaissance armory. However, according to Walker, Hertford House remained elusive and unattainable for the American industrialist. Although many American industrialists had taken tours of Europe, they were not often granted entrance to the estates of the British nobility.¹⁰⁶ Thus, they relied entirely on dealers to inform them of these traditional British collecting patterns. These art dealers concentrated on the aesthetic of the *Stile Rothschild*, an aesthetic which was ironically more Continental than British.¹⁰⁷ In place of particular objects which emphasized Italian craftsmanship, the *Stile Rothschild* concentrated on a wider range of decorative objects such as French porcelain, silver and ornamental sculpture for the gardens. In addition, specimens of scientific

¹⁰⁶ Oscar Wilde, *Household Decoration. Essays and Lectures by Oscar Wilde* (London: Methuen and Co., 1908), p. 1. Wilde embarked on a lecture tour of the USA in 1882. At that time he stated that: "Americans at this time have a horrible aesthetic sense in their home décor and what they require is the decorative arts to make their homes more pleasing to the eye. I have seen nothing of American art save the Doric columns and Corinthian chimney-pots visible on your Broadway and Fifth Avenue. Since then, I have been through your country to some fifty or sixty different cities, I think. I find that what your people need is not so much high imaginative art but that which hallows the vessels of everyday use ... Your people love art but do not sufficiently honour the handicrafts-man. Of course, those millionaires can pillage Europe for their pleasure need have no care to encourage such; but I speak for those whose desire for beautiful things is larger than their means ... but a place where there are gathered examples of art decoration from various periods and countries. Such a place is the South Kensington Museum in London, whereon we build greater hopes for the future than on any other one thing. There I go every Saturday night, when the museum is open later than usual, to see the handicraftsman, the woodworker, the glass-blower and the worker in metals. And it is here that the man of refinement and culture comes face to face with the workman who ministers to his joy. He comes to know more of the nobility of the workman, and the workman, feeling the appreciation, comes to know more of the nobility of his work."

¹⁰⁷ Walker, op. cit., pp. xii-xiii. F. J. B. Watson, "The James de Rothschild Collection," in *The English as Collectors*, ed. F. Herrmann (London: John Murray, 1999), pp. 362-365. Waddesdon Manor owned by the Rothschilds is the embodiment of this collecting style. The collections were donated to the British Museum in 1898. *Stile Rothschild* emphasized the aesthetics of the Italian Renaissance courts (c. 1450-1600) and 18th century Parisian houses. Each room was filled with high quality art objects. It was a *Kunstkammer* (Ger. "art house") or *Schatzkammer* (Ger. "treasure house"). Each room was filled with ostentatious objects that conformed to one of three categories: opulent displays of wealth, French decorative arts or the culturally exotic or the scientifically bizarre. While Hertford House possessed a larger collection than Waddesdon Manor, it did not have a collection of such diversity.

interest, phenomena such as rare plants and animals were collected. This was in contrast to British collectors who concentrated on Renaissance Italian paintings and Classical antiquities.

American collectors' excessive dependence on dealers for the acquisition of prestigious objects of art worried Bernard Berenson (1865-1959), the American art historian. Many collectors sought out the advice of Berenson who was a Harvard educated art collector living in Florence and a self confessed Italophile. Berenson's enthusiasm, learning, reputation and network of personal connections made him the dealer and appraiser most pursued by American collectors. Berenson's reputation as an art appraiser and scholar was unrivaled in the late 19th and early-20th centuries. However, Walker, who worked with Berenson, added that the art historian did not always give the opinion collectors desired to hear. When Berenson was reluctant to authenticate their works as objects and paintings made by famous Renaissance painters, like Titian or Michelangelo, collectors became defensive about the quality of their purchases. Berenson despaired that American collectors were valuing works of art for the wrong reasons. He felt that the desire for objects signed by prestigious artists would eliminate cultural and aesthetic value as the important criteria in determining the worth of an object. He added that all works of prestigious artists would be valued regardless of their aesthetic qualities leading to the monetary inflation of objects that were aesthetically inferior. Berenson wrote in July, 1956: "The boiling interest is in questions of who did them and whose attribution is right and whose the wrong one. Hence falsification of values and corruption of taste ... [are] deliberately produced nowadays."¹⁰⁸ Berenson was concerned that

¹⁰⁸ B. Berenson, *The Pasionate Sightseer: From the Diaries 1847-1956* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988), p. 162.

American collectors were taking priceless art objects out of Italy without having any appreciation of the actual work of art itself. He lamented that these collectors were only concerned with the purchases as investments. As well, he believed that certain objects were inflated in value because of the social prestige associated attached to the artist's name which was independent of the aesthetic or historical value of the piece.

As a result, American collecting patterns had little in common with those of the British nobility. First, dealers, whom American collectors relied on, were not interested in the collecting patterns of the British nobility. Second, American collectors did not collect for the same purposes as their British counterparts. While American collectors desired to remove themselves from their grim industrial environment by surrounding themselves with objects of high art, they did not seek transcendence in the British sense, namely by attempting to recreate and immerse themselves in antiquity or the Renaissance. The collections of American industrialists and entrepreneurs were not formed with an interest in Renaissance and Classical humanism in mind; nor was the "Arts and Crafts Movement" a driving force. Rather, American collectors, lacking the aristocratic lineage of their British counterparts, desired, by imitating their tastes and surrounding themselves with the objects they admired and appreciated, to gain the same degree of social prestige. Hence, they desired to live in the image of British nobility and toward this purpose they accumulated vast collections of European art which they felt would give them the veneer of nobility. However, their desire to possess large scale objects of immense prestige, such as monumental pieces of the Renaissance masters, ensured that their collections did not resemble the library collections of British aristocrats which featured a wide range of decorative objects, reflecting a broad interest in Renaissance and Classical culture.

Maiolica was often included among these collections, but only as an item of minor importance, auxiliary to larger works.¹⁰⁹

The Formation of Public Museum Collections in England and America

English maiolica collectors and their American counterparts often donated their private objects to public museums, but the nature and terms of these donations differed. In England, collecting maiolica was a private affair, as many collectors personally traveled throughout Italy hunting for quality maiolica pieces.¹¹⁰ These private collections often became public when collectors donated their pieces to museums. In return for these donations many collectors became the first curators of these collections in the museums.¹¹¹ In America, collectors did not desire to become curators of their donated collections. Rather, they bequeathed their personal collections to museums along with additional funds to create a gallery in which their collections were housed and cared for. Robert Lehman's collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the William A. Clark Jr.'s collection at the National Gallery of Art and the Corcoran Museum in Washington are examples of this.¹¹² The condition was that the gallery be named after the donor. For

¹⁰⁹ Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 93. Walker's stories detail his relationships with many famous American collectors. His memoirs provide insight on the process by which art objects were purchased and brought to North America, eventually finding their way into major museum collections. Walker states that American collectors paid dealers to search the auction houses and shops of Europe in search of original Renaissance masters. Once one was discovered, the dealer gathered together a team of art historians to examine photographs of the original artwork, and determine whether the object was an original and to agree on a purchase price. With the final approval of such a team the dealer was able to purchase the art object. Maiolica was also purchased through this process, although one can imagine that since it was a decorative art of a lesser status than Renaissance masters, there was less deliberation regarding its acquisition. This is attested by the noticeable absence of references to maiolica in Walker's biographies, when it is well known that collectors such as Samuel Kress, Andrew Mellon, and William A. Clark were extensive collectors of these objects and the National Gallery possesses one of the largest collections in the United States.

¹¹⁰ Warburton, *op. cit.*, 143; Wainright, *op. cit.*, 171, 174; Wilson, *op. cit.*, 213.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 209; Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 166; Wainright, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

¹¹² Watson, *op. cit.*, 9-10. Often the wills of these industrialists specified to which museums these pieces should go and how they should be displayed.

example, William Clark Jr., who donated his collection to the National Gallery in Washington, specified that an entire wing should be named after him. This gallery was to be a show case of his wealth and personal legacy.

Renaissance Maiolica collecting in Canada

In Canada, maiolica collections were a composite of the British, European and American patterns and experiences. There were two specific periods of collecting maiolica in Canada: the 1910's, and the late 1970's and 1980's.¹¹³ These two periods resulted in the formation of four major museum collections: at the Royal Ontario Museum and the Gardiner Museum, both in Toronto, Ontario, at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Montreal, Quebec, and at the Museum of Anthropology, Vancouver, British Columbia. The first Canadian collectors of maiolica, like their British counterparts, were influenced by the "Arts and Crafts Movement."¹¹⁴ Sir Edmund Osler (1849-1919), among the first Canadian collectors, collected maiolica along with a wide variety of other decorative objects, such as Hispano-Moresque pieces, Egyptian antiquities and other examples of decorative arts traditions from world history. Osler acquired these pieces from the archaeological expeditions he funded. Like Sir Henry Cole, Osler felt that the museum display of maiolica was important in the education and edification of the public. Osler provided the money for these collections and acquired the best ceramic pieces possible with the assistance of Charles Currelly (1876-1957), the first curator of The Royal Ontario Museum.

¹¹³ M. Chilton, "Maiolica in Canadian Museum Collections," in *The Potter's Art: Contributions to the Study of the Koerner Collection of European Ceramics*, ed. C. Mayer (Vancouver, B.C.: Museum of Anthropology, 1997), pp. 15, 26, 35.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 15, 22.

The second period of collecting maiolica in Canada had patterns similar to the industrialist-collectors of the United States. Like Clark and Mellon, Canadian collectors Frederick C. Morgan (1881-1962),¹¹⁵ George R. Gardiner (1917-present) and Walter Koerner (1898-1995) had made fortunes in industry, commerce and investment.¹¹⁶ Similarly, they amassed collections with the assistance of dealers in European art. Finally, through their association with museum curators and dealers, their collections came to be donated to major Canadian museums. Generally, such donations came with a *proviso* that a wing in a museum or a gallery would be created to house their collections eponymously named after the collectors.¹¹⁷

Unlike American collectors, Canadian collectors of this second period focused on ceramics specifically, while they collected other objects, ceramics were the largest and most developed area of their collections; nor did they collect according to the *Stile Rothschild*. George R. Gardiner, who established the Gardiner Museum in Toronto, and Walter Koerner who founded the Koerner Gallery at the Museum of Anthropology in Vancouver, were personally drawn to the ceramic form. Gardiner and his wife Helen began to take an interest in collecting Italian maiolica after Helen studied ceramics at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. The course instructor Piero Raffo, was a representative from Sotheby's. He introduced Mrs. Gardiner to Italian maiolica, feeling that it would be an important asset to their already large collection of ceramic objects from Europe and Asia. Thus, the Gardiners' primary interest was in the history and evolution of world ceramics of which Italian maiolica was an integral part. This

¹¹⁵ In 1947 Morgan donated his maiolica collection to the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.

¹¹⁶ Chilton, op. cit., pp. 15, 16, 22, 27.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 20, 27, 28: C. Mayer, "The Koerner Ceramics Collection at the University of British Columbia," in *The Potter's Art: Contributions to the study of the Koerner Collection of European Ceramics*, ed. C. Mayer (Vancouver, B.C.: Museum of Anthropology, 1997), p. 5.

collection became the foundation of the Gardiner Museum of Ceramics in Toronto, an institution devoted entirely to the ceramic genre.¹¹⁸

Walter Koerner also focused upon a variety of ceramic genres from world history. Although he collected other artifacts, such as West Coast First Nations art, collecting ceramics remained a continuous and steady pursuit throughout his life.

In a letter written on the 2nd of December, 1988 to the then President of the University of British Columbia, David Strangway, Walter Koerner illuminated his interest in collecting and how his collecting patterns took shape. He states that it was both his mother and the cultural environment in his native Moravia which were formative influences. Born in Novy Jicia, in Northern Moravia, while he was "a boy at school" [at the age of eight]... "he got the bug for decorative ceramic objects, usually plates and jugs created by the Czecho-Slovakian peasant potters." His mother who was interested in the cultures of Moravia encouraged him to collect these objects, which could be obtained for very "little money on market days." As he slowly built his collection his attention was drawn to Anabaptist ceramic art and its precursor, Italian maiolica, and other European decorative pieces which utilized this tin-glazed technology (French faience, Spanish Hispano-moresque, Turkish Iznik pottery and Dutch Delft) while this extensive collection was private for most of his life he concluded "that the collection should be kept together, be given permanence and stability and made a part of public domain in trust for the community and the nation by being displayed and studied by scholars in the public institution."¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 28.

¹¹⁹ W. Koerner, Personal Correspondence with Dr. D. Strangway, 2 Dec., 1988.

Thus, Koerner's collection demonstrated an intellectual evolution. The collection began as a childhood enthusiasm for the handicrafts of a local culture and developed into a wide-reaching interest a wide variety of ceramic genres. What Koerner shares in common with many collectors was the desire to maintain the integrity of his collection, to give it permanence, to allow the community to benefit from it. Finally, Koerner hoped that the gallery would inspire academic curiosity and broaden the scope of ceramic studies in a scholarly forum.¹²⁰

The experiences and patterns of maiolica collectors in Canada were deeply affected by the contemporary social and cultural climate. First, the Royal Ontario Museum maiolica collection was compiled and donated by Sir Edmund Osler in the first two decades of the 20th century for public edification (along the lines of the British "Arts and Crafts Movement") and the establishment of a personal legacy.¹²¹ Osler's collecting was all-encompassing, including objects from all epochs, both ancient and modern.

The second period of collecting was not driven by an interest in objects of the past *per se* but rather reflected the collector's specific interest in the ceramic form itself. For collectors such as Gardiner and Koerner, Italian ceramics were no longer objects which augmented other collections, specifically so-called "high art" objects from the ancient world and Renaissance masters. Instead, ceramics stood entirely on their own as objects of cultural and artistic value. These collectors demonstrated that ceramic pieces were not only of great intellectual, artistic and cultural significance to be the central focus of personal collections, but also that a museum devoted entirely to their display and study could thrive and be appreciated by both the academic community and general public

¹²⁰ Ibid, 2 Dec., 1988.

¹²¹ Chilton, op. cit., p. 22.

alike. Renaissance maiolica is no longer confined to spaces which are created specifically to meet the needs and interests of a particular genders or social groups. This enables both women and men of all backgrounds to appreciate maiolica on many levels: aesthetic, historical, social, political, economic and religious.



14. Koerner Gallery, *Museum of Anthropology, Vancouver, B. C., Canada*, opened 1990. (Photograph reproduced with kind permission from the Museum of Anthropology). The Koerner Gallery is a space devoted entirely to the display, preservation and storage of tin glazed earthenware and other ceramic genres.

Collecting Patterns of 16th Century Women and 17th-20th Century Men: A Comparison

Four hundred years after the “golden age” of Deruta maiolica (1500-1550) the principal owners of maiolica could not have looked more different, nor could the function of maiolica have been more distinct from its original purpose. Instead of a Renaissance

middle class young groom buying the *bella donna* plates as a wedding gift for his bride, or an Umbrian woman acquiring maiolica with the image of saints for her devotional needs, by the 18th and 19th centuries it was wealthy British, European and American gentlemen who bought maiolica pieces. In addition, these men bought the artifacts while traveling great distances. This was a freedom and luxury unknown to Renaissance middle class women who were discouraged by their families from leaving their very home, making traveling beyond the walls of the city unthinkable. Moreover, during the Renaissance Deruta maiolica was originally acquired in small quantities, usually one piece at a time and for very specific and personal reasons (moral values and religious devotion). Only Italian aristocrats could afford to acquire an entire dinner service, and in this case the purchase of maiolica was entirely utilitarian for serving food, it was not entirely decorative.¹²² In contrast to Renaissance Umbrian women, American and British collectors of the 19th and early 20th century acquired large numbers of maiolica pieces of no particular personal significance. It was quantity and the prestige of the objects which served as a testament to the owner's wealth and taste. For European collectors the more Renaissance decorative objects in their possession, the more their private study began to resemble a Renaissance *studiolo*.¹²³ In a sense, an individual object and its imagery was not nearly as significant as the combined effect of an entire collection.

¹²² J. Triolo, "L'Urbs e L'Imperatore: A Proposal for the Interpretation of the Pucci Service by Xanto Avelli," in *Italian Renaissance Ceramics: Papers presented in association with a Conference at the British Museum*, ed. T. Wilson (London: British Museum, 1991), p. 37.

¹²³ E. Welch, *Art and Society in Italy: 1350-1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 291. Welch describes the *studiolo* in the Renaissance house as a place where rare pieces, such as portraits and objects of antiquity were housed. This environment gave the man of the house a feeling of being a collector and scholar of antiquity. Coins, ancient bronzes, gems and other ancient pieces were displayed there. Women were discouraged from entering this space.

Conclusion

As this chapter has revealed the axiological or perceived value of maiolica has constantly changed over the last five hundred years. These changes have been signified by two particular factors: the placement of the object in a given environment (bedroom, entrance hall, study, museum and display case), and the gender of the viewer (male female). Initially, in the Renaissance, Deruta maiolica pieces were created largely for a middle class female audience and were placed in female bedrooms and devotional areas.

According to contemporary writings and paintings, decorative objects such as Deruta maiolica were placed in the most recessed areas of the household, namely the women's bedroom and devotional areas (private chapels). It was a woman's duty not only to contemplate these objects but also to take care of them. This placement reflected the significance of maiolica's value in the eyes of middle class families. Deruta maiolica was purchased by men, in the case of *bella donna* plates, as gifts to their brides and acquired by women in the form of lay saints plates and plates depicting St. Francis, as souvenirs and liturgical apparatus. Regardless of who purchased maiolica, its audience was middle class women as maiolica was never placed in the men's quarters such as the *studiolo*. Thus, axiologically, Deruta maiolica's value was dependant upon middle class women.

However, in the late 17th century, it was aristocratic men who began to collect and value these ceramic pieces. These collectors saw Deruta maiolica as a reinforcement of their wealth, aesthetic sophistication and humanistic interests and as such maiolica pieces were featured in state rooms where dignitaries and guests, who were generally male, would have socialized. By the 19th century Deruta maiolica was housed in private libraries where European gentlemen could surround themselves with objects signifying

great artistic, intellectual and cultural achievement which they could contemplate and study but also exhibit to their equally affluent friends.

The role maiolica played in the English "Arts and Crafts Movement" in the 19th century further bolstered its perception as a collectable object, but also one that served an important social as well as political function. Collectors of this period, such as William Morris and Sir Henry Cole, were social and political activists, and believed that maiolica was a decorative object which could serve as a model for the English decorative arts and change in English society as a whole. It was during this period that maiolica collections began to be included in major museums in England.

During the late 19th century American collectors, such as Andrew Mellon and William A. Clark acquired maiolica as an auxiliary object to their collections of old master paintings and sculpture. Maiolica had no innate value, in a sense, but was an extension of more significant works. While initially these artistic purchases were displayed in the homes of the great industrialists, following their death provisions were made that these objects be donated to major American museums. These donations became museum collections which were named after their donors and became the collector's permanent legacy resulting in the formation of large maiolica collections in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the National Museum of Art in Washington.

The collections of Canadian collectors were a hybrid of British and American styles. Not only did collectors use their collections to establish as a personal legacy, but they also hoped that their collections would become an important educational resource for the edification of the general public. The Gardiner Museum in Toronto and the

Koerner Collection in Vancouver arose from this pattern of collecting. The collecting patterns of European, British and American aristocrats and industrialists from the 17th century on have had an input on what genres of Deruta maiolica have survived. The preference for plates which imitated or reflected high art styles- namely *bella donna* plates, may explain why no less than 257 examples of *bella donna* plates have survived as opposed to just 16 plates featuring the four lay saints.

Since many maiolica collections have been deposited for study and safe keeping within art and material culture institutions, it is now available for both male and female of all social-economic backgrounds. Although the individual maiolica pieces housed in a museum are now again seen representing Renaissance feminine ideals of comportment and religious devotion,¹²⁴ these pieces placed together and gathered *en masse* in large collections have been transformed from the genre of personal, domestic art to the public realm of monumental art. Thus, the transformation of maiolica and its axiological value continues to change into the new millennium.

This chapter has provided an overview of how maiolica has been valued since its creation in the Renaissance. We now turn to the central issues of this thesis namely, how three genres of Deruta maiolica pottery (the *bella donna* plates, the four lay saints, and St. Francis plates) reflect the moral, social and religious ideals of Renaissance women and their families. As will be seen, each plate had a particular function in the personal lives of Umbrian middle class women, reinforcing values important to their families and themselves.

¹²⁴ Inasmuch as museums offer these objects as representations of the social, political and religious trends of the 16th century Renaissance.

Chapter II:

Deruta *bella donna* plates: Exemplarity and Umbrian Middle Class Women (C.

1500-1550)

Introduction

The fame of the Deruta artisans was built on the popularity of their *bella donna* plates, a ceramic genre given to young brides at the time of their marriage.¹ Dramatic and highly ornate, these plates were elaborately decorated with vivid gold foliage with a metallic overglaze (*coperta*). The distinct and ostentatious colouring, as well as the variety of female figures depicted on these plates, made them immediately recognizable as the product of the Deruta artisans. These plates were rendered in a formulaic manner, however, the female figure represented changed over time. In the foreground of the *bella donna* plate is an ethereal feminine image, whose floating veils, ribbons, and tendrils of hair create an appearance of weightlessness and levity. Her costuming and hair, both golden, create a marked contrast with the austere whiteness of her skin. This contrast succeeds in directing the viewer's eye to the figure's face, which is characterized by a tranquil expression, contributing to the otherworldliness of the image in general.² The female figures on *bella donna* plates have three distinct visual conventions in common: side profile, downcast eyes and gold colouring. These three aspects are derived from

¹ G. Guaitini, *Antiche Maioliche di Deruta per un Museo Regionale* (Spoleto: Nuova Guaraldi Editrice, 1980), p. 13. Historically, these plates have gone by two names: *coppe d'amore* and *bella donna* plates. The first designation (*coppe d'amore* - It. "love cup") refers to the association of these plates with marriage. For a description of the pun contained in this title see: Appendix E, Glossary of Maiolica Terms. The second refers to the fact that these plates featured *bella* (It. "beautiful") women as their primary decorative feature.

² M. Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in the 15th Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 109. Baxandall states that the expression which characterized Perugino's female figures was termed *aria angelica* (It. "angelic look") by his fellow artists.

contemporary court portraiture and literature, and as argued later, they suggested a model of morality and comportment for women.

In addition, a banner surrounds the head of the female figure on most of the *bella donna* plates. This banner is inscribed with either a literary inscription or the name of the woman who received the plate at the time of her betrothal; a plate never had both. All *bella donna* plates are large in size, ranging between 20-44 cm. in diameter and are referred to as *piatto da pompa* (It. "ceremonial plates").

The term *piatto da pompa* suggests that these plates were engagement or marriage gifts, but also that they were more decorative than utilitarian in function.³ The Renaissance writer Cipriano Piccolpasso (1524-1576) in his work *Li Tre Libri dell'Arte del Vasaio* (It. "Three Books of the Potter's Art"; 1548) provides insight into the process of maiolica production. While Piccolpasso himself admits that there were many details of production of which he was ignorant, he was nevertheless able to provide a fairly detailed account of the production process.⁴ His work describes the stages of firing, glazing, and painting ceramic plates, in addition, his text also provides many illustrations of the artisans at work in their studios. Hence, each stage of maiolica manufacture is treated in his study beginning with the selection of the clay from river beds to the sale of the completed object. Unfortunately, he does not discuss why they were valued by contemporary society.

³ A. Cagier-Smith, *Lustre Pottery: Technique, Tradition and Innovation in Islam and the Western World* (London: The Herbert Press, 1985), p. 134.

⁴ C. Piccolpasso, *Li Tre Libri dell'Arte del Vasaio*, trans and intro. B. Rackham and A. Van Put (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1934). Piccolpasso's study focuses on the maiolica artisans from Urbino. However, he makes reference to production at other ceramic centers as well, such as Deruta, Faenza and Venice. Piccolpasso could not learn the formula for the glazes, because he was not related to the artisans who considered them a family secret.

A database of 257 *bella donna* (It. "beautiful lady") plates will be used to determine the prototypes, iconography and corresponding meaning and significance.⁵ Deruta artisans were deliberate in the selection of prototypes for the female images on *bella donna* plates as well as in using established visual conventions to convey expectations regarding the middle class women's position in marriage and society. Deruta artisans were sensitive to these expectations and they understood the role and behaviour of women was of great concern to Italian Renaissance middle class families, and in particular, to their husbands. For this reason, the Deruta artisans selected particular prototypes for these female figures on the plates, which best represented these expectations. Deruta artisans took advantage of the rising prosperity of Italian middle class families who could not only afford their wares, but also had a need to promote particular values to their wives and children.⁶ Husbands conceived of their wives possessing an important albeit silent role promoting the moral fabric and dignity of the family, thereby adding to the distinction of the house.⁷ Were a wife to embody the opposite qualities, it would be disastrous. The husband hoped that through his wife's

⁵ See Appendix B, Database I. This database has been gathered from three categories of sources: firstly, from catalogues of the major auction houses such as *Christie's*, *Sotheby's*, *Finarte* and *Benhams*. These auctions of Italian maiolica occurred between 1963-2000 in New York, London and Rome. Secondly, these pieces have been gathered from published exhibit catalogues from museums throughout the world. Although the majority of this thesis concentrates on collections in Canada, England, France, Italy and the United States, catalogues from museums in Czechoslovakia, Germany, Poland, Russia, Romania, Scotland and Wales have also been consulted and incorporated into the database. Third, I corresponded with many curators whose museum collections were unpublished. Although a substantial portion of all remaining *bella donna* plates has been gathered in this study, it is difficult to estimate with any degree of certainty the number of *bella donna* plates that remain in private collections and are presently unaccounted for. The calculation of the exact number of *bella donna* plates could only be accomplished by undertaking a collaborative academic project equivalent to the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*: a systematic worldwide inventory of all classical pottery pieces. It is only until a survey of this magnitude is conducted for *bella donna* plates that the number of pieces existing in both private and public collections could be enumerated.

⁶ R. Goldthwaite, "The Economic and Social World of Italian Maiolica," *Renaissance Quarterly* 42 (Spring, 1989), 13-32.

⁷ L. B. Alberti, *I Primi Tre Libri della Famiglia*, ed. F. C. Pellegrini (Florence: San Soni, 1946), p. 354. "*La onestà nella donna sempre fu ornamento della famiglia, la onestà della madre sempre fu parte di dota alle figliuole ...*" (The purity of the lady was always the ornament of the family, the purity of the mother was always part of the dowry of her daughters ...).

costuming, contemplative disposition and modest bearing, she would represent the dignity of his family.⁸ In order to teach a wife how to compose herself in the manner that would reflect most positively on his family, a husband purchased *bella donna* plates at the time of marriage. *Bella donna* plates were a didactic tool depicting a figure that was emblematic of the appropriate moral and physical characteristics of a middle class Umbrian wife. Because *bella donna* plates were used to teach a young wife how to conduct herself in a manner that enhanced the honour of husband's family, the images on *bella donna* plates are an important resource for learning about the social expectations placed upon Italian Renaissance urban women.

The choice of prototypes and the visual conventions of the plates (side profile, downcast eyes, gold colouring) provide insight into the code by which middle class women were expected to live. As each of these aspects is a manifestation of complex cultural, social and economic values, it is essential to study them in an interdisciplinary manner. This combined approach to the study of *bella donna* plates helps to answer important questions such as: what were the husband's hopes for his young wife and what might she learn from contemplating these plates? *Bella donna* plates can be seen to reflect the nature of marriage and gender roles in 16th century Umbria.

The first half of this chapter will discuss the prototypes that Deruta artisans chose to represent ideal feminine behaviour and comportment, then attention will be turned to the key visual characteristics, consistent on all *bella donna* plates: the side profile, downcast eyes and gold colouring. These visual characteristics were didactic in function.

⁸ J. Bridgeman, "Condecenti et Netti: Beauty, Dress, and Gender in Italian Renaissance Art," in *Concepts of Beauty in Renaissance Art* (Hants UK; Ashgate Books, 1998), pp. 44-47.

In the second half of this chapter it is necessary to explore the contemporary Italian literary tradition of feminine exemplarity which explains the social context of these prototypes and conventions. The writings of Giovanni Boccaccio, Francesco Petrarch and Giuseppi Bettussi established the notion of exemplary women, defining acceptable feminine behaviour. These authors upheld allegorical, mythological and legendary female figures as models of comportment and behaviour, adopted by the Italian middle class. Three women, in particular, were promoted as exemplars of feminine excellence and in turn used by the Deruta artisans as prototypes: Boccaccio's Erythrean Sibyl, Bettusi's Isabella d'Este, and Petrarch's Laura.⁹ The work of Bettusi, written in 1545, technically cannot be added to this list of direct influences on the Deruta artisans, because his work came too late to have an impact on the *bella donna* plates. His text, nevertheless, is the culmination of a prevailing view that Isabella d'Este, a contemporary aristocrat, was an exemplary woman and worthy of emulation.

Husbands acquired *bella donna* plates, with their rich and meaning-laden imagery, at the time of marriage in order to suggest to their wives the ideals of female comportment and behaviour. In doing so they followed contemporary notions espoused by Franciscan theologians following the tradition of St. Francis (Angela of Foligno, Jacques di Vitry, Jacobus da Voragine and William Durandus) regarding the efficacy of

⁹ Frate Cherubino da Siena, *Il Regola della Vita Matrimoniale di Frate Cherubino di Siena* (Bologna: Commissione per I testi di Lingua, 1969), p. 9. Cherubino of Siena in his discussion of the husband's role as an educator of his wife, stated that the husband must acquire books that will help the wife learn her role and bring honour to his family. Cherubino of Siena is also referred to as a Cherubino of Spoleto. He was a member of the Friars Minor. Although the dates of his life are unclear, it is known that *Il Regole della Matrimoniale* was published in 1497. It was a popular text which advocated that the institution of marriage was as effective as clerical celibacy in perserving an individual's moral integrity. Whereas monks and clerics had fellow brothers to examine their behaviour, spouses had each other. M. F Leuzzi, "Vita Coniugale e Vita Familiare nei Trattati Italiani fra XVI e XVII Secolo," in *Donna, Disciplina, Creanza Cristiana dal XV al XVII Secolo: Studi e Testi e Stampa*, ed. G. Zarri (Roma: Edizioni di storia e Letteratura, 1996), pp. 253, 266.

imagery (as opposed to texts) to educate women.¹⁰ Thus, decorative arts, like Deruta maiolica, conveyed important religious and moral themes which reinforced values and norms regarding the role of women in Italian society.¹¹ Deruta artisans achieved this by employing three visual conventions on *bella donna* plates which were recognized as conveying these ideals about women. As well, they depicted an array of female figures on these plates who embodied these social ideals. For example, aristocratic court women, along with Christian and allegorical figures were part of their repertoire. Aristocratic court women were believed to inherently possess qualities of feminine piety.¹²

¹⁰ Angela of Foligno, "Memoriale," *I Libro della Beata Angela di Foligno*, ed. A. Sergio Cinisello (Balsamo: Edizione San Paolo, 1996), C. 3; *Angela of Foligno: Complete Works*, trans. and ed. P. Lachance (New York: Paulist Press, 1993), pp. 145-146. "Ego frater qui scripsi, quando audiui quod, Deo volente ut credo, accidit sibi dicere illud praedictum verbum de Corpore Christi, statim notavi in corde meo et quaesivi et coegi eam quod diceret mihi quidquid unquam viderat in Corpore Christi. Et illa sic coacta coepit dicere et dixit. Aliquando video ipsam hostiam, sicut vidi ipsam gulam sive guttur, cum tanto splendore et cum tanta pulchritudine, quae videtur venire divinitus plus quam sit splendor solis. Ex qua pulchritudine datur mihi intelligere certitudinaliter quod video Deum sine aliquo dubio, quamvis domi in illa gula vel gutture adhuc maiorem pulchritudinem viderem, tantam quod de illa visione gulae non credo perdere laetitiam de cetero. Et nescio eam manifestare nisi per similitudinem hostiae Corporis Christi, quia in hostia apparet pulchrior pulchritudo quam in sole et multo maior; sed magnam poenam habet inde anima, quod non possum manifestare" (When I, the Brother who is writing this, heard what I believe God had wanted her [Angela of Foligno] to say concerning the vision of the body of Christ, I immediately noted it in my heart. Then I questioned and compelled her to tell me everything she had ever seen in this vision of the body of Christ. Under pressure from me, she began to talk: sometimes I see the Host itself just as I saw the neck or throat, and it shines with such splendor and beauty that it seems to me that it must come from God; it surpasses the splendor of the sun. This beauty which I see makes me conclude with the utmost certainty and without a shadow of a doubt that I am seeing God. When I was at home, however, the vision of Christ's neck or throat which I saw was even more beautiful, so beautiful that I believe I will never lose the joy of it. I have no way to compare it except with the vision of the Host containing the body of Christ, for in the Host I see beauty which far surpasses the beauty of the sun. My soul is in great distress because I am unable to describe this vision.) W. Durandus, "Durandus on the Symbolism in Church Art c. 1286," in *Medieval Popular Religion, 1000-1500*, ed. J. Shinnars (Broadview Press, 1997), p. 23: "For painting appears to move the mind more than writing. Deeds are placed before the eyes in paintings, and so appear to be actually happening; but through writing the deed is done as it were by hearsay, which affects the mind less when called to memory. Thus, it is that in churches we pay less reverence to books than to images."

¹¹ M. Ajmar and D. Thornton, "When is a Portrait Not a Portrait: *Belle Donne on Maiolica and Praise of Local Beauties*," in *Image and the Individual: Portraits in the Renaissance*, eds. L. Syson and N. Mann (London: British Museum Press, 1998), p. 145. Ajmar and Thornton state that in the minds of urban lay women, "Heroic virtues were changed into conjugal virtues."

¹² D. Knox, "Civility, Courtesy and Women in the Italian Renaissance," in *Women in the Italian Renaissance in Culture and Society*, ed. L. Panizza (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), p. 10.

That the visual style of *bella donna* plates was more conservative and unchanging than court portraiture has had an impact on their interpretation and valuation.¹³ Art historians and curators such as David Ekserdjian, Luisa Vertova and Carmen Ravenelli-Guidotti have characterized all genres of maiolica, including *bella donna* plates, as a vulgarization of higher art forms.¹⁴ The plates were perceived as a middle class decorative object, which "appropriated" images and visual conventions found in more significant works of art such as court portraiture.¹⁵ These scholars have also criticized Deruta artisans for adhering to two-dimensional images on *bella donna* plates (i.e. the side profile), at a time when other centres were incorporating the technique of perspective. Scholars in general perceived this resistance to artistic evolution as a sign that the Deruta artisans creating *bella donna* plates were not sufficiently skilled.¹⁶ These scholars have instead focused on *istoriato*, another genre of maiolica from Central and Northern Italy depicting themes and designs unique to each plate and therefore showing no signs of mass production.¹⁷ This uniqueness is attested by the fact that Italian aristocrats such as Isabella d'Este and the Dukes of Urbino commissioned plates of the *istoriato* variety.¹⁸ In the opinion of these scholars, Deruta *bella donna* plates are historically insignificant and artistically inferior because they were mass-produced and

¹³ Caiger-Smith, op. cit., pp. 136-137. Caiger-Smith states that scholars discount *bella donna* plates and other genres of Deruta pottery because they retain the single allegorical figure format, when other pottery centres adopted more elaborate designs (i.e. the genre of *istoriato*).

¹⁴ J. Mallet, "Michelangelo on Maiolica: An Istoriated Plate at Waddesdon," *Apollo* 139 (1994), 50-54; T. Wilson, "Giovanni Genga: Designer for Maiolica," in *Italian Renaissance Pottery: A Conference at the British Museum* (London: British Museum Press, 1991), p. 157; T. Wilson, "Xanto and Ariosto," *Burlington Magazine*, 132 (1990), 322; D. Ekserdjian, "The Potters and Painters of Renaissance Italy," *Apollo* 76 (1987), 116-118; C. R. Guidotti, "L'Aristo <<Istoriated>> sulla Maiolica," in *Signore Cortese Umanesimo Viaggio intorno Ludovico Ariosto*, ed. C. Gnudi (Reggio Emilia: Sala delle Esposizioni, 1996), p. 61; L. Vertova, "Letter from Italy: Exhibits of Lasting Value," *Apollo* 137 (1993), 54.

¹⁵ Caiger-Smith, op. cit., pp. 136-137.

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 133-134.

¹⁷ P. Thornton, *The Renaissance Interior: 1400-1600* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1991), p. 105.

¹⁸ Goldthwaite, op. cit., (1989), 14.

derivative. In support of this, scholars draw attention to the large number of *bella donna* plates that have survived as well as their possession by the modestly wealthy middle class.¹⁹ However, this very fact (i.e. their production in large numbers) makes this genre worthy of detailed social, historical and material culture study. Their quantity attests to the impact these plates had on the cultural and religious life of Renaissance urban families and the great importance they placed on the issues relating to the comportment and duties of wives in 16th century Umbria.²⁰

Prototypes of *Bella Donna* Plates

It was the mother's role to educate her daughters from birth until marriage, at which time husbands took over the education of their wives. It was of particular concern to husbands that their wives should base their behaviour on the lives of women who were upheld as models of comportment and morality. As a result, Deruta artisans, in response to this need, selected as prototypes images of women who would be recognized as role models. As noted later, husbands hoped women would gaze upon the images on the *bella donna* plates and not only emulate the physical bearing of the figures, but also meditate upon the lives and virtues of exemplary women, recognized as prototypes of these figures. During the fifty year period c. 1500 to 1550, Deruta artisans chose five prototypes representing exemplarity as defined by the contemporary literary tradition, for female figures on the *bella donna* plates. These five women fall into two distinct categories: firstly, allegorical Christian figures drawn from pagan antiquity, such as the

¹⁹ See Appendix B, Databases I-III: The total number of images collected: *Bella donna* plates (257); female lay saints (16); St. Francis (56); total: 329; J. E. Poole, *Italian Maiolica and Incised Slipware in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 333.

²⁰ Thornton, op. cit., p. 105.

Sibyls, and secondly, aristocratic women from contemporary court circles. Four noble women of this latter group were used for these plates: a young woman from the noble Roman Bufalini family (*fl.* 1485); the Roman aristocrat Lucrezia Borgia (1480-1519); an unnamed noblewoman from Milan (*fl.* 1515), and finally, the most painted woman in the Renaissance and most popular representative of female virtue, Isabella d'Este of Mantua (1474-1539).

Among the consumers of these plates were middle class husbands, who promoted these women as models of behaviour for their wives so they could learn to bring honour to their own families in the same way these figures brought honour to their own families and communities.²¹

Specific Prototypes for *Bella Donna* Plates

Whereas the standards of female comportment and morality embodied by the visual conventions of the side profile, downcast eyes and gold colouring remained consistent on *bella donna* plates throughout the first half of the 16th century, prototypes for the figures themselves changed. Five prototypes were used during the fifty-year span of 1500-1550. (Appendix A, Table I) However, not all prototypes were used throughout the entire period. It is likely that the artisans ceased to use certain prototypes based on their declining popularity. For example, some prototypes were abandoned after 1530, such as the Roman noble woman from the Bufalini family, and an unnamed gentlewoman from the Milanese court. Other figures, such as the Erythrean Sibyl and the figure of Isabella d'Este, remained popular throughout the entire fifty year period of production. I will arrange my discussion of these prototypes on the basis of their longevity. A study of

²¹ B. Castiglione, *Il Libro dei Cortegiano*, ed. G. Preti (Torino: Giulio Einaurdi Editore, 1960), p. 288.

the background of each prototype provides valuable insight into the particular ideals of conduct upheld for married women of the middle class.

Period One (1500-1530)

Prototype One: Pintoricchio's Funeral of St. Bernardino

The earliest prototype used on *bella donna* plates was a female figure borrowed from a fresco by Pintoricchio (also known as Bernardino di Betto; c. 1454-1513), entitled *The Funeral of St. Bernardino* (completed 1485).²² Pintoricchio, born in Perugia and a specialist in fresco painting, was one of the most popular artists in Renaissance Umbria. As a student of Perugino (also known as Pietro Vannucci [1445/50-1523]) he became adept at portraying angelic female figures.²³ His fresco *The Funeral of St. Bernardino* inspired the first series of images found on *bella donna* plates [Appendix B, Database I, nos. 1-20]. The fresco was housed inside the Sta. Maria in Aracoeli in Rome, a church commissioned by the noble Bufalini family.

²² R. Van Marle, *The Development of Italian Schools of Painting XIV* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1933), p. 218. Pintoricchio's real name was Bernardino di Betto. (Appendix B, Database I, nos. 1-20).

²³ I. Chilvers ed., "Pintoricchio," *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Art and Artists* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 360.



15. Pintoricchio, *Death of St. Bernardino*, c. 1487-1489. The figure discussed above is the fifth figure from the right on the right background. Fresco. Capella Bufalini, Santa Maria in Aracoeli, Rome. (This photo appears with the kind permission of Michael Greenhalgh, Dobell Professor of Art History, The Australian National University, Canberra, Australia).



16. A close up of the Bufalini woman from fig. 15.



17. Deruta, *Bella donna Piatto da Pompa depicting the Bufalini Woman*, c. 1515. Inscription: PIATA TE PRENDA. Pesaro Musei Civici, Pesaro. C.A.S. 295; R.S. 389; G.P. 263. Appendix B Database I, no. 3. (This photo appears with kind permission of the City of Pesaro Museum service).

The visual similarity between the unnamed mourner from Pintoricchio's fresco with the *bella donna* plates from the first period suggests that the former was the prototype. In particular, the texture of the hair of the figure on the plate matches that of the woman in the fresco. The hair is unkempt and falls out of the bonnet or snood in loose strands. The forehead of both images is rounded and the hair is parted in the middle. The dresses of both images have square necklines framed by a small lace fringe and a prominent laced front placket. Finally, and significantly, both figures are in side profile which was visual convention fundamental to *bella donna* plates.

According to Raimond Van Marle, the woman depicted in the fresco was a member of the Bufalini family.²⁴ The model for this portrait was a woman from an aristocratic Roman family; however, in the context of the fresco, she is cast into a mourner at the funeral of St. Bernardino of Siena (1380-1444), the popular Florentine preacher. This marks the beginning of a trend in which Deruta artisans used aristocratic women as prototypes for *bella donna* plates. Although this trend took root at the beginning of the 16th century, it grew increasingly prominent after 1530.

An examination of the complete painting reveals that the mourning woman was only one figure in a large crowd. However, she can be easily distinguished from the other mourners surrounding her, because she affects a contemplative expression amidst a disorganized and confused crowd. This pose sets her apart from all other figures in the fresco, which are in a state of great sorrow.²⁵ The meditative state of this figure is retained despite her close proximity to a restless child. Her clasped hands and meditative expression bear the marks of a woman in a deep state of prayer and meditative repose.²⁶ This facial serenity was characteristic of the work of both Perugino and his student Pintoricchio, who based their reputation on depicting female figures with faces emitting an *aria angelica* (It. "angelic look").²⁷

The fresco also conveys important values of feminine comportment expected in Italian society. The behaviour of the Bufalini mourner depicted in Pintoricchio's fresco was consistent with the accepted view that women should avoid eye contact and

²⁴ Van Marle, op. cit., p. 218.

²⁵ See Appendix B, Database I.

²⁶ P. Simons, "Women in Frames: The Gaze, the Eye and the Profile in Renaissance Portraiture," *The Expanding Discourse Feminism and Art History*, ed. N. Broude and M. Garrard (New York: Icon Editions, Press, 1992), p. 50, 60.

²⁷ Baxandall, op. cit., p. 110.

engagement in worldly concerns.²⁸ Hence, women were encouraged to lower their eyes when entering the public environment.²⁹ Cherubino of Siena and Boccaccio made it clear that the natural dwelling place for women was the house.³⁰ Within its confines a woman would not encounter dangerous forces that could harm her reputation.

Understanding this portrait within the context of the entire fresco provides insight into why Deruta artisans chose this image as a prototype for *bella donna* plates. To be able to affect a meditative state amidst worldly confusion was an important duty for Umbrian middle class women.

Prototype Two: Lucretia Borgia in the guise of St. Catherine of Alexandria (c. 1515)

The second prototype of this period is housed in the *Sala dei Santi* (Chamber of the Saints) in the Borgia apartments of the Vatican in Rome, a fresco also painted by Pintoricchio, entitled *The Disputation of St. Catherine of Alexandria*. (c. 1494)

[Figure 18].³¹

²⁸ I. Maclean, *Renaissance Notion of Woman* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 55, 56.

²⁹ G. Brucker, *Giovanni and Lusanna: Love and Marriage in Renaissance Florence* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), p. 27.

³⁰ Cherubino da Siena, op. cit., p. 30: "*Così ancora tu, figliuola mai diletissima, governa bene tutte le cose di casa ... Pertanto governa bene tutta la casa, e tutte le masserizie e della cucina e delle letta, delli vestimenti e delli calzamenti, e lo cellario, come è vino e lo formento, e molto più le cose preziose, in buona masserizia*" (Thus, my most esteemed little daughter, rule well all the things of the house ... therefore, govern well all the house and all the furnishings and all things of the kitchen, and the bed clothes and the footwear and the cellar, such as the wine and the wheat [in the cellar] and many other precious things as a good housekeeper should); G. Boccaccio, *Famous Women*, trans. V. Brown (Cambridge, Mass: I Tatti Library, 2001), p. 48: "*Vagari licentia nimia virginibus et aures faciles cuiuscunque verbis prebere, minime laudandum reir, cum contigisse sepe legerim his agentibus honestati nonnumquam notas turpes imprimi, quas etiam perpetue demum castitatis decus absterisse non potuit*" (I think that it is not praiseworthy for virgins to wander about with excessive freedom and to offer ready ears to just any kind of talk, since I have read that it has often happened that sordid stains sometimes become ingrained stains, which even the glory of a chastity that is ultimately life-long has not been able to erase).

³¹ C. Rousseau, "Lucrezia Borgia D'Este, Illustrious Lady, Dearest Wife," in *Italian Renaissance Studies in Arizona: Rosary College Italian Studies* 3 (1987), 136-137. For the following plates based on this prototype see: Appendix B, Database I, no. 60.



18. Pintoricchio, *The Disputation of St. Catherine of Alexandria*, c. 1494. Fresco. Borgia Apartments, Vatican City, Italy. (This photograph appears with kind permission from Michael Greenhalgh, Dobell Professor of Art History, University of South Australia, Canberra, Australia).

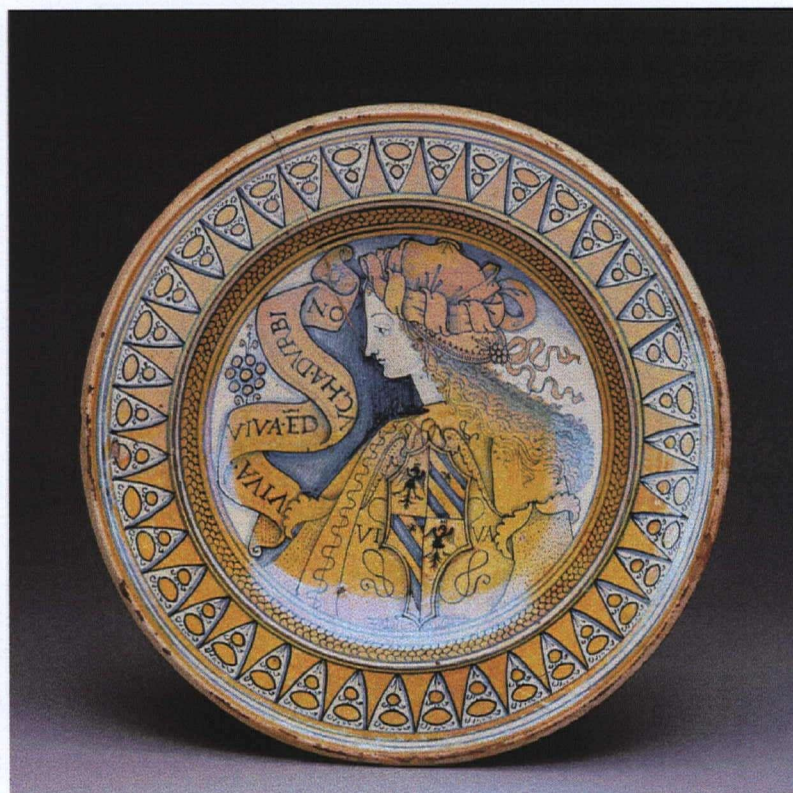
Pintoricchio worked extensively in the court of Rodrigo Borgia, Pope Alexander IV. This fresco was produced under the Pontiff's patronage.³² Lucretia Borgia, the daughter of Pope Alexander IV, is believed to be the model for this fresco.³³

³² Van Marle, op. cit., p. 236; A. de Hevesy, "Some Portraits of the Borgias-Lucretia," *Burlington Magazine*, 61 (1932), 25.

³³ Rousseau, op. cit., p. 136.



19. A close up of the Lucretia Borgia as St. Catherine of from Fig. 18.



20. Deruta, Bella Donna Piatto da Pompa, c. 1515. Inscription: VIVA VIVA EL DUCHA D'URBINO. *Pesaro Musei Civici*. C.A.S. 294; R.S.376; G.P. 267. Appendix B, Database I, No. 60. (This photo appears with kind permission from City of Pesaro Museum Service).

The Deruta artisans' usage of Pintoricchio's image of St. Catherine of Alexandria is unusual as it is only found on a single *bella donna* plate [Appendix B, Database I, no. 60]. The plate was commissioned or given as a gift to an aristocratic courtly family, not a member of the middle class. This piece was given to a Duke of Urbino, Guidobaldo I [1482-1508], which is attested by an inscription *Viva Viva El Ducha D'Urbino* (It. "Long live the Duke of Urbino") written inside a banner surrounding the head of the figure. Because it was intended as a gift for an aristocratic family, and not for the accustomed middle class market, this piece was deliberately made as an individual and original piece. Deruta artisans rarely produced work for aristocrats and these were treated as exceptional commissions.³⁴

The hair of the figure in this *bella donna* plate strongly suggests that the image may have been inspired by Pintoricchio's fresco of *St. Catherine of Alexandria*. Most *bella donna* plates feature images of women whose hair is swept up and covered by a snood. However, this figure wears her curly hair loosely and free. Additionally, the facial features, especially, the long nose with a pointed end, the large wide eyes and the high eyebrow that is shaped into a thin arch are similar to the image in Pintoricchio's fresco. Finally, the cloth turban, perches on the top of the head and does not cover the back of the head like most hair pieces, a characteristic of the work of Pintoricchio and Perugino.

³⁴ Goldthwaite, op. cit., (1989) 10, 14. Goldthwaite states that plates produced at Deruta with crests on them were likely presents to nobility and used as diplomatic gifts by the artisans. U. Nicolini, *Il Paese dell'Arte Civile: Scritti sulla Storia di Deruta e sulla Derutese* (Perugia; Arnaud, 1997), p. 28.

The fresco recounts the scene of St. Catherine of Alexandria's life taken from Jacobus da Voragine's (1230-1290) *Legenda Aurea*.³⁵ In this hagiography, St. Catherine was called upon to defend her Christian faith before the Prefect of Alexandria. The Prefect brought before her fifty philosophers who disputed her concept of the Christian God. According to da Voragine, St. Catherine was so adept at syllogistic reasoning and so thoroughly grounded in Platonic philosophy that she was able not only to refute the philosophers' hostile position on the Christian God, but also succeeded in converting them to the Faith.³⁶ She also preferred to submit to death than to violate her chastity by marrying an immoral suitor. The scene had particular relevance to Lucretia Borgia (1480-1519) as it was analogous to her own life. Before the frescoes were painted, Lucretia Borgia had herself been in court on account of her petition for divorce from the immoral and lazy Giovanni Sforza in 1497. In order to secure her divorce, Lucretia was required to be examined by a midwife and declared *virga intacta* (Lat. "untouched virgin"). In a short speech in Latin, Lucretia thanked the court for returning her status. This speech has been described as an exceptional achievement in oratorical skill and eloquence.³⁷ The association of St. Catherine and Lucretia is clear. Both women defended their chastity in a court of law and through their brilliant eloquence were able to demonstrate to the court the depth of their faith and their moral purity.

³⁵ J. da Voragine, *Legenda Aurea Vulgo Historia Lombardica Dicta*, ed. Th. Graesse (Lipsiae: Impensis Librariae Arnoldianae, 1850), pp. 789-797.

³⁶ Jacobus A Voragine, *ibid.*, pp. 789-91. "*Catherina Costi regis filia omnibus liberalium atrium studiis erudite fuit ... Ego enim sum Catherina Costi Regis unica filia, quae, quamvis in purpura nata et liberalibus disciplinis non mediocriter instructa...*" (Catherine, the daughter of King Costus, was learned in all the disciplines of the Liberal Arts ... For I am Catherine the one daughter of King Costas and born into the purple, having been instructed in the liberal arts to no small degree...).

³⁷ Rousseau, *op. cit.*, 136.

St. Catherine of Alexandria and Urban Women

The plate depicting Lucretia Borgia as St. Catherine of Alexandria was not created for a middle class audience. This image is in fact an anomaly and begs the question as to its inclusion among these prototypes. It is included because St. Catherine was elsewhere an important exemplary model for Umbrian middle class women. This plate can be associated with the maiolica plates featuring St. Catherine which were produced for middle class women. St. Catherine of Alexandria was a popular subject and prototype for Deruta artisans portraying female lay saints.³⁸ St. Catherine of Alexandria possessed special significance with respect to the religious sentiments of Renaissance middle class Umbrian women. She was one of four female lay saints who conformed to a common hagiographic typology: these female saints were young aristocrats who resisted defilement by escaping a marriage to a pagan man.³⁹ The dilemma facing these young women reflected the conflicts inherent in the lives of middle class women of marriageable age; namely, the spiritual conflict that arose for a woman married to a man possessing fundamental moral flaws.⁴⁰

Although it might not be within a woman's power to escape marriage with an immoral man, it was her function as a wife to ensure that the husband made appropriate moral choices. If she did not fulfill this role, she committed a far more serious offence than her husband. If a husband exhibited immoral behaviour and a wife did not address it,

³⁸ See Chapter Three of this dissertation: "Four female Lay Saints on Deruta Pottery," pp. 171-178.

³⁹ J. Wood, *Women, Art and Spirituality; The Poor Clares of Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 24-25.

⁴⁰ Cherubino of Siena, op. cit., p. 24. "*Se il marito è vano, la moglie è più vana; e l'uno conforta l'altra vanità, in pompe e altri mali. E così come la moglie dovrebbe aiutare il suo marito a ire in paradise, più tosto l'aiuta a precipitare e rovinare allo inferno.*" (If the husband is morally impoverished, the wife is more morally impoverished; and each supports the other in conceit, in arrogance and other evils. And just as the wife ought to help her husband to arrive in Paradise, she instead assists him in falling and descending into Hell).

she was not only considered his accomplice, but in effect the perpetrator, because she was complicit with her husband's morality. In the same way that St. Catherine of Alexandria refused to live an evil life with a pagan man, so also must other women refuse to support their spouse's corruption.⁴¹ Thus, it was the wife's function to be in vigilant control of the moral direction of her household.⁴² The figure of St. Catherine of Alexandria reminded wives that they must defend their moral integrity against all opposition, even if they are reviled by an offending spouse.⁴³

Prototype Three: Bernardino de'Conti's Portrait of a Gentlewoman c.1500-1530

Bernardino de'Conti's (1450-1525) *Portrait of a Gentlewoman* is the third prototype.

⁴¹ Wood, op. cit., pp. 24, 25.

⁴² Cherubino da Siena, op. cit., p.24. See Chapter Two of this dissertation: "Deruta Bella Donna Plates: Exemplarity and Umbrian Middle Class Women (1500-1550)," n. 40 for full text and translation. A. Vauchez, *The Laity in the later Middle Ages: Religious Beliefs and Devotional Practices*, trans. and ed. M. Schneider and D. Bornstein (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1996), p. 66. Vauchez states that marriage was often viewed as an obstacle for saints on the road to perfection. Cherubino of Siena attempts to remedy this by creating a rule whereby marriage can be perceived as a vehicle for moral perfection.

⁴³ See Chapter Three of this dissertation, "Four female Lay Saints on Deruta Pottery," pp. 168-170.



21. Bernardino de'Conti, *Ritratto di Gentiledonna*, c. 1515. Photograph reproduced from F. Liverani, R. Bossi, *Maioliche di Faenza* Galeati, 1974, p. 42. (Photograph reproduced with kind permission from the Museo Faenza). Private Collection; owner's name is withheld by personal request.

"The Portrait of a Gentlewoman" is considered to be the work of de'Conti, although the date is unknown and the commissioner has not yet been identified.⁴⁴ De'Conti was a portrait painter in the paid service of the Sforza Court in Milan and his subjects were members of the nobility in that court.⁴⁵ His portraits were characterized by female figures that exemplified a rigid form of comportment and high social rank.⁴⁶ Although the exact identity of this woman is unknown, from the clothing, jewelry and comportment of the

⁴⁴ F. Liverani and R. Bosi, *Maioliche di Faenza* (Milan: Galeati, 1974), p. 42. A Milanese illuminated manuscript (*Milano, Biblioteca Tribulziana, ms. 2159, c. 1515*) depicts roundels of 27 Milanese court women. Each figure is depicted with their name and an inscription below their image. The female figure in this painting bears similarity to two figures in the manuscript: Chiara Pusteria and Hippolita Bentevolia. Chiara Pusteria was born into the Visconti family, the daughter of Guido Visconti. Her birth date is unknown. Hipolita Bentivoglio was the fourth daughter of Alessandro Bentivoglio and Ipolita Sforza. She was likely born around 1497. The De' Conti painting was likely made around 1515 when she was about 18. The plates derived from this prototype are found in: Appendix B, Database I, nos. 77-136.

⁴⁵ M. T. Fiorino, "Per Il Ritratto di Lombard: Bernardo de' Conti," *Arte Lombardia* 6 (1984), 38.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

figure in the painting, it can be determined that the figure of the woman in the painting is from the Milanese court.⁴⁷



22. Deruta, *Bella donna plate*, c. 1530. Inscription: NO(N) VALE BEL(L)EZA DOVE STA CRVDE(L)TA. Musée du Louvre, Paris, France. OA 1463. Appendix B, Database I, no. 126. (This photo is reproduced with kind permission from the Reunion des Musées Nationaux Agence Photographique, Paris France).

The visual similarities between the figure in de'Conti's portrait and *bella donna* plates from this period (1515-1530) can be seen by the hair which is pulled back loosely and covered in an embroidered net [Figure 22]. There is also a decorative cord that surrounds the figure's forehead. Although there are few similarities in the dress of the figures, the square neckline is retained. Finally, the facial features of both figures are very

⁴⁷ Liverani and Bosi, op. cit., p. 42.

alike; the large eyes, thin eyebrow partially covered by her hair, the rounded chin, and thin, small lips of almost severe appearance.

This prototype is unique because it was also used by artisans from Faenza. This is the only instance where a prototype for Deruta *bella donna* plates was utilized by another pottery center. Although de'Conti was not a local Umbrian artist, but Milanese, the image of his Milanese noble lady is very similar to earlier Deruta *bella donna* figures derived from Pintoricchio and Perugino. Both images possess a meditative and contemplative demeanor. Liverani describes the *Portrait of a Gentlewoman* as a woman of *attenta calma* (It. "watchful calm").⁴⁸ She has the same expression found on other *bella donna* plates produced at Deruta in the sense that her face and gaze are diverted, not engaging the viewer.⁴⁹ Fiorio states that de'Conti's work was not concerned with conveying the complex psychological aspects of these courtly women, rather he specialized in conveying the rigid etiquette of the court through portraiture.⁵⁰ In this sense these portraits were heraldic or emblematic of the values favoured in Milanese court society.

As Giovanni Michele Bruto stated: "The famous and illustrious examples of virtuous and well-known women ... should be illustrated in charming and beautiful paintings, for it cannot be emphasized enough their effect on the souls of tender and delicate children" or in this case, the wife.⁵¹ Bruto's statement illuminates why Deruta artisans and their patrons chose images of court women, such as those painted by de'Conti, for their prototypes.⁵² Middle class women were expected to emulate

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 42.

⁴⁹ See Chapter Two of this dissertation: "Deruta Bella Donna Plates: Exemplarity and Umbrian Middle Class Women (1500-1550)," pp. 120-121; 125-128.

⁵⁰ Fiorio, op. cit., p. 38.

⁵¹ G. M. Bruto, *La Institutione Divina Fanciulla Nata Nobilamente* (Antwerpen: Antwerpsche Bibliophielen, 1956), p. 30.

⁵² Vauchez, op. cit., p. 177; Lawrence, op. cit., p. 6.

aristocratic women in a manner consistent with their more limited economic and social existence, namely in the pursuit of being a dutiful wife and an ornament of the family.

Period Two (1515-1550)

Prototype Four: Perugino's Erythrean Sibyl

The second period is represented by two prototypes, the first of which was derived from Perugino's fresco *Le Sibille* housed in the *Collegio del Cambio* (It. "The Exchange House") in Perugia (completed in 1500).⁵³ The *Collegio del Cambio* was the exchange house or house of commerce in Perugia. It was here that Perugian merchants financed their business ventures. It is important to note that since this center was a place of business in the city forum it was not a place women would have entered. As a result, the fame of Perugino's Sibyls was based entirely upon male appreciation. Thus, middle class women would not have seen these Sibyls *in situ* at the *Cambio*, and *bella donna* plates would be their first introduction to the image.

⁵³ G. Vasari, *Le Vite de' Più Eccellenti Pittori Scultore e Architettori nelle Redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, Testo III, ed. R. Brettarini (Firenze: Sansoni Editore, 1971), p. 607. "*Questo opera, che fu bellissima e lodata più che alcun'altra che da Pietro fusse in Perugia lavorata, è oggi dagli'uomini di quella città.*" (This work, which was most beautiful and was praised more than any other work, Pietro executed in Perugia and is prized today by the men of that city). The plates which use this prototype are the following: Appendix B, Database I, nos. 61-73; 137-175.

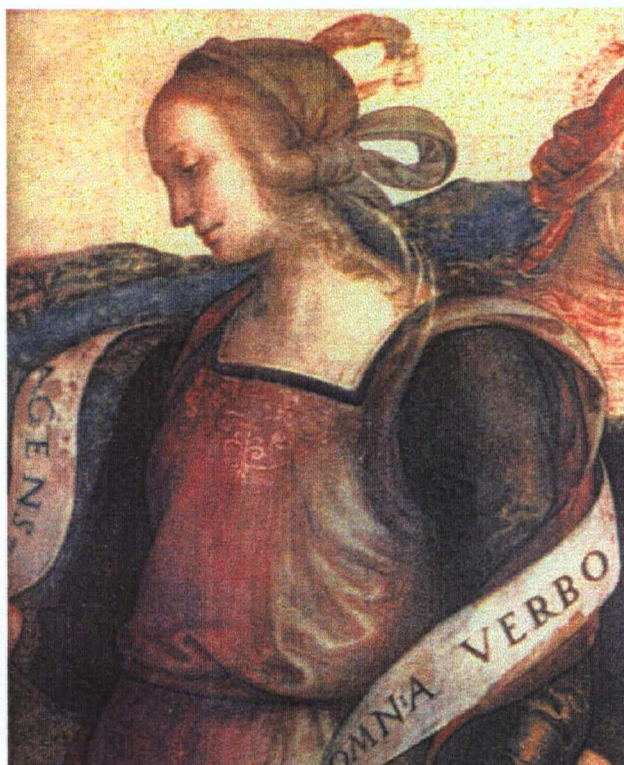


23. Perugino, *Fresco of the Sibyls*, 1504. (Reproduced with kind permission from Michael Greenhalgh, Sir William Dobell Professor of Art History, The Australian National University Canberra, South Australia). The Erythrean Sibyl is the 6th figure from the right, in the centre. Fresco. Collegia del Cambio, Perugia, Italy.

Perugino, also known as Pietro Vannucci c. 1445/50-1523, like his student Pintoricchio (c. 1454-1513), resided in Perugia and built his reputation on female figures with angelic expressions *aria angelica* (It. “angelic piety”). The Sibyls are six mythological sages believed to have foretold the birth of Christ.⁵⁴ The fresco features Moses surrounded by two angels on the top and is subdivided below into two parts. On the left are the six Hebrew prophets who predicted the coming of Christ and on the right are the six Sibyls. This fresco depicts from left to right: the Erythrean Sibyl, the Persican

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 607.

Sibyl, the Cumaean Sibyl, the Libican Sibyl, the Tiburtina Sibyl and the Delfican Sibyl. It is the Erythrean Sibyl [Figure 24] that was the inspiration for the female figure found on the *bella donna* plates of the second period [Figure 25].⁵⁵



24. A close up of the Erythrean Sibyl from fig. 23

⁵⁵ F. Liverani and G. Reggi, *Le Maioliche del Museo Nazionale di Ravenna* (Modena: Editore Paolo Toschi etc., 1976), pp. 79, 80; See Appendix B, Database I, nos. 61-73; 137-175.



25. Deruta, *Bella Donna Piatto da Pompa based on the Erythrean Sibyl*, c. 1500-1530. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England. Inscription: LA VITA EL FINE EL DI LODA LA SERA. 24-1832. Appendix B, Database I, no. 139, (The image appears with kind permission of the Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge).

The following similarities between the Erythrean Sibyl in the fresco and the figure on the *bella donna* plates are witness to this influence. The golden hair of both figures is pulled back in a snood, but windswept tendrils hang loosely. The snood, although of a simple and unadorned fabric, is dramatic because of the oversized bows and veils that appear to be floating. The dress of the figure has a square neckline, which is framed with fine gold

embroidery; the waistline of the dress is belted with a thin cord, which causes the fabric to billow. These details show that the Deruta artisans used the Erythrean Sibyl as a prototype. The purpose of their selection of this image as a figurative model was twofold.

First, the Deruta artisans desired to reproduce the expression characteristic of Perugino's Erythrean Sibyl. Second, the artisans chose images because of their popularity among their middle class buyers. As a result they selected images from local artists whose work was well known to Umbrian middle class families. Perugino and Pintoricchio were famous for creating reflective expressions in their female subjects.⁵⁶ In a society where women were encouraged to be silent, chaste, obedient and undistracted by factors outside of the household, such an expression was imitable by Umbrian women.⁵⁷

According to Panofsky, one of the first modern scholars to examine Renaissance symbology, the Sibyls were figures known to embody an exceptional state of grace, as their faces emanated "the splendour of the divine light."⁵⁸ He termed this state as the *vita contemplativa* (It. "contemplative life"). Gombrich and Baxandall also state that the Erythrean Sibyl produced by Perugino was recognized in Renaissance circles as representing *aria pietate* (It. "a pious manner").⁵⁹ Hence, particular images were synonymous with piety, silence, calm, and self-reflection, qualities expected of young wives.⁶⁰ Although other artists during the 16th century ridiculed Perugino for his repeated

⁵⁶ Baxandall, op. cit., p. 109.

⁵⁷ Maclean, op. cit., pp. 55, 56; Brucker, op. cit., p. 27; Boccaccio, op. cit. p. 48.

⁵⁸ E. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconography: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), p. 193.

⁵⁹ Baxandall, op. cit., p. 109; E. Gombrich, *New Light on Old Masters: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance IV* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1986), pp. 115, 118.

⁶⁰ Panofsky, op. cit., p. 193; Baxandall, op. cit., p. 109; Gombrich, op. cit., pp. 115, 118; Maclean, op. cit., pp. 55, 56. The Sibyls, their exceptional state of grace and their importance as models for women, are mentioned commonly in comportment manuals. While I refer to Boccaccio's depiction of their lives, he is

use of the same facial expression, this aspect of his work made Perugino and his student Pintoricchio, who replicated his style, famous and popular in Umbrian society.⁶¹ This widespread enthusiasm for Perugino's work in Umbria elevated the feminine figures of Perugia's *Cambio* to a standard of exemplarity and ideal comportment during the first quarter of the 16th century. The Deruta artisans selected these images as prototypes because their expressive and instructive qualities were so popular among Renaissance husbands, especially those who were familiar with the images in the *Collegio del Cambio*.⁶²

Local Umbrian Artists and the Circulation of Popular Imagery

Both visual and textual evidence indicate that the Deruta artisans had two criteria in mind when they selected the images they would use on *bella donna* plates. First, it is clear that the artisans possessed an element of local pride. For this reason, the work of Perugino and Pintoricchio, two of the most famous artists in the region, were favoured.⁶³

not the only Renaissance author to offer them as models of behaviour. Other authors are: Anonymous (c. 1500), *La Defensione delle Donne: Introduzione, Edizione, Note* (Bologna: Commissione per I Testi di Lingua, 1968), pp. 96, 97. "*Il che non si dubita che li fu commesso da divina grazia merito di loro virginità, essendo come erano del popolo gentile e pagano.*" (It is without a doubt that something was done through divine Grace on the merit of their virginity, being as they were from the noble and pagan people). V. da Bisticci, *Il Libro delle Lodi delle Donne*, ed. G. Lombardi (Roma: Vecchiarelli Editore, 1999), pp. 113-114.

⁶¹ Vasari, op. cit., p. 608. "*Aveva Pietra tanto lavorato e tanto gli abondava sempre da lavorare, che e' metteva in opera bene spesso le medesime cose; et era talmente la dottrina dell'arte sua ridotta a maniera, che e' faceva a tutte le figure un' aria medesima.*" (Pietro was working so much and overwhelmed with so much to do that he very often put the same things in his work. This technique became so automatic that he gave all his figures the same air).

⁶² Ibid., p. 607. "*è oggi dagl'uomini di quella città.*" (and is prized today by the men of that city). Vasari states that the figures painted in the *Collegio del Cambio* were only appreciated by a male audience.

⁶³ C. Cennini, *Il Libro dell'Arte* ed. D. Thompson Jr. (New Haven: Yale University, 1932), p. 15. "... *cioe in tavoletta, affatichati e dilettrati di ritrar senpre le miglior chose, che trovar puoi per man fatte di gran maestri... Esse se' in luogo dove molti buon' maestri sieno stati tanto meglio atte. Ma per chonsiglio io ti do: guarda di pigliar senpre il miglior, e quello che a maggior fama.*" (... that is on a little drawing panel, strive to and delight in depicting always the best things you are able to find executed by the great masters. If you are located where many good masters ... have lived, so much the better for you. But I give you a

The preference for using the work of local artists as the subject matter for *bella donna* plates was due to the influence of Cennino Cennini's (c. 1370 - 1440) treatise *Il libro dell'Arte* (It. "The Craftsmen's Handbook"; 1400) which encouraged all apprentice artists to study the work of their local masters. Cennino believed if a young artist concentrated on the work of a local master, he would have access to many original pieces from which to study techniques and models. Cennini warned that a student should not stray from his devotion to this one master, because learning the techniques of too many artists would be mentally confusing. He added that by mixing artistic techniques and styles the art work would reflect an unharmonious aesthetic.

It is clear that the Deruta artisans producing *bella donna* adhered to Cennino's advice between 1500 and 1530, because during this period they consistently used the female images rendered by the two most popular Umbrian artists, Perugino and his student Pintoricchio. However, as is suggested from the illustrations of the manuscript of Piccolpasso's *Li Tre Libri dell'Arte Vasaio* (It. "Three Books of the Potters' Art") the artisans did not personally visit the frescoes and study them *in situ*, but used prints, drawings or wood cuts of individual images depicted in the frescoes.⁶⁴ These images were affixed to the studio wall and copied. Therefore, it is likely the artisans had a single copy of Perugino's Erythrean Sibyl in their studio from which they took their design, rather than all the Sibyls depicted in the *Cambio*.⁶⁵

piece of advice: take care always to select the best and the artist who has the greatest fame); Bolland, op. cit., p. 471.

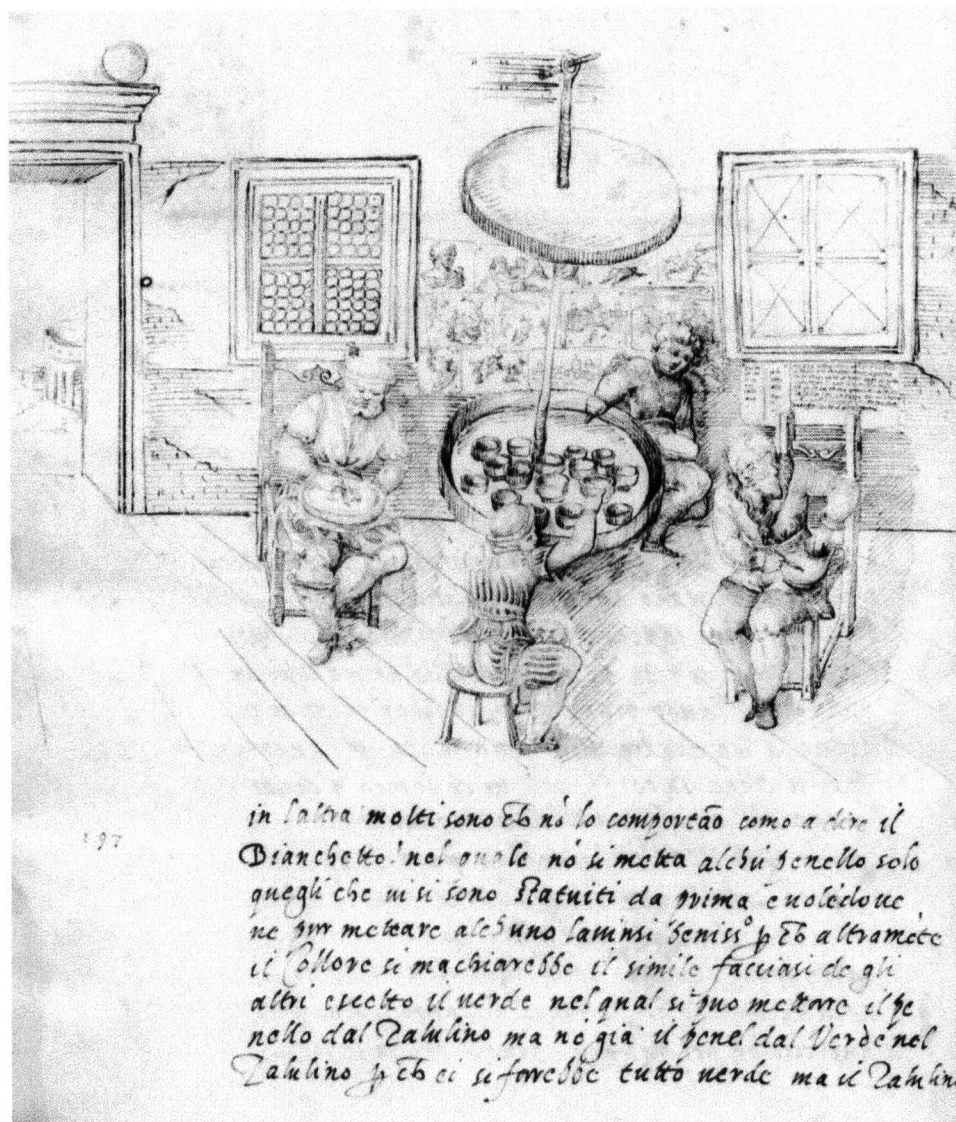
⁶⁴ Piccolpasso, op. cit., fol. 57v.

⁶⁵ S. Ferino Pagden, *Disegni Umbri del Rinascimento da Perugino a Raffaello* (Florence: Leo Olschki Editore, 1982), figs. 25, 26, 65, 135, 144. The images from this text have been reproduced here in Figure 27 with kind permission of L. S. Olschki.

Giorgio Vasari provides insight into the way the Deruta artisans could have obtained copies of these frescoes.⁶⁶ Vasari's *Vita Perugini* (It. "Life of Perugino") illustrates how images produced by the artist circulated throughout Umbria. He describes how the Deruta artisans obtained copies of these images from the frescoes, especially Perugino's Sybils from the *Cambio* at Perugia. Vasari notes that Perugino used a copybook in which he practiced drawing the figures for his frescoes. He also recorded the finished image in his copybook after the fresco had been completed.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Vasari, op. cit., pp. 608, 609, 612; "*Fu ancora discepolo di Pietro Giovanni Spagnuolo ditto per sapranome lo spagna Pietro dopo la sua morte. Il quale Giovanni dopo Pietro si sarebbe fermo in Perugia, se l'invidia dei pittore di quella città, troppo nimici de' forestieri, non l'avessino perseguitato di sorte che gli fu forza ritirarsi in Spoleto, dove per la bontà e virtù sua fu datogli donna di buon sangue e fatto di quella patria cittadino.*" (There was also the student of Pietro Giovanni Spagnuolo, called Lo Spagnolo, "The Spaniard." After Pietro [Perugino] died, Giovanni would have stayed in Perugia, if not for the envy of the painters in that city, [who were] very adversarial towards him, [they] persecuted him to the degree that he was forced to retreat to Spoleto, where due to his goodness and virtue he was given a woman of a good family and was made a citizen of that city). Vasari lists a number of students who studied under Perugino and had imitated his copybooks. These students in turn traveled throughout Umbria, in the vicinity of Deruta, executing commissions. It is from these sources that the Deruta artisans obtained their prototypes. J. A. Becherer, *Pietro Perugino; Master of the Italian Renaissance* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Rizzoli, 1997), p. 70

⁶⁷ Vasari, op. cit., p. 608.



26. Cipriano Piccolpasso, *Ceramicists Painting their Wares* from *Li Tre Libri dell'Arte del Vasaio*, c. 1548. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. fol. 57 v. (This image appears with kind permission from the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, England). Both the pages from copybooks and commonplace books were affixed to the wall in the center of the picture behind the work bench. The potters copied from these pictures.

Vasari recounted that when Perugino was satisfied with a drawing he would copy that image into his personal copybooks and use these images repeatedly in other artistic commissions.⁶⁸ These copybooks were also a sourcebook for Perugino's students who

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 609: "Dicesi che quando detta opera si scoperse, fu da tutti i nuovi artefici assai biasimata, e particolarmente perché si era Pietro servito di quelle figure che altre volte era usato mettere in opera." (It is said, accordingly, that when this work was discovered, he was heavily criticized by all the new artisans,

were studying the techniques of their master. Because the copybook was constantly being studied and recopied by both the master and the students, there were dozens if not hundreds of hand done reproductions. Thus, it is likely that the Deruta artisans obtained their prototypes, such as Perugino's Erythrean Sibyl, from Perugino's students' copybooks. Vasari's biography of Perugino also lists many of the names of students who worked for Perugino and most were Umbrian natives. These students also created their own personal copybooks. The Deruta artisans obtained these drawings from Perugino's students who often traveled throughout Umbria while en route to their most recent commission. Although Vasari does not list students who worked in Deruta specifically, he does indicate that students of Perugino worked in small centres in the environs of Deruta, such as Assisi and Spoleto.⁶⁹

Several examples of the copybooks of Perugino's students have survived.⁷⁰ Many of the images found in these books share aspects in common with the figures on the *bella donna* plates c. 1515-1530 in terms of their expressions, hair styles, and head dresses. These visual similarities reinforce the argument that Perugino's images were spread by his students via copybooks.

The Facial Expressions of Perugino's Feminine Figures

As the numerous images in the copybooks reveal, Perugino and his students were concerned with conveying *aria angelica* or a contemplative demeanor through an

particularly because Pietro had made use of some of those figures he had used at other times [in other works]).

⁶⁹ Vasari, *ibid.*, p. 612; Becherer, *ibid.*, p. 70.

⁷⁰ Pagden, *op. cit.*, figs. 25, 26, 65, 135, 144.

established set of facial expressions.⁷¹ Figure 27 below includes images from these copy books and shows the expressions, which characterized Perugino's work and that of his students. As Baxandall notes, these particular facial expressions made the work of Perugino and his studio popular among the middle class public.⁷² Ironically, according to Vasari, Perugino was an object of ridicule and condemnation in high art circles as a result of this technique.⁷³ Fellow artists like Michelangelo laughed at Perugino for his obsession with this one facial expression which he used repeatedly in many of his art works. Vasari notes that other artists felt Perugino ignored important artistic developments by constantly reusing the same images. Despite his disinterest in artistic developments Perugino's allegorical figures at the *Collegio del Cambio* in Perugia were popular with the public. Vasari remarks that "[this] work ... was [the] most beautiful and was praised more than any other work Pietro executed in Perugia, and is prized today by the men of the city."⁷⁴ The ridicule Perugino experienced, even though he enjoyed great popularity, reveals the chasm between the fine art circles and Umbrian popular culture.

⁷¹ Vasari, op. cit., p. 608.

⁷² Baxandall, op. cit., p. 109.

⁷³ Vasari, op. cit., p. 608: "*E per questo ... Michele Agnolo in publico gli dicesse ch'egli era goffo nell'arte.*" (And because of this he deserved ... to have Michelangelo say of him in public that he was awkward in the [execution] of his art).

⁷⁴ Vasari, op. cit., pp. 607, 608.



27. Students of Perugino, *Studies of Female Heads from the copybooks of Perugino's Students*, c. 1500. Reproduced from *Disegni Umbri del Rinascimento da Perugino a Raffaello*, ed. S. Ferino Pagden, Florence, 1982. (These photos are reproduced with the kind permission of Leo S. Olschki Editore).

The facial expressions of these figures were considered beautiful and highly desirable to spectators and the merchants who visited the *Cambio*. When the Erythrean Sibyl was used as a prototype for *bella donna* plates, the consistent use of the *aria angelica* was not only desirable as a prototype, but it also became an important convention by which exemplary women were depicted on *bella donna* plates by Deruta artisans.

Even though new prototypes of female moral exemplars were employed on *bella donna* plates by Deruta artisans after 1530, they still continued to choose prototypes which possessed the same contemplative expressions of the "*aria angelica*."⁷⁵ This often required the artisans to alter the new prototypes to conform to the visual conventions traditionally favoured by middle class clients. This type of contemplative expression together with the conventions of the side profile, downcast eyes and gold colouring were important cues in the language of behaviour and feminine expectations of the Renaissance urban middle class. These conventions expressed the values important to them, namely, the chastity and modesty of their women.⁷⁶

Whereas the visual conventions preferred by the urban families remained consistent, feminine figures representing exemplarity changed. After 1530 Christian allegorical figures (i.e. the Sibyls) declined in popularity and instead aristocratic women increasingly represented the exemplary ideal. Using images of court women as representative of the standards of behaviour and comportment for middle class laywomen involved certain difficulties; namely, the freedom court life offered aristocratic women.⁷⁷ In order to mediate this contradiction the Deruta artisans took the images of aristocratic women in court paintings and portrayed them according to the conservative conventions, which depicted these figures as more modest and austere. For example, Isabella d'Este's portrait was originally rendered in three-quarter rotation and with eyes whose gaze turns away from the viewer. D'Este's diverted eyes suggest a degree of forwardness, boldness

⁷⁵ Baxandall, op. cit., pp. 109.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 68.

⁷⁷ Goldthwaite, op. cit., (1989), 14; P. Hills, "Venetian Glass and Renaissance Self-Fashioning," in *Concepts of Beauty in the Renaissance*, ed. F. Ames-Lawrence and M. Rogers. (Hants, U.K.: Ashgate Books, 1998), p. 167; C. Lawrence, "Introduction," *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe: Patrons, Collectors and Connoisseurs* (University Park, Penn.: Pennsylvania State University, 1998), p. 6.

and flirtatiousness. This conveys *courtesia* (It. "coquetry") an integral quality of women in courtly culture. However, such a gaze would have been utterly inappropriate for middle class women, as a result, Deruta artisans altered this prototype and depicted her in the traditional side profile with down-cast eyes.

Prototype Five: Isabella d'Este

The last major prototype widely used on Deruta *bella donna* plates was derived from the painting *Isabella d'Este with a Portrait of Brother Fredrick* by Bernardino Licinio da Pordenone [Figure 28].⁷⁸ Although not much is known about Licino da Pordenone (1474-1539), it is clear that like all court painters employed by Isabella d'Este, he worked according to her detailed directions. As mentioned earlier, d'Este demanded that she be portrayed as an ideal of courtly virtue and feminine beauty, to shape public opinion of herself at court. That her image was used as a prototype for *bella donna* plates indicates not only that d'Este was successful at elevating herself to the status of an aesthetic and moral *paragone* in her own court of Mantua, but also throughout Umbria.⁷⁹ According to Luke Syson, Renaissance scholar and a curator at the British Museum, after the completion of her portraits, d'Este allowed copies and prints to

⁷⁸ A. Luzio, *La Galleria dei Gonzaga Venduta all'Inghilterra nel 1627-28* (Roma: Bari Editore, 1974). The following plates are derived from this prototype: Appendix B, Database I, nos. 176 - 204.

⁷⁹ R. San Juan, "Mythology, Women and Renaissance Private Life; The Myth of Eurydice in Italian Furniture Painting," *Art History* 15 (1992), 172; P. Simons, "Portrait, Portrayal and Idealization: Ambiguous Individualism in Representations of Renaissance Women," *Language and Images of Renaissance Italy*, ed. A. Brown, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 268; L. Syson, "Reading Faces: Gian Cristoforo's Romano's Model of Isabella d'Este," in *The Court of Gonzaga in the Age of Mantegna*, ed. C. Mozzarelli (Mantua: 1992), p. 282; C. Brown, "A Ferrarese Lady and a Mantuan Marchesa: The Art and Antiquities Collections of Isabella d'Este Gonzaga (1474-1539)," in *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe: Patrons, Collectors and Connoisseurs* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), pp. 67-68.

be made.⁸⁰ These prints were sold in bookstores and made readily available to the general public.⁸¹



28. Bernardino Licinio, *Ritratto di Donna che Regge l'Effigie del Congiunto*, c. 1520. Pinacoteca del Castello Sforzesco, Milano, Italy. (This photograph is reproduced with the kind permission of the Commune di Milano).

Following her death in 1539, d'Este's life and image was not just presented in portraiture but also promoted in literature. Her biographies were written to demonstrate her status as an exemplary woman. Giuseppe Bettussi (1512?-1575) was one author who promoted her life in this manner. To prove she was a woman worthy of study and imitation, he wrote

⁸⁰ Syson, op. cit., p. 282.

⁸¹ L. Armstrong, "The Impact of Printing on Miniaturists in Venice after 1469," in *Printing the Written Word: The Social History of Books circa 1450-1520*, ed. S. Hindman (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), p. 201. Armstrong states that often miniaturists, printmakers and books sellers worked together to create and sell books. Often the bookseller commissioned printmakers to provide texts and images to stock their shops.

and inserted her biography within his Italian translation of Boccaccio's *De Mulieribus Claris* (c. 1545).⁸² By placing this text along with Boccaccio's work, Bettussi suggested that d'Este was equal in virtue to other illustrious figures such as the Roman matron Lucretia and the Erythrean Sybil.

The similarities between the original painting of Isabella d'Este by Licinio da Pordenone and the portrait on *bella donna* plates below are clear. The hair of the subjects is parted in the middle and pulled back under the turban; the dresses have a square neckline and are framed with a wide lace borders. Finally, the figure depicted on these *bella donna* plates is adorned with a pearl choker and the turban that perches on the back half of her head is decorated with alternating stripes consistent with the style of the original painting.

The image on the *bella donna* plates features a significant departure from the original painting. First, the three-quarter profile of the painting is replaced with the side profile, making it consistent with the visual conventions of other *bella donna* plates.⁸³ This is an example of the liberty Deruta artisans enjoyed, making the new prototypes conform to the visual language already known to their buying public.⁸⁴

⁸² Kolsky, op. cit., pp. 78-79; Brown, op. cit., pp. 67-68.

⁸³ Figure 25 is interesting for its side profile. In contrast figure 26 has a $\frac{3}{4}$ body profile but the face is in side profile.

⁸⁴ P. Simons, "Women in Frames: the Gaze, the Eye and the Profile in Renaissance Portraiture," *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History* ed. N. Broude and M. Garrard (New York: Icon Editions, 1992), p. 41; Fiorino, op. cit., p. 39; Baxandall, op. cit., p. 68.



29. Deruta, *Large Dish with Border of Floral, Band and Scale Sections*, c. 1530. Inscription: CONFERMA FE. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Widener Collection. 1942.9.3.24 (C-49). Appendix B, Database I, no. 184 (This plate appears with kind permission of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.).



30. Deruta, *Large Dish with Border of Floral, Band and Scale Sections*, c. 1530. Inscription: P[ER] TACERE NON SECORDA. Louvre Museum, Paris, France. OA 1442. Appendix B, Database I, No. 198. (This plate appears with kind permission of the Réunion des Musées Nationaux Agence Photographique, Paris, France).

Although the models of female exemplary behaviour changed from Christian allegorical figures (Erythrean Sibyl) to courtly ladies (Isabella d'Este), the same conventions (side-profile, down-cast gaze, gold colouring) remained. How, in the minds of Deruta artisans and their buying public, did aristocratic women become exemplary figures along with the saints? The work of Andre Vauchez provides insight into his question.

Vauchez: Aristocratic Birth as a Sign of Exemplarity

Contemporary courtly women and saintly figures, such as the four female lay saints (St. Barbara, St. Catherine of Alexandria, St. Cecilia, St. Lucy) shared two common qualities: noble birth and not belonging to a religious order.⁸⁵ Middle class families deemed noble birth a sign of divine support.⁸⁶ Therefore, contemporary aristocratic exemplary women shared two qualities in common with the saintly figures, and as a result middle class families saw them as models. It was believed that noble birth was the result of divine will and correspondingly the nobility enjoyed innate virtues as a gift of God. That most saints were of noble birth was evidence of this notion; the nobility were naturally suited toward moral and spiritual perfection. Isabella d'Este being a noble woman in the eyes of the middle class was therefore innately virtuous and a model of feminine excellence.

⁸⁵ Vauchez, op. cit., pp. 66, 176, 178, 179; Vauchez states that in the 15th and 16th centuries over 58.5 % of urban saints were from the laity.

⁸⁶ Castiglione, op. cit., p. 237 The saints favoured by Umbrian urban lay women were: St. Catherine of Alexandria, St. Cecilia, St. Barbara, and St. Lucy; see also Chapter Three: "Four Female Lay Saints on Deruta Pottery."

The Visual Conventions of *Bella Donna* Plates

The Relation between Court Portraiture and *Bella Donna* Plates

The torso and gaze used for the female figure on the *bella donna* plates have been associated with painted portraiture of the early Renaissance (c. 1500). However, *bella donna* plates have not fared well from this comparison. Marta Ajmar and Dora Thorton, as well as Alan Caiger-Smith, consider this genre inferior to court portraiture, because of the repeated use of particular images and lack of perspective.⁸⁷ However, there are two reasons why the imagery on *bella donna* plates cannot be seen as simply derivative of portraiture. First, although portraiture influenced the style of *bella donna* plates, it is not the only visual medium from which the Deruta artisans derived their prototypes; exemplary figures depicted on woodcuts and engravings were also utilized as models.⁸⁸ Second, the buying public of *bella donna* plates were middle class and the artisans tailored that their work to accommodate their specific needs and tastes. While the *bella donna* plates may appear to have similarities with court portraiture, the unique values and aesthetic tastes of the middle class ensured that *bella donna* plates conveyed a visual message distinct from court portraits. The factor which most exemplifies this distinction is the manner in which Deruta artisans rendered their female figures: the side profile. Caiger-Smith notes that modern scholars have characterized the work of Deruta artisans as technologically backward because of its two dimensionalism. However, this conservatism was a deliberate choice and not the result of the lack of originality or skill.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ M. Ajmar and D. Thorton, "When is a Portrait not a Portrait: *Belle Donne* and the Praise of Local Beauties," in *Image and the Individual*, ed. N. Mann and L. Syson (London: British Museum, 1997), p. 148; A. Caiger-Smith, *Lustre Pottery* (London: Faber and Faber, 1985), pp. 136-137.

⁸⁸ Goldthwaite, op. cit., 1989), p. 13.

⁸⁹ Caiger-Smith, op. cit., 136-137.

Female Portraiture and Aristocratic Ideals: Standards and Conventions

Deruta artisans, well aware of the interests, tastes and expectations of their market adapted the conventions of portraiture to their ceramic medium.⁹⁰ In examining this process, it is necessary to discuss two important issues affecting this adaptation; first, the significance of portraiture conventions and their impact on the courtly audiences who viewed them must be considered. Three feminist scholars and specialists of Renaissance portraiture, Patricia Simons, Mary Rogers and Elizabeth Cropper, have shown that female court portraiture was customized to meet the aesthetic and social values of aristocratic men in the Italian Renaissance court.⁹¹ These scholars argued that the portraits of 16th century Italian women presented aristocratic women as embodiments of feminine courtly ideals.⁹² These ideals accommodated the personal interests of aristocratic males: first, their desire to gaze at attractive women and their humanistic interest in Platonic and Petrarchan concepts of harmony and physical beauty. Next, female court portraiture reflected the belief that aristocratic women were an important component in Italian courtly display culture.⁹³ Specifically, among court circles the opulence and attractiveness of a wife in a portrait attested to the wealth and social stature of a courtier.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ E. Cropper, "Introduction," in *Concepts of Beauty in Renaissance Art*, ed. Francis Ames-Lewis (Hants, UK: Ashgate Books, 1998), pp. 3, 5; E. Cropper, "The Beauty of Women: Problems in the Rhetoric of Renaissance Portraiture," *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe*, eds. M. Ferguson, M. Quilligan, N. Vickers (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986) pp. 183-190; M. Rogers, "The Decorum of Women's Beauty: Trissino, Firenzuola, Luigini and the Representation of Women in Sixteenth-Century Painting," *Renaissance Studies* 2 (1988), 63; M. Rogers, "Sonnets on Female Portraits from Renaissance North Italy," *Word and Image* 12 (1986), 297; P. Simons, op. cit., (1995), p. 274; P. Simons, op. cit., (1992), pp. 47-48.

⁹¹ Cropper, op. cit., (1986), pp. 385, 386; Simons, op. cit., (1995), p. 277; Simons, op. cit., (1992) p. 39; Rogers, op. cit., (1988), p. 60.

⁹² Cropper, op. cit., (1986), p. 181; Rogers, op. cit., (1988), 55; Simons, op. cit., (1995), p. 304.

⁹³ Ibid., (1995), p. 277.

⁹⁴ Cropper, op. cit., (1998), pp. 3, 5; Cropper, op. cit., (1986), pp. 183-190; Rogers, op. cit., (1988), 63; Rogers, op. cit., (1986), 297; Simons, op. cit., (1995), 274; Simons, op. cit., (1992), p. 47-48.

Female Court Portraiture

Both Baxandall and Simons have argued that the visual conventions of court portraiture suggested specific values and ideals which appealed to the conceits of court society. We can better understand the nature of *bella donna* plates by examining the use of such visual conventions of court portraiture. Simons, Rogers and Cropper all argue that female virtues of modesty, chastity and silence were cultural conventions, represented in a court portrait by the side profile and down cast eyes. According to Rogers, the use of the side profile and down-cast eyes was an important convention in court portraiture, albeit short lived (c. 1490 to 1515).⁹⁵ By 1515, the side profile was exchanged for a three-quarter-body rotation. According to Maria Theresa Fiori, the side profile was replaced in favour of the three-quarter rotation in order to display expensive costuming and jewelry more fully and better convey the sitter's identity.⁹⁶ It seems that the more modest side profile was sacrificed to the need to display familial wealth, better served by the three-quarter profile.⁹⁷ At court it became more important that the wife was a representative of the family wealth and high moral bearing through her jewelry, clothing and comportment. The display of costly adornments, better shown by the three-quarter profile, was a significant part of Renaissance display culture.

The opulent and disciplined composure of aristocratic women in portraits was one way the established feminine role at court was promoted. According to Baxandall,

⁹⁵ Rogers, op. cit., (1986), 294.

⁹⁶ Fiorino, op. cit., 38. For a list of comportment manuals and dialogues on the role of women, see Bibliography: "Comportment Manuals on women consulted."

⁹⁷ A. Randolph, "Performing the Bridal Body in 15th Century Florence," *Art History* 21 (June, 1998), 192. With regard to aristocratic families wealth was more important than chastity. For middle class families sumptuary laws prevented such ostentatious display.

Renaissance art was an expression of the "period eye" or the manifestation of cultural ideals which were important to the individual who commissioned the work.⁹⁸ Thus, when interpreting works of art, we must consider the tastes and interests of the patron who commissioned the portrait as much as the creator of the work in question.⁹⁹ The artist expressed the values of the commissioner through the gestures or the physical placement of figures in a work of art. In fact, the conventions of comportment signified the moral qualities of a figure as well as their social station.¹⁰⁰ Rogers elaborates upon Baxandall's approach with particular reference to gender. In portraiture, gesture signified wealth and virtue. It also delineated gender roles and was a powerful means by which to shape and reinforce the social perception of the designated roles for women and men. In the case of women, physical beauty and chastity was emphasized through the downcast or diverted eyes and side profile three-quarter profile. For men, self-discipline, personal authority and capacity for leadership were central. Aristocratic men, unlike women, were not represented with their eyes downcast. Instead, they were depicted in full figure with their eyes in direct view, making the face of the male subject central to the viewer's line of vision. This convention was an important way to represent the male figure's self-confidence, self-awareness, and ability to engage in public affairs in a direct, powerful and honorable manner. In this way, the direct gaze of the male subject represented his innate authority in the public world, in contrast, the downcast and indirect female gaze

⁹⁸ Baxandall, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

⁹⁹ Kingery, *op. cit.*, pp. 218-220. Since the buyers of maiolica were middle class, they could not afford unique luxury objects. Deruta maiolica being mass produced, did not allow for innovation in visual style. For this reason, Kingery states that maiolica was more conservative than other artistic genres in the Renaissance, because mass production required that stylistic patterns be more conservative and formulaic than was the case with unique objects.

¹⁰⁰ Rogers, *op. cit.*, (1986), 294; Baxandall, *op. cit.*, pp. 50, 60; Kingery, *op. cit.*, pp. 218-220; Cropper, *op. cit.*, (1986), pp. 374, 382.

was indicative of her removal from it. Thus, the unique modes of facial expression reinforced gender based roles and separate spheres at court.¹⁰¹

The Masculine Audience and Female Court Portraiture

In Nicolo Machiavelli's (1469-1527) *Discorsi Sopra la Prima Deca di Tito Livio* (*It. "Discourses on the First ten Books of Titus Livius,"* 1518), women and their allure were considered the leading cause of the downfall of great men and leaders.¹⁰² His belief that women caused men to lose control of themselves and thus their kingdoms reveals a deep seated fear of women and their power. The concern regarding the sexual power of women gave rise to disciplinary codes of deportment for Renaissance women. Poses which limited a woman's eye contact with strangers were promoted to prevent uncontrollable desires among men gazing at them. Paolo Berdini, a scholar of portraiture, refers to this moral discipline of women as the "regime of vision."¹⁰³ He adds that female courtly portraits demonstrate that women, even though desirable, must be subject to a strict code of deportment to prevent the inadvertant destruction of men. Thus, it was woman's role to conduct and carry herself in such a way as to avoid creating a situation which might lead to immoral conduct by and with men. This involved a defensive strategy, a body language; the avoidance of all movements understood to be aggressive and provocative, the feminine gaze was one of these gestures.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ Rogers, op. cit., (1986), 299.

¹⁰² N. Machiavelli, "Discorsi Sopra la Prima Deca di Tito Livio" *Opere* (Milano: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore, 1964), Lib. III. XXVII, p. 380. For the complete quotation and translation see Chapter 3, "Four Female Lay Saints," n. 98.

¹⁰³ P. Berdini, "Women Under the Gaze: A Renaissance Geneology." *Art History* 21 (Dec., 1998), p. 578.

¹⁰⁴ Berdini, *ibid.*, p. 566.

However, there was a discrepancy between the values represented in female court portraiture and the daily lives of aristocratic women. Although Renaissance court society clearly wanted court women to act according to certain conventions, actual court women acted more independently as illustrated by the life of Isabella d'Este. D'Este was neither modest nor demure in her dealings at court,¹⁰⁵ and her use of portraiture was very deceptive. She commanded that she be portrayed as a woman in the bloom of her youth, when she was in reality advanced in age.¹⁰⁶ Although she affected a modest pose in portraits, she was aggressive in her acquisition of art and antiquities, in her political role as regent of Mantua, and as commander of its armed forces.¹⁰⁷ It is also known from manuals of etiquette that not all court ladies were compelled to act with the same modesty and inactivity suggested by their portraits. Dilwyn Knox, a scholar of Italian courtly literature, writes that women of the nobility possessed greater freedom of expression and behaviour than their less well-born counterparts. She cites Stephano Guazzo's *La Civile Conversazione* (It. "The Polite Conversation," 1574) which advocates that court women affect *modestia* (It. "modesty"), but temper it with *courtesia* (It. "flirtatious repartee"); a form of engaging conversation with male courtiers.¹⁰⁸ Although this behaviour was embraced by court circles, it would never have been acceptable for women of non-aristocratic classes. For example, Isabella d'Este cultivated relationships with humanists in order to gain a foothold in the social and cultural circles governed by

¹⁰⁵ Knox, op. cit., p. 10; Guazzo, op. cit., p. 170.

¹⁰⁶ L. Syson, "Reading Faces: Gian Cristoforo's Romano's Model of Isabella d'Este" in *The Court of Gonzaga in the Age of Mantegna*, ed. C. Mozzarelli, R. Oresko, L. Ventura (Roma: Bulzoni, 1997), p. 280.

¹⁰⁷ Knox, op. cit., p. 10; Rogers, op. cit., p. 49; San Juan, op. cit., pp. 69, 72; Brown, op. cit., p. 70; Kolsky, op. cit., pp. 78-79.

¹⁰⁸ Knox, op. cit., p. 10; Guazzo, op. cit., p. 170.

men.¹⁰⁹ Middle class women would have had minimal experience with male members of society and were restricted socially both before and after marriage.¹¹⁰

The Side Profile and Downcast Eyes: Deruta *Bella Donna* Visual Conventions (1500-1550)

The conservative values of the urban middle class with respect to the role of women are demonstrated by the use of visual conventions on *bella donna* plates derived from court portraits.¹¹¹ The conventions of the side profile and downcast eyes, no longer in use in female court portraits (c. 1515), were retained by Deruta artisans on *bella donna* plates and reflect the conservative tastes of male middle class purchasers who promoted traditional values of feminine behaviour.¹¹² Clearly, the retention of these conventions indicates they still represented the values of modesty and proper deportment among the middle class even though they had been abandoned by the aristocracy.¹¹³ The retention of the side profile and downcast eyes by the Deruta artisans stemmed from the desires of

¹⁰⁹ S. Kolsky, "Images of Isabella d'Este," *Italian Studies: An Annual Review* 39 (1984), 62.

¹¹⁰ Boccaccio, op. cit., p. 48.

¹¹¹ Knox, op. cit., p. 10.

¹¹² Clearly, Deruta artisans used court portraiture for the prototypes of *bella donna* plates. However, these prototypes were intended for a male aristocratic audience and urban laywomen would never have seen these images in their original milieu. For example, court portraits were housed in the *studiolo* (It. "male study") or the male study. Even in the circumstances where portraits were commissioned by women, a rare situation reserved only for those of extraordinary privilege, such as Isabella d'Este, these portraits were commissioned for the express purpose for housing the picture in the *studiolo* and were intended to be viewed by male courtiers. The Erythrean Sibyl, a popular subject prototype for *bella donna* plates was copied from a fresco in Perugia's *Collegio del Cambio* (the Exchange House), a place no middle class woman would have entered.

¹¹³ Knox, op. cit., p. 10; Rogers, op. cit., (1988), 49; San Juan, op. cit., p. 69, 72; Guazzo, op. cit., p. 170. First, unlike court portraiture, the commissioning audience of the *bella donna* plates was distinct from the viewing audience. Court portraiture was for the most part commissioned by aristocratic men at court, and these paintings reflected their personal tastes. The intended viewing audiences of court portraits were men; in no sense were they didactic. In the case of *bella donna* plates, husbands purchased them for their new brides. Even though the plate was placed in the wife's room and viewed by her, the values expressed by the plates embodied the husband's own aspirations because he purchased them. The plates were meant to instruct urban wives on proper behaviour and deportment.

husbands to remind their wives to act modestly and chastely.¹¹⁴ Whereas the three-quarter profile of court portraits (c. 1515) facilitated the display of opulence through jewelry and rich adornment, the side profile on *bella donna* plates restricted this.¹¹⁵ As discussed later, sumptuary laws restricted urban middle class women from exhibiting excessive wealth.¹¹⁶ In addition, writers on family issues, such as Alberti, advised men not to marry women who cared excessively about their appearance, especially with respect to cosmetics and dress.¹¹⁷ The side profile emphasized the necessity of simplicity and austerity for middle class women.¹¹⁸ This was achieved by limiting the space on the *bella donna* plate in which adornments could be painted on the female figure.

Jewelry and Costuming on *bella donna* plates

Ajmar and Thornton have argued that the decorative elements, in particular the jewelry and costuming, were unique to each *bella donna* plate and represented the personal adornments worn by the woman who received the plate. Whether this was true or not, these scholars have not taken into account the primarily didactic purpose of such modest adornment. The decorative elements on *bella donna* plates contributed to the

¹¹⁴ Brucker, op. cit., p. 27.

¹¹⁵ M. Rogers, op. cit., (1988), p. 294. For a study of class and jewelry in portraits, see J. Bridgeman, "Condecenti et Netti: Beauty, Dress and Gender in Italian Renaissance Art," in *Concepts of Beauty in the Renaissance*, eds. F. Ames-Lewis and M. Lewis (Hants U.K.; Ashgate Books, 1998), pp. 44-51; Fiorio, op. cit., 38.

¹¹⁶ Bridgeman, *ibid.*, pp. 44, 47; Pontano, op. cit., p. 275. Pontano states that a woman's clothing should emphasize the appropriate decorum: "*Nelle ragazze l'abbigliamento deve metere in risalto la grazia dell'acconciatura, nelle signore un certo decora da signora.*" (As far as girls clothing is concerned, it ought to emphasize the grace of the hairstyle, whereas ladies the clothing should emphasize womanly decorum).

¹¹⁷ Alberti, op. cit., (1946), p. 355. "*Che bene sono stultissime et troppo vane femine, ove porgendosi lisciate et disoneste credono essere da chi le guata lodate, et non s'aveggono del biasimo loro et del danno. Non s'aveggono meschine che con quelli inditii di disonestà elle allectano le turme de' lascivi...*" (When they present themselves as smooth and dishonest, they believe that they are being praised by those who gawk at them and don't realize the disapproval and damage to themselves. Being so low they don't realize that with these indications of dishonesty they are luring herds of lascivious people ...).

¹¹⁸ Rogers, op. cit., (1988) 294; Bridgeman, op. cit., pp. 44-51.

instruction of the young bride.¹¹⁹ I do not believe that jewelry was a device used by the Deruta artisans to indicate the individual tastes and personality of the woman who received the plates. Rather, the quantity and quality of personal adornments were an important way to mark the general social status of the woman and not individual identity.

Renaissance costuming and adornment was regulated by sumptuary legislation; it was required that women dress in a manner befitting her class. These laws dictated that it was considered inappropriate for women to dress ostentatiously and to appear to have aspirations beyond their class.¹²⁰ *Bella donna* plates were evidence of a woman's (and her family's) compliance with these laws. For example, middle class women were discouraged from dressing in excessive jewelry, expensive velvets and brocades, as well as complicated hairstyles and hair adornments, which were considered signs of aristocratic taste.¹²¹ Thus, middle class women were encouraged to dress modestly, wearing clothes with simple designs, uncomplicated patterns, and moderately priced fabrics, usually in wool or linen.¹²² As well, elaborate jewelry was discouraged and personal adornment was restricted to a diamond ring and a single strand of pearls or a pendant necklace. All Deruta *bella donna* plates depict figures conforming to these restrictions.¹²³ For example, the figures on the plates wear simple jewelry, either a cross or a single strand of pearls, the garments are restricted to one colour, and the fabric,

¹¹⁹ Ajmar and Thornton, op. cit., p. 147.

¹²⁰ Bridgeman, op. cit., p. 44.

¹²¹ Ibid., p. 47.

¹²² G. Lanteri, *Della Economica Tratto di M. Giacomo Lanteri Gentilhuomo* (In Venetia: Appresso Vincenzo Valgris, 1560), p. 144.

¹²³ Whereas the artisans at Deruta depicted their female figures with modest jewelry and dress, this was not the case for *bella donna* plates produced in other centers throughout Italy. Centers such as Castel Durante and Urbino produced *bella donna* plates with female images adorned ornately and ostentatiously. The fabric of their garments depicted on these plates are elaborate brocades, the turbans adorning these figures are also intricately patterned. The clothing appears to be Roman historical costume rather than that of Renaissance as many the figures on the *bella donna* plates appear to be dressed in Roman togas. It is likely that that purchasers of *bella donna* plates of Castel Durante and Urbino were wealthier patrons.

although highly coloured, appears to be a simple fabric, not an intricate brocade pattern or devorè velvets, which characterized the sleeves of many noblewomen of the period.¹²⁴ Although the prototypes of the plates were often aristocratic women and their costume correspondingly lavish, the costuming and adornments of the figures were modified to conform to this sense of middle class restraint.¹²⁵ Such austere personal adornment was another demonstration of modesty.¹²⁶ The plates, thus, reflect an inherent paradox: on one hand, many of the images on the plates were based on portraits of courtly figures that were upheld as models for feminine emulation. On the other hand, the imagery on the plates advocated social controls placed upon middle class women restricting their emulation of aristocratic affectations.¹²⁷

Thus, the jewelry and personal adornment, as it was featured on the *bella donna* plates, acted as a medium to exhort young middle class married women to remain within the bounds of their class and not to make excessive financial demands on her husband.¹²⁸ Goldthwaite does state that the patrons of maiolica pottery were upwardly mobile and increasingly interested in learning the ideas and conventions of court culture. As a result of their increased income, urban middle class families acquired greater quantities of

¹²⁴ Bridgeman, op. cit., pp. 45, 48; According to the sumptuary laws, only aristocrats were allowed to wear silk and brocade. The simple fabrics which decorate the figures on Deruta *bella donna* plate are in contrast to those of Castel Durante, Urbino and Faenza who appear to wear intricate brocades.

¹²⁵ See Chapter 2: Deruta *bella donna* Plates: Exemplarity and Umbrian Middle Class Women: 1500-1550," pp. 128; 140-144. This section also discusses the way Deruta artisans altered the original prototypes to be consistent with their themes. Costuming was one way the Deruta artisans departed from the original prototype; the side profile was another. As noted already, Italian courtly display culture brought about a change in court portraiture moving away from side profile to three-quarter portraiture in order to feature even more jewelry and opulent clothing. On Deruta maiolica the opposite is true.

¹²⁶ Bridgeman, op. cit., p. 44.

¹²⁷ Simons, op. cit., (1992), p. 41.

¹²⁸ W. B. Randolph, "Performing the Bridal Body in 15th Century Florence," *Art History* 21 (1998), 190; B. Witthoft, "Marriage Rituals and Marriage Chests in Quattrocento Florence," *Artibus et Historiae* ar 5 (III) (1982), 51. Randolph tells of families who spent so much money on jewelry and dowries that they went into debt. The sumptuary laws were intended to prevent this as well.

luxury objects demonstrating their rising social status.¹²⁹ Yet, the austerity of the *bella donna* figures reminded women that they should not extend themselves beyond their class in terms of their public display and personal purchases. The modest dress of the middle class women was a manifestation of this.¹³⁰ Therefore, the presence of jewelry and adornment on the *bella donna* plates was not, as Ajmar argues, so much a mark of individuality of the owner, but rather a general reminder of her social station and the necessity of staying within the limitations of her class.¹³¹

Petrarch's Laura: the Visual Convention of Gold Colouring

The last convention common to all *bella donna* plates is gold colouring. As mentioned earlier, *bella donna* plates depicted women with gold hair and golden dress; even the surrounding decoration and foliage was golden. The prominence and pervasiveness of this colour convention can be explained by the importance of Petrarch's Laura, the *paragone* of feminine beauty in Renaissance society.¹³² This particular colouring was upheld as an intrinsic part of feminine beauty for all women.¹³³ However,

¹²⁹ Goldthwaite, op. cit., (1989), 13.

¹³⁰ Bridgeman, op. cit., pp. 44-47; Simons, op. cit., (1992), p. 41.

¹³¹ Ajmar and Thornton, op. cit., p. 147.

¹³² A. Firenzuola, *On the Beauty of Women (1493-1543)*, trans. and eds. K. Eisenbichler and J. Murray (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1992), p. 45; Cropper, op. cit., (1986), p. 374; R. Kelso, *Doctrine for the Lady of the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1956), p. 196; L. Rabin, "Speaking to Silent Ladies: Images of Beauty and Politics in Poetic Portraits of Women from Petrarch to Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz," *Modern Language Notes* 112 (1997), 150; G. Braden "Applied Petrarchism: The Loves of Pietro Bembo," *Modern Language Quarterly* 57 (1996), 401.

¹³³ A. Firenzuola, "Dialogo del Firenzuola della Bellezza delle Donne," *Opere di Messer Agnolo Firenzuola* vol. 1 (Milano: Dalla Società Tipografica de' Classici Italiani, 1802), p. 65. "Sono adunque I colori che ci fanno di misterio il biondo, il lionato, il Negro, il rosso, il candido, il bianco, il vermiglio, e lo incarnato. Dovete, adunque sapere, che il colore biondo è un giallo non molto acceso nè quanto di splendore, e se non in tutto simile all'oro, non dimeno dal poeti spesse volte agguagliato a lui; che sapete, che e' decon spesso, come il Petrarca in più luoghi, che I capegli sono di fine ore... E voi sapete che de' capegli il proprio e vero colore e essere biondi..." (Therefore, there are colours that are mysterious for us: blonde, tawny, black, red, candescent white, pure white, vermillion and flesh tone, thus, you ought to know that the colour blond, a yellow that is not too intense nor too bright, and is not entirely like gold, although it has been compared to it many times by the poets: you know that they often said, as Petrarch did in many

this standard did not only imply a quality of physical attractiveness; outward beauty was considered a visible manifestation of moral perfection.¹³⁴ Laura was not a visual prototype for *bella donna* plates, as is true of the Erythrean Sibyl or Isabella d'Este. Instead, her presence on *bella donna* plates throughout the first half of the 16th century was seen in an indirect way. She could not have been a direct prototype; a detailed portrait of Laura did not exist in the 16th century. However, the few descriptive elements Petrarch included in his poetry became the elements incorporated into a visual formula on *bella donna* plates.¹³⁵ The quality of Laura's beauty, emphasized above all other of her physical characteristics, was her gold colouring. Deruta artisans deliberately adapted the Petrarchan convention of gold colouring and the ideals it represented. Middle class urban husbands clearly preferred gold colouring on *bella donna* plates, demonstrated by the fact that all *bella donna* plates were predominantly gold in colour. This suggests that they were not merely aware of the importance of gold colouring as a decorative quality, but also aware of its connection with Petrarch's Laura.¹³⁶

In his *Canzoniere* (1366), Petrarch (1304-1374) described his beloved Laura as a woman who had golden hair whose entire being radiated golden light.¹³⁷ Petrarch claimed that Laura's physical and spiritual radiance inspired him to the degree that seeing became

places, that hairs are of fine gold ... and you know that the correct and true colour is blond). G. Plamero, "Il Corpo femminile tra Idea di Bellezza e Igiene, Cosmetici, Balsami e Profumi all fine de Medioevo," *Scienza della Bellezza: Natura e Tecnologia: Atti del II Convegno della Scuola di Specializzazione in Scienza e Tecnologia Cosmetiche dell'Università di Siena* (Siena: 18-19 Ottobre, 2002), p. 4.

¹³⁴ R. Kelso, *Doctrine for the Lady of the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1956), pp. 193-194.

¹³⁵ For a study of Petrarch and his interest in portraits, see N. Mann, "Petrarch and Portraits," *Image and the Individual*, eds. N. Mann and L. Syson (London: British Museum Press, 1998), pp. 15-20.

¹³⁶ N. Vickers, "Vital Signs: Petrarch and Popular Culture," *Romantic Review* 79 (Jan., 1988), 185. Vickers states that Petrarch was popular among the middle class. There was a special pocket sized version, favoured by them, called a "Petrarchino." For a visual representation of a Petrarchino, see Andrea Del Sarto's, *La Dama con il Petrarchino* (c. 1528).

¹³⁷ L. Sasso, *Il Nome nella Letteratura: L'Interpretazione dei Nomi negli Scrittori Italiani del Medioevo* (Genova, Italia: Casa Editrice Marietti Spa, 1990), p. 69; P. Hainsworth, *Petrarch the Poet: An Introduction to the Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta* (London: Routledge, 1988), pp. 120, 122, 135.

a religious experience. As Petrarch states (*Canzone* 204, line 11-14): "... Now with so clear a light and such signs, we must not lose our way in that brief journey which can make us worthy of an eternal dwelling."¹³⁸

The name "Laura" was a play on gold imagery (*l'auro*; *It.* "the golden one") that is found throughout Petrarch's *Canzoniere*. Laura's name suggests the colour gold, mimicking her physical appearance, particularly her hair and wardrobe, as well as her radiant and spiritual character.¹³⁹ Clearly, the literary device known as *Il Senhal* is at work here. Luigi Sasso, a literary scholar specializing in naming patterns of figures in Medieval and Renaissance Italian literature, has observed that heroines, like Petrarch's Laura, possess names which reflect their physical and moral characteristics. According to Petrarchan and courtly literature expert Ruth Kelso, it was believed that a woman's gold colouring caused men to adore and desire her.¹⁴⁰ However, Petrarch actually provided very few visual clues with regard to Laura's personal appearance.¹⁴¹ Laura's skin was described as pearl white and her eyes were brown, every other aspect of her being radiated a gold colour. In addition, Petrarch indicates that she was a deeply modest woman whose face remained consistently diverted avoiding the gaze of onlookers.¹⁴² Contemporary enthusiasts of the poet Petrarch, known as *I Petrarchisti* ("the Petrarchists"), promoted the idea that gold colouring was the most desirable of all

¹³⁸ Ibid., *Canzone* 204, lines 11-14, p. 351: "... *sforzati al cielo, o mio stanco coraggio, per la nebbia entro de' suoi dolci sdegni seguendo I passi onesti e'l divo raggio*".

¹³⁹ Sasso, op. cit. pp. 59, 79; G. Mazzotta, *The Worlds of Petrarch* (Durham: Duke University, 1993), p. 63.

¹⁴⁰ Kelso, op. cit., pp. 137, 196.

¹⁴¹ Cropper, op. cit., (1976), 385; Rabin, op. cit., p. 150; S. Sturm-Maddox, *Petrarch's Laurels* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State Press, 1992), p. 19; Sturm-Maddox states that Petrarch replaces Laura's physical description with arboreal elements.

¹⁴² Cropper, op. cit., (1976), 385; Firenzuola, op. cit., p. 65.

feminine physical qualities.¹⁴³ This visual convention was also upheld as a standard of female beauty among the Petrarchist painters who attempted to reconstruct Laura's image, termed a *paragone*.¹⁴⁴ Thus, Petrarchists adopted these characteristics in the genres of both poetry and painting.¹⁴⁵

The Deruta *bella donna* plates depict female figures with gold hair and costuming. Like Laura, the figures on these plates emit a gold aura. This glow results from golden ornamentation on the rim of the plates and a golden opalescent tincture created by the lustrous *coperta* (It. "a cover," literally an overglaze on Deruta maiolica).¹⁴⁶ Thus, *bella donna* plates fit within this Petrarchist tradition because female figures were depicted with the qualities ascribed to Laura.¹⁴⁷ Laura was not a physical ideal to be emulated, rather her beauty was a paragon of moral excellence to be imitated. As Petrarch states, all women should gaze upon her if they want to learn how to become honourable women:

Whatever lady hopes to have glorious fame for wisdom, virtue, courtesy,
let her look fixedly into the eyes of that enemy of mine, whom the world
calls my lady.

There she may learn how honour is won, how God is loved, how chastity
is joined with gaiety, and what is the straight way to go to Heaven,
which awaits and desires her.¹⁴⁸

Petrarch's use of Laura, however, as model of beauty and feminine morality is contradictory. On one hand, he exhorts everyone to look upon her in order to inspect the

¹⁴³ Rogers, op. cit., (1986), p. 294; W. Kennedy, *Authorizing Petrarch* (Ithaca: New York: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp. ix, x; L. Forster, *The Icy Fire: Five Studies in European Petrarchism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 30; D. Gus, "Petrarchism and the End of the Renaissance," *Francis Petrarch: Six Centuries Later: A Symposium* (Chicago: Newberry Library, 1975), p. 385; B. Weinburg, "The Sposizione of Petrarch in the Early Cinquecento," *Romance Philology* 13 (1959-1960), 374.

¹⁴⁴ Cropper, op. cit., (1976), p. 385.

¹⁴⁵ Rogers, op. cit., (1986), 294.

¹⁴⁶ G. Busti, "Le Technique Produttive della Maiolica a Lustro in Umbria," in *Maioliche Umbre Decorate a Lustro*, ed. G. Gaitini (Firenze: Provincia di Perugia, 1982), p. 14.

¹⁴⁷ Cropper, op. cit., (1976), p. 385.

¹⁴⁸ Petrarch's Lyric Poems, op. cit., *Canzone* 261, l. 1-5, p. 423. "*Qual donna attende a gloriosa fama di senno, di valor, di cortesia miri fiso nelli occhi a quella mia nemica che mia donna il mondo chiama.*"

embodiment of perfect beauty, and yet he himself states that she was elusive and that Laura rarely revealed her face to him; "showing only her shadow or her veil or her garment, but hiding her face."¹⁴⁹ Petrarch's bare description of Laura is intended to be enigmatic, ensuring that his readership - in particular, the Petrarchists - continued to search for more clues as to her true likeness.

In the case of the Deruta artisans, instead of recreating an image of Laura based on Petrarch's spare description, they adapted the known elements of Laura's physical appearance to the five prototypes described earlier. In this way, Laura was as much a moral exemplar to middle class women as the other figurative models of the plates, such as Isabella d'Este and the Erythrean Sibyl.

The image of Laura epitomized both feminine beauty and moral perfection. Petrarch's *Canzoniere* were studied and imitated as a classic in the same way as Latin texts were viewed as the embodiment of literary elegance; his depiction of Laura symbolized the ultimate representation of feminine beauty.¹⁵⁰ Although the *bella donna* plates depicted female figures which conformed to the Petrarchan ideal of beauty, it is unrealistic to think that wives were expected to emulate this ideal of physical perfection. Rather than physical beauty, the associated moral perfection of Laura was meant to be a model to which urban middle class wives should aspire.¹⁵¹ As with the case of aristocratic

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., *Canzone* 119, l. 19. "Mostrandomi pur l'ombra o'l velo o'panni talor di sé, ma 'l viso nascondendo." (Showing me only her shadow or her veil or her garment, but hiding her face). Petrarch makes it clear that Laura diverts her gazes away from him and sometimes places a veil over her eyes. Petrarch, although frustrated by her diverted gaze, praises her for her unfailing modesty. This parallels with the visual conventions of early court portraiture and that of *bella donna* plates where the figure's eyes are always diverted from the viewer.

¹⁵⁰ Gus, op. cit., p. 385; Rogers, op. cit., (1986), 294; Weinberg, op. cit., p. 385.

¹⁵¹ Kelso, op. cit., p. 194; Firenzuola, op. cit., pp. 11, 19; B. Castiglione, *The Courtier*, trans. and ed. J. Bull (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1976), p. 187. However, it is known that middle class women did dye their hair blond. At the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg (Cat. No.: Petrograd 1920) there is an

women and Sibyls, it is clear that middle class women could only imitate these exemplars to the degree that their class and gender permitted.

In addition to exemplary female images, there were other elements in the *bella donna* visual formula which assisted in the moral education of the wife, specifically literary inscriptions, and the names inscribed on the plates. These two elements provide important information regarding the comportment of women and have been studied at length in Appendices C and D. As argued later, naming and inscription patterns reinforce the above observation.

As with the case of exemplary figures, the naming patterns of Umbrian women demonstrate that their families looked to famous women from Roman and Religious history (i.e. mythological heroines, noble Roman matrons and Christian Saints) as a source of suitable names for their daughters. Fathers selected names for their daughters which they hoped would provide them with moral direction for the rest of their lives. The father's selection of a name represents his wishes regarding the desired moral direction for his daughter. The literary inscriptions also provided additional moral direction when these young women became wives. These inscriptions advised women to love God and reaffirm their declaration of faith. Other inscriptions advised wives that material possessions and physical beauty had no bearing on their quality of life. Finally, other inscriptions still informed women to accept their lot in life, in whatever state it was, and that it was their ability to remain morally pure and withstand temptation which was important, not the immediate pleasures daily life offered. (See Appendix D)

albarello (It. "drug jars") which contained blond hair dye. The inscription on the drug jar is DI CURCUMA. Curcuma is blonde hair dye.

Cherubino of Siena's *Regole della Matrimoniale*: Gender Role in Marriage

In order to understand why Deruta artisans used these visual conventions (side profile, down cast eyes and gold colouring) and Christian mythological and allegorical figures as prototypes, it is necessary to review the literary tradition of feminine exemplarity so influential among Italian middle class society. This tradition allows us to place in context and understand *bella donna* plates as they relate to middle class women's lives. To understand why the husband may have looked to the images found on *bella donna* plates models of behaviour for their wives, it is also necessary to examine the roles of husbands and wives in Italian Renaissance marriage.

The Franciscan friar, Cherubino of Siena (fl. 15th century), wrote the *Regole della Vita Matrimoniale* (It. "Rule of Matrimonial Life"; c.1490) to establish a didactic model for husbands to educate their wives in the proper conduct of marriage.¹⁵² Cherubino da Siena created a secular equivalent to a monastic rule, believing that the state of marriage, when ordered correctly, could facilitate the spiritual enlightenment of couples. Thus, holy matrimony might in no way be inferior to monastic celibacy.¹⁵³ In Cherubino's view,

¹⁵² Cherubino da Siena, *Il Regola della Matrimoniale*, op. cit., p. 4-5. "E voglio che questo tratatello si chiami: Regola di Vita Matrimonale. Volendo dare regola e dottrina di vivere cristianamente alle persone che sono in istato matrimoniale ..." (And I desire that this little treatise be called the *Rules of Matrimonial Life*: desiring to give a set of rules and doctrine of Christian living to people who are living in Holy matrimony...).

¹⁵³ Ibid., p. 4: "Si truovono maggiore numero e maggiore moltitudine, cioè di quelle persone che vivono con compagnia di marito o di moglie. Essendo adunque tanta moltitudine e tanto numero di persone congiunte, pare che sia cosa conveniente e fruttifera e utile fare alcuno sermone e alcuno trattato, ... tali persone conngate, come debbino vivere per non offendere Iddio" (One finds a greater number and multitude, that is to say, of those people who live in company as man and wife. Since there is so great a multitude and such a number of people joined, it would seem to be convenient, fruitful and useful to make a kind of sermon and a kind of treatise ... as to how they might live in a manner that does not offend God); M. F. Leuzzi, op. cit., pp. 253, 266.

each spouse possessed a unique function; the wife took care of the house and children and the husband engaged in public affairs.¹⁵⁴

The rules Cherubino created were straightforward. First, Cherubino stated that the wife must bring honour to the husband's family through her chastity and obedience. Second, Cherubino specified that the husband possessed the more powerful role and required him to educate his wife.¹⁵⁵ In order to achieve this, the husband was instructed to acquire behaviour manuals in the vernacular and place them in her direct view.¹⁵⁶ Both the accessible language and the placement of these books were considered essential in order that the wife might be enticed to study them.¹⁵⁷ The ownership of manuals of behaviour was an important way to help the successful transition from a new bride to a capable wife. The wife was required to learn from these books and seek her husband's advice at every stage regarding her conduct in his house: "If married women desire to know something, when they are in the house of their husbands, they ought to ask them, because their husbands are required to teach them."¹⁵⁸ Cherubino da Siena wrote this rule

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 30. "*Il tuo marito forse s'affatica, o per mare o per terra, o con altro suo arbitrio ed esercizio, a guadagnare; non è bene, che poi per tua mala guardia si perda. Pertanto governa bene tutta la casa...*" (Your husband perhaps tires himself out earning a living either by sea or by land, or as a result of his other responsibilities and activities. It is not good that he lose because of your lack of self control. Therefore, take good care of every [aspect] of the house).

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 7. "*La prima cosa che lo marito è tenuto dare alla sua moglie, si chiama insturzione, cioè dottrina, ammaestramento e insegnamento delle cose necessarie alla salute.*" (The first thing that the husband ought to do is called instruction, that is, doctrine, training and teaching of those things essential for health).

¹⁵⁶ Two Carpaccio paintings (Figures 43, 44). Although the books depicted in these paintings cannot be identified as manuals, these paintings do show the placement of books in private quarters.

¹⁵⁷ Cherubino da Siena, op. cit., p. 9. "*Ancora, quando potessi avere alcuno libro spirituale in lingua volgare per leggerlo alla famiglia tua ... Ancora quella Regole di Vita Spirituale, composta da me a mio giudicio è buona da leggere e insegnare ad ogni persona d'ogni stato. Instruzione è adunque la prima cosa che lo marito è tenuto alla moglie*" (Also, if you are able to have some spiritual books in the common vernacular to read to your family ... Again, those Rules of Spiritual life, written by me, in my judgement are appropriate for every person of every station to read and to teach. Instruction is above all the first thing required to do for the wife).

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 7: "*E che questo sia vero, l'Apostolo Paulo dice: se le donne maritate volessino sapere alcuna cosa quando sono in casa di loro marito, debbono dimandare ad essi, perchè sono tenuti d'insegnarlo loro.*" (And so this may be considered true, the Apostle Paul states: if married women desire to know

in order to counter the prevailing view that marriage was an impediment to a spiritual life which could only be achieved through a life committed to a monastic order.

As will be demonstrated in the following chapter on the four female lay saints depicted on Deruta pottery, young wives often felt that marriage competed with their personal spiritual fulfilment. Writers like Cherubino da Siena attempted to counter this opinion by reinterpreting marriage. Through his work he depicted marriage as a holy union, a state which allowed for spiritual growth of the wife and the husband. In Cherubino's view, marriage was as beneficial to a woman's spiritual growth as a celibate life committed to an order.¹⁵⁹ This new interpretation of marriage was especially important for husbands whose young wives were devoted to the cults of female lay saints such as Catherine of Alexandria and St. Lucy. The hagiographies of these saints illustrated that marriage might be an impediment to spiritual life. A husband had to manage two anxieties of his new bride. First, he had to allay her fears about living in a new house, among new people, away from her family. Second, he had to demonstrate that her devotional affinities could be reconciled with her married state. Cherubino's rules attempted to alleviate any concern a young wife may have had at the time of her marriage. His rule was formulated to demonstrate that a wife could both bring honour to her new family through her behaviour, while at the same time not compromise her spiritual goals. Marriage was not an impediment to spiritual growth but in fact was a contributor to it.

Cherubino's rules reinforced the traditional gender-based division of duties, as well as the husband's complete authority over the family and his wife. Cherubino

something when they are in the house of their husbands, they ought to ask them, because their husbands are required to teach them).

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 4; Leuzzi, op. cit., pp. 253, 266.

specified that it was the wife's role to tend to anything associated with the maintenance of the house. Second, Cherubino stated that the wife must bring honour to the husband's family through her chastity and obedience. Third, she was to inform her husband if he exhibited any impious behaviour. The wife was morally responsible for her husband's behaviour and thus in order to save her own soul she had to be the safe keeper of his.

Although the husband was required to heed her warnings when she noted any transgressions in his behaviour, he still possessed the dominant role in the relationship, because she was in his house. The husband provided for his wife and he also encouraged her to comport herself and behave in a manner, which would maintain, and enhance, the reputation of his family.¹⁶⁰

Models of Feminine Exemplarity in Italian literature

Pagan exemplars: Giovanni Boccaccio and the *De Mulieribus Claris*

Although Cherubino da Siena did not mention specifically the use of *bella donna* plates *per se* as a didactic tool for women, he was working within a larger literary tradition which advocated that secular institutions, objects and iconography possessed as much capacity to teach morality among the laity as institutions endorsed by the Church. Specifically, Cherubino da Siena believed that people who were married could live in a state of holiness equal to those who devoted themselves to the religious life. Cherubino da Siena's *Regole della Vita Matrimoniale* represented a growing trend among theologians to perceive marriage as a viable alternative to the monastic life.¹⁶¹ Whereas monks had abbots, brothers and a monastic rule to guide their behaviour, married couples

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 7.

¹⁶¹ Leuzzi, op. cit., p. 253.

had each other.¹⁶² In addition, husbands could provide texts which supplied models of behaviour, such as Jacobus da Voragine's (1230-1298) *Legenda Aurea* (1261-1267).¹⁶³ This work featured brief hagiographies of over a hundred male and female saints. These texts were ubiquitous in middle class households because they were not only entertaining but also educational and devotional.¹⁶⁴ According to Paul Grendler and Evelyn Birge Vitz, by reading these vernacular texts, young girls and wives learned the qualities deemed most honorable in the eyes of God.¹⁶⁵

The celebrated humanist Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375) continued the tradition of providing specific moral exemplars to women. He believed that female figures of Classical antiquity demonstrated just as much as or even greater aptitude for morality than many Christian saints.¹⁶⁶ Boccaccio wrote *De Mulieribus Claris* (Lat. "Concerning Famous Women"; c. 1361-1375) to show that pagan women had an immense capacity for virtue and that they should be studied by Italian women in order to learn the qualities

¹⁶² Cherubino da Siena, op. cit., p. 24.

¹⁶³ I. Origio, *The Merchant of Prato* (Bedford, Mass.: Bedford Historical Texts Society, 1954), pp. 271-272.

¹⁶⁴ P. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Learning and Literacy, 1300-1600* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), p. 276; E. Birge Vitz, "From Oral to Written in Medieval and Renaissance Lives," *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe*, ed. R. Blumfeld-Kasinski and T. Szell (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1991), p. 99; S. Reames, *The Legenda Aurea: A Re-examination of its Paradoxical History* (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), p. 49. Initially, the text was intended to be read by popular preachers like Bernardino of Siena and Giovanni Dominici, who would use its contents in sermons. However, the popularity of the text resulted in a wide circulation and eventually lay households possessed copies.

¹⁶⁵ Grendler, op. cit., p. 276; Birge Vitz, op. cit., p. 99; Reames, op. cit., p. 49.

¹⁶⁶ Boccaccio, op. cit., p. 12. "*Preterea he, vera et indeficienti uce corusce, in meritam eternitatem non solum clarissime vivunt, sed earum virginitatem, castimoniam, sanctitatem, virtutem et in superandis tam concupiscentiis carnis quam suppliciis tirannorum invictam constantiam, ipsarum meritis exigentibus, singulis voluminibus a piis hominibus, sacris literis et veranda maiestate inconspicuis, descriptas esse cogoscimus; ubi illarum merita, nullo in hoc edito volumine speciali - uti iam dictum est - et a nemine demonstrata, describere, quasi aliquale reddituri premium, inchoamus.*" (Besides, these women, radiant with a true and unfailing light, for a deserved eternity, not only live on in great glory; but we know that their virginity, chastity, sanctity, virtue and unconquered constancy in overcoming the lusts of the flesh, the punishments of tyrants have been described - as their merits - demand in outstanding books by holy men, well known for their sacred writings and their respected status. Since their merits have not been pointed out in any particular book, and by no author, as has already been said, we are undertaking to describe them intending to offer [them] some sort of recompense).

required to be a good wife and mother.¹⁶⁷ Boccaccio's text was less popular among the middle class, but was favoured in aristocratic and humanist circles.¹⁶⁸ For example, it is likely that Umbria's leading humanist, Aldo Maturazzio (d. 1518), had read Boccaccio.¹⁶⁹ His familiarity with Boccaccio can be argued from the following. As Chancellor at the University of Perugia (c. 1506-1518), he provided the themes for Perugino's (c. 1445/50-1523) frescoes at Perugia's *Collegio del Cambio*. In particular, Perugino's fresco depicting the six pagan Sibyls, as shown earlier, was an important prototype for *bella donna* plates.¹⁷⁰ The Erythrean Sibyl, the first figure on the left side of this fresco, was both an important figure in the *Cambio* and an exemplary woman in Boccaccio's *De Mulieribus Claris*.¹⁷¹ As Vasari also states, the frescoes themselves were very famous throughout Umbria.¹⁷² However, because of the popularity of Perugino's work among the Deruta artisans, Boccaccio's Erythrean Sibyl also became a model of exemplarity for the middle class. Boccaccio made it possible to think of pagan women as being positive role models.¹⁷³ This effectively doubled the number of suitable models for women to emulate.

¹⁶⁷ K.H. Stierle "Three Moments in the Crisis of Exemplarity: Boccaccio, Petrarch, Montaigne, Cervantes," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 59 (1988), 583, 588.

¹⁶⁸ C. Scarpati, "Note sulla Fortuna Editoriale del Boccaccio. I Volgarizzamenti Cinque Centeschi delle Opere Latine," *Boccaccio in Europe: Proceedings of the Boccaccio Conference*, ed. G. Tournoy (Louvain: Louvain University Press, 1977), pp. 209-211. Scarpati states that it is unclear how popular Boccaccio's Latin works were in Italy, although the texts circulated among humanists.

¹⁶⁹ G. Zappacosta, *Il Gymnasium Perugino e Altri Studi sull'Umanismo* (Roma: Bulzoni, 1984), pp. xii-11. Maturazzio was Chancellor of the University of Perugia and was likely part of the academic circle which would have read Boccaccio's Latin works.

¹⁷⁰ Van Marle, op. cit., p. 218; Zappacosta, op. cit., pp. xii-11.

¹⁷¹ Boccaccio, op. cit., pp. 84-87.

¹⁷² Vasari, op. cit., p. 607. Vasari attests to the fame of the *Cambio* frescoes: "*Questa opera, che fu bellissima e lodata più che alcun'altra che Pietro fusse in Perugia lavorata, e'oggi dagl'uomini quella città.*" (This work, which was most beautiful and was praised more than any other work, Pietro executed in Perugia and is prized today by the men of that city).

¹⁷³ Boccaccio, op. cit., p. 4. "*Christianam religionem professa legeris, quod in te fore non senseris, ruborem mentis excita et te ipsam redargue quod, Christi delinita crismate, honestate aut pudicitia vel virtute supereris ab extera.*" ([If] after professing the Christian religion, you read [something] which you did not know would happen in you, arouse your mind's sense-of-shame and disabuse yourself of the notion that, once anointed with the oil of Christ, you have surpassed in honesty, modesty or virtue a woman outside the faith).

Giuseppe Bettussi: Aristocratic Women as Exemplars

Another contemporary literary tradition of exemplary women is represented by Giuseppe Bettussi's (fl. 16th century) work, *Il Libro delle donne illustri di M. Giovan Boccaccio, tradotto per M. Giuseppe Bettussi da Bassano* (It. "The Book of Illustrious Women of M. Giovanni Boccaccio, translated by M. Giuseppe Bettussi da Bassano"; 1545). This text was an addendum of eighty short vernacular female lives to Boccaccio's earlier text, *De Mulieribus Claris*. Significantly, Bettussi promoted a model of exemplarity based on aristocratic courtly women. In particular, he considered Isabella d'Este (1474-1539) and other courtly women from the Mantuan house of Gonzaga worthy of emulation and put them on the same level as Christian saints and pagan women.¹⁷³ According to this tradition, Isabella d'Este as also seen earlier, represented the modesty, chastity and moral excellence to which middle class might aspire.¹⁷⁷ Bettussi's work could not have influenced the Deruta *bella donna* artisans, because his text was published too late to influence the artisans (c. 1545).¹⁷⁴ However, that aristocratic women became moral exemplars reflected a growing secularization of values in Italian society.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷³ Kolsky, op. cit., pp. 78-79.

¹⁷⁷ For such values reflected by contemporary writers, see L. B. Alberti, *I Primi Tre Libri della Famiglia*, ed. F. C. Pellegrini (Florence: San Soni, 1946), p. 354; B. Castiglione, *Il Libro del Cortegiano* (Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 1928), p. 288: "*E quante donne famose ne' tempi passato trovate voi di questa nobilissima famiglia di Montefeltro! quante Casa Gonzaga! da Este! de Pii!*" (How many famous women in times past have you found in the most noble family of Montefeltro! How many in the House of Gonzaga! How many in the house of da Este! and of Piu!).

¹⁷⁴ Scarpati, op. cit., pp. 214-215. Yet, as discussed earlier, d'Este was a figure who served as a prototype for the figures on *bella donna* plates.

¹⁷⁵ Foucault, op. cit., pp. 22-23. Foucault states that the Renaissance was the first period in history where the concepts of sacred and secular were separated. Previously, there were no distinctions but all things were considered to contain elements of the sacred.

Particular Feminine Exemplars within the Literary Tradition

This literary tradition featuring exemplary women had a significant impact upon Italian Renaissance society and middle class women in particular. Husbands had at their disposal a number of writers who offered models and provided perspectives on exemplary women.¹⁷⁶ From among the many exemplary women offered, three figures were of particular import for the contextualization of *bella donna* plates: Petrarch's Laura,¹⁷⁷ Boccaccio's Erythrean Sibyl and Bettussi's Isabella d'Este. Each of these figures personified the qualities which Boccaccio, Petrarch and Bettussi felt were most admirable in these women. Each author possessed a different (albeit contemporary) view of qualities to be emulated. One, however, stands out: the Erythrean Sibyl became an important prototype for *bella donna* plates. Even though it is unlikely that the Deruta artisans were familiar with Boccaccio *per se*, Deruta artisans became cognizant of these images through copy books and they incorporated them onto *bella donna* plates.

¹⁷⁶ K. H. Stierle, "Three Moments in the Crisis of Exemplarity: Boccaccio, Petrarch, Montaigne, Cervantes," *Journal of History of Ideas* 59 (1988), pp. 583, 588; Kolsky, op. cit., pp. 78-79. Although Stierle refers to Petrarch's text of *De Viris Illustribus*, his formula for describing Laura is the same. As the above poem illustrates, Petrarch uses his literary figures to illustrate virtues. Laura provides a moral model for women to study and emulate and she was used in court circles in this manner. G. Braden, "Applied Petrarchism: The Loves of Pietro Bembo," *Modern Language Quarterly* 57 (Sept., 1996), 401; P. Bettella, "Discourse of Resistance: The Parody of Feminine Beauty in Berni, Doni, Firenzuola," *Modern Language Notes* 113 (1998), 192; W. Kennedy, *Authorizing Petrarch* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1994), p. 116. Kennedy quotes Sperone Speroni, *Della Dignità della Donna* (1596), who was an advocate of Petrarch's view that female virtue works best when it inspires men and women to higher achievement. Although Speroni's writings date from fifty years after the scope of this study, his view was indicative of the attitudes towards Petrarch's work and the place of Laura as a feminine model in Italian society. See also Cropper, op. cit., (1976), 379, for a study on the role of Laura as a moral and physical *paragone*.

¹⁷⁷ Like Boccaccio and Bettussi, Petrarch wrote of women whose moral qualities have been considered exceptional. Although he wrote poetry, instead of prose, Petrarch's Laura represented a moral code, which he urged other women to emulate.

Boccaccio's Erythrean Sibyl and Petrarch's Laura

Unlike Petrarch's Laura who was innately virtuous and was represented as an unattainable, physical ideal for women, all of Boccaccio's women, including the Erythrean Sibyl, were figures who made important pragmatic life decisions. It was because of their correct moral choices that they merited favour in the eyes of God.¹⁷⁸ The Erythrean Sibyl was virtuous because of her single-minded devotion to God. Through her mental discipline she developed intuitive abilities becoming adept at interpreting the will of God. Boccaccio's conception of exemplarity included an element of free will where individual women could make life choices that would endear them to God. Karl Heinz Stierle, a scholar of exemplary figures in literature, interprets Boccaccio's presentation of these women's lives as a form of "positive anthropology: whereby basic human attitudes were displayed and norms of behaviour were established."¹⁷⁹ Unlike Petrarch's Laura, the ideal of the Erythrean Sibyl was more attainable for ordinary women.

In the case of Laura, virtue was obtained only through the contemplation of her beauty. Petrarch (*Canzone* 261, l. 1-8) urged women to gaze upon Laura to learn her virtues. Laura's interior perfection was reflected through her physical beauty. However, because so few details of her appearance were provided by Petrarch, and the portrait of her he commissioned was lost, the emulation of her beauty and virtue was impossible.¹⁸⁰ The Roman Cardinal Pietro Bembo (1470-1547) attempted to recreate an image of Laura

¹⁷⁸ Boccaccio, op. cit., p. 86: "*Fuit igitur huius tanta vis ingenii aut orationis atque devotionis meritum in conspectus Dei, ut vigilia studio, non absque divino munere, meruerit - si verum sit ab ea dictum quod legitur - future tanta claritate describere, ut evangelium potius quam vaticinium videatur.*" (Therefore, the strength of her intellect, her prayer, her devotion was so strong, from intensive study and divine generosity, that she was worthy of merit in the sight of God - if what we read is true about her utterances - she was worthy and [given the gift] to describe the future with so much clarity, that she was closer to an evangelist than a prophet).

¹⁷⁹ Stierle, op. cit., 588.

¹⁸⁰ Petrarch, *Canzone* 261, l. 1-5, p. 423.

through his poetry, and other "Petrarchists" in his circle attempted to recreate her image through painting.¹⁸¹ It was through the attempts of the Petrarchists that Laura became a model of feminine beauty and corresponding moral perfection throughout court and middle class society. The popularity of the *bella donna* plates in the 16th century demonstrates how pervasive this physical and moral ideal had become.

Giovanni Bettussi's Conception of Isabella d'Este

According to Kolsky, Giovanni Bettussi's conception of exemplarity was dissimilar to other Renaissance authors in the sense that his *Vita d'Isabella d'Este* (written in 1545) did not promote a model accessible to all women, but only to those of aristocratic birth.¹⁸² Bettussi states that the aspect of aristocratic women's lives, which elevated them to the status of exemplary women, was their ability to enter the public realm and be politically and socially active. According to Bettussi, aristocratic women were innately exemplary because of their birth into a high social station: noble birth was a reflection of a higher state of grace in God's eyes.¹⁸³ This model of exemplarity was not achievable for middle class women who were of a lower birth and whose sphere of action

¹⁸¹ P. Bembo, *Prose della Vulgar Lingua*, ed. M. Marti (Padova: Livia Editrice, 1955) p. 73 "...quasi donna tra molte fanciule, o pure come reina tra molte donne, non solo d'onestà e dignità abondevole, ma ancora di grandezza e di magnificenza e di maestà..." (...as if a woman among many children, or rather a queen among many women, not only abounding many times over in honesty and dignity, but still of greatness, magnificent and majesty...).

P. Floriani, *Bembo's Castiglione: Studies on Classicism in the Cinquecento* (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1976), pp. 66, 73; W. Kennedy, *Authorizing Petrarch* (Ithaca New York: Cornell University Press, 1994), p. 84. G. Braden "Applied Petrarchism: The Loves of Pietro Bembo. *Modern Language Quarterly*, 57 (Sept., 1996), 401, 418; L. Baldacci, *Lirici del Cinquecento* (Firenze: Salani Editore, 1957), pp. 6, 10; Baldacci states that Bembo single-handedly made 15th and 16th centuries the age of Petrarchanism and the *Canzoniere* became the mode of poetic style. L. Baldacci, *Il Petrarchismo Italiano nel Cinquecento* (Milan: Riccardo Riccardi Editore, 1957), pp. 6, 9, 21. Baldacci states that it was through the *Canzoniere* that Bembo discovered a language of psychological expression.

¹⁸² Knox, op. cit., p. 10; Kolsky, op. cit., p. 78.

¹⁸³ Ibid., pp. 78-79.

was restricted to the household.¹⁸⁴ As argued earlier, women of the court and the middle class women were subject to altogether different restrictions and limitations.¹⁸⁵

Middle Class Women and Exemplary Women

Although scholars have remarked on the number of models of feminine exemplarity in the Italian Renaissance, there has been little assessment of the impact of these models on the personal lives of middle class women.¹⁸⁶ The absence of primary documentation on women's lives, in the form of personal letters and biographies of middle class women, prevents such an appraisal. The exception to this is the work of St. Angela of Foligno (1248-1309). Her text *Instructiones* (It. "Instructions;" 1297) is an autobiographical and very candid account of her spiritual development. Although St. Angela is not contemporary with the period, her attitudes still reflect social trends among Umbrian women in the Renaissance. St. Angela expresses regret that she spent a whole period of her life studying "how to be adored and honoured in whatever way I was able."¹⁸⁷ From

¹⁸⁴ Knox, op. cit., p. 10; Boccaccio, op. cit., p. 48; Cherubino da Siena, op. cit., p. 30.

¹⁸⁵ Boccaccio, op. cit., p. 4; Knox, op. cit., p. 10; I. Maclean, op. cit., pp. 55, 56; S. Guazzo, *La Civil Conversazione*, ed. Amedeo Quondam (Modena: ISPA Ferrara/Franco Cosimo Panini Editore S.p.A., 1993), p. 170, "*Lo potrei qui raccontarvi assai donne della nostra città, le qual con la dolcezza degli sguardi, con la maestà della persona, con la sincerità delle parole, con la vivacità dell'intelletto, con la modestia de' portamenti e con la candidezza de' costumi, generano maraviglia e piacere nel conversare. Ma perchè a nominarele tutte, secondo i loro meriti, mi mancherrebbe il tempo, e tacerne alcuna farei grande errore ...*" (I could tell you about very many women in our city, who with the sincerity of their words, the brilliance of their intellect and their purity of deportment, give rise to wonderment and pleasure in conversation. But I lack the time to name them all according to their merits, yet to make no mention of any one of them would be a great error on my part ...).

¹⁸⁶ Stierle, op. cit., pp. 583, 588; Kolsky, op. cit., p. 78.

¹⁸⁷ Baxandall, op. cit., p. 109; Baxandall states that the "period eye" represents a cultural consciousness of one sector of society who had common tastes and experiences in common such as the cultural amalgam of the "merchant-mathematician." However, this does not account for the affect of individual experience, taste, values which may be possessed by individual women; Lawrence, op. cit., p. 9; St. Angela of Foligno, "Instructiones," *Liber Lele da Angela da Foligno* (Firenze, Sismel FEF, 2004), Instructione 1 "*Et quod toto tempore vita meae studui quomodo possem adorari et honorari et quomodo possem habere famam sanctitatis ... O quomodo erat in orpellata excerius, et interius erat ita tota simulativa*" (And because during that whole period of my life I studied how to be admired and honoured and in whatever way I was

this statement it is clear that the emulation of exemplary figures was quite commonplace for middle class Umbrian women. One cannot gauge from St. Angela's statement if all lay women resented the pressure to study exemplary women.¹⁸⁸ However, it is safe to assert that the practice of emulating exemplary women was considered desirable and openly encouraged among middle class women. As St. Angela of Foligno states, through studying she "acquired a reputation for virtue" among her family and community.¹⁸⁹

In conclusion, Italian Renaissance feminine exemplarity developed in four stages. First, Cherubino da Siena advocated that through marriage, a suitable alternative to monastic life, wives could study how to become virtuous under their husband's guidance. It was her husband's role to provide appropriate literature in order that a woman would develop spiritually and morally.¹⁹⁰ Second, da Voragine's hagiographies in the *Legenda Aurea* were used by the middle class, in particular by young women, as a source of concrete examples of moral and physical excellence.¹⁹¹ Third, Boccaccio borrowed da Voragine's literary formula in order to demonstrate that pagan women could also be upheld as moral exemplars, thus adding to the number of possible exemplary models for women.¹⁹² Finally, Bettussi extended the concept of exemplary women further, by advocating that certain aristocratic women such as Isabella d'Este exhibited a heightened

able to acquire a reputation for holiness ... O, how she painted herself [with false colours] on the outside, but still on the inside she was a complete fraud!).

¹⁸⁸ Cherubino da Siena, op. cit., p. 7, 9; Cherubino of Siena indicates that it was the husband's role to educate the wife and provide her with literature that would help her in this role, he indicates that the husband may have read out some of these texts to her and likely interpreted them for her.

¹⁸⁹ Lawrence, op. cit., p. 9; E. Callman, *Beyond Nobility: Art from the Private Citizen in the Early Renaissance* (Allentown, P. A.: Art Museum, 1980), p. vii. D. Bornstein and R. Rusconi, *Women and Religion in Medieval Renaissance Italy*, trans. M. Schneider (Chicago; University of Chicago Press, 1996), p. 4. Bornstein and Rusconi state that even though the main institutional structures were closed to women, they continued to have very personal ideas about feminine exemplars, especially religious figures.

¹⁹⁰ Cherubino da Siena, op. cit., pp. 7, 24, 31.

¹⁹¹ Grendler, op. cit., p. 276; Birge Vitz, op. cit., p. 99.

¹⁹² Boccaccio, op. cit., p. 4.

state of grace.¹⁹³ His work reflected the middle class preoccupation with social advancement and their desire to emulate court virtues in the hope that they might elevate their social status. These models of exemplarity found particular expression through the lives and description of three women: Petrarch's Laura, Boccaccio's Erythrean Sibyl, and Betussi's Isabella d'Este.¹⁹⁴ The Deruta artisans used images of the female figures described in these texts as their models on *bella donna* plates. These were the exemplary figures middle class husbands hoped their wives would study and whose virtues they would attempt to emulate.

Conclusion

Deruta *bella donna* plates are an important source by which the aspirations and ideals of Umbrian urban middle class families can be understood. More specifically, the plates embodied the husband's social and moral ambitions for his family and the belief that his wife, through studied moral conduct, could contribute to the family's reputation.¹⁹⁵ The wife was considered the "ornament of the family."¹⁹⁶ She was emblematic of the family's capacity for virtue and potential to have greater moral and social authority in the community. For this reason, the behaviour of Renaissance women was closely observed by their families. In Italian society as a whole, the proper conduct of women was much debated by humanists. Traditionally, female saints were viewed as standards of feminine behaviour. However, with the advent of humanism, writers from

¹⁹³ Kolsky, op. cit., pp. 78-79.

¹⁹⁴ Boccaccio, op. cit., pp. 84-87; Kolsky, op. cit., pp. 78-79; Stierle, op. cit., pp. 583, 588; *Petrarch's Lyric Poems*, ibid., *Canzone* 261, l. 1-5, p. 423.

¹⁹⁵ Alberti, op. cit., (1946), p. 354; Simons, op. cit., (1992), p. 41; Simons, op. cit., (1995) p. 27; Berdini, op. cit., p. 577.

¹⁹⁶ Lawrence, op. cit., p. 6; Hills, op. cit., p. 167; Goldthwaite, op. cit., (1989), 14.

Boccaccio in the 14th century to Bettussi in the 16th century promoted secular alternatives to female saints as exemplary models of behaviour. These authors set new standards in the definition of exemplarity, selecting exemplary women from pagan antiquity and contemporary aristocracy. However, the promotion of these values of feminine comportment was not limited to these literary sources. Female models derived from frescoes and portraits also illustrated these ideals. These images, including the Christian allegorical figures of the Erythrean Sibyl and Renaissance court women, such as Isabella d'Este, were used as prototypes on *bella donna* plates between 1500 and 1550.

The prototypes Deruta artisans used for their work were one part of the tradition of recommended deportment and behaviour for middle class Umbrian women. Just as significant were the three visual conventions common to all *bella donna* plates. The conventions of the side profile, downcast eyes and gold colouring were derived from court culture and Petrarch's poetry, and reminded women of how to deport themselves in public. These conventions have been generally misunderstood by art critics who have labelled *bella donna* plates as banausic for their continued use of the side profile and repetitive imagery. In fact, these conventions are very informative with respect to the expectations for middle class women in Renaissance society.

The *bella donna* plates represent all of the above trends. Presented to wives at the time of marriage, they set a precedent for the wife's behaviour in his household. They are a visual manifestation of the attitudes of middle class families toward the role of women in the 16th century. Although many of the visual and literary conventions depicted on the plates had their origins in court circles, they were reinterpreted by Deruta artisans to suit the values of the middle class, the purchasers of *bella donna* plates. The plates

emphasized that the role of the wife was restricted to the household and that her involvement with members of the opposite sex outside the household was limited.

Chapter III: Four Female Lay Saints

Introduction

Four female saints consistently appear on Deruta maiolica between 1500 and 1550.¹ In contrast to the *bella donna* plates, discussed in chapter two, which were purchased by husbands for their wives, the ceramic pieces bearing images of the four lay saints (St. Catherine of Alexandria, St. Barbara, St. Cecilia, and St. Lucy) were acquired by women themselves.² Middle class women felt a kinship with these saints because they represented their personal concerns, especially their desire to maintain a religious life while living with a spouse who frequently did not share their spiritual goals. As this chapter will show, middle class Umbrian women had values that were, at times, distinct from those of their husbands. Whereas husbands were concerned with worldly appearance and ambition in the greater community, middle class women were more concerned with their inner spiritual development. The four lay saints were the embodiment of spiritual goals to be a dutiful wife while at the same time a devout Christian.

Deruta artisans were aware that these four saints represented such aspirations amongst Umbrian middle class women. As a result, the pottery the artisans produced depicting the four lay saints appealed to the spiritual needs of middle class female buyers. The manner in which the lay saints were depicted by artisans intentionally reflected the ideals which appealed to Umbrian women, with all four female lay saints portrayed alike in appearance, reflecting the saints' shared function. The formulaic depiction of these

¹ See Appendix B, Database II (Plates 1-16) at the end of the thesis for a list of the plates and their prototypes.

² See Giacomo Lanteri, *Della Economica Tratto di M. Giacomo Lanteri Gentilhuomo* (In Venetia: Appresso Vincenzo Valgris, 1560), pp. 144, 166. Lanteri suggests that women to spend more money on decorating their house, rather than their personal appearance.

four saints suggested that Deruta artisans and their patrons did not think of these saints as distinct and individualized figures, but rather a single entity with a shared significance.

The Deruta artisans did not initiate this association. Rather, they represented an already existing saintly typology, which possessed many characteristics in common, namely a shared historical time period, geographical location, martyrdom, and the age of the saints. The Deruta artisans reinforced these typological similarities in their visual representation of the saints, by portraying all four in a like manner.

The visual similarities representing the four female lay saints are threefold: the colouring and design of the costumes, the depiction of facial characteristics and the hagiographical treatment of their lives. The costuming of the four saints is multi-coloured (usually oranges, greens, and blues). The saints are portrayed wearing the Roman *Palla* (*Lat.* "long robe") signifying that they were not contemporary figures, but lived in the early Christian period of the Roman Empire (c. 200-400).³ The saints are also illustrated in full figure with their face directed toward the eye of the viewer. Finally, their facial features are similar, with round eyes, small nose, pointed chin and hair parted in the middle and pulled together in the back, but with the ends of the hair loose and flowing.

The multi-coloured and anachronistic costuming, as well as the full standing deportment of these saintly figures, contrasts sharply with the imagery of *bella donna* plates discussed earlier. The female figures on *bella donna* plates were primarily gold in colour, featuring only the head and shoulders, gaze diverted and downcast to emphasize

³ S. Stone, "The Toga: from National to Ceremonial Costume", p. 20; N. Goldman, "Restructuring Roman Clothing," p. 228; J. L. Sebastia, "Symbolism in the Costume of Roman Women," in *The World of Roman Costume*, eds. J. L. Sebastia and L. Bonfante (Madison, Wisconsin: University Of Wisconsin Press, 1994), p. 48. The *palla* signifies four aspects of the lives and characters of the four female lay saints. First, the *palla* was a woman's garment. Second, it was worn by women of the nobility. Third, Roman women over the age of 12 wore the *palla*. Fourth, the *palla* was worn in public as a covering over the body and was a sign of modesty.

the overriding virtue of modesty.⁴ This difference in representation can be accounted for by the diverse prototypes used by the Deruta artisans for these two genres. As a result two distinct but complementary sets of ideals were represented. Whereas the *bella donna* plates represented the idealized public, secular persona expected of women by husbands, the lay saints embodied the private, spiritual ideals of middle class women.⁵ Whereas *bella donna* plates were purchased to instruct women in the ideals expected by their husbands, the plates featuring the lay saints were purchased by women so they could pursue their own spiritual goals. The pottery of Deruta artisans met both needs.

The visual similarities of the four lay saints appealed to middle class women. These women associated and identified with the common struggles of the four lay saints represented in the hagiographic tradition. It is only the manner by which these saints achieved martyrdom which distinguished them. Martyrdom was the solution to the internal battle between material concerns and devotion to God. Umbrian middle class women, divided between their devotion to family and their devotion to faith, honoured the definitive sacrifice made by these lay saints, namely martyrdom.

On Deruta maiolica the saints held the palm of martyrdom in the right hand. The unique martyrdoms are represented by individual symbols which the saints held in their left hand. St. Barbara was imprisoned and died in a tower, thus, she is depicted holding a tower in her hand; St. Catherine of Alexandria was tied to a wagon wheel and beheaded, and she is depicted with a wheel. St. Lucy holds her own eyes on a plate as a symbol of

⁴ See Chapter Two of this dissertation, "Bella Donna plates: Exemplarity and Umbrian Middle Class women (1500-1550)," pp. 140-141;144-148.

⁵ J. Wood, *Women, Art and Spirituality: The Poor Clares of Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 25. Wood states that the four lay saints shared a similar typology. (See Appendix A, Table IV: Typology of the Four Lay Saints Compared to St. Clare). St. Clare diverges significantly from this typology.

her self-mutilation and the rejection of beauty in preparation of her martyrdom.⁶ Finally, St. Cecilia holds the pan pipes demonstrating that she rejoiced by singing hymns and prayers as she awaited execution. These symbols of martyrdom are the focal point of Deruta maiolica depictions of the four lay saints. This emphasis on martyrdom is shown by the fact that, unlike *bella donna* plates, the four female lay saints are depicted standing in full form facing the viewer which allowed the artisans to give particular emphasis to these attributes.

That these four lay saints were depicted in such a similar manner is a reflection of their similar hagiographies, suggesting that together they form a typology. Scholars of saints' lives, Gabriella Zarri and Andre Vauchez, have noted these similarities as a common phenomenon in hagiographic literature and have grouped many saints with similar characteristics into categories referred to as a "saintly typology."⁷ Certain typologies predominated in specific geographic regions because they addressed the collective concerns and psychological needs of the people in a given territory. The four female lay saints whose cults were supported by Umbrian middle class represent such a typology.⁸ Each saint was a young laywoman (i.e. not a member of a religious order) of noble birth and a citizen of the Roman Empire from the early Christian period.⁹ Each

⁶ A. Vauchez, *The Laity in the Middle Ages: Religious Beliefs and Devotional Practices*, ed. D. Bornstein and trans. M. Schneider (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993), p. 77.

⁷ G. Zarri, "Living Saints: A Typology of Female Saints in the Early 16th Century," in *Women and Religion in Medieval Renaissance Italy*, eds. D. Bornstein and R. Rusconi and trans. M. Schneider (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1996), p. 220; P. Burke, "How to be A Counter-reformation Saint," *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 52; D. Weinstein and R. Bell, *Saints and Society* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1982), p. 11; Vauchez, op. cit., (1993), p. 67; A. Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), pp. 210-211.

⁸ Wood, op. cit., p. 25.

⁹ Burke, op. cit., p. 54.

saint was tortured for her Christian faith. Each managed to conceal her participation in Christian rituals until she was betrayed by a rejected suitor.

These saints were of specific interest to middle class Umbrian lay women because they represented the pressures facing females of marriageable age. Most adolescent girls were subject to arranged marriages by their parents. Parents planned that their daughters marry well and raise children. However, these ambitions often conflicted with desire of the young women to develop spiritually.¹⁰ This saintly typology reflected concerns among Umbrian girls that marriage might pose an impediment to their spiritual life.¹¹ These female saints appealed to lay women in particular because they were neither nuns nor members of religious orders.¹² Therefore, hagiographies of these lay female saints dealt with the exact concerns facing young women of the Renaissance period and the pressure arising from arranged marriages. These concerns included the moral integrity of their husbands, as well as familial pressures upon them to accept arranged marriages.

The cult of the four lay saints will also be compared to that of St. Clare, a saint whose charitable works and association with St. Francis made her a popular saint with the ecclesiastical hierarchy. However, as this discussion will show, many aspects of her life did not appeal directly to middle class Umbrian women.

This chapter will first examine the two prototypes the Deruta artisans chose to depict the four lay saints. Next, we will examine the iconography and imagery on the

¹⁰ Vauchez, *op. cit.*, (1993), p. 76, 82.

¹¹ Vauchez, *ibid.*, (1993), p. 78-77; Cherubino da Siena, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

¹² Vauchez, *op. cit.*, (1993), p. 76.

plates and the meaning of the imagery to middle class women. Finally, we will look at the hagiographies of these saints to contextualize the imagery.¹³

This chapter will demonstrate that images on Deruta maiolica of these four saints brought comfort and the strength to young middle class women who were making the transition from bride to mother.¹⁴ These images were also important for the moral formation and education of children. Children, girls especially, were introduced to the lay saints by their mothers. As a result young girls began to identify with the stories of these four Saints from an early age.¹⁵ It was through the acquisition of maiolica *piatto da pompa* (It. "large display plates") with saintly images that middle class Umbrian women expressed their personal devotional affinities and passed them on to their children.¹⁶

Prototypes of the Four Lay Saints

The Deruta artisans used one saintly image as the prototype for all four female saints depicted on Deruta pottery. The adoption of one image was in keeping with the tradition established by the writer Jacobus da Voragine who used one story for all four saints, with only minor plot variations for each. It is only the attributes of martyrdom they carry in their left hand that distinguish one saint from the other. The physical similarities among all four saints demonstrates that in the minds of Deruta artisans and their market,

¹³ Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea: Vulgo Historia Lombardica Dicta*, ed. Th. Graesse (Osnabrück: O. Zeller, 1969).

¹⁴ Vauchez, op. cit., (1993), p. 75.

¹⁵ Bornstein, op. cit., p. 4; C. Frugoni, "Female Mystics, Visions and Iconography," in *Women and Religion in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*. eds. D. Bornstein and R. Rusconi and trans. M. Schneider (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), p. 136.

¹⁶ G. Domenici, "Regola del Governo di cura familiare," *Italian Art 1400-1500: Sources and Documents* ed. C. Gilbert (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1980), pp. 145-146: "And so too little girls should be brought up in the sight of the eleven thousand virgins, discussing, fighting and praying. I would like them to see Agnes with the fat lamb, Cecilia crowned with roses, Elizabeth with many roses, Catherine with the wheel, with other figures that would give them love of virginity with their mother's milk, desire for Christ, hatred of sins, disgust at vanity, shrinking from bad companions and a beginning through the considering of the saints, of contemplating the supreme saint of saints."

middle class women, the four saints were virtually interchangeable. The artisans' choice of prototype changed only twice during the fifty year period that Deruta production was at its peak during 1515-1550. The first prototype the Deruta artisans used between 1515 and 1530 was an image of St. Catherine of Alexandria drawn by Perugino.¹⁷ Following 1530 the artisans used a second prototype, another image of the same saint, St. Catherine of Alexandria, based upon a print by the engraver Marcantonio Raimondi (c. 1480-1534). The artisans' choice of St. Catherine of Alexandria as a visual model for all four lay saints is not surprising: Deruta artisans had a special affinity for St. Catherine because she was the patron saint of potters.¹⁸

The Visual Prototype for this Saintly Typology

Description of the Two Prototypes

The representation of the four female lay saints can be divided into two distinct periods of Deruta maiolica production. Each period is represented by a unique prototype.¹⁹ The plates of the earlier stage (1515-1530) are identified by their being based on Perugino's drawing of St. Catherine of Alexandria.²⁰ Like the *bella donna* plates, the prototypes selected by the Deruta artisans to depict the four lay saints indicate a reliance

¹⁷ Cennino Cennini, *Il Libro dell'Arte*, ed. D. Thompson Jr. (Hartford Conn.: Yale University, 1932), Cap. XXVII, p. 15. "... che trovar puor per man fatti di gran maestro ... Esse se'in luogho dove molti buon' maestri sieno stati, tanto neglio atte." (... always depict the best things you are able to find executed by the great masters. If you are located where may good masters have lived, so much better for you).

¹⁸ For a discussion of the importance of St. Catherine of Alexandria to the artisans, see U. Nicolini, *Il Paese dell'Arte Civile* (Perugia: Arnaud, 1997), pp. 83-84.

¹⁹ A. Ladis, *Italian Renaissance Maiolica from the Southern Collections* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1986), p. 62; A. Von Bartsch, *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 27 (New York: Abaris Books, 1978), pl. 175.

²⁰ J. Giacomatti, *Catalogue des Majoliques des Musée Nationaux* (Paris: Ministère des Affaires Culturelles éditions des Musée Nationaux, 1974), pl. 503, 519; B. Cole, *Italian Maiolica from the Midwestern Collections* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1977), p. 80, pl. 38.

on this local artist.²¹ The plates of the second period (1530-1550) are distinguished by the use of Marcantonio Raimondi's engraving of St. Catherine of Alexandria (c. 1510) as a model.²² The use of Raimondi's engraving on Deruta maiolica demonstrates the increasing interest in artists working outside Umbria, as well as in using prints rather than relying upon Perugino's students to supply them with drawings.²³ As the prints of Marcantonio Raimondi achieved broader circulation in Italy, the Deruta artisans acquired them and incorporated them into their repertoire as prototypes, abandoning Perugino's image of St. Catherine of Alexandria.²⁴

Although two prototypes were used in two different phases, there was some overlap. As a result a clear delineation for these two phases is difficult.²⁵ However, it is apparent that the first prototype was used predominantly between 1515 and 1530. The second prototype was used twice c. 1515 and exclusively after 1530.²⁶

²¹ Cennino Cennini, *Il Libro dell'Arte*, op. cit., Cap. XXVII, p. 15.

²² See Appendix B, Database II: J. Giacomatti, op. cit., pl. 595; *Sotheby's* London, "Paintings and Works of Art from the Collections of the late Lord Clark of Saltwood," (27 June – 5 July, 1984), pl. 149; *Sotheby's* "Important Collection of Italian Maiolica," (2 Nov., 1978), pl. 37, p. 32; C. Fiocco, G. Gherardi, *Deruta Pottery from 13th to the 15th Century* (Perugia, Volumina Editrice, 1994), p. 267, p. 196; R. Lahr, *Kataloge des Kunstgewerbe Museums, Berlin, Band XI: Majolika und Fayence*, (Berlin: Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturesitz, 1986), p. 21, nr. 10; *Finarte* Milan (10-11 March, 1964), pl. 187, tav. 73, p. 73; J. Giacomatti, *ibid.*, pl. 519; *Finarte*, Milano (10-11 March, 1964), pl. 82, tav. 37, pp. 33-34.

²³ D. Landau and P. Parshall, *The Renaissance Print: 1470-1550* (London: Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 81, 99, 103, 117; cf. the similar reliance on local artists, see *bella donna* plates chapter one, "Bella Donna plates," pp. 52-57.

²⁴ Bartsch, op. cit., vol. 27, pl. 175.

²⁵ Lahr, op.cit., p. 21, nr. 10 (c. 1510-1520); Giacomatti, op. cit., pls. 503, 519 (c. 1515-1520).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pl. 521; Lahr, op. cit., p. 21, nr. 10.

Prototype One: Perugino's St. Catherine of Alexandria c. 1515-1530



31. Collaborator of Perugino. *St. Catherine of Alexandria*. The Uffizi Gallery, Florence. (Reproduced with kind permission from Leo S. Olschki publishers of *Disegni Umbri del Rinascimento da Perugino a Raffaello*, ed. by S. Ferino Pagden, Florence, 1982).

There are 16 maiolica plates with images of the four female lay saints. There are 4 images of Saint Barbara, 6 of Catherine of Alexandria, 1 of St. Cecilia, and 4 of St. Lucy. Only 4 female lay saints were depicted on Deruta maiolica using Perugino's image of St. Catherine of Alexandria as a prototype, representing the first period (c. 1515-1530).²⁷ The prototype itself is a drawing done by Perugino or one of his students, referred to as the "collaborator of Perugino."²⁸ The print is currently housed at the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, Italy.

²⁷ Giacomatti, op. cit., pl. 503, 519; Cole, op. cit., p. 80, pl. 38; It is clear that the image is St. Barbara because she holds the tower. However, her image is clearly derived from St. Catherine of Alexandria. Appendix B, Database II, nos. 1, 2, 3, 5

²⁸ Ladis, op. cit., p. 62.

It is apparent that Perugino's image of St. Catherine of Alexandria was used as a prototype for 4 plates [Appendix B, Database II, nos. 1, 2, 3, 5] from the following similarities.²⁹

The face of the prototype and these 4 plates has a tranquil expression with a small closed mouth and round eyes which are diverted and down cast. As well, the face is demure, tilted to the right. This serene and contemplative face is typical of Perugino's work, and is often referred to as having an angelic air (*It. "aria angelica"*) as discussed in the previous chapter on *bella donna* plates.³⁰ The hair of Perugino's image of St. Catherine of Alexandria is also similar to that of the plates featuring the same saint and St. Barbara. Perugino's St. Catherine of Alexandria is wearing a bonnet or a snood over her head covering most of her head and tied at the sides with ribbons. Her clothing is a toga-like robe, with long tapered sleeves and a square collar. Her right hand rests on her unique attribute of martyrdom; the broken wheel. The St. Catherine of Alexandria maiolica plates are exactly the same as Perugino's prototype of St. Catherine. However, the plates depicting St. Barbara differ in one respect: the saint holds a tower in her right hand, not the wheel, which is the attribute of the martyrdom of St. Catherine.

²⁹ There are 16 plates in this database, 14 of these plates use the two images of St. Catherine of Alexandria as prototypes. The other two images are unique. There are only 16 examples of female lay saints plates in the database. The collecting patterns as described in Chapter two, of male aristocrats of the 17th century and following help to explain why so few survived compared to 257 *bella donna* plates. Unlike *bella donna* plates the female lay saints did not depict figures associate with Renaissance high art.

³⁰ See Chapter Two of this dissertation, "Bella Donna plates: Exemplarity and Umbrian Middle Class Women (1500-1550)," pp. 125-129.



32. Deruta, *St. Barbara*, c. 1530. Satterwhite collection, J. B. Speed Museum, Louisville, Kentucky. 41.78.1. Appendix B, Database 2, No. 2. (This photo appears with kind permission from the J. B. Speed Museum, Louisville, Kentucky).

Prototype Two: Marcantonio Raimondi's St. Catherine of Alexandria (1530-1550)

The second prototype used by the Deruta potters to portray the four lay saints on maiolica is Marcantonio Raimondi's (c. 1480-1530) engraving of St. Catherine of Alexandria.



33. Marcantonio Raimondi, St. Catherine of Alexandria., c. 1510. Reproduced from the *Illustrated Bartsch Vol. XXVII*. New York: Abaris Books, 1978. Engraving. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Holland. (This image is reproduced with the kind permission of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Holland).

This print was made c. 1510 and is presently found in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.³¹

This illustration was the prototype for nine maiolica pieces (Appendix B, Database II, nos. 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13) featuring all four lay saints: St. Barbara, St. Catherine of Alexandria, St. Cecilia, St. Lucy. The maiolica plates with the four lay saints by Deruta artisans bear strong similarities to the print of Raimondi. Below are two representative

³¹ Bartsch, op. cit., vol. 27, pl. 175.

images of this series, one of St. Barbara and one of St. Lucy.



34. Deruta, *St. Barbara*, c. 1530. Musées du Ecouen, Paris, France. 7556 Appendix B, Database II, no. 4. (This image is reproduced with the kind permission of the Réunion des Musées Nationaux Agence Photographique, Paris, France).



35. Deruta, *St. Lucy*, c. 1530. Musées Andre Dubouché Limoges, France. 5502 Appendix B, Database II, no. 13. (This image is reproduced with the kind permission of Réunion des Musées Nationaux Agence Photographique, Paris, France).

The eyes are round and diverted and do not face the viewer directly. The mouth is small and has a rosebud shape. The chin is pointed, the long hair is parted in the middle, loosely pulled back on both sides and then gathered together behind the head. The ends of the hair are wavy and are blowing freely.

The dress of the figure is a modified *stola*: a long Roman gown worn by women gathered at the waist. However, the tapered sleeves add Renaissance elements to the garment making it consistent with Raimondi's St. Catherine of Alexandria. The collar is round and over the top of the garment there is a *palla* or Roman shawl draped over the dress. Finally, the figure is upright and fully standing. In the Raimondi prototype, the saint holds the archetypal palm of martyrdom in the right hand (common to the imagery of all four lay saints), while her left hand rests on a wheel, her symbol of martyrdom.

St. Catherine of Alexandria's significance to Deruta Artisans

One cannot underestimate the importance of the Deruta artisans' personal interests in both the promotion of this saintly typology among their customers, as well as the selection of the particular prototypes to depict the saintly typology.³² The artisans had a specific reason for employing images of St. Catherine of Alexandria as their prototype for all four female lay saints.³³ St. Catherine was the patron saint of the Deruta potters' guild and by using the image of this saint they promoted their organization and expressed their personal religious devotion.³⁴ For the Deruta potters, the figure of St. Catherine of

³² Vauchez, op. cit., (1993), p. 78-77.

³³ Bartsch, op. cit., vol. 27, pl. 175.

³⁴ Nicolini, op. cit., pp. 83, 84.

Alexandria served as a talisman for their prosperity and safety. The artisans identified with St. Catherine of Alexandria, in particular, because they associated her attribute, the wheel, with the dangers inherent in their work as potters.³⁵ The wheel and fire were essential components of the potters' occupation. The wheel symbolized the potter's wheel on which ceramic ware is created. The fire represented the kiln that baked ceramic ware and the method by which glazes were sealed onto the ceramic surface.

St. Catherine of Alexandria's own death on the wheel reminded potters of the hazards innate to pottery production, which caused them to work in close proximity to deadly fires. The legislation of the period recognized the uncontrollable nature of these kiln fires. By 1400 Umbria towns legislated that pottery studios could only be located ten miles outside the limits of major city centres to prevent the possibility of a fire occurring in highly populated areas.³⁶ While such legislation did not protect the potters themselves who worked with these fires on a daily basis, its necessity reveals the potential dangers of the ceramic industry. Thus, St. Catherine appealed to Deruta artisans for very practical reasons, because she represented the daily concerns and hazards which confronted them in their work life.

The Iconography of the Four Female Lay Saints on Deruta Pottery

The visual conventions of Deruta maiolica depicting the female lay Saints are different from those of *bella donna* plates. In the case of *bella donna* plates the female figures are depicted in side profile and with downcast eyes and gold colouring. As mentioned earlier, these conventions were intended to promote chastity and modesty,

³⁵ St. Catherine was tied to a wagon wheel and burned. The wheel is the symbolic attribute of her martyrdom.

³⁶ Fiocco and Gherardi, op. cit., p. 82.

particularly in public. The figures of the four female lay saints on Deruta maiolica are standing with a full profile of their body and face directed toward the viewer. However, significantly, the eyes are still diverted. The depiction of the entire body might suggest (in comparison to the limited portrayal of the female figures on the *bella donna* plates) that the four female lay saints were less modest and chaste. However, the full figure depiction of the four female lay saints was necessary in order to include the key attributes of martyrdom which stressed the struggles of each saint.³⁷ Even though this full body posture is more direct, the Deruta artisans were still able to convey the qualities of modesty and chastity. Unlike the female faces on *bella donna* plates, the figures are not detailed, but were quickly drawn, suggesting that they were not intended to be the focal point of the viewer's eye. There is an expressionless quality in the face and the hair is parted in the middle and pulled back. The eyes, like the mouth and nose, are rendered in a rapid stroke, de-emphasizing their importance. The rendering of each of these saints as a standing figure also draws attention away from the face. The body of the figure is reduced in significance by voluminous robes, usually a long and shapeless garment covered by a Roman palla.³⁸ Hence, as indicated by the visual homogeneity of these figures, the Deruta artisans clearly envisioned this group of saints as representational of a single theme or typology of martyrdom. While these plates are brightly coloured with oranges and greens, these saintly figures clearly lack the aesthetic qualities of the *bella donna* plates. For example, the gold colouring and delicate facial features are absent from

³⁷ J. de Voragine, "De Sancta Lucia Virgine," op. cit., p. 30. "*Cui Lucia: non inquinatur corpus nisi de consensus mentis. Nam si me invitam violari feceris, castitas mihi duplicabitur ad coronam.*" (Lucy said: The body is not defiled until the mind consents. For if you violate me against my will, my chastity will be doubled for me to its pinnacle). While the unique attributes possessed by each saint allow for their identification, the manner in which saint was martyred was less significant to Umbrian middle class women than the fact that they willingly submitted to martyrdom, rather than endured a marriage to a pagan spouse).

³⁸ Bartsch, op. cit., vol. 27, pl. 175.

these plates. The absence of facial definition demonstrates that while the plates depicting the female lay saints were decorative, their chief function was to remind women that these were early Christian lay women who submitted to death rather than compromise their faith.

Jacobus da Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*: Female Saints and their Hagiographic Tradition

As already shown in our discussion of *bella donna* plates³⁹ Jacobus da Voragine's *Legenda Aurea* played a critical role in promoting saintly models for women.⁴⁰ The *Legenda Aurea*, originally written in Latin, between 1261 and 1267, consisted of hundreds of male and female saints' lives, and was originally compiled for the use of itinerant preachers who traveled throughout Italy presenting public sermons.⁴¹ Each hagiography provided very brief and cursory account of the life of each saint and began with an etymological study of the saint's name, the *praesagium nominis* (Lat. "the foretelling name), to demonstrate the saint's innate aptitude to achieve holiness right from birth.⁴² Another prominent feature of the hagiographies was the description of the sufferings that lead to their martyrdom. Next, the miracles performed during the saints' life confirmed their ability to perform miracles. The final and most important element of

³⁹ See Chapter Two of this dissertation, "Bella Donna plates: Exemplarity and Umbrian Middle Class Women (1500-1550)," p. 154.

⁴⁰ P. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Learning and Literacy: 1300-1600* (Baltimore, Maryland: John Hopkin's University Press, 1989), p. 276; E. B. Vitz, "From the Oral to the Written in Medieval and Renaissance Saints' Lives," in *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe*, eds. R. Blumenfeld-Kosinski and T. Szell (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1991), p. 99; S. Reames, *The Legenda Aurea: A Re-Examination of its Paradoxical History* (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), p. 49.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁴² K. L. Jansen, *The Making of Magdelen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Late Middle Ages*. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 200-201. For a further examination of this phenomena, see Appendix C: "Female Names on *bella donna* plates."

the hagiography was the performance of miracles by the saint's relics after death. These miracles legitimized the saint's cult and promoted its popularity.⁴³

The brevity of these hagiographies along with frequent use of humorous interludes demonstrates their secular audience. Individuals committed to a religious life, such as priests, monks and nuns, read hagiographies with more complex theological themes such as Bonaventura's (1221-1274) *Life of St. Francis* (1263).⁴⁴ The hagiographies of the four female lay saints in the *Legenda Aurea* addressed a wide array of topics relevant to the daily religious life of the townspeople, from the appropriate selection of Christian names for children to the interpretation of religious paintings.⁴⁵

By the 16th century, with the advent of the printing press, these hagiographies were widely published and broadly circulated, becoming a common text in the curriculum of school children. Many families owned personal copies of the *Legenda Aurea*.⁴⁶ Although young girls were not educated to the same degree as boys and would not have read the *Legenda Aurea* in the original Latin, this text still had a powerful impact on the religious life of middle class women. Many middle class women would have read vernacular versions of this text with their children as part of their education and moral instruction.⁴⁷ The Renaissance writer Giovanni Michele Bruto (1517-1592) states that governesses read sacred books and moralizing literature to young girls to encourage them to "want and desire virtue. In that way souls become great and heroic."⁴⁸ While Cherubino of Siena indicates that such texts should be read out loud to women, it is clear

⁴³ See Chapter Four of this dissertation "St. Francis on Deruta Pottery" for the discussion of popular hagiography. p. 244.

⁴⁴ Reames, op. cit., p. 49.

⁴⁵ Baxandall, op. cit., pp. 64-66.

⁴⁶ Birge Vitz, op. cit., pp. 110-111; Reames, op. cit., p. 49.

⁴⁷ Grendler, op. cit., p. 276.

⁴⁸ G. M. Bruto, *La Institutione della Divina Fanciulla Nata Nobilmente di M. Giovanni Michelle Bruto*, (Antwerpen; Antwerpsche Bibliophielen, 1956) p. 13.

that women could read such vernacular texts to their own children.⁴⁹ Rudolph Bell asserts that even mothers of middle class families spent time reading religious literature and other moralizing texts with their children. Bell demonstrates that many women were literate and read these texts and did so while their children sat on her lap or beside her.⁵⁰

This method of pedagogy can be confirmed through visual evidence found on Deruta maiolica itself. There are five Deruta maiolica plates which depict a mother reading a book with her child.



36. Deruta, Mother teaching a boy to read, c. 1515. Inscription: VIRTUS IN ACTIONE COSISTE (Lat. "Stand firm in the action of virtue"). The Courtauld Institute of Art Gallery, London, England. O. 1966 GP. 75 (This photo appears with kind permission from The Courtauld Institute of Art Gallery, London, England).

⁴⁹ Cherubino of Siena, *Regole della Matrimoniale di Frate Cherubino di Siena*, ed. F. Zambrini and C. Neroni (Bologna: Commissione per I Tessi di Lingua, 1969), p. 9.

⁵⁰ R. Bell, *How to Do It: Guides to Good Living for Renaissance Italians* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999), p. 13.

On the plate we see the mother sitting beside her child with the text perched on her lap. The Latin inscription on the plate, *Virtus in Atione Consiste* (Lat. "Stand firm in the action of virtue"), reinforces the notion that the best way for a mother to teach her children moral behaviour was through her own example.⁵¹

The Influence of Itinerant Preachers on Umbrian Women

Although the textual form of the *Legenda Aurea* was an important way for women to learn the hagiographies of the four lay saints, it was by no means the only manner Italian women became acquainted with these stories. Under most circumstances women would have been treated to a dynamic rendition of these stories in the sermons of itinerant preachers.⁵² Popular itinerant preachers, such as Giovanni Domenici (Cardinal, member of the Dominican Order, statesman and writer, 1356-1420), and St. Bernardino of Siena (Franciscan Friar, itinerate preacher and writer, born in Massa di Carrara, 1380-

⁵¹ Courtuald Institute (1): *Virtus in Atione Consiste* (Lat. "Stand firm in the Action of Virtue"). This image is found on other maiolica plates found in collections throughout Europe and North America. However, they feature other inscriptions regarding morality and piety. Note the following: Private Collection, England (2): *Raro Segreto e Molto Acetto* (Lat. "To speak a secret is very offensive to God," - (see Appendix D, Quotations on bella donna plates: Proverbial Sayings and Inscriptions, for fuller translation), p. 97, pl. 350, cat. no. 154; *Facies Oqvlis isidiosa meis* (Lat. "A face insidious to my eyes"), p. 97, pl. 148, cat. no. 351. B. Rackham, *Islam Pottery and Italian Maiolica: Illustrated Catalogue of a Private Collection* (London; Faber and Faber, 1959). Museums France (2) Sevres Museum: *Per Dormire no(n) Se Aquista*. (Lat. "Nothing is gained by sleeping"), p. 185, pl. 604; *Per Tacere No(n) se scorda* (Lat. "One is not immoral if one is silent"), p. 185, pl. 603; J. Giacomotti, *Catalogue des Majoliques des Musées Nationaux*. (Paris: Ministère des Affaires Culturelles Editions des Musées Nationaux, 1974). Museums Italy (1) Museo di Capodimonto, Napoli: *Virtus in Atione Consiste* (Lat. "Stand in the Action of Virtue"), p. 130; M. Bellini, G. Conti, *Maioliche Italiane del Rinascimento*. (Milano: Antonio Vallardi Editore, 1964).

⁵² Reames, op. cit., p. 49. G. Domenici, "Lettera II: Alle Venerabili Donne Suore nel Ministero del Corpo di Christo," *Un Viaggio a Perugia fatto e Descritto dal Beato Giovanni Dominici nel 1395* (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di Lingua, 1968), p. 31. Domenici's letters describe his travels to Perugia while he was an itinerant preacher. He saw his work as a popular entertainment for the laity as well as a religious experience. His writings demonstrate that he hoped his efforts would make him as famous as Cicero, Virgil, Petrarch. Hence, it can be seen that Domenici saw himself as an entertainer and a writer as much as a moralizing preacher: "*Per farmi avere buona fama, che la Tromba de Tullio, e la Viuola di Virgilio con Liuto del Petrarca non potrebbono farmi aver altra fama ch'io m'abbi.*" (Through my work it will make me have great fame, neither the trumpet of Tully [Cicero] nor the viola of Virgil with the lute of Petrarch will be able to give them more fame than I will have).

1444), traveled from town to town delivering public sermons of religious instruction on issues related to scripture, and demonstrated how the laity should lead their lives.⁵³ The painting demonstrates the crowds of men and women who attended these public sermons in the central piazza of Italian cities.



37. Neroccio di Bartolomea, *St. Bernardino of Siena preaches in the Piazza del Campo, Siena*, c. 1447-1500. Fresco. Museo Civico, Siena. (This photo appears with kind permission of the Museo Civico, Siena).

⁵³ P. Tingali, *Women in the Italian Renaissance: Gender Representation Identity* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), p. 158; Baxandall, op. cit., pp. 64-66.

Michael Baxandall states that the topics presented by these preachers were remarkably diverse.⁵⁴ An itinerant preacher could incorporate any subject into his sermons and make it significant to his lay audience: ranging from the methods of child rearing to the interpretation of religious works of art.⁵⁵

The importance of the four lay saints to women and children is understood from the sermons of Domenici. Not only were young girls encouraged to emulate the behaviour of these four saints, but their parents were encouraged to surround young girls with the images of these saints in their daily domestic environment so children would be constantly reminded of the virtues considered so desirable in young girls.

Moreover, Domenici advocated the acquisition of decorative objects featuring the images of St. Cecilia and St. Catherine of Alexandria for the bedrooms of young girls. He felt these particular female saints provided essential models of behaviour. These figures, Domenici expounded, would teach young women to "love virginity... [have] desire for Christ, hatred for sins, disgust at vanity, [shrink] from bad companions, through the consideration of [these] saints, and by contemplating the supreme Saint of Saints [the Virgin]." ⁵⁶ Domenici recommended that from birth, girls should be exposed to images of these female lay saints. By introducing these saints to girls from infancy, a formative and

⁵⁴ M. Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 48.

⁵⁵ Baxandall, op. cit., p. 70.

⁵⁶ Domenici, op. cit., pp. 145-146: "And I say for paintings, so I say of sculptures ... I warn you, if you have paintings in your house for this purpose [devotional activities], avoid frames of gold and silver, lest they become more idolatrous than faithful. Since, if they [the children] see more candles lit and more hats removed and more kneeling to figures that are gilded and adorned with precious stones than to old smoky ones, they will only learn to revere gold and jewels and not the figures, or rather, the truths represented by those figures." Domenici refers to two mediums, painting and sculpture. Domenici does not limit the medium by which the saint is depicted to one particular visual genre. However, he does specify that the frames surrounding these images should not be made out of precious metals or jewels, because this would lead children to idolize the opulence of images over the sanctity of the Holy figures. Maiolica fits into this category. Although Deruta maiolica had a gold rim framing the saintly figures, it was not real gold, nor was the plate fashioned out of expensive materials. c.f. The discussion of placement in Chapter One of this dissertation, "Axiology, Placement and the Collection of Renaissance Maiolica Collectors," pp. 35-40.

enduring bond would be created.⁵⁷ The intended result was for women to develop a lifetime devotion to the cults of the female lay saints, as well as esteem the virtues they represented. Domenici added that these saints could be made even more pertinent to young girls by commissioning images of lay saints in the likeness of children.⁵⁸ Domenici's influence on Deruta maiolica is clear from the fact that one plate shows a female saint rendered both as a young girl and also as a woman of marriageable age.⁵⁹



38. Deruta piatelletti, *St. Lucy as a small child*. c. 1530-35. Unknown Provenance. Appendix B, Database II, no. 15. Reproduced from *Finarte*, Milan 10-11 March, 1964.

⁵⁷ Bruto, op. cit., p. 13.

⁵⁸ Domenici, op. cit., *ibid.*, p. 145: "The first is to have paintings in the house, of holy little boys or young virgins, in which your child when still in swaddling clothes may delight, as being life himself, and may be seized upon by the like thing, with actions and signs attractive to infancy."

⁵⁹ *Finarte*, Milan (10-11 March, 1964) pl. 187, tav. 73, p. 73.

Daniel Bornstein and Cynthia Lawrence, social historians specializing in the study of Renaissance Italian women, have shown that middle class women often acquired decorative pieces bearing images of their favorite saints.⁶⁰ These pieces were not only decorative but, as Domenici suggests, were used to educate their children in the virtues considered appropriate for girls and women. These saints became seminal models of morality to children and would shape their outlook for a lifetime.⁶¹

The hagiographical accounts of all four lay saints conform to a specific formula.⁶² Appendix A, Table IV demonstrates the shared similarities of all four saints. Only the lives of St. Cecilia and St. Barbara have minor variations. These variations provide additional insights into the pressures confronting Italian women, namely the forceful role the parents played in the lives of women, especially when choosing a marriage partner.⁶³

The Typology of Umbrian Female Lay Saints

The hagiographies of the four female lay saints (St. Barbara, St. Catherine of Alexandria, St. Cecilia and St. Lucy) share eight characteristics. The first three characteristics are associated with their age and upbringing. First, these saints were young women of marriageable age, 14 to 16 years old. Second, each saint was of noble birth.⁶⁴ Third, they were all lay woman⁶⁵ and not members of religious orders.⁶⁶

⁶⁰ Bornstein, op. cit., p. 4; Lawrence, op. cit., p. 9.

⁶¹ Domenici, op. cit., p. 146.

⁶² Wood, op. cit., p. 25.

⁶³ Zarri op. cit., p. 220; Burke, op. cit., p. 52; Weinstein, op. cit., p. 11; Vauchez, op. cit., (1993) p. 67; Vauchez, op. cit., (1992), pp. 210-211.

⁶⁴ Da Voragine, "De Sancta Barbara," *Legenda Aurea*, op. cit., p. 898: "*Erat tempore Maximiani imperatoris vir quidam gentiles in Nicomedia nobilitate generis praeclarus ac temporalium rerum abundantia summas, nominae Dioscorus, cui erat filia speciosissima nomine Barbara.*" (There was in the time of the Emperor maximus, a certain kinsman in Nicomedia, by the name of Dioscorus, distinguished for his nobility of birth and in the time of the greatest prosperity, whose most beautiful daughter, was called Barbara); Ibid., p. 789 "*Catherina Costi Regis filia...*" (Catherine, daughter of King Costus); Ibid., p. 771 "*Caecilia virgo praeclarissima ex nobili Romanorum genere ...*" (Cecilia, an illustrious virgin from a noble

The fourth and fifth characteristics of this saintly typology were marked by a similar historical epoch and geography. Each saint lived during the early Christian period, between the 2nd and 4th centuries. During this period, persecutions of Christians were ordered by the emperors Diocletian (284-309) and Maxentius (306-312). Each saint lived within the Roman Empire: St. Barbara was from Nicomedia (in the Roman province of Bithynia), St. Catherine was from Alexandria, Egypt; St. Lucy was from Syracuse, Italy, and St. Barbara and St. Cecilia were from Rome.⁶⁷

The sixth aspect of this typology is the saint's rejection of marriage to a pagan suitor. The suitor then publicly denounced her Christian faith, resulting in her trial and execution.⁶⁸ The young woman's trial and defense of faith before the Roman proconsul and the audience of townspeople is the seventh characteristic.⁶⁹ Finally, the eighth component is the torture and martyrdom of each saint because of her reluctance to abandon her faith even to save herself.⁷⁰

Each of these eight characteristics was an important part of this saintly formula, and appealed to the immediate concerns relevant to the lives of Umbrian women, namely their internal conflict between the issues of marriage and faith. The following discussion will articulate how this typology assisted Umbrian women in reconciling this conflict.

family); Ibid., p. 30 "*Lucia virgo Syracusana nobilis genere.*" (Lucy, a virgin from a noble Syracusan family).

⁶⁵ Vauchez, op. cit., (1993), p. 76

⁶⁶ Ibid., (1993), pp. 76, 79, 82.

⁶⁷ Da Voragine, op. cit., (Barbara, Nicomedia), p. 898; (St. Catherine, Alexandria), ibid., p. 790; (St. Caecilia, Rome), ibid., p. 771; (St. Lucy, Syracuse), ibid., p. 32.

⁶⁸ Ibid., (Barbara, Nicomedia), p. 901; (St. Catherine, Alexandria), ibid., p. 795; (St. Caecilia, Rome), ibid., p. 776; (St. Lucy, Syracuse), ibid., ibid., p. 30, 31.

⁶⁹ Ibid., (Barbara, Nicomedia), p. 900; (St. Catherine, Alexandria), ibid., p. 795; (St. Caecilia, Rome), ibid., p. 775; (St. Lucy, Syracuse), ibid., p. 29.

⁷⁰ Vauchez, op. cit., (1993), p. 82. As Vauchez states, for the lay saints it was essential for the body to suffer in order that they conform to Christ's Passion.

The Relevance of Saintly Characteristics to Umbrian Urban Laywomen

All four saints (St. Barbara, St. Catherine of Alexandria, St. Cecilia, St. Lucy) share four personal characteristics in common: age, gender, noble station and their lay status.⁷¹ The age of the saint (14 to 16 years) was particularly important, because this was the time at which most Renaissance lay women entered arranged marriages. Correspondingly, marriage was one of the foremost concerns for middle class Renaissance mothers and daughters. Like the saints, for young women the prospect of an arranged marriage could be quite daunting. These women rarely knew their husbands before marriage. Often an arranged marriage could mean entering a strange household of much older people, as young women were often betrothed to mature husbands. This could have been traumatic to a young woman who was often unprepared for the demands made upon her by her husband and his family. Of particular concern for young women were conflicts arising between their religious convictions and the demands of marriage.⁷² This conflict between devotion to spouse and devotion to God and religious life was expressed by the Umbrian St. Angela of Foligno (1248-1309). St. Angela, like most Umbrian women, was married at a young age (under 20). In her writings she expressed that, although she enjoyed the material comforts and the stability of marriage, she felt they were barriers to a spiritual life.⁷³ At the age of 40 Angela lost her husband, children and mother simultaneously. She did not react to these sudden deaths with the sense of despair and grief expected of such a loss. Rather, her writings make it abundantly clear that the demise of her family was met with a sense of elation as she was now entirely

⁷¹ Ibid., (1993), p. 76. Appendix A, See Table IV.

⁷² Ibid., (1993) p. 79.

⁷³ Angela of Foligno, "Memoriale," trans. A. Sergio (Cinisello Balsamo, MI.: Edizione San Paolo, 1996), Ch.. 1. 9-12.

freed from any familial obligation and able to pursue her spiritual leanings. Although St. Angela's views cannot be said to represent those of middle class Umbrian women, they do, however, convey the potential dissatisfaction among Umbrian women with respect to conflicting responsibilities of marriage and spirituality. St. Angela of Foligno can be seen as a bridge between Roman lay saints and the Renaissance period Umbrian women.

However, unlike St. Angela and middle class Umbrian women of the 16th century, the female lay saints had an added dimension to their plight. For the lay saints the problem posed by marriage went beyond the concerns of reconciling their spiritual life with their materialistic concerns posed by their families. They were also challenged by their suitors' lack of faith. Not only was their Christian faith in conflict with their suitors' paganism, but their confession of faith led to a betrayal by the suitor. For young urban Renaissance women the issue in marriage was not their husband's faith, since most Italian families were Catholic Christian. Rather, Renaissance brides were more concerned with the spouse's morality: whether he was a drinker, a gambler, irresponsible with money, abusive or objected to her devotional practices. Such conflicts were present in St. Angela of Foligno's marriage. She confesses that her husband was an immense barrier to the pursuit of her spiritual life: "I decided to put aside my best garments, fine food and fancy headdresses ... During this time I was still living with my husband and it was bitter for me to put up with all the slanders and injustices leveled against me. Nevertheless I bore them as patiently as I could."⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Angela of Foligno, *Complete Works* (New York: Paulist Press, 1993), p. 219. Angela of Foligno, "Memoriale," trans. A. Sergio, (Cinisello Balsamo: Edizione San Paolo, 1996), Ch. 1. 9-12. "*Il nono passo mi fu accordata la grazia di cercare la via della croce, per poter stare ai suoi piedi, dove si rifugiano tutti i peccatori. Ecco come mi fu insegnata, illuminata e indicata. Ebbi l'ispirazione che, se volevo raggiungere la croce, dovevo spogliarmi, per essere più leggera, e andarci nuda, perdonare cioè tutti quelli che mi avevano offeso, privarmi di tutti i terreni, di tutti gli uomini e le donne, di tutti gli amici e i parenti, di tutte le altre persone, della mia proprietà e di me stessa e dare il mio cuore a Cristo, che mi aveva concesso*

As the example of St. Angela of Foligno demonstrates, Medieval and Renaissance women were often married to spouses who impeded their desire for spiritual fulfillment.⁷⁵

Cherubino of Siena wrote the *Regole Matrimoniale* (c. 1490) in order to redress this problem. He instructed wives to maintain their duty to God while fulfilling their obligations to their spouse and family:

One finds a greater number and greater multitude, that is to say, of those people who live in company as man and wife. Being that there is so great a multitude and such a number of people joined, it would seem to be convenient, fruitful and useful to offer a kind of sermon and some treatise as to how they might live in a manner that does not offend God.⁷⁶

Cherubino of Siena felt that marriage was a viable alternative to life in a religious order, if the husband and wife worked together toward the common ideal of spiritual perfection.⁷⁷

tanti benefici, e camminare per la via spinosa della tribolazione. A quel punto cominciai a non indossar più i vestiti migliori e a fare a meno di certe vivande e di alcuni fazzolettoni; ma il fatto che ancora non provavo amore, era per me motivo di vergogna e di pena. Io allora vivevo con mio marito e perciò provavo amarezza quando venivo ingiuriata con parole o azioni; tuttavia sopportavo pazientemente, come potevo. In quel periodo, per volere di Dio, morì mia madre, che era per me un grande impedimento, e dopo, in breve tempo, cessarono di vivere mio marito e tutti i miei figli. Poiché avevo cominciato a percorrere la via della croce e avevo pregato Dio che morissero, ne ebbi una grande consolazione e pensai che, dopo quei doni divini, il mio cuore sarebbe stato sempre in quello di Dio e il suo nel mio." (At the ninth step I was given the grace to search for the way of the cross, to be able to sit at his feet where sinners take refuge. Lo! How I was instructed, illuminated and shown [the way]. I had the inspiration if I wanted to reach the cross. I ought to cast off my clothes to be more light and to be then nude to offer forgiveness to all those who have offended me. [I desired] to deprive myself of all the lands, all the men and women, all friends and relatives, of other people, my property and my things and to give my heart to Christ, who gave me so many advantages and to walk down the road of trials. At that point I started to no longer wear my best clothes and to do without certain foods, in the manner of handkerchiefs. But the fact that I still did not feel love, it was further the source of shame and suffering, I was still living with my husband, therefore I felt bitterness, when I was being abused with words and actions. I was able to bear it as patiently as I could. During this period, by the will of God, my mother died who was a great impediment to me, and later, a little time after, my husband ceased to live and all my children. Since I had started to take up the way of the cross. I prayed to God that they would die. I felt great consolation for this and I thought after these divine gifts, my heart would always be in God's heart and his in mine).

⁷⁵ Vauchez, op. cit., (1993) p. 79.

⁷⁶ Cherubino da Siena, op. cit., p. 4. Chapter Two: Deruta *Bella Donna* plates: Exemplarity and Umbrian Middle Class Women (1500-1550).

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 24. Chapter Two of this dissertation Deruta *Bella Donna* plates: Exemplarity and Umbrian Middle Class Women (1500-1550).

One of the hagiographies of the four female lay saints demonstrates that a chaste marriage was an option for lay women who were forced to marry.⁷⁸ In the *Legenda Aurea*, St. Cecilia marries her suitor Valerian.⁷⁹ At the beginning of the hagiography Valerian is a pagan, but inspired by the example of his beloved, he converts to Christianity. St. Cecilia married Valerian secretly. However, the text makes it clear that this marriage was never consummated and that the marriage was based upon their common objective; spiritual growth and devotion to God.⁸⁰ It is Valerian's brother Tiburtius who discovers their Christian faith and brings them to trial before the Roman officials. This marriage, with its bond based on mutual love of God and united commitment to the care of each other's soul, appears to be the embodiment of Cherubino of Siena's conception of marriage, which perceives marriage as a real alternative to life within a religious order.⁸¹ Through marriage, if both spouses are Christian, the husband and wife are able to join together through their common devotion to God and their desire to nurture the spiritual development of one another.⁸² In a chaste marriage physical attraction becomes unimportant and is subordinated to spiritual welfare.⁸³

⁷⁸ M. Leuzzi, "Vita Coniugale e Vita Familiare nei Trattati Italiani fra XVI e XVII Secolo," *Donna Disciplina, Creanza, Cristiana dal XV al XVII Secolo*, ed. G. Zarri (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1996), pp. 253, 266.

⁷⁹ Da Voragine, "Life of St. Cecilia," *Legenda Aurea*, op. cit., p. 771-772. *Venit autem nox, in qua suscepit una cum sponso suo cubiculi secreta silentia, et ita eum alloquitur: o dulcissime atque amantissime juvenis, est mysterium, quod tibi confitear, si modo tu juratus asseras, tot ate illud observantia custodire, Jurat Valerianus, se illud nulla necessitate detegere, nulla prodere ration. Tunc illa ait: angelum Dei haveo amatorem, qui nimio zelo custodit corpus meum. Hic si vel leviter senserit, quod tu me polluto amore contiguas, statim feriet te ...* (The [wedding] night came, when she along with her husband entered the secret silence of the bedroom. She spoke to him thus, "Oh most sweet and loving youth, it is a mystery which I confess to you, if only you swear under oath to keep it to your self completely, Valerian swore the oath, that he would not reveal it because of any need [and that] he would not betray it for any reason. Then she said: "I have a lover, an Angel of God, who preserves my body with great zeal. If this Angel senses the slightest hint that you are touching me in vile love, immediately he will strike you down").

⁸⁰ Leuzzi, op. cit., pp. 253, 266.

⁸¹ Cherubino da Siena, op. cit., pp. 4, 5. Chapter Two of this dissertation *Deruta Bella Donna* plates: Exemplarity and Umbrian Middle Class Women (1500-1550).

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 4-6.

However, in the minds of the parents arranging these marriages, the potential for their daughter's spiritual welfare was not an overriding consideration in the process of selecting a suitable husband. The lives of these four female lay saints portrayed young women who opposed their families and refused to enter arranged marriages. Women also faced an additional dilemma when attempting to lead a religious life after marriage. For example, St. Barbara's father placed her in a tower because he disagreed with her choice of a spouse and her Christian beliefs.⁸⁴ St. Angela of Foligno also admits that her relationship with her mother created conflicts throughout her life: "My mother, who had been an immense obstacle to me ..." It was only after her mother's death that St. Angela was free to fulfill her spiritual goals. These examples reveal that there was an immense chasm between parental demands and personal choice. As St. Angela of Foligno demonstrates there were rarely alternative options for young women but to suffer quietly until the death of the offending family member: "Nevertheless I bore these as patiently as I could."⁸⁵

Unlike the four lay saints, St. Angela of Foligno and most other middle class Umbrian women could not defy the will of their parents. As hagiographies demonstrate, these women of noble birth had more options, the freedoms and ability to defy the wishes of their parents and even society.⁸⁶ For example, among the four lay saints in the *Legenda Aurea*, St. Catherine was well versed in the liberal arts.⁸⁷ St. Catherine was instructed in the Roman educational system of the *trivium* and *quadrivium*.⁸⁸ Da Voragine described a

⁸⁴ Da Voragine, op. cit., (1969), p. 795.

⁸⁵ Angela of Foligno, op. cit., Ch. 1. 9-12.

⁸⁶ Weinstein and Bell, op. cit., p. 196; Vauchez, op. cit., (1992), p. 177.

⁸⁷ Ibid., (1992), pp. 210-211.

⁸⁸ Da Voragine, op. cit., (1969), p. 789: "*Catherina Costi regis filia omnibus liberalium artium studiis erudite fuit.*" (Catherine daughter of King Costus was learned in all the disciplines of the liberal arts).

court room scene where St. Catherine used her skills for the purpose of defending her Christian faith against her pagan persecutors:

St. Catherine had the intellectual knowledge of divine things, which she used especially in her disputation against the rhetors to whom she proved that there is but one God ... She had the mathematical (*sic*) in her contempt for earthly things; for according to Boethius, this science speculates upon abstract forms without matter. This Saint Catherine ... argued according to diverse modes of syllogism, by allegory and metaphor, by logic and mystic.⁸⁹

As a result of her passionate defense she inspired not only the laity to convert to Christianity by her moral example, but also evoked the same reaction among the pagan philosophers who were impressed by her rhetorical defense of Christianity.

Finally, noble birth was considered to be an outward expression of the special favour these saints had attained in the eyes of God. Being born into nobility elevated them above the rest of mankind because of their innate virtue. Social station in the Renaissance was a mark of a highly developed and deepened spiritual state; the state of holiness was predestined and a noble birth was a manifestation of it.⁹⁰

Martyrdom

Each hagiography demonstrates the willingness of each of the four lay saints to submit to torture and death rather than marry and renounce their Christian faith. St.

Barbara was confined to a tower and murdered by her father, St. Catherine and St. Lucy

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 796: "*Scilicet in demonstrativam, probabilem et sophisticam. Prima pertinent ad philosophos secunda ad rhetores et dialecticos, tertia ad sophistas. Hanc etiam triplicem scientiam habuisse videtur, cu, de ea scribitur; Per varias conclusionis syllogismorum allegorice et metaphorice, diserte et mystice.*" ([Logic is divided into three parts:] namely, the demonstrative, the probable and the sophistic. The first pertains to philosophers, the second to the rhetoricians and dialecticians, third, the sophists. For this woman is seen to have mastered the three disciplines, since it is written of her [that she argued] through the various conclusions of syllogisms: allegorical and metaphorical, rhetorical and mystical).

⁹⁰ Vauchez, op. cit., (1992), p. 177.

were beheaded by Roman officials, and St. Cecilia sang hymns on the way to her execution. She was boiled to death in hot oil.

This violent end was not only reserved for young female Saints of this typology, but was a fate shared by many young female mythological, Classical and Christian figures appearing in Italian decorative arts.⁹¹ The Roman matron Lucretia is an example of a woman who preferred death over personal violation or any infringement of her personal moral code.⁹² The shame she endured after she was violated by Sextus Tarquin Superbus led her to commit suicide.⁹³ Like the female saints of this typology, the state of a woman's chastity was the factor which determined her worth. In the case of the Christian saints, marriage to a pagan man was seen as a form of defilement and a barrier to moral living.⁹⁴ Both Classical and Christian examples reveal that the woman's chastity and her moral rectitude were equivalent to her personal worth. The violation of one's personal chastity could only be remedied by death, be it martyrdom or suicide.⁹⁵

Additionally, the beauty and physical desirability of the female lay saints was perceived as a curse as it led to unwanted attention from pagan suitors. This was especially apparent in the case of St. Lucy. She willingly plucked out her own eyes and sent them on a platter to her pagan suitor after he spoke adoringly of them. St. Lucy's

⁹¹ C. Baskins, *Cassone Painting, Humanism and Gender in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 11.

⁹² G. Boccaccio, *Famous Women* (Cambridge: I Tatti Library, 2001), p. 198. St. Augustine, *City of God: Vol. I* (Cambridge: Harvard university Press, 1981), Bk. 1. xix, p. 90. In St. Augustine's mind Lucretia's actions were immoral. He clearly distinguishes between suicide and martyrdom. In his view Lucretia should have nobly endured this violation to her body and have been like the good Christian women who have suffered similar tragedies and who took solace that they possessed "chastity of mind. (*Habent quippe intus gloriam castitatis testimonium conscientia*). From the frequent occurrence of the image of Lucretia on decorative objects one would assume that Lucretia was venerated by the laity for her actions. However, it is impossible to know whether Umbrian women would have made her choice given a similar situation.

⁹³ Livy, *Ad Urbe Condita*, Ed. and Trans. B. O. Foster (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), Bk. 1.11

⁹⁴ Vauchez, op. cit., (1993), pp. 78, 79.

⁹⁵ Baskins, op. cit., p. 11.

eyes offended her as they precipitated her suitors' amorous advances and were a barrier to her single-minded devotion to God.⁹⁶ St. Lucy's story went beyond simply encouraging women to "hate vanity" as the popular preacher Giovanni Domenici sermonized.⁹⁷ It showed that exceptional physical beauty was an impediment to a devout religious life. Personal feminine beauty, although highly desirable, presented a moral dilemma for young saints as the power of their beauty ultimately led to their destruction.⁹⁸ Boccaccio states that in the case of the *bella donna* plates the downcast and diverted eyes were a defense against engaging in eye contact with men who might tempt them to go morally astray.⁹⁹ Therefore, physical beauty and a preoccupation with it was viewed as an immensely destructive force for both beautiful women and the suitors who pursued them. Alberti recommends that young men should abandon the notion that physically desirability was an important factor in selecting a wife because attractive women might be driven to be demanding and dishonorable on account of their vanity. Less attractive women would be more devoted to their chastity and moral development and as a result would be better wives and mothers.¹⁰⁰ For the suitors their rejection by the

⁹⁶ Da Voragine, op. cit., (1969) p. 30.

⁹⁷ Domenici, "Regola del Governo di cura familiare," op. cit., p. 145.

⁹⁸ N. Machiavelli, "Discorsi Sopra la Prima Deca di Tito Livio," *Opere* (Milano: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore, 1964), Lib. III. XXVII, p. 380. "Sono in questo testo più cose da notare, Prima se vede come le donne sono state cagioni di molte rovine, ed hanno fatti gran danni a quegli che governano una città, ed hanno causato di molte divisioni in quelle; e come si è veduto in questa nostra istoria, l'eccesso fatto contro a Lucrezia tolse lo stato ai Tarquinii, quell'altro fatto contro a Virginia privò i Dieci dell'autorità loro. Ed Aristotile intra le prime cause che mette della rovina de' tiranni è lo avere ingiuriato altrui per conto delle donne, con stuprarle o con violarle o con compere i matrimony, come di questa parte, nel capitolo dove noi trattamo delle congiure, largamente si parlò." (There are in this list more things to note. First, one sees how women have been the cause of much ruination and have caused great harm to those who govern a city and have caused many factions in those cities. As we have seen in this our history that the transgression made against Lucretia took the state from the Tarquins. That other indiscretion made against Virginia deprived the Ten of their authority. And Aristotle placed among the first causes of the downfall of tyrants, having verbally abused others because of a woman, whether by raping and violating or breaking up marriages. This issue was covered extensively as in the chapter where we deal with plots).

⁹⁹ Boccaccio, op. cit., p. 48.

¹⁰⁰ Alberti, op. cit., (1946), p. 355. "Adunque volendo essere lodata di tua onestà, tu fuggi ogni atto non lodato, ogni parola non modesta, ogni inditio 'animo non molto pessante et continente ... femine studiano

beautiful saint led them to seek vengeance against her through betrayal. As a result of the treachery the suitors were killed by Divine will later. Thus, these hagiographies demonstrate excessive beauty posed spiritual barriers and destruction for both men and women.

Historiography, Legend and Exemplarity

For Umbrian middle class women, the historicity of the four lay saints was less important than what they represented in terms of moral behaviour and devotion to God. Since the saints' lives dated from the remote early Christian epoch, it was difficult to validate their historicity.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, since the saints were not responsible for public achievements, such as founding a religious order, healing the sick or authoring a monastic rule, their contributions could not be placed within the institution of the Catholic Church. Their sainthood was dependent upon their martyrdom and not on acts done on behalf of others. Their moral and spiritual exemplarity in terms of Italian

piacere agli uomini, credendosi, così lisciate, impiastrate et dipinte in quello loro abiti lascivi et inonesti, più essere agli uomini grate, che mostrandosi ornate di pura semplicità et vera onestà; che bene sono stultissime et troppo vane femine, ove porgendosi lisciate et disoneste credono essere da chi le guata ladate, et non s'aveggono del biasimo loro et del danno." (Still desiring to be praised for your honesty, you ought to flee every unpraiseworthy act, every immodest word, avoid every indication your soul is not very balanced and chaste ... Women study how to be pleasing to men believing that they are more attractive to men, when smooth, slick, gleaming and shellacked wearing lascivious and immoral clothing. They believe it is more pleasing to men than to adorn themselves with pure simplicity and sincerity. Those very stupid and vain women think that when they show themselves made up they are being praised by those who look at them. They do not recognize the disapproval of others and the damage they do).

¹⁰¹ Burke, op. cit., pp. 49, 51; D. Attwater, *Penguin Dictionary of Saints*. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1995), pp. 52, 77, 229; E. R. Baker, *Rome of the Pilgrims and Martyrs* (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd.). It is only St. Cecilia whose historical existence has been validated. She was buried in a crypt of the Caecili in St. Callixtus. This was excavated by Cardinal Rampoll in 1900. Although very popular among the laity, especially women, it is the lack of historical validity of these cults, which undermined the value of these saints in the eyes of the Church. Even before the Council of Trent 1545 the Church discouraged the perpetuation of these cults. Moreover, the Church was wary of female saints, who had not received the sacrament of ordination during their lifetime. The Church questioned the authenticity of these saints and felt that their legitimacy was based on the shaky foundation of popular legend.

Umbrian women was based upon preferring death to an impious life.¹⁰² The Catholic Church questioned the authority of these saints because they could not confirm their historical validity.¹⁰³ However, the middle class laity was not concerned with this issue. These cults were important to women because of their inspirational qualities.

It is clear that Umbrian women could not imitate the lives of the four female lay saints entirely, since opposing one's family and seeking martyrdom were not options. However, the lay saints were clearly inspirational in the sense that Umbrian women appealed to them personally in their prayers, because they would understand the struggles they faced with respect to marriage. On the other hand, there were other elements in the hagiographies that could be used as models for the behaviour of Renaissance women. Da Voragine in the *Legenda Aurea* developed and elaborated these elements. Through the hagiographies written by da Voragine, Umbrian women learned how to cope with the difficulties presented by marriage. By the example of these four lay saints, women were moved to be the moral force of their family. Like the four female lay saints, mothers could inspire and strengthen morally their families. Da Voragine notes that even the names of these saints conveyed behaviour appropriate to young wives.¹⁰⁴ This analysis of the Saints' names is described in the first part of the hagiography, referred to as the *praesagium nominis* (Lat. "the name that fortells"). In the hagiography of St. Lucy, Da

¹⁰² Vauchez, op. cit., (1993), p. 76; The piety of these four female lay saints was based on private acts and not public deeds. These private acts of piety made the saints more sympathetic to urban women who could not act in the public sphere.

¹⁰³ Burke, op. cit., pp. 49, 51.

¹⁰⁴ K. L. Jansen, *The Making of Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 200-202.

Voragine notes that her name indicates that she is the saint of light, divine inspiration, chastity and tireless work:¹⁰⁵

Lucy is light ... Lucy was endowed with the stainless purity of life; that in her was an effusion of heavenly love without unclean desire; that she followed a straight way in her devotion to God, and a long way in her daily works without weakening or without complaint of Lucy. Or again Lucy means *Lucis via*, the way of light.¹⁰⁶

In da Voragine's hagiography, St. Lucy is described as a light guiding her followers along the pathway to God. Her name "Lucy" is derived from the Latin word (*lux*) for light. The quality of light was reflected in her inspirational abilities to facilitate insight into spiritual and intellectual understanding among her devotees. As well, da Voragine notes, St. Lucy engaged in her duties tirelessly.¹⁰⁷ This sentiment corresponds to Cherubino and Alberti's exhortations.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Da Voragine, op. cit., (1969), p. 29. "*Lucia dicitur a luce. Lux enim habet pulcritudinem in aspersione, quia, ut dicit Ambrosius, lucis natura haec est, ut omnis in aspect eius gratia sit. Habet etiam etiam diffusionem sine coinquinatione, quia per quaecunque immunda diffusa non conquinatur; rectum incessum sine curvitate, longissimam lineam pertransit sine morose dilatione. Per hoc ostenditur, quot beata virgo Lucia habuit decorum virginitatis sine aliqua corruptione, diffusionem, caritatis.*" (Lucy is derived from light. For the light possesses beauty in its aspect, since, as Ambrose said, this is the nature of light, so that every thing in its appearance is grace. For [light] is also characterized by diffusion, without contamination, since it is not polluted through whatever filth has been diffused. [Light] has a straight approach without a curve; a very long path without annoying delays. Through this it is shown that the blessed virgin Lucy had the Grace of virginity without corruption or dilution of love).

¹⁰⁶ Da Voragine, op. cit., (1969), p. 29; Alberti, op. cit., (1946), pp. 154-155: "*E al procreare figliuoli niuno dubiti a l'uomo fu la donna necessaria. Poi che 'l figliuolo venne in luce tenereo debolecto, a llui era necessario avere a cui governo et fede e' fusse caro et comendato, avere che con diligentia e amore lo nutrisse e dale cose nocive lo difendesse; ero loro nocivo il troppo freddo e 'l troppa sole, la molta piovra, furiosi impeti de' venti; però in in prima trovarano il tecto socto il quale nutrissono e difendessono sé stessi e il nato.*" (And for the procreation of children no one can deny that a man requires a woman. When the child comes into the light tender and delicate, it is necessary for the child to have some person whose authority and trust was both dear and praiseworthy, someone to be nourished with diligence and love. This person ought to defend the child from harm; too much cold, too much sun, too much rain and also the furious forces of wind which are also harmful to children. However, first, she has to find a real roof under which to nourish and defend herself and her offspring). Cherubino of Siena, op. cit., p. 30: "... *tu, figliuola mia diletissima, governa bene tutte le cose di casa ... Il tuo marito forse s'affatica, o per mare o per terra ...*" (You, my most esteemed little daughter, govern well all the aspects of the house ... Your husband perhaps has gotten tired, either through either on because of [work] by sea or by land ...).

¹⁰⁷ Da Voragine, op. cit., (1969), p. 29.

¹⁰⁸ Alberti, op. cit., (1946), p. 111; Cherubino da Siena, op. cit., p. 30.

St. Cecilia, as she is presented in the *Legenda Aurea*, was also a model for wives. Jacobus da Voragine states that St. Cecilia illuminates the way to heaven for the blind: "Cecilia comes from the Latin *Coeli Lilia*, (Lily of Heaven), or *Caecis via*, (a way unto the blind), or from *Coelum* (Heaven) ... She was a way unto the blind by her example."¹⁰⁹ This also matches the role for wives described by Cherubino of Siena who states that wives must correct husbands who have lost their spiritual direction.¹¹⁰

Thus, by following the example of the four lay saints, as presented by da Voragine in the *Legenda Aurea*, urban Italian women learned their proper role as wives and mothers. The wife was expected to guide the spiritual and moral welfare of her family.¹¹¹ Accordingly, the family would achieve these values if the wife provided a solid moral example through her own flawless behaviour.

As Vauchez notes, it was the moral struggle of these saints, not the historicity of the saints' cult, that was important to the laity.¹¹² These four female lay saints shared characteristics which reflected the concerns of middle class women. These concerns often ran counter to the agenda of the Church, which desired that the laity be devoted to saints who had cults closely tied to ecclesiastical institutions.¹¹³ The laity succeeded in creating a ritualistic and religious culture distinct from the Church, by maintaining their devotion to a saintly typology not wholly endorsed.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ Da Voragine, op. cit., (1969), p. 771. J. Da Voragine "Saint Cecilia," *The Golden Legend*, trans. W. Granger Ryan (New York: Arno Press, 1969), p. 318. "*Caecilia quasi coeli lilia cel caecis via vel a coelo et lya Vel Caecilia quasi caecitate careens. Vel dicitur a coelo et leos, quod est populus ... Fuit enim caecis via per exempli...* ([The name] Cecilia may come from *Coeli lilia*, lily of the heaven, or from *caecitate careens*, lacking blindness, or from *caecis via*, road for the blind, or from *coelum* and *lya*, a woman who works for heaven, Or the name may be derived from *coelum* and *laos*, that is the people ... She was a road for the blind by giving good example").

¹¹⁰ Cherubino da Siena, op. cit., p. 24.

¹¹¹ Da Voragine, op. cit., (1969), p. 29 ; Burke, op. cit., pp. 49, 51.

¹¹² Vauchez, op. cit., (1993), p. 67.

¹¹³ Burke, op. cit., pp. 49, 51.

¹¹⁴ Vauchez, op. cit., (1993), p. 67.

St. Clare and Institutional Sainthood

Middle class Umbrian women favoured young and pious female saints who chose piety above saving their own lives.¹¹⁵ They felt that those saints would be more compassionate and understanding with respect to their daily struggles. Saints of this typology were far more meaningful than those whose cults were based on public acts. As a result the four lay saints (St. Barbara, St. Catherine of Alexandria, St. Cecilia and St. Lucy) were more popular than the Franciscan St. Clare.¹¹⁶ Her cult centre at Assisi was only 13 miles from Deruta. Due to the proximity of the two cities, it might be expected that St. Clare would have been a popular devotional figure among Umbrian women, particularly because her male counterpart St. Francis was so prevalent on Deruta pottery. However, the image of St. Clare is almost absent from Deruta ceramics.¹¹⁷ There is only one known image of this saint on surviving Deruta maiolica.¹¹⁸ The lack of representation of St. Clare on Deruta maiolica suggests that the middle class was not interested in buying pottery with St. Clare's image, indicating that the cult of St. Clare was not especially significant to Umbrian women. I suggest that Umbrian women, confined as they were to the domestic space and unable to live the public mendicant life, found it difficult to identify personally with the life and deeds of St. Clare.

Although St. Clare was a native of the Umbrian region, she was rarely selected by Umbrian social and political institutions as a patron saint.¹¹⁹ Giovanna Casagrande offers reasons for St. Clare's exclusion from representation outside the churches and

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 79.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 75, 76. The female saints popular among supporters of the Franciscan Order were not nuns, but lay people.

¹¹⁷ G. Casagrande, "Presenza di Chiara in Umbria nei Secolo XIII-XIV: Spunti e Appunti," *Collectanea Franciscana* 62 (1992), pp. 501, 505.

¹¹⁸ H. Morely-Fetcher and R. McIlroy, *Christie's Pictorial History of European Pottery* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1984), p. 53, pl. 12.

¹¹⁹ Casagrande, op. cit., pp. 501, 505.

monasteries which bore her name and used her rule. First, Casagrande states that even in the cases where convents used her rule, it did not necessarily follow that they were devoted to the Order of St. Clare. Rather, for convents to be considered legitimate in the eyes of the Church, they were obligated to choose an official rule for their Order and often the Rule of the Poor Clares was a popular choice. However, it did not necessarily translate that the convent was officially part of the Order of the Poor Clares. Many nuns chose to be independent from Church endorsed religious orders for women. Second, Casagrande adds that, although the church promoted St. Clare as an important saint, her cult did not have those elements which appealed to the laity.¹²⁰

St. Clare did possess all the characteristics of the new variety of sainthood the Church was eager to promote in the period leading up to the Council of Trent (c. 1545): she was a member of a religious order whose life and acts could be verified historically; the grounds for her sainthood were not in question. The Council of Trent brought Church dignitaries from throughout Christendom to discuss Church reform. In particular, the Council was preoccupied with the education of clerics and the role of saints in the devotional life of the Church. The Council of Trent ushered in the era of the Counter Reformation in the Catholic Church, which emphasized religious figures who had legitimate, officially documented, and deeply personal religious experiences.

The Church was so eager to promote St. Clare's cult that following her death in 1255 the canonization process was accelerated. By 1377, there were nineteen convents which used her rule. Additionally, her feast day became a popular annual celebration observed in most Umbrian towns. By 1496 her cult had become so important to the growth of Franciscanism that she was made patron saint of Assisi along with St. Francis.

¹²⁰ Vauchez, *op. cit.*, (1993), p. 67.

However, there was a discrepancy between the popularity of a saint as a religious figure recognized institutionally by the Church and one who was chosen by the laity to represent their moral and religious concerns. Casagrande notes that towns were slow to associate St. Clare with political institutions such as guilds. In only one rare case was St. Clare chosen as a patron saint for a guild in the Umbrian community of Orvieto in 1292, when her image was selected to adorn the sacred emblem of the *I Sette Signori delle Arte* (It. "The Seven Gentlemen of the Arts").¹²¹ However, the cult of St. Clare lacked two specific types of support, making her a less popular saint among the Umbrian laity. Firstly, she lacked the support of political and economic institutions governed and supported by middle class society, such as the potters' guild.¹²² Secondly, as discussed earlier, middle class families in Umbria preferred to adhere to Domenici's view that young female saints, like St. Catherine of Alexandria and St. Lucy, were better examples of behaviour for young children and women.¹²³ One can conclude that the concerns regarding the moral education of girls and issues relating to marriage were of greater urgency to middle class families than the charitable acts of more mature saints officially endorsed by the Church and religious orders.¹²⁴

St. Clare possessed only two aspects in common with the typology of the four lay saints favoured among Umbrian urban laywomen. Firstly, she was a young virgin when she committed herself to God; at eighteen she was slightly older than the other four saints. Secondly, like all the female saints on Deruta maiolica, she was from a noble family. However, in all other respects, St. Clare lacked the key elements of female saints

¹²¹ Casagrande, op. cit., pp. 501, 505.

¹²² Nicolini, op. cit., pp. 83-84.

¹²³ Domenici, op. cit., pp. 145-146.

¹²⁴ Vauchez, op. cit., (1993), pp. 75, 76.

of this typology. St. Clare was a Medieval saint born in Assisi c. 1194 and did not live in the early Christian period between the 2nd and 4th centuries, and was thus not a Roman citizen. In every other way her hagiography departed from the four female lay saints as well. Unlike the four lay saints most of the salient aspects of her life - her birth, death, and her first meeting with St. Francis at the age of eighteen - had been documented historically.¹²⁵ St. Clare distinguished herself from the other female Saints depicted on Deruta pottery through her public activity. St. Clare was involved in the Church from an institutional standpoint: she created a sister order to the Friars Minor, entitled the Poor Clares, for which she wrote her own monastic rule called the *Serviziali*.¹²⁶ St. Clare's authorship of this rule made her unpopular with the laity because writing such rules was viewed as unfeminine. Finally, St. Clare was never married nor suffered martyrdom.

To the Church, St. Clare was the ideal female saint because her contribution, as an author of a rule, was tangible and not lacking in historical validity, as was the case with the four female lay saints.¹²⁷ Because her cult was based on historical evidence, and her life yielded tangible achievements, the Church heavily promoted her cult.¹²⁸ However, it was because of these aspects that her cult failed to appeal to the lives of Umbrian middle class women.¹²⁹

¹²⁵ Attwater, op. cit., p. 86.

¹²⁶ Gennaro, op. cit., p. 45.

¹²⁷ Burke, op. cit., p. 49.

¹²⁸ Casagrande, op. cit., pp. 501, 505.

¹²⁹ Burke, op. cit., p. 49, 51, 55; Weinstein and Bell, op. cit., p. 220; Vauchez, op. cit., (1993), p. 67. At the Council of Trent in 1545, Church officials planned to place tighter regulations on the requirements for the canonization of saints. The Papacy was keen to promote a more credible model of sainthood in order to placate critics of the Church, such as the German Humanist scholar Erasmus (1466-1536), who questioned the authority of any institution that would encourage devotion to saints lacking historical legitimacy and tangible evidence of miracles performed. New standards for sainthood enacted by the Church recognized that a great number of saints' cults were of questionable authenticity and the canonization process needed to be more rigorous. Following the reforms, only 17.5 per cent of all canonizations were of women. Another casualty of these new standards was the disqualification of martyrdom leading to immediate sainthood. After the Council of Trent, the Church discouraged canonization of lay figures, only selecting

St. Clare and Deruta Maiolica

St. Clare's life did not relate to the experience of lay women because her hagiography did not deal with issues of marriage, nor did was she a member of the laity. Examining the only existing image of St. Clare on Deruta pottery [Appendix B, database II, no. 17] it is apparent that she does not belong to the typology of the four lay saints.



39. Deruta, *St. Clare*, c. 1530. Provenance Unknown Appendix B, Database II, no. 17. Reprinted from Christie's Pictorial History of European Pottery, ed. H. Morely-Fetcher and R. McIlroy, Oxford: Phaidon, 1984, p. 53, pl. 12.

candidates from among individuals who had been invested with holy orders at a young age. Thus, the post-Tridentine Catholic Church aimed at limiting the influence and import of non-institutional saints. Despite these new standards, the Church could not eliminate existing cults whose popularity they could not control. As a result of these increasingly strict guidelines for sainthood, female martyrs like St. Barbara, St. Catherine of Alexandria, St. Cecilia and St. Lucy were deemed of spurious authenticity. Saints of their typology, namely martyred women who were not members of a religious order recognized by the church were no longer considered for canonization. However, it is quite clear that the Church's desire to reduce the importance of these lay saints had no effect on Umbrian women. These female saints remained popular and continued to address the problems and concerns middle class women, encountered particularly, the conflict between the demands of marriage and devotion to faith. The popularity of the four lay saints is represented by the surviving numbers of maiolica plates with their image.

Unlike the lay saints, who are dressed in modified togas identifying their lay status and their Roman citizenry, the head, neck and shoulders of St. Clare are covered by her black and white cloth, i.e., a nun's habit.¹³⁰ The habit signifies her commitment to the Order of the Poor Clares and indicates she was not a lay woman. In addition, the face of St. Clare is central to the viewer's gaze. This is in direct contrast to the images of the four lay saints whose faces are expressionless and the features unclear. The depiction of St. Clare's face reveals she is not an adolescent girl, but a mature woman. Her eyes are round, wide and dart to the side displaying personal qualities that are both benevolent and wise. These detailed features can be contrasted to the four female lay saints, whose instruments of martyrdom or attributes, were given primacy above their facial expressions. Since this is the only known example of St. Clare on a piece of Deruta maiolica from the golden age (c. 1500-1550), it is difficult to know why it has been produced. There are a number of possible reasons. First, it may have been a souvenir plate commissioned by a pilgrim who had traveled to Assisi and had a special devotional affinity for St. Clare. Second, it may have been owned by a citizen of Assisi, who wanted a series of plates depicting the city's patron saints. It may have been placed along with the two other civic saints of Assisi: St. Francis and St. Anthony of Padua.

¹³⁰ Morely-Fetcher and McIlroy, *op. cit.*, p. 53, pl. 12.

Conclusion

The four female lay saints comprised a specific typology which appealed to middle class women in Umbria because they addressed major concerns regarding marriage and family. Unlike *bella donna* plates which were bought for middle class wives by their husbands, these maiolica pieces were purchased by women and thus were direct representation of the wife's own spiritual interests and personal concerns. This typology of the four female lay saints appealed to middle class Umbrian women for a number of reasons. First, the lay saints were young women and were not members of religious orders; their martyrdom was directly related to their marriage. Second, middle class women were concerned with the morality of their spouse. Arranged marriages meant young brides had no control over the selection of their spouse. Hence, the issue of living with a husband who did not share their devotion to God and was potentially irreligious was a dilemma for women.

On the other hand, the Umbrian, St. Clare was a saint who failed to have a broad appeal to middle class women. Although she was a local saint and her cult was promoted by the Church, her hagiography did not possess the elements to which Umbrian middle class women could relate.

The Deruta artisans had ulterior motives for desiring that the images on these plates appeal to middle class women buyers. Through the images of four lay saints, the artisans promoted their own devotional and business interests. Saint Catherine of Alexandria, one of the four lay saints, was the patron saint of the Deruta artisans. The artisans used two prototypes (both of St. Catherine of Alexandria, one by Perugino and the other by Raimondi) to depict all four female lay saints. By using this common

prototype the artisans expressed their devotion to their own saint, St. Catherine who, coincidentally, happened to also be popular among middle class lay women in Umbria. Whereas *bella donna* plates were meant to guide women with respect to modesty and chastity, plates featuring the four lay saints would provide inner strength to middle class women in their daily struggles as married women.

Chapter IV: St. Francis and Deruta Maiolica

Introduction

As illustrated in the previous chapter, the portrayal of female lay saints on Deruta pottery reflected three preoccupations among Umbrian women. First, women felt a kinship with a specific typology of lay saints, represented by St. Barbara, St. Cecilia, St. Catherine of Alexandria and St. Lucy.¹ This typology represented the ongoing personal conflict of Umbrian women over the demands of family and marriage and their desire for a spiritual life.² Second, the Deruta artisans exhibited their own devotional affinities by repeatedly using their own patron-saint, St. Catherine of Alexandria, as a prototype for all four lay saints depicted on Deruta pottery.³ Finally, Umbrian women developed a devotional life that was quite separate from the institution of the Catholic Church as a whole. Such independence is demonstrated by their continued devotion to the four female lay saints not promoted by the Church, instead of the ecclesiastically - endorsed St. Clare, a female saint of the Franciscan Order. Although the Church hierarchy considered St. Clare a more legitimate Saint, she did not represent the moral and devotional interests of

¹ P. Burke, "How to be a Counter-Reformation Saint," in *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 51-53. Burke states that saints' cults rise in prominence during times of need. For example, the cult of St. Roche surged in popularity during the black death outbreak in the late 15th century. Likewise, the popularity of the lay saints show the preoccupation among middle class women with issues relating to marriage. Vauchez demonstrates that the female saints who escaped marriage were psychologically important to Umbrian women. A. Vauchez, *The Laity in the Later Middle Ages: Religion Beliefs and Devotional Practices*, trans. D. Bornstein and M. Schneider (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993), p. 182. D. Bornstein, "Women and Religion in Late Medieval Italy: History and Historiography," in *Women and religion in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, ed. D. Bornstein, R. Rusconi and trans. M. Schneider (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), p. 4.

² Vauchez, op. cit., p. 5, 66.

³ D. Weinstein and R. Bell, *Saints and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), p. 179. Weinstein and Bell note that saints were used to legitimize all manner of civic enterprises. St. Catherine of Alexandria represented the needs of the potters, in particular, to be kept safe from injuries associated with fires. U. Nicolini, *Il Paese dell'Arte Civile: Scritti sulla Storia di Deruta e della Ceramica Derutense* (Perugia; Arnaud, 1997), pp. 83-84.

Umbrian women. For this reason, it is surprising that her male contemporary St. Francis was so widely adored in Umbrian lay society and used in prayer ritual by women. This adoration is demonstrated by the prominence of St. Francis on Deruta maiolica ceramic objects.

The Franciscan Order introduced a practical element to the cult of St. Francis which made it very attractive to middle class women. Specifically, the friars introduced prayer rituals which women adopted, thereby strengthening the bond between the female laity and the cult of St. Francis.⁴ Just as the cults of the four female lay saints were an outward expression of the difficulties of women with respect to marriage,⁵ this prayer rituals were also a manifestation of the daily devotional needs of women. Umbrian middle class women performed private devotions within their own homes and their personal spaces when they were not required to attend to domestic duties.

This chapter will explain the appeal and function of these maiolica objects to middle class women. In addition, it will demonstrate that these pieces bearing images of St. Francis are a manifestation of the growing influence of the Franciscan Order in Umbrian households. It will also discuss the historical context for the collaboration of the Deruta artisans and Franciscan Friars. These two groups combined to produce ceramics with devotional images suited to the restricted lifestyles and devotional needs of Umbrian women.

⁴ Vauchez, op. cit., pp. 172-178. Vauchez notes that the Franciscans gained great success with women because they promoted certain Saints cults, who reflected the concerns and attitudes of women.

⁵ Vauchez, *ibid.*, p. 182; M. Glasser, "Marriage and Medieval Hagiography," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 4 (1981), 9, 14. Glasser notes that during the 16th century a more favourable view of marriage was promoted by church officials and hagiographers, in order to counteract this personal conflict among young brides. As a result, the concept of a "chaste marriage" was developed. This type of marriage was based on a common agreement among husbands and wives that their marriage was a spiritual union grounded on the mutual goal of spiritual betterment and not physical desire.

Two categories of ceramic objects were created by the Deruta artisans to fulfill devotional needs for private prayer and spiritual development. First, large ceremonial plates (It. "*piatto da pompa*") bearing elaborate images of St. Francis receiving the stigmata were created for pilgrims to Assisi who desired a memento of their sojourn.⁶ Second, ceramic liturgical objects were created for the administration of mass in private chapels and household altars.⁷ These pieces feature an austere image of the saint kneeling, holding a rosary and praying before a cross. We will first look at the complex relationship between the Deruta artisans and the Friars at Assisi.

Deruta and Assisi: Maiolica Pottery and the Expansion of the Franciscan Order

The production of ceramics with the images of St. Francis, was a collaborative effort of the Deruta artisans and the Franciscans of Assisi. The Franciscan Order, understood that religious imagery affected the spiritual outlook of the laity.⁸ The Deruta artisans having much to gain by the expansion of the Order, created many ceramic objects

⁶ C. Hess, Lecture at Emily Carr School of Art and Design, Vancouver, B. C., November, 1999. C. Curnow, *Italian Maiolica in the National Museum of Scotland* (Edinburgh: National Trust of Scotland, 1983), p. 43; J. Theilmann, "Medieval Pilgrims and the Origins of Tourism," *Journal of Popular Culture* 20 (1987), 95. Theilmann states that it was important to pilgrims that they possessed an object which let "others know of their travels." Display of pilgrimage objects was essential; D. Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (London: I. B. Tauris Pub., 2000), p. 128. Webb gives psychological insight into the acquisition of these pilgrims' tokens. She states that there was a great deal of prestige associated with such pilgrimages. Thus, the display of such a souvenir was a status symbol. As well, these objects became heirlooms and were given as gifts. C. Hahn, "Loca Sancta Souvenirs: Sealing the Pilgrim's Experience," *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, ed. E. Ousterhout (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990), p. 93. She states that the function of pilgrim souvenirs was threefold: first, to commemorate the pilgrimage experience; second, the souvenir demonstrated that the owner had traveled to the location of the saint's relics. Third, it demonstrated that the pilgrim was one of the elect in Heaven for having undertaken the pilgrimage.

⁷ R. Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art: 1300-1600* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), pp. 114, 125, 144.

⁸ Vauchez, op. cit., pp. 174-177; C. Frugoni, "Female Mystics, Visions and Iconography," in *Women and Religion in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, eds. D. Bornstein, R. Rusconi and trans. M. J. Schneider (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996) pp. 136, 137, 153.

which appealed to the visual tastes and devotional needs of lay people.⁹ Through this medium the Franciscan Order was able to promote prayer reforms among women,¹⁰ and increase its influence among the urban middle class. This expansion of the Friars Minor was achieved at the expense of other religious Orders, such as the Dominicans.



40. Deruta, *Maiolica Plate of St. Francis Praying with a Rosary before a Wine Keg*, c. 1550. Wine Museum of Torgiano, Perugia, Italy Appendix B, Database III, no. 57. (This digital image appears with kind permission from the Wine Museum of Torgiano, Perugia, Italy and its proprietors, the Lungarotti Foundation). This piece demonstrates the variety of formal pottery used by the Friars Minor of Assisi supplied by the Deruta artisans. The prayer style of the saint will be discussed later in this chapter.

⁹ Ibid., p. 136; Bornstein and Rusconi, op. cit., p. 4.

¹⁰ Frugoni, op. cit., pp. 135-136; R. Goldthwaite, op. cit., pp. 77, 80. Goldthwaite discusses the use of *liturgical apparati* as an important means through which the Franciscans promoted their ideals and gained such strong support from the laity in Italy.

The Early Relationship between Deruta and Assisi (1250-1500)¹¹

In the Middle Ages pottery centres regularly arose near monasteries as artisans could rely on steady commissions offered by monasteries and convents. Ceramic objects such as an *albarello* (It. "drug jar") were required by the Friars for both their domestic chores and also for storing medicines in monastery hospitals and pharmacies. The pottery centre of Deruta thrived through association with the Friars of Assisi. The artisans worked in Deruta, only 13 miles (20.92 km.) from Assisi, and began supplying pottery to the Friars in the late 1200's. This was before the advent of maiolica (c. 1500)¹² when the artisans produced earthenware pottery covered with a slip (a watered down but high quality clay which protected the body of the ceramic object).¹³

Two sources describe Deruta earthenware production and its sale to the Friars Minor at Assisi during the pre-maiolica period (c. 1200-1500). The sources are archival documents and archaeological evidence. First, there are archival documents collected by C. Cenci, from the Perugian and Assisi archives entitled the *Vita Assisiana* (Lat. "Life at Assisi"). These documents record events occurring at the Basilica in Assisi c. 1300-1530.¹⁴ These sources detail the supplies received by the monastery and also indicate the names of Friars and Nuns present in Assisi and its environs. The documents of the *Vita*

¹¹ Maiolica must have been first produced in Deruta between 1480-1500. Spanish maiolica was firmly established in the homes of Pisan nobles by 1500. See: M. Spallanzani, "Maiolica di Valenza di Montelupo in una casa Pisana del 1480," *Faenza* 72 (1986), 164; A. Caiger-Smith, *Lustre Pottery: Technique, Tradition and Innovation in Islam and the Western World* (London: Faber and Faber, 1985), p. 129. Caiger-Smith that there was a great deal of experimentation with maiolica production in Deruta between 1480-1500.

¹² This period coincides with the first phase of Deruta maiolica production. See F. Abbozza and T. Biganti, "La Ceramica di Deruta: un quadro storico introduttivo," in *Antiche Maioliche di Deruta per Un Museo Regionale della Ceramica Umbra* (Spoleto: Nuova Guaraldi Editrice, 1980), p. 13.

¹³ For a discussion of the qualities of proto-maiolica see: G. Busti, F. Cocchi, "Prime Considerazione su alcuni frammenti da scavo a Deruta," *Faenza* 73 (1987), 1-15; J. Whitehouse, "Origins of Italian Maiolica," *Archaeology* 31 (March-April 1998), 42-49.

Assisiana relating to Deruta are most numerous between the period of 1355 and 1404.

This time frame encompasses the career of one individual, Cecce d'Alessandro. Through the documents involving d'Alessandro, insight can be gained into the acquisition of Deruta pottery by the monastery, the economic relationship between the pottery centre of Deruta and the religious devotion of the Deruta artisans to the Friars at Assisi.¹⁵

Archaeological site reports from excavations conducted by Giuseppe Palumbo (1971),¹⁶ Giulio Busti and Franco Cocchi (1987) in the medieval sector of Deruta also offer valuable data on the relationship between the Deruta artisans and the friars of Assisi.¹⁷ These archaeological site reports reveal the quality and design of the archaic or pre-maiolica pottery produced at Deruta. From these sources we learn four things. Firstly, Deruta artisans produced two types of pre-1490 pottery for the monastery. One type was a high quality pottery which was fired twice, decorated with a green glaze, and adorned with animals and geometric designs made for the yearly Franciscan *Feast of Indulgence* (*Indulgeza* or *Perdone*). This variety was presented to dignitaries and other important guests who attended the monastery for a religious festival. Second, the Deruta artisans also produced a poor quality pottery which was fired once and was used by the Friars for

¹⁴ Nicolini, op. cit., p. 51; *Documentaione di Vita Assisana: 1300-1530*, ed. C. Cenci. (Grottaferrata, Italy: Collegi S. Bonaventura ad Claras Aquas, 1975).

¹⁵ Cenci, op. cit., pp. 281: 1404. V. 15 *A marchio Nerii, de quadam Petia terre posita in baylia S. Lucie, que Cecce Alexandri et ipse post mortem suam conventui ...* (At the marches of Nera [S.E. Umbria] at a certain region Petia situated on the Bay of St. Lucy, where after the death of Cecce Alessandri at a convent ...).

¹⁶ G. Palumbo, "Vasi Medievali ad Assisi," *Faenza* 57 (1971), 83-92; G. Palumbo, "Un Nuovo Gruppo di Ceramiche Medievali Assisane," *Atti IV Convegno Internazionale della Ceramica* (Albisola, 1971), pp. 331-361.

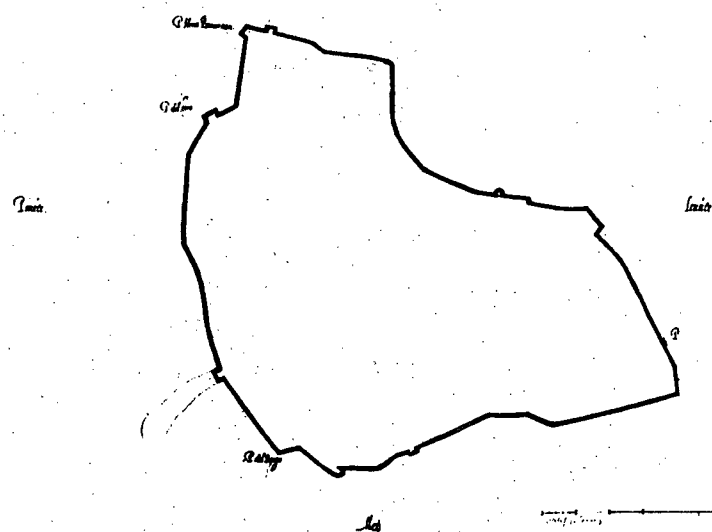
¹⁷ G. Busti and F. Cocchi, "Prime Considerazione su Alcuni fragmenti da Scavo in Deruta," *Faenza* 73 (1987), 1-20.

daily activities such as cooking, storing food, and mixing medicines in the pharmacy.¹⁸

Finally, it is clear that the Friars did not recognize the value of Deruta maiolica as a means to promote the cult of St. Francis until after 1500. Prior to this period Deruta pottery was purely decorative and utilitarian in nature, not devotional or liturgical.¹⁹

Archaeological Evidence: Deruta Pottery Prior to the Advent of Maiolica

The archaeological excavations of Busti and Cocchi revealed much about the pottery produced during the *periodo arcaico* (It. "archaic period") c. 1350-1490. The period coincided with the first phase in the economic and religious association between Deruta and Assisi.



41. Map of Deruta, c. 1548. The map was made by C. Piccolpasso during his geological survey of Umbria. The southern sector of the map is the location of the Medieval potters fornaci (kilns). Image reproduced from C. Piccolpasso *Le Pianta et i Ritratti delle Città e Terre dell'Umbria Sottoposte al Governo di Perugia* ed. G. Cecchini Roma: Istituto Nazionale d'Archaeologia e Storia dell' Arte, 1963.

¹⁸ Palumbo, op. cit., p. 341; Busti-Cocchi, op. cit., p. 15; "Il secondo rappresenta un vasto repertorio di frammenti ingobbato e graffiti per lo più di scarti di fabbrica successive alla prima cottura." (The second [group] represents a vast repertoire of *ingobbato* and *graffito* fragments, mostly discards of the workshop following the first firing).

¹⁹ Busti and Cocchi, *ibid.*, p. 15, 19.

In 1962, while the town aqueduct was under repair, Busti and Cocchi conducted excavations in the medieval sector of Deruta, (zone A, the south district) [See Figure 41]. This fieldwork revealed that during the proto-maiolica period four pottery workshops (*fornaci*) were manufacturing ceramics in Deruta.²⁰

Both archaeological and primary documents confirm that the Deruta potters produced two types of pottery for the Franciscan Friars. There was a higher quality, which was twice fired pottery fashioned into the shape of drinking and eating vessels such as *piatto*, (*It.* "plate"), *panate* (*It.* "bread plate"), *scodello* (*It.* "soup bowl"), *tazze* (*It.* "cup").²¹ This pre-16th century proto-maiolica of the non-*graffito* type (painted decoration rather than etched into the ceramic surface) was decorated with plant life, geometric and anthropomorphic motifs and was green and brown in colour. The once-fired poorer quality pottery was decorated with a poor quality thin glaze in a dull colour: *smalto magro e opaco* (*It.* "thin slip and dull in colour") or without a slip entirely. Patterns were etched into the surface and not painted.²² These pieces were largely utilitarian pieces used by the Friars in their daily life. It should be emphasized that none of the pottery found in excavations had images of St. Francis. Images of St. Francis only appear on Deruta pottery c. 1500 to 1550. Maiolica with its vibrant colouring and durable glazes could depict religious scenes and well articulated figures where the dull glazes of proto-maiolica could not.

²⁰ Busti and Cocchi, *ibid.*, p. 14.

²¹ Palumbo, *op. cit.*, (1971), p. 341; Palumbo, *op. cit.*, *Faenza* (1971) 87.

²² Busti and Cocchi, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

The Career of Cecce d'Alessandro: the special needs of the Franciscan Friars during the Periodo Arcaico (1300-1404)

It is clear from the documentary evidence that the Deruta potters diligently catered to the needs of the Friars to secure their financial and religious favour. The task of serving the Friars was entrusted to Cecce d'Alessandro.²³ His exact role is not clear. The texts state that d'Alessandro was a *procurator*, implying that he might have been the middleman transporting vases back and forth between Deruta and Assisi. Although in other entries d'Alessandro is referred to as a *vasaio* (It. "potter") or a *vasario* (It. "vase-maker"). While the nomenclature of his job title is ambiguous, the archives indicate that he transported and received payment for the ceramics he delivered to the Friars at Assisi: "*solvit procurator Cecce d'Alessandro pro vasis acceptis ...*" (The overseer [gave money] to Cecce d'Alessandro for pottery received).²⁴ The title *vasaio* (also *vasario*) implies that he could either have produced maiolica vases or simply worked as a salesman of vases.²⁵

It would appear from the documentary evidence that he was the sole representative of the Deruta artisans for the Franciscan Brothers at Assisi. As a result d'Alessandro made frequent trips to Assisi throughout the year as he personally delivered the items. The first entry states that on the 24 August 1355, Cecce d'Alessandro delivered 300 *vasa virida* (It. "green vases"), 300 *vasa alba* (It. "glossy white glaze"), 12 *amphora*

²³ G. Palumbo, "Un Nuovo Gruppo di Ceramiche Medievali Assisane," *Atti IV: Convegno Internazionale delle Ceramiche* (Albisola: May-June, 1971), pp. 331-361; *Documentazione di Vita Assisana: 1300-1530*, ed. C. Cenci. (Grottaferrata, Italy: Collegi S. Bonaventura ad Claras Aquas, 1975). These documents are from the archive: *Assisi Biblioteca Comunale Archivio Sacro Convento*.

²⁴ Nicolini, op. cit., p. 51; Palumbo, op. cit., p. 355; Palumbo, op. cit., p. 352; 19 August 1358: "*Cecce Alexandri vasaio ...*" (Cecce Alexandri vasemaker); Palumbo, ibid. p. 353; Oct. 1359: "*item Cecce Alexandri Vasario ...*" (Cecce Alexandro vasemaker); Palumbo, ibid., p. 351; 21 Agosto 1357: "*Solvit procurator cecce allexandri pro vasis acceptis ab eo per infirmarium. quoquinarium et cellararium ...*" (The overseer [gave money] to Cecce d'Alessandro for pottery received from him, for use in the hospital, kitchen and storage cellar ...).

²⁵ D. Olivieri, *Dizionario Etimologico Italiano* (Milan: Casa Editrice Ceschia, 1953).

(It. "oil containers") and 11 *brocca* (It. "jugs") for the payment was 49 *libre* and 10 *soldus*.²⁶ In the second entry during the next year on 19 March 1356, d'Alessandro delivered two *amphora* (It. "oil container") to Assisi.²⁷ In the third entry on 10 January, 1357, he sold vases for the special occasion of the Feast of Indulgence. For this delivery he received 58 *libre*.²⁸ The fourth entry on 19 August 1357 states that Cecce d'Alessandro delivered 332 *vasa virida*, 10 *brocca* and 12 *amphora* and for this delivery he received 32 *libri*.²⁹ These deliveries occurred at regular intervals between 1355 and 1404.³⁰ Although the deliveries continued regularly after 1404, following d'Alessandro's death, they become more difficult to trace through the archival records.³¹

From the *Vita Assisiana* it is clear that the month of August was the most important part of d'Alessandro's working year. He was always present in Assisi at the beginning of August and he returned in the following weeks for another substantial delivery of pottery. The beginning of August coincided with an annual festival at the monastery and the Deruta potters supplied the large quantities of pottery required for the

²⁶ Palumbo, op. cit., p. 351; 24 Aug. 1355: "*Item ipse die cecce alexandri pro 300 vasi viridis et 300 albis et 12 amforis et 11 brocculis*." (On the same day, Cecce Alexandri [delivered] 300 green vases, 300 white washed vases, 12 oil jars and 11 little jugs).

²⁷ Ibid., p. 351; 19 March, 1356: "*Item in duobus amporis*" (on two amphoras).

²⁸ Nicolini, op. cit., p. 51; Palumbo, op. cit., p. 351-2; Cenci, op. cit., p. 278, 281.

²⁹ Palumbo, op. cit., p. 352; 19 August, 1357: "*Item Cecce allexandri pro 332 vasis viridis et 10 broccolis et 12 amporis*." (Cecce Alexandri [delivered to the monastery] 332 green vases, 10 small jugs and 12 oil jars).

³⁰ Cenci, op. cit., p. 278, 281: November 1403: "*Habuit notarius banchi(iuris) pro questione Cecce d' Alexandri (anche 24 Nov.) Pro hereditate Cecce Alexandri*." (A notary skilled at law was retained on account of a complaint regarding Cecce d' Alessendri; also [24 Nov.] and the inheritance of Cecce Alessandri); 15 May 1404: "*A marchio Nerii, de quadam petia terre posita in baylia S. Luci, que Cecce Alexandri et ipse post morem suam conventuis*." See above n. 15, for the translation.

³¹ Ibid., p. 544; 634; After 1404 the archival records are harder to trace because there appears to be a number of agents who fulfilled this function. There are three names associated with Deruta pottery. They are only mentioned once and never referred to again: Fr. Symoni de Diruto (6 Jan, 1436): "*Fr. Symoni de Diruto proparte salari*" (Having settled a debt of salary); Giacobbo da Deruta (19 March, 1445): "*Giacobbo da Deruta Avve', per una soma de broche da olio*." (Giacobo of Deruta was given a payment for a load of oil jugs); Fr. Iacobi Angeli (7 Jan 1447): "*Fr. Iacobi Angeli Solvit procurator in Deruta*" (Fr. Iacobus Angeli paid a manager in Deruta).

occasion. Every August 2, the Friars celebrated the Feast of Indulgence. Dignitaries and pilgrims were welcomed into the monastery. The Deruta artisans provided ceramic ware to accommodate the large numbers of guests. The archives suggest that not only did Cecce d'Alessandro transport this pottery to Assisi but he was also invited to participate in the festival.³²

Poverty, Chastity and Obedience: Deruta Pottery and Monastic Austerity.

According to the *Vita Assisiana*, the Friars acquired a poor quality pottery for daily utility.³³ These pieces were used in three areas of the monastery: the *infirmarium* (Lat. "hospital"), the *quoquinarium* (Lat. "kitchen") and the *cellarium* (Lat. "storage rooms").³⁴ These Latin terms indicate that these pieces did not possess any liturgical or devotional function.³⁵ Six pottery shapes were ordered by the monastery for the daily household tasks. The names of these pieces indicate their form and function: *vasa bianco* ("white washed vase"), *amphora virida* (Lat. "green oil jars"), *"brocca albis"* (Lat. "white washed small jugs"), *vasa crocea* (Lat. "saffron coloured jug").³⁶

³² Palumbo, op. cit., p. 352, 355; 10 January 1352: "*Item Cecce Allexandri in vasis emptis ab eo pro tempore indulgentie ...*" (Also Cecce Alessandri on account of vases having been bought by him for the time of indulgence ...).

³³ Ibid., p. 341. Palumbo states that the pottery at Assisi could be divided into two groups. There was a type that was rough and fired once and a second type that was highly decorated and fired twice.

³⁴ Cenci, op. cit., p. 352; 21 Aug., 1357 "*Solvit procurator Cecce Alexandri pro vasis acceptis ab eo per infirmarium, quoquinarium et cellarium...*" (The overseer [gave money] to Cecce d'Alessandro in exchange for the vases received by the monastery for the kitchen, hospital and cellar).

³⁵ The names of the pottery shapes indicate that their function was utilitarian and not a liturgical: *vasa Bianca* (Lat. "white vase"); *vasa crocea* (Lat. "yellow vases"); *vasa alba* (Lat. "white washed vase"); *vasa verde* (Lat. "green vase"); *anfora verde* (Lat. "green amphora"); *anfora bianca* (Lat. "white amphora"). Pottery is also named for its shape: *gavatellum* (Lat. "platter"); *saletta* (Lat. "salt cellar"); *bocca* (Lat. "jug"); *scudella* (Lat. "serving tray"); *piatellettum* (It. "small plate").

³⁶ Palumbo, op. cit., p. 341; D. Olivieri, *Dizionario Etimologico Italiano* (Milan: Casa Editrice Ceschia, 1953). There is a distinction between the term "*vasa bianco*" and "*vasa albis*." While both terms describe vases that are covered in a white glaze, the terms have their distinctions. *Bianco* is a medieval vernacular Italian term. It describes an inexpensive flat paint or slip that was a white wash. This glaze marks the poor



42. Giotto, *The Legend of St. Francis 16: The Death of the Knight of Celano*, c. 1297-1300. Upper Church, Basilica of San Francesco, Assisi, Italy. (This photograph appears with the kind permission of Dr. Emil Kren Web Gallery of Art). Notice the earthenware pottery on the dining table. This is an example of the better quality pottery the Deruta artisans supplied. The fish is on a flat rimless tray called a *scudella*. There are also two *brocca verdi* (Lat. "small jug" with a light green slip"). There are also two *ciotole marroni* (It. "small brown bowls") and two black salt cellars at the front of the table *saleria* (Lat. "salt cellar"). For more examples of archaic Deruta pottery depicted by Giotto, see Appendix F.

Amphorae and *brocae* were receptacles for liquids and oils. In addition, *gavatellum* (Lat. "serving platter") and *lavendaria* (Lat. "washing basin") were also essential for housekeeping and hygiene in the monastery. Archaeological excavation

quality of pottery used by the friar's for their daily housekeeping activities. *Albis* describes a white glossy glaze. It is opalescent or shining in appearance. This higher quality glaze is used on the special pottery acquired by the monastery for the Feast of Indulgence.

records conducted in Assisi in 1971 confirm that this pottery was austere³⁷ in accordance with the Friars' ideals of poverty and simplicity.³⁸

Proto-maiolica and the Franciscan Feast of Indulgence

In the Assisi archives under the entries relating to Cecce d'Alessandro on two occasions (10 Jan 1357 and October 1359) it is indicated that the monastery purchased large quantities of pottery for the Feast of Indulgence: *pro tempore indulgentie*. For this event the Deruta potters created a second type of pottery, which archaeologist J.

Whitehouse refers to as proto-maiolica.³⁹ This high quality pottery was created for people outside the Order, especially for pilgrims and dignitaries coming to Assisi for the festival.^{40a}

In order to accommodate hundreds of pilgrims with meals at this time the Friars ordered large quantities of table ware from the Deruta artisans. Many types of *piatti* (It. "large plates"), *tazzi* (It. "footed bowls"), *bicchieri* (It. "cups"), *vasi* (Lat. "vases"),

³⁷ Busti and Cocchi, op. cit., p. 15.

³⁸ Palumbo, *Faenza*, (1971), 86; Busti and Cocchi, op. cit., p. 15; Palumbo, op. cit., (1971), 341. This type of pottery must not have been the main source of income for the Deruta potters because the pieces that had been fired once only were commonly found in excavations among the studio's discards. The pottery consisting of *graffito* ware was represented by a vast array of fragments, which were discarded by the studios after their first firing. From this evidence one may deduce that this pottery exposed to a single firing had been used by the monastery in Assisi. It is not surprising that the Friars at Assisi found a practical use for this pottery because of the austerity and simplicity of their lifestyle. However, for the main consumers of Deruta pottery would not have been interested in low quality once-fired pottery, because they were interested in ceramics as a luxury item. R. Rusconi, "Provincia Sancti Francesci: Le Istituzioni Minoritiche nella Società Umbra," *Francesco d'Assisi: Storia e Arte*, ed. R. Rusconi (Milan: Electa, 1982), pp. 75-76.

³⁹ Whitehouse, op. cit., 42-49; Palumbo, op. cit., (1971), 341, 355. Palumbo differentiates between two types of pottery found at Assisi: the once-fired pottery and the elaborate twice fired pottery used for Feast of Indulgence.

^{40a} Palumbo, op. cit., (1971), 355.

salette (It. “salt cellars”), *scutellarum* (Lat. “tray”), and *piatelletti*, (It. “small plates”) were ordered from Deruta in anticipation of the important visitors.⁴⁰

Economic and Religious relationship of The Franciscan Friars and the Deruta Potters

Historical evidence relating to the relationship between the Deruta potters and the Franciscan Friars at Assisi indicates that their longstanding union was first of all an economic arrangement. The Deruta potters received a steady income from the continuous Franciscan requests for pottery, in particular as a result of the ceramic demand of the Feast of Indulgence. The Feast of Indulgence was an expression of gratitude by the Franciscan brothers at Assisi to the lay community which had supported the cult of the Saint. The recipients of this honour were local officials and lay benefactors, among whom were the Deruta artisans, who provided support to the brotherhood throughout the year. The Feast also served another function, which was to issue indulgences. Hence, there was an added vested interest on the part of the Deruta artisans to support the Franciscan Order: the acquisition of indulgences.⁴¹

However, while there were economic motives behind the alliances of the potters and the Franciscan Friars, one cannot discount that the Deruta artisans may have also been deeply attached to the Franciscan Order for religious reasons. St. Angela of Foligno describes the Feast of Indulgence as a deeply spiritual occasion. She, like Cecce d’Alessandro, visited Assisi c. 1291-1309. She describes her pilgrimage from Foligno to Assisi as a deeply moving experience:

⁴⁰ Ibid., 355.

On the Sunday before the Feast of the Indulgence, a Mass was being celebrated at the altar of the most reverend Virgin Mary in the upper church of the Basilica of blessed Francis ... Angela's soul was absorbed and transported into the uncreated light by the majestic power of the sovereign and uncreated God ... the image of the blessed crucified God and Man appeared to her, looking as if He had just then been taken down from the cross.⁴¹

While, it is clear that those attending the Feast of Indulgence had specific intentions for being present, whether it was for the collection of money or a gift of an indulgence. At the same time feelings of piety and religious devotion experienced by St. Angela of Foligno must also have been felt by other attendants, the Deruta artisans included.

The Advent of Maiolica at Deruta: The Fusion of Religion and Ceramics (1500-1550)

The Deruta potters did not depict religious themes c. 1250-1490, before the Hispano-Moresque styles of pottery had been imported into Italy. Maiolica (tin glazed pottery) was not a native Italian invention. According to the Italian Geographer Aleandro Alberti, maiolica was called such because "this art was first found on the Island of Maiorica [in Spain] and brought here [to Deruta]."⁴² Alan Cagier-Smith, a professional

⁴¹ J. Shinnars, ed., "The Portincula Indulgence (1216)," *Medieval Popular Religion, 1000-1500: A Reader*, trans. E. Gurney Salter (Broadview Press, 1997), pp. 382-383. These indulgences were controversial and caused much concern among the Church hierarchy.

⁴¹ P. La Chance, ed., Angela of Foligno: *The Complete Works*. "The Instructions," (Mahwah, New Jersey, 1993), p. 139, 245; Angela of Foligno, *Instructione*, Ch.1, Pt. a, L. 1-8. *Inde di Dominico ante festem Indulgentiae in missa quae cantabitur in altari reverendissimae Virginis, ecclesiae superioris beati Francisci, circa elevationem corpus Domini, organis cantantibus angelicum hymnum "Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus etc.," ab ipsa maestate summi et increanti Dei sic fuit anima in ipsum increatum lumen absorpta et assumpta et atracta cum tanta mentis frutione et illustratione quod ominino et ineffabile totam.* (Thence on Sunday before the Feast of Indulgence, during a mass which was being sung at the altar of the most reverend Virgin, at the upper Church of the Blessed St. Francis, around [at the time of] the elevation of the body of the Lord while the organ was playing the angelic hymn "Holy, Holy. Holy," the soul of Angela of Foligno was thus absorbed, taken up and possessed by the very majesty of the most high and uncreated god. So great was the delight and illumination of her mind that it was altogether and completely indescribable).

⁴² T. Abbozzo and T. Biganti, "La Ceramica di Deruta un Quadro Storico," in *Antiche Maiolice di Deruta un Museo Regionale della Ceramica Umbra* (Spoleto: Nuova Guardaldi Editrice, 1980), Introduction. Leandro Alberti, *Descrittione di Tutta L'Italia et Isole Pertinente ed Essa di Aleandro Alberti Bolognese*,

potter and maiolica scholar, notes that the advent of maiolica was the result of economic and religious contacts with Spain. Neapolitan merchants entering Perugia at the beginning of the 16th century brought a Spanish variety of maiolica with them now termed "Hispano-Moresque" ware.⁴³ This imported maiolica became highly prized by the Italian nobility for its unique chemical properties and vibrant palette. By nature, the tin component in the maiolica glazes created a thick white surface that was stronger and more antiseptic looking than other glazes. In addition, the glaze withstood cracking when exposed to extremes in temperature.⁴⁴ As well, its colour palette was vibrant and not restricted to earth tones. The tin glaze could be mixed with a variety of extracts such as oxidized copper and antimony to create a wide variety of colours such as various shades of brown, green, purple and yellow.⁴⁵

An Italian inventory from the household of Jacopo Ottavanti of Pisa, dated 15th of June, 1480, reveals three important aspects of Hispano-Moresque ware. Firstly, it shows that Hispano-Moresque was highly valued by the nobility, because it was actually included in this inventory. Secondly, it is the first instance of the term "maiolica" (later the widely adopted nomenclature for Italian tin glazed pottery) in an Italian document.⁴⁶ Thirdly, the source indicates that the Hispano-Moresque cups were decorated with a

(Venice: Appresso Paolo Ugolino, 1596), p. 93: "*Sono dimandati a vesti vasi di Maiorica, perche primieramente fu ritronata quest'arte nell'isola di maiorica et quivi portata.*" (They got permission to buy vases of Maiorca, because, firstly, this art was found on the island of Maiorca and from there it was imported).

⁴³ Caiger-Smith, op. cit., p. 129.

⁴⁴ R. Goldthwaite, "The Economic and Social World of Italian Maiolica," *Renaissance Quarterly* 42 (Spring 1989), 20.

⁴⁵ W. D. Kingery and M. Aronson, "On the Technology of Renaissance Maiolica Glazes," *Faenza* 76 (1990), 231-233; T. Biganti, "La Produzione di Ceramica a Lustro a Gubbio e Deruta tra la Fine del Secolo XV e L'Inizio del Secolo XVI: Primi Risultati di una Ricerca Documentaria," *Faenza* 73 (1987), 211.

⁴⁶ Spallanzani, op. cit., 164.

religious symbol, namely the monogram of Christ *IHS*. Even though this monogram was symbolic and not pictorial, it established a precedent for religious motifs on maiolica and by 1490 this monograph also began to appear on Deruta jugs.⁴⁷ It is clear that the introduction of religious motifs was the result of Spanish influence⁴⁸ and the research of Busti and Cocchi supports this notion. Their excavations reveal that Deruta pottery used only animal, vegetable and geometric images prior to 1490.⁴⁹

Out of the 329 pieces of maiolica compiled in the database no less than 56 depict St. Francis (Appendix B, database III).⁵⁶ The number suggests that St. Francis' popularity outstripped the cult of other saints in Umbria, at least among middle class buyers.⁵⁰ In this research database the two depictions of St. Francis (St. Francis receiving the stigmata and St. Francis in prayer) are more than triple the number (16) of four lay saints. The prominence of images of St. Francis on Deruta demonstrate that the life of St. Francis and the Order were major force in the spiritual life of Umbria owing to the close proximity of Assisi to Deruta.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Busti and Cocchi, *Museo Regionale della Ceramica da Deruta Ceramiche Policrome, a Lustro e Terracotta di Deruta dei Secoli XV e XVI* (Milano: Electa Editori Umbri Associati, 1999), p. 137.

⁴⁸ Spallanzani, op. cit., p. 164-169.

⁴⁹ Caiger-Smith, op. cit., p. 131.

⁵⁶ Appendix B, Database I: *Bella donna* plates (257); Appendix B, Database II: St. Barbara (4); St. Catherine of Alexandria (6); St. Cecilia (2); St. Lucy (4); (Appendix B, Database III); St. Francis (56).

⁵⁰ In the research collection the female saints plates are 16 in number. In contrast, there are 56 plates bearing images of St. Francis. St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata: Appendix B, Database III, nos. 1-27; St. Francis Praying before a Cross: Appendix B, Database III, nos. 31-57. The other factor that affected the number of surviving plates, as observed in the case of *bella donna* plates, are the patterns of collectors from the 17th century to the present. It might be suggested that lay saints plates did not survive in any volume because they did not appeal to collectors following the 16th century.

⁵¹ Goldthwaite, op. cit., (1993) p. 114. Goldthwaite argues that the Franciscan Order initiated a promotional campaign to bolster the local support for St. Francis. The close link between a saint's cult and their native territory was emphasized by St. Gregory the Great (540-604) in his *Dialogues*. St. Gregory's work was an important text which shaped the cult of the saints in Italy. It emphasized how important saints' cults were to the territory possessing them. As an Italian Pope, he wrote his *Dialogues* to elevate Italy's profile as a land of saints. He exhorted all Italians to be aware of their local saints and promote their cults. Gregory, who himself was a member of a religious order (the Benedictines), felt that the support of local saints would also deepen the presence of the religious orders whose authority was based on the cult of a saint. Although St.

The Franciscan and Dominican Orders in Umbria

The longstanding economic, political and religious ties of the Deruta artisans to the Franciscan Order are reinforced by a complete absence of rival saints, such as St. Dominic, on their pottery.⁵² Thus, the artisans expressed their loyalty to the Franciscan Order by depicting the image of St. Francis exclusively. The Dominicans, in particular, competed with the Franciscans for influence over the Umbrian urban laity.⁵³ Both orders were formed roughly around the same time (c. 13th century). They were also both interested in appealing to the laity and looked to the growing towns in Central Italy as an important resource for the expansion of their Orders. In order to survive this competitive environment and to appeal to the laity they often copied the innovations of their rivals.⁵⁴

Gregory was a Benedictine monk, his writings had a deep impact on the theological outlook all orders, including the Franciscan Friars.

⁵² M. Chilton, "Maiolica in Canadian Museum Collections," *The Potters Art*, ed., C. Mayer (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), pp. 20, fig. 2: 6. Chilton erroneously identifies this plate as St. Dominic. The figure is actually St. Francis.

⁵³ R. W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Age* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1985), p. 284. The Deruta artisans' support of St. Francis to the exclusion of St. Dominic, was the result of the rivalry of the Franciscans with Dominicans. Even in the theological realm these orders were battling for supremacy. These orders of Friars were developing faculties in the universities of the day, and often their theology differed. The Franciscans allied themselves with the teachings of the Thomistic school, after the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas, and the Dominicans were adherents to the ideas of Duns Scotus (p. 299). The two orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic joined very briefly in a united cause between 1255 and 1275. However, this was only out of a common need for survival. The clerical orders (or the non-monastic offices of the Church) banded together against the Friars complaining to the Papacy that these monastic orders were impinging on their jurisdiction. Not only could the Friars perform all the sacraments and preach within the church, they could live among the urban people and were not restricted to parish land and its environs. As a result of this threat, for twenty-five years, there was virtual harmony between the orders. The administrators of both orders not only called for the unity but encouraged artists and writers to demonstrate it through visual media and hagiographies. The art of this period often depicted St. Francis embracing St. Dominic as a good friend or as a fellow brother. Additionally, the *Vita Secunda* of St. Francis by Thomas of Celano (1247) mentions a meeting between the two saints, even though this event is of questionable authenticity.

⁵⁴ C. Stephany, "The Meeting of St. Francis and St. Dominic," *Franciscan Studies* 47 (1987), 222. For example, the Franciscans borrowed the efficient form of organization devised by Dominicans which was a hierarchy of authority administered by a Master-General. The Dominicans borrowed from the Franciscans their love of simplicity and their devotion to poverty. Both orders were fiercely territorial because they were competing in the same regions for the same audience: the support of the laity. Each Order desired to have the largest number of people devoted to their order because it would increase their power and popularity. This competitive environment frequently erupted into violence. In order to prevent hostilities from

The monastery at Assisi provided a large market for Deruta pottery.⁵⁵ As a result of this steady income for the artisans, there was little need to produce images of St. Dominic because Bologna (in the region of Emilia-Romagna: 120 Km. from Deruta) was his cult centre, not Assisi. In addition, the Franciscan Friars would not have reacted positively if the Deruta potters produced and sold images of St. Dominic alongside St. Francis.⁵⁶ There seems to be evidence that different pottery centres allied themselves with either St. Francis or St. Dominic. For example, the ceramic centers of Venice and Palermo appear to have produced images of St. Dominic, whereas the artisans of Gubbio, Urbino and Deruta favoured images of St. Francis. At Faenza alone pottery with the images of both saints, St. Francis and St. Dominic, was produced.⁵⁷ An examination of the output of saintly images from other pottery centers in Italy reinforces the notion of territoriality among these cults and their religious orders.

escalating further, the Master-General of the Franciscan Order, Albert of Pisa (1239-1240), placed jurisdictional limitations on both Orders as a preventative measure to avoid further hostilities.

⁵⁵ Lecture delivered by C. Hess at Emily Carr School of Art and Design, November, 1999; Curnow, op. cit., p. 43.

⁵⁶ Stephany, op. cit., 222. From the mid-13th century on there was an attempt to separate the jurisdictions and territories of the two Orders.

⁵⁷ Religious alliances of the pottery centres: St. Dominic on Venetian and Palermo Pottery. Palermo: *Christie's*, (2 July, 1979), pl. 113 A; Venice: *Sotheby's*, London, (17 Oct., 1969), p. 102; *Christie's*, (2 July, 1979), pl. 72; *Christie's*, (5 April, 1982), p. 268; *Christie's*, (28 June, 1982), pl. 219, 220. St. Francis on Gubbio and Urbino Pottery. Urbino: *Christie's*, (9 Nov., 1973), pl. 11; *Sotheby's* London (17 Oct., 1969), pl. 110. Both Saints depicted at Faenza pottery studios: J. Rasmusen, *The Robert Lehmann Collection Metropolitan Museum of Art*. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989), p. 48; *Christie's*, (5 Feb, 1997) pl. 25; *Sotheby's*, (22 Nov., 1983), pl. 207. The figure of St. Francis depicted by the artisans at Faenza: Catherine Join Dieterle, *Catalogue de Ceramiques I: Hispano-Mauresques*,

Part II: The Images of St. Francis on Deruta pottery and their Prototypes

The Image of St. Francis and its prototypes on Deruta maiolica

The artisans created artifacts bearing images of St. Francis helping to promote the interests of the Franciscan Order.⁵⁸ The two tableaux of St. Francis (St. Francis receiving the Stigmata and St. Francis in prayer) depicted on Deruta pottery each had unique functions. The first type of maiolica was the *piatto da pompa* (It. "large decorative ceremonial plates") depicting St. Francis receiving the Stigmata. This particular image of the saint was produced as a pilgrim's memento for travelers who visited the Basilica of St. Francis at Assisi.⁵⁹ The second type of maiolica, featuring St. Francis in prayer, consisted of small jugs, ewers and plates produced for private devotional rituals. All of these maiolica pieces served to promote the popularity of the order among the laity in following two ways. First, the image of St. Francis receiving the stigmata demonstrated the efficacy of their founding saint as a miracle worker.⁶⁰ Second, the image of St. Francis in prayer before a cross helped to establish a set of devotional rituals observed by the laity which placed the Saint in central focus during prayer.

Majoliques Italiennes, Iznik, des Collections Dutuit, Ocampo et Pierre Marie. (Paris: Musée du Petit Palais, 1984), p. 128.

⁵⁸ Goldthwaite, op. cit., p. 114. Goldthwaite argues that the Franciscan Order located in Assisi made great efforts to promote the saint locally; C. Frugoni, "Female Mystics, Visions and Iconography," op. cit., p. 137, 152-153. Women, in particular, responded to these visual images.

⁵⁹ Hess, op. cit., 1999; Curnow, op. cit., p. 43; W. Watson, *Italian Renaissance Maiolica from the William A. Clark Collection* (London: La Scala Books, 1986), p. 18.

⁶⁰ W. Hugo, *Studying the Life of Francis of Assisi: A Beginning Workbook* (New York: Franciscan Press, 1996), pp. 55, 65; R. Brown, *The Little Flowers of St. Francis* (New York: Image Books, Doubleday, 1958), pp. 27; A. L. Fisher, "A Reconsideration of the *Fioretti*: The Little Flowers of St. Francis," *Analecta Franciscana* 57 (1997), 6; *The Golden Legend of Jacobus Da Varagine*, trans. and ed. G. Ryan and H. Ripperger (New York: Longman's, 1948), pp. 602-610. The two popular hagiographies of St. Francis *I Fioretti* and the "Life of St. Francis" in the *Legenda Aurea* both contain more miraculous episodes than the writings of Bonaventura. It is for this reason these texts are considered "less serious" historical works. However, the prevalence of miracles in these popular hagiographies attests to the importance of miracles among the laity. In contrast, Bonaventura emphasized the theological dimensions of the life of St. Francis more than his miracles.



43. Deruta, *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata*, c. 1520-1525. Seattle Art Museum, Seattle, Washington. 47.79. Appendix B, Database III, no. 23. (Photo appears with kind permission of the Seattle Art Museum, Seattle, Washington. Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection, Susan Dirk photographer).

The first image of St. Francis is an elaborate scene of the Saint receiving the stigmata. This tableau was rendered on large decorative ceremonial *piatto da pompa*, the same size and shape as a *bella donna* plate, St. Francis as a man in maturity, kneeling in a clearing on Mount La Verna. The saint holds out his hands to receive the stigmata directly from Christ who appears floating before him on the Cross. St. Francis is marked with the stigmata by a series of rays emitted from the wounds of Christ. Instead of portraying Mount La Verna as a rough and barren mountainside, commensurate with the sobriety of the holy act, the Deruta artisans depict the mountains and the environs of Assisi lushly,

full of diverse and colourful features. This elaboration makes the scene much more attractive to the eye than the pre-16th century renderings of the stigmata scene, such as Giotto's fresco from the Capelli Bardi in Florence, which is austere in mood and setting.



44. Giotto, *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata*, c. 1325. Capelli Bardi, Santa Croce Florence. (Photo reproduced with kind permission of Michael Greehalgh, Dobell Professor of Art History, University of South Australia, Canbarra, Australia).

The second image of St. Francis is not found on a large *piatto da pompa*, but rather on a wide variety of shapes: jugs, small plates and cups of various sizes. The image is simpler in character with the silhouette of the saint kneeling in prayer before a large cross⁶¹ and a rosary in his folded hands. As a result of this type of image being found on smaller artifacts and its reduced scale, there is no space for an elaborate backdrop. The reduced scale of these pieces ensures that the viewer's attention is captivated by the image of the saint in prayer and is undistracted by non-essential details.⁶²

⁶¹ See Appendix B, Database III, nos. 31-57 for St. Francis in prayer before a Cross.

⁶² Frugoni, op. cit., (1996), p. 136; Bornstein and Rusconi, op. cit., p. 4.



45. Deruta, *Cup with handle featuring St. Francis Praying before a Cross*, c. 1515. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England. C. 205-1991. Appendix B, Database III, no. 35. (This photograph is reproduced with kind permission from The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England).



46. Deruta, *Jug Featuring St. Francis Praying Before a Cross*, c. 1500-1530. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. C. 67 1927. Appendix B, Database III, no. 47. (This photo is reproduced with the kind permission of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge).

These two images of St. Francis, diverse in their shape and imagery, served unique functions in the devotional lives of Umbrian families. First, the *piatti de pompa* bearing the image of St. Francis receiving the stigmata were decorative and devotional in function. In this sense, these pieces were not objects of utility but of contemplation. In contrast, the images of St. Francis in prayer were smaller pieces (jugs and small plates) used as liturgical objects in private prayer rituals. Not only did these pieces hold bread, water and wine for the Eucharist, the images on these pieces demonstrated the proper gestures to be affected in a state of prayer. The prayer style depicted on this pottery was prescribed by the Franciscan Order.⁶³ As numerous Renaissance writers such as William Durandus,⁶⁴ Jacobus da Voragine,⁶⁵ and St. Angela of Foligno attested, women were more responsive to religious images than to written texts. It was hoped that the women who purchased these Deruta pieces with the Saint in prayer would use them in times of meditation and private prayer. Thus, the saint would be at the forefront of their thoughts during their private devotional rituals.

⁶³ M. Barasch, *Giotto and the Language of Gesture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 59.

⁶⁴ For text of Durandus see Chapter Two, *Deruta Bella Donna* plates: Exemplarity and Umbrian Middle Class Women (1500-1550),” n. 10.

⁶⁵ J. da Voragine, “The Invention of the Holy Cross,” *Medieval Sourcebook: The Golden Legend: Vol. III* (London: Temple Classics, 1931), p. 78. <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/goldenlegend/GoldenLegend-Volume3.htm>, 7/20/2005. De Voragine describes how it was St. Helena (255-330), the mother of Emperor Constantine (274 or 288-337), who ordered the recovery of the true cross from Israel. St. Helena used the true cross in her private devotional rituals. She also gave splinters of the true cross to her family members for their worship: “The blessed cross was put in the earth, and hid by the space of a hundred years and more, but the mother of the emperor, who was named Helena, found it in this manner ... When Helena had the cross of Jesu Christ, and saw that she had not the nails, then she sent to the bishop Quiriacus that he should go to the place and seek the nails. Then he did dig in the earth so long that he found them shining as gold; then bare he them to the queen, and anon as she saw them she worshipped them with great reverence. Then gave St. Helena a part of the cross to her son and that other part she left in Jerusalem, closed in gold, silver, and precious stones. And her son bare the nails to the emperor, and the emperor did set them in his bridle and in his helm when he went to battle.”

The following study reveals the way in which the Deruta artisans represented both the stigmata scene, as well as the image of the Saint in prayer in order to promote the prayer reforms and the expansion of the Franciscan Order.

The Canonical Precedent for the Stigmata Scene

A growing emphasis on the stigmata of St. Francis is demonstrated through a study of hagiographic literature, especially St. Bonaventura's hagiography of St. Francis, the *Legenda Maior* (c. 1260).⁶⁶ The heightened prominence given to the stigmata event has been called into question by Chiara Frugoni, a scholar of the Franciscan Order. She notes that earlier hagiographies, such as the *Vita Prima* (1229) by Thomas of Celano (1200-1250), give little attention to St. Francis' Christ-like wounds.⁶⁷ For example, the accounts written by one of his close companions Brother Elias, state that it was not until the death of the saint that the brothers' witnessed the holy marks of the stigmata.

However, in St. Bonaventura's version of the stigmata, not only is the stigmata an important event, but the visitation of the Seraph was combined with the stigmata in order to enhance the miraculous elements of the story. Other hagiographies treat the seraph and the stigmata as two separate events.

According to Frugoni, the combination of the two events by St. Bonaventura was a deliberate attempt to give added support to the spiritual authority of St. Francis over and above other saints' cults.⁶⁸

On a certain morning at the time of the Feast of Exaltation of the Cross, while Francis was praying on the mountainside, he saw a Seraph with six fiery and shining wings descend from the height of heaven.

⁶⁶ C. Frugoni, "Saint Francis: A Saint in Progress," *Saints: Studies in Hagiography*, ed. S. Sticca (Birmingham: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1996), p. 170.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 161, 162, 163

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

And when in swift flight the Seraph had reached a spot in the air near the man of God, there appeared between the wings the figure of a man crucified, with His hands and feet extended in the form of a cross and fastened to a cross. Two of the wings were lifted above His head, two were extended for flight and two covered his whole body. When Francis saw this, he was overwhelmed and his heart was flooded with a mixture of joy and sorrow. He rejoiced because of the gracious way Christ looked upon him under the appearance of the Seraph, but the fact that He was fastened to a cross pierced his soul with a sword of compassionate sorrow.⁶⁹

In addition, where Thomas of Celano gave the stigmata only minor importance in the life of St. Francis, St. Bonaventura elevated the stigmata and Seraph scene as the central event. Frugoni concludes that the stigmata did not have theological or political use for the Franciscan Order and the Papacy until c. 1260, long after the death of St. Francis.

Frugoni argues that the delayed interest in the stigmata by the Franciscan Order resulted from a number of factors. The Franciscan Order desired to elevate Bonaventura's hagiography as the official life of St. Francis. In 1266, at the General Chapter of the Franciscan Order in Paris, the Friars adopted Bonaventura's *Legenda Maior* as the canonical version. The papacy supported the sentiments of the Franciscan Order by issuing nine papal bulls between 1266 and 1366 to endorse Bonaventura's version of the Saint's life, in particular his interpretation of the stigmata event. Next, to ensure the

⁶⁹ A. Smart, ed., St. Bonaventura, *The Assisi Problem and the Art of Giotto: A Study of the Legend of St. Francis in the Upper Church of San Francesco, Assisi*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 281-2.

"Quondam mane circa festum Exultationis sanctae Crucis, dum oraret in latere montis, vidit Seraph unum sex alas habentem, tam ignitas quam splendas, de aelorum sublimitate descendere. Cumque volatu celerrimo pervenisset ad aëris locum viro Dei propinquum, apparuit intoer alas effigies hominis crucifixi, in modum cruces manus et pedes extensos habentis et cruci affixos. Duae alae super caput ipsius elevabantur, duae ad volandum extendebantur, duae vero totum velaband corpus. Hoc videns, vehementer obstupuit, mixtumque moerore gaudium cor eius incurrit. Laetabatur quidem in gratioso aspectu, quo a Christo sub specie Seraph cernebat se conspici, sed cruces affixio compassivi doloris gladio ipsius animam pertransibat." (See above page for translation).

authority of Bonaventura's text the Franciscan Order took a dramatic move; they ordered that all other hagiographies, predating Bonaventure's text, should be burned.⁷⁰

The Visual Representation of St. Francis and the Stigmata: A Fusion of Prototypes

By 1500, the Papacy and the Franciscan Order had established a distinct hagiographic and visual tradition surrounding the stigmata event. In particular, two elements involved in this event - St. Francis receiving the stigmata and the appearance of Christ as a Seraph - were elevated to monumental importance and became the testimony of St. Francis' extraordinary spiritual gifts. This became the defining event in the life for the saint and was represented, not only in the high art of Giotto (c. 1267-1337) and Perugino (c.1445/50-1523), but also through the medium of prints and decorative objects, such as Deruta maiolica pottery.

The scene of St. Francis receiving the stigmata rendered on Deruta *piatto da pompa* was derived from a combination of two prototypes. The image of St. Francis was borrowed from Perugino's painting of the *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata* (c. 1500).

⁷⁰ Frugoni, *St. Francis: A Saint in Progress*, op. cit., (1996) p. 162.



47. Perugino/Italian School, *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata*, c. 1500. National Gallery of Scotland. NG 1745 (Reproduced with kind permission of the National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland).

The decorative backdrop was derived from a woodcut by an anonymous artist.⁷⁰

The Deruta artisans had specific reasons for combining these two images in this way.

Firstly, as noted earlier, they preferred the figures formulated by contemporary artists,

⁷⁰ A. Ladis, *Italian Maiolica from the Southern Collections* (Athens: Georgia Museum of Art, 1989), p. 60.

especially those within their geographical vicinity.⁷¹ Additionally, with respect to the background of the stigmata scene, the Deruta artisans departed from traditional renditions seen in the frescoes on the basilica walls at Assisi.⁷² The artisans chose a more elaborate style of backdrop, since the austerity of the traditional scenery did not provide visual appeal to their buying market, the pilgrims to Assisi.⁷³ The *piatti da pompa*, because of their size and decorative function, provided ample opportunity for a more elaborate depiction of the area of Mount La Verna. The Deruta artisans took advantage of this space and made a more visually appealing piece.

Prototype one: anonymous woodcut of *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata* (c. 1475)

A 15th century woodcut by an anonymous Franciscan artist bearing the image of *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata* provided an elaborate background for the Deruta *piatti da pompa*.

⁷¹ See Chapter Two of this dissertation "Deruta *Bella Donna* plates: Exemplarity and Umbrian Middle Class Women (1500-1550)," pp. 121-125.

⁷² J. Stubblebine, *Assisi and the Rise of Vernacular Art* (New York: Harper and Row, 1985), p. 84. Stubblebine states that artists willingly presented new elements into the traditional iconography of St. Francis once they were represented in literature. There was a desire on the part of the artists to make these images contemporary.

⁷³ Ibid., pp. 9, 84, 107. Stubblebine argues the popular hagiographies like *I Fioretti* (It. "The Little Flowers of St. Francis," c. 1399) portray the stigmata scene as less austere than the St. Bonaventura *Legenda Maior*. *I Fioretti* also states that the environment was mountainous and Brother Leo was by his side during the stigmata event. In contrast, Bonaventura description of the stigmata features St. Francis praying alone in the wilderness. Thus, the more popular versions of the stigmata scenes tend to concentrate more on descriptive, rather than theological aspects.



48. Anonymous, *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata*, c. 1500. Reproduced from A. Hind, *Early Italian Engravings*. pt. 2, vol. VI, London, 1948. Engraving.

This prototype was an early example of an early print technology, which was in its infancy when this piece was created c. 1475.⁷⁴ It was likely that this piece was made by a Friar at the Basilica of St. Francis in Assisi, as the earliest woodcut artists were monks and religious men who produced *ex voto* (religious tokens) and devotional images for the

⁷⁴ D. Landau and P. Parshall, *The Renaissance Print: 1470-1550* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 5.

secular purchasing public.⁷⁵ Deruta artisans, having worked closely with the Friars for two centuries, adapted this prototype to the ceramic form to produce decorative mementoes for pilgrims on maiolica *piatto da pompa*.⁷⁶ That this was one of the prototypes is clear from their visual similarities of the woodcut and the Deruta *piatto da pompa*. In both cases, St. Francis kneels before the Seraph (or Christ) on a cross suspended in the sky and receives the stigmata. As well, both the woodcut and the Deruta plates feature a rocky mountainside and the distant architectural features of the Portinacula and the Basilica of St. Francis at Assisi. In addition, some plates contain the image of Brother Leo, at the bottom left of the plate. Brother Leo's presence is interesting because it reflects the non-Bonaventura version of the stigmata episode represented in the text *I Fioretti*.⁷⁷

Prototype Two: Perugino's Image of *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata* c. 1500

Initially, it might be assumed that the entire image of this anonymous woodcut was the only prototype for these Deruta pieces. Although the anonymous woodcut set the tone of the plates with the ornate and opulent background, it is Perugino's image of St. Francis receiving the stigmata served as the model for the physically austere depiction of St. Francis.⁷⁸ Whereas St. Francis in the anonymous Franciscan woodcut is depicted as a

⁷⁵ Landau and Parshall, *ibid.*, p. 4.

⁷⁶ Ladis, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

⁷⁷ R. Brown, ed., *The Little Flowers of St. Francis* (New York: Image Book Doubleday, 1958), p. 187: "Brother Leo marveled greatly at this, and he looked up and gazed at the sky. And while he was looking, he saw come down from the heights of Heaven a torch of flaming fire that was very beautiful and bright and pleasing to the eyes and that descended and rested on St. Francis' head. And he heard a voice come out of the flame and speak with St. Francis, and the Saint answered the speaker."

⁷⁸ Perugino, *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata*, Ex-Spiridon Collection, Paris, presently found in the National Museum of Scotland. Cat. No. NG1745. I would like to thank Julia Armstrong-Totten at the Getty Education Center, Malibu, California, for this information.

youthful and healthy man, no older than the age of thirty, the image of St. Francis by Perugino is tired, with deep set eyes and gaunt sunken cheeks. His long, thin hands appear bent and he has an unkempt beard. This haggard appearance is in striking contrast to the figure in the Franciscan woodcut who is clean shaven. Finally, the most dramatic difference between Perugino's depiction of St. Francis and the figure in the anonymous woodcut is the representation of the figure on the cross. The anonymous woodcut artist depicts Christ as a winged Seraph, a youthful figure with a cherub-like face and three sets of wings. Although affixed to the cross he bears a jovial expression, which matches St. Francis' own youthful exuberance. By contrast, Perugino's Christ is a suffering figure; physically emaciated with gaping flesh wounds and a crown of thorns. The Deruta *piatti da pompa* plates are thus a composite of these two prototypes: St. Francis is depicted as mature and emaciated, but he receives the stigmata from a cherub-like Christ. As well, the event takes place in a setting that is ornate and elaborate. This willingness to combine two distinct prototypes reveals Deruta artisans were eager to make their plates more decorative and visually attractive, but at the same time respecting the personal austerity and gravity of the Saint consistent with the outlook of the Franciscan Order. I suggest that the need for the plates (*piatti da pompa*) to be more ornamental was based upon their function as decorative pieces. To leave the background empty, as in the Perugino painting, would have countered the ornamental function of the plates. The inclusion of these decorative elements enhanced the opulence of the plates and encouraged pilgrims to bring these pieces into their homes not just as devotional objects, but as decorative mementoes of their visit to Assisi.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ Frugoni, op. cit., (1996), p. 153. Frugoni states that objects like *ex-voto* were decorative, devotional and

Deruta artisans, the Umbrian Laity and the Restrictions of Canonical Representation

The unique depiction of the stigmata scene on Deruta maiolica was not simply the result of the size of the *piatto da pompa* and its decorative appeal. The Deruta artisans were also taking into account popular accounts of St. Francis' life outside St. Bonaventure's canonical tradition.⁸⁰ To middle class Umbrians it was St. Francis' ability to perform miracles which drew them to his cult more than his imitation of Christ. This disinterest among Umbrian lay women in cults promoted by the Church hierarchy was also demonstrated in the previous chapter where the cult of St. Clare was largely ignored, in favour of the four female lay saint. As discussed earlier, St. Clare was heavily promoted by the Church, but Umbrian lay women could not relate to her life and struggles as a leader of a religious Order and writer of a monastic rule. In contrast, the hagiographies of the four lay saints presented many issues pertaining to the lives of Umbrian women such as virginity, marriage and personal sacrifice.

St. Bonaventura's hagiography of St. Francis was the canonical life of the saint endorsed by the Church. However, it did not follow that this version had the broadest appeal among the middle class laity. Rather, other hagiographies of St. Francis held greater popular appeal. The sobriety and sanctity of the stigmata event, as seen in St.

familiar. The *piatti da pompe* with the saint receiving the stigmata were also in the tradition of pilgrims' tokens. An examination of these maiolica St. Francis receiving the stigmata plates demonstrates that there was no consensus among the artisans regarding the details of the saint's physical appearance. There are two elements, in particular, which are inconsistent: the presence of Brother Leo, who is named by St. Bonaventura as the witness to the stigmata event, and whether the saint has a beard at this period. It is clear that the portrayal of St. Francis with a beard was entirely dependent on the whim of the maiolica artisans. The presence of Brother Leo on the plate is equally inconsistent.

⁸⁰ Cf. above n. 77. The inclusion of Brother Leo in this scene is derived from the more popular hagiography *I Fioretti*.

Bonaventura's hagiography, was of secondary importance to the laity.⁸¹ More popular hagiographies of St. Francis written after St. Bonaventura's version, such as *I Fioretti* and the *Legenda Aurea*, reveal that lighter, more entertaining interludes held greater appeal to lay readers and listeners.⁸²

The composition of these popular hagiographies reveals that St. Bonaventura's sophisticated Christological approach to the life of Francis was not important to lay readers. (See Appendix A, Table V) The stigmata episode, which was considered by the Church as the central and the most significant event of the saint's life, was of only minor importance in the popular hagiographies. For example, in da Voragine's *Legenda Aurea* the combined scene of St. Francis receiving the stigmata and the visitation of the Seraph is mentioned briefly, in one line, prior to the death of St. Francis.⁸³ In contrast, the posthumous miracles of the saint easily take precedence over the stigmata. Out of da Voragine's eight page hagiography of St. Francis, five pages are devoted entirely to miracles performed posthumously by the Saint. Recipients of these miracles were generally lay people devoted to his cult. Clearly, these hagiographies were tailored to the laity who hoped that the saint might intercede in their daily lives.⁸⁴

⁸¹ For the appeal of the four female lay saints versus St. Clare see Chapter Three in this thesis "Four Female Lay Saints," pp. 199-205.

⁸² I. Origio, *Merchant of Prato*, (Bedford, Mass.: Bedford Historical Texts Society, 1954), p. 271-272; E. Birge Vitz, "From the Oral to the written in Medieval and Renaissance Saints' Lives," in *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe*, ed. R. Blumenfeld-Kosomslo and T. Szell (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press: 1991), p. 110, 111; A. L. Fisher, "A Reconsideration of the *I Fioretti*: The Little Flowers of St. Francis," *Analecta Franciscana* 57 (1997), 5.

⁸³ *Jacobus da Voragine*, op. cit., p. 667. "*In visione servus Dei supra se seraphim crucifixum adspexit.*" (In a vision the servant of God saw a crucified Seraph above him).

⁸⁴ P. Geary, "Sacred Commodities: The Circulation of Medieval Relics," in *The Social Life of Things*, ed. A. Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 180-190. Geary notes that the popularity of a saint's cult and its relics was based on their ability to perform miracles. It is noted that hagiographies such as the *Legenda Aurea* and *I Fioretti* place great emphasis on miracles. A. Brown, *The Little Flowers of St. Francis* (New York: An Image Book Doubleday, 1958), p. 20.

The Deruta maiolica pieces representing St. Francis receiving the stigmata demonstrated that the artisans were attempting to appease canonical requirements. The Deruta artisans accorded the saint the *gravitas* deemed appropriate for an event so highly celebrated by Catholic authorities, yet, concurrently, they willingly incorporated decorative features which would attract the buying public. For this reason, the artisans used the background details borrowed from the anonymous Franciscan woodcut to add decorative interest. This opulence attracted buyers who desired to display these pieces in their home. While it was essential that the image of St. Francis and the stigmata should conform to the canonical requirement, the background elements that were not specified by St. Bonaventura, as a result the artisans were at liberty to add their own decorative elements.⁸⁵ Thus, the Deruta artisans mediated the needs and canons of Papal orthodoxy and the interests and tastes of the lay buying public.

Austerity Versus Ornateness: The Stigmata as Popular Art

Unlike Perugino's image of the stigmata scene, the anonymous late 15th century woodcut does not seem to have a literary precursor justifying the highly ornate and decorative backdrop. The *Legenda Aurea*'s description of the stigmata event is too brief to include environmental details. Although St. Francis is depicted in an austere manner, the detailed and highly intricate backdrop seemingly contradicts the basic tenets of the

⁸⁵ Frugoni, Saint Francis: A Saint in Progress," op. cit., (1996), p. 171. The hagiographic texts recounting St. Francis receiving the stigmata indicate that the event happened in the austere and wild surroundings of Mount La Verna. This simple environment was portrayed by Perugino who depicted the saint's self-imposed isolation on the mountain side. Austerity and isolation were the characterizing qualities of Perugino's work. St. Bonaventura's emphasized that the stigmata was a manifestation of St. Francis' physical union with Christ. St. Francis is shown receiving the stigmata from the Seraph, which not only possesses the face of Christ, but is Christ. This union between the saint and Christ reveals that Francis had

order: poverty, chastity and obedience.⁸⁶ These additional elements give the viewer's eye much more to consider than just the miraculous nature and the Christological significance of the stigmata event.⁸⁷

The ostentation of these plates indicates that the friars were not the audience for these ceramic pieces.⁸⁸ Rather, lay families would have purchased these pieces as souvenirs of their completed pilgrimages. Not only were these objects religious in subject, they were also decorative.

Cecilia Curnow, Curator of Decorative Objects at the National Museum of Scotland, suggests that the Deruta plates with the image of St. Francis receiving the stigmata were created for the steady stream of pilgrims traveling to Assisi. According to Curnow, the popularity of these plates as mementoes purchased is evident by the sizeable number of these *piatti da pompe* in existence today.⁸⁹ The number can only be determined accurately if the total output of plates with this decorative motif were known. However, the 27 plates in the database do represent a large number when compared to other Deruta plates with saintly images, such as the female lay saints. (See Appendix B, Database III)

As was the case with the *bella donna* plates, which were acquired at the time of marriage, the completion of a pilgrimage was another life passage, which could be

lived a life in perfect imitation of Christ. In effect, was given the stigmata as a sign that he had achieved a holy state equivalent to that of Christ.

⁸⁶ G. Tortolani, "Religiosità Popolare e Ceramiche Devozionali di Francesco," *Faenza* 6 (1990), 316-317.

⁸⁷ While Stubblebine argues that even Giotto's stigmata scene possessed a certain vernacular appeal, because the frescoes including the stigmata episodes were considered a visual story of the life of St. Francis, formulated for the express purpose of entertaining pilgrims. I suggest that the Deruta maiolica pieces of St. Francis receiving the stigmata brought vernacular art to a new level by taking the image outside of a religious setting entirely and making it available to the domestic sphere. Furthermore, the additional decorative elements ensured that it contributed to the overall beauty of the household. These embellishments did not instantaneously serve to remind the observer of the ideals of the Franciscan Order (poverty, chastity and obedience), let alone the Christological significance of the stigmata event.

⁸⁸ Stubblebine, op. cit., p. 107.

suitably commemorated by the purchase of a Deruta maiolica object.⁹⁰ The popularity of the *piatti da pompa* featuring St. Francis receiving the stigmata must have evolved from their association with important experience of the buyer; in this case a pilgrimage to Assisi.

It is likely that the artisans sold these plates at stations and venues along the pilgrimage route. The most important place of sale was probably Assisi itself. Although there is no documentary evidence indicating the manner in which these Deruta objects were sold, one can assume that the process of delivery of these ceramics to Assisi had not changed from Cecce d'Alessandro's time. As a result, it is likely that the plates were sold in stores within Assisi, possibly connected to the monastery. It is not known whether the monastery benefited financially from the arrangement. However, the sale of the plates certainly promoted the saint's cult among pilgrims and ensured that the St. Francis, and by extension the Franciscan Order, had a strong presence in Renaissance households.

Prototype for the Image of St. Francis in prayer

Giotto's *St. Francis' Vision of the Throne* (1266-1337)

The prototype for St. Francis in prayer, the second depiction of St. Francis on Deruta maiolica, has not been clearly identified. There is no single prototype or group of prototypes from which the artisans copied this image. However, it was likely inspired by Giotto's fresco from the upper basilica at Assisi, *St. Francis Vision of the Throne* (c. 1266-1337) [Figure 49]. Although this fresco has many elements distinct from its maiolica counterpart, the essential elements (the kneeling saint, the cross and the prayer

⁸⁹ Curnow, op. cit., p. 43.

styles) are alike. However, it is the surrounding environment that is different. In the Giotto fresco, St. Francis prays before an altar. On the maiolica pieces, however, St. Francis is located in a wilderness a distance away from the portinacula and he also holds a rosary. Additionally, the cross in the fresco is placed upon the altar, unlike the maiolica piece, which depicts the cross rooted in the ground by a socket.



49. Giotto, *Fresco of St. Francis Vision of the Throne from the Upper Basilica at the Basilica of St. Francis in Assisi*, c. 1266-1337. Upper Basilica of St. Francis at Assisi, Italy. (This image has been reproduced with kind permission of Dr. Michael Greenhalgh, Sir William Dobell Professor of Art History, The Australian National University Canberra, Australia).

Although this fresco clearly influenced the Deruta artisans who formulated the image of St. Francis in prayer it is not the prototype. This piece merely inspired the prototype

⁹⁰ Hahn, op. cit., p. 93.

which the Deruta artisans used. The Deruta artisans adapted the image of St. Francis from one artwork and superimposed it onto the background of another.⁹¹ Although the Friars dispensed with the ornate altar, they retained the prayer gestures and the cross.⁹²

Women, Prayer and the Growth of the Franciscan Order

Three religious and socio-economic trends converged in the first half of the 16th century to give rise to Deruta maiolica pieces with the images of St. Francis in prayer. First, the Friars Minor initiated a program of prayer reform within the Order. This focus on prayer was an attempt to bring the Franciscan Order back to its traditional way of life as originally conceived by St. Francis. The Saint emphasized meditation on the cross, prayer and devotional rituals as a means to develop a life in imitation of Christ. In order to initiate these prayer reforms and provide a theological foundation on which to base their movement the Order was guided by a number of influential Church writers (St. Bonaventura, St. Nicholas of Cusa, St. Catherine of Siena and St. Angela of Foligno) who discussed their deeply religious experiences and their regular prayer rituals. This preoccupation with prayer reform also led the Order to encourage their lay followers to focus on prayer in their private lives. The liturgical objects bearing images of St. Francis in prayer were the result of these reforms as they depicted the image of their founding Saint composed in the mode of prayer which the Order endorsed based on Bonaventura: on bended knee, meditating before a cross, with folded hands, holding a rosary.

Secondly, the affluence of middle class families enabled the laity to purchase these ceramic objects, which were luxury items. While these objects were not ornate

⁹¹ Landau and Parshall, op. cit., p. 4.

objects fashioned with a complex execution, they were also not objects of mundane utility used for household functions. Thus, these objects, as liturgical apparatus, served the devotional and spirituals of Umbrian women. As Goldthwaite explains, it was only through the affluence of the middle class and their demand for liturgical apparatus that this ceramic genre could develop and be sustained.⁹³

Finally, the third factor which gave rise to the ceramic pieces bearing the image of St. Francis in prayer was their appeal to the devotional needs of women. The support of women was extremely important to the Franciscan Order, enabling them to flourish in the 16th century. It was also a reaction to the social controls discouraging women from leaving the household which led the Friars Minor to look for ways to bring their brand of spirituality into the households of Umbrian lay women. Women, who worked exclusively in the household, set the devotional patterns for their families. Mothers and wives developed personal loyalties to saints whose hagiographies and stories reflected their own personal concerns and preoccupations.⁹⁴ The Friars Minor, as mendicants living among the laity, understood that there was a spiritual conflict among middle class women; they desired a forum to express their spiritual aspirations, and yet women were bound by their daily commitments to their family and household. These objects demonstrated to middle class female purchasers how to pray in a manner which would enhance their devotional experience by employing a specific set of gestures and movements. The Franciscan Order, with the help of Deruta artisans, used the image of St. Francis in prayer on maiolica to create a set of objects, which not only fulfilled all of these functions, but also

⁹² J. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), op. cit., p. 506.

⁹³ Goldthwaite, op. cit., (1993), p. 142.

⁹⁴ The four female lay saints were St. Barbara, St. Catherine of Alexandria, St. Cecilia, St. Lucy.

strengthened the bond between Umbrian middle class women with the Franciscan Order and their Saint.

A large body of theological literature existing in the first half of the 16th century described the proper gestures necessary to engage in deep prayer. As Goldthwaite has noted, the Franciscan Order had, over the previous centuries, effectively used decorative objects and also pieces of high art, as a means to promoting their theological message to the laity.⁹⁵ Prominent theologians in the order theorized that the laity, in particular lay women, was most deeply affected by messages conveyed through religious images.⁹⁶ Jacques de Vitry (1160-1250; Minister-General Franciscan of the Order, wrote a manual for preachers administering to the laity. He theorized that men and women would not understand ritual unless they were shown its proper form directly through images.⁹⁷ He advocated that visual renderings demonstrating the proper gestures and motions during ritual should be formulated by the Franciscans.⁹⁸ By placing an image of St. Francis in prayer before a Cross on Deruta maiolica, the Franciscan Friars were demonstrating three things. First, the imagery on the pottery demonstrated the proper prayer stance to be affected while engaging in prayer. Second, the image on the pottery showed the importance of using religious objects and visual media, such as the Cross, to enhance the

⁹⁵ Goldthwaite, op. cit., (1993), p. 81-82.

⁹⁶ Frugoni, "Female Mystics, Visions and Iconography," op. cit., (1996), p. 135; R. Goldthwaite, op. cit., (1993), p. 77.

⁹⁷ Jacques De Vitry, *Sermones de Tempore*, in G. Getto, *Letteratura Religiosa Del Trecento* (G. C. Sansoni, Editore, 1967), p. 10: "*Aliter Clericis, aliter laicis est Praedicandum ... Quando vero in conventu et congregatione sapientium in latino idiomate loquimur, tunc plura dicere possumus, eo quod ad singularia non oportet descendere laicis autem oportet aquasi ad oculum et sensibilter omnia demonstrare.*" (In one way clerics ought to pray, in another the laity, for them [clerics] alone it is not necessary to talk down to them ... When truly in assembly and congregation we speak in idiomatic Latin, then we are able to say more things ... for the laity, however, it is necessary to demonstrate all things understandably and for the eye).

⁹⁸ Frugoni, op. cit., (1996), p. 135.

concentration and efficacy of prayer. Finally, the pottery placed St. Francis as the central figure in the prayer image.

St. Francis and Prayer: St. Bonaventura and *The Mind's Road to God*

As was the case with the issue of St. Francis receiving the stigmata, Bonaventura's authority prayer on styles was also considered essential. St. Bonaventura believed that meditation upon the image of St. Francis was necessary for effective prayer. In *The Mind's Road to God* (1259), St. Bonaventura stated that if one contemplated on the figure of St. Francis while in the state of prayer meditation, the suppliant would gain a direct route to God through St. Francis; an intercessor between God and man: "Francis, our father and leader, he may enlighten the eyes of our mind to guide our feet into the way of that peace, which surpasses all."⁹⁹ The Franciscan Order and the Deruta artisans promoted St. Francis, through visual imagery and hagiography, as a man who possessed an extraordinary devotion to Christ, which culminated in the Saint's direct union with Christ. The stigmata are the mark that St. Francis had successfully replicated the life of Christ with respect to the depth of his piety and morality.¹⁰⁰ St. Bonaventura added that by making St. Francis the focus of one's personal prayers, even a lay man one could gain spiritual union with Christ: "with Christ I am nailed to the cross, yet I live now not I, but

⁹⁹ W. Höver, ed., St. Bonaventura, *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*, (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1970), Prologus I. St. Bonaventura, *The Mind's Road to God*, trans. G. Boas (New York: McMillan Publishing Company, 1953), p. 3. "*Francisci, ducis et patris nostri, det illuminatos oculos mentis nostrae ad dirigendos pedes nostros in viam pacis illius, quae exuperat omnem sensum; quam pacem evangelizavit et dedit Dominus noster Iesus christus; cuius praedicationis repetitor fuit pater noster Franciscus ...*" (... Blessed Francis, our leader and father, He may enlighten the eyes of our mind to guide our feet into the way of the peace "which surpasses all understanding," which peace our Lord Jesus Christ was announced and given to us; which lesson our father Francis always taught ...).

¹⁰⁰ Frugoni, op. cit., (1996), p. 162.

Christ liveth in me.”¹⁰¹ Therefore, in keeping with the tradition established by St.

Bonaventura, meditation upon St. Francis during prayer was considered vital for the lay person. St. Francis, because of his union with Christ, saints, was considered to have a direct union with God, above all other saints:

Blessed Francis, our father and leader, He may enlighten the eyes of our mind to guide our feet into the way into the way of peace” which surpasses all understanding, which peace our Lord has announced and given to us; which lesson our father Francis taught ...¹⁰²

St. Bonaventura believed that visualizing the image of St. Francis during prayer and meditation increased the efficacy of daily devotional exercises. This view was developed more fully by the Order in the early 16th century through the mass production of maiolica pottery with an image of St. Francis depicted on it. By placing St. Francis as the central figure on these prayer objects, the Franciscan Order not only hoped to show the laity how to pray, but also to reminded them invoke St. Francis during prayer rituals.¹⁰³

The *De Visione Dei* of Nicholas of Cusa

While Bonaventura promoted the invocation of St. Francis as essential to effective prayer, other theologians discussed prayer exercises. These views were also incorporated into the representation of St. Francis in prayer used on Deruta maiolica. The theologian Nicholas of Cusa (c. 1401-1464) established a set of spiritual exercises using religious

¹⁰¹ St. Bonaventura, *ibid.*, Pro. II. “*Christo confixus sum cruci, iam non ego; vivit vero in me Christus;*” (I have been fastened to the Cross with Christ, [I live certainly but] I am no longer exist, but Christ lives in me).

¹⁰² For text and translation, see above Chapter Four of this Dissertation: “St. Francis and Deruta Maiolica, n. 99.

icons to demonstrate the efficacy of religious images in achieving a heightened state of prayer.¹⁰³ He believed that the crucifix should be studied in the privacy and quiet of one's room. He stated that such an exercise would transfix the eye of the worshiper thereby facilitating a deep state of concentration from which to meditate on God and his nature. For example, in his *De Visione Dei*, Nicholas of Cusa encouraged suppliants to affix an image of Christ on the Crucifix to the wall in their bedroom and gaze intently into the eyes of Christ for an extended period of time.¹⁰⁴ He added that if a number of suppliants were at various locations in the room they would have a different vision of Christ.¹⁰⁵ At each new location the suppliant should again set his gaze upon the eyes of Christ. The purpose of this exercise was to note the ubiquity of Christ's presence in each new location.¹⁰⁶ Cusa's spiritual exercises often utilized visual components to capture the attention of suppliants. This awareness of the figure of Christ would then lead to questioning about the nature of Christ.¹⁰⁷ For middle class Italian women who were

¹⁰³ Frugoni, "Female Mystic: Visions and Iconography," op. cit., (1996), p. 135.

¹⁰³ H. Lawrence, Ed., *Nicholas of Cusa: Selected Spiritual Writings* (New York: Paulist Press, 1997), pp. 7, 12. Nicholas of Cusa had a deep connection to the territory of Umbria and the Franciscan Order at Assisi. Although a Bishop and not a member of the Franciscan Order, Cusa himself had been deeply influenced by the writings of Bonaventura. As well, in the last year of his life (1463) he worked with the Franciscan and Dominican Orders to resolve the conflicts between the Orders. As well, he was a cleric active in the vicinity of Assisi. He reformed the Diocese of Orvieto, and he died in Todi near Assisi in 1464.

¹⁰⁴ J. Hopkins, ed., *Nicholas of Cusa's Dialectical Mysticism: Text, Translation, and Interpretive Study of De Visione Dei*, (Minneapolis: The Arthur J. Banning Press, 1985), p. 114: "*Hanc aliquot in loco, puta in septentrionali muro, affegetis circumstabisque vos fratres parum distanter ad ipsa intuebimurque ipsa.*" (You will fasten this up in some place - perhaps on the north wall - and you, brothers, will stand about at a little distance to it and you will contemplate it).

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., (1985), p. 114. "*Diende frater, qui fuit oriente, se locet in occassu, et experietur visum in eo figi in occasu, quemadmodum prius in orient.*" (Then let the brother, who was in the east, place himself in the west and he will experience the gaze [of the icon] fixed on him on the west, as it was in the east earlier).

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., (1985), p. 116: "*Et dum attenderit quomodo visus ille nullum deserit, videt quod ita diligenter curam agit cuiuslibet ...*" (And when he has noticed how that gaze does not desert anyone, he sees that it is deeply concerned for each person ...).

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., (1985), p. 112: "*Conabor autem simplicissimo atque communissimo modo vos experimentaliter in sacratissimam obscuritatem manuducere. Ubi dum eritis, inaccessibilem lucem adesse sentientes ... quodam suavissimo libamine, cenam illam aeternae felicitates, ad quam vocati sumus in verbo vitae per evangelium Christi semper benedicti.*" (I will try moreover by a very simple and ordinary way to lead you,

confined to the house, Cusa's view that small personal spaces were a suitable for spiritual exercises was ideal.

However, it was not just theologians, like Bonaventura and Nicholas of Cusa, who promoted the use of visual images in private devotions. Other texts which were more accessible to the laity, such as the hagiographies in the *Legenda Aurea*, testified to the necessity of visual images in prayer. Jacobus da Voragine stated that meditation upon the Cross would stimulate the recollection of the Passion to Christ.¹⁰⁸ Da Voragine recounts in his hagiography of St. Francis that the Saint's spiritual conversion was facilitated by his meditation upon a cross in an old abandoned Church.¹⁰⁹

As well, many female saints were known for the deep religious experiences they encountered at the sign of the Cross. These saints, who were lay women, had a profound effect on the spirituality of Renaissance women. St. Catherine of Siena, the Italian mystic (1347-1380), instructed many Italian women, through her personal correspondence, to contemplate the Cross as they began their rituals of private prayer.¹¹⁰ According to Raymond of Capua's hagiography, St. Catherine of Siena, during a seraphic state,

experientially into the most holy unknown. When you are be there, feeling the inaccessible light ..., [each of you,...will endeavour...to foretaste] by a most delicious sampling, that banquet of eternal happiness to which we have been called by the Word of Life through the Gospel of Christ ever blessed).

¹⁰⁸ J. da Voragine, "The Invention of the Holy Cross," *Medieval Sourcebook: The Golden Legend: Vol. III*, op. cit., p. 78. For the text, see above n. 65, Chapter 4 of this thesis: "St. Francis and Deruta Pottery."

¹⁰⁹ J. da Voragine, op. cit., (1969), p. 663. "*Ecclesiam sancti Damiani orationis causa ingreditur et imago Christi eum miraculose alloquitur: Francisce, inquit, vade, rapara domum meam, quae, ut cernis, tota destruitur. Ab ea igitur hora anima eius liquefacta est et crucifixi compassione eius cordi mirabiliter est infixata. Insistit sollicitae ecclesiae reparandae et venditis...*" (He enters the Church of Saint Damian for the purpose of praying and the image of Christ miraculously speaks to him: "Francis," he says, "Go, repair my house, which, as you see, has been completely destroyed." Therefore, from that hour his soul was melted and the compassion for the crucified one was miraculously implanted in his heart. He applied himself urgently to repairing the church...).

¹¹⁰ S. Noffke, ed., St. Catherine of Siena, "Letter T82/G367: To Three Women of Florence Mid October 1377," *The Letters of Catherine of Siena Vol. II*, (Tempe, Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001), p. 490: "And we are the rock into which the standard of the most Holy Cross

experienced a mystical marriage with Christ. The saint stated that Christ had given her a ring shaped like a cross and decorated with diamonds and pearls during this ecstatic state. The ring, while not observable to the human eye, was in St. Catherine's mind a manifestation of her spiritual transformation from lay woman to bride of Christ.¹¹¹ Additionally, the Umbrian St. Angela of Foligno achieved ecstatic experiences before the Cross. She stated that prayer and meditation before a Cross facilitated divine transformation of one's soul: "Continual prayer elevates, illumines and transforms the soul ... All this is achieved by gazing on the cross in continual prayer."¹¹²

From this study of the spiritual exercises of St. Bonaventura, St. Nicholas of Cusa, St. Catherine of Siena and St. Angela of Foligno, four trends emerge which influenced the Friars' prayer reform and helped them formulate the image of St. Francis praying before a cross. First, through the writings of Bonaventura, it was conveyed that St. Francis was an

was set. For neither Cross nor nails nor earth could have held this humble loving Word, if love had not held him. But his love for us held him and made him stay on the true cross."

¹¹¹ Raymond of Capua, *The Life of St. Catherine of Siena*, trans. C. Kearns (St. Saviour's Dublin: Dominican Pub., 1980), p. 107. "He [Christ] drew out a good ring set with four pearls and surmounted by a splendid diamond. With his all holy right hand He placed it on the ring-finger of Catherine's right hand ... the ring remained on her finger, not see, indeed, by the eyes of others ..."

¹¹² Angela of Foligno, *Instructione*, XV, L. 9-20. "*Nam oratio continua animam illuminat, elevat et transformat. Illuminata enim lumine in oratione perconcepto, clare videt viam Christi praeparatam et calcamat pedibus Crucifixi; per quam, dilatato corde currendo, non solum elongatur a mundi sollicitudine ponderosa, verum etiam supra semetipsam ad divinam degustandam dulcedinem elevatur et, sic elevata, divino infocatur incendio, ut sic illuminata, elevata et infocata, in ipsum Deum hominem transformatur. Et hoc totum in crucis aspectu per orationem continuam invenitur. Unde, o fili mi carissime, ad istam crucem fugiens, ab eo qui in ea pro te moritur petas illuminari ad teipsum plenarie cognoscendum, ut, in cognitione defectus proprii profundatus, assurgere valeas ad divinae bonitatis dulcedinem plenarius cognoscendam; quia in hoc tibi incomprehensibilis apparebit.*" (For continuous prayer illuminates, elevates and transforms the soul. For having been illuminated by the light perceived of prayer, one [the soul] sees clearly the way of Christ prepared and traversed before by the feet of the crucified. Running along this way with an expanded heart the soul not only is distanced from the ponderous troubles of the world but also truly elevated above himself. To taste divine sweetness, and thus elevated is set ablaze by divine fire, and in this way illuminated, elevated and set ablaze, is transformed into the God-man himself, And all of this occurs through continual prayer while gazing at the cross. Therefore, my most dear son, flee to that Cross, from him who dies upon it for you, ask to be illuminated, in order to know yourself fully so that plunged deeply into the recognition of your own defects, you may be able to rise up to know fully the sweetness of Divine Goodness, because at this time it will appear incomprehensible to you).

effective intercessor in prayer for lay suppliants. Second, as St. Angela of Foligno states, the Cross was an essential component in prayer because it allowed the mind to quickly focus on Christ and his suffering. Third, through the writing of Nicholas of Cusa it can be seen that private household chambers were a suitable place to engage in spiritual exercises. Thus, by placing religious images, such as a crucifix, in the privacy of one's room an individual could participate in intense religious experiences outside a Church and without the assistance of a priest.

Finally, through the writings of St. Catherine of Siena and St. Angela of Foligno it is evident that lay women greatly benefited from these private spiritual exercises. Both Saints were lay women and members of a Third Order ("tertiaries"). Their writings demonstrated that lay women, while beset with obligations to their families, and unable to abandon these commitments, desired to have the intense religious experiences traditionally reserved for those who were part of a religious order. While the women who purchased Deruta maiolica were not members Franciscan tertiarys, the Friars were able to utilize many of the devotional practices observed by Third Order women.

The Franciscan Order, drawing from a hagiographic and theological tradition, formulated an image of St. Francis praying before a cross to reinforce the deep spiritual state achieved by many saints when they gazed at the Cross. Furthermore, by placing St. Francis in front of the Cross, the Order reminded suppliants of St. Francis' own spiritual conversion which occurred when he prayed before the Cross. Next, the image taught worshippers the proper gestures proscribed by the Franciscan Order deemed necessary to

achieve spiritual heights. In a sense, this image was an advertisement for the benefits to be obtained by following the spiritual advice of the Franciscan Order.¹¹³

The Function of the Image of St. Francis in Prayer in the Household

Franciscans and the Standardization of Prayer Ritual

The style of prayer depicted on these liturgical apparati did not originate with the Franciscans. Rather, it was one of two prayer styles endorsed by the Church and the Franciscan Order and used by lay worshippers prior to the 16th century.¹¹⁴ The more ancient method of prayer is illustrated by image of St. Francis receiving the stigmata on Deruta plates. In this scene St. Francis demonstrates his deep connection with God with his eyes uplifted, hands spread apart and raised staring above at the heavens.¹¹⁵ This style of prayer is represented in Giotto's scene of St. Francis receiving the stigmata where the saint looks directly at Christ as the seraph. This deep connection between Christ and the saint is exhibited by the appearance of the stigmata on his hands created by the rays emanating directly from Christ.

¹¹³ Frugoni, op. cit., (1986), pp. 136, 137, 153.

¹¹⁴ Barasche, op. cit., p. 56.

¹¹⁵ J. Lassus, "The Early Christian and Byzantine World," *The History of Art Architecture, Painting, Sculpture*, ed. B. Myers (Middlesex England: Viscount Books, 1966), p. 195.



50. Catacomb of St. Priscilla, *Orant*, 3rd Century. Catacombs, Rome. (This photo is reproduced with kind permission of Michael Greenhalgh, Sir William Dobell Professor of Art History, The Australian National University, Canberra, Australia).

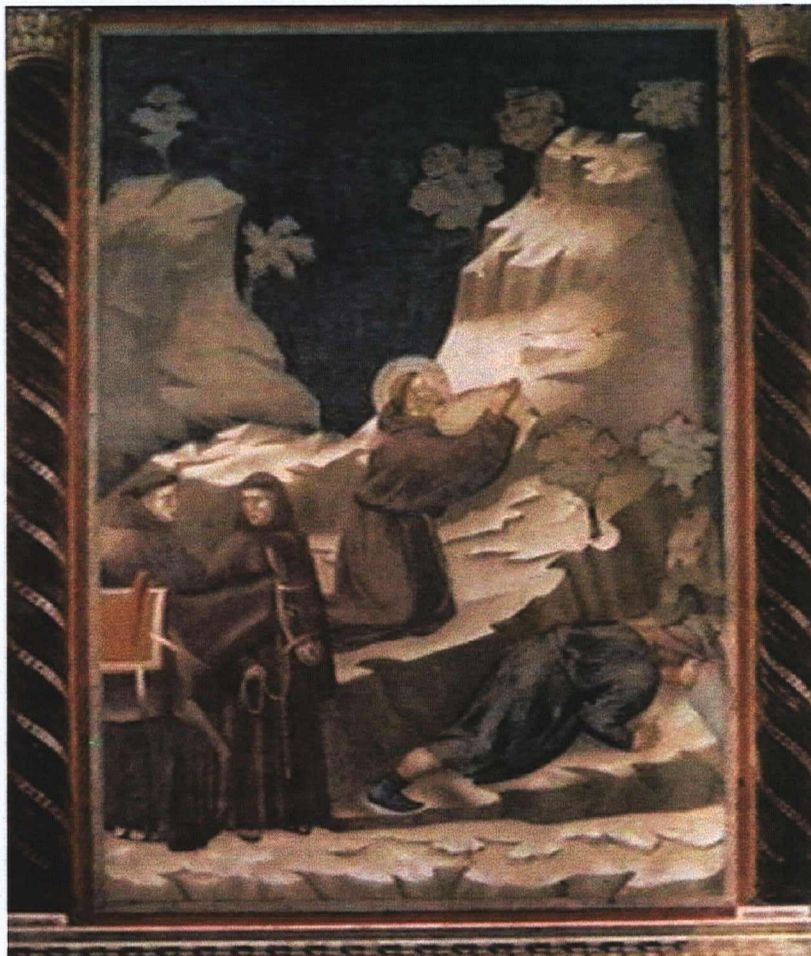
This style of prayer is ancient and can be traced back to the early Church as demonstrated by the Christian martyrs whose images are depicted in frescoes on the catacombs in Rome. Although these figures did not receive the stigmata the pose they affected in prayer is very similar to the figure of St. Francis receiving the stigmata; their hands are uplifted and outstretched and their eyes are focused heavenward as if in direct communication with God.¹¹⁶

In contrast, the second style of prayer is represented by St. Francis in prayer on smaller maiolica pieces. The saint is on bended knees clasped in his hands is a rosary. His eyes look forward gazing directly at a cross. The two styles had distinct functions: the first with an upward gaze and uplifted and open hands emphasizing the direct communion with God and Christ. The second prayer style with folded hands and bended knee casts the suppliant into the role of a vassal placating his feudal lord. This mode of prayer

¹¹⁶ M. Hasset, "Orans," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. xi (New York: Kevin Knight Online Edition, 2003): "The eyes directed at God demonstrate that the 'orant' is asking God for the safe delivery of the souls of the newly martyred. In some cases, the martyr about to die also prays for the delivery of his soul."

emphasizes humility before God.¹¹⁷ The fresco by Giotto *The Miracle of Spring* (c.1297-1300) located at the basilica of St. Francis in Assisi and St. Francis' *Vision of the Throne* (1266- 1337) are two frescoes which represent this type of prayer stance, as the saint is on bended knees with folded hands, however, the rosary and cross are missing.

The presence of these two prayer styles in frescoes found at Assisi and on maiolica wares at Deruta demonstrate that during the first half of the 16th century two methods of prayer co-existed in the Catholic Church and in Franciscan religious ritual.¹¹⁸



51. Giotto, *Miracle of Spring*. No. 14: *Legend of St. Francis*, c. 1297-1300. Upper Church, Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi, Italy. (The photograph is reproduced with kind permission from Michael Greenhalgh, University of South Australia).

¹¹⁷ Barashe, op. cit., p. 59.

Although, at the beginning of the 16th century, the Order used two prayer styles simultaneously, the method of prayer which required individual suppliants to kneel was not commonly used by the laity in their private devotions.¹¹⁹ The Franciscan Order gained control over lay devotions by promoting a specific and detailed method of prayer among lay women.¹²⁰ This prayer style was characterized by folded hands, eyes focused directly on the cross in front of them, and a rosary held in their palms. Often this prayer style included chanting specific prayers also created by the Order.

The writings of St. Angela of Foligno suggest why the Franciscan Order may have favoured this style of prayer for lay women. St. Angela of Foligno refers to the style of prayer which required the suppliant to kneel before a cross holding a rosary as “bodily prayer,” a prayer style that incorporated verbal and physical actions. The variety of movements she included were genuflecting before a cross and chanting hymns. She added

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 68.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 63-64.

¹²⁰ In the 15th century, there were two branches of Franciscanism: the Conventuals and the Observantists. The Conventuals were a sect of the order that did not condemn the growing accumulation of wealth and prosperity within the order. They also supported the growing sophistication of friars by promoting university learning. These trends were in concert with the values of St. Francis. The Observantists by contrast, attempted to cultivate the old ways of poverty, simplicity and devotions to prayer and contemplation expounded by St. Francis. On June, 12, 1517 Pope Leo X issued the bull *Omnipotens Deus* to put an end to the factionalism of the Franciscan Order. Within it Pope Leo X declared that the sect of the Order, the Observantists, the sect most committed to the traditions of the Order established by St. Francis, should direct it. If the Conventuals did not support the bull, they were free to form a different order. As a result, the Observantists were given control of the head quarters of the Friars Minor, the Basilica of St. Francis at Assisi. For St. Francis, prayer was the most integral element for spiritual growth. The Observantists believed that returning the Order to the austere and pristine values of St. Francis could only be accomplished by a re-examination of prayer and penitential exercises. The introduction of this prayer reform among the Observantists began in the early 1500's, reaching its fruition around 1517. The image of St. Francis in prayer found on Deruta maiolica, corresponds to this prayer reform undertaken by the Observantists. Liturgical objects were produced c. 1520-30 reflecting the aftermath of the Order's re-emphasis on prayer and methods of prayer c. 1517. Deruta pieces with the image of St. Francis praying exist on a smaller physical scale compared to the opulent *piatti da pompe*. In addition, the image of the Saint in prayer is depicted on a greater array of pottery shapes such as, small plates, saucers and jugs of various sizes. These jugs and smaller plates were not intended to be solely display pieces but rather they were clearly objects of utility. The current condition of these pieces, is often very poor, and their existence today is a result of successive attempts at radical restoration. Any form of wear on these pottery plates is generally regarded as proof of the daily and constant use.

that she adopted this manner of prayer when she was having the greatest difficulty in achieving the mental focus required for a deep state of prayer:

Bodily [prayer is that which] uses both words and movement of the body, such a genuflection. I never omit this kind of prayer. For when I desire to practice mental [prayer], sometimes I am beguiled by laziness and by sleep and was wasting time, I therefore exercise myself in physical prayer. And this bodily [prayer] leads to mental [prayer]. [For mental prayer] ought to be done with alertness. So that, when you say "the Pater Noster" you contemplate upon what it is that you are saying. Do not carelessly run [through prayers] straining to fulfill a certain quota, just like common girls who do some work for money.¹²¹

Although St. Angela of Foligno provides insight into this method of prayer, she is a problematic source for two reasons. First, she lived too early to have been influenced by this style of Franciscan prayer. Second, she herself did not pray while kneeling on a regular basis but admits that she prayed while standing: "standing in prayer and meditation sorrowfully on the passion of the Son of God incarnate."¹²² However, a deeper reading of St. Angela's text reveals that at certain junctures in her prayer life she did kneel in prayer. What she reveals about "bodily prayer" is illuminating, for she states that it was a style of prayer which was most useful when she had great difficulty concentrating or making a mental transition between her duties and her prayer life.

¹²¹ Angela of Foligno, *Instructio* XXVIII. L. 3-10. "*Corporalis est quae fit cum sono verborum et exercitio corporali, ut genuflexionibus. Et hanc nunquam dimitto. Quia enim quandoque volebam me exercere in mentali, et aliquando decipiebar a pigritia et a somno et perdebam tempus, ideo me exerceo in corporali. Et haec corporalis mittit ad mentalem. Debet enim fieri cum attentione, ut, cum dicis "Pater noster," consideres quid est quod dicis, non quod curras contendens complere certum numerum, sicut mulierculae quae aliqua opera faciunt ad pretium.*" (See above text for full translation)

St. Catherine of Siena, "Letter T82/G367 To Three Women of Florence Mid-October 1377," op. cit., p. 491. It appears that Angela of Foligno's belief that bodily prayer contributes to greater mental concentration influenced the writings of St. Catherine of Siena. St. Catherine encouraged her fellow tertiaries to engage in bodily prayer to prevent spiritual sleepiness. "One should wake up one's body with physical activity or by making protestations or with other exercises likely to dispel sleep..."

¹²² Angela of Foligno, *Memoriale*, Ch.1, l. 37. "*Stando iuxta crucem*" (standing next to the cross).



52. Cafaggiolo, *A Veiled Female Figure engaged in Bodily Prayer*, c. 1530. Sevres Museum, France. 16475. Appendix B, Database III, no. 60. (Image reproduced with kind permission of the Réunion des Musées Nationaux Paris, France).

St. Angela of Foligno indicated that the physical movement and vocalization utilized while engaging in this mode of prayer enabled her to dispose of any external preoccupations and develop a deep focus during the brief periods she had the privacy to pray. It is clear from St. Angela of Foligno's statement that one of the reasons the Friars may have promoted the image of St. Francis in prayer before a cross was that this style of prayer was proven to be most effective for women. This prayer style was especially useful for women who were too busy to partake in extensive spiritual exercises. The Franciscan Friars not only advised that prayers be chanted and certain gestures be affected during prayer, such as kneeling, in order to increase concentration, they also introduced many

visual elements. Ritual objects, namely a rosary and cross, were incorporated into the performance of prayer to increase the sensory appeal. The physical, oral and visual elements enhanced the intensity of the prayer experience.¹²³ The *Orant* style of prayer did not require such objects, which would facilitate such mental engagement. This new style of prayer used religious objects such as a cross, a rosary and other devices established a ritual that was regulated by the Order.¹²⁴ It was performed privately in the domestic space, but ultimately it was under the supervision of the Franciscan Friars.¹²⁵

Although in the *Legenda Aurea* "The Life of St. Francis" emphasized the importance of the presence of the cross in prayer, it did not specify how prayer should be performed. Only Thomas of Celano (1200-1250) *Vita Prima* (1230) hints that St. Francis used the folded hands during private devotions.¹²⁶ Hence, the importance of prayer rituals and gestures did not become standardized and widely used in households until the beginning of the 16th century.¹²⁷

¹²³ Barashe, op. cit., p. 68. It was the prevailing view espoused by many religious writers such as De Vitry, Domenici, Cusa, Durandus and Da Voragine, that visual images had a greater impact on the devotional life of the laity, especially women. Although the population of women who could read was growing, De Vitry felt that imagery had a more immediate spiritual effect on lay women. Durandus stated that the effect of spiritual texts were limited. Texts, he added, presented events as having occurred in the past, but images allowed worshippers to experience religious events up close, such as: the crucifixion the passion or St. Francis' own spiritual conversion, as if they were occurring in the present. The Franciscan Order was astutely aware of the appeal that these images held for the laity and women, in particular. The women set the religious tone of the household and it was through the captivation of their support the Franciscan Order became so wide spread among families.

¹²⁴ Goldthwaite, op. cit., p. 90.

¹²⁵ Frugoni, op. cit., (1996), p 135.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 63. According to Barasch, the reason is clear: the emphasis on standardization of prayer style by the Franciscan Order in the 16th century was spearheaded by the Observantists, a sect of Franciscanism which controlled the Order at the turn of the 16th century.

Franciscan Liturgical Apparatus and Middle Class Affluence

The trend toward private devotions resulted in greater demand for religious objects used in these domestic rituals.¹²⁸ However, the Deruta artisans would not have had a market for these items if the middle class had not had the disposable income to acquire these objects. Richard Goldthwaite states that the middle class had grown steadily in affluence since the Black Death.¹²⁹ In Umbria the Black Death occurred 1348-1349 and led to greater urbanization.¹³⁰ Once freed from feudal dues and with greater potential for economic opportunities in the city, the middle class grew steadily in wealth.¹³¹ The result of greater urbanization in Italy was the increased independence from the feudal structure and the Church. Mendicant Orders, like the Franciscans, thrived because they catered to the lifestyle of the laity in the urban centers. Specifically, they lived among the laity, preached in town centers, rather than churches, and could administer to the laity in their homes when requested. In turn, the members of these cities patronized the Franciscans and became the financial foundation which fueled the remarkable expansion of the Order. This focus on the concerns and needs of the urban lay communities led to what Goldthwaite term the "laicisation of the Church."¹³² Goldthwaite himself asserts that it was under these circumstances the Franciscan Order itself generated the market for liturgical apparati which were purchased by the laity so devotional rituals could be undertaken in the privacy of the domestic space of the laity.¹³³ Even though Goldthwaite

¹²⁷ Moorman, op. cit., p. 583.

¹²⁸ Goldthwaite, op.cit., (1993), p. 142.

¹²⁹ Goldthwaite, op. cit., (1989), 18.

¹³⁰ R. Rusconi, *Francesco d'Assisi: Storia e Arte* (Milan: Electa, 1982), p. 67.

¹³¹ Goldthwaite, op.cit., (1993), p. 101.

¹³² Ibid. p. 96.

¹³³ Ibid., p. 81, 114, 147.

does not mention Deruta specifically as a ceramic center which produced liturgical apparati, (nor the motif of *St. Francis in Prayer* as an example of a decorative theme on it), this pottery is clearly an example of the genre.

These maiolica pieces match the three characteristics which Goldthwaite stated were indicative of liturgical apparati. Firstly, the shapes of the ceramic pieces featuring St. Francis in prayer match those described by Goldthwaite. Small wafer plates and ewers for water and wine were the predominant shapes and the St. Francis in Prayer pieces clearly conform to these patterns. The Order, capitalizing on their itinerant status, were able to administer mass in private chapels and influence the private devotional rituals of lay families. With this ability the Order could override the authority of the clerics who were restricted to administering the Mass in specifically designated churches. Second, private ownership of chapels, or the creation of devotional spaces in the household, outfitted with liturgical apparati, combined with the availability of Franciscan Friars to perform rituals in house decreased the dependence of middle class families on clerics. As a result of this independence from the clerics women could engage in their own prayer rituals.

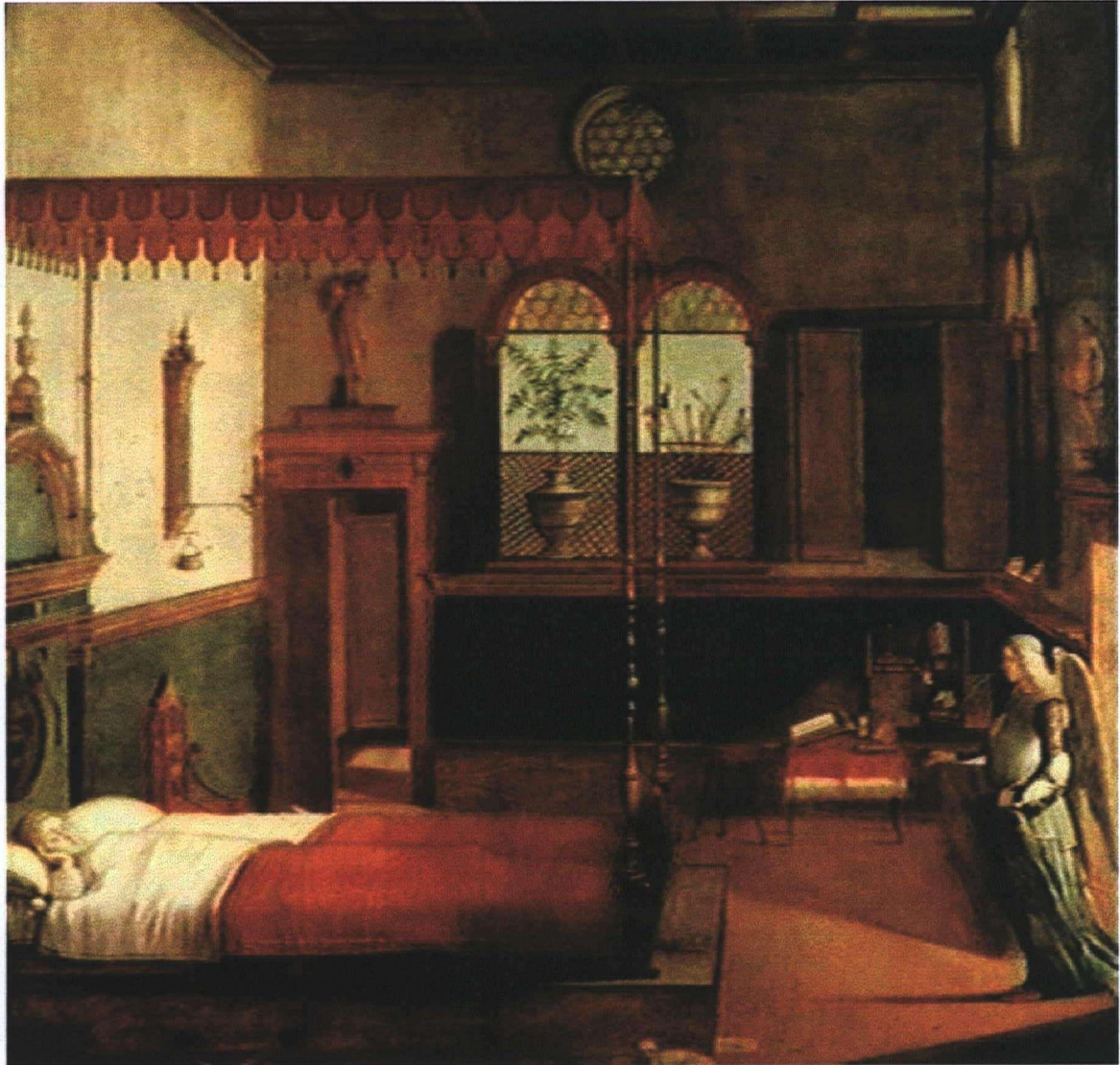
This liturgical apparati purchased by the laity was most often fashioned out of clay, as opposed to metal, because of its low cost and plasticity.¹³⁴ A large number of clay pieces could be produced on the wheel every day, as opposed to wrought iron or precious metals which fashioned through a labor intensive process. This ensured that a large number of the laity could afford these pieces and the ideas of the Franciscan Order could be disseminated readily among the buying middle class.

Deruta maiolica pieces featuring the motif of *St. Francis in Prayer* were an outgrowth of three developments. The first development was the standardization of prayer rituals by the Observantists in the Franciscan Order. The second factor was the growth of private chapels and the demand for the appropriate liturgical objects to perform rituals.¹³⁵ The third factor was the rapid expansion of the Franciscan Order through the support of lay women. The ceramic pieces with image of St. Francis in prayer were housed in private devotional spaces and chapels to facilitate domestic devotional rituals.

The following images demonstrate the variety of small altars in women's bedrooms their devotional rituals were performed. Since women's bedrooms were used for religious study and private devotions, small altars placed in these rooms became sacred spaces in which women engaged in devotional activities. While the following image, Vittore Carpaccio's (c. 1450/60?-1525/6) *Dream of St. Ursula* (c. 1495), does not contain Deruta maiolica prayer objects, it exhibits the variety of altars and devotional spaces that were acquired by the middle class women for private prayer. In the left hand corner of the painting is a small altar with devotional books. Within small devotional spaces women would have read hagiographic texts like the *Legenda Aurea* and performed prayer rituals, using the liturgical apparati and gestures proscribed by the Franciscan Order.

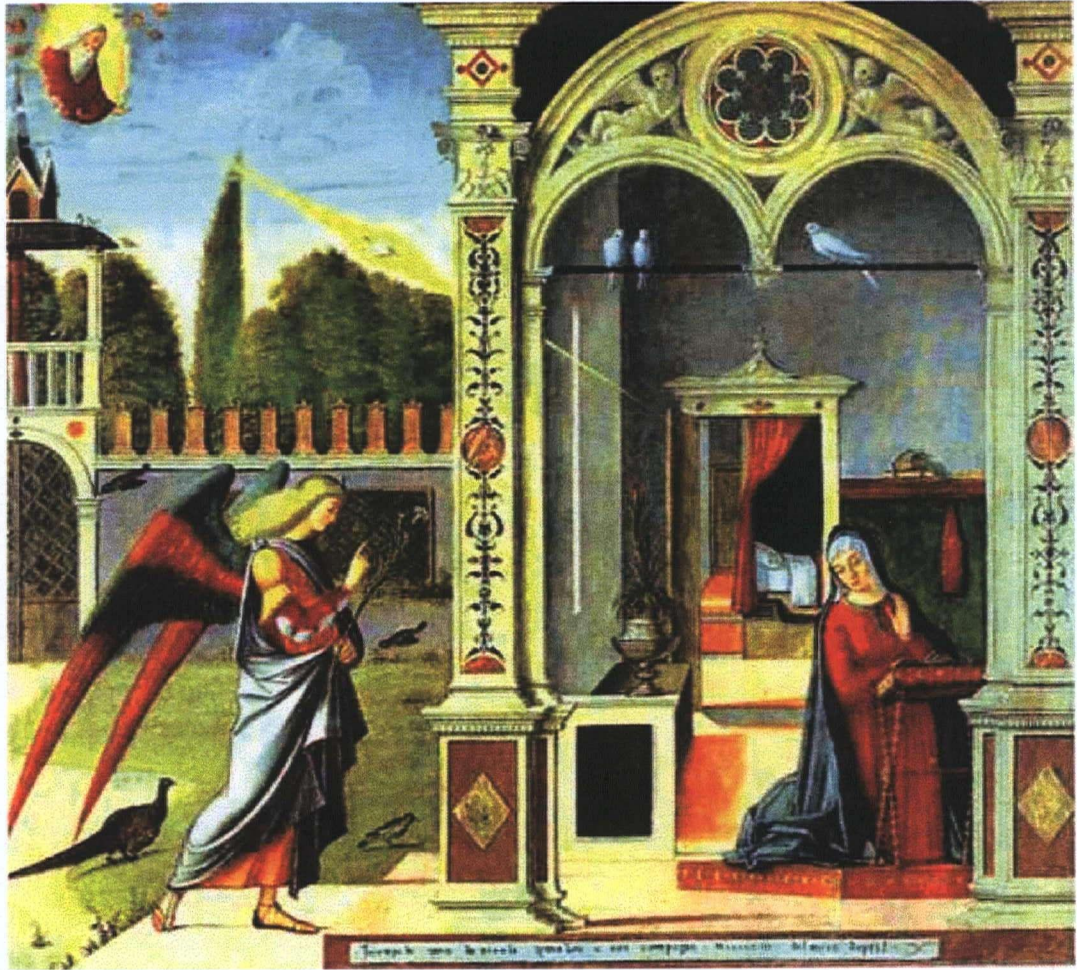
¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 77

¹³⁵ Goldthwaite, op. cit., (1989), 10.



53. Vittore Carpaccio, *Dream of St. Ursula*, c. 1495. Tempera on canvas. Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice. (This photograph appears with kind permission from Michael Greenhalgh Sir William Dobell Professor of Art History, The Australian National University Canberra, Australia). Notice the small altar in front of the bed to the right.

The following image, Vittore Carpaccio's *Annunciation* (c. 1504), demonstrates the development of prayer rituals, and the devotional accoutrements used by women in the private devotional spaces of their bedrooms. As well, the painting shows the variety of hand gestures used in prayer. While the painting does demonstrate gesture, stances and the variety of books and small altars used in private prayer, it does not show Deruta maiolica liturgical apparati, nor demonstrate exactly how it may be used.



54. Vittore Carpaccio, *Annunciation*, c. 1504. Canvas. Galleria Franchetti in the Ca d'Ora, Venice, Italy. (This photo appears with kind permission of the Galleria Franchetti in the Ca d'Ora, Venice, Italy).

That St. Francis is depicted in prayer on Deruta maiolica reflected the specific need of the Franciscan Order to promote a recent reform of prayer ritual among the laity; specifically, among middle class women. St. Francis was a male saint and a founder of a religious Order, in this respect, unlike the four lay saints, he did not provide a clear model of behaviour for married women.¹³⁶ However, according to Bornstein and Frugoni, the gender of the saint did not lessen the impact his cult had on the lives of Umbrian middle

¹³⁶ Frugoni, op. cit., (1996), pp. 137, 153. Frugoni states that it was through the images of the saints on devotional objects that a personal identification with the saint was made. As well, these images demonstrated the proper gestures that suppliants were to make during these rituals.

class women. The Order understood the power of lay women to influence the devotional life of Renaissance families, hence there was a concerted effort by the Friars to make the cult of St. Francis appeal to the needs of women.¹³⁷

Bornstein has argued that, although women's roles were restricted to the domestic sphere in the 16th century, they were able to exert their influence over the cultural and religious landscape of Italy by supporting religious cults and rituals for which they had a special affinity. The patronage middle class women gave to the Franciscan Order was essential to its growth.¹³⁸ Women supported the Franciscan Order in three ways: first, by public visits to the various monasteries; second, by bestowing gifts to the Friars; third, by adopting devotional rituals proscribed by the Franciscans.¹³⁹

Conclusion

Between 1200 and 1550, there was a close relationship between Deruta artisans and the Franciscan Order based at Assisi. The pottery studios at Deruta supplied ceramics for both the utilitarian uses within the monastery, and also for decorative and devotional pieces for pilgrims traveling to the cult. From 1350 to 1495, *graffito* ware and proto-maiolica ware was initially sold to the monastery in the medieval period for daily use and for the yearly Feast of Indulgence. These pieces were relatively unadorned without religious imagery. During the first half of the 16th century, however, a tin glazed technology (maiolica) was developed which permitted the Deruta artisans to depict St. Francis both receiving the stigmata and in prayer. The first image was highly ornate and

¹³⁷ Ibid., p. 136; Bornstein, op. cit., pp. viii, 2-4.

¹³⁸ Vauchez, op. cit., (1993), p. 74.

¹³⁹ Bornstein, op. cit., pp. viii, 2-4.

rendered on a large *piatto da pompa* intended for decorative purposes, a memento of the pilgrim's visit to Assisi. The second, the image of St. Francis in prayer was depicted on smaller pieces, liturgical in function.

The images portrayed on Deruta maiolica were part of a complex tradition developed particularly in hagiography (St. Bonaventura's *Legenda Maior*) and high art (Giotto and Perugino), not only reflecting the desire of the Church and the Franciscan Order to standardize the hagiography of St. Francis, but also the rituals associated with his cult. At the same time, as Goldthwaite argued, the rise in middle class prosperity combined with the Franciscan Order's desire to influence the laity brought an increase in private chapels and the accompanying liturgical apparati. The Deruta artisans readily supplied the new demand for liturgical objects, naturally decorated with the image of St. Francis.

The Deruta artisans along with the Franciscan Friars made ceramic objects depicting St. Francis in prayer in order to teach women how to pray properly at home. By developing a specific set of prayer rituals for the middle class the Franciscan Order furthered their influence among middle class families. Ceramic artifacts with images of St. Francis praying were objects of utility and religious devotion. First of all, the pottery was used in religious ceremonies conducted in the household by women and by Franciscan Friars who visited the households.¹⁴⁰ Second, the images of St. Francis in prayer were devotional objects which were meditated upon like the maiolica plates depicting four female lay saints who were a source of spiritual strength. An ability to

¹⁴⁰ Households with private chapels were an important development in the 16th century. Henceforth, middle class families with the support of the Franciscan Order erected private chapels and altars in their household. Chapels not only demonstrated a family's piety, they also demonstrated a family's wealth.

conduct religious ceremonies in the household allowed a means of religious expression women would not normally have enjoyed. Married women were not permitted to become Third Order or tertiary members of the Franciscan Order hence, they were unable to combine their spiritual ideals with their lay status without the consent of their husbands.¹⁴¹ These objects allowed women to conduct prayer and other religious rituals in the confinement of their rooms. This ensured that a trip to a chapel or a church was no longer essential, and thus, they did not have to leave the safety of the domestic sphere, nor abandon their household duties for long periods of time. Prayers and private devotions could be performed in the privacy of their own home. In addition, the imagery on these ceramic pieces demonstrated the proper gestures essential for their devotional efficacy.¹⁴²

Thus, through the medium of Deruta maiolica, the Franciscan Order simultaneously bolstered the power of the cult of their founding saint and promoted a specific set of recently reformed canonical religious prayer rituals among middle class women. The Order was able to minimize the authority of the clerics, or priests who had made a vow of stability to a particular church or parish, and thus could only perform mass and the sacraments within the confines of a specific area. The private devotional rituals, created by the Franciscan Order, freed women from having to leave the house and attend a church, nor did they require the supervision of an authority figure such as a priest, monk, or even a spouse to engage in prayer rituals. While the Friars could be called upon

¹⁴¹ The "Rule for the Franciscan Third Order (c. 1221)" specifies that women could not become a tertiary without the consent of their husbands. *Medieval Popular Religion: 1000-1500*, ed. J. Shinnars (Broadview Press, 1997), Ch. VII, p. 298: "Married women are not received [into the Franciscan Third Order] except with the consent and leave of their husbands."

to perform sacraments, the daily devotional activities no longer required the instruction of a cleric. In addition, Friars, unlike the Clergy, could also perform mass and other sacraments in domestic spaces.¹⁴³ These Deruta maiolica liturgical pieces demonstrated that the Order was gaining influence over the laity through women.

Finally, the importance of St. Francis, represented visually on pottery and viewed by middle class women, was a focal means by which women could better understand and become involved in their religious devotions. Although many women could read, visual images offered a more immediate and intense spiritual experience. This allowed women, as Durandus stated, to feel as if the miraculous "deeds were placed before their eyes." Through Franciscan devotions, women could experience to a degree, not only St. Francis' stigmata, but also his conversion before the cross. These two intense religious experiences were intended to give women the profound spiritual moments they desired. Additionally, women could perform rituals and pursue their spiritual path in the privacy of their room, instead of a chapel. As the women took brief respites from their daily duties, such as raising children and maintaining the house, they were able to fulfill their spiritual aspirations with a degree of control and independence.

¹⁴² Frugoni, *op. cit.*, (1996), p. 137. Frugoni discusses the Franciscans promotion of visual images to draw a connection between the Saints and the Franciscan Order and the laity, especially women.

¹⁴³ Goldthwaite, *op. cit.*, (1993), pp. 107, 130.

Conclusion

As Alberti states, the woman's bedroom was consecrated as a "temple to religion and chastity" and in this respect the objects within it should contribute to an environment which was commensurate with these virtues. The maiolica plates created by the Deruta artisans were produced for this exact function. Most plates were of the *piatto da pompa* variety, meaning that they were of a substantial size and created to rest on a credenza. In this way the plates were unavoidable and the woman's eye would glance upon these plates at many points during the day whether it was when she first awoke; when she tended to her children, or when she socialized with her friends and relatives. The three types of images depicted on Deruta pottery (*bella donna* plates, the four female lay Saints and St. Francis) would have presented urban women with a detailed moral and religious code of feminine behaviour, considered desirable for women in the first half of the 16th century. Although it is unlikely that a middle class woman would have possessed the entire repertoire of themes portrayed on Deruta pottery, the possession of one or more plates would have provided her with a model of conduct which she could relate to and incorporate in her daily life. By adopting this behaviour, she would not only be worthy of commendation and praise by her husband, but also she would bring honour to his entire family through her display of modesty and piety. If a woman possessed and used a *bella donna* plate as a moral code of behaviour she would be reminded that she should refrain from entering the public sphere, considered a masculine domain. If a woman was compelled to venture outside she should maintain a downward gaze to avoid any immoral external influences. Although she personally may not have recognized the exemplary women depicted on the plate, she would learn by gazing at the figure that such moral

modesty was essential for her inner perfection. She would learn that she should not look to external opulence such as excessive make up, jewelry and costume as the means to contributing to her social stature.

Next, for a woman to possess an image of one of the four female lay saints would remind her that although marriage could be viewed as an impediment to spiritual growth, young wives should encourage their husbands and their children, through their own virtuous example, to live a Christian life.

Finally, if a woman possessed one of the two images of St. Francis on Deruta pottery she would not only be reminded of the authority of the Franciscan Order based on the efficacy of its founder to perform miracles, she would also learn the proper gestures and postures required to perform her private devotional rituals. These images present in a woman's private space succeeded in creating a special relationship of the Franciscan Order and the cult of St. Francis in the lives of urban women.

Previously scholars have considered these ceramic objects as purely decorative pieces because of their large size and opulent colouring. As well, they have considered Deruta maiolica inferior to other "fine art" genres because the artisans repeatedly used images produced by other artists and rendered them on maiolica as two dimensional images. As a result the ceramic objects produced by the Deruta artisans are not viewed as one-of-a-kind masterpieces but rather as unoriginal and derivative. Another aspect contributing to the general disregard for Deruta maiolica was the absence of patronage by members of the elite circles in Italian society. The disinterest in Deruta maiolica among the aristocracy often brands the work of this ceramic center as a derivative decorative object. However, it is the homogeneity of the characteristics that makes the objects

studied in this dissertation important. It is clear that the Deruta artisans had very specific reasons for choosing the particular colour palette, prototypes, and shapes they employed. Each decision made by the artisans at Deruta was grounded on a complex visual, hagiographic, and literary tradition which was modified to suit both the ceramic form and the tastes of the buying audience, the Renaissance Umbrian middle class society.

Saint Angela of Foligno confessed that during much of her life she had “studied how she could be admired and honoured and enjoy a reputation for sanctity.” Although St. Angela wrote these words two hundred years before the advent of Deruta maiolica, her words demonstrate the cultural tradition which gave rise to the work of this ceramic center. When the Deruta artisans began to produce tin-glazed earthenware in 1500, the medium was uniquely suited to serving the function of a devotional and didactic object conveying images of exemplary and inspirational figures. Not only could maiolica, with its polychrome glazes, depict a wide variety of female images, but its relatively small size and inexpensive materials ensured that it could be displayed in a woman’s bedroom and was affordable for Umbrian middle class women.

Whereas this dissertation has concentrated on the significance, meaning and value of Deruta maiolica of the golden age c. 1500-1550 to Italian Renaissance middle class families, specifically Umbrian women, it has also shown how the valuation of maiolica changed over time dependant on two particular principles: placement of maiolica in different spaces and the gender of the buyer and possessor of this type of ceramic.

Maiolica ceased to have value for women for several hundred years and was not only part of the domain of men but also part of their identity and ambitions. It is only in the last 100 years that maiolica has returned to the public domain, now found in museums and

institutions of fine art that which are accessible to all both male and female, rich and poor, aristocratic and non-noble. It is my hope that this work will contribute to this wider audience's appreciation and understanding of one of the most beautiful and significant genres of ceramics in the western tradition.

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<http://www.nga.gov/collection/gallery/itacer/itacer-main/html>.

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http://search.sothebys.com/jsps/live/lot/LotDetail.jsp?lot_id

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<http://www.hermitagemuseum.org/>

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<http://www.taftmuseum.org/cc-march2002.htm>.

Appendix A, Table I: Field Work Methods: Museums Collections Consulted

Legend

* Indicates Museum on Guaitini's list

American Collections	Publication	Contact with Curator or Visit	Deruta Pieces
1. Boston Museum of Fine Art, Boston, Massachusetts	Museum website catalogue.		1
2. The Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina	Ladis, 1989, pp. 54-57, 60-61.		3
3. Chicago Institute of Art, Chicago, Illinois		(C) P Ellsworth	3
4. Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio	<i>Handbook: The Cleveland Museum of Art</i> , 1966.		2
5. Columbus Gallery of Fine Art, Columbus, Ohio*	Cole, 1977, p. 42-43, 47.		3
6. Corcoran Gallery of Art, New York, New York*	Musacchio, 2004; Watson, 1986; von Erdburg, 1955, pp. 71-74.	(C) W. Watson	19
7. Detroit Institute of Art, Detroit, Michigan*	<i>Decorative Arts 1959</i> , p. 47, 52.		2
8. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California	Hess, 2002; Hess, 1988.	Attended lecture given by C. Hess	2
9. Indiana University Museum of Art, Bloomington, Indiana	Cole, 1977, pp. 22-29.		5
10. Indianapolis Museum of Art, Indianapolis, Indiana*	Cole, 1977, p. 70.		1
11. Los Angeles County Museum, Los Angeles, California	Schroder, Nov., 1987, pp. 27-31; Museum web catalogue	(C) M. Chapman	12

American Collections	Publication	Contact with Curator or Visit	Deruta Pieces
12. The Martin D'Arcy Gallery of Art, The Loyola University Museum of Medieval and Renaissance Art, New Orleans, Louisiana	<i>The Martin D'Arcy Gallery of Art</i> , 1979, pl. 49.	(C) R. Baker	1
13. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: The R. Lehman Collection, New York, New York*	Rasmussen, 1989.		18
14. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.*	Distelberger, 1993.		11
15. St. Louis Art Museum, St. Louis, Missouri*	Cole, 1977, p. 42.		1
16. Museum of Art Rhode Island, School of Design Rhode Island*		(C) J. Stokes	2
17. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	Watson, 2002, pp. 192-193, 200, 202, 204-205.	(C) Dr. D. Walker	15
18. The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, The State Art Museum of Florida, Florida State University, Sarasota, Florida	Ladis, 1989, pp. 58-59.		1
19. Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco, San Francisco, California	McNab Dennis, 1977, pp. 14, 59-67, 89-91. Museum web catalogue.		6
20. Seattle Art Museum, Seattle, Washington	Emerson et al, 2000.	(V) and (C) A. Wagner	1

American Collections	Publication	Contact with Curator or Visit	Deruta Pieces
21. J. P. Speed Museum, Louisville, Kentucky*	Cole, 1977, pp. 80-83.	(C) S. Erbes	2
22. The Taft Museum, Cincinnati, Ohio	Conforti, 1995; Hana, <i>Taft Museum Catalogue</i> (Cincinnati: Tri-Arts Press Inc., no date).		2
23. Toledo Art Museum, Toledo, Ohio*	Cole, 1977, p. 96.		1
24. Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art, Hartford, Connecticut	Roth et al., 1987.	(C) E. G. Russo, and L. H. Roth	2
25. Walters Gallery of Art, Baltimore, Maryland*		(C) Curator	4
26. William Rockhill Nelson Gallery, Kansas City*	Cole, 1977, p. 76; <i>Decorative Arts</i> , 1959, p. 47.		2
Total American Collections: 26			Total Pieces: 122

United Kingdom Collections	Publication	Contact with Curator or Visit	Deruta Pieces
27. Private Collection (Also known as the Adda Collection).	Rackham, 1959.		55
28. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, England*	Wilson, 1989; Wilson, 2003.	(C) T. Wilson	2

United Kingdom Collections	Publication	Correspondence with Curator or Visit	Deruta Pieces
29. The Berney Collection, Norfolk, England	Rackham, 1932, pp. 206-219.		2
30. The Bowes Museum, Durham, England	Conran, 1992.	(C) H. Coutts	5
31. British Museum, London, England*	T. Wilson, 1987	(C) Curator	26
32. Courtuald Museum, Gambier-Parry Collection, London, England	Mallet, 1967, pp. 144-151; Blunt, 1970.	(C) H. Braham	9
33. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England*	Poole, 1996.	(C) J. E. Poole	58 7 pieces of question-able attribution 18 pieces post date 1550.
34. Glasgow Museum, Glasgow, Scotland	Yes.		Unknown
35. Holbourne Museum, Bath, England*		(C) L. White	Unknown
36. Museum of London, England	Hurst, 1991, p. 215.	Donated to Guildhall in 1908, now known as the Museum of London. unknown provenance.	1 One fragment
37. National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, Wales	<i>National Museum of Wales: Companion Guide to the National Gallery of Art.</i>	(C) O. Fairclough	1
38. Polesdon Lacey, Great Bookham, N. Dorking, Surrey*	Mallet, (Oct., 1970), pp. 260-265; (Nov., 1970), pp. 340-345; (March, 1971), pp. 170-183.	(C) C. Steward	4

United Kingdom Collections	Publication	Correspondence with Curator or Visit	Deruta Pieces
39. Potteries Museum and Art Gallery, Stoke-on-Trent, England*	Brody, 2001, p. 9-17.	(C) S. Taylor	4
40. Royal Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland	Curnow, 1992.		10
41. Ulster Museum, Belfast, Ireland		(C) K. Mawhinney	1
42. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, England*	Rackham, 1948.	(C) M. Ajmar	157
43. The Walker Gallery of Art, Liverpool, England	Museum web catalogue.		1
44. Wallace Collection, London, England*	Norman, 1976.	(C) S. Higgot	16
45. Wernher Collection, Ranger's House, Greenwich, England	Wilson, 2002, pp. 35-40.		2
Total United Kingdom Collections: 19			Total Pieces: 354

Canadian Collections	Publication	Contact with Curator or Visit	Deruta Pieces
46. The Gardiner Museum of Ceramics, Toronto, Ontario	Museum web catalogue.	(V)	10
47. Montreal Museum of Art, Montreal, Quebec	Turner, 1960.		1
48. Museum of Anthropology, Vancouver, British Columbia		(V) and (C) Dr. C. Mayer	7

Canadian Collections	Publication	Correspondence with Curator or Visit	Deruta Pieces
49. Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto*	Corey Keeble, 1981, pp. 285-287.	(V)	2
Total Canadian Collections: 4			Total Pieces: 20

French Collections	Publication	Correspondence with Curator or Visit	Deruta Pieces
50. Musée Adrien Debouché, Limoges*	Giacomotti, 1974, pp. 130-427.		15
51. Musée d'Arras, Arras	Baligand, 1986, p. 48.	(C) F. Baligand	1 Post Dates 1550
52. Musée de Calais, Nord-Pas-Du Calais	Baligand, 1986, pp. 36, 37.	(C) F. Baligand	2
53. Musée des Antiquités, Rouen Also known as Musée Départemental des Antiquités de la Seine-Maritime, Rouen	<i>Catalogue du Musée d'Antiquités de Rouen</i> , 1875, pp. 67-72; M. Allinne, 1928, pp. 41-47, pl. ix-xviii.	(C) C. Colonna	14
54. Musée de Douai, Musée de la Chartres, Chartres	Baligand, 1986, pp. 35-51. Museum web catalogue	(C) F. Baligand	10 Nine pieces post 1550
55. Musée de Beaux-Arts, Dijon	Barral, 1987, pp. 62, 63, 86-89, 108, 109.	(C) D. Bardin	4 Two pieces post date 1550.
56. Musée Lyonnais des Arts Décoratifs, Lyon*	Fiocco, et al., 2001, pp. 84-131.		44
57. Musée Nationale de la Renaissance, Ecouen	Giacomotti, 1974), pp. 130-427.	(C) Odile Leconte. Formerly the Cluny collection. Transferred to Ecouen in 1978.	55

French Collections	Publication	Contact with Curator or Visit	Deruta Pieces
58. Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris*	Ronzio, 2000.	(C) C. Govéch	7
59. Musée du Louvre, Paris*	Giacomotti, 1974, pp. 130-427.		135
60. Musée Palais Lascaris Cannes		(C) A. Coya	1
61. Musée du Petit Palais Paris*	Join-Dieterle, 1984, pp. 72-103.		16
62. Musée Jacquemart André, Paris*		(C) G. Lamaire	3
63. Musée National de Céramiques, Sevres*	Giacomotti, 1974, pp. 130-427.	(C) C. Bossis	16
64. Musée Vivenel, Compiègne	<i>Richesse de la Céramique dans la Musées Picardie</i> , 1985), pp. 42, 43.		2
65. Musée de L'Hôtel Sandelin, Saint-Omer	Baligand, 1986, pp. 42-47; Museum web catalogue.	(C) F. Baligand	5 All post 1550
Total French Collections: 16			Total Pieces: 330

Belgian Collections	Publication	Contact with Curator or Visit	Deruta Pieces
66. Musées Royaux d'Arte et d'Histoire di Bruxelles, Brussels		(C) C. Dumortier	4 <i>One bella donna plate is fragmentary.</i>
Total Belgian Collections: 1			Total Pieces: 4

Swiss Collections	Publication	Contact with Curator or Visit	Deruta Pieces
67. Musée Alexis Forel Morges, Switzerland	Mariaux, 1995, pp. 42,104,135,142, 176,178; Mariaux, 1992, pp. 69-81.		4 Three post date 1550
68. Musée Ariana, Genève	Mariaux, 1995, pp. 98, 100, 103, 106, 108, 112, 162, 172, 173, 176, 181.		12 Seven post date 1550
69. Musée Historique Lusanne	Mariaux, 1995, pp. 181, 176.		2 Both post date 1550
70. Museum zu Allerheiligen, Schaffhausen	Mariaux, 1995, pp. 100, 172.		10
Total Swiss Collections: 4			Total Pieces: 28

German Collections	Publication	Contact with Curator or Visit	Deruta Pieces
71. Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich*		(C) K. Hantschmann	5
72. Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig*		(C) Dr. A. Walz	4
73. Hetjens-Museum, Düsseldorf	Klein, 1969.	(C) S. Schöne and C. Kallieris	6
74. Hockemeyer Collection: Maiolica and Glass, Bremen	Mallet, 1998, p. 217, pl. 8.		1
75. Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin	Lahr, 1986.		18
76. Kunstgewerbe Museum, Hamberg*	Rüchert, 1960, p. 17-18, pl. 16-18.		14

German Collections	Publication	Contact with Curator or Visit	Deruta Pieces
77. Kunstgewerbe Museum der Stadt, Köln*	Klesse, 1966, pp. 159-163.		13
78. Kunstgewerbe Museum, Dresden*		(C) Dr. R. G. Richter The collection was formerly called Museum für Kunsthandwerk Dresden. The name was changed in 1991. Part of this collection was from the Schlossmuseum, destroyed in World War II.	5
79. MAK Museum of Applied Arts and Contemporary Art, Vienna, Austria		(C) T. Matyk	5 Two pieces are fragments.
80. Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg		(C) R. Schürer	6
81. Württembergisches Landesmuseum, Stuttgart		(C) S. Hesse	4
Total German Collections: 11			Total Pieces: 81

Dutch Collections	Publication	Contact with Curator or Visit	Deruta Pieces
82. Museum Boymans van Béuningen, Rotterdam*		(C) A. Gaba-van Dongen	3
83. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam*	Heukensfeldt Jansen, 1961.		3
84. The Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam	<i>Italiansche Kunst in Nederlandschi Bezit</i> , 1934.		5
Total Dutch Collections: 3			Total Pieces: 11

Danish Collections	Publication	Contact with Curator or Visit	Deruta Pieces
85. Kunstindustri-museet, Copenhagen*	Unpublished Catalogue to be published within the year.	(C) U. Houkjaer regarding collections	3
Total Danish Collections: 1			Total Pieces: 3

Swedish Collections	Publication	Contact with Curator or Visit	Deruta Pieces
86. National Museum of Sweden, Stockholm*	Dahlbäck-Lutteman, 1981.	(C) M. Ernstell	8
Total Swedish Collections: 1			Total Pieces: 8

Italian Collections	Publication	Contact with Curator or Visit	Deruta Pieces
87. Aboca Museum Sansepolcro, Arezzo	The museum is a plant medicine museum and the collection consists entirely of drug jars. Three pieces attributed to Deruta are in question. Museum web catalogue.		2
88. Basilica di San Nicola da Tolentino/ Museo delle Ceramiche, Tolentino*		(C) O. Rufini Museum is under renovations and cannot provide catalogue information at this time.	Unknown
89. Castello Sforzesco, Milan Civiche Raccolte d'Arte Applicata ed Incisioni, Milan*	<i>Museo d'Arti Aplicate Le Ceramiche</i> , 2000.	(C) F. Tasso	9
90. Galleria Estense, Modena*	Trevisani, 2000.	(C) Curator	2

Italian Collections	Publication	Contact with Curator or Visit	Deruta Pieces
91. Museo Bagatti Valsecchi, Milan		(C) A. Pozza	9
92. Museo Ceramiche e Pinacoteca Comunale, Deruta*	Busti et al., 1999.		124
93. Museo del Vino, Lungarotti Wine Museum, Torgiano*		(C) A. Caffo	1
94. Museo Pinacoteca Comunale, Todi*		(V)	Unknown
95. Museo Civico Medievale, Bologna*			Unknown
96. Museo Civico de Padova, Padua	Banzato and Munarini, 1995, pp. 59, 149.		2
97. Museo Civico di Pistoia, Pistoia	Mazzi, 1982, p. 239.		2
98. Museo Civico di Pesaro/ Museo Comunale delle Ceramiche, Pesaro*	Mancini Della Chiara, 1979.	(C) F. Trebbi	35
99. Museo di Capodimonte, Naples Also referred to as Coll. De Ciccio.*	Catalogue not yet completed.	(C) Dr. N. Spinosa	Unknown
100. Museo Duca di Martina Also known as <i>Villa Floridiana</i> , Naples Also referred to as Coll. De Sangro.*		(C) Dr. N. Spinosa	44
101. Galeazzo Cora Collection, Faenza	Bojani, 1985, pp. 289-291.	Collection donated to Museo Internazionale delle Ceramiche in 1984, Faenza.	6

Italian Collections	Publication	Contact with Curator or Visit	Deruta Pieces
102. Museo Artistico Industriale, Roma	Forest, 1964, pp. 230-231.		1 At least one
103. Museo Internazionale delle Ceramiche in Faenza, Faenza*	Liverani, 1964, pl. 55, 56.		2
104. Museo Nazionale di Firenze (Palazzo del Bargello), Florence*	Conti, 1971.		9
105. Borgo Ronciglione, Viterbo	Luzi, and Romagnolo, 1988, pp. 41, 44, 45.		3
106. Museo Nazionale di Ravenna, Ravenna*	Zurli and Iannucci, 1982, pp. 64-66; F. Liverani, 1976), pp. 71-84.		7
107. Museo di Roma, Rome*	Mazzucato, 1968), pp. 44, 50, 51.		5 3 pieces are fragments and one has a questionable attribution.
108. Museo della Collezione Magnini, Deruta*	Busti, 1987.		9 The pieces either predate or postdate the period of study.
109. Palazzo Ducale, Urbania	Leonardi, 1983.		2
110. Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino*			Unknown
111. Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia	Valsassina e Garibaldi, 1994, p. 275.	(C) V Garibaldi	2 c. 1541-1561.

Italian Collections	Publication	Contact with Curator or Visit	Deruta Pieces
112. Civico Museo Correr, Venice*	Mariacher, 1958.	(C) C. Tonini	Unknown
113. Sacratì Strozzi Collection, Florence and Ferrara	Vosilla, Bojani eds., 1998.		4 Three pieces post date 1550
114. Uffizi Gallery, Florence	Paolucci, 1979.		3
Total Italian Collections: 28			Total Pieces: 283

Malta Collections	Publication	Contact with Curator or Visit	Deruta Pieces
115. National Museum of Fine Art Malta, Valletta, Malta		(C) T. Vella	Unknown
Total Maltese Collections: 1			Total Pieces: Unknown

Portugal Collections	Publication	Contact with Curator or Visit	Deruta Pieces
116. Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon*		(C) M. Q. Ribeiro	2
Total Portuguese Collections: 1			Total Pieces: 2

Czechoslovakian Collections	Publication	Contact with Curator or Visit	Deruta Pieces
117. Museum of Industrial Art, Brno*	Vydrová, 1960, p. 30.		1
118. Červený Kameň State Castle, Bratislava, Slovakia*	Vydrová, 1960, p. 29.		1
119. V Československých Sbírkách, Prague	Poche, 1973.		6

Czechoslovakian Collections	Publication	Contact with Curator or Visit	Deruta Pieces
120. Museum of Industrial Art, Prague*	Vydrov, 1960, p. 29.		4
121. Silesian Museum, Opava*	Vydrov, 1960, p. 30.		1
Total Czechoslovakian Collections: 5			Total Pieces: 13

Polish Collections	Publication	Contact with Curator or Visit	Deruta Pieces
122. Wawel Muzeum, Krakow*	Piatiewicz-Dereniowa, 1975.		13 Seven pieces post date 1550.
123. Czartoryski, Krakow*	Zboinska Daszynska, 1952.	(C) K. Kopera Banasik	7
124. Muzeum Narodowe, Warsaw*	Zboinska-Daszynska, Koodziejowa, 1964, p. 83.	(C) K. wietlicka	2
Total Polish Collections: 3			Total Pieces: 22

Hungarian Collections	Publication	Contact with Curator or Visit	Deruta Pieces
125. Museum fur Kunstgewerbe, Budapest	Patkay-Brestyanszky, 1967.		7 Four pieces post date 1550.
Total Hungarian Collections: 1			Total Pieces: 7

Romanian Collections	Publication	Contact with Curator or Visit	Deruta Pieces
126. Prince Nicolas Romania	<i>Renaissance Sculpture</i> , 1965.		1
Total Romanian Collections: 1			Total Pieces: 1

Russian Collections	Publication	Contact with Curator or Visit	Deruta Pieces
127. The Hermitage, St. Petersburg*	Museum web catalogue.	(C) Curator	9
Total Russian Collections: 1			Total Pieces: 9

Croatian Collections	Publication	Contact with Curator or Visit	Deruta Pieces
128. Museum of Arts and Crafts (MUO), Zagreb		(C) M. Bagaric	1 One piece that post dates 1550
Total Croatian Collections: 1			Total Pieces: 1
Total Collections: 128			Total Pieces: 1299¹

¹ This number does not conform to the Chart I (Introduction, p. xxii), which only includes Deruta pieces c. 1500-1550. The following total includes Deruta pieces that post date 1550, but are present in museum collections. This number also does not include pieces found at auction.

Appendix A, Table Ia: Field Work Methods: Museums Collections Erroneously Believed to Contain Deruta Maiolica

Legend

* Indicates Museum on Guaitini's list.

American Collections	Collections Information	Curators Consulted
129. Georgia Museum of Art, Athens, Georgia	Although there are no Deruta pieces in the permanent collection, the Gallery published a traveling exhibit catalogue. Ladis, 1989.	(C) A. Callahan, Curator of Decorative Arts, Georgia Gallery of Art
130. Mount Holyoke College Art Museum, South Hadley, Mass.		(C) W. Watson, Curator regarding collections
131. Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Minneapolis, Minnesota*	The Museum Web Catalogue indicates there are two Urbino pieces but none from Deruta.	

United Kingdom Collections	Collections Information	Curators consulted
132. Manchester City Museum, Manchester, England		(C) Curator
133. Waddesdon Manor, N. Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire	Tait, 1981. Collection bequeathed to the British Museum 1898.	
134. Hastings Museum Hastings, England.	One piece of question-able attribution, either Deruta or Montelupo. Biavati, pp. 17-20; Ravanelli Guidotti, 1984, pp. 57-60.	(C) V. Williams

French Collections	Collections Information	Curators consulted
135. Musée des Thermes et de L'Hôtel de Cluny, Paris*	Prentice Von Erdburg, 1973, pp. 283-287.	(C) Odile Leconte These collections were moved to the Musée Renaissance à Ecoen in 1978.
136. Musée Benoît-De-Puydt, Ville de Bailleul	Collection contains only Gubbio, Urbino and Castelli pieces. Baligand, 1986.	(C) B. Reyns

German Collections	Collections Information	Curators consulted
137. Alte Pinakothek, Munich*		(C) Dr. des. Jens L. Burk. Curatorial fellow at the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen
138. Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe		(C) Dr. L. Schultes
139. Schlossmuseum, Berlin*	T. Hausmann, "Maioliche Italiane dello <<schlossmuseum>> di Berlino Perdute nella Seconda Guerrar Mondiale," <i>Faenza</i> , 60 (1974) pp. 24-33.	Collection destroyed during World War II. Remaining collection moved to Kunstgewerbe Museum in W. Berlin. According to Hausmann (p. 25) 31 Deruta pieces were lost

Italian Collections	Collections Information	Curators consulted
140. Collection Chigi Saracini, Siena, Italy	Sisi, 2000.	
141. Villa Borghese, Rome		(C) Dr. A. Costamagna, Museum Director
142. Museo Porta Romana, Gubbio	The museum contains Deruta pieces from the 19 th century, but they do not possess pieces from the 16 th century.	(C) A. Luconi, Museum Director regarding collections
143. Doria Pamphilj Gallery, Rome	Collection contains late Deruta pieces produced by the ceramicist Maestro Giorgio. These are not on display but in the private apartments.	(C) A. G. de Marchi, Curator regarding collections
144. Museo Horne, Florence*	Rossi, 1967, pp. 155-156. There is one piece that looks very similar to a Deruta <i>bella donna</i> plate but is attributed to Pesaro.	
145. Museo Poldi, Pezzoli	Brambilla, 1983, pp. 172-177.	

Czechoslovakian Collections	Collections Information	Curators consulted
146. Uměleckoprůmyslové Muzeum, Brně, Czech Republic*		(C) M. Vejrostová

Polish Collections	Collections Information	Curators consulted
147. Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Krakowa, Krakow*		(C) M. Niezabitowski

Lithuanian Collections	Collections Information	Curators consulted
148. Kazys Varnelis House Museum, Vilnius	Collection contains pieces of late 16 th , 17 th , 18 th and 19 th maiolica from Venice and Florence. The personal collection of Chicago Artist Prof. Kazys Varnelis.	(C) Z. Mirinavicius, Curator regarding collections

Appendix A, Table II: Prototypes on Bella Donna plates and Dates of Use

Prototype	1500	1510	1515	1520	1525	1530	1535	1540	1550	Total
Bufalini woman <i>Death of St. Bernardino</i> (1487-89)	3	7	1	5	1	3	-	-	-	20
Cumana Sibyl <i>Collegio Del Cambio</i> (1504)	-	2	4	3	2	3	-	-	-	14
Name Only On Plate	2	3	9	5	3	3	-	-	-	25
Lucretia Borgia St. Catherine of Alexandria (c. 1494)	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Winged Erythrean Sibyl <i>Collegio Del Cambio</i> (1504)	-	-	4	2	-	5	-	2	-	13
Full bodied Erythrean Sibyl <i>Collegio Del Cambio</i> (1504)	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	3
Portrait of a Gentle Woman Milanese court (c. 1500)	4	7	15	11	2	20	-	1	-	60
Erythrean Sibyl <i>Collegio Del Cambio</i> (1504)	1	2	8	8	4	11	2	2	1	39

Isabella d'Este with her brother Federigo Mantua (c. 1500)	1	-	4	1	1	14	1	5	2	29
Valiance <i>Collegio Del Cambio</i> (1504)	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Unknown Prototype	2	9	8	4	2	14	3	4	6	52
Total	14	30	53	41	15	74	6	15	9	257

Appendix A, Table III: Time Line of Authors

Author/ Location	Date	1100	1150	1200	1250	1300	1350	1400	1450	1500	1550
Pope Gregory the Great (Rome)	540- 604	<									
Jacques de Vitry (Paris, Rome)	1160 1250		-----	-----	----						
Thomas of Celano (Celano, Assisi)	1200 1255			-----	-						
Bonaventura (Paris, Assisi)	1221 1274			---	---						
Jacobus da Voragine (Savona)	1230 1295				--	-----					
William Durandus (Provence, Rome)	1237 1296				--	-----					
Angela of Foligno (Foligno)	1248 1309				-	-----	-				
Dante Alghieri (Florence Ravenna)	1265 1321					----	---				
Paolo da Certaldo (Certaldo)	<i>fl.</i> 1320 1360						-----	-?			
Petrarch (Avignon)	1304 1374						-----	---			

Appendix A, Table IV: The Typology of the Four Lay Saints Compared to St. Clare
(based on Jacobus da Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*)

Hagiographic Characteristics	St. Barbara	St. Catherine of Alexandria	St. Cecilia	St. Lucy	St. Clare
<i>Praesagium Nominis</i> (significance of saints' names)	No special significance given to the saint's name	<i>Catha ruina</i> : all falling literally: the edifice of the devil falling; alternatively a little chain of good works.	<i>Caecus Via</i> : The way of the Blind	<i>Lucus Viva</i> : The way of Light	<i>Mundum Clarius</i> : An oracle fortells her mother that her girl will make the world more glorious.
Noble Birth of Saint	Yes (The daughter of a King)	Yes (The daughter of a King)	Yes (The daughter of a noble)	Yes (The daughter of a noble)	Yes (The daughter of a noble)
Parents	King Dioscurus (father)	King Costus (father)	Unnamed	Euthicia (Mother)	Unnamed
Were Her Parents Christian ?	No	Unknown	Yes	Yes (Mother)	Yes
Age of Death	14-18	14-18	14-18	18	59
Historical Time Frame	Reign of Diocletian and Maxentius AD 235-313.	Reign of Emperor Maxentius AD 306-312	Canonized c. AD 545	Reign of Diocletian. AD 284-309	c. 1194-1253
Geographical Location	Rome, Italy	Alexandria, Egypt.	Rome, Italy	Syracuse, Sicily	Assisi, Italy In the papal state of Umbria
Number and Name of Suitor	Many: unnamed	One: Emperor Maxentius	One: Valerian	One: suitor unnamed	Two: unnamed

Hagiographic Characteristics	St. Barbara	St. Catherine of Alexandria	St. Cecilia	St. Lucy	St. Clare
The Fate of Suitor	Unknown	Killed.	They marry, never consummate, and live in devotion to God.	Unknown	Unknown
The Saints' betrayer	Father	Suitor: Emperor Maxentius	Prefect Almachius	Suitor	None
Events During the Saint's Trial	No trial but placed in a tower and tortured	Catherine defends her faith using philosophical syllogisms. Two hundred soldiers are converted to Christianity.	Cecilia refuses to offer sacrifices to the statue of Jupiter. She defends her faith before Prefect Almachius.	Lucy refuses to offer sacrifices to idols. She defends her faith before Proconsul Paschasius	None
Participants at Trial	None	Fifty philosophers	Cecilia is tried along with Valerian and his brother Tibertinus	One thousand men	None
The method of Torture	Locked in a tower and physically mutilated	Imprisoned and tortured for two hours. Tied to a wagon wheel	Stifled by steam in the bathroom of her own house. A Roman soldier tried three times to cut her neck and leaves her to die.	Self mutilation. Plucks out her own eyes as a sign of her hatred of vanity. She presents them to her suitor.	Not a martyr

Hagiographic Characteristics	St. Barbara	St. Catherine of Alexandria	St. Cecilia	St. Lucy	St. Clare
Death	Murdered	Beheaded	Died after several attempts at beheading	Sword cuts her throat	Natural causes
Date of Canonization	No evidence that she existed. Cult became widespread in the c. 9 th century.	No evidence that she existed.	Canonization Unknown. Buried in the cemetery at Praettestatus. Her cult becomes widespread c. 6 th century.	Canonization Unknown. She is an historical figure, but the hagiography is thought to be a fabrication.	1255 (two years after death)
Attributes of the Saint	The Tower	The Chariot wheel	Pan pipes	Her eyes on a platter	The habit of the Poor Clare's: black wimple and white collar.
Patron Saint	Gun Powder, Drug industry	Potters, Fires	Music	Light and eye diseases	Patron Saint of Assisi 1496
Variations on the Hagiographic formula	Her father betrays her for disobedience to his authority.	Emperor Maxentius falls in love with her. She rejects him and he orders her murder.	She marries her suitor. They have a chaste marriage and are martyred together.	Her hagiography is the model for this typology.	A diverse typology entirely
Themes they represented to women	Conflict among parents and daughters. Married life versus spiritual growth	The exemplarity of aristocratic women	Chaste marriage	The hatred of vanity. Preference for chastity over physical desirability	She led an active life and founded a religious order. She did not have much in common with lay women.

Appendix A, Table V: The Hagiographies of St. Francis

Texts written in bold signify popular texts among middle class women

I. Non Canonical Hagiographies: Franciscan Friars Ordered them Destroyed								
Author/ Date	Title/ Date	1200	1250	1300	1350	1400	1450	1500
Thomas Of Celano (1200- 1250)	<i>Prima Vita</i> (1230)		—					
Julian of Speyer (d. 1250)	Historia Rhythmica of S. Francis (23 Feb.1299-4 Oct. 1235)		--					
Brothers Rufino, Leo, Angelo	<i>Florilegium</i> (11 August, 1246) A letter describing the events of St. Francis life.		-					
Thomas Of Celano	<i>Seconda Vita</i> (1247)		-					
Brothers Rufino, Leo, Angelo Authorship in dispute	<i>Legenda Trium Sociorum</i> ; Also known as the <i>Legenda Perusina Antiqua</i> (c. 1250)			-				
Thomas of Celano (1200-1255)	Treatise on the Miracles of the Blessed St. Francis (1252-1253)			--				

II Canonical Hagiographies								
Author/ Date	Title/ Date	1200	1250	1300	1350	1400	1450	1500
Bonaventura	<i>Legenda Maiore</i> (1260)			-				
Bonaventura	<i>Legenda Minore</i> (1266)			-				
Jacobus Da Voragine (1230- 1298)	"Vita de Sancto Francisco," <i>Legenda Aurea</i> (1275)			-				
Henry Avranche (d. 1277)	<i>Legenda Versificata di Sancto Francisci</i> (c.1277)			-				
Bernard of Besse (Aquitaine) (fl. 1280- 1300)	<i>Liber de Laudibus Beati Francisci</i> (1280)			-				
Disputed authorship	<i>Speculum Perfectionis</i> Also known as <i>Antiquissima S. Francisci</i> (1237 or 1318)	-			-			
Ugolino da Montegiorgio (c. 1328- 1445)	<i>I Fioretti</i> (c.1399) also known as <i>Actus Beati Francisci et Sociorum Eius</i>					-		

Appendix A, Table VI: The Changing Value of Deruta Maiolica

* Amount based on the exchange rate on the day of the auction.

Date	Location of Auction	Genre of Deruta Ceramic	Cost	Canadian Equivalent
1355, August 24	Monastery of Assisi	300 green vases, 300 glossy white glaze vases, 12 amphora, 11 jugs	49 Libri 10 Soldi	
1418, July 14	<i>Vita Assisiana</i> , p. 396. Monastery of Assisi	A shipment of Vases	3 Libri 15 Soldi	
1513, August, 10	<i>Vita Assisiana</i> , p. 1188. Monastery of Assisi	A shipment of Vases	24 Bolognini (A Monetary Unit in the Papal States) = 2 Lira and 10 Soldi	
1548	Piccolpasso, p. 72.	<i>Soprabianchi</i> (It. white ground plates) <i>Bella Donna</i> plates are in this category.	4 Lire	
1741, March 8-12	Edward Harley Sale Catalogue Bought by Lord Hervey	Four Roman Earthenware Plates (Suspected to be maiolica)	6 Pounds 12 Shillings	
1773, February	James West Collection	Roman Ware plate decorated with St. Cecilia	10 Shillings	

Date	Location of Auction	Genre of Deruta Ceramic	Cost	Canadian Equivalent
1856	John Charles Robinson Curator of South Kensington Museum	All high quality maiolica pieces bought from curiosity shops in Italy	A few shillings each. Robinson notes in 1856 that a substantial increase in the value of maiolica was imminent.	
1867, February 18	<i>Christie's London</i>	Deruta dish with a deer	2 Pounds 4 Shillings	10.71* Canada obtains its own currency independent of the British Pound in 1866
1870, March 4	Correspondence from C.E. Fortnum to Henry Cole during an acquisition trip to Italy for the South Kensington Museum	High quality maiolica but unsigned by the Renaissance Artisan	50-80 British Pounds	243.33*
1911, November 3	Purchase by Edith Homan Hunt	Two Deruta Plates St. Francis and St. Dominic (incorrectly ascribed)	240 British Pounds	1169.73*
1931	Sale from May Morris to the Fitzwilliam Collection, Cambridge	Two Deruta Bowls with floral patterns	50 British Pounds	221.40*

Date	Location Auction	Genre of Deruta Ceramic	Cost	Canadian Equivalent
1971, October 8	<i>Sotheby's</i> Florence	St. Anthony of Padua Plate	1,000,000 Italian Lire	1623.30 (Based on the exchange rate of 1 October, 1971).
1973, March 20	<i>Sotheby's</i> London, "Catalogue of Italian Renaissance Maiolica," Lot 19	<i>Bella Donna</i> Plate	4,500 British Pounds	11,041.20*
1976, June 21	<i>Christie's</i> London "The Robert Strauss Collection of Italian Maiolica" Lot 32	<i>Bella Donna</i> plate	2,000-2,500 British Pounds	3,450.00- 4,312.59*
1978, November 21	<i>Sotheby's</i> London, "Important Italian Maiolica," Lots 33, 34.	Vases with <i>Bella Donna</i> Images	1,700 British Pounds	3,864.19*
1982, November 29	<i>Christie's</i> London, "Fine Continental Porcelain, Pottery and Italian Maiolica," Lot 337	<i>Bella Donna</i> Plate	1080 British Pounds	2129.58*

Date	Location Auction	Genre of Deruta Ceramic	Cost	Canadian Equivalent
1985, June 25	<i>Sotheby's</i> London, "Continental Ceramics," Lot. 99.	<i>Bella Donna</i> Plate	6,000-8,000 British Pounds	10,542.80- 14,057.10*
1992, June 22	<i>Christie's</i> London, "Continental Ceramics," Lot 281	<i>Bella Donna</i> Plate	10,000-15,000 British Pounds	22,224.30- 33,336.50*
1998, April 1	<i>Bonham's</i> London, "The Adams Collection Pt. 3: Important Early European Works of Art, Sculpture and Ceramics," Lot 122	<i>Bella Donna</i> Plate	2,500- 3,500 British Pounds	5,930.18- 8,302.25*
2004, June 12	<i>Sotheby's</i> London "Fine British and European Ceramics and Glass," Lot 2	<i>Bella Donna</i> Plate	6,000-8,000 British Pounds	13,728-18,304*

Appendix B: Organization

Database I: *Bella Donna* Plates

The chart organizes all *bella donna* plates based on prototypes. Each prototype is organized chronologically from earliest to latest c. 1500-1550.

There are ten columns:

Column 1: (Pl#/Fig.) This column catalogues all *bella donna* plates and assigns a plate number. The figure number indicates where the image is depicted within the thesis. Not all plates are depicted.

Column 2: (Image #) Indicates the prototype of the plate.

Column 3: (Inscription) Indicates whether the plate bears an inscription or a name written on it. Some plates have neither.

Column 4: (Date) Indicates the date of the plate was made.

Column 5: (D. cm.) Indicates the size of each plate. Most plates are measured in diameter. In the case that a *bella donna* figure is depicted on a footed bowl the height is also given.

Column 6: (Collection) Indicates the provenance or location of the object.

Column 7: (Cat. #) Indicates whether the plate is housed in a museum collection or has been sold at auction. The catalogue number or accession number is given if it is located in a museum. If the piece is published in an auction catalogue no such information exists.

Column 8: (Source) The source provides publication information, usually the author and date of publication.

Column 9: (Plate # from source) If the image is depicted in the publication the plate number indicates where it is located in the text.

Column 10: (P. #) Indicates the page number or where it is located in the publication.

Database II: Deruta Plates with the Images of the Four Lay Four Saints

The chart organizes all the Four Female Lay Saints plates based on prototypes. The prototypes are listed alphabetically: St. Barbara, St. Catherine of Alexandria, St. Cecilia, and St. Lucy. Information on St. Clare who is not included in this typology is provided at the end of the chart. Each prototype is organized chronologically from earliest to latest c. 1500-1550.

There are six columns:

Column 1: (Pl#/Fig.) Assigns a number to each plate with an image of one of the four female lay saints. The figure number indicates where the image is depicted within the thesis. Not all plates are depicted.

Column 2: (Saint) Indicates the Saint depicted.

Column 3: (Date) Indicates the date the plate was made.

Column 4: (Prototype derived from) Indicates the prototype of the plate.

Column 5: [Size (cm.)/Catalogue Number/Auction Lot/Museum] Indicates in consecutive order the diameter of each plate, catalogue number if it's in a museum collection or alternatively its auction catalogue if it was listed at auction, finally it indicates the museum it is housed in and its current provenance.

Column 6: (Publication) Indicates whether an image of the plate has been published publication and provides the page numbers,

Database III: Deruta Plates with the Image of St. Francis

This chart is divided into two sections. The first section lists the images of St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata. The second section lists the images of St. Francis in Prayer.

There are 7 Columns:

Column 1: (Pl#/Fig.) It indicates the catalogue number given to each plate with an image of St. Francis. The figure number indicates where the image is depicted within the thesis. Not all plates are depicted.

Column 2: (St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata or St. Francis Praying before a Cross) Indicates the prototype of the plate.

Column 3: (Date) Indicates the date the plate was made.

Column 4: (Size) Indicates the size of each plate. For plates the diameter is given. If the piece is a jug the height is given. Both are measured in centimeters

Column 5: (Shape) Indicates the shape of the ceramic object bearing the image of St. Francis. Whereas the image of St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata is consistently large in size (*piatto da pompa*), the image of St. Francis praying before a Cross is not. In the second section I indicate the shape of object featuring this image.

Column 6: (Provenance) Indicates if the piece is housed in a museum collection the catalogue number or accession number is given. If the piece is from an auction catalogue no such information exists. Wherever available I also give the condition of these objects. This information demonstrates that these objects had a more utilitarian value than the images of St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata.

Column 7: (Published Source) The source provides publication information, usually the author and date of publication. In addition the page and plate numbers indicating the location of the image in the text.

Appendix B Database I: Bella Donna Plates

Pl. #/ Fig.	Image # 1: Bufalini Woman, <i>Death of St. Bernardino</i> (1487-1489)	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # from Source	P. #
1.		None	1500	20.28	London	Lot. 46	<i>Sotheby's</i> , 7 Dec.,1965		45
2.		None	1500	28.3	Paul Gillet Collection, Lyon	1960 1940	C. Fiocco, et al. 2001	64	100
3. Fig. 17		PIATA TE PRENDA	1500	38	Museo Civico di Pesaro, Collection Massa, Pesaro	C.A.S. 295; R.S. 389; G.P. 263	M. Mancini della Chiara, 1979	164	
4.		ORSELLA.B EM inscribed on rim	1500- 1510	38.3	Howard I. and Janet H. Stein Collection, Philadelphia	56	Watson, 2001		200
5.		None	1500- 1510	24.5	Polesden Lacy, Surrey		Polesden Lacey Guidebook	21	10
6.		CHI BE GVIDA SVA BACHA E SEPE IN PORTO	1500- 1510	43	Victoria and Albert Museum, London	7160- 1860	Rackham, 1940	481	159

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 1: Bufalini Woman, <i>Death of St. Bernardino</i> (1487-1489)	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
7.		None	1500- 1520	20. 1	British Museum, London	MLA 1878, 12-30, 428	T. Wilson, 1987	154	101
8.		None	1510	23	Louvre, Paris	OA6089	Giacomatti, 1987	457	133
9.		None	1510	31. 5	Milan		<i>Finarte</i> , 11 March, 1964	41, Tav. 21	16
10.		None	1510	36	Private collection of J. Scott- Taggart, England		J. Scott- Taggart, 1972		
11.		None	1510	37.5	Victoria and Albert Museum, London	124- 1896	Rackham, 1940	456	153- 154

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 1: Bufalini Woman, <i>Death of St. Bernardino</i> (1487-1489)	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
12.		B.	1515	30.5	Victoria and Albert Museum, London	3030- 1855	Rackham, 1940	415	142
13.		LUCRETIA BELLA.	1515- 1520	38.0	Adda Private Collection, England	347	Rackham, 1959	151	96
14.		LUCRETIA BELLA	1515-20	38.1	London	Lot 19	<i>Sotheby's</i> 20 March, 1973.		21
15.		BARNABEA B.	1520	H. 21. 5	Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo	46.11	Cole, 1997	49	96-97
16.		None	1520	36	Gardiner Museum, Toronto	G. 83.343	Unpublished		
17.		UOH-N	1525		Coll. Von Dirksen, Berlin		Chompret, 1986	Fig. 257	

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 1: Bufalini Woman, <i>Death of St. Bernardino</i> (1487-1489)	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
18.	Without Snood	MOMENTO MEI	1530	38.5	Louvre, Paris	OA1430	Giacomatti, 1987	553	167- 168
19.		None	1530	16.5 20 cm. Vasao	Louvre, Paris	OA1668	Giacomatti, 1987	625	194- 195
20.		None	1530		Coll. Fernandez, Unknown Provenance		Chompret, 1986	Fig. 271	
Pl. #	Image # 2: Cumana Sibyl, Collegio del Cambio (1504)	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
21.		Unknown	1510		Coll. Mannheim, France		Chompret, 1986	Fig. 201	

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 2: Cumana Sibyl, Collegio del Cambio (1504)	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
22.		None	1510	42	Berlin	Lot 337	<i>Majolika Sammlung Adolf von Beckerath, 4 Nov., 1913</i>		
23.		None	1515	41.5	London	Lot 99	<i>Christie's, 29 Nov., 1982</i>		
24.		None	Early 16 th Century	41.5	London	Lot. 37	<i>Sotheby's, 26 Nov. 1985.</i>		
25.		MADALENA BELLA	1515	41	Museum of Vivenel, Compiègne, France	V 3006	<i>Richesses del la Ceramiques, 1985</i>	19	42-43
26.		P.SERVIRE SE.RE SENPRES	1516	41.5	Lyon Paul Gillet Collection, Lyon	1951703	<i>Fiocco et al., 2001</i>	87	127

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 2: Cumana Sibyl, Collegio del Cambio (1504)	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
27.		None	1515- 1520	45.0	Adda Private Collection, England	353	Rackham, 1959	152 b	98
28.		FAUSTINA BELLA	1520		Anc. Coll. Damiron, France		Chompret, 1986	Fig. 208	
29.		LA FILOMENA BELLA	1520	39	Roma		<i>Christie's</i> , 14 Nov., 1973	159	31
30.		SOLA LA MORTE I STIGNIE E VERO AMORE	1520- 1525	45.5	Victoria and Albert Museum, London	2161- 1910	Rackham, 1940	479	159
31.		PER.FICHE.VIVOITAME RO.EDAPVO.MOTE.SIPV SIVEDSIA.LECORETELA SCIO.ITVABALLA	1520- 1525		Walters Gallery of Art, Baltimore	48.1741	Not Published		
32.		None	1530		Musée Ariana Geneve	AR 4097	Mariaux, 1995.		108

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 2: Cumana Sibyl, Collegio del Cambio (1504)	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
33.		LACASANDRA BELLA	1530	43	Louvre, Paris	OA1443	Giacomatti, 1987	588	181
34.		None	1530		Coll. Von Dirksen, Berlin		Chompret, 1986	Fig. 199	
Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 3: Name Only	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. #	P. #
35.		LUCRETIA B.	1500- 1505	24.0	Adda Collection, England	367	Rackham, 1959	160c 161c	101
36.		GABRIELLA	1500- 1515	15.24	London		<i>Sotheby's</i> 8 July, 1965		28
37.		GIA...CA B.	1500- 1510	23.5	Victoria and Albert Museum, London	1678- 1855	Rackham, 1940	401	139
38.		MILINA B.	1505	23.5	Victoria and Albert Museum, London	2070- 1910	Rackham, 1940	400	138
39.		Unknown	1510	16.5	Louvre, Paris	1868	Giacomatti, 1987	545	165- 166.

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 3: Name Only	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
40.		ISABELLA PULIT.	1510	24.8	Gardiner Museum, Toronto	G. 83. I. 343	Not Published		
41.		ALISANDRA	1515	20	Museo Comunale Deruta,	Colle- zione Pecch- ioli, 1980	Busti, Cocchi, 1999	36	154
42.		FELICE B.	1515		Museo Comunale Deruta,	Colle- zione Pecch- ioli 1980	Busti, Cocchi, 1999	53	167
43.		GINTEA B.	1515		Musée Jacque- Mante, Paris,		Chompret, 1986	Fig. 207	
44.		SVEIANA	1515	23	Museo Civico di Pesaro Collection Massa, Pesaro	C.A.S 318; R.S. 386; G.P. 223	M. Mancini della Chiara, 1979	125	
45.		VGENIA	1515	33	Museo Civico di Pesaro Collezione Massa	C.A.S 336; R.S. 384; G.P. 288	M. Mancini della Chiara, 1979	129	

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 3: Name Only	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
46.		GIROLIMA	1515	25.3	Museo Civico di Pesaro, Collection Massa, Pesaro	C.A.S 339; R.S. 391; G.P. 230	M. Mancini della Chiara, 1979	131	
47.		ORSOLINA	1515	21	Edinburgh	1893. 422	C. Curnow, 1982.	41	47
48.		DIANA BELLA	1515	22	Paris	Lot 301	<i>Christie's</i> , 22 April, 2004		
49.		DIANA.BE	1520	8.9	Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg	1981. 255	Rassmusen, 1984	107	148,
50.		FILICE B	1520		Coll. Aynard, Paris		Chompret, 1986	Fig. 321	
51.		CHAMILLA	1520	21.5	Victoria and Albert Museum, London	4400- 1857	Rackham, 1940	423	144
52.		ROMANNA	1520	22	Florence		<i>Sotheby's Auction</i> , 19 Oct., 1970	61	50

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 3: Name Only	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
53.		ORELIA B.	1520		Coll. Murray, Unknown Provenance		Chompret, 1986	Fig. 272	
54.		ORELIA	1520-1525	H. 11.5 Two-handled vase	William Rockhill Nelson Gallery, Kansas City Missouri		Decorative Arts (1959)	104	47
55.		ISOTA BELA	1525	29. 3	Columbus Gallery of Art, Columbus, Ohio	31.32	Cole, 1997	17	46-47
56.		MIDEIA B.	1525		Roma		<i>Sotheby's</i> 12 June, 1973.	63, Tav. 13	
57.		LABINA BELLA	1520-1530	30	London		<i>Christie's</i> 2 July, 1979.		18.
58.		MARSILIA	1530	22.3	Musée Ariana Geneve	AR 5848	Mariaux, 1995	69	103, 172
59.		ORELIA BE[LLA]	1530	33	Louvre, Paris	OA1707	Giacomatti, 1987	618	192-193

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 4: Lucretia Borgia as St. Catherine of Alexandria (c. 1494)	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
60. Fig. 20		VIVA VIVA E DVCHA DV RBINO	1500	40	Museo Civico di Pesaro, Collection Massa, Pesaro	C.A.S. 294; R.S. 376; G.P. 267	Mancini della Chiara, 1979	170	
Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 5: Winged Erythrean Sibyl <i>Collegio del Cambio</i> (1504)	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
61.		VIVIS ERO VIVUS E MORTV[U]S ERO VIV[US]	1500- 1531	42. 9	The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, California	84. DE. 110	Bremer- David, Hess, 1997		

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 5: Winged Erythrean Sibyl <i>Collegio del Cambio</i> (1504)	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
62.		SOLA LA MORTE ISTINGIE EL VERO AMORE	1515	40.4	Museo Classense, Ravenna	1854	Zurli and Iannuci, 1992	6	65
63.		LA GIVLIA BELLA	1515	44	Museo Comunale Deruta	Collez- ione de Guerra 1995	Busti, Cocchi, 1999	57	170
64.		NEMO SUA SORTE CHONTENTUS ERAT	1515	44	Milan		<i>Finarte</i> 11 March, 1964	158, Tav. 80	65
65.		EPIVAMENTENT ^o METENENTE ESIS ^o BELL APERCH NO MEV ^o LETE	1515	41.6	Paul Gillet 1960, Lyon	1943	C. Fiocco, et al., 2001	80	118
66.		CHI BIEN GUIDA SUA BARCHA SEPPE E P ^o RT ^o	1515- 1540	41.3	National Museum of Art, Washington, D.C.	1942.9.3 23 (C-48)	Distelberger 1993.		152

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 5: Winged Erythrean Sibyl <i>Collegio del Cambio (1504)</i>	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
67.		VIVUS ERO VIVUS E MORTUS ERO VIVIS	1520		London	Lot. 8	<i>Christie's</i> , 2 July, 1979		12
68.		NON BENE PROTOTO LIBERTA VEDI LAURA	1520	40	London	Lot. 337	<i>Christie's</i> , 29 Nov. 1982,		72
69.		NON FORMA SED PUDICITIA CORANDA EST	1520- 1530	39	Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam	Kramar- ski, 1098	<i>Italiaansche Kunst</i> , 1934		288
70.		UM BEL MORIRE TUTTA LA VITA ONORRE	1520- 1530	40.5	William A. Clark Collection, Corcoran Museum, New York	26.337	W. Watson, 1986		182
71.		LA GIULIA BELLA	1530	42.2	London	Lot. 17	<i>Sotheby's</i> , 3 Nov. 1970.		
72.		NON. BENE. PROTOT LIBE[R]TA[S] VE[N]NDITUR. AVRO	1530	42.3	Cluny	2448	Giacomatti, 1987	516	154- 155

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 5: Winged Erythrean Sibyl <i>Collegio del Cambio (1504)</i>	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
73.		LA MADALENA BELLA	1530	44	Louvre	OA1238	Giacomatti, 1987	586	180
Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 6: Full Bodied Erythrean Sibyl <i>Collegio del Cambio (1504)</i>	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. #	P. #
74.		NON BENE PRO TOTO LIBERTAS VENDITVR AVRO FINIS	1520	42	Victoria and Albert Museum, London	1656- 1853	Rackham, 1940	482	159
75.		SOLA MISERIA CHARET INVIDIA IN COR DOMINI SUI	1520	41.5	London	Lot 170.	<i>Christie's</i> , 4 Dec. 1985.		67
76.		None	1510- 1540	40.3	National Museum of Art Washington, D.C.	1942.9.3 17(.42)	Distelberger 1993		146

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 7: Portrait of a Gentle Woman from a Milanese Court (1500)	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
77.		None	1500	16 cup	Museo Communale Deruta	Collez- ione Pecch- ioli 1980	Busti, Cocchi, 1999	50	165
78.		None	1500	17 H. 29 (Vase with foot)	Musée des Arts Décoratifs di Parigi, Paris	L 1661	C. Ronzio, 2000	6.	
79.		None	1500	31.2	Indianapolis Museum of Art, Indianapolis	54.12	Cole, 1997	31	70
80.		None	1500	33.2	Stockholm	NM 57/1973	H. Dahlbäck Lutteman, 1981	29	64

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 7: Portrait of a Gentle Woman from a Milanese Court (1500)	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
81.		None	1500- 1540	31.9	British Museum, London	MLA18 55,12- 1,81	Wilson, 1987	142	147
82.		None	1500- 1530	31. 5	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge	84-1927	Poole, 1995	238	168
83.		None	1500- 1530	32. 5	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge	74-1961	Poole, 1995	239	169
84.		None	1500- 1530		Walters Gallery, Baltimore	48.1322	Not Published		

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 7: Portrait of a Gentle Woman from a Milanese Court (1500)	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
85.		None	1510	24.5 H.17 (Cup with a foot)	Louvre, Paris	1662	Giacomatti, 1987	550	167
86.		None	1510	24 H.10 (Cup with foot)	Louvre, Paris	OA 1674.	Giacomatti, 1987	551	167
87.		None	1510	21	Limoges	5444	Giacomatti, 1987	522.	167
88.		None	1510	24.5 H. 16.5 (Footed bowl)	Victoria and Albert Museum, London	507- 1865	Rackham, 1940	457	154

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 7: Portrait of a Gentle Woman from a Milanese Court (1500)	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
89.		VM BEL MORIRE TVTA LA VITA ONORA	1510	42.0	Adda Private Collection, London	344	Rackham, 1959	153b	95
90.		LA ANTONIA BELLA	1510	39	Berlin	Lot 324	<i>Adolf von Beckerath</i> 4 Nov., 1913		
91.		None	1510	22.86	London	Lot 48	<i>Sotheby's</i> , 7 Dec. 1965		
92.		None	1510- 1515	23.5	Adda Private Collection	340	Rackham, 1959	150	95
93.		FAUSTINA BELLA	1515	34	Musée des Arts Décoratifs di Parigi	L 1702	C. Ronzio, 2000	7	
94.		None.	1515	23	Museo Civico di Pesaro Collection Massa, Pesaro	C.A.S.: 318; R.S: 386; G.P.: 223	M. Mancini, Della Chiara, 1979	124	

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 7: Portrait of a Gentle Woman from a Milanese Court (1500)	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
95.		CHI BE GVIDA SVA BACA ESPR E. LPORTO	1515	41.5	Paul Gillet Collection 1960, Lyon	1941	Fiocco et al., 2001	78	116
96.		OMNIA VINCIT AMOR	1515	41.3	Paul Gillet Collection 1955, Lyon	Inv. 1706	Fiocco et al., 2001	79	117
97.		LUCIA BELLA	1515	31.75	London	Lot 41	<i>Christie's</i> , 29 June, 1964		15
98.		LA ANTONIA BELLA	1515	38.74	London	Lot 4	<i>Christie's</i> , 29 June, 1964		7
99.	With Veil	CHI BENE GUIDA SUA BARCHA SENR PE IN PORTO	1515	41.2 H. 8. 88	Musée du Petit Palais, Paris	Inv. Dutuit 1117	Join- Dieterle, 1984	14	76

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 7: Portrait of a Gentle Woman from a Milanese Court (1500)	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
100.		CHANDIDA	1515	40.4	Museo Faenza, Faenza		Bojani, 1985	740	289
101.		None	1515	25.5	Victoria and Albert Museum	8917- 1863	Rackham, 1940	446	151
102.		None	1515	21.5 H. 9.0	Victoria and Albert Museum, London	38-1923	Rackham, 1940	459	154
103.		None	1515	31	Victoria and Albert Museum, London	8918- 1863	Rackham, 1940	463	155
104.		None	1515	14.5 (H. 18 handled goblet)	Victoria and Albert Museum, London	2163- 1910	Rackham, 1940	461	155

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 7: Portrait of a Gentle Woman from a Milanese Court (1500)	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
105.		None	1515	23. 4 H.15. 4	Museo Classense, Ravenna	1856	F. Zurli and A-M. Iannuci, 1992	4	64-65
106.		LA VITA EL FINE EL DI LODA LA SERA ISCHIVA	1515	42. 7	Museo Classense, Ravenna	1855	F. Zurli and A-M. Iannuci, 1992	7	66
107.		IN CHOR GINTILE NON RENGIA INGRATITUDINE	1515- 1520	40.4	Museo Classense, Ravenna	1853	F. Zurli and A-M. Iannuci, 1992	8	66
108.		None	1515- 1520	33.15	Adda Private Collection, London	341	Rackham, 1959	154a	95
109.		None	1520	25.5	Cologne		B. Klesse, 1966		163

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 7: Portrait of a Gentle Woman from a Milanese Court (1500)	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
110.		None	1520	28	London	Lot 33.	<i>Sotheby's</i> , 21 Nov. 1978		
111.		None.	1520	27. 8	London	Lot 34	<i>Sotheby's</i> , 21 Nov. 1978		
112.		LAURA B	1520	22	Milan		<i>Finarte</i> , 11 March, 1964.	175, Tav. 72	69
113.		None	1520	33. 02	London	Lot 21	<i>Sotheby's</i> , 20 March, 1973		23
114.		None	1520	22. 86	London	Lot 21	<i>Sotheby's</i> , 20 March, 1973		23

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 7: Portrait of a Gentle Woman from a Milanese Court (1500)	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
115.		PER SERVORE SE SERVE SENPRE	1520	42.5	Victoria and Albert Museum, London	2169- 1910	Rackham, 1940	480	159
116.		TU SOLA SE/ CHOLIE CHE POIE AI LARME	1520	41	Romania		<i>Renaissance Sculpture</i> , 1965		
117.		PER SI VIRE SESEV.E	1520	41. 5	Palazzo del Bargello, Florence	E.G.S.D 11206, 75041	Conti, 1971	189	
118.		None	1520- 1530	22.5	London	Lot. 13.	<i>Sotheby's Auction</i> , 26 Nov. 1985		
119.		TU SOLA SEI CHOL'E CHE POIE AI LARME	1520- 1530	40.6	National Museum of Wales, Cardiff	NMW A 30141	Accession notes courtesy O. Fairclough		

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 7: Portrait of a Gentle Woman from a Milanese Court (1500)	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
120.		LAMPERIA BELLA	1525	42	Kunst- gewerbe Museum, Dresden	38763	Inventory provided by curator		
121.		NON BENE PROTOTO LIBERTAS VENDITV AVRV	1525	43.2	St. Louis Art Museum, St. Louis	119. 1951	Cole, 1997	46	92-93
122.		None	1530	33	Louvre, Paris	OA 1731.	Giacomatti, 1987	561	171
123.		None	1530	32.5	Louvre, Paris	OA1701	Giacomatti, 1987	562.	171
124.		None	1530	32	Louvre, Paris	OA1725	Giacomatti, 1987	563	172
125.		LA DREANA BELLA	1530	43	Louvre, Paris	12.	Giacomatti, 1987	584	180
126. Fig. 22		NO(N) VALE BEL(L)EZA DOVE STA CRVDE(L)TA	1530	42	Louvre, Paris	OA1463	Giacomatti, 1987	585	180
127.		B	1530	34	Cluny	2425	Giacomatti, 1987	607	187- 189

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 7: Portrait of a Gentle Woman from a Milanese Court (1500)	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
128		None	1530	31.8	Louvre, Paris	OA 1700	Giacomatti, 1987	609	189
129.		None	1530	34.3	Cluny	9417	Giacomatti, 1987	610	189- 190
130.		None	1530	27.3 H. 24.5 (Vase)	Louvre, Paris	OA1890	Giacomatti, 1987	636	196- 197
131.		ORARE SEGRETO E MOLTO ACETO A DIO	1530	43	Faenza		Gubellini, 1988	74	
132.		BELA CEDO MANDA CHI BEN SERVE E TACE	1530		Anc. Coll. Fernandez, Unknown Provenance		Chompret, 1986	Fig. 205	
133.		None	1530		Museo Bagatti Valsecchi, Milan	419	Museo Bagatti Valsecchi, Notes from curator		
134.		CHI BEN GUIDA SUA BARCHA IN PORTO	1530		Anc. Coll. Fernandez, Unknown Provenance		Chompret, 1986	Fig. 200	

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 7: Portrait of a Gentle Woman from a Milanese Court (1500)	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
135.		None	1530	34.3	Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg	1884. 10	Rassmusen, 1984	109	148
136.		ORARE SEGRETO E MOLTO ACCEPTO AD DIO	1530	40	London	Lot 122.	<i>Bonham's</i> , 4 Jan, 1988		
Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 8: Erythrean Sibyl Collegio del Cambio (1504)	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
137.		PEDORMIRENONS AQUISTA	1490- 1525	40	British Museum, London	MLA 1853, 2-21, 5	Wilson, 1987	155	101
138.		VIVA VIVA LA SPERANZA BELLA	1500	38.5	Museo Civico di Pesaro Collection Massa, Pesaro	C.A.S 299; R.S. 366; G.P. 271.	Mancini, Della Chiara, 1979	172	

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 8: Erythrean Sibyl Collegio del Cambio (1504)	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
139. Fig. 25		LA VITA EL FINE EL DI LO DA LA SERA	1500- 1530	39.5	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge	24-1832	Poole, 1995	237	166
140.		NEMO SUVA SORTE CHONTENTUS	1500- 1530	41.5	British Museum, London	MLA 1878, 12-30, 376	Wilson, 1987	226	145- 146
141.		None	1510	27.0	Victoria and Albert Museum, London	8936- 1863	Rackham, 1940	452	153
142.		None	1510	41.5	Victoria and Albert Museum. London	3035- 1853	Rackham, 1940	478	158
143.		SOLA IN TE SPERO	1510- 1515	40.5	Adda Collection, England	341	Rackham, 1959	152a	95

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 8: Erythrean Sibyl Collegio del Cambio (1504)	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
144.		FAUSTINA PULITA E BELLA TIMOR DOMINI	1510- 1535	41.2	National Museum of Art, Washington, D.C.	1942.9.3 22 (C-47)	Distelberger 1993	151	150
145.		SVANNA BELLA	1515	35.0	Victoria and Albert Museum, London	4076- 1857	Rackham, 1940	422	144
146.		IVBILIA BEL	1515		Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland	23.1096	<i>Handbook: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1966</i>		
147.		LAMADALENA BELLA	1515	39	Museo Civico di Pesaro Collection Massa, Pesaro	Cat. C.A.S 341; R.S.367; G.P. 264.	Mancini, Della Chiara, 1979	165	
148.		P.DORMIRE NO SAQUISTA	1515	40	Museo Civico di Pesaro Collection Massa, Pesaro	Cat. C.A.S 331; R.S.362; G.P. 266.	Mancini, Della Chiara, 1979	167	

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 8: Erythrean Sibyl Collegio del Cambio (1504)	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
149.		NEMO SVA SORTE CHONTENTUS	1515	43.8	Paul Gillet Collection 1955, Lyon	1707	Fiocco, et al., 2001	77	114
150.		PULISENA B.	1515	36	Victoria and Albert Museum, London	7161- 1860	Rackham, 1940	447	151
151.		CHI. BIENE.GVIDA. SUA. BARCA. E SEP. I. PORTO	1515	42.0	Victoria and Albert Museum, London	1606- 1855	Rackham, 1940	450	152
152.		NON ESI VAGO E FIORE CHE NO I BIACA O CASSCA	1515- 1520	40. 5	Adda Collection, England	354	Rackham, 1959	149	98
153.		PERSINCHE VIVO SENPRE IO TAMERO	1515- 1520	41	Adda Collection, England	345	Rackham, 1959	153a	95
154.		LA FIANBETTA PULITA	1520	41	Palazzo del Bargello, Florence	F.G. S. N. 11207, 28540, 75052	Poole, 1995	190	

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 8: Erythrean Sibyl Collegio del Cambio (1504)	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
155.		NEMO SUA SORTE CHONTENTU	1520	40	Praze, Czechoslov- akia	27	E. Poche, 1973	25	
156.		TIMOR DOMINI SUI FILIIUM	1520	40	Victoria and Albert Museum, London	7163- 1860	Rackham, 1940	475	158
157.		None	1520	40.5	Victoria and Albert Museum, London	2172- 1910	Rackham, 1940	477	158
158.		CHI BE GUIDA SUA BARCHA E SPEPR E IPRTO	1520	41	The Martin D'Arcy Gallery of Art	4.78	<i>The Martin D'Arcy Gallery of Art: The First Ten Years</i>	49	
159.		MOMENTO MEI	1520	42	Victoria and Albert Museum, London	7162- 1860	Rackham, 1940	476	158

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 8: Erythrean Sibyl Collegio del Cambio (1504)	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
160.		None	1520- 1540	19	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge	79-1927	Poole, 1995	264.	189- 190
161.		MADELINA B.	1525	41.5	London	Lot 281	<i>Christie's</i> , 22 June, 1992		83
162.		GENTIA	1525	32.0	London		<i>Christie's</i> , 2 March 1992	15	15
163.		SOLA SPERA CA. ELMO COR TENE NE	1525	38.9	Wallace Collection, London	IIIA56	Norman, 1976		78
164.		None	1530	33	Cluny	16862.	Giacomatti, 1987	571	174
165.		None	1530	30.5	Cluny	Inv. 1829	Giacomatti, 1987	572	174
166.		None	1530	25.5	Sevres	21054.	Giacomatti, 1987	573.	175
167.		FAUSTINA BELLA PULITA	1530	40.0	Louvre, Paris	OA 1427	Giacomatti, 1987	582	179

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 8: Erythrean Sibyl Collegio del Cambio (1504)	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
168.		LAVITA E FINE. EDILODA LA SERA	1530	40.0	Cluny	2430.	Giacomatti, 1987	583	178- 180
169.		SOLA MESERIA CHARET INVIDIA	1530		Anc. Coll. Fernandez, Unknown Provenance		Chompret, 1986	Fig. 204	
170.		CIRORIMA BELLA	1530		Anc. Coll. A.S. Drey, New York		Chompret, 1986	Fig. 206	
171.		PANTASILEA BELA	1530		Coll. J.C., Unknown Provenance		Chompret, 1986	Fig. 207	
172.		LA MADALENA BELLA	1530	42.5	Belfast, Ireland		Museum of Ulster K. Mawhinney, Curator		

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 8: Erythrean Sibyl Collegio del Cambio (1504)	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
173.		SOLA BELLA MARGARET IVIDIA	1533	40.5	Florence	Lot 30.	<i>Sotheby's</i> , 17 Oct. 1969		41
174.		None	1540	23	Berlin	Lot 314	<i>Adolf von Beckerath</i> , 4 Nov., 1913.		
175.		AVOI MERECOMADO	1550		Walters Gallery of Art	48.1351	Unpublished Notes obtained from Curator		

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 9: Isabella d'Este with her Brother Federigo, Mantua (c. 1500)	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
176.		None	1500	34.5	Milan		<i>Finarte</i> , 31-22 Nov., 1963	62, Tav. 37	33
177.		None	1500- 1515	21. 5	Milan		<i>Finarte</i> , 21-22 Nov. 1963	96, Tav., 47	43
178.		None	1510- 1525	25.7 cm. H. 34.5 cm. (Vase)	Musée du Petit Palais, Paris	Inv. S. 2446	C. Join- Dieterle, 1984	26	100
179.		None Comments: Not ¾ profile but consistent with d'Este's portraits. For this reason I suspect later date.	1510- 1540	42.4	Edinburgh, Scotland	1895.25	Curnow, 1982	130	40

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 9: Isabella d'Este with her Brother Federigo, Mantua (c. 1500)	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
180.		None	1510- 1550	42. 5	Museo Communale Deruta	Collezio ne de Guerra 1995	G. Busti, 1999	59	59
181.		CHASSANDRA	1515	39.5	Victoria and Albert Museum	644- 1884	Rackham, 1940	458	154
182.		None	1515	41	Paul Gillet Collection 1928, Lyon	604.	Fiocco, et al., 2001	86	126
183.		None	1515	41	Museo Civico di Pesaro Collection Massa	C.A.S 294; R.S. 376; G.P. 267.	M. Mancini, Della Chiara, 1979	168.	

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 9: Isabella d'Este with her Brother Federigo, Mantua (c. 1500)	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
184. Fig. 29		CONFERME FE	1515- 1540	41	Washington, D.C.	1942.9.3 24 (C-49)	Distelberger 1993		155.
185.		ASAE AVANZA CHI FORVNA PASSA	1515- 1550	43	Museo Comunale Deruta	Colle- zione de Guerra 1995	G. Busti, 1999	58.	171
186.		HO FACIES OCULIS INSIDIOSA MEIS	1520	41	London	Lot. 2	<i>Sotheby's Auction, 2 Dec., 2004</i>		
187.		F. E.	1520- 1530	41.0	Adda Collection, England	379	Rackham, 1959	167	105
188.		None	1520- 1530	35	The Metro- politan Museum of Art, New York	1975. 1. 1032	Rassmusen, 1989	44	76

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 9: Isabella d'Este with her Brother Federigo, Mantua (c. 1500)	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
189.		LA PANTASILEA	1520- 1530	42. 0	Adda Collection, England	375	Rackham, 1959	167b	103
190.		None	1520- 1530	42.6	Philadelphia Museum of Art	57	W. Watson, 2001		200.
191.		None	1530		Anc. Coll. Damiron Unknown Provenance		Chompret, 1986	Fig. 209	
192.		None	1530		Limoges		Chompret, 1986	Fig. 210	
193.		LUCHRETIA BELLA	1530	42	Louvre, Paris	OA1613	Giacomatti, 1987	492	144- 146
194.		None	1530	33	Cluny	2473	Giacomatti, 1987	511.	153,
195.		None	1530	33. 5	Louvre, Paris	OA 6996	Giacomatti, 1987	512.	153,

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 9: Isabella d'Este with her Brother Federigo, Mantua (c. 1500)	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
196.		PROSERPINA BELLA	1530	42	Louvre, Paris	OA1618	Giacomatti, 1987	517	155
197.		None	1530	32.2	Cluny	2426.	Giacomatti, 1987	522	157
198. Fig. 30		P[ER] TACERE NON SE SCORDA	1530	41	Louvre, Paris	OA1442	Giacomatti, 1987	587	181
199.		ASAE AVANZA CHI FORTUNA PASSA	1530	41	Louvre, Paris	OA1624	Giacomatti, 1987	589	181
200.		None	1530	43	Louvre, Paris	OA1435	Giacomatti, 1987	590	182
201.		IN TE DOMINE SPERAVI	1535	33	Museum Für Kunst- gewerbe, Budapest	nr. 60.207	I. Patakay- Brestyàn- szky, 1967		93

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 9: Isabella d'Este with her Brother Federigo, Mantua (c. 1500)	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
202.		LORENZA B.	1535- 1540	33.5	Victoria and Albert Museum, London	1432- 1856	Rackham, 1940	789	259
203.		SOLA MISERIA CHADET INVIDIA	1530- 1540	40.5	Victoria and Albert Museum, London	646- 1884	Rackham, 1940	753	248
204.		None	1540	26.1	The Metro- politan Museum of Art, New York	1975. 1. 1022	Rassmusen, 1989	49	83

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 10: Unknown Image	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
205.		G.	1500	D. 16 cup	Museo Comunale Deruta	Colle- zione Pecch- -ioli 1980	Busti et al., 1999	51	166
206.		UM BEL MORIR TUTTA VITA ONORE	1500	26. 5	Berlin	Lot 332	<i>Adolf von Beckerath,</i> 4 Nov., 1913		
207.		LAODEO	1500- 1510	37.1	The Metro- politan Museum of Art, New York	1975. 1. 1037	Rassmusen, 1989	34.	59
208.		None	1500- 1510	22. 2	The Metro- politan Museum of Art, New York	1975. 1.	Rassmusen, 1989	35	60-61
209.		None	1500- 1510	23.1	The Metro- polita n Museum of Art, New York	1975.1. 1034	Rassmusen, 1989	36	63

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 10: Unknown Image	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
210.		DIANA	1500- 1510	34.5	Adda Collection, England	368	Rackham, 1959	163 a, b	102
211.		None	1510	16.9 cm. (Goblet)	Musée du Petit Palais, Paris	Inv. Dutuit 1119	Join- Dieterle, 1984	98	25
212.		ISABET BELA	1510	30	Victoria and Albert Museum, London	2166- 1910	Rackham, 1940	441	150
213.		None	1510	29.5	Victoria and Albert Museum, London	2165- 1910	Rackham, 1940	456	154
214.		None	1510	33	Louvre, Paris	OA 33.0	Giacomatti, 1987	530	161
215.		None	1510	42	Louvre, Paris	OA 9447	Giacomatti, 1987	491	144
216.		None	1510- 1520	34.9	Wallace Collection, London	IIIA53	Norman, 82- 83		82-83
217.		A	1515	15 H. 21.3 (Vase)	Musée du Petit Palais, Paris	Inv. Dutuit 1057	Join- Dieterle, 1984	14	76

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 10: Unknown Image	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
218.		None	1515	33.75	Adda Collection, England	342	Rackham, 1959	154a	95
219.		None	1515	20	Victoria and Albert Museum, London	2182- 1910	Rackham, 1940	493	162- 163
220.		None	1515	H. 29 Vase	Museo Comunale Deruta	Collez- ione Pecch -ioli 1980	Busti et al., 1999	76	187
221.		None	1515	35	Victoria and Albert Museum, London	2167- 1910	Rackham, 1940	462	155
222.		ORELIA B E MOMOLO SUVO SERVO	1515	40. 5	Sotheby's Milan 1997			75	18
223.		SAPER PIGLIARE EL TEMPO E GRAN PRVDENTIA	1515	40	Museo Civico di Pesaro Collection Massa, Pesaro	Cat. C.A.S 320;R.S. 375; G.P. 265.	Mancini, Della Chiara, 1979	166	

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 10: Unknown Image	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
224.		GIROLIMA BELLA PULITA	1515	41.6	Lyon	Paul Gillet Collecti on 1960/ 1942.	Fiocco et al., 2001	81	119
225.		ASAE AVANZA CHI FORTUNA PASA	1520		The Berney Collection, Norfolk		Rackham, 1932		208- 219
226.		VM BEL MORIRE TVTA LA VITA LA VITA IRA	1520	21	Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam	Dr. F. Mann- heimer 1100	<i>Italiaan- sche Kunst, 1934</i>		288
227.		None	1520	40.64	London	Lot 40	<i>Christie's,</i> 29 June, 1964		15
228.		None	1520- 1525	22.5	Victoria and Albert Museum	2181- 1910	Rackham, 1940	435	148
229.		None	1525		Col. Ducrot, Milan		Chompret, 1986	Fig. 266	
230.		None	1525- 1530	25	London	Lot. 273	<i>Christie's'</i> 5 April, 1982		92.
231.		LUCREZIA BELLA	1525- 1530		Private Collection, Milan		Fourest, 1964		231

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 10: Unknown Image	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
232.		G.S.	1525- 1550	H. 26.9 cm. (Vase)	William A. Clark Collection, Corcoran Museum, New York	26.391	Watson, 1986		182
233.		CHI BE GVIDA SV° BARCHA SEPRE PORTO	1530	41. 5	Adda Collection, England	380	Rackham, 1959	166a	105
234.		None	1530		Anc. Coll. Murray, Unknown Provenance		Chompret, 1986	Fig. 178	
235.		Unknown	1530		Not Included		Chompret, 1986	Fig. 202	
236.		UM BEL MORIRE E VITA E GLORIA E FAMA	1530		Bellini Collection, Florence		Bellini, 1964		128- 129
237.		None	1530	35.5	Louvre, Paris	OA1729	Giacomatti, 1987	612	191
238.		(C)HISE MENA VIRTU FAMA RECOLLIE	1530	43	Cluny	2434	Giacomatti, 1987	592	182
239.		None	1530	39.8	Cluny	2428.	Giacomatti, 1987	494	146

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 10: Unknown Image	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
240.		MARFISA B.	1530	30.5	New York		<i>Sotheby's</i> , 5-9 June, 1979.		
241.		None	1530	32.5	32.5	OA1705	Giacomatti, 1987	613	191
242.		C	1530	23	Louvre, Paris	OA1752	Giacomatti, 1987	620	192,19 3
243.		LA UGENIA BELLA	1530	39	Florence	Contini- Bona- cossi 117	Paolucci, 1979	c16	1109
244.		None	1530	33.3	Stoke-on- Trent	1953	Notes from curator		
245.		VM BELLO MORIRIE TUTTA LA VITA ONORE	1530- 1535	41.0	Victoria and Albert Museum, London	84-1901	Rackham, 1940	749	248
246.		LESĀDRA	1530- 1535	20	Victoria and Albert Museum	2143- 1910	Rackham, 1940	789	259
247.		NON BENE PRO TOTO LIBERTAS VENDITUR AURO	1530- 1540	42.4	Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg	1899. 295	Rassmusen, 1984	112	150

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 10: Unknown Image	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
248.		PIL/L/A BA	1530- 1535	21	Victoria and Albert Museum	104- 1901	Rackham, 1940	750	248
249.		ONE. PASSA LA FRANCESCA	1540	21. 5	London	Lot 53	<i>Christie's</i> , 10 April, 1972		16
250.		LA GIOVANNA BELLA DI BELARDIONO BELLO	1540	38.1	Cluny	2449.	Giacomatti, 1987	518	155
251.		None	1540	28. 5	Palazzo del Bargello, Florence	F.G.S.N. 13765,1 3801,73 507	Conti, 1971	465	
252.		None	1545	41	Limoges	5453	Giacomatti, 1987	591	182
253.		VM BELLO MORIRIE TUTTA LA VITA ONORE	1545	37	Sotheby's Milan 1997				
254.		UNO B MORIRE TUTA LA VITA ONORA	1545- 1565	38.1	England	Lot 123.	<i>Bonham's</i> 4 Jan, 1998		
255.		PER. VERTU.SAQUISTA. ONOREE FAMA. E REG°	1550	33	Taft Museum		<i>Decorative Arts of the Italian Renaissance (1959)</i>	106	47, 53

Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 10: Unknown Image	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
256.		LA FAUSTINA B.	1550	39	Berlin	Lot 323	<i>Adolf von Beckerath,</i> 4 Nov., 1913		
Pl. # /Fig.	Image # 11: Perugino's Valience with winged helmet <i>Collegio del Cambio</i> (1504)	Inscription	Date	D. (cm.)	Collection	Cat. #	Source	Pl. # From Source	P. #
257.		None	1515- 1530	24. 4	British Museum, London	MLA 1878, 12-30, 418	Wilson, 1987	157	101

Appendix B Database II: Deruta Plates of the Four Lay SaintsLegend

D. Diameter

H. Height

Date as cited by Author

Pl. #	Saint/ Fig. #	Date	Prototype Derived From	Size (cm.)/ Catalogue Number/Auction Lot/Museum	Publication
1	St. Barbara/ Fig. 32	1530	Perugino, St. Catherine of Alexandria, Uffizi, Florence	D. 41 cm. OA 1620 Louvre, Paris	Giacomotti, 1994, p.156, pl. 519
2	St. Barbara	1530	Perugino, St. Catherine of Alexandria, Uffizi, Florence	D. 40.5 cm. 41.78.1 J.B. Speed Museum, Louisville, Kentucky	Cole, 1977, p. 80, 81, pl. 38
3	St. Barbara	1530	Perugino, St. Catherine of Alexandria, Uffizi, Florence	D. 42 cm. 2451 Musée du Ecouen, France	Giacomotti, 1994, pl. 503
4	St. Barbara/ Fig. 34	1530	Marcantonio Raimondi engraving of St. Catherine of Alexandria (c. 1510)	D. 39.8 cm. 7556 Musée du Ecouen, France	Giacomotti, 1994, pl. 595
5	St. Catherine of Alexandria	1520	Perugino, St. Catherine of Alexandria, Uffizi, Florence	D. 40.5 cm. C. 2176-1910 Victoria and Albert Museum, London	Rackham, 1959, pl. 484 p. 160
6	St. Catherine of Alexandria	1525- 1530	Marcantonio Raimondi engraving of St. Catherine of Alexandria (c. 1510)	D. 34.0 cm. 663-1884 Victoria and Albert Museum, London	Rackham, 1959, pl. 770, p. 253

Pl. #	Saint/ Fig. #	Date	Prototype Derived From	Size (cm.)/ Catalogue Number/Auction Lot/Museum	Publication
7	St. Catherine of Alexandria	1540	Marcantonio Raimondi engraving of St. Catherine of Alexandria (c. 1510)	D. 16.3 cm. Collections of the Late Lord Clarke of Saltwood"	<i>Sotheby's</i> , 27 June- 5 Aug., 1984, pl. 149
8	St. Catherine of Alexandria	1550	Marcantonio Raimondi engraving of St. Catherine of Alexandria (c. 1510)	D. 39.5 cm	<i>Sotheby's</i> 21 Nov. 1978. pl. 37, p. 42
9.	St. Catherine of Alexandria	1550	Marcantonio Raimondi St. Catherine of Alexandria (c. 1510)	D. 38.7 cm. Lot. 3	<i>Sotheby's</i> , 16 April, 2004
10	St. Catherine of Alexandria	Post 1550	Marcantonio Raimondi engraving of St. Catherine of Alexandria (c. 1510). Poorly rendered version.	Stile Compendario D. 26 cm. n. 335129	Mazzi, 1982, pl. 28, p. 239
11	St. Cecilia	1587	Marcantonio Raimondi engraving of St. Catherine of Alexandria (c. 1510)	Stile Compendario D. 26.3 cm. 12863 Musée de la Renaissance, Ecouen	C. Fiocco, et al., 1994, p. 196

Pl. #	Saint/ Fig. #	Date	Prototype Derived From	Size (cm.)/ Catalogue Number/Auction Lot/Museum	Publication
12	St. Lucy	1510- 1530	Marcantonio Raimondi engraving of St. Catherine of Alexandria (c. 1510)	D. 37.2 cm. nr. 1986,50 Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin	Lahr, 1986, pl. 10, p. 21-23
13	St. Lucy/ Fig. 35	1530	Marcantonio Raimondi engraving of St. Catherine of Alexandria (c. 1510)	D. 38 cm. 5502 Limoges, France	Giacomotti, 1994, pl. 521
14	St. Lucy		Unknown	Florence	<i>Sotheby's</i> , Oct., 1970 pl. 59 p. 51
	Uncharacteristic Pieces				
15	St. Lucy as a small child/ Fig. 38	1530- 1535	Unknown	D. 15 cm. Milan	<i>Finarte</i> , 10-11 March, 1964, pl. 187, Tav. 76, p. 73
16	St. Cecilia/ Fig. 4	1540- 1550	Angel of the Annunciation is in place of the image of St. Cecilia, although the name of the Saint is inscribed on the plate	CE 284 Museum of Anthropology, Vancouver	Museum of Anthropology, Unpublished

Pl. #	Saint/ Fig. #	Date	Prototype Derived From	Size (cm.)/ Catalogue Number/Auction Lot/Museum	Publication
17	St. Clare/ Fig. 39		Unknown		H. Morely- Fletcher and R. McIlroy, 1984, pl. 12, p. 53

Appendix B Database III: Deruta Plates with Images of St. Francis

Legend

D. Diameter

H. Height

Date as cited by author

Pl #	St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata/ Fig.	Date	Size	Shape	Provenance	Published Source
1		1505-30	D. 42.5	Piatto da Pompa ¹	Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; Collection M. P. Petrograd, 1920	C. Ravanelli Guidotti, 2005
2		1515	D. 41	Piatto da Pompa	Collezione Del Guerra (1995), Deruta	G. Busti, F. Cocchi, 1999, pl. 156, p. 241
3		1530- 1540	D. 40	Piatto da Pompa	New York	<i>Sotheby's</i> , 22 Nov., 1983, pl. 177, p. 80
4.		1525	D. 41.9	Piatto da Pompa	Charleston Museum, South Carolina HC 406	Ladis, 1989, pl. 11
5		1515	D. 41	Piatto da Pompa	Musée du Petit Palais, Paris S. 2440	Join-Dieterle, 1984 pl. 17, p. 82-83
6		1530	D. 40	Piatto da Pompa	Collezione E. Bossi, Genoa	Bellini, Conti, 1964, p. 129 A

Pl # /Fig.	St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata	Date	Size	Shape	Provenance	Published Source
7		1530	D. 39	Piatto da Pompa	Private Collection, Milan	Bellini, Conti, 1964, p. 129 B
8.		1550- 1570			Edinburgh	Curnow, 1982, p. 43
9.		1520	D. 38.5	Piatto da Pompa	New York	<i>Sotheby's</i> , 21 Nov., 1978, pl. 35, p. 40
10.		1520	D. 41.5	Piatto da Pompa	London	<i>Sotheby's</i> , 12 June, 1984, pl. 4
11.		1520	D. 41	Piatto da Pompa	London	<i>Christie's</i> , 2 July, 1979, pl. 10, p. 14
12		1520	D. 43.5	Piatto da Pompa	London	<i>Sotheby's</i> , 16 March, 1976, pl. 15, p. 10
13.		1515	D. 42	Piatto da Pompa	Kunstgewerbe- museum der Stadt, Köln Nr. 2465	Klesse, 1966, pl. 294, p. 159
14.		1515		Plate	Coll Ducrot, Unknown provenance	Chompret, 1986, Fig. 244.
15.		1520	15.5 cm	Plate	New York Lot 63	<i>Parke-Bernat Galleries</i> 25 Oct., 1965, pl. 32, p. 20
16.		1530	D. 43	Piatto da Pompa	Cluny Museum, Paris 16865	Giacomotti, 1974, pl. 604

Pl #	St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata/ Fig. #	Date	Size	Shape	Provenance	Published Source
17.		1530	D. 41	Piatto da Pompa	Louvre, Paris OA 1625	Giacomotti, 1974, pl. 605
18.		1515	D. 40.8	Piatto da Pompa	Museo Civico di Pesaro Collezione Mazza, Pesaro; C.A.S.: 297 R.S.: 373 G.P.: 268	Mancini della Chiara, 1979, pl. 169
19		1515	D. 40	Piatto da Pompa	Museo Civico di Pesaro, Collezione Mazza, Pesaro; C.A.S.: 330 R.S.: 382 G.P.: 27	Mancini della Chiara, 1979, pl. 173
20		1515	D. 42	Piatto da Pompa	Hetjens Museum, Düsseldorf Nr. 1941/6	Klein, 1969, p. 161
21		1525	D. 42.2	Piatto da Pompa	Paul Gillet, Lyon 1955, 1705	Fiocco, 2001, pl. 84, p. 124
22		1525-50	D. 20.5	Bowl	British Museum, London MLA 1856, 7-12,	Wilson, 1989, pl. 148.
23.	Fig. 23	1520	D. 42.2	Piatto da Pompa	Seattle Museum of Art, Seattle, Washington Eugene Fuller Collection 47.79	Emerson et al., 2000

Pl #	St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata/ Fig. #	Date	Size	Shape	Provenance	Published Source
24.	<i>Istoriato</i> piece without the characteristic Deruta rim pattern	1545	D. 33	Piatto da Pompa	Berlin	Hausmanm, 1974, Tav. xxa, p. 24
25.	Same scene but a closer view of the Saint's face	1515	D. 41	Piatto da Pompa	Collezione Del Guerra, Deruta (1995)	Busti, Cocchi, 1999, pl. 155, p. 240
26.	Same scene but a closer view of the Saint's face	1525- 1530	D. 42	Piatto da Pompa	Victorian and Albert Museum, London	Rackham, 1954, pl. 763
27.	Same scene but a closer view of the Saint's face	1520	D. 41.275	Piatto da Pompa	New York Lot 60	<i>Parke- Bernat Galleries</i> 25 Oct., 1965, pl. 33, p. 20
	Later pieces with this Scene					
28.		c. 1600	D. 10	Two handled tureen with fluted rim	London Lot 10	<i>Sotheby's</i> , 23 April, 1974, pl. 34, p. 14
29.		c. 1600	D. 24	Piatto da Pompa	Krakow 506	Piatiewicz- Dereniowa, 1975, p. 59.
30.		c. 1600		Plate	Padua 288	Banzato Munarini, 1995, pp. 59, 61

Pl #	St. Francis Praying before a Cross/ Fig. #	Date	Size	Shape	Provenance /Condition	Published Source
31.		1490- 1500	D. 17	Cup	Donazione Alessandro Piceller, (1898- 1900), Deruta Poor condition	Busti and Cocchi, 1999, pl. 130, p. 223
32.		1490- 1500	D. 17	Cup	Donazione Alessandro Piceller, (1898- 1900), Deruta Poor condition	Busti and Cocchi., 1999, pl. 131 p. 223
33.		1490- 1500	D. 17	Cup	Donazione Alessandro Piceller, (1898- 1900) Deruta Poor condition	Busti and Cocchi., 1999, pl. 132 p. 224
34.		1490- 1500	D. 17	Cup	Donazione Alessandro Piceller, (1898- 1900), Deruta Poor condition	Busti and Cocchi., 1999, pl. 133 pp. 224.
35.	Fig. 45	1500- 1515	D. 13.3	Cup	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge C 205-1991 Broken	Poole, 1997, pl. 259.

Pl #	St. Francis Praying before a Cross/ Fig. #	Date	Size	Shape	Provenance /Condition	Published Source
36.		1500-1510	D. 17 H. 5.8	Double handled cup	Berlin	<i>Adolf von Beckerath</i> 4 Nov. 1913, pl.
37.		1515	D. 16.5	Double handled goblet	Florence	<i>Sotheby's</i> , 17 Ottobre, 1969, pl. 28, p. 38.
38.		1500-1515 uncovered during excavation		Bowl	Private collection, Deruta	De Mauri, 1924, pl. xxx, p. 58.
39.		1500-1510	D.16	Bowl	Collezione Milziade Magnini (1990), Deruta Fair condition rim chips and discolouration	Busti, Cocchi, 1999, pl. 140, p. 228-229
40.	More detailed than usual	1530	D. 39	Plate	Limoges 5486	Giacomotti, 1974, pl. 520

Pl #	St. Francis Praying before a Cross/ Fig. #	Date	Size	Shape	Provenance / Condition	Published Source
41.	Misidentified as St. Dominic	1500-1540	D. 39	Plate	Gardiner Ceramic Museum, Toronto 915-5-130	Chilton, 1997, p. 20.
42.		1500-1520	D. 24.2	Broad rimmed bowl	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge C. 105-1927 Poor condition	Poole, 1997, pl. 260
43.		1520-30		Broad rimmed bowl	Musée Alexis Forel Morges., Switzerland C006	Mariaux, 1995, p. 104
44.		1520		Bulbous Jug	Coll. Ducrot, Unknown Provenance	Chompret, 1986, Fig. 319
45.		1530	D. 20	Small Jug	Louvre, Paris, OA 1886	Giacomotti, 1974, pl. 639
46.		1500-30	D. 19.5	Small Jug	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge C66-1927 Handle refastened Glaze, Rim and base are chipped.	Poole, 1997, pl. 261

Pl #	St. Francis Praying before a Cross/ Fig. #	Date	Size	Shape	Provenance /Condition	Published Source
47.	Fig. 46	1500-1530	D. 20.5	Small Jug	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge C.67-1927 Rim chips, handle edges slightly worn	Poole, 1997, pl. 243
48.		1515-152	D. 19.	Small Jug	Milan	<i>Finarte</i> , 10-11 March, 1964, pl. 32 Tav. 18, p. 13
49.		1500-1550	H. 20	Vase	Berlin	<i>Adolf von Beckerath</i> 4 Nov., 1913, pl. 35
50.		1530	D. 25	Small Plate	Louvre, Paris, OA 1785	Giacomotti, 1974, pl. 547
51.		1530	D. 32.8	Small Plate	Louvre, Paris OA 1722	Giacomotti, 1974, pl. 614
52.		1500-20		Small Plate	Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore 48.2068	Unpublished
53.		1500-1515		Small Plate	Private Collection, Deruta	De Mauri, 1924, pl. xxx, p. 58
54.		1515	D. 27	Small Plate		<i>Christies Auction</i> , 22 June, 1965, pl. 61, p. 25.

Pl #	St. Francis Praying before a Cross/ Fig. #	Date	Size	Shape	Provenance /Condition	Published Source
55.		1515-1520	D. 34	Small Plate	Private Collection, UK Cat no. 349	Rackham, 1959, pl. 149b. p. 97
56.		1520	D. 34	Small Plate		<i>Christie's Auction</i> 2 July, 1979, pl. 12, p. 15
57.		1525		Small Plate	Coll. Testart, Paris	Chompret, 1986, Fig. 259
	Variation on the theme					
58.	St. Francis praying before a keg of wine with a cross on it. An istoriato piece. Fig. 40	1550 Produced by Giacomo Mancini called "Il Frate"	D. 23	Plate	Museo del Vino, Torgiano	Gautini, 1980, p. 92

Pl # /Fig.	St. Francis Praying before a Cross: Variation s on the Theme	Date	Size	Shape	Provenance /Condition	Published Source
59. St. Francis as child praying before a cross		1500- 1510	D. 11	Small Bowl	Milan	<i>Finarte</i> 21, 22 Nov., 1963, pl. 76, Tav. 41, pp. 37-38
60. Unidentified woman praying before a Cross Fig. 52		1550 Unknow n attribute -ion. Cata- logue states Cafag- giolo	D. 24.5	Plate	Sevres 16475	Giacomotti, 1974, pl. 788
61. St. Francis and St. Jerome praying before a cross		1540- 1550 Made by Gia- como Mancini called "Il Frate"	D. 42.2 H. 8.1	Basin	Lyon	Fiocco et al., 2001, pl. 83, p. 122

St. Francis Praying before a Cross Post dates 1550		Date	Size	Shape	Provenance /Condition	Published Source
62.		1600	D. 24.5	Cup with foot	Krakow, 505	Piatiewicz- Dereniowa, 1975, p. 58
63. St. John the Baptist praying before a cross		1558	D. 14 H. 25	Double handled jar	Dijon 1066	Barral, 1987, pp. 88-89

¹ All of the pottery terms are translated into English with the exception of piatto da pompa which does not have an English equivalent.

Appendix C: Specific Literary Aspects of the *Bella Donna* plates: Names, Epithets and Quotations

The Italian literary tradition on feminine exemplarity found expression in *bella donna* plates in a number of ways. First, these plates were a physical manifestation of Cherubino of Siena's *Regola* which professed that there were specific modes of behaviour for wives to affect if they desired to become figures of adoration. Second, as shown in chapter two the prototypes and visual conventions used on the *bella donna* plate were based upon the ideals of the literary tradition of exemplarity. Exemplary figures, such as d'Este and the Erythrean Sibyl, were a mainstay in the visual repertoire of the Deruta potters, who created the *bella donna* plates. This tradition of feminine exemplarity was not only important in respect to the visual qualities of these plates, it was also reflected in the naming patterns of young Umbrian girls c. 1485-1550. Inscribed in the banners on *bella donna* plates the names of Umbrian women appear along with a descriptive epithet. In the following appendix we will examine how the choice of names and epithets reflects the tradition of feminine exemplarity and therefore reinforces the didactic qualities of these plates.

Bella donna plates have a banner either with a name and an epithet or a quotation or popular saying inscribed within it. [See Appendix D, Chart I] No plate had both. Both the names and epithets conveyed important moral sentiments which the young wife who gazed at these plates was encouraged to follow. There are six categories of feminine names on *bella donna* plates: [Appendix C, Chart I] names derived from Roman historical figures, women from Roman and Greek myths, female saints, male saints, names describing desirable personality traits and physical qualities, and finally literary

figures. These names represented important moral, humanistic and religious ideals. It was the father who named these girls, thus the naming patterns on *bella donna* plates represent the father's personal values, even ambitions, for his family.

Presagium Nominis: The name of a woman as a sign of her destiny

The Deruta artisans employed a specific formula when they wrote feminine names on *bella donna* plates. This formula was characterized by two elements: a banner surrounding the central female figure and a two word inscription which is painted within it. The first word is the name of the woman to whom the plate was given. The second word is an epithet describing a specific quality or virtue. These names indicate the qualities or virtues a father hoped his daughter would possess as her personality developed from infancy to adolescence. It was the prevailing view among patristic and literary figures that a child would inhabit the virtues and qualities represented by their given name.¹ For example, within Jacobus da Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*, the introductory paragraph of each saint's life outlined the etymology of the saint's name.² This purpose of this passage was to indicate that the name presaged the direction of the saint's life. Therefore, names on *bella donna* plates reveal not only the personal qualities admired in Renaissance women, but also reveal the historical, mythological, literary and religious figures themes and the values parents hoped their girls would emulate. In this way the names on the *bella donna* plates reinforced the message presented by the visual

¹ D. Herlihy, "Tuscan Names: 1200-1530," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 41 (1988), 561.

² K. L. Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Late Middle Ages* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 200-201. J. de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea: Vulgo Historia Lombardica Dicta*, ed. Th. Graesse (Osnabrück: O. Zeller, 1969), p. 29. "Lucy is derived from light. For the light possess beauty in its aspect..." For text and translation see Chapter 3: Four Female Lay Saints, n. 105.

component of the plates (prototypes and three visual conventions), namely, that the plates were a didactic tool to educate women in the ways of exemplarity. Names were another means by which children learned the values and aspirations of their parents, as well as that of their class and society.

The previous study of the feminine exemplars depicted on *bella donna* plates reveals that there were specific qualities upheld by Renaissance husbands to which they desired their wives to aspire, specifically modesty and decorous behaviour. A study of the names of women inscribed on *bella donna* plates reveals that it was not only husbands who possessed these high ideals for their wives, but that from birth young girls were encouraged to cultivate virtuous behaviour by their parents. Names of girls were carefully chosen by parents, in particular fathers, because they were an important means to commemorate the values of the family, especially, the parents' sophisticated interests and personal piety. Whether it was a manifestation of the father's humanistic learning, the mother's affinity for specific saints, or their combined desire for their daughter to possess physical beauty or an engaging personality; all of these qualities were believed to be important for the success of the girl and her family, inasmuch as they helped her marry well.³

The naming patterns of young women reveal a preoccupation with humanistic learning and religious values.⁴ Husbands and fathers saw their daughters and wives as an extension of their ambitions and they educated these young women in the appropriate

³ D. Herlihy, op. cit. pp. 569, 578, 580; P. Walley, "Personal Names in Siena, 1285," *Florence and Italy Renaissance Studies in Honour of Nicolai Rubinstein*, eds. P. Denby and C. Elam (London: University of London, 1988), pp. 187-191; C. Klapisch-Zuber, "The Name 'Remade': Given Names in Florence in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *Women, Family and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, trans. L. Cochrane (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), pp. 283-309.

⁴ L. B. Alberti, *I Primi Tre Libri della Famiglia*, ed. F. C. Pellegrini, Firenze: Sansoni, 1946, p. 35.

virtues they believed were most necessary to fulfill these ambitions.⁵ The names of girls in middle class families demonstrate that fathers used names to advertise the material, intellectual, religious prosperity of their family.⁶

The first two categories of young womens' names on *bella donna* plates show that antique literary, Roman historical and mythological heroines reflected their intellectual tastes. Next, there were saints' names or names which represented their devotional affinities.

It is from three historical sources that important insight on these naming patterns can be obtained. First, from Benvenuto Cellini's (1500-1571) *Autobiography*,⁷ Piero Aretino's (1492-1556) *Letters*⁸ and the *Diary* of Gregorio Dati⁹ (d. 1435) it can be proved that it was the father who choose the child's name and he had very specific and practical reasons behind his selection of these names. Usually the name was a commemoration, either in the case of Cellini, the name marked an achievement, such as the successful birth of a child. For example, when the goldsmith Benvenuto Cellini was born, his father selected the name *Benvenuto* (welcome) because the child's healthy birth was a welcome

⁵ Herlihy, op. cit., pp. 569; Herlihy states that the variety of names alluding to physical, moral and social characteristics are significant. He adds that it is very difficult to ascertain if these names, referred to as names conveying personal qualities, expressed a reality or a wish. I suggest that they do express the family's desires. For just as saints' names indicated the family's desire to associate themselves or gain the support of certain saints, the use of quality names expressed the family's desire that the young girl would possess certain qualities. As Bernardino of Siena wrote, carefully chosen names often expressed hope and predicted the future (Herlihy, *ibid.*, p. 561).

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 569, 578, 580.

⁷ B. Cellini, *La Vita*, ed. C. Cordié (Milano: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore, 1996), pp. 10-11.

⁸ P. Aretino, "Lettera 148: A Sebastiano Pittore Frate del Piombo, Venice, June 15, 1537," *Tutto Le Opere di Pietro Aretino* (Verona: Arnoldo Mondadori, 1960), p. 182: "*Adria è il suo nome, ché ben doveva così nominarla, poi che in grembo de le sue onde per volontà divina è nata. E me ne glorio ...*" (Adria is her name. It is fitting that she was given that name. For was she not by divine will born in the womb of its waves? Does it [the choice of the name] not bring glory to me?).

⁹ G. Dati, "The Diary of Gregorio Dati," *The Two Memoirs of Renaissance Florence: The Diaries of Buonaccorso Pitti and Gregorio Dati*, ed. G. Brucker and trans. J. Martines (Prospect Heights, Illinois: Waveland Press, 1967, p. 117.

event.¹⁰ As well, a baby's name served as a dedication to someone who had just died. Datini, for example, always named his daughters after his late wives, of which he had two.¹¹ In the case of Aretino, he named his daughter Adria, after the Adriatic Sea where she was born.¹² Father's then named their daughters after deceased family members. In other cases they named their children after factors which contributed to a successful birth.

When these sources are compared to the names inscribed on the *bella donna* plates one can hypothesize two things. First, in Umbrian families Roman and mythological names were traditional family names used repeatedly over generations. Second, mythological and Roman figures were highly significant to Umbrian fathers and their interests were commemorated through their selection of names for their girls. Their interest was in humanist themes.

What is surprising about the naming patterns exhibited on *bella donna* plates is that saints' names are not the most common, but they are clearly in second and third place. This is particularly surprising after reading Herlihy's article about naming patterns in Florence during the same period. David Herlihy's article *Tuscan Names: 1200-1530*, describes the powerful role the Church played in determining the names of children. He argues that in Tuscan society c. 1450 the Church in Florence recommended that only

¹⁰ Cellini, op. cit., p. 11. "Mio padre, che era vero filosofo, stava passenggiando, e disse: -Quello che Iddio di dà, sempre m'è caro, e disse:- Signore, io ti ringrazio con tutte 'l cuor mio; questo m'è molto caro, e sia il benvenuto.- Tutte quelle persone che erano quivi, lietamente lo domandavano come e' si gli aveva a por nome. Giovanni mai rispose loro altro, se non;- E' sia il Benvenuto.- E, risoltis, tal nome mi diede il santo battesimo, e così mi vo vivendo con la grazia di Dio." (My father, who was a true philosopher, was pacing [waiting for my birth] and said: "Whatever God gives is dear to me" and he added further, "Oh Lord, I give you thanks with all my heart; this boy is very dear to me, and he is welcome." Everyone who was present was asking what he [my father] going to use for a name. Gianni [my father] said to all. The name should be Benvenuto [welcome] and thus having been resolved he gave me this name upon Holy Baptism and even now I am living by it, by the Grace of God).

¹¹ Datini, op. cit., p. 127. "At terce on Tuesday morning, 8 June, 1406, Ginevre [Datini's third wife] had her third child, a fine full-term baby girl whom we had baptized on Friday morning, 9 June. We christened her Elisabetta Caterina and she will be called Lisabetta in memory of my dead wife, Betta."

¹² See n. 8, for text and translation.

religious names should be used to name newborns and that they should abandon names that were frivolous and not religious in tone. Herlihy added that as a result immediately after 1450 the variety of non-religious names dropped dramatically.

The observations of both Herlihy and Goldthwaite are particularly interesting when compared with the names inscribed on *bella donna* plates. Unlike, Florentine society, where Church pressure dictated that families favour religious names over other varieties, Umbrian society seemed to have no apparent external pressures which determined their naming their patterns. Umbria is consistent with Goldthwaite's theory that in 16th century Umbria the towns-people had grown increasingly independent from the restraints of Church control. Goldthwaite refers to this as the laicization of Umbria.¹³

As a result of this laicization Umbrian families were free to name their daughters according to their personal tastes. Girls' names were not restricted to a small pool of religious names but Roman, mythological, literary figures, and names describing personal virtues were also well represented. The names also represent the concerns, tastes, and interests of Umbrian fathers; primarily, their interest in Roman and mythological themes.

This is not to say that mothers did not play a role in naming their daughters. Rather, mothers did have a role in selecting the names of their children, but according to the example of Dati, they usually did not name the first or second born child. Instead, mothers named the fourth and following children when the fathers had exhausted their list of significant names. The selection of names given by the wife was invariably a saint's name because of her special devotion to a specific saint.¹⁴ From this evidence one

¹³ Herlihy, op. cit., pp. 574; R. Goldthwaite. *Wealth and the Demand for Art: 1300-1600* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1993), p. 96.

¹⁴ Datini, op. cit., p. 117. "On 5 July, 1405 Betta [Dati's second wife] gave birth to our eighth child and we called him Piero Antonio ... because of Betta's special devotion to S. Antonio."

can infer three factors about the girls who were named after saints. First, it was the mothers who generally gave their children saints names. Second, these names indicated their private devotional interests. Third, the children with saints' names were generally not first born but at least third in the birth order.

In our database there are 257 *bella donna* plates and 78 of them have feminine names inscribed on them. The names on these plates conform to seven categories. A study of names on *bella donna* plates reveal that names that were Classical or Humanistic in tone were extremely popular among urban Umbrian girls.¹⁵ These names conformed to two varieties: female Roman names and female mythological figures. Together these two categories of names comprise 39 per cent (30 names) of the names inscribed on Deruta *bella donna* plates. The popular Roman names were Lucretia, Faustina, Giulia, Orelia, Dreana, Romana, Marsilia. The fourth most popular category mythological names are: Chassandra, Diana, Pantasilea, Filomena, Pulisena, Proserpina, Mideia. These names are a reflection of the classical interests and tastes of middle class Umbrian fathers.

The second and third category of popular names on *bella donna* plates are saints names. These conform to two categories. Together these two categories of names comprise 34.7 per cent (27 names) of the names inscribed on Deruta *bella donna* plates. The second category consists of saints' names which were feminine equivalents of masculine saints' names: Isabet, Lucia, Madelina, Margarita, Orsolina, Susana. The third category were male saints' names with a feminine ending: Alisandra (Lesandra), Antonia, Barnabea, Giovanna, Girolima, Gabriella, Francesca, Lorenza.

¹⁵ The popularity of saints' names for girls is fairly universal during this time period throughout Italy; Herlihy, op. cit., pp. 561-580; Walley, op. cit., pp. 187-191; Klapisch-Zuber, op. cit., pp. 283-309. However, unlike Florence, the Church in Umbria did not encourage families to use saints' names exclusively.

As studied in chapter three "The Four Female Lay Saints," mothers possessed devotional affinities for specific saints. As Giovanni Domenici states, it was important to surround girls, in particular, with images of female saints so they would learn the moral qualities that were essential for young women to adopt. He indicates that chastity was the foremost virtue for girls to pursue.¹⁶ Because the affinity for a specific saint was passed down from mother to daughter it also followed that many of these saints' names were also used repeatedly over generations by the same family. The family, thereby, sought the patronage of a holy figure and tied their family's prosperity to the support of this saint. Thus, saintly names found on Deruta *bella donna* plates not only reveal the family's desire for saintly support, but also provide additional insight into the devotional affinities of Umbrian women.

The fifth category comprises of names indicating desirable moral and personal qualities: Chandida (1); Felice (Filice) (2); Filitiana (1); Gentia (Gentilina)(Gintia) (3), Iubilia (1); Speranza (1) illustrate the desire that daughters be modest, fortunate and prosperous. This category of names comprises 11.4 per cent (9 names) of the names inscribed on Deruta *bella donna* plates. The names "Chandida" (*It.* "white shining and pure"). The name *Felice* and *Jubilia* (*It.* "happy and lucky") suggests one who enjoyed propitious fortune.¹⁷ The name *Gentia* suggests a girl who has the qualities of a high born lady. It reflects the earlier discussion in chapter two on *bella donna* plates where husbands hoped that their wives might study and emulate the decorum of aristocratic women. The last two names Iubilia (rejoice) and Speranza (hope) also indicate desire for fulfilled dreams and prosperity.

¹⁶ G. Domenici, "Regola del Governo di Cura Familiare," *Italian Art 1400-1600: Sources and Documents*, ed. C. Gilbert, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc. 1980), pp. 146.

¹⁷ Herlihy, *op. cit.*, pp. 561, 569, 577, 578, 580

The Function of the Name on a *Bella Donna* Plates

A statistical and thematic analysis of the particular names on the *bella donna* plates demonstrate the ambitions, interests and concerns of fathers and mothers as conveyed through the names of their children. However, a study of the names themselves does not bring to light why the Deruta artisans inscribed these names on the plates. What function did the inscription of these names on *bella donna* plates serve? In order to understand the significance of the name inscribed on the plate we must look to the function of names in the Italian literary tradition. The first indication that the names inscribed on these plates had a larger significance than merely serving as a permanent label on a bridal gift comes from the poem by Andreano da Concole (fl. 1557) "To the Master of Arduous Work at Deruta." This poem (see Appendix G) tells of a ritual associated with the inscription of these names on the plate. The poet states that the potter should not have any qualms about, "inscribing [the names of these women] often..." According to da Concole, the painting of these women's names, especially during the right phase of the moon, gave the potter the luck he needed for the plates to become attractive to buyers, in particular the suitor who purchased these plates for his beloved. The poet reassured the potter he would reap profits from his sales of the plates and the potter would not be left even with a "tiny cup [unsold]." ¹⁸

The poem indicates that if the potter desired to sell his pots he should inscribe these plates often and during the right phase of the moon. Although it is difficult to know

¹⁸ G. Ballardini, "Un Breve Componimento Poetico dal Sec. XVI," *Faenza*, (1934), 110-113; This poem is also known as "Poem to the Master of the Pots at Deruta": "verily I tell you, I am not just making it up that at Todi more beautiful women than these are not, never will be, and never existed, for they all have the looks of Narcissus ... The first worthy pair, Colonna Perugina, bounteous Baldesca and Mr. Gabio's Madonna Francesca, Do not have qualms about inscribing (them) often ..." The poem indicates that the names of these women have special significance when they were inscribed on the *bella donna* plate. The name is associated with their physical beauty and their moral character.

if the poet is asking the potters at Deruta to take this literally, there is a sense that the use of the beloved's name and the repeated writing of it served as some sort of love charm as well as mystical incantation. The poem reveals that a name on a *bella donna* plate was not merely a label which names the recipient of the gift, but possessed a ritualistic function. The writing of the name on the plate, especially during the right phase of the moon, served as a love incantation.

Il Senhal: The use of names as a literary device

The belief that the name of the beloved, when invoked repeatedly, had the affect of a love incantation can be seen commonly in Italian literature from the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. In particular, this view that names provided insight into personality and moral traits is particularly felt in the poetic literature of the period. This strong literary precedent does provide convincing evidence that many aspects of the *bella donna* plates were connected to the pre-sixteenth-century literary tradition. Luigi Sasso states that names were a very powerful vehicle in literature to exemplify the unique and powerful qualities of a heroine. He explains that the use of the name of the beloved as a love incantation is, in fact, a literary device called *Il Senhal*.¹⁹ The Italian poets Petrarch and Dante excelled in the use of this device. The names of their beloveds Beatrice and Laura are repeated in various forms throughout their texts reminding the reader of the pervasive influence of these women over their lover's thoughts.

¹⁹ L. Sasso, *Il Nome nella Letteratura: L'Interpretazione dei Nomi negli Scrittori Italiani del Medioevo*. (Genova: Casa Editrice Marietti spa. 1990), pp. 59, 66, 68, 69.

Il Senhal and Petrarch's Laura

The name of the beloved in the works of Dante and Petrarch possesses a dual role. First, it reminds the reader of the qualities which made her worthy of love but also the constant repetition of the name served as a love incantation. For example, the name Beatrice (*Lat. "Beatus"*) means blessed and she is portayed by Dante as an angel dispersing blessings.²⁰ As well, the frequent repetition of the name Beatrice throughout the *Divine Comedy* and *La Vita Nova* places Dante in a sense of religious ecstasy. In a sense, his understanding of her name leads him to heaven. He says: "But awe, which still can daunt me with a mere ICE or BE, again bowed my head as a man's head droops down when sleep is near."²¹ The name Beatrice even in a fragmented and partial state fills Dante with a sense of reverence.

The name Laura also reveals the essence of Petrarch's beloved. Petrarch too, like Dante, has a sense of reverence for Laura's name. "She is worthy of Homer and Orpheus, worthy to have him singing only of her ... but her fate cruel only in this, have entrusted her to one who adores her lovely name."²²

In keeping with the concept of *Il Senhal*, Laura's name in Petrarch's poetry is essential to the understanding of her character and her virtue. The name Laura as explored earlier is a play on gold imagery (*L'Auro*) which is found throughout the *Canzoniere*.²³ Words conveying images of gold are repeated throughout the poetry

²⁰ Ibid., p. 66.

²¹ Dante, *La Vita Nuova*, VII, vv. 13-15.

²² Petrarch, *Canzone* 187, l. 9-12. "ché d'Omero dignissima e d'Orfeo o del pastor ch'ancor Mantova onora, ch' andassen sempre lei sola cantando ... et fato sol qui reo commisse a tal che'l suo bel nome adora ma forse scema sue lode parlando." (See translation above)

²³ Sasso, op. cit., p. 69.

illustrating every aspect of Laura is golden and radiates light.²⁴ Petrarch describes Laura's hair in this manner in *Canzone* 197: "Nor can I shake lose that lovely knot by which the sun is surpassed, not to say amber and gold. I mean the blond locks, which bind tight the soul."²⁵ Although it is Laura's hair which is gold, her whole body emanates rays of gold. It is Laura's gold colouring and the rays of light it emits which transforms the viewer's experience into a religious one. As Petrarch states in *Canzone* 72: "My noble Lay, I see in the moving of your eyes a sweet light that shows me the way that leads to Heaven."²⁶ The name of Laura reflects the physical characteristics as well as her personality, a character which is so rich and vibrant that her face is the source of light which illuminates the path to paradise. This is consistent with the literary device *Il Senhal*. Thus, Laura's name does convey her personality to her audience and her beloved. Her name conveys gold mimicking her physical appearance, in particular, her hair and wardrobe, but also her radiate and inspirational character is golden. As seen from the example of Laura and Beatrice names possessed a dual role: they not only conveyed the personal moral quality of the woman but the name itself, when repeated acted as a love incantation.

²⁴ Petrarch, *Canzone* 157, l. 6-7: "La testa or finao, et calda neve il volto. Eveno I cigli, et gli occhi eran due stele..." (Her head was fine gold, her face warm snow, ebony her eyebrows and her eyes two stars...).

²⁵ *Canzone* 197, l. 7-8: "Né posso dal bel nodo omai dar crollo là 've il sol perde, non pur l'ambra o l'auro," (Nor can I shake loose that lovely knot by which the sun is surpassed, not to say amber or gold).

²⁶ *Canzone* 72, l. 1: "Gentil mai Donna, l'veggo nel muovere de' vostr'occhi un dolce lume..." (See translation above).

Epithets on *bella donna* plates

If the name itself on the plate represents a love incantation, then the epithet following the incantation reinforces what quality made the recipient of the plate worthy of love. The epithets associate the name of the woman who possessed the plate with the models of exemplarity discussed earlier.²⁷ Of the two hundred and fifty seven *bella donna* plates in our survey, there were only four epithets that followed the feminine name inscribed in the banner on the plate.²⁸ The first three epithets are fairly rare, but attest to the high importance placed on the woman's moral purity: *onesta* (It. "pure"); *timore Domini* (Lat. "God fearing"); *pulita* (It. "correct and clean"). The most common epithet is *bella* (It. "beautiful"), often designated in paleographic shorthand "b." Frequently these inscriptions take a specific form such as *Camilla Bella* or *Laura B.*²⁹

These epithets illuminate the core virtues which were considered essential for women to possess. These standards of feminine beauty and behaviour dictated that a woman not only be physically beautiful (*bella*) but also morally pure and modest (*onesta*, *timore domini*, *pulita*). Thus, as explored in greater detail in chapter three, the names on the plates embody general qualities of feminine behaviour idealized in Italian society, reminding the bearer of the moral and aesthetic standard necessary to uphold throughout her life.

Conclusion

The naming patterns on *bella donna* plates reflect three concerns of Umbrian society. First, middle class fathers in Umbria preferred to name their daughters after

²⁷ Ajmar and Thornton, op. cit., pp. 147: See Appendix C, Chart II.

²⁸ See Appendix C, Chart II.

²⁹ Ajmar and Thornton, op. cit., pp. 144; Poole, op. cit., pp. 367.

Classical and mythological figures. These names may have not only commemorated deceased relatives, but they also represented the fathers taste for Classical and humanist themes.

Second, saints' names were of secondary importance to Umbrian families. This made Umbrian families different from their Florentine counterparts, who were encouraged by the Church to adopt only religious names derived from saints. Additionally, these saints names were largely selected by mothers and they were, generally, not first born children but third or even later born.

Third, names were considered significant with respect to the character of the individual in Italian society. They were, in fact, considered to possess a mystical quality. Not only was it believed that names infused a child with important moral qualities, they were also considered to have the affect of a love charm when written or vocalized repeatedly, as described in the poetry of Petrarch and Dante. As seen from the poem by Andreano da Concole the inscription of names on *bella donna* plates also served as a love incantation. The inscription of the names on the plate served as a talisman, not only to the artisan who hoped to sell the plate to the groom, but also for the groom who hoped his offering would solidify a prosperous marriage.

Appendix C:**Chart I : Names on Bella Donna Plates: Total Number of Plates with Names (78)**

Categories are ranked according to the frequency with which they are found on Deruta *bella donna* plates. The bracketed number indicates the number of times the name appears in the database. The italicized names are mention in Andreano da Concole's poem to the Master of the Pots at *Deruta* (1557). See Appendix G.

a.) Roman Historical Names (19)

Lucretia (5); *Faustina* (5); *Giulia* (2); *Orelia* (4); *Dreana* (1); *Romana* (1); *Marsilia* (1)

b.) Female Religious names (15)

Isabet (Isabella) (2); Vgenia (2); Lucia (2); *Madelina* (Madalina) (6); Orsolina (Orsellia) (2); Susanna (1)

c.) Feminized Versions of Male Saints Names (12)

Alisandra (Lesandra) (2); Antonia (2); Barnabea (1); Giovanna (1); Girolima (3); Gabriella (1); *Francesca* (1); Lorenza (1)

d.) Mythological Heroines (11)

Chassandra (2); Diana (3); *Pantasilea* (2); *Filomena* (1); Pulisena (1); Prosperpina (1); Mideia (1)

e.) Human Qualities of Virtue (9)

Chandida (1); Felice (Filice) (2); Filitiana (1); Gentia (Gentilina)(Gintia)(3); Iubilia (1); Speranza (1)

f.) Miscellaneous Names (6)

Labina (1); Marfisa (1); Melina (1); Laodeo (1); Svriana (1); Lamperia (1)

g.) Literary Women (3)

Fianbetta (1); *Laura* (1); Isotta (Isolda) (1)

h.) Unknown (3)

Gia...ca (1); Pil/l/a (1); Uoh-n (1)

Epithets found on *bella donna* plates

Bella (beautiful) (51); Pulita (pure) (5); Timor Domini (God fearing) (2); Onesta (chaste) (1)

Salutations found on *bella donna* plates

Viva Viva (Long Live) (2)

Appendix D: Quotations on *bella donna* plates: proverbial sayings and inscriptions

The quotations on *bella donna* plates were frequently used as an alternative to feminine personal names. Accordingly, in place of the feminine name, these literary passages were inscribed in the banner outlining the face of the central figure. There is no example within our survey of a plate having both a name/epithet and a quotation.¹ It is likely that the groom specified at the time the plate was ordered whether he desired the *bella donna* plates to be inscribed with the feminine name of his bride or a quotation. Although the groom may have chosen the quotation, it was probably derived from among a pre-selected list offered by Deruta artisans at their workshop.² As seen from Figure 22, the list of inscriptions affixed to the wall of the studio provided quick reference. Over 29 per cent (75 plates) of the *bella donna* plates are inscribed with quotations drawn from a wide array of proverbial expressions, lines from Italian poetry, wise sayings, (known in Latin as *sententiae*) from Classical literature and short phrases from the Bible. These quotations also served an important function on *bella donna* plates.³ Not only are these inscriptions tangible evidence regarding the interest of Renaissance middle class husbands in the culture of humanism, they also remind the researcher that these plates were purchased by grooms and that, even though, the plate was a gift for a new bride,

¹ There is one *bella donna* plate which has a banner but is without an inscription. This is not included in the database. Los Angeles County Museum, Los Angeles California, William Randolph Hearst Collection Inventory # 50.9.22. C. 1530-1550. This plate confirms that the plates with the image were ready made by the Deruta artisans and the client selected the inscription at the time of purchase. It was likely that the artisans intended that a name would be inscribed on the plate because of the small size of the banner.

² C. Piccolpasso, *Li Tre Libre dell'arte del Vasaio*, trans and intro. R. Lightbrown and A. Caiger-Smith, (London, 1980), fol. 57v; C. Hess, *Italian Maiolica at the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, California: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1988), pp. 69-70.

³ L. B. Alberti, *I Primi Tre Libri della Famiglia*, ed. F. C. Pellegrini (Firenze: Sansoni, 1946), p. 100. However, Alberti makes it clear that, although middle women were not be educated to this degree, it was a woman's function as a wife and mother to both encourage her sons and husband to study humanistic texts, and to create an environment where the humanistic ideals flourished through her own moral example. Although women did not study humanistic texts themselves, they were responsible for creating an environment in the household where the ideals would flourish. The wife watched over her sons' education and fostered their pursuit of humanistic ideals.

every aspect of the *bella donna* plate was rendered to appeal to his artistic, moral and cultural interests, because he was the buyer. Like the use of feminine names, quotations on the *bella donna* plates demonstrated that grooms were concerned that their wives should embody the moral values imparted through her name. By contemplating the quotation on the plate, the wife would also remember how to establish the appropriate moral tone of the household. The selection of inscriptions found on *bella donna* plates suggests that husbands looked to the authors of antiquity and the Bible to provide their wives with the pristine moral virtues which would inspire and direct her duties. The husband, of course, both interpreted the inscription and applied it to his vision for the household.

Finally, these plates were inscribed with *sententiae* or the wise sayings or excerpts from Classical authors. This display of Classical learning through the use of quotations, however superficial, was an attempt to emulate aristocratic tastes.⁴ The quotation of lines from Classical texts in both personal correspondence and public discourse was a popular pursuit among Renaissance courtiers. Humanistic learning was largely a privilege reserved for aristocratic male society.⁵ Increasingly over the 15th and 16th century men engaged in trades gained greater exposure to Classical literature during

⁴ On the subject of court culture and the middle class see: B. Einberg, "The Sposizione of Petrarch in the early Cinquecento," *Romance Philology* 13 (1959-1960), 374; N. Vickers, "Vital Signs: Petrarch and Popular Culture," *Romantic Review* 79 (1988), 185; Burke, op. cit., pp. 16, 17; C. Ravenelli Guidott, "L'Ariosto <<istoriato>> sulla Maiolica," "Signore Cortese e Umanismo Viaggio intorna a Ludovico Ariosto," ed. C. Gnudi (Reggio Emilia: Sala delle Esposizioni, 1994), p. 61; F. Liverani, "Sei Maioliche del Rinascimento Italiano: Preliminari allo Studio delle Iscrizione nell'Istoriato Ceramica," *Italian Renaissance Pottery: A Conference at the British Museum* (London: British Museum Press, 1991), p. 46; P. Grendler, "Form and Function in Italian Renaissance Popular Books," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 46 (1993), 452; P. Larivaille, "Poeta, Principe, Pubblico dell'Orlando Innamorato all'Orlando Furioso," *The Court of Ferrara and its Patronage (1441-1598)* (Copenhagen: Edizioni Panini, 1990), p. 25; D. Mateer, ed., *Courts, Patrons, Poets: The Renaissance in Europe* (London: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 10-11; P. Floriani, *Bembo and Castiglione: Studies on Classicism in the Cinquecento* (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1976), pp. 12-13.

⁵ Alberti, op. cit., p. 100; A. Moss, *Printed Commonplace Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. viii.

their general education. Middle class husbands would have had a knowledge of important Classical *sententiae*.⁶ Thus, when grooms acquired a *bella donna* plate with a Classical inscription they would have both translated the Latin inscriptions and unraveled its ancient wisdom for their wives, who could not read either the language nor translate the paleographic short hand in which it was written. These lines became a display of the groom's erudition which he demonstrated to his new bride as he translated and interpreted the plate for her. In a culture that praised humanistic knowledge and viewed it as fundamental to social mobility, an indication of the possession of such knowledge was a status symbol. Renaissance society with its increased social fluidity began to value humanistic learning, as much as money and land.⁷ Knowledge of the Classics and Italian authors was an important means by which *novus homo* (i.e. non-noble layman) could gain entrance into court circles as a civil servant.⁸ It may have also impressed the bride's family regarding his suitability as a husband.

Proverbial Inscription

A study of the inscriptions found on *bella donna* plates reveal a number of characteristics. First, the quotations are from a wide array of sources and they were written in two languages: Latin and Italian. Second, these inscriptions clearly have a moral tone and they were intended to present specific virtues to the female viewers of these plates. Third, it is clear that these inscriptions would have had to be translated for the wife because it is unlikely that the middle class woman would have had the

⁶ R. Lopez, "Hard Times and Investment in Culture," *Social and Economic Foundations of the Italian Renaissance*, ed. A. Molho. (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1969), p. 112; Alberti, op. cit., p. 100.

⁷ Lopez, op. cit., p. 112.

⁸ Ibid., p. 111.

knowledge of classical Latin or Petrarchan Italian to translate the inscription herself. As well the inscriptions were written in a paleographic short hand and would have made the barriers to translation and interpretation even greater. The wife could only learn these inscriptions through the assistance of her groom who gave her the plate and served as her interpreter. Some of the inscriptions on the *bella donna* plates are confusing and difficult to decipher, not only were they written in paleographic shorthand employed because of space constraints on the plate, the artisans also frequently altered phrases to incorporate dialectic variations. For example, the inclusion of an "H" after the "C" to designate the pronunciation of a hard "C" was common. Such as "chadet" (*Lat. caret*- "lacks") in the inscription: *Sola Miseria Chadet Invidia* (*Lat. "Only mercy lacks envy"*). While these orthographical variations may not have caused a barrier for Umbrian grooms they would have for their wives.

The inscriptions on these plates conform to a number of literary categories: Italian proverbs, Classical *sententiae*, lines from Italian poetry and from the Vulgate Bible were also favoured by the maiolica buying public. It will be seen that despite the number of literary and biblical sources from which these inscriptions were culled all of them contributed to three central themes: the necessity of the wife remaining faithful to her husband; the importance of piety, and finally, the wife's acceptance of her lot in life. The quotes reinforce the didactic nature of the plates as discussed earlier in Chapter Two "Deruta *Bella Donna* Plates: Exemplarity and Umbrian Middle Class Women (1500-1550)."

Categories of Inscriptions on *Bella Donna* plates

Oaths, such as *Confirma fe* (or *confirma fedes*, *It.* “confirm faith”), remind the wife of the oath she made to her husband in marriage. Second, there are Italian proverbs of unknown origin, such as: *Assai avanza chi fortuna pasa*, (*It.* “move forward enough that fortune visits” or “He helps those who help themselves”).⁹ This sentiment encourages the wife to be self-motivating, dutiful and industrious in order that she will bring fortune to the house through her good works. Third, Latin expressions from the *Psalms* appear: *Momento Mei*, (*Lat.* “in remembrance of me”); *Timor domini*, (*Lat.* “fear of the Lord”) and in *Te Domine speravi* (*Lat.* “In You O Lord I hoped”).¹⁰ These are liturgical expressions meant to reinforce devotion to God. Fourth, there are Classical inscriptions, such as *Nemo sua sorte chontentus*, (*Lat.* “No one is content with his own lot”), vernacular adaptations of Horace and Terence.¹¹ These sentiments encourage a wife to be satisfied with her role in life. A study of the Latin and Italian inscriptions together reveal that the artisans who were more familiar with Italian than Latin felt at liberty to alter phrases based on orthography. However, Latin inscriptions, in contrast show little alteration indicating that the artisans were less familiar with Latin language and expressions.

There are also two categories of Petrarch inscriptions: quasi-Petrarchan sentiments containing images or partial phrases exhibiting a Petrarchan influence such as *In chor gentile non regna ingratitudine*, (*It.* “in a gentle heart ingratitude does not reign”). *In chor gentile* is a stock phrase from the *Dolce Stil Nuovo* literary period and adopted by

⁹ See Appendix D, Chart II, Section a.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Section c.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Section d.

Petrarch.¹² Another quasi-Petrarchan inscription is *Piatetate Prenda* (It. “take piety”), which is a seemingly incomprehensible phrase at first sight, but in fact is an abbreviation of the Petrarchan phrase *Pietate virtu contra furore prendera l’arme* (It. “virtuous piety takes arms against anger”).¹³ These inscriptions, although based on Petrarchan sentiments, are reinterpreted and recorded to incorporate local spelling variations. They are also specifically selected to encourage wives to be vigilant regarding her virtue and piety. There are also references to boat and port images, a common metaphor in Petrarch, but they may also be simply proverbial expressions derived from Petrarch’s imagery.¹⁴

Finally, there are Petrarchan lines borrowed *verbatim* from the *Canzoniere* but not without orthographical errors such as *La vita e’l fin e’l di loda la sera* (It. “The end praises the life and the evening praises the day”)¹⁵ and *Ch’um bel morire tutta la vita onore*, (It. “a beautiful death gives all life honour”).¹⁶ These inscriptions describe the beauty in death for one who has devoted their life to the pursuit of virtue. The frequent usage of Petrarch’s poetry on the *bella donna* plates demonstrates that vernacular authors were accorded the same authority as those of the ancient world and the Bible.¹⁷ What is interesting about the choice of these Petrarchan lines quoted above is that they do not describe Laura, the physical ideal of beauty, but again are expressions intended to encourage the woman to be modest, pious and a good wife.

¹² W. Ginsberg, *Dante’s Aesthetics of Being* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1999), pp. 62-64; F. Zurli, *Nazionale Museo di Ravenna* (Bologna: Bologna University Press, 1982), p. 66; See Appendix, D Chart II, Section f.

¹³ G. Conti, *La Maiolica in Italia*, (Busto Arsizio: Bramante editore, 1980), pp. 167; Petrarch’s *Canzone* 128, l. 92-94. *Segno alcun di pietate/Vertù contra furore/Prenderà l’arme*. See Appendix D, Chart II, Section f.

¹⁴ Petrarch, *Canzone* 132, l. 10-11: “*Fra si contra venti in fra la barca/mi trovo in alto mar senza governo.*” See also *Canzone* 28, 80. For *bella donna* plates with port and ship imagery, cf. *Chi be guida suo barcha sempre in porto*. See Appendix D, Chart II, Section d.

¹⁵ Ibid., *Canzone* 32, l. 31: *La vita el fine el di loda la sera ischu(ra)*. See Appendix D chart II, section G.

¹⁶ Ibid., *Canzone* 207, l. 66: *In bel morire tuta la vita onora*. See Appendix D, Chart II, Section g.

¹⁷ Moss, op. cit., p. 37; Moss states that c. 1505 with the publication of Montanone’s *Florilegium* (Venice 1505), Medieval Italian works were used in *Florilegi* or commonplace books.

Inscriptions on *bella donna* plates and social mobility

Whereas the quotations found on the plates again reinforce the didactic nature of the plates with respect to the wife's role in the household, they are also very illuminating with regard to how the Italian urban middle class perceived humanism as an avenue for social mobility. These inscriptions serve two functions. Not only providing moralizing instruction for young wives, they also reflect the husband's humanistic pretensions. There has been little scholarship devoted to the significance of these inscriptions aside from the attempts by Gherardi and Fuocci to determine the sources of these inscriptions. Although urban lay families aspired to humanistic knowledge which might open a door to social mobility, they often took short cuts in pursuit of this knowledge.¹⁸ The inscriptions themselves suggest that full familiarity understanding of these texts eluded both the urban middle class and the Deruta *bella donna* artisans themselves.¹⁹ An illustration from Piccolpasso's *Li Tri libri dell'arte del Vasaio* [Figure 6] shows how a small number of quotations were pre-selected and placed on the wall of the studio for expedient copying by the Deruta artisans.²⁰

This text, as Piccolpasso himself admits, is of limited value because the artisan families guarded their methods of production with great secrecy. Yet it is still important as it provides general information on clay production, patterns employed by the studio

¹⁸ Don Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, ed. F. R. Marin, (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1957), p. 23. C. Piccolpasso, *Li Tri libri dell'arte del Vasaio*, trans. and intro. R. Lightbrown and A. Caiger-Smith, (London, 1980), fol. 57v; P. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Learning and Literacy 1300-1600*. (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), pp. 233, 274. Grendler states that much of a boy's education was spent copying, memorizing and paraphrasing the *sententiae* of ancient and Italian authors. However, boys from the lower part of the social divide had less exposure to this and they attended vernacular schools that were geared towards skills with practical applications.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 233, 274.

²⁰ C. Piccolpasso, *Li Tri libri dell'arte del Vasaio*, fol. 57v.

and hand drawn illustrations of production in the ceramic workshops. One can see from such drawings in Piccolpasso's text that purchasers did not provide their own quotes, but were content with choosing from a prepared list affixed to the wall of the workshop.²¹ That several plates used the same inscription is evidence of this. As well, the spellings of these inscriptions are not consistent with the original text, which suggests that the Deruta artisans adapted quotations to their local dialect, the inclusion of the "H" after the "C", as mentioned earlier, is one instance of such variations occurring.²² In other cases it seems that the inscription was dictated to the artisans and thus the spelling was written in accordance with the sound of the words.²³ Orthographical alterations suggest that the original text was not used.²⁴ Although detailed knowledge of humanistic literature eluded the artisans and their patrons, there was a publishing industry that was willing to assist upwardly mobile people attain greater sophistication.

The publication of commonplace books or texts containing sentiments from humanistic authorities was prevalent during the 16th century.²⁵ These texts contained specially selected excerpts from humanist texts; and these carefully selected inscriptions were organized around profound themes.²⁶ The Deruta artisans likely possessed or had access to "commonplace books," however, as Moss notes, such texts did not eliminate the

²¹ C. Piccolpasso, *Li Tri libri dell'arte del Vasaio*, fol. 57v.

²² R. E. A. Drey, *Apothecary Jars* (London: Faber and Faber, 1978), p. 180.

²³ Ibid., pp. 180.

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 180.

²⁵ Moss, op. cit., pp. v-vii.

²⁶ Ibid., pp. v: Don Miguel da Cervantes, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, op. cit., p. 2: "Como veo que están otros libros, aunque sean fabulosos y profanes, tan ileanos de sentencias de Aristòteles, de Platòn y de toda la caterva dr filòfos, que admiran a los seyents y tienen a sus autores por hombres liedos, eruditos y elocuentes?" (As I see that there are other books, though they are fabulous and profane, so full of the sayings of Aristotle, Plato and the whole host of philosophers, who bring wonder to the reader and hold their authors as intelligent, learned and eloquent men); Moss, ibid., p. 94. Moss states that by the 16th century common place books contained quotations by the literary, and religious authorities: Aquinas, the Scriptures, Christian doctors, pagan philosophers, historians as well as Classical and vernacular poets. See also Appendix D: Categories of Inscriptions on *Bella Donna* plates, pp. 401-411.

possibility of variation in quotes. Often writers using these texts and even the original authors were encouraged to abbreviate, summarize and rewrite in their own words such important literary sentiments. This revision did not detract from the authority of such important writers. It was their ability to quote these authors that was the important social exercise, *verbatim* accuracy was not important.

The famous Spanish contemporary, Don Miguel de Cervantes (1547-1615), describes "commonplace books" as a genre used to create a veneer of humanistic erudition.²⁷ In the introduction of *Don Quixote* he explains the social and intellectual environment that gave rise to this widespread use of literary inscriptions. He notes that these inscriptions were made very accessible to unlettered gentlemen through the sale of anthologies or commonplace books that listed famous literary quotations both alphabetically and according to theme (i.e. life and death, love and morality). Under the heading of each chapter the most popular quotes from the Italian literary masters and ancient authorities were listed. Cervantes added that even non-aristocratic men with intellectual and social pretensions used literary quotations in daily discourse and correspondence in order to give them social cachet.²⁸ Cervantes felt these anthologies defeated the real purpose of studying humanistic literature in the original language, to possess an intimate knowledge of the original authors.²⁹ Cervantes satirized a society that placed a high degree of importance on the use of literary quotations as a reflection of

²⁷ Don Miguel de Cervantes, op. cit., p. 2-3: "*Vengamos ahora a la citación de los autores que los otros libros tienen, que en el vuestros os faltan. El remedio que esto tiene es muy fácil, porque no habéis de hacer otra cosa que buscar un que los acote todos, desde ;a A hasta la Z como vos decís... Y luego, en el margen, citar a Horacio, o a quien lo diho. Si tratáredes del poder de la muerte, acudir luego con...*" (Let us come now to the citing of the authors which the other books have, which are lacking in yours. The remedy for this is very easy, since all you have to do is look for a book that contains them all, from A to Z as you say... And then, in the margin, quote Horace, or whoever said it. If you are dealing with the power of death then make use of ...).

²⁸ Ibid., p. 23.

²⁹ Moss, op. cit., p. viii.

humanistic learning but ignored the deeper meaning of these quotations within their literary context. Thus, these quotations tended to create a veneer of sophistication for those who lacked an intimate knowledge of important Classical and Italian writers.³⁰

The presence of these literary and proverbial inscriptions on *bella donna* plates were a mark of the aspirations of the upwardly mobile urban middle class to appear learned and sophisticated in their domestic environment where family members would be receptive to learning.³¹ Although most humanistic learning was intended for the husbands and sons of the family, these brief moralistic sentiments expressed by Classical writers were perceived as definitive insights on the human condition. The presence of the quotes on *bella donna* plates would also remind and encourage women to fulfill this important duty as wives, mothers and moral models of her household.

Conclusion

Deruta *bella donna* plates are an important source by which the aspirations and ideals of Umbrian urban middle class families can be understood. More specifically, as has been studied in chapter two "*Bella Donna* plates," the plates embodied the husband's social ambitions for his family and the belief that his wife, through studied moral

³⁰ Don Miguel de Cervantes, op. cit., p. 23. Cervantes is not the only author who parodies this excessive use of quotations, See P. Aretino, "The Stablemaster," *Five Italian Renaissance Comedies* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1978). Through the character of the Pedant in the comedy "The Stablemaster," Aretino demonstrates the absurdity of the constant use of literary quotations in correspondence and every day speech. The Pedant is a source of ridicule for his pretentiousness, his obscurity, and his inability to converse with those around him in a clear, direct and comprehensible manner.

³¹ Goldthwaite, op. cit., p. 14; Moss, op. cit., p. viii; Moss states that women were excluded from a Latin education and did not have a hand in creating these books. Alberti, op. cit., p. 100 However, from Alberti it is clear that the mother was responsible for creating an environment where sons could aspire to such learning.

conduct, could contribute to the family's reputation.³² The wife was considered the "ornament of the family."³³ She was emblematic of the family's capacity for virtue and potential to have greater moral and social authority in the community. For this reason, the behaviour of Renaissance women was closely observed by their families.

The literary inscriptions on the *bella donna* plates provide insight into two trends. First, that Renaissance grooms were aware that knowledge of Classical literature was essential for upward mobility and the ability to quote *sententiae* was essential to participate in this movement. Additionally, it was important that the appropriate quotations were selected to reinforce the specific ideas that were being discussed. The *bella donna* plates bear inscription which relate to themes of life, death, religion and fate. These inscriptions were translated by grooms who interpreted them for their wives. They demonstrated that wives should accept what fate has handed them, to be God fearing, chaste, industrious, pure in heart and to be aware that a beautiful death is always dependant upon the virtuous life.

³² Ibid., p. 354; P. Simons, "Women in Frames: The Gaze, the Eye and the Profile in Renaissance Portraiture," *The Expanding Discourse Feminism and Art History* ed. N. Broude and M. Garard (New York: Icon Editions, 1992), p. 41; P. Simons, "Portrait, Portrayal and Idealization: Ambiguous Individualism in Representations of Renaissance Women," *Language and Images of Renaissance Italy*, ed. A. Brown (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 27; P. Berdini, "Women Under the Gaze: A Renaissance Genealogy," *Art History* 21 (1998), 577.

³³ C. Lawrence, "Introduction" *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe: Patrons, Collectors, Connoisseurs*, ed. C. Lawrence (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University, 1997), p. 6; Goldthwaite, op. cit., (1993), p. 167; Goldthwaite, op. cit., (1989), 14.

Appendix D: Categories of Inscriptions found on *bella donna* plates

Plate number on the left side of the page corresponds to the numerical catalogue in Appendix B, Database I: *Bella Donna* plates.

a) Proverbs

i) ASSAI AVANZA CHI FORTUNA PASSA

Source: No known source

Translation: Move forward enough that fortune will visit.

Plates:

Plate 225: Asae avanza chi fortuna pasa	(Berney Collection, UK)
Plate 185: Asae avanza chi fortuna passa	(Deruta)
Plate 199: Asae avanza chi fortuna passa	(Louvre)

ii) PER DORMIRE NON S'ACQUISTA

Source: Ariosto's comedy *The Lena*, Act 2.

Chi non si leva per tempo, e non opera la matina le cose che gl'importano, perde il giorno, e i suoi fatti non succedono poi troppo ben.

(A man who doesn't get up and get on with important business will lose the day.)

Translation: Nothing is acquired by sleeping

Plate 148: P. dormire no saquista	(Pesaro)
Plate 137: Pēdormirenonsaquista	(National Museum of Art, Washington)

iii) SAPERE PIGLIARE EL TEMPO È GRAN PRUDENTIA

Source: Unknown

Translation: To know how to save time is very wise.

Plate 223: Saper pigliare el temp è gran prudentia	(Pesaro)
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Appendix D: Categories of Inscriptions found on *bella donna* plates

b) Oaths

iv) CONFERMA FEDES

Source: No known source

Translation: Confirm faith

Plates:

Plates 184: Conferme fe

(National Museum of Art,
Washington)

c) Psalms

v) IN TE DOMINE SPERAVI

Source: The Vulgate, Psalm 30, line 2

In te Domine speravi non confundar in aeternum. (In you O Lord I hoped so that I might not dissolve into eternity.)

Translation: I hoped in you, O Lord.

Plates:

Plate 201: In te Domine speravi

(Museum für Kunstgewerbe,
Budapest)

vi) MOMENTO MEI

Source: The Vulgate, Luke 22. line 19

Et Accepto Pane gratias egit et fregit et dedi eis dicens hoc est corpus meum quod pro vobis datur hoc facite in meam commemorationem. (And having accepted the bread gave thanks and broke it and gave it to his disciples saying "this is my body which is give for you take this in commemoration of me.")

Plates:

Plate 18: Momento Mei

(Louvre, Paris)

Plate 159: Momento Mei

(Victoria and Albert Museum,
London)

Appendix D: Categories of Inscriptions found on *bella donna* plate

c) Psalms

vii) SOLA IN TE SPERO

Source: The Vulgate, Psalm 70, line 1-2
In te ho sperato (In you I hoped)

Translation: I hoped only in you.

Plates:

Plate 143: Sola in te spero

(Private Collection, B. Rackham)

viii) VIVUS ERO VIV[US] E MORTU(U)S ERO VIV[U]S

Source:

a) The Vulgate, Gospel according to St. John 11:25

Dixit ei Jesus ego sum resurrection et vita qui credit in me et *si mortuus fuerit vivet*.
 (Jesus said to him I am the resurrection and he who believes in me and is dead will be made living).

b) Apocalypse of St. John the Apostle 1:18

Et vivus et fui mortuus et ecce sum vivens in saeculorum et habeo claves mortis et inferni.()

Plates:

Plate 61: Vivus ero vivus e mortu[u]s ero viv[us]

(J. Paul Getty Museum)

Plate 67: Vivus ero vivus e mortus ero vivis

(Christies 2 July, 1979)

Appendix D: Categories of Inscriptions found on *bella donna* plate

c) Psalms

ix) TU SOLA SEI CHOL'E CHE POIE AIUTARMI

Source: The psalms are full of such sentiments

Psalm 71 1.3 *Poiché tu sei mio refugio e mio fortezza*

Be a rock where I can take refuge, a mighty stronghold to save me.

Psalm 71 1.12 *Dio mio vieni presto ad aiutarmi*

God, make haste to help me

Translation: You alone are able to help me

Plates:

Plate 119: Tu sola sei chol'e che poie ai larme

(National Museum of Wales)

Plate 116: Tu sola sei cholie che poie ai larme

(Prince Nicolas of Romania)

d) Classical Authors

x) NEMO SUA SORTE CONTENTUS

Source: Horace, *Satires* 1:1

Qui fit Maecenas, ut *nemo*, quam *sibi sortem* seu ratio dederit, seu fors obiecerit, illa *contentus* vivat, aludet diversa sequentes.

Translation: No one is satisfied by their fortune.

Plates

Plate 64: Nemo sua sorte chontentus erat

(Finarte, Milan)

Plate 140: Nemo suva sorte chontentus

(British Museum)

Plate 155: Nemo sua sorte chontentu

(Prague)

Plate 149: Nemo sva sorte chontentus

(Lyon)

Appendix D: Categories of Inscriptions found on *bella donna* plates

d) Classical Authors

xi) NON BENE PRO TOTO LIBERTAS VENDITUR AURO

a) Source: Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, Prologue, Cervantes cites the source as possibly Horace.

b) Source: J. Rasmussen cites Babrius in *De Lup et De Cano*
Translation: It is not good to sell liberty for gold.

Plates

Plate 68: Non bene prototo liberta vedi laura	(Christies, 29 Nov. 1982)
Plate 72: Non bene prototo libe[r]ta[s]	(Museum of Cluny, Paris)
Plate 74: Non bene pro toto libertas venditvr avro finis	(Victoria and Albert Museum, London)
Plate 121: Non bene prototo libertas venditvr avrv	(St. Louis Art Museum)
Plate 247: Non bene pro toto libertas venditur auro ve[n]dituravro	(Museum für Kunstgewerbe, Hamburg)

xii) SOLA MISERIA CHARET INVIDIA

a) Source: based on Velleius Paterculus, *Historia* 2:40
Numquam eminentia *invidia caret* (eminence never lacks envy)

b) Source: A Socratic motto used on Day 4 of the Decameron.
Felicitas semper subiecta est invidiae: *Sola miseria invidia caret*.

Translation: Only mercy lacks envy

Plates

Plate 75: Sola miseria charet invidia in cor domini sui	(Christies, 4 Dec. 1980)
Plate 203: Sola miseria chadet invidia	(Victoria and Albert Museum, London)
Plate 169: Sola meseria charet invidia	(Chompret)

Appendix D: Categories of Inscriptions found on *bella donna* plates

d) Classical Authors

xiii) OMNIA VINCIT AMOR

a) Source: based on Virgil 10th Eclogue
Omnia vincit Amor

b) Source: mentioned in the Gl'Intronati comedy *The Deceived* Act 1

c) Source: mentioned in Aretino's comedy *The Stablemaster* Act 5

Translation: Love conquers all.

Plates

Plate 96: Omnia vincit amor (Lyon)

xiv) CHI BEN GUIDA SUA BARCA È SEMPRE IN PORTO

Source: Seneca, Letter XIX.2

In freto vivimus, moriamur in portu

(So that I who have lived upon the waters may die in port)

Translation: He who guides his ship well is always in Port

Plates:

Plate 151: Chi viene guida sua barca e sepe porto (Victoria and Albert Museum)

Plate 6: Chi be gvida sva bacha e sepe in porto (Victoria and Albert Museum)

Plate 66: Chi bien gvida sua barcha sepre p°rt° (National Museum of Art, Washington)

Plate 233: Chi be gvida sv° barcha sepre porto (Adda Private Collection)

Che ben guida sua barcha sempre porto (British Museum)

Plate 99: Chi bene guida sua barcha senr pe in Porto (Peitit Palais, Paris)

Plate 134: Chi ben guida sua barcha in porto (Chompret)

Plate 95: Chi be gvida sua baca espr e lporto (Lyon)

Plate 158: Chi ben guida sua barcha e sempre e e lprto (Martin D'Arcy)

Appendix D: Categories of Inscriptions found on *bella donna* plates

d) Classical Authors

xv) O FACIES OCULIS INSIDIOSA MEIS !

Source: Ovid "*Sappho Phaoni*" *Heroides*, XV. l. 22.

O facies oculis insidiosa meis

Translation: O beauty that lay in ambush for my eyes!

Plates

Plate 186: H/ ofacⁱes/ oc^vi's insidⁱosa/ meis (Sotheby's, London, 2 Dec. 2004)

e.) Franciscan Sentiments

xvi) ORARE SEGRETO È MOLTO ACCETTO AD DEO

Source: *Vita Beati Fratris Egidii*.6

Beatus homo qui scit custodire et conservare secreta Dei, qui nicil occultum. Quod non revelatar, sicut Dominus voverat et quando ei pluruit. (Blessed is the man who knows to safe keep and conserve a secret of God, since nothing is hidden which will not be revealed, only when God pleases.

Translation: To speak a secret is very offensive to God.

Plates

Plate 131: Orare segreto e molto aceto a Dio (Faenza)

Plate 136: Orare segreto e molto accepto ad Dio (Bonham's auction)

xvi) PER SERVIRE SE SERVE SEMPRE

Source: Chapter IV, line 6 Regola non Bollata, based on the Vulgate Matt. 20.28

Non sono venuto per essere servitor, ma per servire (They did not come to be served but to serve themselves.)

Translation: To serve oneself is to always serve.

Plates

Plate 26: P servire serve senper (Lyon)

Plate 115: Per servore se serve senpre (Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

Plate 117: Per si vire sesev.e (Museo Nazionale, Firenze)

Appendix D: Categories of Inscriptions found on *bella donna* plates

f.) Quasi- Petrarchan

xvii) IN COR GINTILE NON REGNIA INGRATITUDINE

Source: Possibly Petrarch, Canzone 67, line 10

Io vergogna ebbi di me, ch'al cor gentile (I felt shame for myself, so great, that it was enough for my gentle heart)

Translation: In a gentle heart ingratitude does not reign

Plates

Plate 107: In chor gintile rengnia ingratitudine

(Museo Classense, Ravenna)

xviii) PIATATE PRENDA

Source: Petrarch, Canzone 128, line 92-94

Segno alcun di pietate

Vertu contra furore

Prenderà l'arme

(And if you show some sign of piety, manhood shall take up arms against rage.)

Translation: Take Piety

Plates

Plate 3: Piata te prenda

(Museo Comunale, Pesaro)

xix) SOLA SPERA ELMO COR TENE

Source: Petrarch Canzone 140, line 2

Amore...e'l suo seggio maggio nel mio cor tene

(Love keeps the principle seat in my heart)

Translation: Only hope in hold in my heart

Plates:

Plate 163: Sola sperâça elmo cor tene ne

(Wallace Collection, London)

Appendix D: Categories of Inscriptions found on *bella donna* plates

f.) Quasi- Petrarchan

xx) NON FORMA SED PUDICITIA CORANDA EST

Source:

a) Petrarch *Secretum*

I loved her more for her soul than her physical charm (p. 118)

b) Petrarch basis this line on Ovid *Amores* 1.x.13

I loved at once her body and her soul.

Animum cum corpore amavi

Translation: Chastity not beauty ought to be crowned

Plates

Plate 69: Non Forma sed Pudicitia coranda est

(Stedelijk Museum,
Amsterdam)

G) Petrarch

xxi) LA VITA EL FIN, E'L DI LODA LA SERA

Source: Petrarch, Canzone 23.31

Translation: The end crowns the life, the evening the day.

Plates:

Plate 139: La vita el fine el di loda la sera X

(Fitzwilliam Museum,
Cambridge)

Plate 106: La vita el fine el di loda la sera ischiva

(Ravenna)

Plate 168: La vita e fine ediloda la sera

(Ecouen, formerly Cluny)

xxii) CH'UN BEL MORIR TUTTA LA ONORA VITA

Source: Petrarch, Canzone 207, Line 65

Translation: A beautiful Death gives all life honour

Plates:

Plate 206: Um bel morir tutta vita onore

(Adolf von Beckerath)

Plate 70: Um bel morire tutta la vita onorre

(William A. Clark Collection)

Plate 245: Um bello morire tutta la vita onore

(Victoria and Albert Museum)

Plate 89: Um bel morire tuta la vita onora

(Adda Private Collection)

Plate 254: Uno b. morire tuta la vita onora

(Bonham's 4 Jan, 1988)

Appendix D: Categories of Inscriptions found on *bella donna* plates

G) Petrarch

- Plate 236: bel morire e vita e gloria e fama. (Bellini Private Collection, Florence)
 Plate 226: Um bel morire tuta la vita la vita ira (Stedjeljk Museum, Amsterdam)
 Plate 253: Vm bello morire tutta la vita onore (Sotheby's Milan, 1997)

H. Unknown inscriptions

- Plate 175: Avoi merec^omādo (Walters Gallery of Art)
- Plate 131: Bel cedo manda chi ben serve e tace (Chompret)
- Plate 238: (C)hise mena virtu fama recollie (Ecouen, formerly Cluny)
- Plate 65: Epivamenten^o metenete esis^o bella (Lyon)
 perch no mev^o l ete
- Plate 126: No(n)vale be(l)eza dove sta crvde(l)ta (Louvre, Paris)
 Translation: Where cruelty exists beauty is useless.
- Plate 152: Non esi vago e fiore che noi (Adda Private Collection)
 biaca o cassca
 Translation: You cannot find a flower that does
 Not fall.
- Plate 31: Per fiche vivo it am ero edapvo mote (Walters Gallery of Art)
 sipvsiv edsia le core te lascio itv a balla
- Plate 153: Persinche vivo senpre io tamero (Adda Private Collection)
 Translation: For as long as I live, I will always
 love you.
- Plate 198: P[er] tacere non se scorda (Louvre)
 Translation: By remaining silent, one
 Does not forget.
- Plate 255: Per.vertu.saquista onoree fama. e reg (Taft)
 Translation: Through virtue one acquires
 honour, fame and the kingdom [of heaven].
- Plate 30: Sola la morte istignie e vero (Victoria and Albert Museum,
 Amore London)

Appendix D: Categories of Inscriptions found on *bella donna* plate**H. Unknown inscriptions**

Plate 62: Sola la Morte istingie el vero
Amore
Translation: Only true love conquers
Death

(Museo Classense, Ravenna)

Appendix E, Glossary I

Glossary of Maiolica Terms

Albarelo:

Usage: Piccolpasso, *Li Tre Libri dell'Arte del Vasaio*. c. 1550.

A standing vase without a mouth made in a range of sizes. A term used by both Renaissance pharmacists and potters alike to describe drug jars. The term is believed to be derived from the Arabic word for bamboo *albarani*. The first drug jars were segments of bamboo with pieces of parchment tied on both ends to contain medicinal powder or pills. The potters adopted the shape of bamboo segments when making ceramic drug jars.

Amphora (also known as *Anforis*):

Usage: *Vita Assisiana* 19 Agosto 1358, 13 Agosto, 1363

An ancient Greek term for two handled storage jars containing wine or oil. These jars were designed to be stackable in the belly of a ship. For this reason these vessels do not have a flat bottom but rather taper to a point.

Anforis Viridis:

(see *Amphora* definition above)

A two handled wine or oil storage jar with a pale green coloured slip. This slip is featured on a *boccale* in Giotto's *Death of the Knight of Celano*.

Baratina:

Usage Piccolpasso, *Li Tre Libri dell'Arte del Vasaio*. c. 1550.

A slip without tin used on proto-maiolica. It is clay mixed with water to create a semi-viscous liquid. It is usually white and can be used to fuse appendages (such as handles and feet) onto ceramic surfaces.

Bacini (also known as *Bacili*, *Baccili*):

Usage: Piccolpasso, *Li Tre Libri dell'Arte del Vasaio*. c. 1550.

A basin originally made of bronze but made in ceramic with the advent of maiolica c. 1500.

Boccale:

Usage: Piccolpasso, *Li Tre Libri dell'Arte del Vasaio*. c. 1550.

A jug or pitcher.

Botega (also known as *Bottega*):

Usage: Piccolpasso, *Li Tre Libri dell'Arte del Vasaio*. c. 1550.

A cross between a craftsman's workshop and an artist's studio. It was a private establishment run by a master potter in the Renaissance.

Broccolis (also known as *Brochus*, *Broccus*, *Brocche*, *Broccato*):

Usage: *Vita Assisiana* 30 Giulio, 1354, 17 Agosto, 1358, Ottobre 1359, 2 Maio 1500

A jar or a wine jug.

Cellarium:

Usage: *Vita Assisiana* 21 Agosto 1357.

Term used c. CE 738-1600.

A store room.

Ciotolette (also known as *Ciotole*):

Usage: Piccolpasso, *Li Tre Libri dell'Arte del Vasaio* c. 1550.

A small cup bowl or a mug, usually for drinking beer.

A brown *Ciotole* (*marroni ciotole*) is featured in Giotto's fresco the *Death of the Knight of Celano*.

Coperta:

Usage: Piccolpasso, *Li Tre Libri dell'Arte del Vasaio*. c. 1550. Passeri, *Istoria delle Pitture in maiolica fatte in Pesaro* (1758).

Literally means a "cover." An overglaze applied to a painted maiolica object. At Deruta this glaze was famous because of its golden tint. The formulation of this glaze was lost following the 1550 and continued to elude scientists until Giulio Guilia re-discovered it in 1850.

Coppe d'Amore (Also known as *coppe amatorie*, *coppia*):

Usage: Andreano da Concole, "Al Maestro de Lavorio a Diruta" 1557.

The original term for the ceramic object commonly known as *bella donna* plates. These plates given in marriage or as a love gift to a young woman often contained candied fruit when presented to her. The term may have expressed a pun blurring the line between marriage and sexual union. In Act One of the Italian comedy, *Il Marescalo*, (The Stablemaster) c. 1533, the characters confuse matrimonial *copula* with matrimonial *coppia*.

Coppette:

Usage Piccolpasso, *Li Tre Libri dell'Arte del Vasaio*. c. 1550.

Little cups.

Deruta (also known as *Diruta*):

Usage Aleandro Alberti, *Descrittione di Tutta L'Italia et Isole Pertinente ed Essa di Aleandro Alberti Bolognese*, (Venice: Appresso Paolo Ugolino, 1596), p. 93. Andreano da Concole "Al Maestro de Lavorio a Diruta," 1557. Piccolpasso, *Li Tre Libri dell'Arte del Vasaio*. c. 1550. C. Piccolpasso, *Le Piante et I Titratti* 1557.

A small pottery producing center outside Perugia in the region of Umbria.

"Si dicere in latino questo castello (secondo alcuni) *Diruta*. No ritrovado memoria di ditto luogo appresso d'antico scrittore, creo che sia nuovo. Sono molto nomanti i vasi di terra cotta quivi fatti, per essere talmenti lavorati, che paiono dorati, Et anche tanto sottilmente sono codotti, che infino adhorano si ritrona alcun'artefice nell'Italia, che se

li possa agguagliare.”(In Latin one calls this castle (according to some) Deruta. One does not find any mention of this place in the writings of the ancient authors. I believe it to be a new city. The terra cotta vases made here are famous. These vases are so well worked that they seemed gilded. And also so delicately that there is no equal even to this day).

Deschi da Parto (also known as *scodella da donna di parto*, *vasi puerperali*):

Usage: Piccolpasso, *Li Tre Libri dell'Arte del Vasaio*. c. 1550

It was a gift given to a new mother. It contained food she would eat during her confinement. It consisted of the following pieces:

Scodella: A broth basin on a raised foot.

Tagliere: The lid of the *scodella*, also serves as a plate for a role or slice of bread.

Ongaresca: Drinking cup placed upside down over the *tagliere*. It has a foot.

It is a bowl for soup and salad. It was formerly made from silver.

Saliera: A salt cellar. It fits overtop of an *ongaresca* when placed in a *deschi da parto*. For a representation of a *saliera*, see Giotto's fresco the *Death of the Knight of Celano*.

Gavatellus (also known as *Catinelle*, *Gabata*, *Gavata*, *Gavessa*, *Gavatelli*, *Gavates*):

Usage: *Vita Assisiana* 19 Agosto, 1358, Ottobre 1359

Term widely used from post Augustan period c. 60 to 1600 CE.

A dish or a bowl.

Infirmarium:

Usage: *Vita Assisiana* 21 Agosto 1357

A monastic infirmary.

Lavandarie (Lavandaria,- ara; Lavandarium-, crium):

Usage: *Vita Assisiana* 12 Agosto 1290.

A washing basin for laundry.

Maiolica (Maioliche):

Usage: household inventory of Jacopo Ottavanti of Pisa 15 Giugno, 1480. This is the first known usage of the term. Aleandro Alberti, *Descrittione di Tutta L'Italia et Isole Pertinente ed Essa di Aleandro Alberti Bolognese*, (Venice: Appresso Paolo Ugolino, 1596), p. 93. A low fired earthenware with a tin glaze. The technology was derived from Spain but Italian artisans adopted this technology by 1500. According to Aleandro Alberti the name maiolica was derived from the Spanish island of Majorca. "*Sono dimandati a vesti vasi di Maiorica, perche primieramente fu ritronata quest'arte nell'isola di maiorica et quivi portata.*" (They got permission to buy vases of Maiorca, because, firstly, this art was found on the island of Maiorca and thence it was imported [to Italy]).

Piatto (also known as Piatei) :

Usage: Piccolpasso, *Li Tre Libri dell'Arte del Vasaio*. c. 1550.

A dish created to hold napkins or sauce.

Piatelletti (also known as *piatelletti*, *piatelli*):

Usage: *Vita Assisiana* 21 Giulio, 1533, 2 Giulio 1533; Piccolpasso, *Li Tre Libri dell'Arte del Vasaio*. c. 1550.

A small dish.

Procurator:

Usage: *Vita Assisiana* 21 Agosto 1357.

Manager, overseer, superintendent, administrator, deputy of a pottery workshop.

Quoqinarium (also known as *Coquinaria*, *Coquinarius*):

Usage: *Vita Assisiana* 21 Agosto 1357.

An office or kitchen.

Scodelle (also known as *iscodella*, *schudella*):

Usage: "Vescova di Padova," Vespasiano da Bisticci" *Le Vite* c. 1450; Usage Piccolpasso, *Li Tre Libri dell'Arte del Vasaio*. c. 1550.

A bowl with or without a rim. A child's bowl or a food consumed by someone who is ill.

Scutellarum (also known as *Scudellino*):

Usage: *Vita Assisiana* 1533; Usage Piccolpasso, *Li Tre Libri dell'Arte del Vasaio*. c. 1550.

Term commonly used c. 1123-1416.

A tray for presenting food, even letters often to the nobility. By Piccolpasso's time it is referred to as a flat dish. A *Scutellarum* is featured in Giotto's fresco the *Death of the Knight of Celano*.

Tazza (also known as *taza*, *taze*, *tazzine*):

Usage: "Vescova di Padova," Vespasiano da Bisticci" *Le Vite* c. 1450).

A small bowl with a stand or foot (Tazoni). Used for meat or baskets of fruit or candied fruit.

Vasaio:

Usage: *Vita Assisiana* 19 Agosto 1358.

A Potter.

Vasario (also known as *Vasarius*):

Usage: *Vita Assisiana* Ottobre 1359, 28 April 1406.

A Potter.

Vasi:

Usage: Piccolpasso, *Li Tre Libri dell'Arte del Vasaio*. c. 1550.

A general term used to describe pottery of a high quality maiolica. In contrast, to the word *Pignatti* which describes poorly made earthenware pottery.

Vasis Albis:

Usage: *Vita Assisiana*, 30 Giulio 1354

A vase painted with a high quality glossy white glaze. This variety of vase was distributed during the Feast of Indulgence. This should not be confused with *vasa bianco* which is coved in a low quality flat whitewash.

Pignatta:

Usage: Piccolpasso, *Li Tre Libri dell'Arte del Vasaio*. c. 1550.

A general term used to describe poorly made earthenware pottery. In contrast to the word *vasi* which describes high quality well executed maiolica.

Vasis Bianchi (bianchetto):

Piccolpasso, *Li Tre Libri dell'Arte del Vasaio*. c. 1550.

Usage: A vase covered in white pigment. Unlike maiolica it does not contain tin but instead consists of a thin white paint or white wash. This type of vase was used by the friars for their housekeeping duties.

Vasis Viridis:

Usage: *Vita Assisiana* 24 Agosto 1355, 19 Agosto 1357.

A vase with a pale green coloured slip. This slip is featured on a *boccale* in Giotto's *Death of the Knight of Celano*.

Appendix F: Additional images



55. Giotto, Wedding at Cana (Padua: Scrovegni Chapel). c. 1304-6. This photograph appears with the kind permission of Michael Greenhalgh, Dohel Professor of Art History, University of Canaberra, South Australia. This is another example of the early pottery, which would have been produced at Deruta during this period. Notice the *ingobbiate* jugs which appear to be unglazed or have a flat white glaze (Vasa Bianca). Refer to Figure 42 in text, which also depicts early Deruta pottery.



56. *Giotto, Wedding at Cana (Padua: Scrovegni Chapel). c. 1304-6. A close up of the Deruta drinking vessels.*

Appendix G: Text and Translation of: *Al Mastro De Lavorio A Diruta*

*Al Mastro De Lavorio A Diruta*¹

To the Master of Arduous Work at Deruta

*Maestro de'vasi ti dò questo avviso,
Che se vendere vuoi presto il tuo lavoro
Queste ci pignerai, le quail honoro
Che discesero a noi dal Paradiso.*

*Master of the vases I give to you this advice,
If [you want] to sell your work quickly
These things you will paint for us: honour
women such as these who have come down
to us from Paradise.*

Da ver ti dico, e non a l'improviso,

*I speak to you of the truth, and not without
thinking.*

Ch'a Todi le più belle di costoro

*that at Todi the most beautiful of these
women [live]*

Non sono, ne saranno, ne mai foro,

*They are not, nor will be, never have been,
so many women who*

Che tutte han sembianza di Narciso

have the looks of Narcissus.

*Qui sotto te le scrivo ad una ad una,
Averti ben a la tua fornacetta
Che non se ce opponesse la fortuna.*

*There names I will list below one by one
Let your little kiln know.
May luck not oppose us !*

*Lavorerai adascio e non infretta
E pigliace il buon punto de la luna
Che non te ha da restare un Tazzetta.*

*You will work slowly and not frantically
and paint at the best phase of the moon
So that you will not have even a little bowl
left behind.*

La prima coppia eletta

The first couple chosen:

*Colonna Perugina alma Baldesca,
De messer Favio Madonna Francesca
Hor queste non te incresca*

*Colonna Perugina, soul Baldesca
Madonna Francesca of Mr. Favio
Now do not regret to write these names*

*Scriver più spesso col molto amato Braccio,
La Franceschina ancor di Bartolaccio
Bartolaccio
Pegner non te sia impaccio*

*more often with the very dear Braccio
The [lady] Franceschina the anchor of*

*Do not hesitate to pledge [swear an oath to
the following women]*

*Ortentia, Celidonia e Filomena,
Orsina, Betta, Figenia e Filena,
Dortia e Madalena*

*Ortentia, Celidonia and Filomena,
Orsina, Betta, Figenia and Filena,
Dortia e Madalena*

¹ Andreano da Concole, "Un Breve Componimenta Poetica da Secolo XVI," ed. G. Ballardini, *Faenza*, (1954), pp. 110-113. For another English translation see: A. Caiger-Smith, "To the Master of the Pots at Deruta," *Lustre Pottery* (London: Faber and Faber, 1985), p. 144.

*Lucretia, Leandra, Cintia e Milia,
La Nofria, Bastiana e La Lopilia,
Dialettà e Cecilia,*

*Hipolita, Clementia e Faustina,
Hieronima, Helena e la Cechina,
La Vincentia e la Spina*

La Claudia, Teodora e la Priscilla,

*La vaga Temperanza, Orbina e Millia,
Leoncina e Tranquilla.*

*Finisdea, Caterina e l'Andreana
La Michelina e la Potentiana,
Moma e Merediana*

*Isapaola, Laura e la Palmina,
Ottavia, Pandolfina e la Flamminia,
Altabella e Virginia,*

*Antima, Cornelia, la Sulpitia,
Valentia, Talanta e la Furitia,
La Simirra e Fenitia.*

*Pomponia, la Battista e Cannilea,
Marcellina, Cespolta e Laltilea,
Almantia e Bartolomea*

*Contessa Cristaldina e Argentia,
Perna, Pantasilea e Finalteria,
Usepia, Guilia, Imperia,*

*Drusiana, Griamonda, Pontia e Larsia,
Vittoria, Tolomean, Uresta e Marsia
A l'altro dò la cassia*

*Lucretia, Leandra, Cintia and Milia,
La Nofria, Bastiana and the Lady Lopilia,
Dialettà and Cecilia*

*Hipolita, Clementia and Faustina
Hieronima, Helena and the lady Cechina,
and the Lady Vincentia e the lady Spina*

*The Lady Claudia, Teodora and the Lady
Priscilla,*

*The fey Temperanza, Orbina and Millia,
Leoncina and Tranquilla.*

*Finisdea, Caterina and the Lady'Andreana
The lady Michelina and the lady Potentiana
Moma and Merediana*

*Isapaola, Laura and the Lady Palmina,
Ottavia, Pandolfina and,
the Lady Flamminia, Altabella and Virginia,*

*Antima, Cornelia, The lady Sulpitia,
Valentia, Talanta and the lady Furitia,
The lady Simirra e Fenitia.*

*Pomponia, The lady Battista and Cannilea,
Marcellina, Cespolta and Laltilea
Almantia and Bartolomea*

*Contessa Cristaldina and Argentia
Perna, Pantasilea and Finalteria
Usepia, Guilia, Imperia,*

*Drusiana, Griamonda, Pontia and Larsia
Vittoria, Tolomean, Uresta and Marsia,
To the other I give a flower*

A quindi del mese da dormire

Nel mille e Cinquecento te vò dire

E gli anni vò finire

*Cinquantassete in la città de Tode,
Mi raccomando a che legge e chi l'ode*

Fu scritta senza frode

Da Andreano dell più belle Amante

E fidel servitor di Tutte quante.

*Now I must do to bed on the 15th of the
month*

*In [the century] 1000 and 500, and I wish to
tell*

you the year which I finish

57 in the city of Todi

*I recommend that you both read and listen
to me*

It was written without cheating

*By Andreano lover of the most
beautiful ladies*

And faithful servant of them all.