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FIVE CENTURIES OF DYING IN SIENA:
COMPARISONS WITH SOUTHERN FRANCE

by

SAMUEL COHN, JR.

European University Institute, Florence

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EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE, FLORENCE

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION

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FIVE CENTURIES OF DYING IN SIENA: COMPARISONS WITH SOUTHERN FRANCE

At the outset I need to characterize this presentation. It is a work-in-progress, based largely on impressions gained while reading and recording over a thousand testaments housed in the Archivio di Stato in Siena. They extend from the early thirteenth century through the middle of the eighteenth century. It will be a pre-statistical study, which will focus on the large, immediately visible changes, changes, in other words, which can be detected in transformations in the formula and language of the documents and in the pivotal changes in the practices of the testators which do not need, at least at this point, the weight of percentages and statistical tests. These analyses will come later and hopefully will produce discrepancies and other discoveries which cannot be gleaned so readily from the day-in-and-out reading and coding of documents in the archives. For now, this essay will outline the large changes in notions and rituals of death over a long period of time -- five centuries -- from the standpoint of a single place -- Siena, Italy. Our survey will stretch from the city's period of prominence in the early thirteenth century through its history of relative obscurity and decline until the middle of the eighteenth century. This outline will be placed in the context of the rich French historiography of the past fifteen years on religious sentiment and death. In particular I will compare my research from Siena with the results from two thèses d'état on the history of southern France. The first is the now classic work in Annalist historiography of Michel Vovelle, Piété baroque et

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déchristianisation en Provence au XVIIIe siècle(1). The second, Jacques Chiffoleau's La comptabilité de l'au delà: la mort et la religion dans la région d'Avignon à la fin du Moyen Age regards the area slightly to the north-west of Vovelle's inquiry and for the earlier period of the late middle ages and Renaissance (2). Thus, for the purposes of this conference on North-South contacts and comparisons, this essay will define southern France as "the North" and Siena as "the South". The comparisons should raise interesting questions and tensions for both areas of inquiry.

Why Siena? I chose to study the social and economic history in the territory of Siena several years ago because of the survival of a remarkable collection of documents known as the gabellae dei contratti. The principal contracts were land conveyances (which account for over 70 percent of the documents), followed in importance by dowries and other marriage contracts, and then by testaments. The officials of the gabelles in Siena summarized the notarial originals in terse paragraphs, which scrapped the formulaic passages but retained, for the most part, the essential variable information regarding the properties bought, sold or bequeathed and the names of the parties involved in the transactions. For Siena, this body of documents survives almost uninterrupted from its inception in 1296 to the changes in fiscal legislation of 1808. The number of contracts found in this source exceeds colossally the survival of the notarial originals, particularly before the sixteenth century. For the fourteenth century I calculate from the resources of the gabelle documents that probably no more than 2 percent of the contracts survive in the notarial archives (3). In regard to the study of testaments a

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single example should suffice. In 1348(perhaps not surprisingly) the summaries of wills bulge in importance, from about 5 percent of the taxed contracts to a clear majority of the gabelle entries. Over 7000 summations of testaments survive for this year from testators residing in the city alone. In comparison, not a single will of a Sienese resident survives for this year in the Notarile and only a handful survive from the territory (4).

Unfortunately, a study of the gabelle summaries alone for assessing changes in mentality in Siena presents severe problems. First, there are exemptions which appear in the gabelle statutes (5). The government of Siena did not tax all bequests. Gifts left to siblings, children, grandchildren, parents and grandparents were exempted. Within the nuclear family, the officials taxed and itemized only those gifts which passed between husbands and wives. For the analysis of changes in mentality and religious sentiment, these exemptions might not bar the gabelle summaries as valuable source materials. There were, however, other exemptions which do not appear in the gabelle legislation and which present more serious problems for the historian of "mentalities". In practice almost all bequests made to ecclesiastical institutions, from small sums in exchange for the celebration of masses while the body of the deceased lay exposed in the parish church to large contributions of poderi for the construction and perpetual maintenance of chapels, do not appear in the gabellae dei contratti until after the legislative reforms of Francesco I in 1585. Despite these exemptions, the survival of the gabelle summaries will remain invaluable for the analysis of questions concerning the changing social composition of those who left notarized testaments

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in Siena as well as problems involving the interaction of husbands and wives. For purposes of the present study and comparisons with the French literature on death and religious sentiment, our analysis must turn, however, from these numerous summaries to the sketchy survival of the full texts preserved in the notarial archives. Because of changes in the survival rates of notarial documents, our samples of over the long five hundred year period were compiled in different ways. From the earliest notarial survivals (1223) to 1300 all the notarial protocols were searched for testaments. From 1300 to 1480 our research included at least one protocol redacted by notaries which the inventories labelled as contracts drawn up exclusively within the city of Siena. From 1480 to 1585 I selected four notaries (who worked within Siena) for every decade. After the reforms of 1585, the notaries were required to copy testaments in separate volumes. For the remaining period I selected 40 testaments from the protocols of at least three notaries per decade. Thus, the results from this study will pertain principally to the city of Siena with only occasional reference to the varied districts of her territory.

From problems of documentation in Siena, let us now turn north to the secondary literature on death and religious sentiment in southern France. In terms of development of the historiography, we must begin at the end of our long period -- the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A central theme in Michel Vovelle's massive and innovative study in the history of religious sentiment concerns the relationship between large structural changes in thought and behaviour -- "motionless" change, imperceptible to contemporaries, which the historian reassembles through statistical

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series -- and the flux of events supposedly on the "surface" of history. In the case of Vovelle's analysis, the dechristianization policy initiated by Robespierre did not strike the population of southern France abruptly and blindly. Instead the decline of baroque piety and the laicization of large geographical areas and various social classes in Provence began fully forty years before the French Revolution. Vovelle detects these fundamental transformations in religious sentiment through a statistical investigation of notarized wills. Through these documents he charts changes in burial customs, funeral processions, the role of religious confraternities, the invocation of spiritual intercession. The key statistic concerns the percentages of those who requested in their wills the celebration of masses after their death. By 1750 large sections of the population of Provence were moving away from the Jansenist inspired piety -- large ornate burials and funeral processions, reliance on the spiritual assistance of religious confraternities and bequests for the celebration of numerous masses and offices for the dead. How then does Vovelle explain the structural transformations in religious sentiment of the mid-century, before the direct intervention of political forces ? It is curious that Vovelle, the Marxist historian, ultimately depends on an idealist explanation. Enlightenment ideas which filtered down from the nobility to shopkeepers, artisans and peasants transformed the mental structure in southern France. Vovelle, however, supplied little evidence or analysis of the mediation between these ideas and the transformations in mental structures outlined through his painstaking study of Provencal testaments. In La mort à Paris:

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16e, 17e, 18e siècles (6), it is perhaps not as surprising that Pierre Chaunu and his équipe of over 50 students deliver a similar message from their exhaustive investigation of 8,244 notarial testaments. At Paris, the transformation of religious mentality, however, occurred fifty years before that of Marseilles, consistent with the earlier arrival and influence of Enlightenment thought.

From the perspective of "the South" -- Siena -- by the eighteenth century, a provincial agricultural center, conservative in architecture, aesthetics and ideas (with the exception of brief waves of religious heresy) -- what do we find? First, and perhaps not so surprising for an area within the heartland of the Counter-Reformation, the "invasion" of baroque spirituality -- lavish burials and funeral procession and a high proportion of the population leaving bequests for masses -- occurred earlier than in Provence. Unlike the Catholic areas north of the Alps, transformations in religious practice and sentiment did not depend on the intellectual efferverscence of Jansenism in the late seventeenth century. Instead, the impact of Trent was almost immediate in Siena. By the late 1580s and early 90s the importance of good works defined both in terms of charitable bequests and the celebration of masses and other sacraments had penetrated a large proportion of those drawing up notarized wills in the city of Siena. Within the space of a decade the balance of Sienese fortunes shifted from bolstering the survival of the family name and the male line of property descent to concerns about individual salvation. In addition to sums left for the newly founded congregations of derelicts, orphans, "reformed women" (convertite) and prisoners, hundreds of scudi were left for thousands of masses

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to be celebrated in perpetuo. Moreover, the Sienese testators after the Council of Trent, left more detailed instructions for more lavish funerals requiring much greater expenditures in wax and the intervention of monks, friars, priests and fellow members of the religious confraternities. This "invasion of the baroque", to use Vovelle's phrase, persisted through the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It reached its culmination in the 1729s when it became common practice in the Senese wills to no longer leave as the universal heir (the recipient of the residual properties in one's estate) the nearest of kin. Instead, the Senese of the early eighteenth century at the end of their testaments "nominated" their "own soul" as the ultimate heir to their estates. They then selected usually the parish priest as the executor of the estate with the responsibility of ensuring that the residual properties were sold to provide for the last rituals and perpetual masses.

In the 1740s and 50s (about the same time as the changes in mental structures in southern France) a transformation in religious practices and sentiment did occur in Siena. First, the practice of leaving one's own soul as universal heir and the parish priest as the executor of the estate disappeared rapidly from the notarized testaments. Second, the character of bequests for masses changed significantly. Although the percentage of those requesting masses at their burials and afterwards did not decline significantly as in Provence, a growing indifference towards these spiritual needs appears in the Senese wills. After 160 years of increasing expenditures for the offices of the dead, the Senesi of all social classes reverted to pre-Tridentine practices. Instead of elaborating detailed instructions for the procession of their

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bodies from the home to the parish church and, then, to the place of burial, and demands for the passage of their souls through purgatory to everlasting peace, the wills simply relied on the trust and affection of surviving husbands or wives and secondarily on children or the nearest of kin to carry out the final rituals with the number of masses and expenses for the final passage left entirely to the judgement of these heirs. The testators of the mid-century rarely threatened their heirs (as was common during the preceding 160 years) with the loss of inheritance for failing to perform the stipulated number of masses in the precise manner decribed in the will. Instead, much as in the pre-Tridentine practice, the testators in the second half of the eighteenth century, once again, requested their heirs not to indulge in elaborate and expensive funerals, but rather to remember the modest status of the testator. By mid-century, moreover, the itemized bequests to individual monasteries, confraternities and religious and charitable organizations for additional masses to be celebrated after the body had lain exposed in the parish church diminished sharply.

If it is too strong to claim "the dechristianization" of Siena at almost exactly the same historical moment as Marseilles and large sectors of Provence, the historian, nonetheless, must admit to the radical transformation in the spiritual economy of this backwater, agrarian center. For mid-eighteenth century Siena can we then turn to the chronological coincidence of Enlightenment ideas to explain this change in religious sentiment? Or, should we leave the idealist explanation and begin research into concrete matters regarding the accumulation of property and the struggle for

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power between the church and lay interests in Senese society? Other studies on Spanish Lombardy and Naples have recently shown that questions regarding the struggle for political power and the control of property, long before the arrival of Enlightenment ideas, created unbreachable rifes between the church and the nobility in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, which, then, led in the last decades of the eighteenth century to the reception of the new culture (7). At Siena, the wills testify that these same struggles and competition between family interests and spiritual interests, which led directly to the church's accumulation of property and material wealth in general, characterized large sectors of the Senese population beneath the ranks of the nobility. Might these conflicts have resulted in the changes in religious practice and sentiment charted by the Senese testaments of the mid-eighteenth century?

Let us move back in time to the recent study of late medieval and Renaissance Avignon, Jacques Chiffoleau's La comptabilité de l'au delà. While Vovelle's study examined the "dechristianization" of southern France, Chiffoleau analyzes the opposite process -- the "christianization" of testators, principally in the city of Avignon. It is curious that behind these two seemingly contrary developments, both authors find the line of progress, modernization and individuation. Similarly, in Chiffoleau's thèse d'état, the Annalist theme of the dominance of slow-moving structural change over the importance of events is essential to his argument. It is interesting, however, that Chiffoleau, the non-Marxist, finds the causes of the structural changes in religious mentality, not in the intervention of ideas, as does Vovelle, but instead through earlier

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social transformations. In short, Chiffoleau argues that the changes in religiosity and culture in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries did not directly spring from the consequences of the catastrophic event, the Black Death. Rather, the plagues of the latter half of the fourteenth century only hastened developments which went back to the beginning of the thirteenth century. These developments were social and not cultural or psychological in character. The development of commerce and urbanization, which stimulated social and geographical mobility, broke apart the old forms of village solidarities and lineage, "coupant les citadins de leurs racins" (8). Thus, the citizens of Avignon more often faced death through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries isolated from kin and separated from the familial burial grounds. The psychological consequences of these transformations in social structure were the "flamboyant funeral", "the explosion of devotion" and (the Ariès concept) "death as one's own death" (9). In the absence of kin, in other words, testators from Avignon compensated for these losses by hiring and clothing the poor in white tunics and relying on priests and their new surrogate families -- the religious confraternities -- to fill grandiose funeral processions. The other side of the loss of kin and the sense of generational ties of lineage (the ancestral burial places) were the new forms of religious devotion and self-expression -- the progressive liberation of the individual.

How does the evidence from late medieval and Renaissance Siena mesh with Chiffoleau's general analysis? In regard to social structure -- changes in urbanization and the development of commerce -- Siena would not have been much unlike Avignon. If

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anything, these processes took place earlier and were more profound in late medieval Siena. Were the cultural and psychological consequences, then, the same? First, the baroque flamboyant funeral with processions composed by members of confraternities, numerous priests and the poor clad in white tunics hardly appears in the Senese testaments until the sixteenth century. The only examples which I have found, thus far, in my research occurred immediately in the wake of that catastrophic event, the Black Death of 1348. Instead the testators of the thirteenth through the early sixteenth century in Siena generally left the decisions regarding the funeral arrangements and expenses to their universal heirs (who usually were their children or nearest of kin). When the testators expressed any desires in controlling these last rights, their requests often went in the opposite direction of flamboyance; they insisted that their heirs remember the modest status of the deceased. And these commands can be found in the wills of patricians as well as those of humbler Senese citizens.

The testaments of Siena, however, do reflect changes which parallel the developments described by Chiffoleau for Avignon: developments which we might label, the "christianization" of Siena. In the first decade of the Quattrocento the notarial formula in the Senese testaments changed significantly. The earlier testaments were quite straightforward. For the most part little space or time was lost to lengthy preambles. After the date of the redaction, the document simply began with the name of the testator and his desire to dispose of his property according to his desires ("per nuncupationem testari et de bonis et rebus meis disponere cupiens in primis relinquo..."), followed by the list of individual

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bequests. On the other hand, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, the wills, before delving into the material matters of property, start with "the nobler part" -- the soul. Similar to Avignon there was a radical soul/body split at the beginning of the century which set the basic order and structure of the wills for the next four hundred years. First, the testator besought the everlasting misericordia of the ever virginal Mary and recommended the soul to the "omnipotent God" for the "remission of his sins" and the "health of the soul". Then, the testament turned to the matter of the body "once the soul had migrated" and to the burial and funeral arrangements. Finally, the notary itemized the distribution of the testator's wordly goods. But even in the lists of itemized bequests the early fifteenth century wills witnessed a change. The phrases "pro remedio peccatorum suorum", "pro salute anima sua", "pro amore Dei", preface even those bequests with no apparent charitable rationale, gifts to kin and friends. In addition, the sheer number of pious bequests to individual nuns, friars and monks, to monasteries and other ecclesiastical entities increased substantially. These changes characterized even the testaments of artisans and peasants who tried to hedge their bets on salvation by distributing very small alms for as little as several soldi to the various orders and monastic houses of early Renaissance Siena.

Can Chiffoleau's model -- commercialization, urbanization and the consequential erosion of family bonds -- explain the changes in religiosity and mentality at the beginning of the fifteenth century in Siena? First, the assumption that the forces of commercial and urban development from the beginning of the thirteenth century to

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at least the sixteenth century (and perhaps continuing into contemporary history) was a single, unaltered growth and development is problematic. It is curious, moreover, that the fundamental changes in formula, language and the character of bequests occurred in Siena not during the turbulent years of the fourteenth century, but instead during a period of relative stability. The social and economic dislocation caused first by urbanization and commercial development and then by epidemics and high mortality had subsided by the beginning of the fifteenth century; prices and wages had stabilized (and in the case of wages would remain stable for the next hundred years); rates of social and geographical mobility declined (10).

Can we, nonetheless, salvage Chiffoleau's thesis in the realm of mentality? In other words, did the "christianization" of Siena widen the areas of individual choice in burial and funeral ceremonies; do we find a progressive sense of individual liberation in these documents? If we consider the choices the Senesi made about their places of burial, the opposite trend is more apparent. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a lively competition for bodies existed between the various monastic orders and the parish churches of Siena. Those drawing up notarized wills, both men and women and throughout the social spectrum, were emphatic about their individual "election" of their specific place of burial. The degree of free choice is reflected, for instance, in the fact that widows often chose places other than the graves of their lineages (fathers) or that of their deceased husbands. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in contrast, fewer testators than before actually stated their choice

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of burial. Instead the choice was often left to the good will and judgement of their heirs. In other cases, women were buried in places previously chosen by their fathers or husbands. Finally, far from the loosening of kinship and generational bonds, family tombs and family chapels became increasingly more popular; the testator from these families no longer had to anguish over his or her place of burial.

The growing importance of lineage and kin in late fifteenth and early sixteenth century Siena influenced not only the burial and last rights of the dying but, in addition, the area of individual choice of the surviving heirs. By the early sixteenth century the most lengthy and prominent part of the testament had passed from the spiritual clauses of the preamble to the final section of the document, which concerned the rights and responsibilities of the universal heirs. Here, the testator tried to elongate his survival after death not through spiritual means but rather through controlling the interests of the family. The identity and survival of the individual, in other words, became intertwined with a notion of the longevity of the family, preserved by the possession of certain poderi or even small pieces of land and symbolized (at least in the case of patrician families) by the retention of coats of arms in sacred places. For the first time, insistence on the descent of property through the male line in perpetuo, primogeniture and sanctions against the alienation of landed property entered these documents. The testators of sixteenth and seventeenth centuries increasingly heaped conditions on conditions and numerous contingency strategies on the shoulders of their universal heirs and the potential line of heirs. The ultimate

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sections of these testaments built elaborate, inverted family trees, not of the past, but of the possibilities in the future -- family trees, whose branches depended on the survival of heirs with male children and their adherence to the conditions of inheritance stipulated by the deceased. Thus, from the outburst of spirituality of the early Renaissance, the Senese of the late Renaissance materialized their after-life through the identification of self with the perpetual survival of the family name and the family's landed properties. In summary, the testaments in this period of Senese history do not trace a single, progressive path towards individualism and the liberation of self from the limitations of kin and lineage. Instead the notion of death intertwined with the increasing importance of family interest and family longevity in the late Renaissance limited the choice of the living as well as those of the dying.

We might, then, conclude simply that the histories of the family differed between the North (Avignon) and the South (Siena). Perhaps in Avignon there was no revival of strong generational bonds and the ideology of family longevity through the preservation of landed property in the male line. Might we still retain Chiffoleau's model? Were there, in other words, links between the process of the "christianization" of testaments and individualism expressed through the notion of death as "one's own death" and the baroque funeral? Here, once again, the Senese evidence does not cooperate. At the very moment when family bonds increased in importance and the materialist connection between longevity and family interest "dechristianized" the notion of the after-life, baroque funerals with lavish expenses on wax, candles and torches

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and large processions filled by monks, friars, priests and members of religious confraternities appear in the Senese documents for the first time since that brief moment following the onslaught of 1348. In other words, the history of testaments in late medieval and Renaissance Siena does not show a conflicting relationship between the importance of family and kin, on the one hand, and the baroque or flamboyant funeral, on the other, as Chiffoleau claims for the "North". In fact, the historical relationship appears more nearly to have been the opposite in Siena.

In conclusion, we might turn to one of the generalizations of Philippe Ariès on the history of death in Western Civilization: "Changes in man's attitudes toward death either take place very slowly or else occur between long periods of immobility. Contemporaries do not notice these changes because these periods of immobility span several generations and thus exceed the capacity of the collective memory" (11). These mental conditions persist, Ariès argues, until the twentieth century when shifts in the attitudes towards death become abrupt and chaotic. Thus, writ-large over a thousand years of Western Civilization, Ariès generalizes the theme, which is central to the arguments of Vovelle and Chiffoleau: the dominance slow, imperceptible change over the history of events. The Senese evidence over the long span of five hundred years suggest, however, that changes in the attitudes towards death were not always a part of slow-moving "glacial" or "motionless" history. Instead, events supposedly on the surface of history could jolt abruptly changes in a population's mentality and practices of dying. First, 1348 had a brief but sharp and immediate impact on the way of dying and the pattern of bequests in

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Siena. Second, the changes in notarial formula, the radical soul/body distinction and the general increase in pious bequests of the early Renaissance swept through the population of the city of Siena within a decade. Would these Senesi at the turn of the fifteenth century have been completely unaware that the expressed rationale of their testaments and the pattern of their bequests were different from that, not only of their grandfathers and fathers, but of older brothers, sisters, cousins and friends who died and left wills in the 1390s? The spiritual importance of death and the increased concerns with the survival of the soul may have been closely associated with matters on the surface of conscious mental change -- the spread of popular preaching and possibly the impact in the early Quattrocento of Siena's two patron saints -- Saint Catherine and Saint Bernard. An understanding of these changes in spirituality (matters which are broader than the simple appearance of new ideas) will require a deeper analysis of the mechanisms of cultural change than either the humanist studies or the old Burckhardtian formula now provide.

Another abrupt change (which we will not have space to discuss in this essay) occurred in the late 1580s and early 90s. The long cumbersome contingency clauses and conditions heaped on the universal heirs, discussed above, ended abruptly, even for the nobility. In their place the spiritual as opposed to the earlier material concerns predominated in the post-Tridentine testaments: longer preambles on the character of death, prayers for the intervention of more spiritual intermediaries to ensure the soul's journey to everlasting peace and salvation, and finally more bequests to more religious houses and confraternities to celebrate

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more masses, not only while the body remained exposed in the parish church, but afterwards into perpetuity. To finance these perpetual masses and thus their spiritual salvation, the testators of the 1590s clearly violated the demands of their fathers and grandfathers; they broke the restrictions which guarded the preservation of certain familial properties, and they gave time-honored poderi to confraternities, monasteries or to one of the new Catholic Reformation orders or congregations in exchange for spiritual longevity and health. The changes of the 1580s and 90s in the pattern of bequests and the notion of death -- a shift in the association of longevity after death with spiritual means instead of family interest -- were not the results of timeless faults in mental structure, but instead were the fruits of immediate and sharp shifts in ecclesiastical power and propaganda. They concern the events supposedly on the surface of history, in the realm of political and institutional facts -- the Council of Trent and its ramifications in the 1580s and 90s in the re-organization of ecclesiastical power and education (12).

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NOTES

1. Piété baroque (Paris,1973).

2. La comptabilité de l'au delà. Collection de l'Ecole française de Rome (Rome,1980).

3. See forthcoming article, "The Relationship between City and Countryside: Siena before and after the Black Death,1300-1450", in The Relationship between City and Country in the Later Middle Ages, edited by Egmont Lee.

4. Original testaments survive, however, in the Diplomatico Generale for 1348.

5. Archivio di Stato, Gabellae dei Contratti,n.1, 44r.

6. La mort à Paris (Paris,1978).

7. Domenico Sella, Crisis and Continuity: The Economy of Spanish Lombardy in the Seventeenth Century (Cambridge,Mass.,1979); and Giuseppe Galasso, "La storia socio-economica del Mezzogiorno: problemi e prospettivi", in Per la storia sociale e religiosa del Mezzogiorno d'Italia (Naples, 1980),p.xxxiii.

8. Chiffoleau, La comptabilité de l'au delà, p.201.

9. Philippe Ariès, Western Attitudes towards Death: From the Middle Ages to the Present, transl. by P.Ranum (Baltimore,1974),p. 28.

10. There are, as yet, no longitudinal studies of prices, wages and patterns of migration for Siena in this period. I generalize from the Florentine and northern Tuscan studies. See R. Goldthwaite, "I prezzi del grano a Firenze dal XIV al XVI secolo", Quaderni storici,28(1975), pp.5-36; G.Pinto, "I livelli di vita dei salariati cittadini nel periodo successivo al Tumulto dei Ciompi (1380-1430)", in Il Tumulto dei Ciompi: Un Momento di storia fiorentina ed europea (Florence,1981), pp.161-198; and S. Cohn, Jr., The Laboring Classes in Renaissance Florence(New York,1980), pp. 91-113.

11. The Hour of Our Death, transl. by H.Weaver(New York,1981),p.xii.

12. Albano Biondi, "Aspetti della cultura cattolica post-tridentina: Religione e controllo sociale", Storia d'Italia,Annali 4: Intellettuali e potere,edited by C.Vivanti (Turin,1981), p.255.

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