



EDITED BY
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VENICE AND THE VENETO DURING THE RENAISSANCE

THE LEGACY OF BENJAMIN KOHL



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**Venice and the Veneto during the
Renaissance: the Legacy of Benjamin Kohl**

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“Stand by your man”: Caterina Lupi, wife of Bonifacio. Artistic patronage beyond the deathbed in late medieval Padua*

by Louise Bourdua

1. Introduction

The chapel of St. James situated opposite the shrine of St. Anthony of Padua in his eponymous basilica in Padua has received a fair deal of attention in recent years. We can safely say that it was a collaborative venture in many ways, from the authorship of its frescoes (Altichiero and Avanzo)¹, its architecture and sculpture (Andriolo de' Santi, his son and extended family)², and its patronage, even though the commission has been described in the not too distant past as the “Chapel of Bonifacio Lupi”³. The chance discovery of a document, some years ago led to the conclusion that the initial foundation was a more complex affair, which owed much to the relationship between the Lupi and their relations on Bonifacio’s mother’s side, the Rossi family⁴. More recently, I have argued that the Franciscan friars could not be removed from the equation particularly with regards to the choice of the titular saint⁵. In this essay, I wish to turn to the most neglected collaborator until now, Caterina di Staggia, wife of Bonifacio.

The narrative scenes depicting christological and Jamesian stories were among the first to include portraits of contemporary and recently deceased men among the saints and other protagonists⁶, and Caterina has occasionally

* I am grateful to Michael Knapton, Reinhold Mueller and Gian Maria Varanini for their help in making the publication of Caterina Lupi’s will possible. Ben Kohl and I had planned to write this article together. Special thanks are due to Rachele Scuro who transcribed the notarial minute published here following its discovery by Reinhold Mueller. Thanks also to Mattias Biffi for going over my transcription of the Florentine original.

¹ Benati, 385-98.

² Bourdua, 1999, 687-97.

³ Norman, 2:179.

⁴ Bourdua, 1999, 694.

⁵ Bourdua, 2012, 190-99.

⁶ The classic essay remains Mardersteig, 1974, 251-71.

been credited as a participant⁷. Everyone agrees that Bonifacio Lupi must be the bearded man sporting a helmet bearing the word “AMOR”, who appears at the bottom right of a council meeting presided by a monarch located on the east wall of the chapel⁸. The problem arises with the identification of the figure to his right, who looks at the observer and is painted in three-quarter profile with fine features and long eyelashes. Diana Norman was reluctant to accept suggestions that this may well be Caterina for, as she argued, how could a woman have been depicted “within the overtly male context of a council”?⁹ Later, Alessandra Sibilila contested the, until then, accepted depiction of Caterina as the devotee kneeling next to St. Catherine flanking the enthroned Virgin and Child with Sts James and Bonifacio on her other side. This was on account of the cloak worn by St. Catherine’s protégé, which in her view could only have been worn by a man¹⁰. John Richards, on the other hand, has identified the pilgrims in two other narratives as the disguised Bonifacio and Caterina, and reminded us that fourteenth-century painting in Padua frequently mixed reality with fiction¹¹. Thus, if Petrarch could make guest appearances in Padua fresco cycles after his death including the Council scene in St. James’, why could not Caterina, the patron, during her lifetime?

As for her artistic patronage, Ben Kohl and Enrico Lombardi are the only two scholars to have considered the issue in some depth, the latter in his study of the Lupi hospital foundation of San Giovanni Battista in Florence¹². Whilst this essay makes no pretence at being exhaustive, it clarifies Caterina’s role as patron in Padua and Venice before and after the death of her husband Bonifacio and reproduces her will in full for the first time. That a married woman of the élite classes played a role in the production of highly prized works during the fourteenth century, challenges Catherine King’s claim that only widows, members of religious communities, and women rulers could commission art¹³. It is also interesting (if not surprising) that despite being in a self-imposed exile to Venice, Caterina retained an attachment to her adoptive city of Padua, her parish church of San Fermo and the basilica of St. Anthony (the Santo). Finally, over a decade after her husband’s death and as she dictated her final wishes contemplating her own mortality, Caterina commissioned liturgical vestments still bearing her husband’s coat of arms.

⁷ Fiocco, 261 and 265; Lombardi, 199, acknowledges Caterina as an “ottima collaboratrice”; Richards, 148, 156; Bourdua, 2004, 121-23.

⁸ Plant, 415.

⁹ And yet, as a patron, she compares her to other “wealthy, well-placed women”. Norman, 2:179, 190.

¹⁰ Sibilila, 356-59. During the same conference, Ben Kohl reiterated that this image must be that of Caterina. Kohl, 2002, 325-26.

¹¹ Richards, 151.

¹² Lombardi, 99-212. Lombardi’s lack of specificity and footnoting apparatus is problematic however. Foladore, 33-34 follows Cenci, but is not without errors.

¹³ A view which extends to the cities of Florence and Siena put forward by King, 1995.

In this final act of fidelity, she reiterated her independence as a patron, while at the same time continuing to honour her deceased spouse's memory and provide for his soul as well as her own¹⁴.

2. *Paduan Patron*

Whilst it cannot be proven or disproven that Caterina was involved in the commission for the chapel of St. James from the very start¹⁵, her financial participation at the building stage at least was crucial to its completion. The basic facts are worth reiterating. On 13 December 1370, Bonifacio obtained a concession from the Paduan lord, Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara, to make his will or make gifts to religious houses¹⁶. From this moment, Lupi was therefore authorised to establish a chantry. The building contract for the chapel of St. James was an agreement between himself and Andriolo de' Santi, the Venetian sculptor and head of one of the most active workshop in the Veneto¹⁷. The pact was drawn up on 12 February 1372 by the learned proto-humanist Lombardo della Seta, Petrarch's amanuensis¹⁸. Some scholars consider Lombardo to have been the superintendent of works¹⁹. However, the start of building activities would have coincided with the last two years of Petrarch's life, which found Lombardo occupied at Petrarch's bedside in Arquà²⁰. As for Bonifacio Lupi, he would have been hard pressed to oversee a building site personally: he was sent on an ambassadorial mission to Hungary as soon as works started, and returned that summer, served on the battle field against

¹⁴ Chojnacki, 1975, considers the issue of women's loyalty to their natal and husband's families; for a study on affection between spouses see Chojnacki, 1988; see also Ariès.

¹⁵ Bonifacio and Caterina were betrothed from at least 30 March 1360, as noted in an act by Doge Michele Steno on 19 August 1405 in Archivio di Stato di Venezia (ASVe), Procuratori di San Marco (PSM) de Ultra, b. 176. A codicil to Bonifacio's testament drawn up on 17 May 1368, pledges 1000 ducats to Caterina. Gloria, 2:72; cited by Kohl, 1988, 51; Kohl, 1998, 178; discussed in Kohl, 2002, 322.

¹⁶ ASF, Diplomatico, Normali, 13 December 1370. Billanovich, 260 records that he obtained Paduan citizenship on the same day. Angiolini, 590, states that Bonifacio Lupi was granted citizenship of Padua by January 1375, but this is incorrect.

¹⁷ Bonifacio Lupi was not present; the act was drawn up by Lombardo della Seta and witnessed by Domenico della Seta, Giovanni son of late Pavino di Sbughi of Ferrara and Pazzino, brother of Manno and son of Aparado di Donati of Florence. The original survives in Andrea di Codagnelli's notarial *abbreviature*, Archivio di Stato Padova (ASP), Notarile, t. 407, fols. 3r-5v; the contract was published without critical apparatus most recently by Sartori, 1963, 311-14; reprinted in *Archivio Sartori*, 456-58. There is no basis to support Angiolini's claim (590) that the chapel was completed before 23 April 1371.

¹⁸ The standard work on Lombardo remains that of Ferrante; most recent bibliography in Pasquini, 481-85.

¹⁹ Billanovich, 1989, 263.

²⁰ On Petrarch's end of life, see Ferrante, 251. She was convinced that Lombardo had gone up to Padua to deal with this contract but had returned to Arquà thereafter.

Venice, was captured at the battle of Buonconforte and imprisoned in July 1373, and ransomed only later²¹. He is documented once in Padua in July 1375, and again in May 1376; that year we find him active in diplomatic missions in Venice (and again in 1378), and later in the Chioggia War²². Lupi therefore relied on agents who were either relatives such as Corradino Lupi, or friends such as Lombardo and his brother Domenico della Seta and Nicoletto Spadari²³. To cite but a single example, Domenico della Seta ordered the first recorded liturgical furnishings (vessels and cloths) for the chapel on behalf of Bonifacio in 1374²⁴.

Caterina's initial role in the chapel is documented in October 1374, when she oversees the month's expenses and relies on Corradino Lupi to act as go-between until 30 July 1375²⁵. Her name disappears from the record until 1395 and 1396 when sets of vestments are made for her and shipped to the Santo²⁶. Caterina's absence, however, is probably more indicative of the patchy survival of the Paduan accounts and its nature than of her true role²⁷. Other sources indicate that she was taking care of business interests in Tuscany²⁸.

The chapel of St. James must have been open for business by 1379, the year in which a summary of the expenses of its frescoes was noted²⁹. Although the local friars approved Lupi's request for daily masses on 19 October 1376 (presented to the friars by his notary Andrea Codagnelli), it is highly unlikely that any mass was celebrated during the painting phase of its ceiling and walls, a campaign that necessitated scaffolding and began in March 1377, and ended

²¹ For Lupi's life see most recently Lombardi. For a more scholarly view, see Billanovich. Cenci, remains useful.

²² Sartori, 1963, 321-22, sketches his military whereabouts; see also Kohl, 1998, 178. Gloria, 2:109, 117, 128, 136, 140, publishes extracts of his civic engagements in Padua during those years. See also Bourdua, 2004, 121.

²³ Lombardo is specifically implicated in this commission as documented on 12 February 1372, 19 October 1376, 21 November 1382. Domenico handles payments regularly between 12 February 1372 and 21 July 1374, and again in November. We find him active on this commission on 19 October 1376, during the winter and spring of 1380 and in 1381. He died in 1382. Corradino Lupi handles payments for a year between 21 July 1374 and 30 July 1375, and again in November 1374. See ASF, Firenze, Diplomatico, Spogli, vol. 14, fol. 259v; published in part in Gonzati, 1:CXI-CXIV; Sartori, 1963, 318-20; *Archivio Sartori*, 458-59; Bourdua, 2004, 110, 112-13, 121.

²⁴ The originals are in ASF, Ospedale di S. Giovanni Battista detto di Bonifazio (Bonifazio), filza 183, M. Liber Expensarum capelle (183/M), fols. 13r-14r. The list is published without scholarly apparatus in Gualandi, 5:145-49; Sartori, 1963, 316-17.

²⁵ ASF, Bonifazio, filza 183/M, fols. 6v-7r; Sartori, 1963, 319; Lombardi, 199, acknowledges her role in controlling expenses when her husband is taken up by war and diplomacy.

²⁶ See below nn. 48-57. Gifts of vestments by pious women were not unusual and can be traced as far back as the eighth century. See Miller, 92.

²⁷ The record keeping changes radically with a different scribe and recording practice from fol. 7r of the account book in ASF, Bonifazio, 183/M. From September 1375, artisans are recorded as direct recipients.

²⁸ Kohl, 1988, 54; Sartori, 1966, 318.

²⁹ Bourdua, 2004, 113.

two years later. Even before completion of their Paduan chapel, the couple were busily planning their much larger foundation, the hospital of St. John the Baptist on via San Gallo in Florence, founded on a site licensed for construction in 1377 and by all accounts operational by 1387³⁰. Bonifacio also came to the rescue of his kin group on many occasions, beginning with the completion of the chantry chapel of his distant cousin Raimondino Lupi, following his death in November 1379, and the establishment of the perpetual chantry³¹. Only the two completion receipts of 30 May 1384 survive³², but these are detailed enough to reveal that the same painter, Altichiero, had been hired by Raimondino to oversee the fresco cycle and paint the monumental tomb that dominated the chapel dedicated to St. George. Among the witnesses were Bonifacio's 'new' agents, since the death of Corradino Lupi³³: Anthony the son of Tiberio and Lariolo, grandson, both from Parma. Here too, Bonifacio's own supervisory input was probably minimal and only from 1383, the year of his last mission for Francesco da Carrara³⁴.

The Lupi did not have much time to enjoy their Paduan chapels. By the late 1380s, the increasingly tense political situation in Padua took its toll on both Caterina and Bonifacio. Venice was a safer haven and Bonifacio's citizenship granted on 2 December 1355³⁵, allowed him to acquire property and enjoy other privileges in the city. This he did but only in 1381³⁶. Caterina obtained Venetian citizenship on 21 October 1385 and bought a house in the parish of San Giovanni Decollato on 22 May 1387³⁷. One of these properties was on the Grand Canal³⁸. It may not be coincidence that Caterina's Venetian house

³⁰ Although the statutes were drawn up in 1377, the papal indulgence was secured only in 1386 which signifies opening "to the cult" for Zandri, 40. For Billanovich, 273, the hospital is open to the public on 10 June 1388. The position of rector was filled by 30 May 1389, when he was asked to rent out Lupi's Florentine properties. Henderson, 137, states the first mass is celebrated in December 1386.

³¹ For this aspect, see Bourdua, 2004, 125. Bonifacio acted as executor of Corradino Lupi's estate after his death on 15 September 1383. Bourdua, 2002, 291-93.

³² ASP, Notarile, t. 407, fol. 147r; Sartori, 1963, 305-07; reprinted in *Archivio Sartori*, 463.

³³ Discussed in Bourdua, 2002a, 292-93.

³⁴ Kohl, 1998, 177-79.

³⁵ Billanovich, 260; Kohl, 1998, 177, 185. The decree is published in Manni, 5:145-47.

³⁶ As is clear from his will of 5 July 1388, see below n. 40. Lupi appointed proctors to purchase additional properties in Venice in 1387 as noted in Codagnelli's abbreviated notebook in ASP, Notarile, t. 407, fol. 184r, as discussed by Kohl, 1988, 55; see also Kohl, 1998, 185.

³⁷ ASVe, Grazie, 17, fol. 209v; cited in [http://www.civesveneciarum.net/dettaglio.php?tipo=pagina&lingua=ita&titolo=dettaglio&collocazione=G17:209V&nome_italiano=LUPI \(DEI\) CATERINA MOGLIE DI BONIFACIO](http://www.civesveneciarum.net/dettaglio.php?tipo=pagina&lingua=ita&titolo=dettaglio&collocazione=G17:209V&nome_italiano=LUPI (DEI) CATERINA MOGLIE DI BONIFACIO), accessed 7 May 2014; ASF, Spogli, t. 14, fol. 333v; see also Kohl, 1988, 55, and Kohl, 1998, 185, 392 n. 50. For the Venetian purchase, see the original dated 22 May 1387 in ASVe, PSM de Ultra, b. 176, cited in Kohl, 1998, 185; and a copy in ASP, Notarile, t. 407, fol. 186r, cited in Kohl, 1988, 55. Its location and investiture (on 3 June) are recorded in two acts dated 27 April 1388 and 29 April 1389, both in ASVe, PSM de Ultra, b. 176. Caterina's testament notes that she does not own the place she lives in by 1405, as noted by Lombardi, 1992, 207; see Appendix.

³⁸ ASVe, PSM de Ultra, b. 176, loose parchment dated 26 April 1389.

was purchased in the year in which their favorite nephew Ugolotto Biancardo (d. 1408) whom they treated as a son, changed allegiance and left the Carrara for their enemy, Gian Galeazzo Visconti³⁹. Yet, we do not know precisely when Caterina left Padua for Venice permanently. Bonifacio, for his part, must have attended the opening of his Florentine hospital on 10 June 1388, and the approval of its statutes two days later⁴⁰. Less than a month later, he made his will in Padua on 5 July in the oratory of St. George but Caterina was not present⁴¹. He did, however, entrust her (as one of five arbiters) to determine where best to bury his remains temporarily⁴², in the case of Padua's refusal to allow his obsequies in his chantry chapel. He had led the anti-Carrara faction prior to their expulsion from the town at the end of 1388, and was elected capitano del popolo for the new Visconti regime. The future must have looked more promising when Bonifacio purchased a house "in contrada Domo" in Padua in February 1389⁴³, and he was still residing in Padua that summer⁴⁴. But there is no consensus as to when or how he died. The date on his tomb has been variously translated as 23 January and 23 June 1389, and either day could refer to its installation on the wall or another event⁴⁵. The chronicler Gatari reports that Bonifacio refused to make a breach in the wall on his property to help Francesco il Novello da Carrara re-enter the city during the summer of 1390, and was consequently punished by him, yet there is no record that he was put to death in ways similar to other traitors⁴⁶. He was certainly dead by 6

³⁹ Ugolotto was the only son of Bonifacio's sister, Caterina. Kohl, 1998, 179, 185-86.

⁴⁰ In the document of 12 June, we learn that the hospital functioned, and that Lupi was a septuagenarian. For both documents see Zandri, 41. ASVe, PSM de Ultra, b. 176.

⁴¹ Abridged copy in ASVe, PSM de Ultra, b. 176, notebook titled on cover "Quaternus domini Bonifacij Louo Sancti Johannis Decolati" (Quaternus Louo), fols. 1r-2v. This confirmed earlier points made in the oral will said in front of twelve witnesses of 17 July 1385 in ASF, Diplomatico, Lunghi, 1385, luglio 17, Bonifacio; see Zandri, 45.

⁴² The other arbiters were Paganino de Sala, Bartolomeo Capodivacca, Fruzerino Capodivacca and Lombardo della Seta. Caterina was also expected to use monies from her movable goods from Bonifacio's house in Padua to meet the expenses of his initial burial and the eventual repatriation of his body to his chapel in the Santo. ASVe, PSM de Ultra, b. 176, Quaternus Louo, fol. 1v. As there is no action point in the notebook nor expense listed elsewhere, this suggests that Bonifacio died in Padua.

⁴³ ASP, Notarile, t. 407, fol. 217r; cited in Kohl, 1988, 57; ASF Spoglio vol. 14, fol. 344r.

⁴⁴ As attested by transactions dated 26 April, 30 May and 30 August, all in ASVe, PSM de Ultra, b. 176; with summaries in ASF, Spogli vol. 14, 349v. An excerpt of the transaction of 30 May can be found in Sartori, 1963, 324; the act of 30 August is published in Cenci, 108-09.

⁴⁵ Sartori, 1963, 322, interpreted the cryptic date as January and stated that it referred to the date on which the inscription was mounted on the wall. Zandri, 50, interprets it as 23 January 1389 and a reference to Lupi's death.

⁴⁶ Kohl, 1998, 266. Cenci, 93-94, still offers the best summary of the various arguments. For Sartori (1966, 275), Lupi must have died on 21 June during the recapture of Padua by Francesco il Novello; Lombardi, 108-09, believes he died in June 1390 and is followed by Henderson, 137. Billanovich, 276, is the only one who proposes that he died in Venice in the parish of S. Giovanni Decollato on 23 March 1391. No source for this claim is offered however. Baldissin Molli, 2002, 253 n. 48, follows Billanovich, and this date is accepted by Foladore, 2:32.

October 1393 when we find Caterina recorded as widowed⁴⁷. Regardless of how he died, there is no doubt that Bonifacio and the entire Lupi clan were counted among the politically undesirable by the reinstated regime, and their properties at San Fermo and Villa Mandria were reassigned to Carrara supporters after Caterina's exile to Venice⁴⁸.

We hear little of Caterina until 1405, the year of her death. Prior to this, she commissioned vestments for the Santo while living in Venice and had two loads shipped in 1395 and 1396. The first batch consisted of a chasuble of blue velvet with gold fringe with a stole and two maniples and an amice, alb and cinctures⁴⁹. Another chasuble was made of deep purple or paonazzo camlet with stole and maniple and alb, amice and girdle⁵⁰. The two must be those singled out in the 1396 inventory of the chapel as assigned to brother Petro Penacio and listed as “una planeta erat de veluto aqurino et cum armis retro prefati domini Bonifacii de Lupis”, and another “de zambelloto nigro sive sanguineo cum armis ut supra dictum est et uno frixo parvulo”⁵¹. The third item, a palio or altar frontal, was also made to honour her marital family for the “large altar”, presumably that in the chapel of St. James and not its sacristy: a frontal of blue sendall, with a compaso in the centre with a wolf (the emblem of the Lupi) and with a white and vermilion fringe⁵². A year later (1396), Caterina sent a set of vestments for a deacon and a subdeacon to the Santo in addition to a chasuble of gold cloth “vermiglio” with stole and maniple, three cassocks, three amices and three cinctures furnished with gold of some sort⁵³. All these items were recorded alongside those furnishings given to the chapel in 1374⁵⁴, during the first systematic inventory of the Santo's sacristy noted

⁴⁷ As attested in a transaction wherein Caterina buys a Bulgarian slave aged twenty named Lena under perpetual bondage for 44 ducats. ASF, Diplomatico, Spoglio, vol. 14, 359r-v; cited in Lombardi, 211. Caterina in her will asks that all her slaves be freed and be provided with their clothes and a dowry of 25 ducats to marry or become nuns.

⁴⁸ Kohl, 1988, 59.

⁴⁹ “Primo fornida una pianeda de velù azuro con frixi d'oro et stola et II manipoli et amito et camixi e cordoni”, ASF, Bonifacio, 183/M, fol. 14r; Sartori, 1963, 317 offers a slightly different transcription; reprinted in *Archivio Sartori*, 472.

⁵⁰ “Item mandò una pianeda de zambeloto morelo stola e manipulo e camizo amito e cordono”, ASF, Bonifacio, 183/M, fol. 14r; Sartori, 1963, 317; reprinted in *Archivio Sartori*, 472.

⁵¹ Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana (BAP), ms. 572, fol. 47r; published in Baldissin Molli, 2002b, 107; see also 62-63. There are no other corresponding chasubles in the entire inventory.

⁵² “Item uno palio de zendalo azuro, con uno compaso in meço con lo lovo e con una frança bianca e vermiglia, per l'altaro grande”. ASF, Bonifacio, 183/M, fol. 14r; Sartori, 1963, 317; reprinted in *Archivio Sartori*, 472. It is difficult to interpret “compaso”; could it be a Man of Sorrows?

⁵³ “Fo mandà per madona Catarina da Vinexia: primo una pianeda, de drapo d'oro vermiglio, stola e manipolo item uno aparamento da zagano con stola e manipolo item uno aparamento da suzagano con per manipulo (sic) item III camixi et III amiti et III cordoni. I diti camixi et amiti fornidi d'oro e sono portati per meser lo Guaçardo et rezemo letera da li frati como avevan rezemu i diti paramenti”, ASF, Bonifacio, 183/M, fol. 14r; Sartori, 1963, 317, offers a slightly different transcription; reprinted in *Archivio Sartori*, 472. See also Bourdua, 2002b, 22 n. 30; Bourdua, 2004, 102, 195 n. 72.

⁵⁴ See above n. 24.

above and begun in September 1396⁵⁵. The majority of the Lupi chapel gifts were listed separately as being in its adjacent sacristy, but some of these vestments (all identifiable by their coat of arms) were kept in the friars' sacristy such as a full set for a deacon and sub-deacon⁵⁶, and a chasuble for communal usage of green velvet decorated with gold birds and deer⁵⁷. Only one item out of the fifty-two listed in the sacristy of the chapel of St. James, an "anconeta a missale", bore the coat of arms of Caterina⁵⁸. It was one of three with the other two displaying the arms of Bonifacio Lupi and a wolf, respectively. Notwithstanding the difficulties of identification, there is no doubt that Caterina's family emblem made little if any visual impact in the chapel. The Lupi's rampant wolf dominated the space and the liturgy, depicted as it was on the chapel's facade, wooden lecterns, cloths for the lecterns, the missal cover, chalice, its altar frontals, the chasubles, even the hand towels of the celebrants⁵⁹.

3. *Caterina's Testament and Tomb*

Three versions of Caterina's testament are extant: the notary's original minute on paper, and two originals on parchment; there are also entries pertaining to its execution in Bonifacio's probate notebook in the archives of the Procurators of San Marco⁶⁰. The most notable discovery concerns the date of her will, initially dictated in Venice in 1403 then finally redacted over a two day period on 18 and 19 June 1405. Previously, it was thought that there was but a single will dated 19 July 1405. This may seem a minor issue but bears

⁵⁵ BAP, ms. 572, fols. 2r-47v; published without critical apparatus in *Archivio Sartori, 770-832*; fully edited in Baldissin Molli, 2002b, 65-108. The inventory was repeated less systematically until 1753. For the inventory taken in 1793 see Baldissin Molli, 1994, 3-33.

⁵⁶ "Item unum aliud paramentum completum cum dalmatica et stricta de serico azuro cum grifonibus aureis et serico viridi cum uno frixo rechamato ad figures cum armis illorum de Lupis, cum quatuor pecolis (sic), foderatum tella sanguinea", and "Item unum aliud apamentum completum cum dalmatica et stricta de serico rubeo et auro cum frixis laboratis deauro de grixolina in campo açuro, foderato tella açura cum armis illorum de Lupis et est descripta (sic) in capitulo ubi sunt scripte alie res domini Bonifacii", BAP, ms. 572, fol. 33v; as noted by Baldissin Molli, 2002, 55, 62 and 95-96.

⁵⁷ "Item una planeta facta ad bindas de veluto viridi et de serico laborata ad aves et cervos aureos cum uno frixo simplici de auro cum armis illorum de Lupis, foderata tela rubea", BAP, ms. 572, fol. 34v; Baldissin Molli, 2002b, 55, 97.

⁵⁸ "Item tres anconeta a missale, quarum una est cum arma domine Catarine, alia de pano deaurato cum armis domini Bonifacii et alia çala cum lupo", BAP, ms. 572, fol. 47r; Baldissin Molli, 2002b, 107.

⁵⁹ For the full list of Lupi "branded" objects acquired by 1396, see Baldissin Molli, 2002b, 106-08.

⁶⁰ ASVe, Notarile testamenti, notarile testamenti, b. 367, fasc. 130, six sheets unpaginated, dated 19 June 1405 on page 6, published here as the Appendix; ASVe, PSM de Ultra, b. 176, loose parchment dated 19 June 1405, and Quaternus Louo; ASF, Diplomatico, Lunghi, Bonifazio, 19 July 1405.

significance for the study of her tomb fragments⁶¹. A stone inscription accompanying the effigy and once bearing the date 20 June⁶², but separated from its original context and truncated since at least 1965, has puzzled scholars. Some saw it as a contradiction of the testament, others believed it referred to an earlier date of execution⁶³. A close reading of the Florentine copy of the testament reveals that the muddled date is the result of a scribal error made on the label attached to the parchment when it was inventoried during 1850-1860. The notary had scribbled “Julij” on the first line of the parchment but had crossed it out and written “Junij” immediately after. The nineteenth-century transcription error became the basis of today’s *segnatura*. The Venetian version of the testament is, however, correctly dated and inventoried as 19 June 1405, as is the notarial minute but neither has been cited until now⁶⁴. An extant petition to Doge Michele Steno by Caterina’s executor, Armanino da Ciola dated 19 August 1405, confirms that she was dead by the previous 17 July⁶⁵. Returning to the fragmentary tomb inscription (MCCCCV DI), its slightly larger scale and odd alignment suggest that it was added after the main text, which had been carefully centred. If early sources correctly read what followed as “20 June”, it indicates in all likelihood that Caterina died on that day, the day after her will was finalised⁶⁶.

Yet, when she dictated her wishes in 1403 and asked her notary to redact her will in final form on 18 June 1405, Caterina hoped to recover and see to her tomb commission but failing that, entrusted her executors to bury her in the chapel of St. James in what can only be described as a flat tomb: “sepoltura

⁶¹ Cenci (1964, 91 n. 1) first drew attention to the Florentine copy of her will, published the date 19 July, and remarked that the date inscribed on her tomb was ‘suspect’. Sartori (1966, 276), had initially thought that the tomb date must have corresponded with her death, but revised his opinion on account of this find. Every author thereafter repeats this, including Billanovich, 276 n. 72, and Lombardi, 208. When I published my brief statements on Caterina’s patronage (Bourdau, 2004, 121-23), I had not yet transcribed the Florentine copy nor discovered the Venetian versions and probate notebook.

⁶² “MCCCCV DIE XX IUNII”, as read by Manni, 5:151, and “M.CCCC.V.DIEXX.IVNII” as read by Gonzati, 2:396. The damage was first noted by Lotz, 111.

⁶³ My reading is: “HAC DE FRANCISIS TEGITUR CATHERINA · SUB URNA / CUI NATALE SOLUM · STABIA TUSCA DEDIT / PRUDENS·IUSTA FUIT MORUM GRAVITATE VENUSTA / NORMA PUDICICIE SPLENDIDA CELA BONI / STRENUUS· INSIGNI· COIUNX BONIFACIUS ILLI / MARCHIO SORANCE STIRPE SATUSQß LUPA· MCCCCV DI [...]”. This differs slightly from Wolters, 2:230-31, and Gonzati, 2:396.

⁶⁴ ASVe, Notarile testamenti, b. 367, fasc. 130, six sheets unpaginated, dated 19 June 1405, and the probate documents of Bonifacio Lupi, ASVe, PSM de Ultra, b. 176, loose parchment bearing the date 19 June 1405.

⁶⁵ ASVe, PSM de Ultra, b. 176, loose parchment dated 19 August 1405.

⁶⁶ Full bibliography in Wolters, 1:230-31. More recently, Giovè Marchioli, 310, accepted without question that the date of the inscription corresponded to her death. Sartori, 1966, 276, observes that he had previously thought that Caterina had died on 20 June, as implied by the tomb inscription but, noting Cenci’s discovery of her will dated 20 July (sic) suggested that the date must have recorded the day on which it was put up. Lombardi, 211, adopts the same logic.

piana la quale sia fata fare per li suo chomessarii in chaso che ley non l'avesse fata fare". They could spend whatever they deemed appropriate towards its manufacture: "Anchora abia i diti commessarii plena libertade et autoritade de fare quella spesa che i parerà per fare la dita archa"⁶⁷. Lastly, the slab was to be placed beneath the tomb of her husband⁶⁸, or if the Paduans refused her burial, in the Frari as an alternative until the time came when her remains could be transferred to the Santo. Ten ducats were bequeathed to the Frari to ensure that the friars either buried her or moved her body by ship to Padua⁶⁹.

The lack of details regarding the manufacture of Caterina's tomb in the Procurators' probate notebook and its tomb inscription – begun, interrupted, and added to – suggests her tomb was begun perhaps as early as 1403 but was unfinished by 19 June 1405 and completed by her executors (and not the Procurators of San Marco). Two were originally from Parma: Armanino da Ciola, apothecary, but a resident of Venice since childhood and a citizen from 1383⁷⁰, and Peruço de Marsilij de Parma. Little is known of the third, her companion Francesca de Pavarano⁷¹, but she was perhaps related to Donnino son of the late Pietro de Pavarano, a notary from Padua who lived in Caterina's parish of San Fermo in Padua⁷². The first large payment received by Armanino on 19 September 1405 pertained to the restitution of Caterina's dowry, outstanding since her husband's death and only restituted after she specifically raised the matter in her will, and after Armanino appeared in front of the judges of the Procurators of San Marco and Doge Michele Steno⁷³. The other payment recorded in the probate notebook is a sum total of expenses, 113 libre grosso, for unspecified expenses but ample enough to cover any costs

⁶⁷ See Appendix.

⁶⁸ See Appendix.

⁶⁹ See Appendix: "Et se chaso fosse che 'l chorpo de la dita testarisse non podesse esser translato e sepellito al dito luogo de Padoa chomo è dito, vole et ordena esser sepellito a la ghiesia di frari de madona Santa Maria d'i frari minori da Venexia... Anchora vole et ordina la dita testarixe che 'l sia dado per i suo chomessarii per anema soa e di suo passati a la congregacion de Santa Maria Mater Domino, ne la qual ella è, ducati diexe d'oro, vegnando la dita congregacion chomo i soy tegnudi a la sepoltura de la dita testarixe, over fina al luogo che ley sarà posta in nave per esse condotta a Padoa, chomo è dito, e secondo che parerà a i comessarii infrascritti". One assumes her body rested in the Frari for a while since Padua did not surrender to Venice until late November 1405.

⁷⁰ Armanino da Ciola, the son of Gimignano, was granted citizenship on 23 March 1383. [http://www.civesveneciarum.net/dettaglio.php?tipo=pagina&lingua=ita&titolo=dettaglio&collocazione=SM40:32R SP1:77V&nome_italiano=CIOLA \(DI\) ARMANINO DEL FU GIMINIANO](http://www.civesveneciarum.net/dettaglio.php?tipo=pagina&lingua=ita&titolo=dettaglio&collocazione=SM40:32R SP1:77V&nome_italiano=CIOLA (DI) ARMANINO DEL FU GIMINIANO) (consulted 26/2/2014).

⁷¹ "La discreta e savia dona madona Franzescha da Pavarano soa compagna", in Appendix.

⁷² The notary is listed among Parma exiles known to the Lupi by Lombardi, 169. The notarial minute of 1403 listed different executors, Beriola Venier and the merchant brothers Zane and Bartolomeo Donado, substituted in 1405. See Appendix.

⁷³ The payment appears twice in the notebook in ASVe, PSM b. 176 fol. 3r and 6r, and on a loose parchment bearing this date. For the ducal intervention, see another loose parchment bearing the date 19 August 1405. For the will, see Appendix.

associated with a floor tomb⁷⁴. As noted above, Caterina expressed the wish to be buried in a lowly position, as opposed to the more fashionable wall tomb in which her husband was laid. This was an act of humility common to wives⁷⁵. Yet, the result was hardly simple. Enough remains to testify to high quality marbles, polychromy, and unusualness: a larger than life-size effigy exquisitely modelled in deep relief with the head, veil, wimple and hands in white marble, the body in red Verona marble (*rosso di Verona*), and the feet and belt (both lost) presumably of white marble (Fig. 1)⁷⁶. Caterina's other gesture of humility was expressed in a wish to be buried wearing a Franciscan habit. This was not how she was depicted on her effigy however. It is also clear that she had not yet been received into the Third Order as attested by the proviso that her executors should purchase a habit, and spend on it whatever seemed appropriate⁷⁷.

The slab with inscription retains part of its upper border with two-tone lozenges but has lost the two family coats of arms. A description of 1743, some 30 years before the tomb was moved to the cloister of the chapter house and hung on the wall⁷⁸, gives a fuller impression: "on the floor of the chapel ... a *deposito* of white and red marble with the effigy of a woman donning veils as if a nun and with the coat of arms of the Lupi and Francesi with an inscription"⁷⁹. Where this sizeable epigraph was placed, what was its relationship to the effigy, and how the effigy itself was oriented beneath Bonifacio Lupi's tomb is not clear. If it were oriented towards the high altar, it could have been placed against the rear chapel wall.

⁷⁴ ASVe, PSM de Ultra, b. 176, Quaternus Louo, fol. 6r. Although prices are hard to come by, the more elaborate tomb of Pietro di Dante cost 105 gold ducats in 1364, Biscaro, 430-31.

⁷⁵ A precedent for choosing to be beneath the tomb of one's husband is that of Giacobina d'Este who died nearly thirty years after her spouse Enrico Scrovegni. I am grateful to Laura Jacobus who pointed out to me the similarity.

⁷⁶ Wolters, 1: 230, measured the effigy as 174.5 cm x 57 cm.

⁷⁷ "E si vole esser sopellita chon l'abito del terço ordene d'i frari minori, in chadauno di diti luogi che la sia sepellita. E per l'abito sovradito faza i suoy commessarii infrascritti quello achordo e spesa che a lor parerà convegnire". See Appendix.

⁷⁸ The decision to remove her tomb for reasons of hindrance to circulation was taken on 17 April, 1773 and permission granted on 4 August; Gonzati, 1: CXV; Sartori, 1966, 352-53; *Archivio Sartori*, 460, 464. For its numerous peregrinations around the convent prior to its current resting place, see Wolters, 1:230-31.

⁷⁹ "Ma tornando alla sua Cappella in Padova, nel pavimento di essa è il deposito di marmo bianco, e rosso della sua moglie soprammentovata, con figura di donna con veli in testa, simile ad una monacha, e coll' armi de' Lupi, e de' Franzesi, e coll'appresso iscrizione", in Manni, 5:150-51. The observations made forty years later (17 April 1773) also confirm that it consisted of an effigy, an inscription and coat of arms: "una pietra sepulcrale rilevata che serve d'incomodo alle persone", in Sartori, 1966, 353, reprinted in *Archivio Sartori*, 464. A year later (4 August 1774), we find "una lapide in cui rillevasi una statua d'essa famiglia, e rendosi necessario di levare il sigillo colla statua stessa", in Sartori, 1966, 353; *Archivio Sartori*, 460.



Fig. 1. Tomb slab of Caterina Lupi. Padua, Corridor leading from church of Sant' Antonio to the cloister of the Noviciate. Photograph: author.

4. “Stand By Your Man”

Robert Brentano has warned us to ask carefully who was responsible for the testator’s piety, as this is often derived from such diverse parties as friends and relatives, or confessors, preachers and notaries⁸⁰. When we first consider the desired location of Caterina’s burial we note first her pragmatic reasoning. Finalising her will in June 1405, prior to the submission of Padua to Venice, Caterina was aware of the problems posed by her wish to be buried in Padua in her husband’s chapel in view of the banishment of the Lupi by Francesco il Novello and had a fall back position in the church of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari in Venice, another Franciscan establishment⁸¹. Notwithstanding the financial incentive to the Frari, it remains that Caterina was devoted to this community. Further bequests to the convent and the Scuola di San Francesco strengthen this⁸². Her attachment to the friars minor can be attributed to such factors as having had a Franciscan confessor witness her first will in 1403 (Lorenzo de Reato?) and a deep attachment to the Order. As noted in the past, the contemporary Franciscan chronicler Bartholomew of Pisa, writing in the 1390s (thus during her lifetime), reported that she had made a vow to a Paduan Poor Clare, beata Elena Enselmini, if she interceded on behalf of her husband who was at death’s door⁸³. Enselmini’s intervention may therefore help explain part of her devotion.

Stanley Chojnacki has observed that husbands and wives could feel “companionship, loyalty, affection for one another”, and has traced a deepening of affection emerging in the fifteenth century. This could manifest itself in various ways, such as in “shared acts of piety and penance”, the appointment of a wife as executor or through terms of endearment⁸⁴. Is there any evidence of such affection between the Lupi couple? Bonifacio placed a good deal of trust in his wife, naming her as one of five arbiters to determine his temporary burial ground and bequeathing the movable goods from his Paduan properties (city and countryside estate), for use towards his funeral and repatriation of his body if need be. Aside from restituting her dowry, he provided her with an annual annuity as long as she lived an honest life⁸⁵. Although neither of their testaments displayed terms of endearment beyond “consorti sue” for him, and “suo marito” preceded by “signore” or “misser” for her, their shared foundation, the hospital of St. John the Baptist on via San Gallo in Florence associated them in life and beyond.

⁸⁰ Brentano, 3-4.

⁸¹ “Elleçie quando ley passerà de questa vita che ‘l corpo so debia esser sepellito e transduto a la chiesa e luogo de frari minori di Padoa in la chapella la qual ha fato fa[r]e la bona memoria del dito misser Bonifazi[o] suo marito”, in Appendix. Paduan representatives delivered the symbols of their city to the Doge on 3 January 1406; Gloria, 1:57-58.

⁸² “Anchora vole et ordena la dita testarixe che per i suo chomessarii sia dato di suo beni ducati diexe d’oro a la schuola de San Franzecho”, in Appendix; see above note 69.

⁸³ Cenci, 91.

⁸⁴ Chojnacki, 1988, 128-40; Chojnacki, 1975, 597.

⁸⁵ ASVe, PSM de Ultra, b. 176, Quaternus Louo, fol. 1v.

Indeed, the greater part of Caterina's fortune was ultimately to benefit the hospital and its poor, while her former parish church of San Fermo in Padua and current St. John the Baptist in Venice (San Zoane Degolato) each received a full set of vestments for the priest, "as might be found in her house," or purchased to the value of twenty ducats if need be. Both sets would be customised with the Lupi and Francesi di Staggia coat of arms⁸⁶. These two gifts were not simply an act of memorialisation but were intended to benefit the couple's souls. Feeding the poor of her Venetian parish with thirty staia of grain would also play a part of her economy of salvation. When we examine her family bequests, we note that they were divided between her natal and husband's family, with property passed on to her husband's line. With no children of her own, Caterina left her house in Padua to her husband's nephew, Ugolotto Biancardo and his heirs with the proviso that Bertrando Rossi and his descendants should inherit if the line were to become extinct. Ugolotto had previously been designated heir of Bonifacio and had received his personal coat of arms⁸⁷. Female members of the Rossi clan were also remembered⁸⁸. Caterina bequeathed to Verde, the daughter of her brother Ranieri, the usufruct of properties in the family's native Staggia, and of Venetian *imprestiti* (forced loans). From these loans, Verde's daughters, Blancha and Isabetta, were to receive 150 ducats to marry or become nuns⁸⁹.

5. *The Hour of Death*

Caterina's testament reveals a network of female friends and kin and a variety of strategies to ensure that she would not be deserted⁹⁰. Her dresses were to be distributed to her female friends, some of whom were widows of Bonifacio's aides, and distant relatives: Liarda (Legarda) Biancardo, former

⁸⁶ "Anchora vole et ordena la dita testarixe che per anema de so marito e soa sia dato a la chieixia de misser San Zoane Degolato uno paramento da prevede de quelli che al tempo de la morte de la dita testarise ley se troverà aver in chasa, zoè chon planeda e chamixio e chon tuti i altri fornimenti i qual s'apertiene al dito paramento. E non se ne trovando avere el dito paramento in casa, vole et ordena la dita testarixe che se ne compre uno chon i diti fornimenti per i comessarii che sia in tuto de valore de ducati vinti d'oro e al dito paramento che se darà a la dita chieixia sia posta l'arma del egregio chavaliero misser Bonifazio Lovo, fo suo marito, acompagnata chon l'arma de la dita testarise. El qual paramento fornito chomo de sopra è dito sia dato a la sagr[e]stia de la dita chieixia per inventario per sempre may. Anchora vole et ordena la dita testarixe che per anema de so marito e soa sia dato a la chiesia de misser Sen Fermo da Padoa uno paramento da prevede fornido chomo l'altro che di sopra è dito, che sia in tuto de valore di ducati vinti d'oro. Al qual paramento sia posta l'arma de l'egregio e nobel chavaliero misser Bonifazio suo marito achompagnata chon l'arma de ley, el qual parato sia dato a la dita chieixia de San Fermo per inventario per sempre may", in Appendix.

⁸⁷ Kohl, 1998, 179, 185-86.

⁸⁸ Costanza Rossi is a case in point. See Appendix.

⁸⁹ We learn from the will that Verde's older daughter, Caterina, was already married. See Appendix.

⁹⁰ On women's testamentary practices in Venice, see Guzzetti, *passim*.

abbess of San Polo in Parma, Costanza Rossi, Orsolina widow of Baldo Bacanzani⁹¹, Agnese daughter of Master Pietro da Galichiano⁹², and Francesca Pavarani⁹³. The poor women of noble birth were to receive the rest of her clothes, furs, linens, and woollens. Caterina expected her household to participate in her obsequies and dressed them in mourning black (“da charoto”)⁹⁴, and new veils for the women: her niece Verde and her daughter Caterina, Agnese Galichiano, and all the males and females in her service young or old, while her companion, the wise lady Francesca, in the manner befitting her stature.

Francesca’s inheritance, however, was dependent on her remaining at Caterina’s side until death⁹⁵. Studies of testamentary practices report the custom of making legacies on condition that employees were still in the service of the testator when the death occurred⁹⁶. Caterina distinguished between those employees who would inherit whether they were working for her or not. Unnamed slaves, servants, and a woman simply referred to as Dina for instance, were to be freed, clothed or given money and household goods as long as they remained with her. Her long-standing factor Lariolo, his wife Margareta, his children Tiberio and Maria, on the other hand, would inherit even if not in her household⁹⁷. While it may have been common to foresee the possible exit of service of employees, how typical was it to insert a clause effectively disinheriting one’s companion and executor such as Francesca Pavarani? By all appearances two days before Caterina died, when she was very ill, she asked the notary Angeleto to finalise her will drafted two years before. Seemingly no family member was present, neither her niece Verde, nor her companion Francesca. Was Caterina, widow of Bonifacio Lupi, fearful of dying alone? Although this cannot be proven, the reality of her situation is nonetheless poignant. She was a childless, elderly self-exiled widow whose larger clan resided in Tuscany.

⁹¹ Baldo was also Bonifacio’s proctor (as noted by Lombardi, 211), and a Carrara official; Kohl, 1998, 151.

⁹² “Agniese de maistro Piero da Galigana” (as per ASVe, PSM de Ultra, b. 176, loose parchment dated 19 June 1405) also received 150 *lire di piccoli*, a bed and bedding. See Appendix. Her father Pietro was another Lupi ally. See Pezzana, 1:73.

⁹³ Pavarani also received 150 *lire di piccoli*, a bed and bedding. See Appendix.

⁹⁴ Boerio, 200.

⁹⁵ “Et appresso lassa a la dita madona Franzescha uno leto da chariola de la chamera de la dita testarixe et uno paro de lincoli de quelli de casa e do orieri chon do entemelle. E se ley non se troverà starie chon la dita testarixe al tempo de la morte soa non abia alchuna cosa de quello che la i lassa”. See Appendix.

⁹⁶ Guzzetti, 174, notes that many employers, not knowing whether employees or servants would still be in their service when they died, made legacies on condition that employees were still with them. The author does not consider the possibility that this might be in part to avoid dying alone.

⁹⁷ “Et per lo semele vuole che ’l sia vestido e fato a Lariolo so fattore et a Malgarita soa moier non ostante che lor non stiano in casa de la dita testarixe”. See Appendix. On Lariolo, see Bourdua, 2002, 292-93.

Appendix

Will of Caterina, daughter of Antonio de Francesi di Staggia, 18-19 June 1405, Rialto, Venice.

Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Notarile testamenti, b. 367, fasc. 130, brief *fascicolo* of six unnumbered pages (the pagination has been inserted in the transcription below to facilitate comprehension of the document's structure and annotations).

Notarial minute in the hand of the notary Angeletto the son of the late Andreuccio of Venice, who on fol. 6r annotates as follows:

“Millesimo quadringentesimoquinto, indicione XIII, die decimo octavo mensis iunii, Rivoalti. Domina Catarina suprascripta infirmitate corporea pergravata sanam tamen habens mentem, rogavit me Angeletum de Venetiis quondam ser Andreucii de Bononia Venetiarum notarium de presenti suo ultimo testamento de eius mandato vulgariter scripto. Testes dominus frater Laurentius de Reate ordinis minorum, frater Gaspar de Veneciis filius Marci tintoris <the text is then annulled with a cross>”.

Addition on fol. 6v:

“MCCCCV die XVIII mensis iunii fuit de novo rogatum. Testes Iohannes Ieminiani de Parma Sancte Malgarite, Iacobus de Corozatis notarius Sanctorum Apostolorum”.

As these annotations infer, on 18 June 1405, Caterina Lupi asked the notary Angeletto to redact in definitive form (“rogavit me”) the testament “de eius mandato vulgariter scripto” which we can presume he composed two years earlier, some time in 1403 as the opening lines of the text edited here demonstrate. This redaction took place the following day in two different moments.

Both originals are extant: see, respectively, Archivio di Stato, Florence, Diplomatico, Lunghe, Bonifazio, dated 19 June 1405, and Archivio di Stato, Venice, Procuratori di San Marco de Ultra, b. 176, loose parchment dated 19 June 1405. Both originals are however in a poor state of conservation, with widespread damage to the script, in the upper and middle areas of the Florentine parchment, and with serious damage to the left hand side of the parchment with loss of text in the Venetian original. It seemed therefore appropriate to publish the notarial minute redacted by Angeletto; its content is transferred faithfully to the originals, certifying its authenticity, and a sample check also confirms that the variations in the text are minimal. In the vernacular text, in the initial protocol the two originals in ASVe and ASF record in latin the place and calendar date, the text of the arenga (“cum vite sue terminum unusquisque prorsus ignoret, e nil certius habeamus...”, etc.) and mention the notary Angeletto da Venezia tasked with completing (“comple”) the document “cum suis solemnitatibus iuxta mores Venetiarum usitatis et opportunis”. In the eschatocol, just before the notaries' signatures, we find the ritual formula by which the testatrix confers on her executors the “plenissima virtus et potestas” to act legally with respect to the execution of the will, and declares that the document constitutes her final wishes, thereby annulling any previous testament.

Testamentum domine Catarine Lovo.

[1r] Al nome de la santa et individua Trinità, Padre, Fiolo e Spirito santo, in l'anno de la ***¹ del nostro signor misser Iesu Christo mille quatrocento tre, indicione duodecima ***², a dì ***³ del mese de *** in Vinexia⁴.

¹ Blank space of circa six characters.

² Blank space of circa six characters.

³ Blank space of circa six characters.

⁴ The text is cancelled by means of small crosses from In l'anno up to Vinexia.

Perché alchun non è che sapia el termene de la vita soa et alchuna cosa non abiamo pluy zerto cha la morte, per⁵ tanto chadaun se dé guardare che de sprovezudamente luy non passe de questa vita, sì che i beni suo non romagna desordenadi. Per la quale chosa la spetabele egregia e vertuosa dona madona Chatarina fiola che fo del nobel homo et egregio Antonio d'i Françesi da Staza del contado de Firence e mo' relitta del spetabelle et egregio chavaliero misser Bonifacio d'i Lovi da Parma, marchese de Soragna, siando ley⁶ agrevada de infirmitade corporale ma ampoys siando sana⁷ de la mente et abiando bon et intiegro conseio per la gracia de l'altissimo Creatore, damente che ley volesse di suo beni fare plena dispozione açò che renduto per ley el suo spirito a l'altissimo Creatore de quelli beni non possa adevenire alchuna lite, molestia over errore, fezie et ordenò el suo testamento in questo modo, zoè:

In prima rechomandando l'anema soa a l'altissimo Creatore e a la gloriosa verzene madre Madona santa Maria e a tuta la chorte del ziolo. Elleçie quando ley passerà de questa vita che 'l corpo so debia esser sepellito e transduto a la chiesa e luogo di frari minori da Padoa in la chapella la qual ha fato fa[r]e la bona memoria del dito misser Bonifazi[o] suo marito. E si vole el so corpo esser sepellito soto la sepoltura del dito so marito in una sepoltura piana, la quale sia fata fare per li suo chomessarii in chaso che ley non l'avesse fata fare. Et⁸ se chaso fosse che 'l corpo de la dita testarisse non possede esser translato e sepellito al dito luogo de Padoa chomo è dito, vole et ordena esser sepellito a la ghiesia di frari de madona Santa Maria d'i frari minori da Venexia. E si vole esser sopellita chon l'abito del terço ordine d'i frari minori, in chadauno di diti luogi che la sia sepellita. E per l'abito sovradito faza i⁹ suoy commessarii infrascritti quello //[[1v] achordo e spesa che a lor parerà convegner. Anchora abia i diti¹⁰ commessarii plena libertade et autoritade de fare quella spesa che i parerà per fare la dita archa o a Padoa o a Venexia o che sarà sepellito el suo¹¹ corpo. E per lo simele dé fare quella spesa che a lor parerà e piaserà per i ossequii e per la soa sepoltura.

E vole et ordena la dita testarise che 'l sia pagato e satisfato tuti chi da ley dovesse avere, sença alchun litigio e contradicione.

Anchora vole et ordena la dita testarise che 'l sia dato per i suo chomessarii per anema soa e di suo passati a la congregacion de Santa Maria Mater Domino, ne la qual ella è, ducati diexe d'oro, vegnando la dita congregacion chomo i soy tegnudi a la sepoltura de la dita testarise, over fina al luogo che ley sarà posta in nave per esser conduta a Padoa, chomo è dito, e secondo che parerà a i comessarii infrascritti.

Anchora vole et ordena la dita testarise che per i suo chomessarii sia dato di suo beni ducati diexe d'oro a la schuola de San Franzecho e a la schuola del Chorpo de Christo in le qual ella è, zoè ducati çinque per chadauna, per anema soa.

Anchora vole et ordena la dita testarise che per anema de so marito e¹² soa sia dato a la chiezia de misser San Zoane Degolado uno paramento da prevede de quelli che¹³ al tempo de la morte de la dita testarise ley se troverà aver in chasa, zoè chon planeda e chamixio e chon tuti i altri fornimenti i qual s'apertiene al dito paramento. E non se ne trovando avere el dito paramento in casa, vole et ordena la dita testarise che se ne compre uno chon i diti fornimenti per i comessarii che sia in tuto de valore de ducati vinti d'oro e al dito paramento che se darà a la dita chiezia sia posta l'arma del egregio chavaliero misser Bonifazio Lovo, fo suo marito, acompagnata chon l'arma de la dita testarise. El qual paramento fornito chomo de sopra è dito //[[2r] sia dato a la sagr[e]stia de la dita chiezia per inventario per sempre may.

⁵ Followed by chadaun struck through.

⁶ agrevada up to ampoys siando added in the margin.

⁷ Followed by del chorpo struck through.

⁸ Followed by po, struck through.

⁹ Followed by d added but cancelled.

¹⁰ Followed by mey struck through.

¹¹ Corrected over mio.

¹² de so marito e inserted above the line.

¹³ Followed by a que struck through.

Anchora vole et ordena la dita testarixe che per anema de so marito e soa sia dato a la chiesa de misser Sen Fermo da Padoa uno paramento da prevede fornido chomo l'altro che de sopra è dito, che sia in tuto de valore di ducati vinti d'oro. Al qual paramento sia posta l'arma de l'egregio e nobel chavaliero misser Bonifazio suo marito achompagnata chon l'arma de ley, el qual parato sia dato a la dita chiezia de San Fermo per inventario per sempre may.

Anchora vole et ordena la dita testarise che 'l sia dato e distribuito per anema soa tra i poveri [d]e la contrada de San Zoane Degolado stara tren[t]a del formento che ley se troverà aver in casa, del qual ne sia fato farina a spese de la so chomessaria. La qual farina sia distribuyta chomo è dito. E se chaso fosse che 'l non fosse tanta quantità de formento in casa de la dita testarise vuole et ordena che ne sia comprato tanto che sia una fiata la dita summa de stara . xxx . per la chaxione sovradita.

Anchora vole et ordena la dita testarixe che per anema soa sia fate celebrare al luogo de madona¹⁴ Santa Maria d'i frari minori messe . C ., de le qual sia dite quelle che se porà avanti la soa sepoltura e l'avanzo de le dite messe sia fate dire al pluy presto che se porà e per far celebrare le dite messe e per zera a quelle sia dato per i comessarii ducati tre d'oro.

Anchora vole et ordena la dita testarixe che per anema soa sia fato celebrare le messe de san Griguol al pluy presto che se porà, per uno bon religioso al qual sia dato per celebrare quelle e per zera ducati do d'oro.

//[2v] Anchora lass[a] la dita testarise a Marchior fiolo de Nicholò Guiçardo libre cento de pizoli, veramente se 'l se atrovasse per i libri de¹⁵ la dita testarisse e se ley¹⁶ avesse dato le dite £ cento o parte alchuna de denari¹⁷ avanti la morte soa al dito Marchior vole et ordena che tanto sia defalchato del dito legato e dato meno al dito Marchior quanto avesse avuto da ley.

Anchora lassa la dita testarise a Albertino fiolo che fo del Toresano da Padoa £ cento de pizoli per lo muodo e chondizione se contiene de Marchior soprascrito.

Anchora vole et ordena la dita testarise che trovandosse la Dina che sta in chasa chon ella stare chommeso ley al tempo de la morte s[o]a, che a quella Dina sia dato di beni de essa testarise £ çinquanta de pizoli et uno leto da chariola et una coltra et uno paro de linzoli da cariola de quelli de casa soa¹⁸.

Anchora vole et ordena la dita testarixe che la discreta e savia dona madona¹⁹ Franzescha da Pavarano soa compagna abia et aver diebia una de le soe robe de quelle che a quel tempo se troverà aver la dita testarixe. Et oltre de çò vuole la dita testarixe che la dita madona Franzesca sia vestida secondo la soa qualitate, chon i altra de casa i qual sarano vestidi per lo ossequio. Et appresso lassa a la dita madona Franzescha £ cento çinquanta²⁰ de pizoli. Et anchor lassa a la dita madona Franze<s>cha uno leto da chariola de la chamera de la dita testarixe et uno paro de linçoli de quelli de casa e do orieri chon do entemelle. E se ley non se troverà starie chon la dita testarixe al tempo de la morte soa non abia alchuna cosa de quello che la i lassa²¹.

Anchora vuole et ordena la dita testarixe che tuti i altri suo drapi de lana et de lino e pelize e pignolad<i> et altri panni de ogni raxion che apertegnisse al dosso de la dita testarixe tuti siano dadi e distribuydi per i suoi chomessarii tra povere zentil donne, secondo la discrecion di diti suo chomessarii²².

¹⁴ Followed by Maria struck through.

¹⁵ i libri de inserted above the line.

¹⁶ e se ley inserted above the line.

¹⁷ Followed by che struck through.

¹⁸ Followed, in the same ink, by reference mark consisting of four circles arranged as a cross and intersecting diagonally with another four small circles, directing the reader to the first paragraph of fol. 3r.

¹⁹ Preceded by another madona struck through.

²⁰ Inserted above the line.

²¹ Reference mark in the form of a grid with 9 boxes containing a dot in the first, third, fifth, and ninth box, directing the reader to the paragraph added in the margin of fol. 5v.

²² Reference mark, in the same ink, in the form of an asterisk with a circle on each side, directing the reader to the first paragraph of fol. 4.

Nota che questi II lassi die esser scriti driedo lo lasso de madona Orsolina a questo segno²³.

//[[3r]²⁴ Anchora la hereditade la qual la dita testarise ave da Guielmo de Girardo di Guarini che fo abitadore de la tera de Chorteselle d'i marchesi da Varan, la quale heredità spetava a luy e de la dita hereditade ella si hae publico instrumento de vendeda e de donacione dal dito Guilielmo, le quale cose et heredità si sono in Padoana e de questa heredità ella si ne hae publico instrumento, zoè de una casa e de dinari per la quale heredità a ley è stato et è detenuto le possession de padoana, le qual la bona memoria del fo signore e marito misser Bonifazio Lovo marchese de Soragna lassò a ley in vita soa, e driedo la so morte a lo spedale²⁵ de Santo Zovani Batista de via San Gallo de Firenze. E per tanto vole et ordena la dita testarisse che le dite possessione liberamente sia date a lo spedal sovrascrito per quello modo e condicione ha lassato lo soprascrito so signore e marito, chon tute quelle raxione che hae la dita testarise in le dite possessione, fazando memoria che choloro²⁶ che le hano et occupano non le ha avute per zusto presio. Et per lo simelle una chasa che è in Padoa e ducati centosesanta d'oro, de le qual chosse ne hae carte che spetano a la dita heredità, vole et ordena la dita testarise che pervegna e pervegnir debia al dito hospedale chon tute quelle raxione che hae la dita testarise.

Anchora vole et ordena la dita testarise che lo uso e la habitacion de una soa chasa posta in Padoa in la contrada de San Fermo, a la quale è choerencia da una parte i heredi de maistro Chonstantino merzaro over misser Nicholò da Trento e a le altre tre le vie comune, sia et essere debia perpetualmente de lo egregio chavaliero misser Ugoloto Bianchardo e di suo heredi. E in chaso che 'l dito misser Ugoloto e tuti i suoy heredi manchasse, vole la dita testarise che la dita casa chon tute le suo raxione e iurisdicione pervegna e pervegnire debia in li fioli che fo de lo egregio chavaliero misser Bertrando d'i Rossi da Parma e in so heredi, de la quale casa la dita testarise ne ha charta e piena raxione.

//[[3v] Anchora vole et ordena la dita testarise che ogni raxione che ley ha in le possessione e chase [d]a stazia secondo el tenore de una sentencia fata e data per misser Franzesco Ranucii da Firença, la qual sentencia è ne le mane de quelli²⁷ de l'arte de Chalamala da Firenze e de le quale possession la dita testarise ha zerte charte in casa, debia spetare a²⁸ madona Verde²⁹ neza de la dita testarise e moiere de Girardo da Chuna, si che ley habia de le dite ogni usufruto fina che ley viverà. E dopo la so morte vole la dita testarise che pervenga in li diti poveri infermi del dito hospedale da Firenze.

Anchora vole et ordena la dita testarise che per anema soa sia dato a la dita madona Verde soa neza per i suoy chomessarii in tuto quello tempo che la dita madona Verde viverà el pro de ducati cinquecento de gli impresti de la dita t[e]starise e manchando la dita madona Verde vole et ordena la dita testarise che 'l dito pro³⁰ di diti ducati zinquecento de impresti sia dato per gli suoy chomessarii a i retori de l'arte de chalamala da Firenza, i qual sia tegnudi de dare a li poveri infermi del sovrascrito hospedale de San Zoane Batista da Firenze, over al dito hospedale chomo meio parerà a i retori sovraditi per ben e utelle del dito hospedale e d'i poveri sovraditi.

Anchora vole et ordena la dita testarise che al tempo de la morte soa el sia fato una vesta da choroto di beni de la dita testarise a la dita madona Verde soa neça et un'altra a Chatarina fiola

²³ Annotation in the margin, followed by a cross reference to the end of fol. 4r in the shape of a circle with a cross.

²⁴ Cross reference mark located in the margin next to the first paragraph directing the reader to the third paragraph of fol. 2v.

²⁵ Cross reference mark in the form of an elongated letter s which directs the reader to the paragraph below to be inserted from de Santo up to Gallo.

²⁶ che choloro inserted above the line.

²⁷ Preceded by another de quelli struck through.

²⁸ Followed by la dita but struck through.

²⁹ Cross reference mark, in the same ink, in the form of a circle with a dot with two rays below which directs the reader to the note added at the end of the paragraph from neza to Chuna.

³⁰ Followed by Si but struck through.

de la dita madona [Ver]de, la quale al presente è maridada, et apresso sia dato uno vello nuovo a chadauna d'esse.

Anchora vole, ordena e lassa la dita testarixe a Blanca e Isabeta fiole de la dita madona Verde ducati çentoçinquanta d'i suo imprestedi per chadauna de quelle per so maridar o monegar³¹. E se alchuna d'esse over se tute do morisse avanti che le fosse maridade over monegade vole la dita testarise (...)³².

//[[4r] Anchora vole et ordena la dita testarixe che subito driedo la morte soa el sia deputado a nome de Blanca e de Isabetta fiole de la dita madona V[e]rde zoè per chadauna de quelle per so maridar over monegar ducati centro e zinquanta de imprestedi de la dita testarixe e che 'l pro crexia sovra el cavedale per la dita chaxione. E siage dato sì el chavedale chomo el pro quando³³ quelle, over alchuna d'esse, serà maridade over monegade. E se alchuna d'esse over tute do morisse avanti el so maridar over monegar, vole la dita testarixe che 'l pro de quella over de quelle che chussì morirà chomo è ditto e per lo simel el pro che de tempo in tempo se averà d'i diti imprestedi sia dato perpetualmente per i suo chomessarii a i ditti retori de l'arte de Chalamala, i qual lor debia dare e distribuyre a lo spedal sopradito de San Zoane Batista da Firenze.

Anchora vole et ordena la dita testarixe che in chaso che Lariolo suo fattore se trovi stare a salario de la dita testarixe al tempo de la morte soa³⁴, che d'i suo beni gli sia dato al dito Lariolo e so moiere Malgarina e fioli infrascritti chomo de soto se dirà, zoè: al dito Lariolo e Malgarina £ duxento de pizoli; a Tiberio fiolo del dito Lariolo uno letto da chariola, una choltra e uno paro de lanzoli e do orieri³⁵ de quelli de casa de la dita testarixe; a Maria fiola del dito Lariolo uno leto da chariola, una choltra e uno paro de lenzoli e do orieri de quelli de casa de la dita testarixe.

Anchora lassa la dita testarixe a la nobel dona madona Chostança d'i Rossi una de le suo robe de le quale³⁶ a quel tempo se troverà aver la dita testarixe.

Anchora lassa la dita testarixe a la nobel dona madona Orsolina relita de misser Baldo Bachençan una de quelle robe che la dita testarixe se troverà aver a la morte soa.³⁷

//[[4v]³⁸ Anchora vole et ordena la dita testarise che tute quelle schiave over serve le qual [a] quel tempo sarà in casa soa sia et esser diebia libere e franche da ogni legame de servitudene e siano franchade e dadoge charta de franchisia per i comessarii de la dita testarixe. Et apresso lassa a le dite schiave over serve tuti i suo panni da so dosso de lana e de lino, nuovi e vechi, e boni e rey, che a quel tempo elle se troverano avere. Et anchor lassa a le dite per so maridar over monegar ducati vintiçinque d'oro per cadauna, siando in ellecion de quelle el tempo del so maridar over monegar.

Anchora vole et ordena la dita testarise che tuti maschi e femene, pizoli e grandi, de che condicion se sia che se troverà habitar chon salario e senza salario ch[o]n la dita testarixe al tempo de la morte soa in casa soa, sia et esser debia vestidi da choroto per lo ossequio secondo la qualitate e condicion de quelli e de quelle, chomo parerà a i suo chomessarii e secondo la lor discrecion.

Anchora che tute le dite femene la qual serà in casa abia et aver diebia uno vello nuovo per zasch[a]duna.

Et per lo semele vuole che 'l sia vestido e³⁹ fato a Lariolo so fattore et a Malgarita soa moier non ostante che lor non stiano in casa de la dita testarixe.

³¹ o monegar *inserted above the line.*

³² *The paragraph has been left incomplete and cancelled by small crosses, in the same ink.*

³³ *Preceded by another quando struck through.*

³⁴ *Inserted between the lines.*

³⁵ E do orieri *inserted at the end of the line with a cross to indicate where to integrate.*

³⁶ al *inserted but struck through.*

³⁷ *On the line below in the centre of the page there follows the reference mark in the shape of a circle with a cross directing the reader to the previous reference to the addition on the margin of fol. 2v.*

³⁸ *In the margin next to the first line the reference mark in the shape of asterisk with a circle on each side, in lighter ink, directing the reader to the previous reference at the end of fol. 2v.*

³⁹ vestido e *inserted above the line.*

E per lo simele Marchior fiolo che fo de Nicolò Guicardo diebia esser vestito e fato non ostante che ello non stia in casa chon la dita testarixe.

Et açò se possa mandare ad execucione i legati sovrascritti, vuole et ordena la dita testarixe che l se diebia schuoder ducati . V^c. d'oro, i quali ley dié avere per la soa dote da la chomessaria de la bona memoria de misser Bonifacio Lovo suo marito de la quale ley non è anchor pagata. Et ha la charta de la dita dote in casa e de ciò ne fa anche mencione el testamento de la bona memoria del dito misser Bonifacio Lovo.

Et perché la fameia de la dita testarixe abia tempo de poder trovare //[[5r] stancia, vole la dita testarixe che la dita fameia habia le spese del viver de bocha di beni de la so chomessaria per lo tempo de . V . mesi in la casa in la quale ley se troverà abitare, de la quale per quel tempo sia pagato el fito di beni de la comessaria de la dita testarixe⁴⁰.

Anchora vole et ordena la dita testarixe che lo resto de suo impremedi che son tuti zercha ducati II^mCCLXIII grossi XXI pizoli XXII may non se possa vender, alienar, obligar né impignar né in altri translar, ma sempre stia fermi. E chussi sia scritto a la camera de li impremedi. El pro del dito resto di diti impremedi vole et ordena che in perpetuo pervegna e pervegnir debia a lo spedale de San Zoane Batista de via Santo Gallo sopradit[o] el qual hospedale fese far la bona memori[a] del so signore e marito misser Bonifacio Lovo. E diebia pervegnire al dito hospedale in questo modo, zoè che quelli de l'arte de Chalamala i debia rezever e distribuire in questo modo: che ducati trenta i debia dare per salario di medesi che medegerà i poveri infermi del dito hospedale e ducati XVI diebia dare per salario de uno capelano el qual ogni di zelebra messa a la [ca]pella nuova fata al dito hospedale.

Anchora vuole et ordena e lassa la dita testarixe⁴¹ tuto el residuo over resto di suo beni sì mobelli chomo stabelli, desordenadi e chaduchi e ch[e a] desordenado e chaducho podesse adevegnire, a i retori de l'arte de Chalamala de Firenza chomo a⁴² patroni de lo spedal de San Zoane Batista da Firença in via Santo Gallo⁴³, e quelli per nome del dito hospedale⁴⁴ instituisse suoy universali heredi chon questa condicione, che i diti retori de l'arte de Chalamala e padroni de lo spedale sovrascritti et heriedi de la dita testarixe mettano e meter debiano tuti i diti beni che a le lor man pervegnano ad utilidade del dito hospedale dove a lor meio parerà e de pluy utilità per lo dito hospedale, e questo etiamdio per soplire se bisogno serà al salario di medesi e del capellano se alcuna chose manchasse.

//[[5v] Et executori de questo suo testamento e suo fedel comessarii lassa et ordena la dita testarixe⁴⁵ ser Peruço de Marsili da Parma e ser Armanin da Ziola spicier e la sopradita dona Franzescha da Pavaran chon questa condicion che⁴⁶ manchando i diti ser [Pe]ruzo e ser Armanin vole la dita testarixe⁴⁷ driedo da lor i signor procolatori de san Marcho sovra le chomessarie constituydi⁴⁸, romagna in so luogo a di semble chon la dita dona Franzescha. I qual commessarii che per lo dito muodo serà⁴⁹ debia e possa driedo la morte de la dita testarixe intrometer et aministrar la soa comessaria e mandar ad execucion tuti i lassi⁵⁰ et ordeni sopraditi.

⁴⁰ Followed by a reference mark in the shape of two oblique parallel lines intersected by a third line with dots at the ends, in lighter ink, directing the reader to a located in the margin of fol. 5v.

⁴¹ og inserted but struck through.

⁴² chomo a inserted above the line.

⁴³ chon ques inserted but struck through.

⁴⁴ From per to hospedale inserted above the line.

⁴⁵ Followed by a reference mark in the shape of an inverted V cut at the point to be inserted from ser Peruço to da lor. Within the paragraph a passage now struck through read: la de nobel dona madona Beriola Venier e i nobelli homeni misser Zane e misser Bortolonio Donado fradelli e manchando lor.

⁴⁶ da Pavaran inserted above the line, in lighter ink, but in the same hand. Also above the line the body of the text continues in the same ink up to che.

⁴⁷ la dita testarixe inserted above the line.

⁴⁸ The section from romagna to Franzescha is here inserted in accordance with a reference inserted in the form of an inverted V with a small circle with a dot at the top located under the paragraph itself.

Anchora vuole et ordena la dita testarise che la nobel dona madona Liarda di Bianchardi fiola che fo de Antonio Bianchardi che fo abadessa de San Polo da Parma sia dato⁵¹ una de le sue⁵² robe [d]e le pluy belle che la se⁵³ troverà avere a la morte sua⁵⁴.

Anchora⁵⁵ lassa la dita testarise ad Agniexe de maistro [Pi]ero da Galigane £ çinquanta de pizoli et una roba de quelle che la dita testarise se troverà avere in casa al tempo de la morte soy. Et apresso che la sia vestita da ossequio e siage dato uno vello nuovo chomo a le altre de casa. Et apresso i sia dato uno leto de quelli de casa de la dita testarixe, fornito de cavazali, orieri e choltra e lenzoli de quelli de casa de la dita testarixe.

Ancora lassa la dita testarise⁵⁶ a ser Anzoletto nodaro sottoscritto⁵⁷ per suo faticha de ogni testamento che luy convengniré trare sì a i mie chomessarii, chomo a i procuratori, chomo a i heredi, ducati otto d'oro per cadauno. E questo in presencia de li testimonii infrascritti⁵⁸.

Nota che questi II legati dié esser die esser scriti driedo lo lasso de madona Francescha a⁵⁹ questo segno⁶⁰.

Nota che questo legato dié esser scritto driedo lo ordenamento de la fameia a questo segno⁶¹.

//[6r]⁶² Anchora vuole et ordena la dita testarise che ò sia remesso a chadauno de i diti legatarii, sì maschii chiamo femene, tuto quello che lor ge fosse o podesse esser tegnudi per alchun muodo⁶³.

Millesimo quadrigentesimo quinto, indicione XIII, die decimo octavo mensis iunii, Rivoalti. Domina Catarina suprascrita infirmitate corporea pergravata, sana tamen habens mentem, rogavit me Angeletum de Venetiis quondam ser Andreucii de Bononia Venetiarum notarium de presenti suo ultimo testamento de eius mandato vulgariter scripto.

Testes dominus frater Laurencius de Reate ordinis minorum, frater Gaspar de Veneciis filius Marci tinctoris⁶⁴.

//[6v] MCCCCV die XVIII mensis iunii fuit de novo rogatum.

Testes Iohannes Ieminiani de Parma sancte Malgarite, Iacob de Corozatis notarius Sanctorum Apostolorum.

Testamentum domine Catarine Lovo.

⁴⁹ From che to serà inserted above the line.

⁵⁰ sovraditi inserted but struck through.

⁵¹ sia dato inserted above the line.

⁵² Corrected over mie.

⁵³ la se corrected above the line over io me struck through.

⁵⁴ Corrected over mia.

⁵⁵ This paragraph corrects the beginning of a preceding one which read: Ancora lassa dita testarise a Franzescha.

⁵⁶ la dita testarise inserted above the line in lighter ink in the same hand.

⁵⁷ nodaro sottoscritto inserted above the line in lighter ink in the same hand.

⁵⁸ Followed by a reference mark in the shape of a cross with dots within its spaces directing the reader to the first paragraph of the following page, fol. 6r.

⁵⁹ Above the line.

⁶⁰ Written in the margin next to the third and fourth clauses of fol. 5v and followed by a reference mark in the shape of a grid with dots, in lighter ink, which directs the reader to that located on fol. 2v.

⁶¹ Written in the margin, in lighter ink, next to the paragraph which refers to the payment for the copies of the testament, with reference to the mark of two oblique parallel lines intersected by a third line with dots at the ends located on fol. 5r.

⁶² In the margin next to the first line a reference mark in the shape of a cross with dots within its spaces which directs the reader to that located on fol. 5v.

⁶³ There follows a space of about half the length of the folio for the addition of the date, but this is now cancelled.

⁶⁴ The entire section from Millesimo to a tinctoris is cancelled by means of a large cross.

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Abstract

The chapel of St. James in the Santo, Padua is still commonly described as that of Bonifacio Lupi, a condottiere who participated in all the major political and military adventures of north and central Italy during the second half of the fourteenth century. As is often the case, however, the initial foundation was a more complex affair, which owed much to the relationship between the Lupi and their relations on Bonifacio's mother's side, the Rossi family. The chapel's refurbishment and fresco decoration serves as an excellent example of collaboration between a number of parties, including Caterina di Staggia, wife of Bonifacio. This essay spans thirty years and focuses on Caterina's artistic patronage, first as the spouse of Bonifacio and later as his widow, until her own death in Venice in 1405. A detailed analysis of her gifts in life as in death suggests that despite her self-imposed exile to Venice, Caterina remained true to her adopted city of Padua. Moreover, even after Bonifacio's death, Caterina commissioned furnishings on his behalf. This exemplifies a traditional wish to honour her deceased spouse's memory and provide for his soul, and yet reiterates her independence as a self-standing patron.

Keywords

Middle Ages; 14th-15th century; Padua; art; Caterina Lupi; patronage; wills; sources

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