

2017

Aristotelian Dualities in Quattrocento Florentine Painting: Woman on the Left-Hand Side of Man

Hannah Augst
haugst@wellesley.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <https://repository.wellesley.edu/thesiscollection>

Recommended Citation

Augst, Hannah, "Aristotelian Dualities in Quattrocento Florentine Painting: Woman on the Left-Hand Side of Man" (2017). *Honors Thesis Collection*. 412.
<https://repository.wellesley.edu/thesiscollection/412>

This Dissertation/Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by Wellesley College Digital Scholarship and Archive. It has been accepted for inclusion in Honors Thesis Collection by an authorized administrator of Wellesley College Digital Scholarship and Archive. For more information, please contact ir@wellesley.edu.

Aristotelian Dualities in *Quattrocento* Florentine Painting: Woman's Place on the
Left-Hand Side of Man

Hannah Kay Augst

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the
Prerequisite for Honors
in Art History
under the advisement of Jacqueline Musacchio

April 2017

© 2017 Hannah Kay Augst

Acknowledgments

First and foremost, I want to thank my advisor, Professor Jacqueline Musacchio, without whom this thesis would not have been possible. She has always been a source of guidance and support, and I often leave my conversations with her feeling like I am on the “right” track.

I must also thank Sara Matthews-Grieco, Professor of History and Women’s and Gender Studies at Syracuse University in Florence, for her help in getting my research started. She took time out of her busy schedule to suggest sources that heavily influenced my thinking on this topic, and for that I am extremely grateful.

Thank you to the members of my thesis committee—Professor Kimberly Cassibry, Professor Liza Oliver, and Professor Michèle Respaut—for taking an interest in my research and for reading the following in its entirety. I feel the need to thank Professor Cassibry in particular, for her wonderful classes over the past three years, all of which have made me a better writer, as well as a wiser individual.

I am also very grateful to the Wellesley Art Department for funding travels related to my research through the Marian Elizabeth Burr Sober Fellowship. Because of this fellowship, I was able to view several of the following paintings at museums in New York and Washington D.C.

Special thanks go out to my family members, who were very supportive of me throughout this process. I am incredibly thankful for my parents, who have always encouraged me to pursue what I love, and who have sacrificed so much for me to study at Wellesley.

Finally, thank you to everyone else who has encouraged me, and taken an interest in my research over the past year. Thank you especially to Meredith Fluke at the Davis Museum, who has opened many doors for me professionally, and has always been willing to give sound advice. And of course, I cannot forget to thank my Wellesley friends for being endless sources of love and support along this road; I feel very lucky to have gone through the past four years with you.

Abbreviations

ASF	Archivio di Stato Firenze
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BML	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana
BNCF	Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze
BR	Biblioteca Riccardiana
Maruc.	Biblioteca Marucelliana

Introduction

There are ten principles, which they arrange in two columns of cognates—limit and unlimited, odd and even, one and plurality, right and left, male and female, resting and moving, straight and curved, light and darkness, good and bad, square and oblong... These contraries are the principles of things.¹

Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, Book I (4th century BCE)

Aristotle's text, known through both manuscript and printed sources in Renaissance Florence, strives to systematically define the nature of human existence.² While the majority of Aristotle's work explicitly discusses the factors that make up all living beings, the dualities listed in the quote above implicitly define the two genders through a series of opposites—the first element being superior, and the second, inferior.³ This thesis seeks to identify the ways in which a relationship between women and the left side, established in Aristotle's doctrine, existed as a cultural topos in fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Florence, and was depicted in three categories of Florentine paintings. Throughout the following chapters, I will demonstrate that artists either consciously or unconsciously portrayed woman's intellectual and sexual limitations by consistently positioning them on the left-hand side of men. These images reinforced gender constructs that promoted patriarchal values and confined women to domestic roles in Florentine society. This introduction will briefly examine both literary and visual sources that I will refer to repeatedly, as they enabled

¹ Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, trans. William David Ross and John Alexander Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908), 986.

² At least six manuscripts of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, dated between the thirteenth and end of the fifteenth centuries, and originally in the Medici collection, are held in the BML, signifying that it was known in Florence during the Renaissance (Plut.13 sin.II, Plut.14 sin.2, Plut. 28.45, Plut. 87.12, Plut. 87.18, Plut. 87.19). Manuscript versions were also available to fifteenth-century readers in the Library at San Marco; see Berthold Louis Ullman and Philip A. Stadter, *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence: Niccolò Niccoli, Cosimo de' Medici, and the Library of San Marco* (Padova: Editrice Antenore, 1972): 189-190 and 255-256. Printed versions of *Metaphysics* were produced in Padua as early as 1473, with commentary by Medieval Spanish polymath Averroes, by Laurentius Canozius de Lendenaria; a copy is held by the eighteenth-century Maruc., and was likely in the city during the Renaissance period.

³ Ian Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman: A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 8.

Florentine viewers to decipher a relationship between women and the left side in paintings of Adam and Eve, the Annunciation, and marriage portraits.

The Presence of Classical Literature in Renaissance Florence

In order to examine the relationship between the right and left sides in the following paintings, one must comprehend the role of Aristotle, and related Classical literature, more broadly within Florence. Late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century intellectual and political circumstances contributed to the proliferation of Aristotelian literature. The emergence of humanism—an intellectual movement that encouraged the instruction of Classical texts in Florence—certainly impacted the availability of works by Greek and Latin authors.⁴ Many historians consider Francesco Petrarca (1304-74) to be the first Florentine to revive Ancient texts, as he was lauded by the humanists of later generations for reusing the Classical literary style after centuries of neglect.⁵ Leonardo Bruni (1369-1444), a Florentine historian and translator of Latin and Greek philosophical works, described Petrarca as “the first with a talent sufficient to recognize and call back to light the ancient elegance of a lost and extinguished style.”⁶ However, while Petrarca may have been responsible for reviving Ancient literary styles, the development of humanism as a core tenet of the city’s cultural ideology emerged after his death, when Coluccio Salutati (1331-1406) was appointed chancellor of the Florentine Republic in 1375.⁷ As an advocate

⁴ For the origins of this thinking, see, for example, W. Keith Percival, “Grammar, Humanism, and Renaissance Italy,” *Mediterranean Studies* 16 (2007):116; Augusto Campana, “The Origin of the Word Humanist,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 9 (1946): 66; Vito R. Giustiani, “Homo, Humanus, and the Meanings of ‘Humanism,’” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 46 (1985): 167-95.

⁵ Percival, “Grammar,” 116.

⁶ Bruni’s direct quote can be found in Percival, “Grammar,” 97; A discussion on Petrarca’s giftedness in prose and verse is located in Gordon Griffiths, James Hankins, and David Thompson, *The Humanism of Leonardo Bruni: Selected Texts* (Arizona State University: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1987), 98.

⁷ John T. Spike, *Fra Angelico* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1996), 61; Percival, “Grammar,” 97.

for the acquisition and study of Classical texts within Florence, Salutati invited Manuel Chrysoloras (1355-1415), a native of Constantinople, to the city in 1396.⁸ Chrysoloras taught Greek grammar and literature to the city's elite, enabling them to read many Ancient works not yet available in translation, including those by Aristotle.⁹

As the central argument of this thesis depends upon the familiarity of artists and viewers with at least the broad ideas of Aristotelian literature, it is necessary to address the education opportunities available to fifteenth-century Florentines. Chrysoloras instructed male students from the upper echelons of society, but his expertise was not available to all. Schools in Florence often divided their grammatical curriculum into three different levels. The first category involved beginner-level students, who learned to read and write; the second included intermediate students who read the Latin authors; and the third was comprised of advanced students who studied rhetoric and grammar.¹⁰ While age varied, the first category often included boys between the ages of six and eleven years old, while the more advanced categories contained students with ages comparable to those of modern-day high schoolers.¹¹ The majority of children never progressed beyond the beginner-level training, while only a small percentage of Florentine students—all boys—fulfilled the requirements for the intermediate and advanced educational programs.¹² Though few first-hand accounts of the Florentine schooling system survive, statistics on school enrollment are described in the *Cronica di Firenze* by the early fourteenth-century historian, Giovanni Villani (1276-1348).

⁸ Spike, *Fra Angelico*, 61; Percival, "Grammar," 109.

⁹ Eugenia Russell, "Greek in the Renaissance: Scholarship, Dissemination, and Transition," *Renaissance Studies* 25 (2011): 585; also see Griffiths, *The Humanism*, 23; and Spike, *Fra Angelico*, 61.

¹⁰ Percival, "Grammar," 102; for a full discussion see Peter Denley, "Government and Schools in Late Medieval Italy," in *City and Countryside in Late Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Essays Presented to Philip Jones*, ed. Trevor Dean and Chris Wickham (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 1990), 93-107.

¹¹ Ronald Witt, "What did Giovannino Read and Write? Literacy in Early Renaissance Florence," *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 6 (1995): 84.

¹² Witt, "What did," 85.

Villani reports that there were “8,000 to 10,000 boys and girls learning to read... And those who study grammar and logic in four large schools are 550 to 600.”¹³ While historians have debated the accuracy of Villani’s description, scholars agree that between 28 to 33 percent of Florentine boys aged ten to thirteen were literate by the second half of the fifteenth century.¹⁴ The literacy rate for female students was smaller; however, girls from the upper classes were typically taught to read and write by their governesses and other female instructors.¹⁵ While it is unlikely that all of these students were familiar with Latin and Greek literature, one can presume that male children from upper-class families, who were instructed by private tutors and completed the third category of schooling, would have been able to read texts like Aristotle’s, especially as they became more available through the emergence of humanism.¹⁶ Because the following chapters focus specifically on Florentine paintings produced during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, it should be mentioned here that the large majority of texts discussed throughout this thesis were available as manuscripts.¹⁷ While the printing press emerged in Florence by 1476, it was not producing texts on a significant scale until several decades later.¹⁸ Thus, early printed texts did not serve as the main sources of Aristotelian literature available to *quattrocento* Florentine readers.

¹³ Witt, “What did,” 87. The original Italian version of Villani’s *Cronica* is provided in Robert Black, *Education and Society in Florentine Tuscany: Teachers, Pupils and Schools, C. 1250-1500*, Vol. 1 (Boston: Brill, 2007), 1: “Troiamo ch’e fanciulli e fanciulle che stanno a leggere, da otto a dieci mila. I fanciulli che stanno ad imparare l’abbaco e algorismo in sei scuole, da mille in milleduegento. E quegli che stanno ad apprendere la grammatical e loica in quattro grandi scuole, da cinquecentocinquanta in seicento.”

¹⁴ Paul F. Grendler, “Schooling in Western Europe,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 43 (1990): 783; Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 196.

¹⁵ Witt, “What did,” 86.

¹⁶ Witt, “What Did,” 95; Percival, “Grammar,” 116; Patricia Fortini Brown, “Children and Education,” in *At Home in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Marta Ajmar-Wollheim and Flora Dennis (London: V&A Publications, 2006), 137.

¹⁷ Jonathan J.G. Alexander, *The Painted Book in Renaissance Italy 1450-1600* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 177.

¹⁸ Alexander, *The Painted Book*, 177; Melissa Conway, *The Diario of the Printing Press of San Jacopo di Ripoli: 1476-1484: Commentary and Transcription* (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1999), 20; printed versions of Aristotle’s works will be mentioned when examining paintings made outside of Florence in my conclusion,

Florence developed as a source for scholars who desired copies of works by Classical authors.¹⁹ Buyers from all over modern-day Europe travelled to Florence to purchase such materials. Moreover, the city's religious institutions required updated texts for study and meditation, while intellectuals like Niccolò Niccoli (1364-1437) and Cosimo de' Medici (1389-1464) became manuscript collectors on a grand scale.²⁰ Their libraries represented the largest sources of Aristotelian literature during the fifteenth century. Niccoli acquired nearly 800 manuscripts by Greek and Latin authors, from a number of European monastic libraries, and contributed to the copying, correcting, and translating of works by Classical authors like Aristotle, as well as by Medieval religious scholars like Saints Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, whose texts will be discussed below.²¹ Niccoli's library was invaluable during the Council of Florence (1439-1445), when eastern and western church leaders met to establish a uniform body of Christian doctrine that included the Old and New Testaments, as well as the commentaries written by early church fathers; his collection provided Florentines with the manuscripts required for the Council debates.²² Before his death, Niccoli made provisions that his collection should remain available to the scholarly public, as described in the words of his humanist contemporary, Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459): "He [Niccoli] determined in his will that his more than 800 codices should become through his friends a public library, to be forever useful to men; he wanted the extraordinary library to be brought to the common good... so that all eager for education might be able to harvest from

as more successful and productive printing centers existed during the fifteenth century in other Italian city-states.

¹⁹ Alexander, *The Painted Book*, 8.

²⁰ Alexander, *The Painted Book*, 8.

²¹ Spike, *Fra Angelico*, 50.

²² Spike, *Fra Angelico*, 50.

it.”²³ On April 6, 1441, Niccoli’s executors conferred the vast collection to Cosimo de’ Medici, with the expectation that he would provide it with an ideal home.²⁴

As an avid manuscript collector, Cosimo de’ Medici commanded a leading position in the revival of Classical literature in fifteenth-century Florence. Humanism provided a persuasive justification for Cosimo’s rule as de facto leader of the city, as it emphasized the belief that a virtuous government should foster cultural vitality.²⁵ Cosimo wanted Florence to be a city dedicated to commerce, literature, and leisure, and he stressed the importance of having a well-educated population.²⁶ For example, in 1455 he advocated for the hiring of new Classically-trained professors for Florence’s university, writing that “the whole glory and magnificence of the city consists in having wise, well-lettered and worthy citizens.”²⁷ Cosimo supplied the money necessary for the city to host the Council of Florence, and also founded the first public library in Europe when he opened Niccoli’s collection in the Florentine convent of San Marco in 1444.²⁸ This library and its relationship to the Dominican painter Fra Angelico (1395-1455) will be discussed in chapter two. But it is important to mention now, as it housed nine copies of Aristotelian texts that established a relationship between the female sex and the left side. These texts, originally owned by Niccoli and then Cosimo, were available to the Florentine public by the

²³ Ullman and Stadter, *The Public*, 7, 9.

²⁴ Ullman and Stadter, *The Public*, 14.

²⁵ Mark Jurdjevic, “Civic Humanism and the Rise of the Medici,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 52 (1999): 1011; Spike, *Fra Angelico*, 50.

²⁶ Kent, *Cosimo de’ Medici*, 33

²⁷ Kent, *Cosimo de’ Medici*, 33

²⁸ Jurdjevic, “Civic Humanism,” 1011; A.D. Fraser Jenkins, “Cosimo de’ Medici’s Patronage of Architecture and the Theory of Magnificence,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 33 (1970): 164.

middle of the fifteenth century.²⁹ In addition to *Metaphysics*, this collection included *On the Generation of Animals*, a text in which Aristotle reasoned that there was an association between gender determination and the placement of the fetus in the womb. He writes that, “As regards the uterus, the males are in the right side and the female in the left.”³⁰ *On the Generation of Animals*, a widely circulated text in Renaissance Florence, established procreative theories that survived in Western medical thought from Antiquity to the fifteenth century.³¹ His discussions about human reproduction are noteworthy, as they linked the two sexes with dualities apart from those expressed in *Metaphysics* above. In his text, Aristotle clearly establishes male-dominated procreation theories by finding a correlation between man and activity, and woman and passivity. He writes:

There must be that which generates, and that out of which it generates... In those animals in which these two faculties are separate, the body—that is to say the physical nature—of the active partner and of the passive must be different. If the male is the active partner, the one which generates the movement, and the female... is the passive one, surely what the female contributes to the semen of the male will not be semen, but material.³²

According to Aristotle, the father’s sperm represents the active agent in procreation, playing an important role in the formation of the substance provided by the mother’s seed.³³ His theories about reproduction, specifically the ways in which the male sex is associated with activeness, and

²⁹ Jurdjevic, “Civic Humanism,” 1011; For an inventory of Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*, and *On the Generation of Animals*, held in the library of San Marco during the fifteenth century, see Ullman and Stadter, *The Public*, 189-190, 192-193, 219, 255-256.

³⁰ Aristotle, *On the Generation of Animals*, trans. A.L. Peck (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1943), 373.

³¹ There were at least fifteen copies of Aristotle’s text, written between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries, in Florence. See BML (Plut. 15 sin.7, Plut. 83.24, Plut. 84.9, Plut, 13 sin.9, Plut. 81.1, Plut. 81.18, Plut. 84.9, Plut, 84.9, Plut. 87.1, Plut. 87.3, Plut. 87.4, Plut. 87.27, Plut 13.sin.9, Plut 13.sin.9 and BNCf Conv. soppr. G4.853); Mary D. Garrard, *Brunelleschi’s Egg: Nature, Art, and Gender in Renaissance Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 55.

³² Aristotle, *On the Generation of Animals*, 3.

³³ William Hood, *Fra Angelico at San Marco* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 271; Garrard, *Brunelleschi’s Egg*, 55.

the female with passiveness, will have important implications for understanding the ways in which woman's placement on the left-hand side of man reinforced a fifteenth-century Florentine patriarchal discourse that encouraged women to adopt submissive qualities. The relationship between female passiveness and male activeness, especially in regards to male-dominated procreation theories, were echoed in the writings of many authors after Aristotle. Such authors included the medieval theologians Saint Augustine and Saint Thomas Aquinas, whose works were popular in fifteenth-century Florence, and who attempted to understand the purpose of the female sex and the biological science required for reproduction.

Saint Augustine in Fifteenth-Century Florence

Augustine, a fourth-century theologian and philosopher, was born in Carthage, a city in the province of Africa. Often considered one of the most brilliant Christian rhetoricians of the Medieval period, he was educated in the liberal arts and studied the works of Classical authors.³⁴ In *The Golden Legend* (1298), a Medieval collection of hagiographies, the Italian chronicler Jacobus da Varagine (1228-1298) writes that, "By himself, Augustine studied and understood the books of Aristotle, and all the books on the liberal arts that he could read."³⁵ Though Varagine references Aristotle in his description of Augustine's life, contemporary religious scholars have argued that the Medieval theologian was likely unfamiliar with Aristotelian texts.³⁶ As a scholar, Augustine left an enormous written legacy, with texts that survived well beyond the fourth century.

³⁴ Jacobus da Varagine, "Saint Augustine," in *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, ed. William Granger Ryan, and Eamon Duffy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 503.

³⁵ Varagine, "Saint Augustine," 503.

³⁶ Ralph McInerney, "Aristotle and Aquinas," in *Person, Being, and History*, ed. Michael Baur and Robert E. Wood (Catholic University of America Press, 2011), 117; John M. Rist, "Augustine, Aristotelianism, and Aquinas: Three Varieties of Philosophical Adaptation," in *Aquinas the Augustinian*, ed. Michael Dauphinais, Barry David, and Matthew Levering (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2007), 91.

His lasting influence on Christian doctrine is exemplified through the emergence of the Augustinian religious order during the thirteenth century, which brought many hermit communities in Italy under a single rule, in an event known as the Great Union.³⁷ In Florence, the Augustinians established themselves at the Basilica of Santo Spirito, and attracted some of the most accomplished writers on the Italian peninsula.³⁸ In 1378, Salutati wrote of Augustine, “Aurelius Augustine, exponent and champion of the Christian faith, displayed such knowledge of the poets in all his writings that there is scarcely a single letter or treatise of his which is not crowded with poetic ornament.”³⁹ As Augustine’s life and literature encouraged the study of both Christian and secular literature, the Augustinians contributed to the growth of humanism and rediscovery of Classical texts in Florence during the fifteenth century. In theological and non-theological scholarly debates, Augustine’s writings were always present.⁴⁰

Two of Augustine’s works, *On the Trinity*, and *On the City of God* are significant to this thesis; although Augustine does not reference Aristotle in either text, he expresses similar ideas about the inferiority of the female sex and the male-dominated procreation theories.⁴¹ For example, in *On the Trinity* Book XII (400 CE), Augustine writes: “Woman together with her own husband is the image of God, so that the whole substance may be one image; but when she is referred separately to her quality of help-meet, which regards the woman herself alone, she is not the image of God; but as regards the man alone, he is the image of God as fully and completely as when

³⁷ Anne Dunlop, “Introduction: the Augustinians, the Mendicant Orders, and Early-Renaissance Art,” in *Art and the Augustinian Order in Early Renaissance Italy*, ed. Louise Bourdua and Anne Dunlop (Farnham: Ashgate, 2007), 1.

³⁸ Meredith Gill, *Augustine in the Italian Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 7.

³⁹ Gill, *Augustine*, 13.

⁴⁰ Gill, *Augustine*, 14-15.

⁴¹ McInerney, “Aristotle and Aquinas,” 117.

woman too is joined with him in one.”⁴² Here, Augustine finds that the female sex did not naturally possess the image of her creator; however with her husband, the married couple is made in the image of God. Augustine’s writing develops a Christian duality between the male and female sex: made in the image of God, and not made in the image of God. This idea will become relevant when discussing paintings of the Creation of Eve later in this thesis. *On the Trinity* was widely circulated during the Middle Ages.⁴³ Given the many copies available to fifteenth-century Florentine readers, it is clear that the text was highly regarded during the Renaissance as well.⁴⁴

In *On the City of God*, Augustine demonstrates an understanding of male-dominated procreation theories by suggesting that sinful nature was transmitted to a fetus through the male genitals during intercourse. He believed that because conception required sex, and sex required passion—a quality rooted in lust—that a child was contaminated by sin from the moment of its creation.⁴⁵ While sex before the Fall was pure, sin entered the world and sex became unholy after Adam and Eve ate the forbidden fruit:

For the corruption of the body, which weighs down the soul, is not the cause but the punishment of the first sin... The man, then, would have sown the seed, and the woman received it, as need required, the generative organs being moved by the will, not excited by lust... Before man was involved by his sin... his members might have served his will for the propagation of offspring without lust.⁴⁶

⁴² Augustine, *On the Trinity Book XII*, trans. Arthur West Haddan, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* First Series 3, ed. Philip Schaff (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1887), accessed August 10, 2016, doi: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/130112.htm>.

⁴³ Gill, *Augustine*, 18.

⁴⁴ For example, San Marco has ten copies (see Ullman and Stadter, *The Public*, p. 150, 151, 153, 155, 165, 1102) and one copy is at the BML (Plut. 12.22).

⁴⁵ Marina Warner, *Alone in All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 55.

⁴⁶ Saint Augustine, *On the City of God*, trans. Marcus Dods, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, First Series, Vol. 2, ed. Philip Schaff (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1887): <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/120114.htm>.

Although Augustine does not specifically reference *On the Generation of Animals*, he expresses male-dominated procreation theories by finding that the man plays the active role in procreation by giving his seed to the woman, the passive receiver and bearer of his offspring.⁴⁷ Augustine maintains that there is an association between masculinity and activity, and femininity and passivity. As both Aristotle's and Augustine's texts were widely available in fifteenth-century Florence, readers had both Classical and Christian sources that established a relationship between the dualities male/female, and active/passive.⁴⁸ Moreover, fifteenth-century Florentines would also have had the literary works of another medieval theologian—Thomas Aquinas—accessible to them, which explicitly referenced Aristotle's *Metaphysics* and *On the Generation of Animals*.

The Influence of Aristotle on Saint Thomas Aquinas

As a student in Naples and Cologne, and later as a Dominican teacher at the University of Paris, Aquinas witnessed the translation of Aristotle's texts into Latin, which began during the early thirteenth century, and continued past Aquinas' death in 1274.⁴⁹ As Aristotle's texts became translated, the Christian church was quick to point out errors in the philosopher's ideologies. Unlike Christian scholars, who got their teachings directly from the Bible, Aristotle taught that God did not have knowledge of what was happening in the created world, and that the world would exist for eternity.⁵⁰ This conflicted with Christian teachings that advocated for God's providence, and stated that God created heaven and earth.⁵¹ As such, the Medieval church largely disapproved of Aristotle's texts. However, Aquinas still believed that Aristotle should be studied.⁵² Though he

⁴⁷ Warner, *Alone in All Her Sex*, 55.

⁴⁸ For copies of *On the City of God* that were present in the library at San Marco during the fifteenth century, see Ullman and Stadter, *The Public*, 150-151, 153.

⁴⁹ McNerny, "Aristotle and Aquinas," 118.

⁵⁰ McNerny, "Aristotle and Aquinas," 118.

⁵¹ McNerny, "Aristotle and Aquinas," 120.

⁵² McNerny, "Aristotle and Aquinas," 119.

recognized that Aristotle held beliefs that conflicted with Christian doctrine, he sought to identify truths that could be understood by both believers and nonbelievers. In essence, Aquinas sought to use Aristotle's reasoning to explain the mysteries of the Christian faith.⁵³ From 1268 to 1273, Aquinas composed line-by-line commentaries on twelve Aristotelian treatises, including his *Metaphysics*.⁵⁴ Aquinas' commentaries were widely available in fifteenth-century Florence.⁵⁵ His commentary on *Metaphysics* specifically references the relationship between the women, the left side, and passivity. He writes:

The principle positions are the right and left; for the right is to be found to be perfect and the left imperfect. Therefore, the right is determined from the aspect of oddness, and the left from the aspect of evenness. But because natural bodies have both active and passive powers in addition to mathematical extensions, they therefore next maintained that masculine and feminine are principles. For masculine pertains to active power, and feminine to passive power; and of these masculine pertains to odd number and feminine to even number, as has been stated.⁵⁶

In this excerpt, Aquinas reasons through several of the dualities expressed in Aristotle's *Metaphysics*. He begins by noting that the right is superior to the left, and that the right side can be associated with odd numbers, while the left side can be connected to even numbers. He then continues, finding that activity and passivity are qualities directly linked to mathematical figures, and likewise that these mathematical figures correlate with the two sexes. Ultimately, Aquinas concludes that because masculinity is associated with activeness, and femininity with passiveness,

⁵³ McInerney, "Aristotle and Aquinas," 124; Rist, "Augustine, Aristotelianism, and Aquinas," 95-96.

⁵⁴ McInerney, "Aristotle and Aquinas," 124; Although Aquinas was not the only Medieval commentator on Aristotle's treatises (other commentators on *Metaphysics* included the German Dominican friar Albertus Magnus (d.1280) and the Scottish theologian John Duns Scotus (1266-1308)), I have chosen to focus on Aquinas' texts because they were the most available in Florence during the fifteenth century, and also happen to be the more available and studied texts today.

⁵⁵ For copies of Aquinas' *Commentary on Aristotle's Metaphysics*, see Ullman and Stadter, *The Public*, 171, 189, 190, and BNC (Naz.C.S.I. X 28).

⁵⁶ Saint Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on Aristotle's Metaphysics*, trans. John P. Rowan (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961), 60.

then male and female are also affiliated with odd and even respectively. While my thesis is not concerned with the ways in which genders could be linked to mathematical principles, this excerpt demonstrates Aquinas' understanding of the relationship between the female sex, the left side, and passivity. His *Commentary on Metaphysics* also indicates an awareness of woman's inferiority to man, as he identifies the right side with perfection, and the left side with imperfection. Yet while Aquinas acknowledges Aristotle's dualities, one cannot be sure while reading this text whether the author is reasoning through Aristotle's arguments, or expressing personal opinion. In order to examine Aquinas' own thoughts on the relationship between the dualities male/female, active/passive, and perfect/imperfect, one must analyze portions of his *Summa Theologica* (1265-1274), a text that was written while Aquinas produced his commentaries, and was also known in fifteenth-century Florence.⁵⁷ In this work, Aquinas synthesized Aristotelian principles with his interpretations of woman's purpose.⁵⁸ He writes:

As regards the individual nature, a woman is defective and misbegotten for the active force in the male seed tends to the production of a perfect likeness in the masculine sex, while the production of woman comes from a defect in the active force or from some material indisposition, or even from some external influence, such as that of a south wind, which is moist, as the Philosopher observes. On the other hand, as regards human nature in general, woman is not misbegotten, but is included in nature's intention as directed to the work of generation... Therefore, in producing nature, God formed not only male but also female.⁵⁹

Unlike Aristotle, who described women as deformities, Aquinas considers women not imperfect, yet still inferior to men.⁶⁰ Moreover, Aquinas specifically references Aristotle and his male-

⁵⁷ Two versions of *Summa*, now held by the BML, were thought to be in Florence during the fifteenth century, due to their handwriting (Pl.25.3, Pl.26.11). Additional copies are in the Library of San Marco (Ullman and Stadter, *The Public*, p. 167, 168, 169, 170, 172).

⁵⁸ Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion*, 7.

⁵⁹ Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province (1920), accessed August 10, 2016, doi: <http://www.newadvent.org/summa/1092.htm>.

⁶⁰ Aristotle, *On the Generation of Animals*, 461.

dominated procreation theories, which were established in *On the Generation of Animals*. This point is important to make, as *Summa Theologica* represents a way in which Florentine intellectuals could become familiar with Aristotle's texts, without directly reading the philosopher's literature.

The relationship between inferiority and the left side extends beyond these texts to images that were recognizable to illiterate fifteenth-century Florentines; since historians estimate that only a third of the population was literate, images served to visually reinforce the negative connotations associated with the left.⁶¹ For example, the left side was connected to immorality in scenes of the Last Judgement. Representations of the Last Judgement were publicly visible in Florence during the fifteenth century, and illustrated the association between the left side and inferiority as expressed in Aristotelian, Augustinian, and Thomistic literature.

The Relevance of Last Judgement Scenes in Understanding the Negative Connotations of the Left Side

The most influential example of *Last Judgement* imagery was the mosaic on the west vault of the Baptistery, attributed to Coppo di Marcovaldo (Fig. 1, 1225-1276).⁶² During the fifteenth century, the Baptistery was accessible to Christians during baptismal ceremonies, which were important religious events for newborn children and their families. A baptism symbolized a child's entry into the Church and State, and also served as a social event for families with the naming of godparents.⁶³ In the Florence Baptistery, the baptismal ceremony also involved dropping a black

⁶¹ Grendler, "Schooling," 783; Pettegree, *The Book*, 196.

⁶² Miklos Boskovits, "Florentine Mosaics and Panel Paintings: Problems of Chronology," *Studies in the History of Art* 61 (2002): 492.

⁶³ Jacqueline Musacchio, *The Art and Ritual of Childbirth in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999): 47.

or white bean (for a boy or girl respectively) into a till to estimate the city's official birth rate.⁶⁴ Thus, the Baptistery's mosaics would have been seen by many Florentines. At the center of this scene, a larger than life Christ sits on a circular throne with his arms held out on either side. He holds his right palm upwards, and his left palm downwards. Under his right hand, the righteous gather and prepare to enter paradise. Under his left hand, the damned are dragged down into hell. The belief that the righteous and the unrighteous would be moved to the right and left-hand sides of Christ respectively is expressed in the Gospel of Matthew:

When the Son of Man comes in his glory, and all the angels with him, then he will sit on his glorious throne... he will separate people from one another as a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats. Then the King will say to those on his right, 'Come you who are blessed by my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world... Then he will say to those on his left, 'Depart from me, you cursed, into the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels.'
(Matthew 25: 31-42)

This mosaic, looming above the baptism ceremony, would have reminded Florentines that not receiving baptism placed them in eternal hell on the left-hand side of Christ.⁶⁵ The same format was utilized in painted representations, such as the Strozzi Chapel frescoes (Fig. 2, 1354-57) in the Basilica of Santa Maria Novella, completed by Orcagna (1308-1368), and Fra Angelico's *Last Judgement* (Fig. 3, 1431-1435), painted for the monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli. In this context, one must consider the location of right and left from the perspective of Christ, and not from the viewer. The righteous are placed on the right-hand side of Christ, and the damned are on his left. Thus, when examining the paintings discussed throughout this thesis, one should consider where the woman is located in relation to the man, and not to the viewer.

⁶⁴ Musacchio, *The Art and Ritual*, 47.

⁶⁵ Timothy Verdun, "Il Battistero di San Giovanni: Un Monumento Religioso al Servizio della Citta," in *Il Battistero di San Giovanni a Firenze*, ed. Antonio Paolucci (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1994): 17.

This introduction has discussed the role of male dominant procreation theories, and the relationship between femininity and the left side, as established in Classical and Medieval texts, as well as the significance of widely known and seen *Last Judgement* imagery as a visual correlation between the left side and sinful behavior. The following chapters will show that in order to comprehend the association between women and the left side, and its consistent portrayal in Florentine paintings, one must take into consideration Aristotelian concepts and Christian philosophy, which together formed a common cultural topos in Renaissance Florence. In the end, this evidence will show that the masculine denial of the female role in generation reinforced gender constructs and assisted in confining women to domestic roles.

Chapter I

Adam, Eve, and Woman as an Irrational Being

This chapter will analyze painted representations of Adam and Eve, produced either in Florence—or by Florentine artists—during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Though scholars have shown that depictions of Eve conveyed themes such as feminine immorality and temptation, an explanation for why she is consistently positioned on Adam’s left-hand side in Florentine Renaissance paintings has yet to be provided.⁶⁶ By analyzing paintings of Eve within the context of Aristotelian and Christian literature, I will demonstrate that her negative attributes are not only visually communicated through her actions, but also by a deeply ingrained association between the left side and feminine irrationality. Ultimately, this chapter will show how representing Eve on the left-hand side of Adam in both religious and domestic settings reinforced contemporary beliefs that Renaissance women required male guidance and supervision.

Adam and Eve Frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel

Masolino da Panicale’s (1338-1447) *Temptation of Adam and Eve* (Fig. 1, 1427) and Masaccio’s (1401-1428) *Expulsion from the Garden of Eden* (Fig. 2, 1427), both frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel in the church of Santa Maria del Carmine, are images that should be examined according to Aristotelian dictum, as the artists and their frescoes were well known during the

⁶⁶ James Clifton, “Gender and Shame in Masaccio’s *Expulsion from the Garden of Eden*,” *Art History* 22 (1999): 637-655. Clifton discusses the gender specific notions of shame illustrated in Masaccio’s *Expulsion from Paradise*, finding that Adam covers his head because he is a primarily rational being that experiences spiritual shame, and that Eve covers her breasts because she experiences sexual shame as a carnal being, yet Clifton does not connect the quality of feminine irrationality to Aristotelian literature, as I will do in this chapter.

fifteenth century and influenced later Florentine artists.⁶⁷ The popularity of the Brancacci frescoes is expressed in Giorgio Vasari's (1511-1574) *Lives of the Artists* (1550):

Because of Masaccio's work, the Brancacci Chapel has been visited from that time to this by an endless stream of students and masters. There are still some heads to be seen there which are so beautiful and lifelike that one can say outright that no other painter of that time approached the modern style of painting as closely as did Masaccio. His work deserves unstinted praise, especially because of the way he formed in his painting the beautiful style of our own day.⁶⁸

The "beautiful style" mentioned here is described more fully in the Florentine author Leon Battista Alberti's (1404-1472) *On Painting*, written in 1435. Alberti emphasized the need for painters to portray realistic bodies, writing, "In painting the nude we place first his bones and muscles which we then cover with flesh... since nature has here carried the measurements to a mean, there is not a little utility in recognizing them."⁶⁹ Although Alberti's text was written after the Brancacci Chapel frescoes were completed, it codified a growing Florentine ideology that emphasized the practice of rendering figures in a natural way. The Brancacci frescoes represented one of the first examples to demonstrate the naturalistic qualities praised by Alberti, and the new standard of lifelikeness represented in Masolino and Masaccio's scenes of Adam and Eve were immediately acknowledged by contemporaries.⁷⁰

Masolino's *Temptation* is located on the chapel's upper right entrance pilaster. He depicts Eve as a sensual woman who hands Adam a piece of fruit from the forbidden tree, located on the right-hand side of the scene. Eve wraps her arm around the tree, as a serpent with a female head

⁶⁷ Nicholas A. Eckstein, *Painted Glories: The Brancacci Chapel in Renaissance Florence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 22.

⁶⁸ Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Artists*, trans. George Bull (London: Penguin, 1987), 130.

⁶⁹ Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting* (1435), trans. John R. Spencer (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), 24.

⁷⁰ Mary Garrard, *Brunelleschi's Egg: Nature, Art, and Gender in Renaissance Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 57-58.

coils around the tree trunk. Masolino's image visually records the Biblical story of Eve's temptation:

Now the serpent was more crafty than any of the wild animals the Lord God had made. He said to the woman, "Did God really say, 'You must not eat from any tree in the garden?'" ... When the woman saw that the fruit of the tree was good for food and pleasing to the eye, and also desirable for gaining wisdom, she took some and ate it. She also gave some to her husband, who was with her, and he ate it. Then the eyes of both of them were opened, and they realized that they were naked. (Genesis 3:1, 6-7)

Masaccio's fresco, on the upper left entrance pilaster, portrays the aftermath of Eve's sinful action. The scene illustrates an angel pushing Adam and Eve out of paradise, after God realizes that they have disobeyed his commands by eating the forbidden fruit (Genesis 3:7, 23). Adam, shown fully nude, slouches over and covers his eyes with his hands. On his left, Eve covers her breasts and genitalia, and gazes upwards with an open mouth, as if to cry out. Masaccio depicts an angel flying behind Adam and Eve, holding a sword to block the two figures from reentering paradise.

Though few documents on the history of the Brancacci Chapel's ornamentation survive, it is known that Piero di Piuvichese Brancacci (d. 1367) made arrangements to build a private chapel at the end of the right transept of Santa Maria del Carmine before his death. The fortunes of the Brancacci family had steadily risen throughout the fourteenth century, and Piero likely sought a way to advertise his family's success in civic life.⁷¹ Piero was not the only Florentine to publicize his family's social prestige by constructing a chapel; the patriarchs of other Florentine clans, such as the Bardi and Strozzi, also sponsored devotional spaces in churches.⁷² However, though Piero died in 1367, the Chapel's walls remained unpainted for nearly half a century. It was not until the

⁷¹ Eckstein, *Painted Glories*, 66-68.

⁷² Eckstein, *Painted Glories*, 66-68.

1420s that Felice Brancacci, Piero's nephew, commissioned Masolino and Masaccio to finish what his uncle had started.⁷³

In order to distinguish the type of social narrative Felice sought to portray in his family's burial chamber, it is important to consider the other scenes on the chapel walls. The iconography of the chapel's interior frescoes focuses predominantly on the life and works of Saint Peter, the name saint of the original patron.⁷⁴ In the lunettes, from left to right, Masolino portrayed the *Calling of Peter and Andrew*, followed by *Saint Peter Weeping*, *Peter's Denial of Christ*, and the *Navicella*. On the intermediate level, in-between the *Expulsion* and *Temptation* scenes, are representations of *The Tribute Money*, *Peter Preaching*, *The Baptism of the Neophytes*, and *The Raising of Tabitha*.⁷⁵ Finally, on the bottom level, again from left to right, the artists included images of *Saint Paul Visiting Saint Peter in Prison*, *The Raising of Theophilus' Son*, *Saint Peter Enthroned*, *Saint Peter Healing with his Shadow*, *The Death of Ananias*, *The Crucifixion of Saint Peter*, *Saint Peter and Simon Magus before Nero*, and *The Liberation of Saint Peter*. Though there is not enough space in this thesis to provide an in-depth analysis of the Petrine fresco cycles, they convey information about the relationship between the upper and lower social classes in fifteenth-century Florence, and help to reveal the purpose of Adam and Eve's presence in the chapel.⁷⁶

At a time when elite Florentine families like the Brancacci feared rebellion from the city's impoverished lower classes, the chapel's depictions of Saint Peter preaching and performing miracles—such as *The Raising of Tabitha* and *The Raising of Theophilus' Son*—promoted a spirit

⁷³ Eckstein, *Painted Glories*, 73.

⁷⁴ Anthony Molho, "The Brancacci Chapel: Studies in Its Iconography and History," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 40 (1977): 52; Peter Meller, "La Cappella Brancacci: Problemi Ritrattistici ed Iconografici," *Acropoli* (1961): 213 (186-227); Nicholas Eckstein, "The Widows' Might: Women's Identity and Devotion in the Brancacci Chapel," *Oxford Art Journal* 28 (2005): 104.

⁷⁵ Molho, "The Brancacci Chapel," 52.

⁷⁶ Eckstein, *Painted Glories*, 134.

of Christian charity.⁷⁷ Alberti expresses the importance of philanthropy in early fifteenth-century Florence in his manuscript *On the Family* (1433), where he argues that a good republican society relies upon a web of personal obligations: “Nature did not make all men... equally endowed with skill and power. Rather nature planned that where I might be weak, you would make good the deficiency, and in some other way you would lack the virtue found in another. Why this? So that I should have need of you, and you of him, he of another, and some other of me.”⁷⁸ Similarly, fifteenth-century confraternal statutes emphasized the significance of charitable acts within Florentine society. For example, the brothers of Saint John the Baptist counseled that “God is charity itself, he who remains charitable remains with God.”⁷⁹ Therefore, given the significant role philanthropic acts played in Florentine society, the Brancacci Chapel’s interior frescoes should be understood as visual sermons that confronted viewers with images of poverty and affliction, and reminded visitors that the Brancacci family utilized its wealth to serve the local community.⁸⁰ Yet if the purpose of the Chapel’s interior frescoes was to encourage Christian generosity, why would Masolino and Masaccio include representations of Adam and Eve?

If the scenes from the life of Saint Peter intentionally modelled ideal Florentine social relationships, then the *Temptation* and *Expulsion* frescoes evoked humanity’s earliest and most severe act of selfishness; Masolino’s image served as a warning for observers not to place their self-interest ahead of the welfare of their neighbors, while Masaccio’s scene notified visitors that they would be rejected by Florentine society if they committed dishonorable acts.⁸¹ Moreover, the

⁷⁷ Eckstein, *Painted Glories*, 73, 134.

⁷⁸ Ronald F.E. Weissman, “Brothers and Strangers: Confraternal Charity in Renaissance Florence,” *Historical Reflections* 15 (1988): 27; Alberti, *On the Family*, trans. Renee Neu Watkins (New York: Columbia, 1969), 137.

⁷⁹ Weissman, “Brothers and Strangers,” 28.

⁸⁰ Eckstein, *Painted Glories*, 134.

⁸¹ Eckstein, *Painted Glories*, 134.; Eckstein, “The Widows’ Might,” *Oxford Art Journal* 28 (2005): 112.

frescoes of Adam and Eve rendered gender-specific virtues that can be comprehended within the context of Aristotelian, Augustinian, and Thomistic literature.

As I stated in my introduction, Aristotelian and Christian manuscripts circulating in fifteenth-century Florence linked the female sex to imperfection and inferiority. Aristotle's *Metaphysics* specifically correlated negative connotations with women and the left side through the dualities man/woman, right/left, and good/bad, while his *On the Generation of Animals* delineated a relationship between the female sex and the left side during conception in the womb, as well as an association between femininity and passiveness.⁸² Augustine's *On the Trinity* maintained that God designed woman as an imperfect creature, while his *On the City of God* demonstrated an understanding of male-dominated procreation theories. Moreover, Aquinas' *Commentary on Metaphysics* linked the female sex to the left side and inferiority, and his *Summa Theologica* recapitulated Aristotelian reproductive beliefs. Masaccio's *Expulsion* clearly illustrates the Aristotelian and Christian belief in male-sponsored generation; Adam's hands cover his face, symbolizing his rationality, as he alone understands the tragic fate of mankind.⁸³ Eve covers her genitals and breasts, alluding to the shame of her sin and the punishment of painful procreation.⁸⁴ Though the artist depicts both figures as guilty of the original sin, why should Adam's genitalia be uncovered?

The Florentine painter Cennino Cennini (1360-1427) answered this question in his *Craftsman's Handbook* (early 15th century), a guidebook written for those who wanted to enter the artistic profession.⁸⁵ He writes that "Adam, recognizing the error which he had committed, after

⁸² Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, 986; Aristotle, *On the Generation of Animals*, 371.

⁸³ Garrard, *Brunelleschi's Egg*, 61.

⁸⁴ Garrard, *Brunelleschi's Egg*, 60.

⁸⁵ Cennino writes that the book was "made and composed, for the use and good and profit of anyone who wants to enter the profession," Cennino d'Andrea Cennini, *Craftsman's Handbook: Il Libro dell'Arte*, trans. Daniel V. Thompson Jr. (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1954), 1.

being so royally endowed by God as the source, beginning, and father of us all, realized theoretically that some means of living by labor had to be found.”⁸⁶ Here, Cennini credits Adam with being the father to all humans, and finds that he alone understood the tragic fate of humanity, implying that Eve could not grasp the severity of her actions in a rational way.⁸⁷ Moreover, Cennini’s description of Adam as “royally endowed,” and “the source,” highlights his active and dominant role during procreation. The idea that Adam actively contributed rational thought to his future offspring corresponds to Aristotle’s male-dominated generation theories in *On the Generation of Animals*, which were demonstrated in the literature of Augustine, and directly reiterated in the works of Aquinas. As Aristotle’s text associated women with both irrationality and the left side, one can surmise that Eve’s placement on the left-hand side of Adam could highlight both her irrational mind, and passive reproductive role.

Feminine passivity is not only conveyed in the *Expulsion* fresco, but also in the Chapel’s Petrine cycle, where the action is male-dominated. The *Raising of Tabitha* (Fig. 3, 1427), located on the upper register of the Chapel’s right wall, tells the story of a virtuous female figure who is the object of male action, as Saint Peter raises her from the dead.⁸⁸ Peter gazes directly at Tabitha, and his raised right hand awakens her from death. His activeness and superiority in the scene is emphasized by the fact that he stands, whereas Tabitha sits on the ground, on a bed surrounded by five other disciples and two kneeling women. Known as a widow who carried out Christ’s teachings by serving others in her community (Acts 9:36), there is no doubt that Tabitha was included in the fresco cycle as a reference to a group of widows who had been working in the Carmine as early as the middle of the thirteenth century, and who used the Carmine as a means to

⁸⁶ Cennini, *Craftsman’s Handbook*, 2.

⁸⁷ Garrard, *Brunelleschi’s Egg*, 61.

⁸⁸ Eckstein, “The Widows’ Might,” 102.

channel funds to the local community.⁸⁹ The widows associated with the Brancacci Chapel were considered exemplary models of piety, and they were well known in the neighborhood. Through their service emerged a fifteenth-century Florentine ideology that associated charity with feminine honor and identity.⁹⁰ Therefore, when Masolino depicted Tabitha on the Chapel wall, he illustrated a symbol of feminine piety that had flourished in the Carmine and would have been immediately recognized by all viewers.⁹¹ However, I do not consider the inclusion of Tabitha's figure in the Brancacci Chapel to be a positive reflection upon the female sex. Though she, and the widows alluded to, played active roles in philanthropic activities, she is still ultimately pictured as a passive, subservient figure in a patriarchal society. As the *Raising of Tabitha* is located next to Masolino's *Temptation* fresco, Tabitha's figure served to remind widows, and other female viewers, of their duty to compensate for Eve's irrational actions.

As humanity's downfall was ultimately redeemed by Christ's incarnation and Resurrection, Eve's position on the left-hand side of Adam can also be explained by investigating the relationship between Adam and Christ established in the Bible: "The first man Adam became a living being; the last Adam, a life-giving spirit. The spiritual did not come first, but the natural, and after that the spiritual. The first man was of the dust and of the earth; the second man is of heaven." (I Corinthians 15:44-47) This verse conveys the belief that Christ represented a second, perfect version of Adam that brought the opportunity for eternal life to humanity by overcoming the transgressions committed by humankind.⁹² In his *On the City of God* Augustine also spoke of

⁸⁹ Eckstein, "The Widows' Might," 105-106.

⁹⁰ Eckstein, "The Widows' Might," 107.

⁹¹ Eckstein, "The Widows' Might," 107.

⁹² Richard A. Burrige, "St. Paul on the Resurrection: I Corinthians 15," in *Death, Resurrection, and Human Destiny: Christian and Muslim Perspectives*, ed. David Marshall, Lucinda Mosher (Georgetown: Georgetown University Press, 2014): 137.

an association between Adam's sin and Christ's sacrifice, finding that, "Adam would not have died had he not sinned... its nature being changed... by sin to the extent of bringing us under the necessity of death, and being such as even Christ condescended first of all to assume, not indeed of necessity, but of choice."⁹³ In this statement, Augustine finds that Adam's sin ultimately brought about the mortality of humankind, while Christ's decision to sacrifice himself reversed humankind's eternal damnation. In this way, Adam and Christ were considered the antitheses of each other. Aquinas also elaborated upon Augustine's concept, emphasizing the relationship between Christ's crucifixion and Original Sin. He writes:

This kind of death was especially suitable in order to atone for the sin of our first parent, which was the plucking of the apple from the forbidden tree against God's command. And so, to atone for that sin, it was fitting that Christ should suffer by being fastened to a tree, as if restoring what Adam had purloined.⁹⁴

Here Aquinas argues that the wooden cross of Christ symbolically relates to the forbidden tree in the Garden of Eden. Understanding this relationship between Adam and Christ has profound implications for how one interprets Eve's placement in Masolino and Masaccio's frescoes. As noted above, *Last Judgement* imagery represented hell on the left-hand side of Christ, a visual tradition that fifteenth-century Florentines recognized. Because Adam symbolized the first, imperfect, and mortal version of Christ, his left side must have also held some significance. Thus, it is logical that Eve, the instigator of humanity's downfall, was placed on Adam's left-hand side as a reflection of the eternal damnation represented in the *Last Judgement*.

As the *Last Judgement* in the Florence Baptistery is a key visual source for the relationship between hell and the left-hand side of Christ referenced in this thesis, it is worthwhile to address

⁹³ St. Augustine, *The City of God*, trans. Marcus Dods in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, First Series*, ed. Philip Schaff (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1887), accessed August 15, 2016: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/120113.htm>.

⁹⁴ St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, accessed August 10, 2016, doi: <http://www.newadvent.org/summa/4046.htm>.

the fact that the mosaic (Fig. 4, 13th-14th century) shows Eve on the right-hand side of Adam in its Temptation scene. This transition from Eve's placement on the right-hand side of Adam in the Florence Baptistery mosaic to his left-hand side in the Brancacci Chapel fresco likely stems from the greater availability of these texts by Aristotle, Augustine, and Aquinas during the early fifteenth century, all of which clearly establish an association between inferiority, the female sex, and the left side.⁹⁵

It is also important to note that the Baptistery mosaics represent Eve on Adam's left-hand side in the scenes of God's discovery of their disobedience and their expulsion from paradise. The vault designers initially placed Eve on the right-hand side of Adam in the temptation scene, and then on his left in the following two images, most likely to emphasize God's condemnation of the female sex after the Fall: ““To the woman he said, I will make your pains in childbearing very severe; with painful labor you will give birth to children. Your desire will be for your husband, and he will rule over you” (Genesis 3:16). Though Aristotelian, Augustinian, and Thomistic literature was less available to the fourteenth-century Florentine reader than the early Renaissance reader, it is possible that the theologians in charge of this public religious space were familiar with the texts, either through the schooling system discussed above or through resources available in the libraries attached to ecclesiastical institutions.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ During the Medieval period, texts such as these would have only been available in the relatively inaccessible libraries of religious institutions; see Ullman and Stadter, *The Public*, 6. Yet, as established in my introduction, these texts were widely circulated, and available in more accessible collections, during the fifteenth century.

⁹⁶ Peter Denley, “Government and Schools in Late Medieval Italy,” *City and Countryside in Late Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Essays Presented to Philip Jones*, ed. Trevor Dean and Chris Wickham (London 1990), 93-107.

Florentine intellectuals like Alberti and Filarete (1400-1469) praised the Brancacci Chapel frescoes throughout the fifteenth century, and later artists drew inspiration from them.⁹⁷ Mariotto Albertinelli's (1474-1515) *The Temptation of Adam and Eve* (Fig. 5, 1509-13) is thought to have originally been part of a cabinet, however it is unclear whether this cabinet served domestic or liturgical purposes. The painting's small size (23.5 x 17.5 cm), as well as its hardwood medium, are both characteristic of works that decorated furniture.⁹⁸ In this scene, Albertinelli depicts Eve reaching for fruit from the forbidden tree. A snake with the head of a woman curls around the tree branches, and appears to whisper in Eve's ear. On the left half of the scene, Adam sits on a rock with his index finger pointed at Eve, as if chastising her for listening to the serpent. Though the painting reflects the stylistic influence of artists like Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) and Fra Bartolommeo (1472-1517), it is quite possible that Albertinelli was also inspired by the Brancacci Chapel frescoes.⁹⁹ Vasari includes Albertinelli on a list of artists who studied Masaccio:

Because of Masaccio's work, the Brancacci Chapel has been visited from that time to this by an endless stream of students and masters... How His work deserves unstinted praise, especially because of the way he formed in his painting the beautiful style of our own day. How true this is is shown by the fact that all the most renowned sculptors and painters who have lived from that time to this have become wonderfully proficient and famous by studying and working in that chapel: namely, Fra Giovanni da Fiesole, Fra Filippo... Mariotto Albertinelli, and the inspired Michelangelo Buonarroti.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Eckstein, *Painted Glories*, 22; Leon Battista Alberti, "On Painting," in *Leon Battista Alberti: On Painting a New Translation and Critical Edition*, ed. Rocco Sinisgalli (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 22, Alberti considers Masaccio as gifted as the artists from antiquity; Filarete, *Trattato di architettura*, Volume I, ed. A.M. Finoli and L. Grassi (Milan, 1972), 265, Filarete included Masolino and Masaccio's names in a list of artists he deemed worthy enough to decorate his ideal city.

⁹⁸ Dean, *A Selection of Early Italian Paintings from the Yale University Art Gallery* (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 2001): 42, Dean argues that because poplar was typical of independent panel paintings, Albertinelli's work likely decorated a cabinet, or another form of furniture that used hardwood. As domestic furniture from the time did not include such small paintings, it is possible that this cabinet was used within a church, for liturgical purposes.

⁹⁹ Dean, *A Selection*, 42-43.

¹⁰⁰ Vasari, *Lives*, 131.

Just as Masolino and Masaccio depicted scenes of the Temptation alongside fresco cycles that expressed themes of male activeness and female passiveness, Albertinelli's painting is paired with an image that emphasizes the power of male rationality and reproductive dominance. The *Sacrifice of Isaac* (Fig. 6, 16th century), thought to have been displayed on the same cabinet as *The Temptation*, represents God commanding Abraham to sacrifice his only son¹⁰¹:

Then God said, 'Take your son, whom you love—Isaac... sacrifice him as a burnt offering on a mountain I will show you...When they reached the place God had told him about, Abraham built an altar there and arranged the wood on it. He bound his son Isaac and laid him on the altar, on top of the wood. Then he reached out his hand and took the knife to slay his son. But the angel of the Lord called out to him from heaven, 'Do not lay a hand on the boy...Do not do anything to him. Now I know that you fear God, because you have not withheld from me your son, your only son. Abraham looked up and there in a thicket he saw a ram caught by its horns. He went over and took the ram and sacrificed it as a burnt offering instead of his son. (Genesis 22:2, 9-13.)

In his painting, Albertinelli renders the dramatic moment at which an angel stops Abraham just as he is about to kill his son. He portrays Isaac fully nude, kneeling on the altar with his hands bound, and looking up towards the sky timidly. In front of the altar, Albertinelli depicts a cluster of wooden sticks laying alongside a small burning flame. He shows Abraham, dressed in long blue robes, with his head slightly turned in the direction of the angel, as if surprised. The angel lays his left arm upon Abraham's shoulder, and points in the direction of a ram caught in a thicket in the middle ground of the scene. In the background, Albertinelli illustrates an outdoor landscape with distant rolling hills, and a tall mountain on the right edge of the scene. The presence of such a prominent mountain in a background landscape could be viewed as a reference to Augustine's *On*

¹⁰¹ Dean, *A Selection*, 43.

the City of God, where God's permanent location is described as a mountain.¹⁰² Augustine discusses the significance of the sacrifice of Isaac in *On the City of God*:

And on this account Isaac also himself carried to the place of sacrifice the wood on which he was to be offered up, just as the Lord Himself carried His own cross. Finally, since Isaac was not to be slain, after his father was forbidden to smite him, who was that ram by the offering of which that sacrifice was completed with typical blood? For when Abraham saw him, he was caught by the horns in a thicket. What, then, did he represent but Jesus, who, before He was offered up, was crowned with thorns by the Jews?...And the Angel of the Lord called unto Abraham from heaven the second time, saying, By myself have I sworn, says the Lord; because you have done this thing, and have not spared your beloved son for my sake; that in blessing I will bless you, and in multiplying I will multiply your seed as the stars of heaven, and as the sand which is upon the seashore.¹⁰³

In the first half of this excerpt, Augustine finds that the story of Isaac's sacrifice foreshadows Christ's ultimate sacrifice on the cross. He identifies a direct correlation between the wooden mediums described in both sacrificial narratives, and also observes that the ram trapped in the thicket alludes to Christ's being tortured by the Jews. Aquinas similarly discussed the significance of the near-sacrifice of Isaac in his *Summa Theologica*, finding that "Isaac was a type of Christ, being himself offered in sacrifice."¹⁰⁴ Given Augustine and Aquinas' interpretations of Genesis 22, which as noted above were well-circulated in fifteenth- and early-sixteenth century Florence, I believe that paired together, Albertinelli's *The Temptation* and *The Sacrifice of Isaac* express a relationship between the Fall of Man and Christ's atonement for humankind's sins. Because the

¹⁰² Augustine describes the City of God as, "The city of God we speak of is the same to which testimony is borne by that Scripture...For in a psalm we read, 'Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised in the city of our God, in the mountain of His holiness, increasing the joy of the whole earth...As we have heard, so have we seen in the city of the Lord, in the city of our God. God has established it forever.'" Augustine, *On the City of God*, Book XI, trans. Marcus Dods, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, ed. Philip Schaff (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1887), accessed April 7, 2017, doi: <<http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/120111.htm>>.

¹⁰³ Augustine, *On the City of God*, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. 2, trans. Marcus Dods, ed. Philip Schaff (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1887), accessed March 17, 2017; doi: <<http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/120116.htm>>.

¹⁰⁴ Aquinas, *Summa*, accessed March 17, 2017; doi: <http://www.newadvent.org/summa/3085.htm>.

story of Isaac can be understood as a prefiguration of Christ's violent death on the cross, the representation of Eve's disobedience in the Garden alludes to the reason for Christ's coming. More importantly, the Christ-centered dialogue communicated by the paired paintings may also reference an association between sin and Christ's left-hand side. Albertinelli would have certainly been familiar with Florentine Last Judgement scenes, such as the mosaic in the city's Baptistery. Much like Masolino and Masaccio's placement of Eve in the *Temptation* and *Expulsion* in the Brancacci Chapel, Albertinelli may have positioned Eve on the left-hand side of Adam in his *Temptation* in order to highlight her role as instigator of human sin, and the sinner's place in hell on the left-hand side of Christ.

Moreover, it is possible that Eve's association with the left-hand side of Adam can also be understood by examining the themes of male rationality and male-dominated procreation exemplified in both of Albertinelli's paintings. In *The Temptation*, Adam is clearly rendered as the more rational figure, as he appears to talk with Eve, and perhaps warn her against eating the fruit. Albertinelli emphasizes Eve's susceptibility to temptation by representing the serpent whispering into her ear while she actively reaches for the forbidden fruit. Male rationality is certainly also exemplified in *The Sacrifice of Isaac*, where Abraham serves as a symbol of male obedience, a quality that God rewards him for in Genesis 22:17-18: "I will surely bless you and make your descendants as numerous as the stars in the sky and as the sand on the seashore. Your descendants will take possession of the cities of their enemies, and through your offspring, all nations on earth will be blessed, because you have obeyed me." In the second half of the above excerpt from *On the City of God*, Augustine also emphasizes the gift of lineage bestowed upon Abraham for his willingness to sacrifice his most beloved son. Considering the fact that Albertinelli's paintings were in dialogue with one another, the artist seems to render images that reinforce the idea that

man was rational, and woman, irrational. Given that Aristotle, in his *On the Generation of Animals*, preached that the male sex was more rational than the female, and that Aristotle's text specifically linked woman with the left side, and man with the right, it is possible that Albertinelli's placement of Eve on the left-hand side of Adam communicates her irrationality.

Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel Frescoes

The relationship between paintings of Adam and Eve, and Aristotelian theories about rationality and procreation, is also visible in paintings produced by Florentine artists working outside of the city, such as Michelangelo's (1475-1564) Sistine Chapel ceiling. Michelangelo grew up in Florence, studying the works of Brunelleschi, Ghiberti, and Masaccio, among others.¹⁰⁵ He was certainly influenced by Masaccio's *Expulsion* fresco in the Brancacci Chapel, as he produced a sketch of the painting (Fig. 7, early 1500s), just before he was commissioned to paint the Sistine ceiling.¹⁰⁶ The Sistine Chapel, built between 1477 and 1484 by Pope Sixtus IV (1414-1484), was used for ceremonial masses and electing new popes. It was large enough to hold the entire College of Cardinals, the pope's household, and representatives of the secular Roman government. In total, the Chapel accommodated around 200 people.¹⁰⁷ Michelangelo's portrayals of Adam and Eve are included in the second triad of scenes from the nine narratives of Genesis, which run from one end of the ceiling to the other. In his *Creation of Eve* (Fig. 8, 1508-12), Michelangelo illustrates the biblical text on God's formation of woman (Genesis 2:18-22). Michelangelo paints Eve emerging from the left side of Adam. She bends forward in front of her creator, and holds her hands up in prayer as she looks towards the direction of God. With his right hand, God motions for her to

¹⁰⁵ Andrew Graham-Dixon, *Michelangelo and the Sistine Chapel* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2008), 5.

¹⁰⁶ Anthony Hughes, *Michelangelo* (London: Phaidon Press, 1997), 113.

¹⁰⁷ Hughes, *Michelangelo*, 119.

stand. Behind Eve, Adam sleeps next to a pile of dark rocks, making it seem as if Eve might also be stepping from the entrance of the cave beside him. The sleeping figure of Adam in Michelangelo's fresco is significant, as he alludes to the death of Christ and the formation of the Christian Church, a metaphor described by Augustine in *On the City of God*:¹⁰⁸ "For at the beginning of the human race the woman was made of a rib taken from the side of the man while he slept; for it seemed fit that even then Christ and His Church should be foreshadowed in this event. For that sleep of the man was the death of Christ, whose side, as He hung lifeless upon the cross, was pierced with a spear, and there flowed from it blood and water."¹⁰⁹ Given Augustine's statement, it is likely that Michelangelo's *Creation of Eve* fresco refers to Christ redeeming humankind from the consequences of Adam and Eve's sin, and thus Eve's figure on the left-hand side of Adam would highlight feminine irrationality and an association with Christ's left-hand side.¹¹⁰ Yet how much was Michelangelo influenced by Augustine? And would viewers of the Sistine Chapel ceiling—all educated religious figures—have recognized Augustinian allusions?

While examining Michelangelo's Genesis frescoes, it would seem that the artist, or his advisors, had a clear understanding of Augustine's conception of creation as discussed in *On the City of God*.¹¹¹ Michelangelo may himself have been familiar with Augustine's writings because of his Florentine patron, Lorenzo de' Medici. Though a full discussion on Lorenzo's patronage will not be provided here, Lorenzo decided to open the garden of the Monastery of San Marco to young artists, including Michelangelo, where he displayed a collection of antique sculptures and

¹⁰⁸ Graham-Dixon, *Michelangelo*, 90.

¹⁰⁹ Augustine, *The City of God*, 496.

¹¹⁰ Graham-Dixon, *Michelangelo*, 70.

¹¹¹ Meredith Gill, *Augustine in the Italian Renaissance*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005): 149; Esther Gordon Dotson, "An Augustinian Interpretation of Michelangelo's Sistine, Part I," in *Michelangelo, Selected Scholarship in English: The Sistine Chapel*, Volume II, ed. William E. Wallace (Abingdon: Taylor & Francis, 1995), 174.

gemstones. Given that Augustinian literature was held in the library at San Marco, and that Lorenzo represented an educated patron who owned *On the City of God*, it is possible that Michelangelo's relationship with Lorenzo represents a way in which he would have been familiar with Augustinian doctrine.¹¹² Moreover, Augustinians were prominent in both Florence and Rome. Florentine friars like Aurelio Brandolini (1454-1497) advocated for Augustinian ideologies in Rome, and members of the Augustinian order were well connected to the papal court, as they were employed as secretaries, churchmen, advisors, and rhetoricians.¹¹³ Scholars have suggested that Egidio of Viterbo (1472-1532), an Augustinian friar who was in Rome when plans for the Sistine Ceiling were being drawn up, likely advised Michelangelo and the Pope on which images to include in the fresco cycles.¹¹⁴ Pope Julius II appointed Egidio as Vicar General of the Augustinians in 1506, and was requested to preach on special occasions.¹¹⁵ Therefore, if Michelangelo did not develop the design for the fresco cycles by himself, Egidio may very likely have acted as an advisor. Regardless of who specifically chose to render Augustinian specific imagery in the *Creation of Eve* fresco, the ceiling's educated viewers would have certainly understood such references, as *On the City of God* was known in Rome not only in the form of manuscripts, but also by 1468, as a printed book.¹¹⁶

¹¹² Marco Bussagli, *Michelangelo* (Milan: Giunti Editore, 2008), 6.

¹¹³ Gill, *Augustine*, 150, 152; Paul Oskar Kristeller, "The Contribution of Religious Orders to Renaissance Thought and Learning," *The American Benedictine Review* 21 (1970): 16, 18, 36; Charles Trinkaus, *In Our Image and Likeness: Humanity and Divinity in Italian Humanist Thought*, Vol. I, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970), 297-321.

¹¹⁴ Dotson, "An Augustinian Interpretation," 198.

¹¹⁵ Dotson, "An Augustinian Interpretation," 198.

¹¹⁶ Eighteen manuscripts of *On the City of God* were held by the BAV during the fifteenth century (BAV Arch.Cap.S.PietroC.99, Borgh.366, Chig.A.V.135, Ottob.lat.110, Ottob.lat.113, Pal.lat.200, Reg.lat.1847, Reg.lat.18182, Ross.343, Vat.lat.426, Vat.lat.427, Va.lat.429, Vat.lat.434, Vat.lat.437, Vat.lat.438, Vat.lat.1795, Vat.lat.3339, Vat.lat.4222). The text was printed in Rome in 1468 and 1470 by Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, and in Rome in 1474 by Ulrich Han and Simon Nicolai Chardella.

While Michelangelo's *Creation of Eve* fresco depicts Eve on the left-hand side of Adam in order to reference Augustinian literature and the left-hand side of Christ, his *Temptation and Expulsion of Adam and Eve* (Fig. 7, 1508-12) portrays Eve on the left-hand side of Adam in order to allude to male-dominated procreation theories. In this scene, Michelangelo shows Adam actively reaching for fruit from a branch of the forbidden tree, while Eve accepts fruit from a serpent that coils around the tree on the right side of the image. These actions echo the belief that man was the more active and rational being, while woman was the passive, irrational, and easily vulnerable sex, sentiments that are also expressed in Aristotelian dualities.¹¹⁷ However, Aristotelian male-dominated generation theories are difficult to decipher when only examining his *Temptation and Expulsion* fresco. In order to fully comprehend such themes, one must consider the other frescoes included on the Sistine Ceiling, and their relationship to Michelangelo's *Temptation and Expulsion*. Though Aristotelian reproductive theories are perhaps implicitly referenced in Michelangelo's representations of Adam and Eve, they are more explicitly illustrated in other scenes on the Sistine ceiling. The Genesis cycle begins with God's creation of the world, continues with Adam and Eve, and concludes with Noah, who produces a new line of humanity after the flood.¹¹⁸ In the lunettes, the ancestors of Christ are depicted in family groups—the patriarch of each family named on tablets, ending with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The ceiling can therefore be conceived as a narrative of human history from the moment of Creation to Christ's human ancestors.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ Garrard, *Brunelleschi's Egg*, 84; Gerhart B. Ladner, "Medieval and Modern Understanding of Symbolism: A Comparison," *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies* 54 (1979): 234-235 (223-56); 1979, 234-235; Gerda Lerner, *The Creation of Patriarchy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 196-198; Bryce Vawter, *On Genesis: A New Reading* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1977): 70-73; M.R. Bennett, "The Legend of the Green Tree and the Dry," *Archaeological Journal* 83 (1962): 27.

¹¹⁸ Garrard, *Brunelleschi's Egg*, 83.

¹¹⁹ Garrard, *Brunelleschi's Egg*, 83.

Thus, in *The Temptation*, Michelangelo references not only the disobedient act committed by both Adam and Eve, but also and more specifically a complex array of themes regarding male-sponsored procreation theories. Adam, as an active, rational being, reaches for the fruit by himself, whereas Eve—as a representation of the passive, irrational sex—is an easily deceived recipient of the fruit. As the Vatican Library focused on acquiring Classical texts during the fourteenth and fifteenth-centuries, including manuscript and early printed copies of Aristotle’s *On the Generation of Animals*, it is quite possible that the Sistine Chapel’s educated viewers would have understood the Aristotelian reproductive theories rendered in this scene.¹²⁰ Moreover, as *On the Generation of Animals* was also available in Florence, Michelangelo was likely familiar with Aristotle’s teachings.

Adam and Eve in Florentine Domestic Settings

As the paintings discussed above were included in religious environments, it is important to consider whether the relationship between Eve, the left side, and irrationality also circulated in domestic settings, as spaces in the home were dominated by women. A second work by Albertinelli, *The Creation and Fall of Man* (Fig. 8, 1513-14) illustrates three parts of the Creation story within one scene. On the left, the artist depicts God, dressed in a red and blue robe, pulling Adam up from the ground. In the middle of the painting, Albertinelli portrays God creating Eve

¹²⁰ Carmela Vircillo Franklin, “Pro Communi Doctorum Virorum Comodo: The Vatican Library and Its Service to Scholarship,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 146 (2002): 368-370. The BAV was intended to be a collection that would encourage scholarly pursuits, and copies of ancient and contemporary texts could be undertaken. It was a place where popes and their advisors engaged in scholarly activity and learned discussions, and scholars in the papal circles promoted the purchasing of Classical and humanist texts, as the press generated texts free of scribal errors that contaminated handwritten manuscripts. Four versions of Aristotle’s *On the Generation of Animals*, printed in 1504 by Aldo Manuzio in Venice, are held in Roman libraries (the Biblioteca Casanatense, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, and the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana). Two manuscript copies of *De Generatione Animalium*, written in between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are located in the BAV: (Chig. E.VIII.251, Vat.lat.2094).

from Adam's side. On the right edge of the scene, he depicts an image that is almost identical to the *Temptation* discussed above. Albertinelli shows Eve, positioned on Adam's left-hand side, sharing a piece of fruit with her husband; a serpent with the head of a woman, whispers in her ear, while Eve clutches a branch of the forbidden tree with her left arm. This painting was identified as one of the 'three little stories,' mentioned by Vasari in his 'Life of Albertinelli,' as being painted for the banker Giovanmaria di Lorenzo Benintendi between 1513 and 1515.¹²¹ It has been identified as a *spalliere*, a type of panel painting that was typically located in a register of wainscoting at shoulder height.¹²² Divided into sections, such paneling sometimes covered the entire width of a wall, and was used to insulate a room from the cold of winter and the heat of summer.¹²³

An additional example of a domestic painting of Adam and Eve includes a tondo (Fig. 9, 1505-1515) attributed to the painter Piero di Cosimo (1462-1522).¹²⁴ In the center foreground of this circular painting, Piero depicts Adam's labor described by Cennini above, as he portrays Adam digging with a shovel. On Adam's left, Eve sits on a rock, breastfeeding a male infant. Her body twists forwards slightly, in the direction of her husband, and is framed by the outline of a tree stump behind her. The relationship between Eve and the dead tree is also rendered in depictions

¹²¹ Caroline Campbell, *Love and Marriage in Renaissance Florence: The Courtauld Wedding Chests* (London: The Courtauld Gallery, 2009), 104. For a history on the provenance of Albertinelli's painting, and its connection to Vasari's text, see: Anthony Blunt, *The Gambier-Parry Collection: Provisional Catalogue* (London: The Courtauld Institute of Art, 1967), 8-11; Philip Troutman, *The Paintings' Collections of the Courtauld Institute of Art* (London: The Courtauld Institute of Art, 1979), 3-4.

¹²² The painting includes battens, characteristic of *spalliere*, which taper off at the top of the panel; these are likely the original battens, used to attach the panel to a piece of furniture, or more likely a wall, see Campbell, *Love and Marriage*, 104; Anne B. Barriault, *Spalliera Paintings of Renaissance Tuscany: Fables of Poets for Patrician Homes* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University, 1994), 13.

¹²³ Barriault, *Spalliera Paintings*, 13.

¹²⁴ The tondo was attributed to Piero after restoration in 1997, see Roberta J.M. Olson, *The Florentine Tondo* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 253.

of Eve's creation produced outside of Florence, and has been identified as a symbol of her greater role in instigating the Fall.¹²⁵ In the background of the scene, Piero portrays the Creation, Temptation, and Fall of Adam and Eve. On the far left, he illustrates God lifting Adam from the ground. On the right, he represents Eve talking to the serpent alone, followed by Eve offering Adam fruit from the forbidden tree. In the center of the background, the artist depicts an angel expelling Adam and Eve from paradise; they walk under an arch, likely representing a doorway to paradise, and adopt almost identical poses to those rendered in Masaccio's *Expulsion*.

The Florentine *tondo*, a type of circular domestic painting, often served devotional purposes. These works were typically hung in private domestic chambers, called *camere*, or in a nearby antechamber or study.¹²⁶ The majority of *tondi* feature scenes of the Virgin and child, however portraits, allegories, and narrative themes were also depicted in a such a format.¹²⁷ Their circular shape likely originated from a *desco da parto*, a salver used to bring food and gifts to women after childbirth. *Deschi* celebrated matrimony and maternity, and were integral to the Florentine family and its life cycle.¹²⁸ Like *deschi*, *tondi* held important messages for the woman of the household, whose value was measured by her ability to reproduce.¹²⁹ Adam and Eve

¹²⁵ Michelangelo also portrays Eve alongside a dead tree stump in his *Creation of Eve* (1508-12) on the Sistine Chapel Ceiling, see Garrard, *Brunelleschi's Egg*, 84.

¹²⁶ Olson, *The Florentine Tondo*, 60.

¹²⁷ Olson, *The Florentine Tondo*, 60.

¹²⁸ Olson, *The Florentine Tondo*, 22.

¹²⁹ Olson, *The Florentine Tondo*, 25; The emphasis on birth rituals associated with the act of reproduction originated from the high death rate caused by the Black Death, which decimated the Florentine population from the 1340s through 1400, see David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Tuscans and Their Families: A Study of the Florentine Catasto of 1427* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 229; on the variety, purpose and use of *desco da parto*, see Jacqueline Musacchio, *The Art and Ritual of Childbirth in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 59.

represented an Old Testament variation on the Holy Family, and would have communicated similar familial values.¹³⁰

Examined within the Aristotelian and Christian sources discussed above, Piero renders an association between Eve and the left-hand side of Adam that highlights feminine irrationality and vulnerability. As he includes the Temptation and Expulsion scenes in the background, Piero juxtaposes representations of Adam and Eve's disobedient acts, with the punishment that they, and all humankind must now face. Given that this tondo likely hung in the private domestic chambers of a Florentine couple, the painting's message clearly alludes to themes of masculine rationality and feminine vulnerability. This image reminded male viewers of their responsibility to watch over the women in their house, who were more susceptible to wrongdoing, while it confronted female viewers with a scene that alluded to woman's ultimate sin, and her irrational state of mind. These themes were reflected in contemporary literature of the day, and in the roles assigned to each gender within *quattrocento* Florentine society.

The Impact of Eve's Placement on the Florentine Construction of Gender

As this chapter has identified reasons for why Eve was depicted on the left-hand side of Adam in painted representations of her Creation, Temptation, and Expulsion, located in religious and domestic spaces, it is important to ponder how this association between Eve and the left side may have influenced the perception of feminine character and women's roles in *quattrocento* Florence. Humanist discourse played an instrumental role in the construction of gender by arguing that Eve's negative qualities were reflected in all women. In *On Famous Women* (1374), the first compiled collection of female biographies in Western literature, Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375) emphasizes that Eve's fall into temptation signifies woman's inability to refrain from wrongdoing:

¹³⁰ Olson, *The Florentine Tondo*, 253.

With a woman's fickleness, Eve believed him [the serpent], more than was good for her or for us; foolishly, she thought that she was about to rise to greater heights. Her first step was to flatter her pliant husband into her way of thinking. Then they broke the law and tasted the apple... By this rash, foolhardy act they brought themselves and all their future descendants from peace and immorality to anxious labor and wretched death, and from a delightful country to thorns, clods, and rocks.¹³¹

Though Boccaccio places blame on both Adam and Eve, his description of Eve as the typification of "woman's fickleness" conveys the idea that the female sex as a whole is a reflection of Eve, and is naturally disobedient. Boccaccio's interpretation of Genesis 3 suggests that the images of Adam and Eve discussed above allude to the negative qualities associated with the irrationality and sin of women in particular. By the early fifteenth century, there were at least 138 illuminated manuscript copies of *Famous Women* on the Italian peninsula.¹³² Florentine owners of the text included Niccolò Niccoli, who built a library to honor Boccaccio and house the books left by Boccaccio to the monastery of Santo Spirito in Florence.¹³³ A manuscript version of *On Famous Women* was also owned by Coluccio Salutati, and includes marginal notes that were likely added by Salutati himself.¹³⁴ Palla Strozzi (1372-1462), one of the wealthiest men in Florence and a renowned humanist and statesman, also owned an ornately decorated copy.¹³⁵ Given the text's popularity, it is possible that educated viewers of Adam and Eve imagery would have been familiar with Boccaccio's text and this association between Eve, "woman's fickleness," and irrational behavior.

¹³¹ Giovanni Boccaccio, *De Mulieribus Claris (On Famous Women)*, trans. Virginia Brown (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 17.

¹³² Margaret Franklin, *Boccaccio's Heroines: Power and Virtue in Renaissance Society* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 10.

¹³³ Franklin, *Boccaccio's Heroines*, 10.

¹³⁴ The Salutati Manuscript is now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (MS Canon. Misc. 58); *Ibid.*, 12.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*; Strozzi's copy of *Famous Women* is the most ornately decorated Latin copy of the text known, and is currently located in the BML, Cod. Strozzi 93.

Boccaccio's statements reflect the Florentine belief that women needed to be married in order to ensure their safety. This concept is also discussed by the bookseller Vespasiano da Bisticci in his *Il Libro delle lode e commendazione delle donne* (1479). Bisticci makes a specific comparison between Eve and the irrationality of woman. He writes:

When God created man in His own image and likeness, He said it could not be good to remain alone, but would be necessary to give him a companion. He chose this companion to be a woman, and created her out of Adam's rib. After this, He said that the two should be one flesh in love, through their affinity and union... and all was made necessary for human nature so that it could preserve itself. If anyone wants to blame woman for the sin of Adam, since she persuaded her husband to disobey the divine commands, I reply that man sinned more than woman, since he, as the head, should have guided her away from such an error.¹³⁶

Though Bisticci blames the Fall of humanity on Adam, he still finds Eve inferior because of her culpability to fall into sin without male guidance. And indeed, in fifteenth-century Florence, an unmarried woman was considered incapable of living on her own, in the absence of male protection, as she would surely commit sinful acts.¹³⁷ In the Florentine tax survey, or *catasto*, of 1427, there were only 70 households comprised of unmarried women among the city's 1,536 households.¹³⁸ The only acceptable way to avoid marriage or jeopardizing the family's honor was to join a convent. Thus, a woman's identity in fifteenth-century Florence centered around the state of marriage, while economic, legal, and political life remained under male control.¹³⁹

Given this association between Eve and feminine vulnerability, Eve's placement on the left-hand side of Adam served as a visual reminder that women could easily become ensnared in

¹³⁶ Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Il Libro delle lode e commendazione delle donne*, in *Women in Italy: 1350-1650 Ideals and Realities*, ed. Mary Rogers and Paola Tinagli (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005): 15. Also see Pamela Joseph Benson, *Invention of the Renaissance Woman: The Challenge of Female Independence in the Literature and Thought of Italy and England* (Pennsylvania State Press, 2010): 37.

¹³⁷ Klapisch-Zuber, *Women*, 119.

¹³⁸ Klapisch-Zuber, *Women*, 119.

¹³⁹ Klapisch-Zuber, *Women*, 119.

sin. Thus, paintings like those produced by Masolino, Masaccio, Albertinelli, Michelangelo, and Piero di Cosimo served to reinforce the idea that women should marry. Eve's position reminded viewers of the consequences that could befall humanity if women were not supervised constantly. Moreover, *Expulsion* imagery reminded both men and women that those who were not married would be excluded from the Florentine community; single women brought dishonor upon their family. Together, Aristotelian, Christian, and humanist literature established a link between the left side, women, and irrationality, a theme that was replicated in both religious and domestic representations of Adam and Eve, and that limited women to domestic roles, where they were protected from falling into sin.

Chapter II

The Left Side and Female Sexual Passivity in Florentine Annunciation Scenes

If Eve's position on the left-hand side of Adam in fifteenth-century Florentine paintings alludes to feminine irrationality, other representations of the Aristotelian relationship between women and the left side did not necessarily associate the female sex with such overtly negative qualities. While scholars have previously explored the importance of Marian devotion and Annunciation imagery in Florentine religious life, an explanation for the placement of the two central figures has yet to be provided.¹⁴⁰ In order to fully comprehend paintings of the Annunciation, one must view these images in the context of Aristotelian and Christian literature that was held in both private and semi-public libraries in fifteenth-century Florence. While this was an exceptionally popular iconography, and many Annunciation paintings were produced in Florence for different locations, I have selected works by Florentine artists who portray a relationship between art, religion, and scientific inquiry. I will show that the Virgin was placed on the left-hand side of the angel in order to communicate an ingrained cultural ideology about the relationship between Eve and Mary as explained through the synthesis of Aristotelian and religious reproductive theories. Moreover, the Virgin's placement on the left-hand side of the angel reinforced Florentine patriarchal discourse that stated women should strive to be submissive and virtuous.

Comprehending the Virgin's Role as a Second Eve

The imagery used by all Florentine painters of Annunciation scenes originated from the gospel of Luke, the basic text for the Annunciation:

¹⁴⁰ For an in-depth study on the relationship between Annunciation scenes and Marian devotion, see Megan Holmes, *The Miraculous Image in Renaissance Florence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

The angel went to her and said, ‘Greetings, you who are highly favored! The Lord is with you.’ Mary was greatly troubled at his words and wondered what kind of greeting this might be. But the angel said to her, ‘Do not be afraid, Mary; you have found favor with God. You will conceive and give birth to a son, and you are to call him Jesus... ‘How will this be,’ Mary asked the angel, ‘since I am a virgin?’ The answered, ‘The Holy Spirit will come on you, and the power of the Most High will overshadow you. So the holy one to be born will be called the Son of God.’ ‘I am the Lord’s servant,’ Mary answered. ‘May your word to me be fulfilled.’ (Luke 1:28-32, 34-35, 38)

Mary’s obedient nature, exemplified in her willing response to the archangel’s request, played a role in redeeming Eve’s sinful actions in the Garden of Eden. Religious texts that were known to fifteenth-century Florentine readers sought to draw lines between the figures of Eve and Mary, revering the Virgin for her willingness to perform her duty to God, and finding that her sinless nature made her the antithesis of Eve. For example, in his *Epistle 22*, Saint Jerome (437-420) found that by giving birth to Christ—a perfect child who redeemed humankind, the Virgin could be understood as a life-giving female figure, unlike Eve, who ultimately brought death and destruction upon humanity. He writes: “Now that a virgin has conceived in the womb and borne us a child... now the chain of the curse is broken. Death came through Eve, but life has come through Mary.”¹⁴¹ Jerome’s *Epistle 22* likely influenced educated viewers of Annunciation paintings, given its wide circulation in fifteenth-century Florence.¹⁴²

Similarly, public sermons also focused on the Virgin’s role in redeeming humanity, through her willingness to serve God by conceiving Christ. A sermon given by Bernardino of Siena in Siena in 1427, who preached in many Italian city-states, including Florence, captures this idea:

Because Mary is the one who has restored you from all these disgraces. She has lifted you from shame... If you say, ‘It was woman who made us fall into death,’ I

¹⁴¹ St. Jerome, “Epistle 22,” trans. W.H. Fremantle, G. Lewis, and W.G. Martley, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series*, ed. By Philip Schaff and Henry Wace (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1893); doi: <<http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/3001022.htm>>.

¹⁴² Fifty-seven manuscripts of St. Jerome’s *Epistle 22* are held by the BML in Florence; one is owned by the BNCF (Landau Finaly, MS. 7, and one is owned by the BR (312 ff.159), implying that this text was widely read and circulated among the educated classes in Florence during the fifteenth century.

say you speak truly: ‘But it was also woman who picked us up and revived us... The Virgin Mary... has remedied the frailty given to woman through the frailty of Eve: you are fallen, with no stability, because when you were tempted by the serpent, straightaway you were thrown to the ground with no resistance. Mary remedies this offence of woman, so that women can say: ‘If Eve was fallen, Mary was stable and firm.’¹⁴³

According to Bernardino, the vulnerabilities associated with Eve and the female sex, discussed in my first chapter, are not visible in the figure of the Virgin. In fact, Mary serves as a reviver of humanity and feminine strength. Yet while she represented all that Eve did not, her placement on the left-hand side of the archangel Gabriel in Florentine paintings of the Annunciation glorified the theme of female passivity. Although this virtue was highly respected in Florentine society, it ultimately emphasized woman’s inferiority to man.

Using Aristotelian Reproductive Theories to Scientifically Explain Christ’s Conception

Like the authors discussed above, Thomas Aquinas also focused on the Virgin’s role in salvation history and her relationship to Eve.¹⁴⁴ Yet as a translator and commentator of Aristotle’s texts, Aquinas also considered the ways in which Christian mysteries—like the Annunciation—could be reconciled with human experience. Though he lacked modern understanding of genetics, conception, and prenatal growth, he did have what he believed to be facts about human generation.¹⁴⁵ In his *Summa Theologica* he writes:

For since Christ is the true and natural Son of God, it was not fitting that He should have another father than God... Since therefore flesh was so assumed by the Word of god, it was fitting that it also should be conceived without corruption of the mother... Now it was not possible in a nature already corrupt, for flesh to be born from sexual intercourse without the infection of original sin. According to the Philosopher [Aristotle] in conception the seed of the male is not by way of matter,

¹⁴³ Bernardino of Siena, “Sermon,” in *Women in Italy 1350-1650: Ideals and Realities*, ed. Mary Rogers and Paola Tinagli (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 17-18; For more detailed information on the travels of Saint Bernardino of Siena, see Cuthbert Gumbinger, “St. Bernardine of Siena: The Popular Preacher,” *Franciscan Studies* 2 (1942), 18; Iris Origo, *The World of San Bernardino* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1962), I.

¹⁴⁴ Hood, *Fra Angelico*, 269.

¹⁴⁵ Hood, *Fra Angelico*, 269.

but by way of agent: and the female alone supplies the matter...In Christ's conception, His being born of a woman was in accordance with the laws of nature, but that He was born of a virgin was above the laws of nature. Now, such is the law of nature that in the generation of an animal the female supplies the matter, while the male is the active principle of generation; as the Philosopher proves in *De Generatione Animalium*...The active principle of generation was the supernatural power of God...His body was conceived from the matter which other women supply for the conception of their offspring.¹⁴⁶

In this passage, Aquinas combines Aristotle's male-dominated procreation theories with his understanding of Christ's conception in the Virgin's womb. He reasons that God served as the "active principle of generation" by miraculously enabling a child to be born from a virgin, while Mary provided the human "matter" necessary for God to take the form of a man. The popularity of this text was examined in my introduction; it was particularly important for Dominican representations of the Annunciation, such as the fresco produced by Fra Angelico discussed below.

The S.S. *Annunziata* Fresco and the Prominence of Annunciation Imagery in Florentine Civic and Devotional Life

Perhaps the most influential Florentine painting of the Annunciation was the anonymous fresco in the Santissima Annunziata, the church of the Servite Order in Florence (Fig. 1, 14th century?). The fresco portrays the angel Gabriel on the left-hand side of the scene, while the Virgin sits across from him with her hands in her lap. Mary looks to the upper left, where gold diagonal lines symbolize the Holy Spirit sent to impregnate her.¹⁴⁷ While the real date of the fresco's completion remains obscure, art historians hypothesize that Jacopo di Cione (1325-1390) painted the scene in the mid-1300s.¹⁴⁸ However, fourteenth and fifteenth century literature date the

¹⁴⁶ St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, trans. The Fathers of the English Dominican Province, Second and Revised Edition, 1920. Accessed September 20, 2016. doi: <http://www.newadvent.org/summa/4028.htm>.

¹⁴⁷ Susan Von Rohr Scaff, "The Virgin Annunciate in Art of the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance," 111.

¹⁴⁸ Stowell, *The Spiritual Language*, 37.

painting to 1252, and celebrated it as an image made by the hand of God. Multiple tales recount that the painting was created when a pious artist prayed to produce an image worthy of the Virgin's beauty, later discovering that the Virgin's face had been finished in his absence.¹⁴⁹ This *Annunciation* embodied a miracle: just as Mary conceived through God and not by her husband, the painting was completed by God and not by man.¹⁵⁰ This was considered the most prestigious of all the miraculous images in the city throughout the fifteenth century, and it greatly influenced the painters Fra Angelico (1395-1455) and Lorenzo di Credi (1459-1537), whose works will be discussed in detail below, among others.¹⁵¹ Moreover, the Annunziata fresco served as a focus of Florentine processions, and was viewed by both local and international visitors, as it was thought to possess thaumaturgic powers.¹⁵²

It became the focus of an active public cult, stimulated by multiple fourteenth-century occurrences of plague and famine.¹⁵³ The Florentine poet Franco Sacchetti (1335-1400), writing in the 1390s, commented on the prominence of the Annunziata scene above other, previously important miraculous sites:

There was a time when each person ran to Santa Maria in Civoli, then to Santa Maria delle Selva; then the fame increased of Santa Mara in Impruneta; then to Fiesole, to Santa Maria Primerana... then they abandoned all of these and every person has converged on the *Annunciation* of the Servites... where, in one manner or another, there have been placed and hung so many votive images that if the walls

¹⁴⁹ Stowell, *The Spiritual Language*, 38; The earliest account of the painting's miraculous origin is described by the Servite Paola Attavanti, entitled *Dialogus de origine ordinis servorum ad Petrum Cosmae* (1465), which is preserved in manuscript in the Biblioteca Laurenziana of Florence, and is discussed by Megan Holmes in "Elusive Origins and the Cult of the Annunciation in Florence," in *The Miraculous Image in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Erik Thuno and Gerhard Wolf (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2004), 97-99.

¹⁵⁰ Stowell, *The Spiritual Language*, 39.

¹⁵¹ Megan Holmes, *The Miraculous Image in Renaissance Florence*, I; Steven Stowell, *The Spiritual Language of Art* (Boston: Brill, 2014), 37.

¹⁵² Holmes, *The Miraculous Image*, 43.

¹⁵³ Holmes, *The Miraculous Image*, 46.

hadn't been reinforced with chains a little while ago, they would have been in danger of coming down together with the roof.¹⁵⁴

The cult that rose around this image during the fourteenth century may have influenced the renewal, in 1412, of the dedication of the Florence Cathedral to the Virgin with the title of Santa Maria del Fiore.¹⁵⁵ The *Annunciation* was also at the center of civic life; beginning in 1364, and continuing throughout the fifteenth century, the guild consuls and the governmental body, or *Signoria*, took part in a procession to the fresco each year on 25 March, the feast of the Annunciation, a day that also marked the beginning of the Florentine calendar.¹⁵⁶ Thus, the miraculous fresco was not only the focus of religious and political traditions, but was also closely associated with a Florentine sense of time.¹⁵⁷ The painting gained local and then international prestige, and the Medici family became patrons of the chapel during the mid-fifteenth century.¹⁵⁸ In 1448, Piero di Cosimo de' Medici (1416-1469) commissioned the architect Michelozzo (1396-1472) to build a tabernacle around it, emphasizing the sanctity of the space by setting it apart from the rest of the church and marking off the devotional space for his Medici patron.¹⁵⁹

Because the origin of the fresco is unclear, it is difficult to prove that the representation was influenced by Aristotelian literature. However, it is known that a version of Aquinas' *Commentary on Metaphysics*, which included a copy of Aristotle's original text, likely existed in

¹⁵⁴ Holmes, *The Miraculous Image*, 43.

¹⁵⁵ Mary Bergstein, "Marian Politics in Quattrocento Florence: The Renewed Dedication of Santa Maria del Fiore in 1412," *Renaissance Quarterly* 44 (1991): 675.

¹⁵⁶ Holmes, *The Miraculous Image*, 80.

¹⁵⁷ Bergstein, "Marian Politics," 675.

¹⁵⁸ On the relationship between the Medici family and the Annunziata, see Dora Liscia Bemporad, "L'Arredo della Santissima Annunziata," in *Alla Riscoperta delle Chiese di Firenze: Santissima Annunziata*, ed. Timothy Verdon (Florence: Centro Di, 2005): 40-42 (39-53); Megan Holmes, "The Elusive Origins," 99; Gerhard Wolf, "Le Immagini nel Quattrocento tra Miracolo e Magia. Per una 'Iconologia' Rifondata," in *The Miraculous Image in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance, Papers from a Conference Held at the Accademia di Danimarca in Collaboration with the Bibliotheca Hertziana* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2004): 305.

¹⁵⁹ Stowell, *The Spiritual Language*, 44.

the Annunziata's collections in manuscript form during the thirteenth century.¹⁶⁰ This copy was originally transcribed in England, and certainly could have entered the Annunziata collections as Florence traded with English merchants during the Medieval and Renaissance period.¹⁶¹

It is thus possible that the relationship between femininity, the left side, and passivity permeated contemporary Florentine culture before the Annunziata fresco was painted. The scene may depict the Virgin on the left-hand side of the angel in order to illustrate her passive role in the act of reproduction. The artist portrays Mary in a pose that highlights her willingness to perform her duty to God, gazing upwards in the direction of the descending Holy Spirit, timidly yet readily. While it is impossible to say whether or not the painter was familiar with Aristotle's dualities, his *Annunciation* exhibits motifs that were traditionally replicated in Annunciation paintings during this time when Aristotelian literature was widely circulated in Florence.

The Influence of Aristotle and Aquinas on Two Paintings of the *Annunciation* by Fra Angelico

The miraculous Annunziata fresco must have influenced the painter Fra Angelico.¹⁶² Born Guido di Pietro, he joined the Observant Dominican community of San Domenico in Fiesole, just outside of Florence, when he was about 21 years old.¹⁶³ As a young friar, Fra Angelico was heavily influenced by Giovanni Dominici (1356-1419), a Dominican teacher whose pupils included Saint

¹⁶⁰ A thirteenth-century manuscript of Thomas Aquinas' *Exposito in duodecim libros Metaphysicae* is held by the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana. According to the BML catalogue, the manuscript was transcribed in England during the thirteenth century, and entered the Annunziata collection as late as the sixteenth century.

¹⁶¹ Raymond De Roover, *The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank, 1397-1494* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963): 2.

¹⁶² Giorgio Vasari, *The Lives of the Artists*, trans. George Bull (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1901), I:201 ("There are other paintings by Fra Angelico containing a number of small, very carefully executed figures, on the doors of the cupboard in Piero de' Medici's chapel of the Annunziata at Florence.").

¹⁶³ Anthony Fisher, "A New Interpretation of Fra Angelico," *New Blackfriars* 75 (1994): 255.

Antonino (1389-1459), later Archbishop of Florence.¹⁶⁴ Fra Angelico initially trained as a manuscript illuminator, and was given the task of painting in San Domenico and other monasteries throughout Florence. Two of his depictions of the Annunciation illustrate Fra Angelico's knowledge of Aristotelian and Thomist literature, and also encourage viewers to mirror the Virgin's passive behavior.

In the first *Annunciation* (Fig. 2, 1425-28), produced for an altarpiece at San Domenico, Angelico's experience with manuscript illumination is easily observable, and his figures are rendered with striking detail and delicacy.¹⁶⁵ Angelico's *Annunciation* reveals the painter's knowledge of the relationship between Eve and the Virgin Mary. On the right side of the painting, he depicts the archangel appearing to the Virgin. Dressed in a brightly colored robe, with a pair of golden wings and a jeweled halo that encircles his head, Gabriel is portrayed as a divine messenger. He looks straight ahead as he approaches Mary, crossing his arms over his chest, and bending his left leg as if he is about to kneel. The Virgin does not quite meet her visitor's gaze, but leans the upper half of her body forward, signaling her approval of the angel's presence. Angelico frames her pale face with an ornate gold halo, and adorns her figure with bright blue and red robes. Both the angel and Mary are under a loggia, the slender columns of which divide the composition evenly into thirds. The blue curving vaults, as well as the emphasis on depth and rational proportions, seem inspired by the contemporary architecture of Filippo Brunelleschi.¹⁶⁶ On the left side of the painting, Angelico depicts Adam and Eve, along with an angel, in a lush garden with various types of trees, grasses, and flowers. The garden serves a dual purpose in this scene; it alludes to the

¹⁶⁴ Michael Baxandall *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 147.

¹⁶⁵ Diane Cole Ahl, *Fra Angelico* (New York: Phaidon Press, Inc., 2008): 46.

¹⁶⁶ Cole Ahl, *Fra Angelico*, 46.

original paradise inhabited by Adam and Eve, and serves as a symbol of Mary's virginity.¹⁶⁷ Though the artist portrays Adam with his right hand partially covering his face, as if humiliated, he conceals the nudity of both progenitors with simple gowns cinched at the waist with small leaves and branches. Above the garden, the hand of God shines a beam of golden light, representing the Holy Spirit, towards the angel and Virgin.

Angelico relates the Fall of Man and the Annunciation in this image. Compared to the small size of Adam and Eve, the Virgin's more prominent figure seems to emphasize her role in overcoming humankind's original sin. The inscription written across the bottom of the frame also alludes to the antithetical association between Eve and Mary. The figure of Eve, on the left edge of the scene, lines up perfectly with the inscription's first word: 'Ave.' Medieval and Renaissance scholars identified 'Ave' with Mary, as it was the first word spoken by the angel to the Virgin, while they associated the name "Eva" with Eve.¹⁶⁸ For example Archbishop Antoninus explained the relationship between Gabriel's greeting and Eve: "I am saying 'Ave' [hail] to you, the complete opposite of whom is Eva [Eve]."¹⁶⁹ By depicting Eve directly above the term 'Ave' in his *Annunciation*, Angelico makes an explicit reference to the contrasting roles of Eve and the Virgin, a theme that was discussed by Aquinas in *Summa Theologica*, which would have been known to Angelico as arguably one of the most important texts of the Dominican Order.¹⁷⁰ Moreover, this theme was also recognizable to educated Renaissance viewers.¹⁷¹ For example, in his *Lives of the*

¹⁶⁷ Cole Ahl, *Fra Angelico*, 137.

¹⁶⁸ Cole Ahl, *Fra Angelico*, 46.

¹⁶⁹ Cole Ahl, *Fra Angelico*, 46.

¹⁷⁰ Cole Ahl, *Fra Angelico*, 124; Hood, *Fra Angelico*, 260; Angelico was certainly familiar with the teachings of Aquinas, as he represented the theologian in many of his paintings, see Fisher, "A New Interpretation," 261.

¹⁷¹ Cole Ahl, *Fra Angelico*, 46.

Artists, Giorgio Vasari describes the relationship between Adam and Eve and the Virgin displayed in Angelico's painting:

In one of the chapels of [San Domenico at Fiesole] there is a panel painting by Fra Angelico of the Annunciation, showing Our Lady and the angel Gabriel in profile, their features being so well executed, so delicate and devout, that they seem to have been made in heaven rather than in this world. In the landscape one can see Adam and Eve, because of whom the Redeemer was to be born from the Virgin.¹⁷²

Yet it should be noted here that Angelico does not depict Eve on the left-hand side of Adam in this *Annunciation*. As discussed in my first chapter, Florentine painters like Masolino da Panicale and Masaccio positioned Eve to the left of Adam in order to allude to both Christ's role as a second Adam, and a theme of feminine passivity as expressed in Aristotelian dictum. Though Angelico produced this *Annunciation* during his early career, as a devout Dominican, he would have been familiar with Aristotle's male-dominated generation theories, and the relationship between Adam and Christ, as discussed in Aquinas' *Summa Theologica*.¹⁷³ Yet if Angelico knew enough of Aquinas' literature, why would he not illustrate the association between Adam and Christ, and likewise femininity, the left side, and hell?

Though Aquinas' thoughts on the biological processes involved in Christ's miraculous incarnation have already been explained, it should be noted that Aquinas believed that the Holy Spirit played an active role in Christ's conception. In *Summa Theologica*, he writes:

The work of the conception is common to the whole Trinity... but the formation of the body taken by the Son is attributed to the Holy Ghost. This is shown by the words of the angel: "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee," as it were, in order to prepare and fashion the matter of Christ's body... that she might, while remaining a virgin, bring Him forth, not actively, but passively, just as other mothers achieve this through the action of the male seed.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷² Vasari, *Lives of the Artists*, 201.

¹⁷³ Cole Ahl, *Fra Angelico*, 46.

¹⁷⁴ Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, accessed January 24, 2017: https://www.ccel.org/ccel/aquinas/summa.TP_Q32_A4.html.

The idea that the Holy Spirit functioned as the active, male partner in the procreative process, immediately enabling Mary to conceive, dramatically impacts the way one should interpret Angelico's San Domenico *Annunciation*. As the painting's frame invites the viewer to read the words spoken by the angel, and clearly depicts the Holy Spirit as an active provider of God's seed, I believe that Angelico portrays the immediate conception of Christ in the Virgin's womb. As soon as Christ was conceived, the Virgin overcame Eve's disobedience, and woman's vulnerability to sin, by willingly submitting her body to God. Thus, Eve's position in relation to Adam was reversed, as woman was no longer only synonymous with hell and man's downfall. That Angelico would portray an image with such theological depth is not surprising, as he was considered one of the most devout painters of his time, and sought to produce art that expressed the beliefs of the Dominican community and tradition.¹⁷⁵

Now that the problematic placement of Eve on the right-hand side of Adam has been addressed, it is necessary to examine the possible reasons for why the Virgin is shown on the angel's left-hand side. As Angelico was a Dominican friar, and Aquinas' *Summa Theologica* circulated in Florence during the fifteenth century, he would have likely been familiar with the relationship between activity and passivity discussed in the theologian's text. In his San Domenico *Annunciation*, the angel and the Holy Spirit serve as the dominant, active agents in the Virgin's miraculous conception. Gabriel's first word, 'Ave' serves to initiate the reversal of humanity's damnation, while the Holy Spirit bestows God's seed within the Virgin's womb. Though Mary, as a virgin, contributes ideal human nature to her child, the Holy Spirit supplies Christ with his divinity—the only quality that is capable of redeeming all of humankind. In this way, Angelico's

¹⁷⁵ Vasari emphasizes the influence of Angelico's faith on his art: "It is also said that Fra Angelico would never take up his brushes without a prayer... It is no wonder that the faces and attitudes of his figures express the depth and sincerity of Christian piety" (*The Lives of the Artists*, 206); Fisher, "A New Interpretation," 258.

San Domenico *Annunciation* highlights the relationship between the pluralities male/female, and active/passive, established by Aristotle and then examined by Aquinas. Moreover, as Aquinas referenced Aristotle's *On the Generation of Animals*, it is also quite possible that Angelico was aware of the philosopher's correlation between male and female, and right and left, although it is impossible to determine whether or not the artist would have directly examined Aristotle's text. Thus, given the Thomistic literature circulating in Florence during this time, the Virgin's placement on the left-hand side of the angel is likely a testament to her female sex. Yet her willingness to serve God by passively taking part in Christ's conception enables her to overcome woman's natural inclination to wrongdoing.

This relationship between passivity and service to the Dominican Order is even more visible in another Annunciation scene produced by Angelico approximately twenty years later. In Angelico's *Annunciation* fresco (Fig. 3, 1450), on the corridor wall of the north dormitory of the convent of San Marco in Florence, the artist renders a much simpler composition by omitting the figures of Adam and Eve and focusing instead on the reverent exchange between Gabriel and the Virgin. Here he illustrates the angel, dressed in a pink gown with multicolored wings, on the left side of the scene. The angel crouches over as he approaches Mary on the right. Angelico portrays the Virgin wearing a white gown with a blue robe; she bends over with her hands in her lap, and gazes in the direction of the archangel. Behind the angel, the painter depicts a fenced-in garden with lush trees in the background. In the back of this partially interior space, the artist includes a small window that looks out onto a forest. The two figures stand within a classical loggia, a reflection of the renovations made to San Marco by Michelozzo.¹⁷⁶ At the bottom of the scene, Angelico includes an inscription that reads: "When you come before the image of the Ever-Virgin,

¹⁷⁶ Spike, *Fra Angelico*, 136.

take care that you do not neglect to say an Ave,” reminding passersby – all devout Dominicans who lived in the complex - to pray to Mary.¹⁷⁷

Compared to the bright color schemes and ornate details of his San Domenico *Annunciation*, Angelico’s San Marco *Annunciation* appears dramatically different in style. This transformation can likely be attributed to the fact that the fresco was only visible to friars, who followed an ideology promoted in the teachings of leading friars Giovanni Dominici (1356-1419) and Antoninus. These friars claimed that painters should adopt a style that was attractive, but devoid of “imaginative heresies or vanities.”¹⁷⁸ While Angelico’s painting adheres to the Dominican artistic traditions promoted during the period, each element represented in this *Annunciation* evoked biological aspects associated with the Virgin’s miraculous conception; the learned friars who walked past the fresco multiple times each day would likely have recognized such symbolism.¹⁷⁹ For example, the distant interior window positioned behind the two central figures, known as the *fenestrum crystallinam*, was considered by Medieval authors to be a symbol of the Virgin’s intact hymen.¹⁸⁰ Moreover, the presence of a garden—the *hortus conclusus*—was well-known as an allusion to the womb and fertility.¹⁸¹ The enclosed nature of the garden in this *Annunciation* scene refers to the idea that Mary’s garden was opened only to the Word of God. According to the Dominican theologian Albertus Magnus (1206-80), who produced a lengthy encyclopedia in her praise, the flowers of her garden were fertilized “with a mystical breath,” and its grasses shaded by cedars, palms, and cypresses, as depicted in Angelico’s painting.¹⁸² The stool on which Mary sits refers to her unrivaled humility, and also to the throne of God, where she will

¹⁷⁷ Hood, *Fra Angelico*, 271.

¹⁷⁸ Fisher, “A New Interpretation,” 264.

¹⁷⁹ Cole Ahl, *Fra Angelico*, 137.

¹⁸⁰ Von Rohr Scaff, “The Virgin Annunciate,” 111.

¹⁸¹ Von Rohr Scaff, “The Virgin Annunciate,” 111.

¹⁸² Cole Ahl, *Fra Angelico*, 137.

be crowned as Queen of Heaven. Visible beneath her translucent dress, her slightly swollen stomach hints to the conception of Christ's body that occurred instantaneously with Gabriel's 'Ave,' when the Word was made flesh.¹⁸³ Finally, the open doorways of the loggia represent a way for Mary's private space to become penetrated by the Holy Spirit.¹⁸⁴

As Angelico's *Annunciation* displays an interest in the biological realities associated with the Virgin conceiving, it is important to note that this painting was produced in close proximity to Aristotelian and Thomistic literature. In 1441, Cosimo de' Medici received authorization to install the Niccoli library—discussed in my introduction—in the San Marco complex.¹⁸⁵ When the library was completed in 1444, the codices of the Bible and the Greek and Latin church fathers were attached by chains to the benches on the right side of the library; the literature of Classical philosophers, including Aristotle and his commentators, were chained to the benches on the left side.¹⁸⁶ As stated in the introduction to this thesis, copies of *Metaphysics* and *On the Generation of Animals*, as well as Aquinas' *Summa Theologica*, were in the San Marco library during this time. Thus, Aristotelian and Thomistic literature that explicitly discussed male-dominated generation theories, as well as the relationship between the dualities right/left, male/female and active/passive was very accessible to Fra Angelico.

Because Angelico's San Marco *Annunciation* demonstrates a relationship between femininity, the left side, and passivity, it is relevant to consider the impact that such an image would have had on its male viewers. For the lay brothers and those using the library in the north wing, the fresco marked a part of the convent that they were not privileged to enter; it was only visible to them from the bottom of the stairs. But for the friars who had access to the upper floor

¹⁸³ Cole Ahl, *Fra Angelico*, 137.

¹⁸⁴ Didi-Huberman, *Fra Angelico*, 193.

¹⁸⁵ Spike, *Fra Angelico*, 51.

¹⁸⁶ Spike, *Fra Angelico*, 51.

and recited prayers before it, the *Annunciation* stood at the threshold of the dormitory quarters. By painting it, Angelico responded to a Dominican tradition that emphasized the importance of prayer and contemplation in daily life. While scholarship was pivotal to the Dominicans, meditation was highly valued, and the Virgin's response to the archangel during the Annunciation served as an ideal way to approach God.¹⁸⁷ The Florentine preacher Fra Roberto Caracciolo da Lecce (1425-1495) expressed such sentiments when identifying Mary's virtuous qualities rendered in painted Annunciations: "The fourth laudable condition is called *Humiliatio*. Lowering her head she spoke: 'Behold the handmaid of the Lord.' She did not say 'Lady'; she did not say 'Queen.' Oh profound humility! Oh extraordinary gentleness! 'Behold', she said, 'the slave and servant of my Lord.'"¹⁸⁸ Fra Angelico, in his San Marco *Annunciation*, clearly renders the type of *Humiliatio* described here.¹⁸⁹ The figure of Mary, placed on the left-hand side of the angel, adopts a reverent, meditative pose, and serves as an ideal model for a Dominican friar at San Marco.¹⁹⁰ The painting's inscription, which instructs viewers to say an "Ave" before the image, mimicking Gabriel's angelic greeting, elicited a devotional response from the viewers.

Though it is impossible to identify whether or not Angelico read Aristotle's *Metaphysics* or *On the Generation of Animals* directly, their circulation in mid-fifteenth century Florence and presence in the library at San Marco demonstrates that Aristotelian theories about reproduction represent a fifteenth-century Florentine ethos that focused on the biological realities of the Annunciation. Angelico's knowledge of sexual passivity is represented in the Virgin's placement on the left-hand side of the angel, her submissive posture, and the inscription beneath the fresco,

¹⁸⁷ Cole Ahl, *Fra Angelico*, 137.

¹⁸⁸ Baxandall *Painting and Experience*, 53.

¹⁸⁹ Baxandall, *Painting and Experience*, 55.

¹⁹⁰ Hood, *Fra Angelico*, 272; Baxandall, *Painting and Experience*, 51-55.

which encouraged others to emulate the same passivity and willingness in their own lives that the divine Virgin had demonstrated in the Annunciation story.

Aristotelian Reproductive Theories and Leonardo da Vinci's *Annunciation*

The relationship between the Virgin, the left side, and sexual passivity was also communicated in Annunciation paintings produced in Florence during the later fifteenth century. Leonardo da Vinci's (1452-1519) *Annunciation* (Fig. 4, 1472-78) demonstrates the painter's interest in the relationship between art and the natural world, and Aristotle's reproductive theories.¹⁹¹ Commissioned by the monks of San Bartolomeo di Monte Oliveto in Florence, Leonardo depicts the archangel kneeling before the Virgin on a lush bed of grass and flowers.¹⁹² He lifts his right hand to greet Mary, and gazes directly at her. The Virgin, dressed in red and blue robes that flow from her shoulders to her feet, adopts a position that is both surprised and poised. She lifts her left hand towards her face, as if startled by the angel's sudden appearance, but keeps her right hand on top of the book that she reads. Traditional symbols that refer to the womb and fertility are present, such as the flowers in the garden and the trees and open sky in the background. While the two central figures sit in an outdoor setting, the Virgin is near a doorway, where a bed is visible inside. Leonardo portrays one bird-shaped cloud floating directly above Gabriel's wings, perhaps to symbolize the Holy Spirit.¹⁹³

If one delves deeper into the personal interests of Leonardo, it becomes clear that his passion for scientific knowledge may have also influenced the composition. Though Leonardo did

¹⁹¹ Liana De Girolami Cheney, "Leonardo da Vinci's Uffizi Annunciation; The Holy Spirit," *Artibus et Historiae* 32 (2011): 41.

¹⁹² Larry J. Feinberg, *The Young Leonardo: Art and Life in Fifteenth-Century Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 75; Alessandro Cecchi, "New Light on Leonardo's Florentine Patrons," in *Leonardo da Vinci Master Draftsman: Catalogue to an Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, ed. Rachel Stern and Alison Manges (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003), 127.

¹⁹³ Feinberg, *The Young Leonardo*, 75; Cheney, "Leonardo," 50.

not receive a university education in disciplines like medicine, physics, mechanics, and natural philosophy, he could read in both Italian and Latin, and familiarized himself with the literature of ancient writers.¹⁹⁴ His awareness of Aristotle's literature is clearly expressed in his so-called *Treatise on Painting*, a large collection of texts written by Leonardo throughout his lifetime. In the text's preface on knowledge, learning, and experience, Leonardo writes: "Good men possess the natural desire to know," paraphrasing Aristotle's opening statement in his *Metaphysics*: "All men by nature desire to have knowledge."¹⁹⁵ As *Metaphysics* clearly associated woman with the left side, and masculinity with the right, Leonardo would have been familiar with this gendered duality. It is also likely that Leonardo would have been familiar with Aristotelian reproductive theories that focused on the role of women as passive vessels during procreation, as this philosophical viewpoint was epitomized in the theology of Augustine, Aquinas, and Jerome, whose writings were widely circulated in fifteenth-century Florence.¹⁹⁶

In fact, it is clear that Leonardo was aware of Aristotle's reproductive theories, from a drawing that he produced after completing this *Annunciation*. In this drawing (Fig. 5, 1500), Leonardo depicts the brain as being directly connected to the seminal canal. During the act of procreation, conception was transmitted from the mind of the male partner to the womb of the female. Leonardo therefore portrays Aristotle's dictum established in *On the Generation of Animals*, that a man's brain plays the more active, integral role during the act of procreation,

¹⁹⁴ Carlo Vecce, "Word and Image in Leonardo's Writings," in *Leonardo da Vinci Master Draftsman: Catalogue to an Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, ed. Rachel Stern and Alison Manges (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003), 59.

¹⁹⁵ Leonardo da Vinci, *On Painting: An Anthology of Writings by Leonardo da Vinci; With a Selection of Documents Relating to his Career as an Artist*, ed. Martin Kemp and Margaret Walker (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 9; Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, trans. W.D. Ross (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908), 1.

¹⁹⁶ See Mary D. Garrard, "Leonardo da Vinci: Female Portraits, Female Nature," in *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History*, ed. Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1992), 69. Garrard finds that Aristotle's *Generation of Animals* greatly impacted the Medieval Christian view on the femaleness of matter.

whereas the woman is only present as a carrier of the fetus.¹⁹⁷ Later in his life, Leonardo questioned this theory, and drew upon the philosophical opinion of Lucretius (99—55 B.C.E.) and the medical opinion of Galen (130-210 C.E.), who found that both male and female contributed the “seed” necessary for conception and the development of a fetus in the womb.¹⁹⁸

Though Leonardo’s drawing was produced in 1500, it can be surmised from the circulation of Aristotle’s *On the Generation of Animals* and *Metaphysics*, as well as texts written by Medieval religious scholars, that the association between the left side, femininity, and passivity was understood among the elite in Florence when Leonardo completed this *Annunciation*. Thus, the Virgin’s placement on the left-hand side of the angel likely expresses her contribution of passive matter to Christ’s body in her womb, while the Holy Spirit, represented by a cloud, actively administered Christ’s divine nature that was capable of overcoming all sin and redeeming humanity.

As both Fra Angelico and Leonardo’s paintings of the Annunciation were commissioned specifically for clerical viewers, it is relevant to address whether or not the Florentine laity were exposed to Annunciation scenes that demonstrated the same organizational patterns and themes as those portrayed in ecclesiastical environments. In order to answer this question, I will examine a painted depiction of the Annunciation by Lorenzo di Credi that was likely intended for a domestic setting, exploring how such elite ideas could filter into the domestic realm.

¹⁹⁷ Mary Garrard, *Brunelleschi’s Egg: Nature, Art, and Gender in Renaissance Italy* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 2010), 143; and also see Patricia L. Reilly, “The Taming of the Blue,” in *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History*, ed. Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1992), 92.

¹⁹⁸ Garrard, “Leonardo Da Vinci,” 69.

The Archangel as an Active Suitor in Lorenzo di Credi's *Annunciation*

As a painter who worked closely with, and was heavily influenced by Leonardo, Lorenzo di Credi was active in Florence during the fifteenth century, when Aristotle's *On the Generation of Animals* circulated in manuscript form.¹⁹⁹ His *Annunciation* (Fig. 5, 1480-85), likely painted for a domestic patron given its small size, and because of its being listed in the inventory of Cardinal Leopoldo (1617-1675) in 1675, communicates a relationship between the female sex and sexual passivity much more explicitly than the Annunciations produced by Fra Angelico and Leonardo, as the interaction between Gabriel and the Virgin takes place within a bedroom.²⁰⁰ On the left side of the image, Lorenzo portrays the archangel entering the Virgin's bedchamber. She glances at her visitor while still partially facing the lectern. Though she assumes a similar position as the Virgins in the Annunciation scenes discussed above, with her right hand lifted up to greet the angel, she does not appear surprised at the suddenness of the meeting. She gazes self-confidently above and beyond Gabriel's adoring look.²⁰¹ The view into Mary's lush garden, as well as the bed behind her figure, allude to her fertile body, much like the Annunciation scenes produced by Fra Angelico and Leonardo. Moreover, the Virgin's connection to Eve is represented in Lorenzo's painting. Below the feet of the Archangel and the Virgin, he depicts three sequences from the life of Adam and Eve. The scene farthest to the left depicts God creating Eve; the second image portrays Eve—on Adam's left-hand side—offering her husband fruit from the forbidden tree; and finally, the third scene illustrates an angel banishing Adam and Eve from Paradise.

¹⁹⁹ Feinberg, *The Young Leonardo*, 77-78; Pietro C. Marani, "Leonardo's Drawings in Milan and Their Influence on the Graphic Work of Milanese Artists," in *Leonardo da Vinci Master Draftsman: Catalogue to an Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, ed. Rachel Stern and Alison Manges (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003), 155. (155-190)

²⁰⁰ Gloria Fossi, *Uffizi: Art, History, Collections*, (Milan: Giunti Editore, 2004), 296.

²⁰¹ Von Rohr Scaff, "The Virgin Annunciate," 114.

The presence of Adam and Eve imagery in this *Annunciation* indicates Lorenzo's knowledge of the antithetical relationship between the Fall of Man, and Christ's conception in the Virgin's womb. If he was familiar with Mary's role as a second Eve as discussed in the literature of Augustine, Aquinas, and Jerome, he likewise may have understood the correlation between the dualities male/female and active/passive during human procreation. Indeed, his *Annunciation* emphasizes the Virgin's role as a passive participant during conception by positioning her on the left-hand side of the angel, who adopts a dramatic pose symbolizing his role as God's messenger and suitor.²⁰² While the angel appears rather stoic in the *Annunciation* paintings by Fra Angelico and Leonardo, as he kneels without moving, here a sense of fervent admiration is portrayed in his pose, as he curves his body forward and tilts his head to the side—perhaps attempting to persuade the Virgin to comply with his request. By illustrating the angel as pursuant, and the Virgin as compliant, the artist clearly illustrates the same correlation between femininity, the left side, and reproduction that is communicated in the *Annunciations* discussed above. Moreover, he also portrays themes that were fostered in humanist literature dealing directly with marriage.

Female Sexual Passivity in Florentine Marriages

The themes of female sexual purity and passivity represented through the figure of the Virgin in the above *Annunciation* scenes paralleled qualities that fifteenth-century Florentine women were encouraged to embody. As the antithesis of Eve, Mary became the ideal model of restraint and submissiveness for wives and mothers throughout the city of Florence.²⁰³ Feminine chastity was exalted in several notable texts available in fifteenth-century Florence. For example, in Alberti's *On the Family* (1430s), the author writes:

²⁰² Von Rohr Scaff, "The Virgin Annunciate," 114.

²⁰³ Von Rohr Scaff, "The Virgin Annunciate," 114.

You should know in this respect that nothing is so important for yourself, so acceptable to God, so precious to me and so advantageous for our children as your chastity. The woman's chastity has always been the ornament of the family; the mother's chastity has always been a part of the dowry of her daughters; chastity in any woman has always been worth more than any of her beauties. A beautiful face is praised, but unchaste eyes soil it with people's contempt, and it is too often flushed with shame or pale with melancholy or sadness of spirit.²⁰⁴

Here Alberti expresses the ideal qualities to be found in a wife; rather than searching for women that primarily exhibit physical beauty, husbands should look to marry a chaste female who will reflect honorable qualities upon his family. In Florence, as well as in other Italian Renaissance city-states, many young girls from upper-class families were destined to become wives and mothers, and were encouraged to look to the Virgin as a role model.²⁰⁵ In the Dominican friar Giovanni Dominici's treatise *Rule for the Governance of Family Care* (1400-1405), he proposed that "pictures of saintly children or young virgins" should be set up in the home, as "it is well to have the Virgin Mary with the Child in her arms," so that young women would learn to appreciate the value of virginity and motherhood.²⁰⁶ Outside of public religious spaces, Florentine women came into contact with domestic Annunciation imagery in a number of forms. *Tondi*, like those produced by the Master of Daphne and Apollo (Fig. 6, 1485-90), included representations of the Annunciation, as did wall paintings, such as the *Annunciation* lunette (Fig. 7, 1449-59) produced by Fra Filippo Lippi for the Palazzo Medici in Florence.²⁰⁷

Female readers might also come into contact with Annunciation imagery through devotional texts like the Little Office of the Virgin, a prayer that formed the nucleus of the Book

²⁰⁴ Leon Battista Alberti, "Excerpt from *Della Famiglia*," in *Women in Italy 1350-1650: Ideals and Realities*, ed. Mary Rogers and Paola Tinagli (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006): 25.

²⁰⁵ Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1985): 114; also see Ruth Kelso, *Doctrine for the Lady of the Renaissance* (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1956), 59.

²⁰⁶ Klapisch-Zuber, *Women*, 115.

²⁰⁷ Peta Motture and Luke Syson, "Art in the Casa," in *Art At Home in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Marta Ajmar-Wollheim and Flora Dennis (London: V&A Publications, 2006), 273.

of Hours and was the most popular devotional book used among the laity during the later Middle Ages and the Renaissance.²⁰⁸ As girls from upper class families during these periods were taught to read by private, often female, tutors, it is very probably that they could read such devotional literature.²⁰⁹ The opening prayer of the office reads: “Hail Mary, full of every grace, your Lord is with you forever more; through humility alone and not through boldness, you remain blessed above all other women. Free from all female shame; you alone bore painlessly and blessed fruit of your womb, through whom the whole world is saved.”²¹⁰ This prayer elicited a verbal response from readers that affirmed the Virgin’s superiority to all other women, a theme also expressed in Annunciation imagery.²¹¹ In a sermon preached in Siena in 1427, Bernardino of Siena advised young women to spend their time inside the home, drawing on the setting depicted in Annunciation scenes. He states:

But we must say where the Angel found her... She stayed shut away in her chamber and was reading, to set an example to you, my girl, to stay at home, saying the Ave Maria or Paternoster... The second damsel staying with Mary was called my lady Humility, and it was the quality which made God love Mary. And Mary began to sing with such joyfulness and reverence and humility... Behold the slave of our Lord God... May your father and mother treat their daughter like a slave.²¹²

While Bernardino’s sermon was not given in Florence, his words are still important to this argument, as they express a common Tuscan ideology that proclaimed women should remain chaste and locked away in domestic spaces.

²⁰⁸ Ann Van Dijk, “The Angelic Salutation in Early Byzantine and Medieval Annunciation Imagery,” *The Art Bulletin* (1999): 420.

²⁰⁹ Witt, “What Did,” 87.

²¹⁰ “Ave Maria,” in *Women in Italy 1350-1650: Ideals and Realities*, ed. Mary Rogers and Paola Tinagli (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005): 53.

²¹¹ Van Dijk, “The Angelic Salutation,” 421.

²¹² Bernardino of Siena, “Sermon,” in *Women in Italy 1350-1650: Ideals and Realities*, ed. Mary Rogers and Paola Tinagli (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006): 45. Iris Origo, *The World of San Bernardino* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, & World, Inc., 1962), I.

After the consummation of their marriages, Florentine women were still encouraged to seek the intercession of the Virgin, particularly during pregnancy, as Mary gave birth without sin or pain and was ready to help those whom God had condemned to great suffering during labor.²¹³ It is through examining treatises on the ideal sexual relationship between husband and wife that the theme of female sexual passivity clearly emerges. It was commonly believed that women should not actively express any type of sexuality, and to show restraint as chaste wives; even in the most intimate of embraces, they ought to live up to a godly reputation and not offer themselves to their husbands as a prostitute would.²¹⁴ In Francesco Barbaro's (1390-1454) *The Wealth of Wives*, given by the author as a wedding gift to Lorenzo de' Medici (1395-1440) in 1415, the author expresses the ways in which husbands and wives should approach sex:

The conjunction of man and wife was created principally for the sake of offspring, and... intercourse must be undertaken in the home that it will result in the conception of a child. If there are women who wish to defy this prohibition, I would insist that they restrain themselves, so that in the aspect of moderation from which chastity takes its name... they may be considered chaste. Wives should bear themselves with such modesty... that in the sexual act they will be... neither shameless nor imprudent...which would make them less desirable to their husbands... Thus Phocion, when his wife tried to persuade him to explore unusual and improper pleasures with her, pointedly responded that he would gladly accede to other women in these matters, but that a wife was intended, surely, for honor, not for pleasure.²¹⁵

In this excerpt, Barbaro advocates for female sexual passivity in the Florentine marriage bed, finding that adopting an active sexual nature would make a woman undesirable to her husband. However, he references Phocion in order to demonstrate that it is acceptable for men to demonstrate sexual activeness, especially with other women. This association with the female sex

²¹³ Rudolph M. Bell, *How to Do It: Guides to Good Living for Renaissance Italians* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999): 101, and 110.

²¹⁴ Kelso, *Doctrine*, 100.

²¹⁵ Francesco Barbaro, *The Wealth of Wives*, trans. Margaret L. King (Toronto: Iter Academic Press, 2015): 113.

and passivity, and the male sex with activity, is the same relationship expressed in Aristotle's theories about conception, and Annunciation scenes. The fact that Barbaro links each sex to these qualities is particularly interesting, as he finds earlier in his text that women play a more active role in the process of conception than Aristotle had previously claimed:

A flourishing pasture, planted and sown, is a strong argument to us that for the sake of our offspring, we should marry women of noble birth. For seeds are better or worse according to their origins; and the best seed bears the finest fruits. And we know that many, and indeed the finest kinds of berries, nuts, and fruits... if they are transplanted to an ignoble field, they lose their noble spirit... With nobly-born mothers, it is far more likely that the splendor of the parents will shine forth with even greater brightness in their offspring.²¹⁶

Compared to earlier Aristotelian views that found sperm to be the creative entity, and the womb to be a passive vehicle for the development of the fetus, Barbaro argues here that a woman plays an important role in procreation, as the child will exhibit qualities from both of its parents. Thus, the mother should exemplify strong moral virtues that can be replicated in her offspring.²¹⁷ Yet while Barbaro finds that both sexes play an active part in the process of reproduction, he still ultimately upholds the association between the female sex and passivity through his advice to women concerning the proper attitudes to adopt in the bedroom.

At a young age, Florentine women would have witnessed Annunciation scenes like those discussed above in both public and private devotional spaces. The Virgin, as a willing but passive participant in the act of procreation, served as a role model for Renaissance women to follow as they married and began to reproduce. Though it may be impossible to show whether or not women recognized the association between the left side, femininity, and sexual passivity expressed by Aristotle and Aquinas, I believe that they would have recognized the importance of qualities like

²¹⁶ Barbaro, *The Wealth*, 78-79.

²¹⁷ Margaret L. King, *The Wealth*, 26.

chastity and sexual passivity—delineated in Alberti and Barbaro’s literature, and common knowledge throughout their city—as these values were enforced in their upbringing, and encouraged in marriage.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have analyzed Annunciations produced by fifteenth-century Florentine artists within the context of Aristotelian reproductive theories that circulated in *On the Generation of Animals*, as well as religious texts like Aquinas’ *Summa Theologica*. Though it is impossible to ascertain whether or not each artist specifically read Aristotle’s work, or Aquinas’ commentary, it is clear that Aristotle’s belief that man played a more active role in procreation than woman formed part of a fifteenth-century Florentine ethos that sought to identify the biological reality behind the mystery of the Annunciation. Though each Annunciation scene employed slightly different details, all appear to illustrate a knowledge of the Virgin’s passive attitude in regard to the archangel’s message—passive meaning that she did not question God’s plan, and willingly submitted to conceiving through the Holy Spirit. In this way, the Virgin was able to serve as a bridge for the redemption of humanity, undoing the damage committed by Adam and Eve. Similarly, Annunciation scenes encouraged Renaissance women to willingly serve the Florentine state by procreating. Though they could not remain virgins forever, Mary served as a model of the sanctity of motherhood.

Chapter III

Florentine Wives as Passive Bearers of Patriarchal Lines

So far, this thesis has considered the representation of two Biblical female figures—Eve and Mary—and the possible reasons associated with their positioning on the left-hand side of male figures. While these figures alluded to both positive and negative female virtues, Florentine women were themselves positioned on the left-hand side of men in domestic paintings. In this final chapter, I will discuss fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Florentine marriage portraits within the context of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* and *On the Generation of Animals*. I will show that by consistently positioning wives on the left-hand sides of their husbands, artists conveyed a relationship between wives, feminine irrationality and sexual passivity, much like in the paintings of Adam and Eve and the Annunciation discussed above. Moreover, I will argue that the Aristotelian association between activity/passivity and male/female is paralleled in the way a husband passed on his family name to his children, while a wife's lineage, and identity, was only understood in terms of her paternal and conjugal lines.

The Development of Paired Marriage Portraits in Fifteenth-Century Florence

Prior to the early fifteenth century, independent painted portraits did not exist in Florence. Instead, patrons' likenesses were included as part of larger devotional works, funerary and celebratory sculptures, or dedicatory images.²¹⁸ For example, Masaccio's *Holy Trinity* (Fig. 1, 1425-27) fresco, located in the Basilica of Santa Maria Novella, depicts a middle-aged man dressed in a red robe and a similarly aged woman in blue, kneeling at the foot of an archway.²¹⁹ Yet while

²¹⁸ For the most recent literature on this genre, see Patricia Rubin, "Understanding Renaissance Portraiture," in *The Renaissance Portrait from Donatello to Bellini*, ed. Keith Christiansen and Stefan Weppelmann (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2012): 4.

²¹⁹ Rita Maria Comanducci identifies the couple as Bartolomeo di Berto, a Florentine artisan involved in the silk trade, and his wife, "'L'altare nostro de la Trinita': Masaccio's Trinity and the Berti Family," *The*

portraits were initially limited to devotional spaces, the growing Florentine interest in humanism led to an emphasis on depicting the individual man—in both civic and domestic settings. The interest in representing oneself corresponded with Niccolò Niccoli's discovery of the first complete copy of Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* (77-79 CE), which had only been known to fifteenth-century readers as a fragmented text.²²⁰ In his work, Pliny discusses the important roles that autonomous portraits play in preserving the memory of deceased family members. He writes, "Portraits were the objects displayed to be looked at...to be carried in procession at a funeral in the clan, and always when some member of it passed away, the entire company of his house that had ever existed was present."²²¹ In Florence, where family memory and family honor were vital to social prestige, Pliny's sentiments provided an impetus for the production of domestic family portraits. The first type of autonomous domestic portraits were profiles, as artists adopted the format established by donor portraits in devotional paintings.²²² These portraits were largely reserved for the wealthy merchant classes of Florentine society, who adopted the genre by the mid 1420s.²²³

Early individual profile portraits isolated male sitters by portraying them without a background. For example, a portrait (Fig. 2, 1430-40) attributed to Paolo Uccello (1397-1475) illustrates a young man facing the viewer's left, wearing a red turban and a black robe. The background of the painting is entirely black, emphasizing the man's pale skin and the vivid red

Burlington Magazine 145 (2003): 15; Timothy Verdon identifies the sitters as Domenico Lenzi and his wife, as an inscription from a lost tomb slab located next to the fresco has been found to bear the name of Lenzi: Timothy Verdon, "Masaccio's Trinity: Theological, Social, and Civic Meanings," in *The Cambridge Companion to Masaccio*, ed. Diane Cole Ahl (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 158-176.

²²⁰ Rubin, "Understanding Renaissance Portraiture," 12; Luke Syson and Dora Thornton, *Objects of Virtue: Art in Renaissance Italy* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2001), 32.

²²¹ Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, trans. William Heinemann (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015), 265.

²²² Rubin, "Understanding Renaissance Portraiture," 11.

²²³ Megan Holmes, *Fra Filippo Lippi: The Carmelite Painter* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 128.

headdress. Until 1440, women were largely excluded from the genre.²²⁴ After 1440 nearly all Florentine profile portraits portraying a single figure are of women.²²⁵ Scholars believe that these female portraits were painted on the occasion of a young woman's betrothal or marriage, when she was between the ages of fifteen and twenty.²²⁶ They were commissioned by male patrons, typically by a member of her husband's family, and were hung in public areas of her conjugal home. Thus, she symbolized the alliance formed between two families through marriage.²²⁷ As these marriage alliances were essential for maintaining or improving status, paired portraits of betrothed and married couples became a way to visually represent the unification of the bride and bridegroom's families.²²⁸ However, these portraits represent only one part of series of events that established a marriage contract between families.²²⁹

Women as Passive Objects of Exchange in Florentine Marriage Contracts

In order to fully comprehend the ways in which wives were viewed as passive representations of male lineage, an explanation on the transactions associated with the fifteenth-century Florentine marital process must be provided. In many cases, a marriage broker proposed a match between two families long before the intended wedding day, after which men from both sides would gather to negotiate. When an agreement was made, the terms, including the amount of the dowry, were recorded in a document and the families waited until the couple was old enough

²²⁴ Simons, "Women in Frames: The Gaze, the Eye, the Profile in Renaissance Portraiture," in *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History*, ed. Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, Inc., 1992), 41.

²²⁵ Simons, "Women in Frames," 41.

²²⁶ Simons, "Women in Frames," 42.

²²⁷ Simons, "Women in Frames," 42.

²²⁸ Rubin, "Understanding Renaissance Portraiture," 11-12; Simons, "Women in Frames," 41.

²²⁹ Adrian W.B. Randolph, "Performing the Bridal Body in Fifteenth-Century Florence," *Art History* 21 (1998): 183.

to marry, or the bride's dowry was prepared.²³⁰ Florentine dowries consisted of cash, minus the value of the bride's trousseau, which typically included material gifts such as clothes, mirrors, needles, and religious books, among other items; these objects legally belonged to the woman after her marriage.²³¹ Near the wedding day, the groom arrived at the home of his future bride bearing gifts, often in the form of ornaments such as clothes and jewels.²³² In a letter to her son Filippo, Alessandra Strozzi (1406-1471) describes the type of gifts that brides should be given:

And a garland made of feathers and pearls, which costs eighty florins, and the headdress has two braids of pearls underneath, which are sixty florins or more, so that when she is dressed for the wedding she will wear more than four hundred florins. And for when she goes to his house as his wife, he has ordered some crimson velvet to make wide sleeves lined with marten, and he is having a gown made in fine rose-colored wool cloth, embroidered with pearls... he can't have enough things made.²³³

As fifteenth-century Florentines viewed dress as a way of visualizing one's status and rank, the jewels described in Alessandra's letter were often worn by the female sitters in marriage portraits, in order to illustrate the wealth of the husband's family, as will be shown in the examples below.²³⁴ After the groom bestowed gifts upon his betrothed, a ring ceremony sometimes took place at the bride's home, in the presence of both male and female relatives from her own family, as well as those of the groom's. An excerpt from the *Ricordanze* of the Florentine Corsini family describes the long series of exchanges involved in the marriage process:

On the 22nd of March 1400, I promised my daughter Francesca in marriage to Luca, son of Master Nicolo de' Falcussi, and we have to give six hundred gold florins as her dowry... On 24 April, 1401, the said Luca gave her the ring... And after this,

²³⁰ Deborah L. Krohn, "Marriage as a Key to Understanding the Past," in *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Andrea Bayer (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008), 12.

²³¹ Randolph, "Performing," 184. Ronald Rainey, "Dressing Down the Dressed-Up: Repeating Feminine Attire in Renaissance Florence," in *Renaissance Society and Culture: Essays in Honor of Eugene F. Rice, Jr.*, ed. John Monfasani and Ronald G. Musto (New York: Italica Press, 1991), 233.

²³² Krohn, "Marriage as a Key," 12. Randolph, "Performing," 184-185.

²³³ Alessandra Strozzi, "Letter to Son Filippo," in *Women in Italy 1350-1650: Ideals and Realities, A Sourcebook*, ed. Mary Rogers and Paola Tinagli (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 123.

²³⁴ Rainey, "Dressing Down," 288.

the said Luca declared the dowry for the said Francesca, and declared to have received on that date six hundred gold florins, to the satisfaction of Luca and his father.²³⁵

After the groom received the bride's dowry, the two families set a date for the wedding festivities. The legitimization of the union in the public sphere took place during a procession through the streets of Florence when the bride moved from the house of her father to that of her husband.²³⁶

Of central importance to the series of transactions and activities required for a Florentine marriage was the fact that a bride was viewed as a passive object, exchanged between her patrilineal and conjugal household. In Florence, kinship was determined by men. The description of genealogies according to male families illustrates how little importance was given to kinship ties through women; a woman was referred to in relation to her father or her husband, even when they were dead.²³⁷ Visual references used to refer to patrilineal and conjugal households included coats of arms. For example, on the back of a *desco da parto* (1449) celebrating the birth of Lorenzo de' Medici (Fig. 3, 1449-1492), the painter Lo Scheggia (1406-1486) renders the coats of arms of the Medici and Tornabuoni families in the upper right and left corners respectively. As this tray would have been used to serve Lorenzo's mother, Lucrezia Tornabuoni (1427-1482), food after giving birth, the presence of these coats of arms convey that Lucrezia's identity was defined by uniting her patrilineal and conjugal families, and ensuring their survival.²³⁸ In rare written cases, an important female figure might be recognized under her own name, but the family chronicler

²³⁵ "Ricordanze of the Corsini Family," in *Women in Italy 1350-1650 Ideals and Realities: A Sourcebook*, ed. Mary Rogers and Paola Tinagli (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 131.

²³⁶ Krohn, "Marriage as a Key," 12.

²³⁷ Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 118.

²³⁸ Jacqueline Marie Musacchio, *The Art and Ritual of Childbirth in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 73, 76-79.

would feel compelled to explain why, since the Florentine definition of kinship was male dominated. For example, Paolo Sasseti (1365-1400), describing in his journal the death of a female relative in 1371, writes “Let special mention be made here, for we considered her to be like a beloved mother, and in all her works she has been and was among the beloved women who have gone forth from our house.”²³⁹ As one who had both entered and exited the house, this mother must have been well respected for her loyalty to the family into which she was born.²⁴⁰ Women were not only treated as passive objects of exchange by the lack of representation in genealogical trees, but they were also excluded from inheriting a share in their paternal estates, as property passed from one generation to the next through male offspring.²⁴¹ Though the objects included in her dowry belonged to her for life, women were passing guests in the houses of their fathers and husbands.²⁴² Moreover, a wife’s virtues were considered reflections upon her conjugal household. The important role women played in this patriarchal discourse, and the fact that her character and the virtues of other women in her family were viewed as a reflection upon her husband’s household, is noted in the *Ricordi* of the Florentine Giovanni di Pagolo Morelli (1371-1444):

Above all, you should take care of one thing: do not marry down, but rather up, not so much, however, that she will behave like the husband, and you like the wife. Take care to become related to good citizens, who are not needy... Furthermore, you should take care that your wife is well-born, from a mother who was a chaste woman, and from a good family, with honorable kin. Her mother’s mother, that is the girl’s grandmother, should also have been a chaste and clean woman, and they should be known by everybody as good women.²⁴³

²³⁹ Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family, and Ritual*, 121; see ASF (*Stroziane* 2d ser., 4, Ricordanze di Paolo Sasseti, fol. 34).

²⁴⁰ Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family, and Ritual*, 121.

²⁴¹ Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family, and Ritual*, 117.

²⁴² Rainey, “Dressing Down,” 228;

²⁴³ Giovanni di Paolo Morelli, “Ricordi,” in *Women in Italy 1350-1650: Ideals and Realities, a Sourcebook*, ed. Mary Rogers and Paola Tinagli (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 116-117.

Given Giovanni's commentary, a woman's virtuosity, as well as the honorable morals of her female family members, became a part of patriarchal discourse at the time of her marriage. Moreover, as will be discussed below, her virtuous qualities were visualized for eternity in marriage portraits.²⁴⁴

Along with being valued as objects of exchange, as second key theme to understand when viewing marriage portraits is that women were expected to reproduce and carry on their husband's line. A legislative deliberation from 1433 expresses such sentiments:

These women have forgotten that it is their duty to bear the children sired by their husbands and, like little sacks, to hold the natural seed which their husbands implant in them, so that children will be born. They have also forgotten that it is not in conformity with nature for them to decorate themselves with such expensive ornaments when their men, because of this, avoid the bond of matrimony on account of the unaffordable expenses, and the nature of these men is left unfulfilled. For women were made to replenish this free city and to observe chastity in marriage; they were not made to spend money on silver, gold, clothing and gems. For did not God Himself, the mater of nature, say this? 'Increase and multiply and replenish the earth and conquer it.'²⁴⁵

This deliberation was written in order to explain the reason for the establishment of sumptuary laws. By the early fifteenth century, men were reluctant to get married, as the sumptuous standards of dress in the *quattrocento*, described in Alessandra's letter above, increased the costs associated with the trousseau components of the dowry, diminishing the amount of cash that could be offered, and making the inflated dowries less attractive to prospective grooms.²⁴⁶ As San Bernardino remarked in a sermon given in Florence in 1424, there were "thousands of young men who would take wives if it were not for the fact that they had to spend the entire dowry, and

²⁴⁴ Simons, "Women in Frames," 42.

²⁴⁵ Rainey, "Dressing Down," 232; An English translation of a portion of this document also appears in Gene Brucker, *The Society of Renaissance Florence: A Documentary Study* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), 180-81.

²⁴⁶ Rainey, "Dressing Down," 233.

sometimes even more, in order to dress the women.”²⁴⁷ Because of the costs associated with dressing their betrothed, Florentine men married much later in life in the fifteenth century, than during the late Middle Ages. Based on data collected from a number of *ricordanze* of Florentine families, it has been established that the average age for the first marriage of men in Florence during the period from 1351-1400 was approximately 24, whereas the average age for the first marriage of men during the period from 1401-1450 was around 31. Yet while Florentine men postponed marriage, Florentine women married younger. The average age for a Florentine woman’s first marriage during the period 1351-1400 was 18, while the figure for the period 1401-1500 was 16.²⁴⁸ In order to combat men marrying at an older age, the spiritual and civic leaders of Florence met in 1433 to establish sumptuary laws that would restrain the ornamentation that women could wear, removing any obstacle for men to get married, reproduce, and replenish the city’s population after its decimation from the plague during the fourteenth century.²⁴⁹ As marrying was encouraged in order to reproduce, there also existed a Christian tradition of husband and wife repaying each other in marriage, based upon Paul’s first letter to the Corinthians, where he writes, ‘Let the husband render to his wife what is her due, and likewise the wife to her husband.’ (I Corinthians 7:3-5)²⁵⁰ In fifteenth-century Florence, the husband bestowed material goods upon his wife, while she in return was sexually subjected and exhorted to return the gift-giving by reproducing.²⁵¹ Perhaps the most relevant point made in the legislative excerpt above is the way in which the deliberation communicates Aristotelian, male-dominated procreative theories. The

²⁴⁷ Rainey, “Dressing Down,” 234; *Le Prediche Volgari di San Bernardino da Siena*, ed. Luciano Banchi (Siena, 1880), 1:246.

²⁴⁸ David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Tuscans and Their Families: A Study of the Florentine Catasto of 1427* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 202-205.

²⁴⁹ Rainey, “Dressing Down,” 232.

²⁵⁰ Randolph, “Performing,” 193.

²⁵¹ Randolph, “Performing,” 193;

phrase “sired by their husbands and like little sacks to hold the natural seed which their husbands implant in them,” parallels Aristotelian notions that conception was a male-generated act.

As women were valued as passive objects of exchange during the time of their marriage, and likewise were expected to willingly reproduce in order to ensure the survival of their conjugal line, the relationship between Aristotle’s dualities of male/female, right/left, and active/passive were communicated in fifteenth-century Florentine marriage portraits, as the bride is always positioned on the left-hand side of her husband. This is true of both marriage portraits that represent the bride and groom within the same panel or canvas, and those that represent them separately. Much like the themes communicated in the Annunciation scenes discussed above, where an association with the left side illustrated the Virgin’s obedient nature, wives were portrayed on the left-hand sides of their husbands in order to illustrate their chaste and sexually passive qualities. Moreover, the relationship between right/left and active/passive is apparent in the way that a groom actively bestowed his name and wealth upon his new wife, while the bride served as a passive emblem of her natal and conjugal lines.

Fra Filippo Lippi’s *Portrait of a Woman with a Man at a Casement*

In this painting (Fig. 4, 1440), Fra Filippo Lippi (1406-1469) depicts a female sitter in profile in the center foreground. She faces towards a male figure, who leans in through an open window located deeper in the portrait’s spatial plane. The woman wears an elaborate red velvet gown and headdress, which highlight her pale skin and blonde hair. She is adorned with a number of items that allude to her marital status. On her shoulder, she wears a brooch, known as a *brocchetta di spalla*, made of rubies and pearls; a similar pendant, called a *brocchetta da testa*, is on her headdress.²⁵² Fifteenth-century Florentine viewers understood these jewels as typical

²⁵² Randolph, “Performing,” 185.

wedding gifts that a husband would bestow upon his bride.²⁵³ In the background, Fra Filippo frames the female sitter's profile with a window, through which a detailed landscape is visible. That lush vegetation may suggest fertility.²⁵⁴ The male figure wears a red cap, and places his hands on top of a textile hanging with a coat of arms that drapes over the window sill and into the female figure's enclosure. He gazes in the direction of the young woman. Though the two figures are not directly facing each other, Angiola is positioned to the left of her male partner within the picture plane.

There is no documentary evidence for Fra Filippo's painting, but it is thought to commemorate the union of two patrician lineages through marriage—likely Lorenzo Scolari and Angiola Sapiti, who were married in 1436.²⁵⁵ The sitters' identities are revealed through the Scolari arms hanging from the window sill. The marital link is also conveyed with the motto “lealtà,” or loyalty, embroidered on the woman's sleeve and emphasizing her fidelity.²⁵⁶ Moreover, the portrait provides Renaissance viewers with a discourse on the female virtues valued by upper class society.²⁵⁷ The pearls that decorate the woman's costume allude to her virtuous nature, as well as to the wealth of her paternal and conjugal lineages.²⁵⁸ Scholars have suggested several ways in which this double portrait might be interpreted. Some have proposed that the painting might commemorate the birth of the couple's son in 1444.²⁵⁹ In this way, the odd positioning of the man

²⁵³ Holmes, *Fra Filippo*, 130.

²⁵⁴ Holmes, *Fra Filippo*, 129.

²⁵⁵ Holmes, *Fra Filippo*, 129. Keith Christiansen, “Portrait of a Woman and a Man at a Casement,” in *From Filippo Lippi to Piero Della Francesca: Fra Carnevale and the Making of a Renaissance Master*, ed. Keith Christiansen (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005), 150-152.

²⁵⁶ Nancy Edwards, “Portrait of a Woman and a Man at a Casement,” in *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Andrea Bayer (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008), 256.

²⁵⁷ Holmes, *Fra Filippo*, 129.

²⁵⁸ Holmes, *Fra Filippo*, 129.

²⁵⁹ For discussions on the relationship of the painting to the birth of a Scolari son see David Alan Brown, “Woman with a Man at a Window,” in *Virtue and Beauty: Leonardo's Ginevra de' Benci and Renaissance Portraits of Women*, ed. David Alan Brown (Washington D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2001), 106-108,

outside of the domestic interior, and the woman inside, may allude to the format of Annunciation scenes.²⁶⁰ The relationship between a husband and wife in fifteenth-century Florence was associated with the mystical union of the Virgin Mary and Christ.²⁶¹ Saint Bernardino of Siena wrote, “Husbands, love your wives as Christ also loved the Church,” linking men to the figure of Christ, and perceiving women as “devotional centers of the household.”²⁶² In Fra Filippo’s *Portrait of a Woman with a Man at a Casement*, it is possible that the construction of the scene is meant to evoke the inside/outside barriers illustrated in Annunciation paintings; Lorenzo’s face peeping through the window may allude to the figure of the archangel Gabriel appearing before the Virgin.²⁶³ If the portrait was meant to commemorate the birth of a child, his figure may also serve to remind viewers of the active force of the Holy Spirit, and a husband’s dominant role in procreation. Similarly, Angiola’s placement within the interior space may communicate her shared identity with the Virgin.

Yet there are problems that arise when one tries to interpret Fra Filippo’s portrait as an allusion to Annunciation scenes. What is particularly odd about his painting is the fact that neither male nor female sitter seems to recognize that the other is present, as their gazes do not meet, unlike the Virgin’s reaction in the Annunciations discussed above. Megan Holmes has suggested that the portrait visualizes a theme that originated in the tradition of courtly love, where desire is fueled by the postponement of pleasure.²⁶⁴ Thus, the couple’s failure to engage may highlight the

and also Keith Christiansen, “Portrait of a Woman and a Man at a Casement,” in *From Filippo Lippi to Piero Della Francesca: Fra Carnevale and the Making of a Renaissance Master*, ed. Keith Christiansen (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005), 150-152.

²⁶⁰ For a discussion on the portrait’s relationship to Annunciation imagery, see Luke Syson, “Representing Domestic Interiors,” in *At Home In Renaissance Italy*, ed. Marta Ajmar and Flora Dennis (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2010), 98.

²⁶¹ Syson, “Representing,” 98.

²⁶² Syson, “Representing,” 98.

²⁶³ Syson, “Representing,” 98.

²⁶⁴ Holmes, *Fra Filippo*, 134-135.

male beholder's inability to possess the woman placed in front of him.²⁶⁵ It is also possible that by averting their gazes, Fra Filippo emphasizes the chaste behavior expected of a husband and wife. Fifteenth-century Florentine society viewed direct eye contact as a sign of sexual interest.²⁶⁶ The Dominican friar Giovanni Dominici even cautioned fathers from looking directly into the eyes of their daughters, "lest she fall in love with his virile countenance," and argued that a mother should never "show [her son] a face which will cause him while still little to love women before knowing what they are."²⁶⁷ Thus, perhaps the purposeful way in which the male and female figure avert their gazes is meant to personify their virtuousness. However one chooses to interpret the painting, there can be no doubt that a central focus of Fra Filippo's double portrait is female objectification.²⁶⁸ The artist secures the woman's profile in place with the surrounding domestic architecture; he renders her immoveable, as an object that is easily accessible to the viewer's gaze. As the patrons of such marriage portraits were almost certainly men, Angiola's position within the composition makes her a passive target for the male viewer's active and virile gaze, even though her own husband looks to the side.²⁶⁹

Since both interpretations of this painting allude to the act of reproduction—either by referencing Annunciation imagery, or through the inability of both sitters to look directly at each other, lest they be tempted by sexual desire—it is possible to see how it communicates a theme of male activity, and perhaps even Aristotelian male-sponsored generation theories. The man looking in through the window displays a sense of activeness and independence, as he enters the room from the outside world. If Fra Filippo painted the portrait for a betrothal or wedding, the woman's

²⁶⁵ Holmes, *Fra Filippo*, 135.

²⁶⁶ Simons, "Women in Frames," 51.

²⁶⁷ Simons, "Women in Frames," 51.

²⁶⁸ Holmes, *Fra Filippo*, 129.

²⁶⁹ Holmes, *Fra Filippo*, 134; and Simons, "Women in Frames," 50.

costume—in particular the inscription of *lealtà*—emphasizes her role as her husband’s passive follower. Moreover, though the man holds on to his coat of arms, the woman does not represent herself, but rather serves as a reflection of her patrilineal and conjugal wealth and honor. In essence, just as men contributed the seed necessary for generation and rationality in Aristotelian thought, so too do they possess the ability to pass their lineage on to future offspring. Women, on the other hand, obediently represent the honorable history of their father and husband’s lineage, as discussed above. As the relationship between male/female and active/passive is so clearly displayed in Fra Filippo’s double portrait, the association between femininity and the left side is also implicated.

Fra Filippo’s painting is the earliest existing double portrait from fifteenth century Florence, and in many ways, it is unique; no other example is composed exactly like this.²⁷⁰ Yet later portraits of Florentine couples on separate panels continued to use a related format. While no paired Italian portraits from the 1400s survive in their original frames, it is thought that they once formed portable diptychs.²⁷¹ In individual portraits made before 1440, men were depicted in profile.²⁷² However, during the later fifteenth century, artists began to represent male sitters in three-quarter view, while women were continuously portrayed in profile.²⁷³ This gendered transformation is exemplified in Domenico Ghirlandaio’s (1449-1494) *Portrait of a Young Man* and *Portrait of a Young Woman* (Fig. 5, 1490).

²⁷⁰ Holmes, *Fra Filippo*, 134.

²⁷¹ Everett Fahy, “The Marriage Portrait in the Renaissance or Some Women Named Ginevra,” in *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Andrea Bayer (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008), 18.

²⁷² Simons, “Women in Frames,” 41; Patricia Rubin, “Understanding Renaissance,” 13.

²⁷³ Simons, “Women in Frames,” 41.

Domenico Ghirlandaio's *Portrait of a Young Man and Portrait of a Young Woman*

Though the identities of the sitters are unknown, these paired portraits likely commemorate a marital union, as Ghirlandaio places the female sitter within an alcove that displays several common Florentine betrothal gifts that allude to the woman's virtuosity and her role as a new wife.²⁷⁴ On the bottom shelf, the artist includes a wooden box, used by brides to hold betrothal gifts, with a nuptial ring and ornate brooch on top.²⁷⁵ This type of box is described by San Bernardino of Siena as recognizable to young women: "that little box that you, women, have with you when you go to marry: that small one, you know that you hold inside them your ring, pearls, jewels, and other similar things."²⁷⁶ On the next shelf, located to the right of the woman's profile, Ghirlandaio depicts a pendant with a border of pearls and a ruby in the center—much like the *brocchetta di spalla* worn by the female sitter in Fra Filippo's double portrait. A devotional book, perhaps a book of hours meant to symbolize the young woman's piety, sits open on the middle ledge; Ghirlandaio even illustrates the text's page markers and silver-tipped clasps.²⁷⁷ Above the book, a strand of coral beads—a common talisman believed to have auspicious effects, hangs over a glass vial, an emblem of chastity.²⁷⁸ Expensive jewels such as those represented in this scene were worn by new brides as tokens of the couple's marriage union.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁴ It should be noted that there are multiple versions of these portraits, which depict the same woman with a different man. This makes identifying the specific sitters in Ghirlandaio's portraits problematic, and scholars can only speculate that the portraits were painted to represent a marital union. However, while their identities are unknown, the portraits exhibit many signs associated with marriage portraits. see Nancy Edwards, "Portrait of a Young Man, Portrait of a Young Woman," in *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Andrea Bayer (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008), 265.

²⁷⁵ Randolph, "Performing," 196.

²⁷⁶ Randolph, "Performing," 196. Iris Origo, *The World of San Bernardino* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1962), 1.

²⁷⁷ Edwards, "Portrait," 265.

²⁷⁸ Edwards, "Portrait," 265.

²⁷⁹ Edwards, "Portrait," 265.

The female sitter is positioned within an open loggia with marble colonnettes that frame her profile. She overlooks a serene landscape, with views of a river, winding pathways, trees, and mountains in the distant background. While she is represented in strict profile, Ghirlandaio depicts the young man in a three-quarter pose. Dressed in a red and black gown with a red cap on top of his head, he does not make eye contact with the viewer, but gazes off in the direction of his female partner. His portrait is set against a busy cityscape, sea, and land—a setting likely adopted from Northern European portraits that were so popular in Florence at this time.²⁸⁰ The background landscape in the male portrait may suggest activities such as travel and international trade, perhaps alluding to the profession of the sitter.²⁸¹ Contrastingly, the objects depicted behind the profile of the female sitter, such as the book of hours and her marriage jewels, allude to the woman's piety and other virtuous qualities.

Paired portraits like Ghirlandaio's can be understood in relation to Aristotelian literature in the way in which a bride was expected to repay her husband for her marital gifts by reproducing.²⁸² Though the female sitter no longer wears the jewelry given to her by her husband, they are in the background of the image, and serve as a reminder to her of her duty to repay her husband by reproducing and ensuring the survival of his family line. Therefore, given the purpose of marriage gifts, and likewise marriage portraits, as a representation of a couple's honorable union, it is not unlikely to assume that the young woman's positioning on the left-hand side of her husband's portrait may allude to the gendered identities of man as active bestower of gifts and reproductive seed, and woman as passive carrier of her conjugal offspring. Moreover, as she is

²⁸⁰ Paula Nuttall, "Memling and the European Renaissance Portrait," in *Memling's Portraits*, ed. Till-Holger Borchert (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2005), 77-78.

²⁸¹ Edwards, "Portrait," 265.

²⁸² Randolph, "Performing," 193.

also positioned within a loggia, while her husband is illustrated fully outdoors, it is also possible that Ghirlandaio may allude to the themes of activity and passivity displayed in Annunciation imagery. These procreative themes spread beyond fifteenth century marriage portraits. While feminine passivity is expressed in the woman's profile pose, and likewise through her placement on the left-hand side of her husband, the same relationship between sexual passivity and the left side is displayed in Florentine paired marriage portraits from the early sixteenth century.

Raphael's *Portrait of Agnolo Doni and His Wife Maddalena*

Raphael's (1483-1520) portraits of Agnolo Doni and his wife Maddalena (Fig. 6, 1506) should be examined within this context, as he painted both images after various editions of *Metaphysics* were printed in the later fifteenth century, and in the same year as the printing of *On the Generation of Animals* in Venice.²⁸³ Raphael was originally from Urbino, and did not begin his artistic career in Florence until 1504, with a letter of introduction from Giovanna Feltria della Rovere (1463-1514), the wife of Giovanni della Rovere (1457-1501), prefect of Rome.²⁸⁴ Though already highly regarded as a painter in Urbino, he became well known during his early years in Florence for his sacred paintings, which attracted the attention of Florentine merchants like Agnolo Doni.²⁸⁵ Doni (1474-1539) was a textile merchant, art patron, and collector.²⁸⁶ He was regarded as a prominent collector of antiquities, and commissioned works from Michelangelo as well as from

²⁸³ The full text of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* was printed in Padova in 1473 (copy in the Bib. Marucell.); Andreae Antonius' commentary on *Metaphysics* was published in Venice in 1473, 1481, 1487, 1491, 1495, and 1506, in Naples in 1475, and in Vincenza in 1477. Aristotle's *De Generatione Animalium*, with commentary by Theodoro Gaza, was published in Venice in 1504, and two copies are located at the BML and the BNC.

²⁸⁴ Jürg Meyer Zur Capellen, *Raphael: A Critical Catalogue of His Paintings*, Vol. I: The Beginnings in Umbria and Florence ca. 1500-1508 (Arcos Verlag, 2001): 29.

²⁸⁵ Meyer Zur Capellen, *Raphael: A Critical Catalogue*, 38.

²⁸⁶ Andree Hayum, "Michelangelo's *Doni Tondo*: Holy Family and Family Myth," *Studies in Iconography* 7-8 (1981): 210.

Raphael.²⁸⁷ He and his wife were married on January 31, 1504, when Maddalena was almost fifteen years old, and he commissioned the portraits after the wedding.²⁸⁸ Vasari notes that, “While Raphael was living in Florence, Agnolo Doni—who was very cautious with his money in other things, but spent it readily...on works of painting and sculpture, which gave him immense pleasure—commissioned Raphael to paint the portraits of himself and his wife; and these, in Raphael’s new style, may be seen in the possession of his son Giovanbattista.”²⁸⁹ This “new style” described by Vasari likely refers to the influence that Leonardo and Michelangelo, who were well-known as rivals, had on Raphael.²⁹⁰

Raphael depicts husband and wife in three-quarter length and three-quarter view, seated in front of landscapes. Both adopt poses reminiscent of Leonardo da Vinci’s *Mona Lisa* (1503); Maddalena’s hands, adorned with nuptial rings, are placed neatly on her lap.²⁹¹ Around her neck, she wears a single-strand necklace from which hangs a large pendant comprised of a ruby, sapphire, emerald, and pearl, much like the brooches that appear in the female portraits discussed above. Raphael enhances the fullness of Maddalena’s dress with detailed folds and drapery. The gown has voluminous blue sleeves, woven with floral patterns, and a blue and orange bodice. Her left arm rests on top of a book, perhaps a devotional text like the one shown in Ghirlandaio’s *Portrait of a Young Woman*.

²⁸⁷ Meyer Zur Capellen, *Raphael: A Critical Catalogue*, 296; Alessandro Cecchi, “Agnolo e Maddalena Doni Committenti di Raffaello,” in *Raffaello a Firenze: Dipinti e disegni delle collezioni fiorentine*, ed. Mina Gregori, et. al (Milan: Electa, 1984): 42.

²⁸⁸ Fahy, “The Marriage Portrait,” 20. Meyer Zur Capellen, *Raphael: A Critical Catalogue*, 296.

²⁸⁹ Vasari, *Lives of the Artists*, 289.

²⁹⁰ Vasari: “On his arrival, the city pleased him as much as did the works of Leonardo and Michelangelo, which indeed came as a revelation to him,” 287; Meyer Zur Capellen, *Raphael: A Critical Catalogue*, 29.

²⁹¹ Everett Fahy, “The Marriage Portrait in the Renaissance or Some Women Named Ginevra,” in *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Andrea Bayer (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008), 20; Jürg Meyer Zur Capellen, *Raphael: A Critical Catalogue of His Paintings*, Vol. I: The Beginnings in Umbria and Florence ca. 1500-1508 (Arcos Verlag, 2001), 56.

The portraits were clearly meant to be displayed together, as the clouds and the rolling hills depicted in the background of Maddalena's correspond to those portrayed in Agnolo's portrait. Raphael portrays Agnolo wearing a black robe, with a white undershirt and billowing red sleeves. He sits in a similar position as his wife, and wears rings that are much like Maddalena's. In both portraits, Raphael utilizes light to enhance the softness and luminosity of the sitters' flesh. On the backs of the panels, another artist, known as the Serumido Master, painted scenes of the gods of Olympus and Deucalion and Pyrrha.²⁹² In this legend, from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Deucalion and his wife Pyrrha are the sole survivors of the deluge caused by Zeus.²⁹³ The back of Agnolo's portrait illustrates the flood unleashed by Zeus, whereas the back of Maddalena's portrait portrays Deucalion and Pyrrha, who became the progenitors of a new human race after catastrophe.²⁹⁴ These portraits therefore allude to the importance of reproduction in marriage: the representation of Zeus on back of Agnolo's image associates the sitter with male prowess and activity, while the image of Deucalion and Pyrrha allude to fecundity, and Maddalena's ability to reproduce children who will carry on the Doni line.

Maddalena's placement on the left-hand side of her husband was certainly influenced by Raphael's knowledge of portrait traditions like those discussed earlier, which emphasized an association between femininity and the left side and male dominated procreation theories. Despite the fact that she is portrayed in a three-quarter view, rather than a side profile, her placement on the left-hand side of Agnolo demonstrates a continued relationship between masculinity, the right side, and activity, and femininity, the left side, and passivity. Moreover, given the mythological imagery on the back of her panel, Maddalena was likely expected to perform her duty to her

²⁹² Fahy, "The Marriage Portrait," 20.

²⁹³ Fahy, "The Marriage Portrait," 20.

²⁹⁴ Meyer Zur Capellen, *Raphael: A Critical Catalogue*, 296

husband and family by reproducing. In this way, she serves as a subordinate, passive figure under the Agnolo's ownership.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined paired Florentine marriage portraits produced between the mid-fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Though the poses of the husbands and wives changed slightly over time, from the strict profiles portrayed in Fra Filippo Lippi's *Portrait of a Woman with a Man at a Casement*, to the three-quarter stances adopted by Raphael's *Portraits of Agnolo and Maddalena Doni*, the artists never altered the positioning of the bride on the left-hand side of the groom. Marriage portraits adopted this consistent format in order to portray the wife's role as a passive object that was exchanged between patrilineal and conjugal households, and an association between femininity, the left side, and sexual passivity, as these portraits may have preceded or coincided with the birth of a couple's offspring.

Conclusion and Suggestions for Future Research

While the above chapters have only examined paintings produced either in Florence, or by Florentine artists, future studies on the relationship between women and the left side ought to consider the existence of such an association in other Italian city-states. By expanding the boundaries of research to include other Italian cities in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it may be shown that Florence was not unique in displaying Aristotelian dualities. In this conclusion, I intend to briefly introduce paintings that were produced outside of Florence, suggesting that examining these images within the context of Aristotelian and Christian literature may enable scholars to see that gendered dualities were portrayed in the same three categories of paintings throughout the Italian peninsula.

Adam and Eve Outside of Florence

The association between Eve and the left-hand side of Adam existed in Venetian paintings produced during the sixteenth century. This is likely because commentaries on Aristotle's *Metaphysics* and *On the Generation of Animals* were printed in Venice throughout the sixteenth century.²⁹⁵ Jacopo Tintoretto's (1519-1594) *Temptation of Adam and Eve* (Fig. 1, 1550) represents Eve offering Adam a golden apple, with her hand around a tree trunk that displays the face of a monster holding an apple in its mouth. Adam's back is turned towards the viewer, and he leans back, as if apprehensive to accept the fruit. This painting might illustrate a mid- sixteenth-century

²⁹⁵ Commentaries on Aristotle's *On the Generation of Animals* printed in Venice during the sixteenth century include Aristotle, *De animalibus Opuscula a Theodoro Gaza de Graeco*, Ottaviano I Scoto (1525), *De animalium generatione libri quinque cum Philoponi commentariis Graece et latine*, per Giovanni Antonio Nicolini da Sabbio et fratres (1526), and *De generatione animalium libri V*, Girolamo Scoto (1545); Versions of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* printed in Venice include *Metaphysica*, Johannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis, de Forlivio (1494), *Quaestiones in Aristotelis Metaphysicam*, Johannes Hamman for Andreas Torresanus, (1499), and St. Thomas Aquinas, *Metaphysica Aristotelis duplicis translationis cum expositione*, Ottaviano I Scoto & C., (1519).

Venetian belief that women were vulnerable to wrongdoing because of Eve's actions. For example, Laura Terracina's *Rime* (Venice, 1548) describes the negative qualities inherent to the female sex. She writes, "O female sex, how frail you are, how mutable you are, how lacking duty. So that it's true, imperfect animal, that you can have no sense of honor. You think you're never wrong, nor live wickedly, thus ever demonstrating your high conceit."²⁹⁶ The female imperfections Terracina recounts in her poem could be associated with the carnal and irrational desires of Eve, and likewise qualities that are assigned to the eternally damned. Later sixteenth-century Venetian paintings continued to depict Eve on the left-hand side of Adam. For example, Titian's (1490-1576) *The Fall of Man* (Fig. 2, 1570) depicts a sensual Eve accepting a golden apple from a snake with the head of a small child. Adam, seated on the right side of the scene on top of a boulder, lifts up his left hand and appears to try to push Eve away, or hinder her acceptance of the forbidden fruit. Given the consistent placement of Eve on Adam's left-hand side, and the presence of Aristotelian literature in Venice during the sixteenth century, it seems that Venetian artists may have also sought to visualize a relationship between the female sex, the left side, and irrationality.

Annunciation Scenes Outside of Florence

Future research on Annunciation scenes painted in other Italian city-states, and their relation to Aristotelian concepts, may find that the association between the Virgin, the left side, and sexual passivity represented a cultural topos that existed throughout the Italian peninsula during the Renaissance. Early Renaissance Sieneese Annunciation scenes often influenced those produced by Florentine artists like Fra Angelico.²⁹⁷ In particular, Simone Martini's *Annunciation with St. Margaret and St. Ansanus* (Fig. 3, 1333) represented iconographical elements that were

²⁹⁶ Laura Terracina, *Rime della Signora Laura Terracina*, in *Women in Italy: 1350-1650 Ideals and Realities*, ed. Mary Rogers and Paola Tinagli (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005): 14.

²⁹⁷ John R. Spencer, "Spatial Imagery of the Annunciation in Fifteenth-Century Florence," *The Art Bulletin* 37 (1955): 274.

frequently repeated in fourteenth-century Florentine painting.²⁹⁸ In this altarpiece, Martini depicts the angel, dressed in a solid gold robe, appearing to the Virgin. He carries an olive branch, and the words “Ave gratia plena Dominus tecum” (Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with thee) are shown emerging from his mouth.²⁹⁹ Across from him, the Virgin wears a blue and red robe, and turns her right shoulder towards the angel, as if unsure of why he has come. On either side of the two central figures, Martini portrays St. Ansanus and St. Margaret, yet they are separated from the Annunciation scene by the altarpiece’s gothic archways.

Martini’s *Annunciation* was well-known to the Sienese people during the fifteenth century, as it was located in the city’s main cathedral. In a sermon preached in 1427, Bernardino of Siena discusses the prominence of the painting, and the ways in which its Virgin exhibits ideal feminine behavior:

Have you seen that Annunciation scene in the cathedral, at the altar of St. Sano, beside the Sacristy? That certainty seems to me to have the finest, the most reverent and modest pose I’ve ever seen in an Annunciation. Look: she’s not looking at the Angel, but is in an almost fearful pose. She knew quite well it was an angel, so why should she be alarmed? Follow this example, girls, of what you should do. Never speak to a man unless your father or mother is present.³⁰⁰

The presence of Aristotle’s *Metaphysics* or *On the Generation of Animals*, as well as Augustine and Aquinas’ literature in fourteenth-century Siena may provide interesting details as to why Martini represented the Virgin on the left-hand side of the angel. It is clear however that by the fifteenth century, the antithetical relationship between Eve and the Virgin was known in Siena. In *The Annunciation and Expulsion from Paradise* (Fig. 4, 1435), Sienese artist Giovanni di Paolo

²⁹⁸ Spencer, “Spatial Imagery,” 274.

²⁹⁹ Van Dijk, “The Angelic Salutation,” 420.

³⁰⁰ Bernardino of Siena, *Women in Italy*, 45; Ronald Rainey, “Dressing Down the Dressed-Up: Reproving Feminine Attire in Renaissance Florence,” in *Renaissance Society and Culture: Essays in Honor of Eugene F. Rice, Jr.*, ed. John Monfasani and Ronald G. Musto (New York: Italica Press, 1991), 237; This sermon is also quoted by Keith Christiansen, in *Painting in Renaissance Siena, 1420-1500* (New York: H.N. Abrams for the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988), 4.

(1403-1482) depicts Adam and Eve on the left-hand side of the scene being shown out of the Garden of Eden; across from them, he portrays the angel appearing to the Virgin within a covered courtyard bordered by lush grasses and plants. Giovanni includes an open doorway through which the Holy Spirit may pass through and miraculously impregnate the Virgin. Behind the angel and Mary, Giovanni illustrates a small hallway that leads deeper into the interior setting, possibly towards a bedroom. He connects the Expulsion and Annunciation stories together through the figure of God, who points to the exiled couple as a sign of disgrace, and looks ahead towards the Annunciation, predicting the redemptive act that is to come.³⁰¹ On the very right side of the scene, the artist shows St. Joseph burning a fire and separated from the two central figures by a wall. Though additional research on the Sieneese publication of Aristotelian and religious literature on reproduction is needed in order to conclude whether or not artists would have been familiar with the association between the Virgin, the left side, and sexual passivity, Giovanni's painting makes a compelling case for the presence of this cultural topos outside of Florence.

Given the consistent placement of the Virgin on the left-hand side of the angel in Annunciations produced outside of Florence during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, future scholarship on Annunciation imagery would benefit from examining the prominence of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* and *On the Generation of Animals* in manuscripts and early printed texts in other Italian city-states. If these two texts, as well as literature written by Medieval religious figures like Augustine and Aquinas, were circulated in cities with strong artistic centers, a strong case could be made for the existence of a fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century cultural topos that associated femininity with the left side and sexual passivity, throughout the Italian peninsula. Moreover, an

³⁰¹ Miklos Boskovits and David Alan Brown, *Italian Paintings of the Fifteenth Century: The Systematic Catalogue of the National Gallery of Art* (Washington, D.C., 2003): 325-332.

investigation into the presence of humanist texts that drew on Aristotelian principles in order to give marital advice, such as Francesco Barbaro's *The Wealth of Wives*, may also show how Italian women living in cities other than Florence were also encouraged to display passive behavior in the Renaissance marriage bed.

Marriage Portraits Outside of Florence

Fifteenth and early sixteenth-century marriage portraits made in northern Italian city-states also consistently positioned wives on the left-hand sides of their husbands. For example, Lorenzo Lotto's (1480-1557) *Messer Marsilio Cassotti and His Wife Faustina* (Fig. 5, 1523) portrays both husband and wife in a fully frontal view. Lotto depicts Marsilio, dressed in a lavish black gown, placing a wedding ring on his wife's middle finger. A smiling cupid unites the couple in the background with a symbolic yoke.³⁰² Lotto illustrates Faustina wearing a richly colored red gown with voluminous sleeves and skirt. She is adorned with numerous items that reference her married state, including a pearl necklace with a pendant attached, and a small brooch made of pearls at the front of her headpiece. Both sitters look out of the picture plane, making direct eye contact with viewers—a departure from the paried profile portraits discussed above. Marsilio's dominance is emphasized by his more vertical pose, and larger size, while Faustina appears subservient as she sits lower in the picture plane, and tilts her head towards her husband.

The portrait was commissioned by Marsilio's father, Zanin Cassotti, emphasizing the important role that marriage portraits played in the expression of conjugal lineage.³⁰³ Given Lotto's training as a Venetian painter, and his presence in Bergamo, it is necessary to consider the presence of Aristotelian texts in both city-states. Various versions of both *Metaphysics* and *On the*

³⁰² Peter Humfrey, *Lorenzo Lotto* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997): 70.

³⁰³ Humfrey, *Lorenzo Lotto*, 70.

Generation of Animals were printed in Venice during the early sixteenth century, while printed copies of *Metaphysics* were also present in Bergamo during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.³⁰⁴ Moreover, it is important to mention the existence of humanist literature in Venice that recycled Aristotle's male-dominated generation theories. Discussed in my chapter on Florentine paintings of the Annunciation, Francesco Barbaro's *The Wealth of Wives* recounted the role of a husband as active contributor during procreation. Given the prominence of Venetian texts that referenced Aristotelian ideals, future research may find that Lotto's portrait of Marsilio Cassotti and his wife clearly illustrates a relationship between the female sex, the left side, and sexual passivity.

Conclusion

This thesis identified three categories of Florentine paintings in which artists consistently rendered a relationship between women and the left side. Though previous scholarship has discussed the ways in which each type of painting communicated the inferiority of the female sex, my argument has shown that an association between women and the left side existed as a cultural topos in fifteenth-century Florence, and deserves to be considered when interpreting the ways in which each painting represents female inferiority. The placement of Eve on Adam's left-hand side in both religious and domestic portrayals of the Creation, Temptation, and Expulsion, alluded to woman's irrationality and susceptibility to wrongdoing, and Aristotelian procreative theories that identified men as the active bearers of rational thought. These paintings of Adam and Eve reinforced Florentine patriarchal discourse that proclaimed women should remain in the domestic sphere, protected from the temptation to sin in the outside world. In depictions of the Annunciation,

³⁰⁴ For early printed copies of *Metaphysics* and *On the Generation of Animals*, see above footnote n.291; A copy of *Metaphysics*, printed in Padova in 1473 by Laurentius Canozius, for Johannes Philippus Aurelianus et Fratres, is held in Bergamo's Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, and was likely present in Bergamo during the fifteenth century.

artists highlighted an antithetical association between the Virgin and Eve, and visualized a relationship between male activity and female passivity during the procreative process. Annunciation scenes in religious spaces encouraged viewers to humble themselves before God, while those included in domestic areas encouraged Florentine women to model their behavior in the marriage bed after the Virgin's passive response to the archangel. Similarly, fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Florentine marriage portraits positioned wives on the left-hand sides of their husbands in order to represent the ways in which men were active guardians of kinship, lineage, and estates, while women were regarded as passive guests in both their patrilineal and conjugal homes. As this thesis focused only on Florentine paintings, and the accessibility of Aristotelian literature within the city of Florence, future scholarship must consider the relationship between paintings and Aristotelian doctrine in other city-states, in order to determine whether the association between women and the left side was part of a larger cultural topos that existed in many Italian regions.

List of Figures

Introduction

Fig. 1: Coppo?, *The Last Judgement*, 13th-14th century, Baptistery, Florence.

Fig. 2: Orcagna, *The Last Judgement*, 1354-1357, Basilica of Santa Maria Novella, Florence

Fig. 3: Fra Angelico, *The Last Judgement*, 1425-1430, San Marco, Florence

Chapter I

Fig. 1: Masolino da Panicale, *The Temptation of Adam and Eve*, 1427, Brancacci Chapel, Santa Maria del Carmine, Florence

Fig. 2: Masaccio, *Expulsion from the Garden of Eden*, 1427, Brancacci Chapel, Santa Maria del Carmine, Florence

Fig. 3: Coppo?, *The Temptation, Adam and Eve's Disobedience Discovered by God, The Expulsion*, 13th-14th century, Florence Baptistery

Fig. 4: Mariotto Albertinelli, *The Temptation*, 1509-1513, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, CT

Fig. 5: Mariotto Albertinelli, *The Sacrifice of Isaac*, 1509-1513, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, CT

Fig. 6: Michelangelo, *Creation of Eve*, 1508-12, Sistine Chapel, Rome

Fig. 7: Michelangelo, *The Temptation and Expulsion of Adam and Eve*, 1508-12, Sistine Chapel, Rome

Fig. 8: Mariotto Albertinelli, *The Creation of Adam and Eve and the Temptation*, 1513-15, The Courtauld Gallery, London

Fig. 9: Piero di Cosimo, *Adam and Eve: The Forefathers*, 1505-15, Galleria Luigi Bellini, Florence

Chapter II:

Fig. 1: Anonymous, *Annunciation*, 1300s, SS. Annunziata, Florence

Fig. 2: Fra Angelico, *The Annunciation*, 1425-28, Museo del Prado, Madrid

Fig. 3: Fra Angelico, *The Annunciation*, 1450, Convent of San Marco, Florence

Fig. 4: Leonardo da Vinci, *The Annunciation*, 1472-78, Uffizi Gallery, Florence

Fig. 5: Leonardo da Vinci, *Coition of Hemisected Man and Woman*, 1500, Royal Library, Windsor

Fig. 6: Lorenzo di Credi, *The Annunciation*, 1480-85, Uffizi Gallery, Florence

Fig. 7: Master of Daphne and Apollo, *Annunciation*, 1485-90, whereabouts unknown

Fig. 8: Fra Filippo Lippi, *The Annunciation*, 1449-59, National Gallery, London

Chapter III

Fig. 1: Masaccio, *The Trinity*, 1427-28, The Basilica of Santa Maria Novella, Florence

Fig. 2: Paolo Uccello?, *Portrait of a Man*, 1430-40, National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.

Fig. 3: Lo Scheggia, *The Triumph of Fame; (Reverse) Impresa of the Medici Family and Arms of the Medici and Tornabuoni Families*, 1449, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Fig. 4: Fra Filippo Lippi, *Portrait of a Woman with a Man at a Casement*, 1440, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Fig. 5: Attributed to Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Portrait of a Young Man*, and *Portrait of a Young Woman*, 1490, Huntington Library Art Collections, San Marino

Fig. 6: Raphael, *Portrait of Agnolo Doni and Maddalena Doni*, 1506, Palazzo Pitti, Florence

Conclusion

Fig. 1: Jacopo Tintoretto, *Temptation of Adam and Eve*, 1550, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice

Fig. 2: Titian, *The Fall of Man*, 1570, Museo del Prado, Madrid

Fig. 3: Simone Martini, *Annunciation with St. Margaret and St. Ansanus*, 1333, Uffizi Gallery, Florence

Fig. 4: Giovanni di Paolo, *The Annunciation and Expulsion from Paradise*, 1435, National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.

Fig. 5: Lorenzo Lotto, *Micer Marsilio Cassotti and His Wife Faustina*, 1523, Museo del Prado, Madrid

Works Cited

Primary Sources

Alberti, Leon Battista. *On Painting*. Translated by John R. Spencer. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970.

Alberti, Leon Battista. *On The Family*. Translated by Renee Neu Watkins. New York: Columbia, 1969.

Antonius, Andreae. *Commentary on Metaphysics*. Venice, 1473.

Aquinas, Thomas. *Commentary on Aristotle's Metaphysics*. Translated by John P. Rowan. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961.

Aquinas, Thomas. *Metaphysics Aristotelis Duplicis Translationis Cum Exposition*. Venice, 1519.

Aquinas, Thomas. *Summa Theologica*. Translated by the Fathers of the English Dominican Province. London, 1920. Accessed August 10, 2016. doi: <http://www.newadvent.org/summa/1092.htm>.

Aristotle. *De Animalibus Opuscula a Theodoro Gaza de Graeco*. Venice: Ottaviano I Scoto, 1525.

Aristotle. *De Animalium Generatione Libri Quinque Cum Philoponi Commentariis Graece et Latine*. Venice, 1526.

Aristotle. *De Generatione Animalium Libri V*. Venice, 1545.

Aristotle. *Metaphysics*. Padova, 1473.

Aristotle. *Metaphysica*. Venice, 1494.

Aristotle. *Quaestiones in Aristotelis Metaphysicam*. Venice, 1499.

Aristotle. *Metaphysics*. Translated by William David Ross and John Alexander Smith. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908.

Augustine. *On The City of God*. Translated by Marcus Dods. In *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*. Edited by Philip Schaff. Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1887. Accessed August 10, 2016. doi: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/120114.htm>.

Augustine. *On The Trinity*. Translated by Arthur West Haddan. In *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*. Edited by Philip Schaff. Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1887. Accessed August 10, 2016. doi: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/130112.htm>.

Aristotle. *On the Generation of Animals*. Translated by A.L. Peck. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1943.

“Ave Maria.” In *Women in Italy 1350-1650: Ideals and Realities*. Edited by Mary Rogers and Paola Tinagli, 53. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005.

Barbaro, Francesco. *The Wealth of Wives*. Translated by Margaret L. King. Toronto: Iter Academic Press, 2015.

Bernardino of Siena. *Le Prediche Volgari di San Bernardino da Siena*. Edited by Luciano Banchi. Siena, 1880.

Bernardino of Siena. “Sermon.” In *Women in Italy 1350-1650: Ideals and Realities*. Edited by Mary Rogers and Paola Tinagli, 17-18. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005.

- Bisticci, Vespasiano. "Il Libro delle Lode e Commendazione delle Donne." In *Women in Italy: 1350-1650 Ideals and Realities*. Edited by Mary Rogers and Paola Tinagli. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005.
- Boccaccio, Giovanni. *De Mulieribus Claris*. Translated by Virginia Brown. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001.
- Cennini, Cennino d'Andrea. *Craftsman's Handbook: Il Libro dell'Arte*. Translated by Daniel V. Thompson Jr. New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1954.
- Filarete. *Trattato di Architettura*. Edited by A.M. Finoli and L. Grassi. Milan: 1972.
- Gaza, Theodoro. *Commentary on De Generatione Animalium*. Venice, 1504.
- Jerome, Saint. "Epistle 22." Translated by W.H. Fremantle, G. Lewis, and W.G. Martley. In *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series*. Edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1893. doi: <<http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/3001022.htm>>.
- Leonardo da Vinci. *On Painting: An Anthology of Writings by Leonardo da Vinci; With a Selection of Documents Relating to His Career as an Artist*. Edited by Martin Kemp and Margaret Walker. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.
- Morelli, Giovanni di Paolo. "Ricordi." In *Women in Italy 1350-1650: Ideals and Realities, a Sourcebook*. Edited by Mary Rogers and Paola Tinagli, 116-117. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005.
- Pliny the Elder. *Natural History*. Translated by William Heinemann. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015.

“Ricordanze of the Corsini Family.” In *Women in Italy 1350-1650 Ideals and Realities: A Sourcebook*. Edited by Mary Rogers and Paola Tinagli, 131. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005.

Strozzi, Alessandra. “Letter to Son Filippo.” In *Women in Italy 1350-1650: Ideals and Realities, A Sourcebook*. Edited by Mary Rogers and Paola Tinagli, 123. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005.

Terracina, Laura. “Rime della Signora Laura Terracina.” In *Women in Italy: 1350-1650 Ideals and Realities*. Edited by Mary Rogers and Paola Tinagli, 14. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005.

Varagine, Jacobus da. “Saint Augustine.” In *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*. Edited by William Granger Ryan and Eamon Duffy, 502-518. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012.

Secondary Sources

Alexander, Jonathan J.G. *The Painted Book in Renaissance Italy 1450-1600*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Alexander, Jonathan J.G., and Otto Pacht. *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Volume 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966.

Barriault, Anne B. *Spalliera Paintings of Renaissance Tuscany: Fables of Poets for Patrician Homes*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University, 1994.

Baxandall, Michael. *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972.

Bell, Rudolph M. *How to Do It: Guides to Good Living for Renaissance Italians*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999.

- Bemporad, Dora Liscia. "L'Arredo della Santissima Annunziata." In *Alla Riscoperta delle Chiese di Firenze: Santissima Annunziata*. Edited by Timothy Verdun, 39-53. Florence: Centro Di, 2005.
- Bennett, M.R. "The Legend of the Green Tree and the Dry." *Archaeological Journal* 83 (1962): 21-32.
- Benson, Pamela Joseph. *Invention of the Renaissance Woman: The Challenge of Female Independence in the Literature and Thought of Italy and England*. Pennsylvania State Press, 2010.
- Black, Robert. *Education and Society in Florentine Tuscany: Teachers, Pupils and Schools, c. 1250-1500*, Volume I. Boston: Brill, 2007.
- Blunt, Anthony. *The Gambier-Parry Collection: Provisional Catalogue*. London: The Courtauld Institute of Art, 1967.
- Boskovits, Miklos. "Florentine Mosaics and Panel Paintings: Problems of Chronology." *Studies in the History of Art* 61 (2002): 486-498.
- Boskovits, Miklos, and David Alan Brown. *Italian Paintings of the Fifteenth Century: The Systematic Catalogue of the National Gallery of Art*. Washington D.C., 2003.
- Brown, Beverly Louise. "Picturing the Perfect Marriage: The Equilibrium of Sense and Sensibility in Titian's 'Sacred and Profane Love.'" In *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy*. Edited by Andrea Bayer, 238-246. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008.
- Brown, David Alan. "Woman with a Man at a Window." In *Virtue and Beauty: Leonardo's Ginevra de' Benci and Renaissance Portraits of Women*. Edited by David Alan Brown, 106-108. Washington D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2001.

- Brucker, Gene. *The Society of Renaissance Florence: A Documentary Study*. New York: Harper & Row, 1971.
- Burridge, Richard A. "St. Paul on the Resurrection: I Corinthians 15." In *Death, Resurrection, and Human Destiny: Christian and Muslim Perspectives*. Edited by David Marshall, Lucinda Mosher, 129-142. Georgetown: Georgetown University Press, 2014.
- Bussagli, Marco. *Michelangelo*. Milan: Giunti Editore, 2008.
- Campana, Augusto. "The Origin of the Word Humanist." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 9 (1946): 60-73.
- Campbell, Caroline. *Love and Marriage in Renaissance Florence: The Courtauld Wedding Chests*. London: The Courtauld Gallery, 2009.
- Cecchi, Alessandro. "Agnolo e Maddelena Doni Committenti di Raffaello." in *Raffaello a Firenze: Dipinti e Disegni delle Collezioni Fiorentine*. Edited by Mina Gregori. Milan: Electa, 1984.
- Cecchi, Alessandro. "New Light on Leonardo's Florentine Patrons." In *Leonardo da Vinci Master Draftsman: Catalogue to an Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. Edited by Rachel Stern and Alison Manges, 121-140. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003.
- Christiansen, Keith. *Painting in Renaissance Siena 1420-1500*. New York: H.N. Abrams for the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988.
- Christiansen, Keith. "Portrait of a Woman and a Man at a Casement." In *From Filippo Lippi to Piero Della Francesca: Fra Carnevale and the Making of a Renaissance Master*. Edited by Keith Christiansen, 150-152. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005.

- Clifton, James. "Gender and Shame in Masaccio's Expulsion from the Garden of Eden." *Art History* 22 (1999): 637-655.
- Cole Ahl, Diane. *Fra Angelico*. New York: Phaidon Press, Inc., 2008.
- Conway, Melissa. *The Diario of the Printing Press of San Jacopo di Ripoli: 1476-1484: Commentary and Transcription*. Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1999.
- Comanducci, Rita Maria. "L'altare nostro de la Trinita: Masaccio's Trinity and the Berti Family." *The Burlington Magazine* 145 (2003): 14-21.
- De Roover, Raymond. *The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank, 1397-1494*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963.
- Dean, Clay. *A Selection of Early Italian Paintings from the Yale University Art Gallery*. New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 2001.
- Denley, Peter. "Government and Schools in Late Medieval Italy." *City and Countryside I Late Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Essays Presented to Philip Jones*. Edited by Trevor Dean and Chris Wickham, 93-107. London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 1990.
- Didi-Huberman, Georges. *Fra Angelico: Dissemblance and Figuration*. Translated by Jane Marie Todd. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995.
- Dunlop, Anne. "Introduction: The Augustinians, the Mendicant Orders, and Early-Renaissance Art." In *Art and the Augustinian Order in Early Renaissance Italy*. Edited by Louise Bourdua and Anne Dunlop, 1-15. Farnham: Ashgate, 2007.

- Dotson, Esther Gordon. "An Augustinian Interpretation of Michelangelo's Sistine, Part I." In *Michelangelo, Selected Scholarship in English: The Sistine Chapel*. Edited by William E. Wallace, 169-202. Abingdon: Taylor and Francis, 1995.
- Edwards, Nancy. "Portrait of a Woman and a Man at a Casement." In *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy*. Edited by Andrea Bayer, 256. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008.
- Edwards, Nancy. "Portrait of a Young Man, Portrait of a Young Woman." In *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy*. Edited by Andrea Bayer, 265. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008.
- Eckstein, Nicholas A. *Painted Glories: The Brancacci Chapel in Renaissance Florence*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014.
- Eckstein, Nicholas A. "The Widows' Might: Women's Identity and Devotion in the Brancacci Chapel." *Oxford Art Journal* 28 (2005): 101-118.
- Fahy, Everett. "The Marriage Portrait in the Renaissance or Some Women Named Ginevra." In *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy*. Edited by Andrea Bayer, 17-28. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008.
- Feinberg, Larry J. *The Young Leonardo: Art and Life in Fifteenth-Century Florence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Fisher, Anthony. "A New Interpretation of Fra Angelico." *New Blackfriars* 75 (1994): 255-265.
- Fossi, Gloria. *Uffizi: Art, History, Collections*. Milan: Giunti Editore, 2004.

Franklin, Carmela Vircillo. "Pro Communi Doctorum Virorum Comodo: The Vatican Library and Its Service to Scholarship." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 146 (2002): 363-384.

Franklin, Margaret. *Boccaccio's Heroines: Power and Virtue in Renaissance Society*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.

Fraser Jenkins, A.D. "Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of Architecture and the Theory of Magnificence." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*. 33 (1970): 162-170.

Garrard, Mary. *Brunelleschi's Egg: Nature, Art, and Gender in Renaissance Italy*. Berkeley: The University of California Press, 2010.

Garrard, Mary. "Leonardo da Vinci: Female Portraits, Female Nature." In *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History*. Edited by Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard, 59-87. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1992.

Garrard, Mary. "Who was Ginevra de' Benci? Leonardo's Portrait and Its Sitter Recontextualized." *Artibus et Historiae* 53 (2006): 23-56.

Gill, Meredith. *Augustine in the Italian Renaissance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Giustiani, Vito R. "Homo, Humanus, and the Meanings of Humanism." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 46 (1985): 167-195.

Graham-Dixon, Andrew. *Michelangelo and the Sistine Chapel*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2008.

Grendler, Paul F. "Schooling in Western Europe." *Renaissance Quarterly* 43 (1990): 775-787.

- Griffiths, Gordon, James Hankins, and David Thompson. *The Humanism of Leonardo Bruni: Selected Texts*. Arizona State University: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1987.
- Gumbinger, Cuthbert. "St Bernardine of Siena: The Popular Preacher." *Franciscan Studies* 2 (1942): 12-34.
- Hayum, Andree. "Michelangelo's *Doni Tondo*: Holy Family and Family Myth." *Studies in Iconography* 8 (1981): 209-251.
- Herlihy, David and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber. *Tuscans and Their Families: A Study of the Florentine Catasto of 1427*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.
- Holmes, Megan. *Fra Filippo Lippi: The Carmelite Painter*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.
- Holmes, Megan. "The Elusive Origins and the Cult of the Annunciation in Florence." In *The Miraculous Image in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance*. Edited by Erik Thuno and Gerhard Wolf, 97-121. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2004.
- Holmes, Megan. *The Miraculous Image in Renaissance Florence*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013.
- Hood, William. *Fra Angelico at San Marco*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.
- Hughes, Anthony. *Michelangelo*. The University of Michigan: Phaidon Press, 1997.
- Humfrey, Peter. *Lorenzo Lotto*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.
- Jurdjevic, Mark. "Civic Humanism and the Rise of the Medici." *Renaissance Quarterly* 52 (1999): 994-1020.

- Kelso, Ruth. *Doctrine for the Lady of the Renaissance*. Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1956.
- Kemp, Martin. *Leonardo on Painting: An Anthology of Writings by Leonardo da Vinci, with a Selection of Documents Relating to His Career as an Artist*. Edited by Martin Kemp and Margaret Walker. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.
- Kent, Dale. *Cosimo de' Medici and the Florentine Renaissance: The Patron's Oeuvre*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Klapisch-Zuber, Christiane. *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*. Translated by Lydia G. Cochrane. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1985.
- Kristeller, Paul Oskar. "The Contribution of Religious Orders to Renaissance Thought and Learning." *The American Benedictine Review* 21 (1970): 1-55.
- Krohn, Deborah L. "Marriage as a Key to Understanding the Past." In *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy*. Edited by Andrea Bayer, 9-16. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of art, 2008.
- Ladner, Gerhart B. "Medieval and Modern Understanding of Symbolism: A Comparison." *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies* 54 (1979): 223-256.
- Lerner, Gerda. *The Creation of the Patriarchy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Maclean, Ian. *The Renaissance Notion of Woman: A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.
- Manca, Joseph. *The Art of Ercole de' Robert*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

- Marani, Pietro C. "Leonardo's Drawings in Milan and Their Influence on the Graphic Work of Milanese Artists." In *Leonardo da Vinci Master Draftsman: Catalogue to an Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. Edited by Rachel Stern and Alison Manges, 155-190. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003.
- McInerny, Ralph. "Aristotle and Aquinas." In *Person, Being, and History*. Edited by Michael Baur and Robert E. Wood, 115-124. Catholic University of America Press, 2011.
- Meller, Peter. "La Cappella Brancacci: Problemi Rittrattistici ed Iconografici." *Acropoli* (1961): 186-227.
- Meyer Zur Capellen, Jürg. *Raphael: A Critical Catalogue of His Paintings, Vol. I: The Beginnings in Umbria and Florence ca. 1500-1508*. Arcos Verlag, 2001.
- Molho, Anthony. "The Brancacci Chapel: Studies in Its Iconography and History." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*. 40 (1977): 50-98, 322
- Motture, Peta and Luke Syson. "Art in the Casa." In *At Home in Renaissance Italy*. Edited by Marta Ajmar-Wollheim and Flora Dennis, 268-283. London: V&A Publications, 2006.
- Musacchio, Jacqueline. *The Art and Ritual of Childbirth in Renaissance Italy*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.
- Nuttall, Paula. "Memling and the European Renaissance Portrait." In *Memling's Portraits*. Edited by Till-Holger Borchert, 77-78. New York: Thames and Hudson, 2005.
- Olson, Roberta J.M. *The Florentine Tondo*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Origo, Iris. *The World of San Bernardino*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1962.

- Percival, Keith W. "Grammar, Humanism, and Renaissance Italy." *Mediterranean Studies* 16 (2007): 94-119.
- Pettegree, Andrew. *The Book in the Renaissance*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011.
- Pope-Hennessy, John, and Laurence B. Kanter. *The Robert Lehman Collection, Vol. I, Italian Paintings*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987.
- Rainey, Ronald. "Dressing Down the Dressed-Up: Reprising Feminine Attire in Renaissance Florence." In *Renaissance Society and Culture: Essays in Honor of Eugene F. Rice, Jr.* Edited by John Monfasani and Ronald G. Musto, 217-238. New York: Italica Press, 1991.
- Randolph, Adrian W.B. "Performing the Bridal Body in Fifteenth-Century Florence." *Art History* 21 (1998): 182-200.
- Reilly, Patricia L. "The Taming of the Blue." In *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History*. Edited by Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard, 87-101. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1992.
- Rist, John M. "Augustine, Aristotelianism, and Aquinas: Three Varieties of Philosophical Adaptation." In *Aquinas the Augustinian*. Edited by Michael Dauphinais, Barry David, and Matthew Levering, 79-99. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2007.
- Roover, Raymond De. *The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank, 1397-1494*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963.
- Rubin, Patricia. "Understanding Renaissance Portraiture." In *The Renaissance Portrait from Donatello to Bellini*. Edited by Keith Christiansen and Stefan Weppelmann, 2-26. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2012.

- Russell, Eugenia. "Greek in the Renaissance: Scholarship, Dissemination, and Transition." *Renaissance Studies* 25 (2011): 585-589.
- Ryan, William Granger, and Eamon Duffy. "Saint Augustine." In *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, 502-518. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012.
- Seymour, Charles. *Michelangelo, the Sistine Chapel Ceiling: Illustrations, Introductory Essays, Backgrounds and Sources, Critical Essays*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1972.
- Simons, Patricia. "Women in Frames: The Gaze, the Eye, the Profile in Renaissance Portraiture." In *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History*. Edited by Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard, 39-59. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, Inc., 1992.
- Spencer, John R. "Spatial Imagery of the Annunciation in Fifteenth-Century Florence." *The Art Bulletin* 37 (1955): 273-280.
- Spike, John T. *Fra Angelico*. New York: Abbeville Press, 1996.
- Steinberg, Leo. "Eve's Idle Hand." *Art Journal* 35 (1975): 130-135.
- Stowell, Steven. *The Spiritual Language of Art*. Boston: Brill, 2014.
- Syson, Luke. "Representing Domestic Interiors." In *At Home in Renaissance Italy*. Edited by Marta Ajmar and Flora Dennis, 98. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2010.
- Trinkaus, Charles. *In Our Image and Likeness: Humanity and Divinity in Italian Humanist Thought*, Volume I. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970.
- Troutman, Philip. *The Paintings' Collections of the Courtauld Institute of Art*. London: The Courtauld Institute of Art, 1979.

- Ullman, Berthold Louis, and Philip A. Stadter. *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence: Niccolo Niccoli, Cosimo de' Medici, and the Library of San Marco*. Padova: Editrice Antenore, 1972.
- Van Dijk, Ann. "The Angelic Salutation in Early Byzantine and Medieval Annunciation Imagery." *The Art Bulletin* (1999): 420-436.
- Vasari, Giorgio. *Lives of the Artists*. Translated by George Bull. London: Penguin, 1987.
- Vawter, Bryce. *On Genesis: A New Reading*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1977.
- Vecce, Carlo. "Word and Image in Leonardo's Writings." In *Leonardo da Vinci Master Draftsman: Catalogue to an Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. Edited by Rachel Stern and Alison Manges, 59-78. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003.
- Verdun, Timothy. "Il Battistero di San Giovanni: Un Monumento Religioso al Servizio della Citta." In *Il Battistero di San Giovanni a Firenze*. Edited by Antonio Paolucci, 9-33. Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1994.
- Verdun, Timonthy. "Masaccio's Trinity: Theological, Social, and Civic Meanings." In *The Cambridge Companion to Masaccio*. Edited by Diane Cole Ahl, 158-176. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Von Rohr Scaff, Susan. "The Virgin Annunciate in Italian Art of the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance." *College Literature* 29 (2002): 109-123.
- Warner, Marina. *Alone in All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

Weissman, Ronald F.E. "Brothers and Strangers: Confraternal Charity in Renaissance Florence." *Historical Reflections* 15 (1988): 27-45.

Witt, Ronald. "What did Giovannino Read and Write? Literacy in Early Renaissance Florence." *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 6 (1995): 83-114.

Wolf, Gerhard. "Le Immagini nel Quattrocento tra Miracolo e Magia. Per una 'Iconologia' Rifondata." In *The Miraculous Image in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. Edited by Erik Thuno and Gerhard Wolf 305-320. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2004.