Gusto for Things

A History of Objects in Seventeenth-Century Rome

Renata Ago

Translated from the Italian by BRADFORD BOULEY *&*
COREY TAZZARA *with* PAULA FINDLEN

With a Foreword by PAULA FINDLEN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS * *Chicago & London*

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FOREWORD

Early Modern Romans and Their Things

Paula Findlen

In 1664 two Roman booksellers, Biagio Diversin and Felice Cesaretti, decided to finance the publication of a guidebook.[1] It was not a description of Rome—the subject of numerous guidebooks by the mid-seventeenth century—but an account of the many spaces in the Eternal City in which one could see the most interesting objects in the possession of early modern Romans. Or perhaps we should say the most enticing artifacts that connoisseurs of things within Rome considered worth indicating to visitors. To accomplish this task, they needed a Roman truly knowledgeable about the system of things embellishing the Eternal City, capable of writing a new kind of guidebook yet willing to have it appear without any indication of his role in this publication. Until recently, the author of this anonymous book has been identified as one of the prominent antiquarians and art theorists of this generation, Giovan Pietro Bellori (1613–1696).[2] Bellori, who trained as a painter under Domenichino, would become the Vasari of seventeenth-century Rome, with the publication of his *Lives of the Modern Painters, Sculptors, and Architects* (1672) and its critical assessment of the evolution of the arts in the age of Poussin, Borromini, and Bernini.

In the mid-seventeenth century Bellori was already well known for his studies of Roman antiquities and associated with the learned circles around

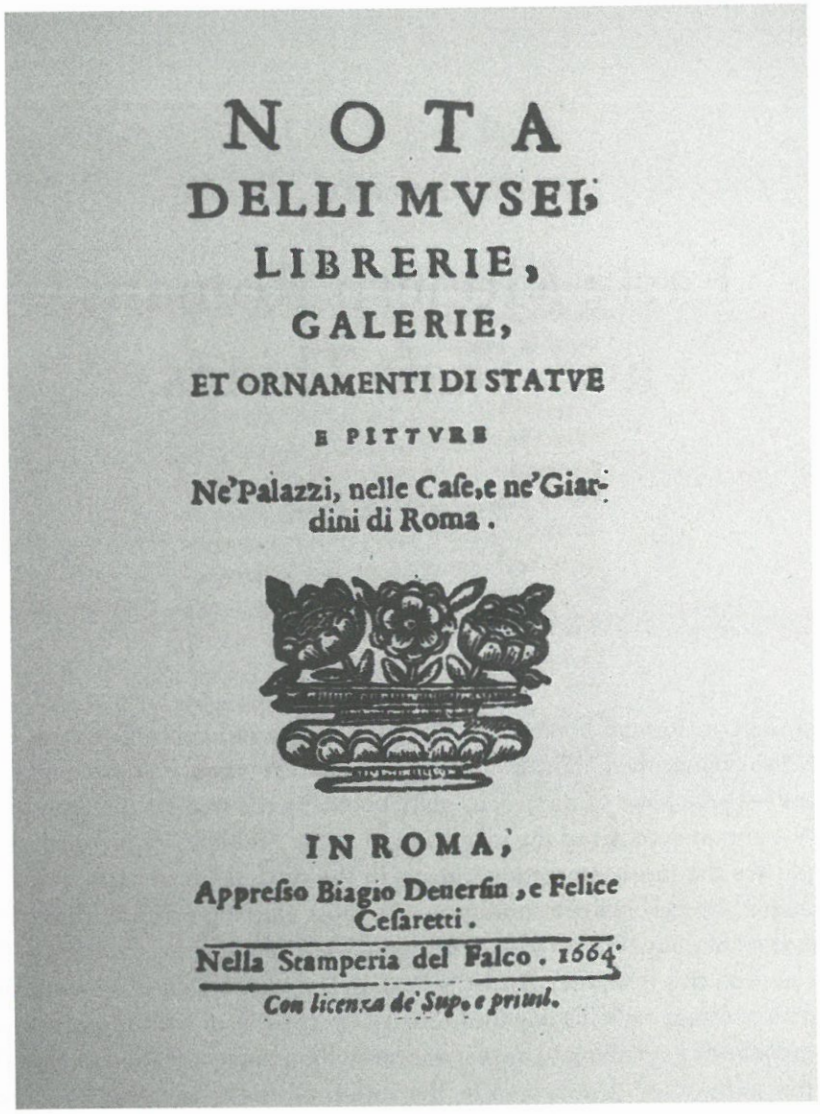
NOTA
DELLI MVSEI
LIBRERIE,
GALERIE,
ET ORNAMENTI DI STATVE
E PITTVRE
Ne'Palazzi, nelle Caſe,e ne'Giardini di Roma.
IN ROMA,
Appreſso Biagio Deuerſin, e Felice Ceſaretti.
Nella Stamperia del Falco. 1664.
Con licenza de' Sup. e priuil.

FIGURE 1. The First Guidebook to Roman Museums, Libraries, and Galleries. *Source:* [Fioravante Martinelli and Giovan Pietro Bellori], *Nota delli musei, librerie, galerie, et ornamenti di statue e pitture ne' palazzi, nelle case, e ne' giardini di Roma* (Rome, 1664–65). Courtesy of the Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome.

Cardinal Francesco Barberini and eventually Queen Christina of Sweden that would lead to his appointments as papal antiquarian in 1670 and Queen Christina's antiquarian and custodian of medals in 1677. He had recently published an account of the life of his good friend Pietro della Valle (1586–1652), whose travels were being published posthumously by the French bookseller Diversin at the behest of della Valle's sons.[3] Bellori also had begun to make a name for himself as an art critic by publishing an interpretive description of the Carracci frescoes adorning the Farnese gallery. During this period Bellori successfully established himself as an authoritative figure in Rome's most important artistic academy, the Academy of St. Luke, where he delivered a well-received lecture on "The Idea of the Painter, Sculptor, and Architect" in 1664 before publishing a version as the preface to his *Lives*.[4] But was he the author of the anonymous book titled *Notice on Museums, Libraries, Galleries, and Ornaments of Statues and Paintings in the Palaces, Houses, and Gardens of Rome* (1664–1665)?

Notice on Museums is actually two books within one since the guidebook concludes with an essay on ancient art titled *On the Vestiges of Ancient Paintings from the Good Century of the Romans*. Paying closer attention to the hybrid quality of the text, art historian Margaret Daly Davis confirms Bellori's authorship of the second part while identifying the author of the *Notice on Museums* as Fioravante Martinelli (ca. 1599–1667), a librarian and antiquarian who spent most of his career as scriptor of Latin and Hebrew manuscripts in the Vatican library.[5] Two decades earlier Martinelli had written an important guidebook, *Rome Sought on Site* (1644), reprinted and updated multiple times during the seventeenth century. In 1664 Girolamo Lunadoro's *Relation of the Court of Rome* included the expanded third edition of *Rome Sought on Site*. Diversin and Cesaretti explicitly conceived of *Notice on Museums* as a supplement to this recent publication. The two publishers seem to have encouraged Martinelli to create a new account of early modern Rome that narrowed its focus to those locations housing some of the city's most interesting things, enriching the publication with the addition of Bellori's equally anonymous essay.

Notice on Museums, Libraries, Galleries, and Ornaments of Statues and Paintings in the Palaces, Houses, and Gardens of Rome remains an arresting portrait of the profuse and complex patrimony of things in the Rome of Alexander VII (1655–1667) whose imprint on the city, with the assistance of his most important architect Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680), transformed many of the public spaces of Rome into a dazzling theatrical setting for the enactment of the Grand Tour.[6] Martinelli was just the kind of person

to be fully in command of information about Roman collections, though we cannot entirely discount the possibility that Bellori, equally knowledgeable about the worlds of Roman art, antiquities, and scholarship, played some role in the first part of this joint publication.[7] There is no better introduction to the world of early modern Roman things than this unique and compelling guidebook.

The Glory and Marvel of Things

What would a visitor who purchased the *Notice on Museums* have learned about seventeenth-century Rome? While some recent guidebooks such as Martinelli's *Rome Sought on Site* and especially the second edition of Pompilo Totti's *Portrait of Modern Rome in Which the Churches, Monasteries, Hospitals, Brotherhoods, Colleges, Seminaries, Palaces, Architecture, Libraries, and Museums are Portrayed* (1645) began to identify important sites of Roman collecting for visitors, no other book focused on this subject to the exclusion of all others.[8] The two booksellers Diversin and Cesaretti made certain that readers of their contribution to the burgeoning publishing industry about the beauty and uniqueness of the Eternal City understood that many different kinds of Romans contributed to the creation and display of its rich cultural patrimony. "Therefore in Rome not only the learned cloisters of religious men and women, titled families, and cardinals [*de' Sacri Porporati*] but almost every honorable and civil family [*Casa honesta, e civile*] preserves something of value that is memorable and worthy." They wanted their readers to understand that collecting was not only an activity of the highest echelons of Roman nobility and the papacy but also a practice of ordinary patricians. Inside many Roman houses were interesting and valuable objects that had accumulated over time. Knowing the value of this collective patrimony for understanding the importance of Rome, Diversin and Cesaretti lamented the tendency of certain Romans to sell their valuable possessions. "Some people, who have no regard for learning, the arts, and honored memories, personally alienate and despoil the ornaments of their ancestors, and allow the glory and marvel of things to travel elsewhere."[9] Such comments revealed the perennial bitterness of those who cared deeply about Rome's unique cultural patrimony—*la gloria e la meraviglia delle cose*—when confronted with the economic realities of both the local and the international market for antiquities, paintings, and sculptures that, papal restrictions on the exportation of Rome's antiquities notwithstanding, offered impoverished nobles, merchants, and speculators numerous

opportunities to make a quick scudo selling off Rome, one fragment at a time.[10]

The focal point of this seventeenth-century guidebook was not Rome's dispersed patrimony but the splendors that remained, indeed those that had increased and multiplied in recent decades. Most of the approximately one hundred collections described in Ulisse Aldrovandi's *On Ancient Statues That One Sees Everywhere in Rome* (1556) had vanished, transforming an innovative and comprehensive guidebook written in 1549–50 into a historical mirage.[11] Yet many of the principles about why and how to collect, carefully articulated in such works as Paolo Cortesi's *De Cardinalatu*, which described an ideal cardinal's palace around 1510, continued to be evident in the further evolution of Roman collecting.[12] In the mid-seventeenth century remnants of the Renaissance rediscovery of antiquity could still be found in the homes of a few Roman families who maintained these early collections in their original location—the Cesi family being one of the most noteworthy examples[13]—or in newer collections containing singularly important works of antiquity alienated by their original owners. The stock of materials from which one formed a collection of antiquities continued to alter and expand. Discussing the patrimony of the "Signori della Valle on the street bearing their surname," Martinelli not only described the innovative incorporation of ancient statues and ruins into the palace building and courtyard created for Cardinal Andrea della Valle in the early sixteenth century but also highlighted more recent additions by his friend, the celebrated adventurer and scholar Pietro. "These gentlemen preserve the mummies and diverse curiosities that Signor Pietro della Valle the Pilgrim brought back from his eastern travels," wrote Martinelli (did he consult Bellori who inspected this collection a few years earlier to complete his friend della Valle's biography?).[14] Such entries served to underscore the dynamic nature of Rome's collecting culture, which incorporated new things in relation to the old. However much Martinelli and his publishers lamented what had been lost, their primary goal was to celebrate the present and future state of Rome as a city of collectors.

In contrast to virtually every guidebook written about Rome before the mid-seventeenth century, the *Notice on Museums* described the collecting of antiquities in light of the emergence of a considerable number of libraries, galleries of paintings, and gardens containing not only sculptures—a tradition we can trace to ancient Rome whose Renaissance revival Aldrovandi lovingly described—but also exotic plants, trees, fruit, and beautifully embellished casinos in imitation of ancient Roman grottos. Paolo Francesco Falconieri's

fantastic garden on Via Giulia displayed that rarest and most desired seventeenth-century flower, the tulip; on the other side of the Tiber, Pietro Gigli's garden on the Lungara was especially well known for its incredible variety of exotic citrus fruits.[15] Martinelli also included detailed information on Roman cabinets of curiosities, drawings, gems, and medals. Given Martinelli's professional interests, it is not surprising to discover the attention he paid to the *studio*—a space connoting scholarship and reflection as well as craft and labor[16]—of Rome's artists, antiquarians, mathematicians, and philosophers. He also took note of the role of lawyers, merchants, and the scholars who were employed as secretaries, custodians, and antiquarians by the nobility and the church in transforming baroque Rome into a city of art and learning. This final group had a special place in Martinelli's cosmos.[17] Individually, their contributions to Rome's material culture were modest in comparison with the lavish profusion of things in the palaces and gardens of the great Roman families and churchmen, but collectively they not only preserved but, most importantly, also *interpreted* Roman things. Bellori was a fine example of this kind of Roman collector.

Martinelli's intimate knowledge of Rome produced a rich and varied list of things to see, arranged alphabetically for ease of consultation. His guidebook described no less than 150 libraries, collections, and gardens—a 50 percent increase in comparison with Aldrovandi's description of Rome with virtually no overlap with this earlier guidebook, further enhancing the impression that seventeenth-century Rome was an energetic city of people eager to display their precious artifacts to informed visitors.[18] The majority of entries provided a succinct description of the collection and its owners, past and present, and often noted its location, allowing visitors to create a topography of seventeenth-century Roman collecting, an itinerary through the city organized around libraries, museums, galleries, and gardens that presumably could be plotted on one of the excellent maps available for sale in most Roman bookshops.[19] In every possible respect, Martinelli's anonymous publication amply demonstrated why the mid-seventeenth century was the era in which the taste for things reached its apogee in the Eternal City.

The *Notice on Museums* began with the library of Cardinal Ottavio Acquaviva (1609–1674) in Palazzo dei Ceuli (later renamed Palazzo Sacchetti) on Via Giulia. An inheritance from his uncle, the original Cardinal Ottavio who was appointed archbishop of Naples in 1605, the library was described as "plentiful in every subject, especially theology, law, mathematics, and every learned discipline, and rich in Greek authors."[20] The Acquaviva collection was the first of fifty-four libraries Martinelli enumerated, not including palace

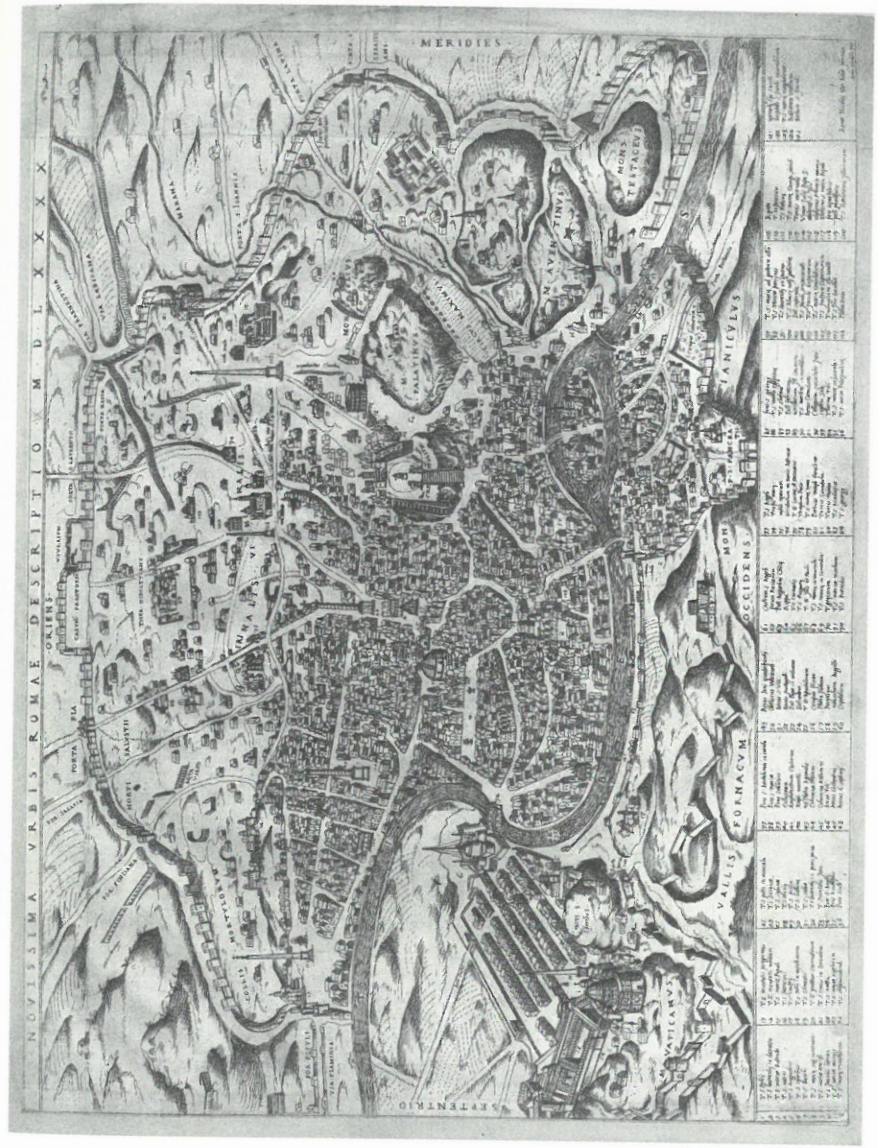

FIGURE 2. The City of Rome in 1590. *Source:* Ambrogio Brambilla, engraver, *Speculum Romanae/Magnificentia Novissima Urbis Romae Descriptio* (Rome, 1590). Courtesy of the Department of Prints and Drawings, The British Museum AN340665001 © The Trustees of the British Museum.

libraries such as the famous ones of Cardinal Francesco Barberini and Queen Christina of Sweden, libraries in houses and studies including the well-known collection of Cassiano dal Pozzo, "with manuscripts and many volumes of drawings," and the fabled Vatican Library, "famous above all the other libraries of the world."[21] The most striking feature of Martinelli's guidebook is the emergence of the library as a signal feature of mid-seventeenth century Rome and its definition as both a private enterprise and a public (and largely religious) institution. Just as Pliny the Elder engaged readers of his *Natural History* by describing the spectacular effect of piling together all the buildings of ancient Rome, Martinelli presented modern Rome as a city that had more books—in modest homes and palaces, colleges and monasteries—than any other place in the world.[22] He was not wrong in this assessment.

Despite the prominence of the word *museum* in the title of Martinelli's guidebook, only seven collections earned the designation of *museo*. Carlo Antonio Magnini's museum near Piazza del Fico was connected to his collection of ancient and foreign arms and armor (the only *Armeria* identified as such in Rome). Martinelli praised him for having "everything drawn and studiously annotated by him in manuscript books." He also admired Torquato de Alexandris's "museum of various antiquities and things acquired in travel" inside the palace of Monsignor Buratti, for whom de Alexandris was the custodian.[23] The most noteworthy museums in his catalog were Cardinal Francesco Barberini's "museum of natural and foreign things" inside Palazzo Barberini, Cardinal Flavio Chigi's "museum of natural, foreign, and ancient curiosities in his castle at Formello," and the Jesuit Athanasius Kircher's "museum rich in every kind of magnetic, mathematical, mechanical, and natural curiosity, forming a theater of art and nature, to which is attached the gallery of Alfonso Donnino, Secretary to the Roman People, with paintings, antiquities, and a medals cabinet left by Cardinal Buoncompagni," housed in the Collegio Romano. Two museums were set in gardens: Cardinal Virginio Orsini's "curious and noble museum of natural and foreign things, and others of antiquity and artifice," outside Porta del Popolo, and the naturalist Corvino Corvini's "museum of natural things, and various ancient and foreign curiosities with a garden of simples and rare foreign trees" on Via della Lungara, which also contained many of his sister Maddalena's celebrated miniatures.[24]

Martinelli's image of the museum reflected the evolution of the language of collecting in a city in which people were in the process of perfecting their understanding of how to classify and display things. The library, the gallery, the study (*studio*), the cabinet (*studiolo* or *gabinetto*), the gem cabinet (*dat-*



FIGURE 3. The Jesuit collector Athanasius Kircher greeting visitors to Roman College museum. *Source:* Giorgio de Sepi, *Romani Collegii Societatus Jesu Musæum celeberrimum* (Amsterdam, 1678). Courtesy of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.

tilotheca), the *casino* (a decorated space of retreat, preferably in a garden), and the modest and ill-defined room (*camera*) were all distinguishable in his mind from a museum, which largely contained curiosities.[25] They were found in houses, palaces, gardens, and villas, though only a few villas—the Villa Borghese, the Villa Farnese, and Chigi's villa at Formello—captured Martinelli's attention since he primarily described a circuit of things within the walls of the city. Such subtle distinctions were not always evident to Martinelli's contemporaries who willfully combined elements of this vocabulary to describe the endeavor of collecting.

The Roman architect Martino Longhi is a case in point. In his 1656 will Longhi instructed his heirs to "make an ample and noble study and museum." He requested that they transform his collection into a museum by identifying "a large room or noble gallery located in one of his houses, or wherever it seems best to his heirs as long as it is always in a place and site that is noble and conspicuous, surrounded by noble inhabitants and frequented by passersby." Longhi instructed his heirs to move all his books and instruments, the carved and painted walnut chests and credenzas containing his collections of drawings, manuscripts, and papers, "all the paintings by the most excellent masters," ancient statues, bust and bas-reliefs, and curiosities currently in his home into this newly designed museum. He insisted that additional cabinets and chests be built to fit this new space for the purpose of displaying his books and instruments. Finally, Longhi reminded his heirs that if they didn't "show the museum to everyone, citizen or foreigner, who wished to see it," they would be immediately disinherited.[26] In his mind, his collection was a "museum" to be housed in a room or a gallery that included every treasured object in his possession worthy of public display so that it might secure his posthumous legacy as a man of science, culture, and learning.

Martinelli's Rome was fast becoming a world of books, paintings, and, to a lesser degree, curiosities in relation to the ongoing fascination with antiquity. The Vatican Library was an ideal location from which to see this new face of the city emerge. Martinelli's pride in Rome as a center of scientific learning emerges not only in his account of the Roman College museum and urban botanical gardens but also in his discussion of the status of mathematical learning and practice, for instance, the description of Cardinal Michelangelo Ricci's "library of every kind of subject and doctrine, especially the mathematical sciences in which the intelligence of this most learned man prevails with its greatest excellence."[27] It was a city in which new knowledge was being discussed and new things were being produced. Martinelli prominently advertised the Roman instrument maker Eustachio

Divini's "study of curiosities and mathematical inventions, most excellent works by his own hand," on Via Ripetta to encourage visitors to see his telescopes, microscopes, large lenses, and other mechanical instruments—the best that could be had anywhere in his opinion. His pride in the fact that Rome could produce cutting-edge scientific artifacts shines through in his account of the Divini *studio*, which was clearly a place to buy as well as see curious things.[28]

Seventeenth-century Rome was also a city in which the gallery—a long public room reserved primarily for paintings and antiquities—had begun to make its appearance in the palaces of the wealthiest inhabitants of the city, leading Martinelli and his publishers to make *galeria* the third kind of space—after museums and libraries—they wished to highlight in their guidebook. Four of the forty palaces described in the *Notice on Museums*—Palazzo Farnese, Palazzo Giustiniani, Palazzo Ludovisi, and Palazzo Pamphili—earned the right to be described as noteworthy for their galleries. The Genoese banker Vincenzo Giustiniani (1564–1637) had already created his own guidebook to his sculptures by having Joachim von Sandrart engrave the *Galleria Giustiniana* (1631–37); he also left behind an unpublished account of some of his most treasured paintings.[29] This work inspired other palace guidebooks such as Girolamo Teti's *Aedes Barberinae* (1642), the *Argomento della Galeria Farnese* (1657) engraved by Carlo Cesio with an essay by Bellori, and the *Galleriae Farnesianae Icone* (1677), for which Bellori wrote the captions.[30] There were also less grandiose galleries such Paolo Maccarani's "gallery of statues and paintings" with paintings by the Carracci, Caravaggio, and Guercino, whose provenance and even location remain unknown today.[31] The juxtaposition of collections, great and modest, in Martinelli's guidebook reminds us how deeply the mania for collecting and the desire to possess a goodly number of paintings penetrated Roman society as a whole.

The Roman gallery emerged as a novel kind of space and also as a location in which ambitious collectors innovated new ways to display their paintings. In the 1620s the Roman physician and art critic Giulio Mancini (1558–1630) had already noted the importance of paintings to the embellishment of Roman homes and palaces. His *Considerations on Painting*, an unpublished manuscript written around 1620, captured an emerging culture of conversation about paintings—not only how to judge them but also where, when, and how to display them—among early modern Romans. A few years later Mancini composed another unpublished treatise on Roman painting, this time for visitors to the Eternal City. His *Voyage to Rome to See Paintings* (ca. 1625) highlighted the emerging importance of this particular kind of object

to Rome's reputation abroad.[32] Rome was hardly the only city in which ownership of paintings became the prerogative of ordinary citizens—we have only to think of the diffuse presence of paintings in Dutch homes as well as in other Italian cities such as Venice, Naples, Bologna, and Florence—but it was a capital city that, at least since the era of Michelangelo and Raphael, attracted artists from all over Europe and in which art played an especially public role in the embellishment of the city itself.[33] This is why Martinelli advertised the home of the Roman merchant Carlo Rossi as a noteworthy site since it was filled with paintings of every kind by Rossi's friend Salvatore Rosa.[34]

Yet Martinelli's Rome was also a city of sacred things. His description of one of two collections in the possession of Roman noblewomen—in Marchesa Christiana Angelelli's palace on the Corso—underscored the pious motivations behind her passion for things. Her family chapel was filled with talismans of early Christianity: "relics found in the martyrs' cemeteries" and "dignified monuments of the sacred antiquity of the primitive church." Antonio Bosio's breathtaking exploration of the catacombs in his *Subterranean Rome* (1632) had undoubtedly inspired a number of sacred collections in the city while also revealing a hitherto unexplored site for acquiring relics. Angelelli's religiosity extended from her chapel to her palace; her rooms were adorned with contemporary religious art: "a Christ expiring on the Cross, and the transit of St. Joseph, and St. Francis of Guido Reni, the celebrated Resurrection of Annibale Carracci, and other works by good modern artificers."[35] In such lists we see how the dialectic of ancient and modern things was also a religious principle in Rome.

The pious contents of the collection created by *questa religiosa Signora* stood in marked contrast to the possessions of Felice Rondenini, another Roman noblewoman also living in a palace on the Corso. Martinelli singled her out for having used her erudition (*suo erudito genio*) to create "a study of singular medals and medallions, among which is the only ancient medal of the poet Ovid."[36] Her palace also contained a cabinet filled with carved gems and cameos (*Dattilotheca*), other antiquities, and a painting gallery that included portraits by Correggio and landscapes by Domenichino. Rondenini was evidently one of those rare women—like Queen Christina, the most prominent female collector in baroque Rome[37]—who saw collecting as a means of displaying her learning rather than her piety. Martinelli seems to have delighted in the possibility of visitors seeing the full spectrum of objects that defined sacred and secular Rome, should they follow his advice and visit these two singular noblewomen who lived on the same street.

The final section of Martinelli's guidebook—a short essay written as a

postscript to his alphabetical finding list—belonged decisively to his contemporary Bellori. It fruitfully combined Bellori's interest in painting and antiquity by briefly describing the most important fragments of ancient Greek and Roman painting discovered in recent times, especially in excavations of ancient grottos and baths, and their influence on modern painting. *Notice on Museums* concluded with Bellori's description of early sixteenth-century Rome as a golden era of the rediscovery of ancient art, when Raphael and his disciples studied ancient painting amid ruins such as Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, and inspired a new style of painting that was exported from Rome. The disappearance of many ancient painted fragments from their original locations troubled Bellori. Yet he reminded readers that a new generation of Roman antiquarians was now dedicated to the preservation of the city's greatest treasures. He invited connoisseurs of ancient painting to see an especially fine, intact vase painted in the Greek comedic style that he kept in his *studio*. Martinelli had described Bellori's collection quite modestly in the alphabetical finding list—"Gio. Pietro BELLORI. Study of antiquities and drawings of painting." Bellori now indicated the quality of his possessions through this description of a singular antique object.[38]

The Banality of Things

Martinelli's intricate taxonomy of Roman collecting offers a valuable window into the kinds of desirable objects seventeenth-century visitors could find inside many spaces of the Eternal City. What it certainly does not reveal, however, is the vast material culture of this early modern city that was not on display but in use and in circulation: a world defined by popular engravings of the period such as the *Portrait of Everything Being Sold in Rome* (ca. 1600), a snapshot of approximately two hundred Roman street vendors selling their wares.[39] Those things traditionally have a different history, or at least a history to be written largely from other sources and by social and economic historians rather than historians of art, culture, and learning. But should we see them as absolutely distinct when, in their totality, they define the material culture of a period?

The history of such artifacts and their relationship to the great Roman collections of this era is the subject of Renata Ago's innovative and engaging study of *il gusto delle cose*, which can be variously defined as the "appetite," "hunger," "taste," "desire," and "passion" for things, though we have tried to playfully invoke the sense of the original by simply calling it "gusto." Ago invites us to understand baroque Rome through her analysis of the objects

found in households of the middling sort—ranging from artisans to wealthy professionals, merchants, and lower nobility—in the seventeenth century. Her history is decisively not the history of any one particular kind of thing but the history of *all* the things that emerge into view through an analysis of household inventories, account books, and other allied documentation that reveals the material culture of a city. Ago encourages us to observe early modern Romans acquiring and using, inheriting and bequeathing, renting and selling, and generally accounting for their things. She wants us to understand how people formed relationships with their possessions and how documentary traces of these things allow us to reconstruct the nature of their needs, desires, and choices. In Ago's *Gusto for Things* a new portrait of the Roman middling classes emerges, as a social group defined by their material culture. What did the Eternal City at the height of its grandeur look like from this vantage point?

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Rome had a population of approximately 100,000 inhabitants. In an era in which the population of many Italian cities declined as a result of war, plague, and a faltering economy, Rome's grew; by 1700, with a population hovering around 135,000 it had become the third largest city in the Italian peninsula, surpassed only by Venice and Naples.[40] Assessing Martinelli's guidebook in demographic terms, he described the most celebrated possessions—admittedly a mere fraction of the full range of things owned by each and every collector—of slightly more than 1/1,000th of Rome's total population in 1664–65. The 1656 plague reduced the city's population to the level at the beginning of the century, making the population in Martinelli's day around 110,000.[41] Rome was a capital city but, by comparison with urban centers such as Paris, London, Amsterdam, and Naples, all of which grew significantly during the seventeenth century, it could also be considered a city of modest growth, great religiosity, and nascent tourism. Nonetheless, it was perhaps the most dynamic and international city of the Italian peninsula. Ago is right to remind us that this was a period in which the Italian economy continued to surpass in total wealth the economies of the Netherlands and Britain respectively until the mid-eighteenth century.[42] Even in a period of stagnation, if not outright decline, Italy remained a prosperous region and Rome a unique and memorable city.

Our standard image of early modern Rome revolves around the intersections between politics, religion, and society in the era of the Catholic Reformation. The post-Renaissance magnificence of its art and architecture is evident in virtually every church, palace, and piazza of the city. The "baroque politics" of this period, the subject of an earlier book by Ago, has been

analyzed in fascinating detail, since Rome was a city in which nobility was not only the preserve of well-established families of ancient lineage such as the Orsini but also encompassed many recent families such as the Farnese, Barberini, Pamphili, and Chigi, ennobled by the appointment of key members to the College of Cardinals or, better yet, election to the papal throne.[43] Yet Rome was also a city of artisans and shopkeepers—a world defined in the middle by a wide variety of service industries that met the needs of Rome's population, which included not only its citizens and long-term residents but also the multitude of pilgrims and Grand Tourists who flocked annually to the city to visit its monuments and study its history, swelling the population considerably in the warmer months. Knowing the early modern Roman marketplace was the subject of a number of popular works that cataloged and satirized the city's merchandise. Andrea Spetiale's *New and Pleasing History Which Tells of All the Things Being Sold by Artisans Every Day in Rome* (1629) presented Rome as a city in which literally everything was for sale, creating an itinerary in comic verse that began in the secondhand market of Piazza Giudea. His Rome was a society "that sells off stuff" (*che si smaltisca la robba*), a place devoted to the endless recycling of things.[44] As we shall see, this is indeed the city that emerges in Ago's history of Roman attitudes toward possessions.

Rose Marie San Juan's analysis of the Spanish artist Francisco Corduba's early seventeenth-century etchings of Roman fountains captures very well this other Rome whose "humble objects" have been well used but not yet used up. The straight-back woven chair, the broken stool, the pitcher tossed on the ground, the mended shirt, the dented hat, the broken bowl, the pair of shoes, the candlestick holder, mortar and pestle, the pot with a handle, the ladle, and an unidentified piece of cloth have not exited the market; they are ready for resale if their owners cannot redeem them within a year.[45] The everyday transactions of this particular city included the hapless servants of the Bishop of Ancona who repeatedly pawned a mail shirt while awaiting payment for doing the bidding of the bishop's son by murdering some peasants, and a notary's wife who "sold some shirts and some old sheets and certain other old clothes to the Jews" to allay the family's economic difficulties. The gossip on the street suggested that virtually "all the goods in this house" had been part of her dowry since neighbors testified that her husband Gieronimo Piccardi "didn't have anything, except certain goods of a woman-servant who had lived with him, and which he would never let her have back."[46]

The scandal of a husband who defined his patrimony primarily through possessions of his wife and servant confirms Ago's important insight that

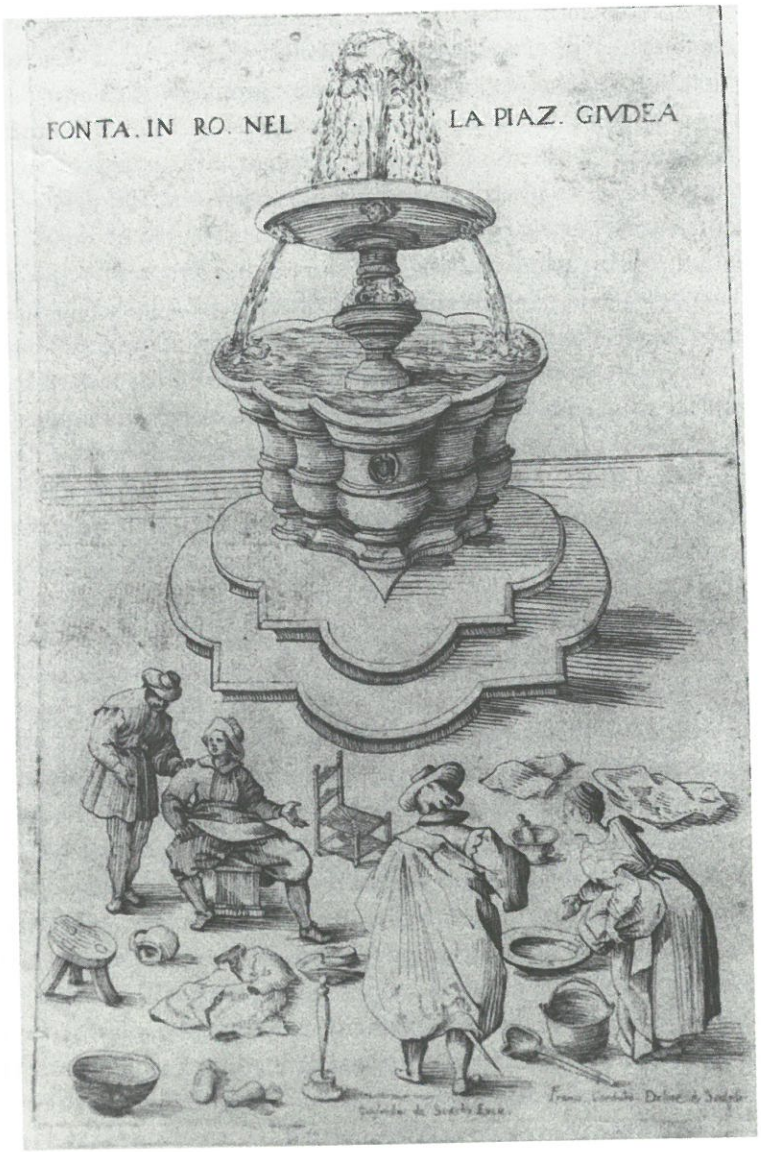

FIGURE 4. Used Things for Sale in Piazza Giudea. *Source:* Francisco Corduba, *Fontana in Roma nella Piazza Giudea* (1618). Courtesy of the Gabinetto delle Stampe, Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Rome.

this was a society in which the best and most beautiful things of the household—including the most elegant garments, household linens, tableware, silverware, mirrors, jewelry, and small decorative ornaments such as silk flowers—were typically owned by men even if they were intended for female use. If the gossips can be believed, Piccardi violated this social contract and was thus not a good husband because he had not adequately provisioned his household despite the fact he was a notary. This Rome coexisted, indeed was intimately intertwined with, the society of beautiful, curious, and antique things Martinelli and Bellori immortalized.

In an earlier study of the "baroque economy," Ago estimates that artisans and shopkeepers comprised approximately one-fifth of Rome's total population in the 1620s and that roughly half of the male population of the city was engaged in some sort of trade.[47] She revises earlier assessments of Rome's stagnation, based on levels of production, by emphasizing consumption as an equally important measure of the vitality of an urban economy. The city that emerges in her analysis is a culture of credit and exchange, producing only a handful of noteworthy goods (medals, works of art, carriages, and gloves, among other things, all of them luxury industries reflective of Rome's prestige economy) but nonetheless meeting all the material needs of the inhabitants of an early modern city by providing access to a far wider range of goods and services. The merchandise unloaded at the customhouse on the Ripa Grande, the livestock, grain, olive oil, wine, and other foodstuffs entering the city from the Roman Campagna, and the numerous artifacts made from these raw ingredients by Rome's artisans—including the many artists who had not yet earned the privilege to ascend beyond their status as artisans—or brought into the city through a network of foreign merchants who settled there, defined a world of things to use and consume.

If Peter Partner is correct in identifying building as Rome's only true industry, despite Sixtus V's benighted efforts to transform the Colosseum into a large wool factory in 1590 as part of his efforts to stimulate Rome's textile industry, then we must indeed focus less on the making of things in this particular city and more on their presence, use, and value.[48] We also need to expand our definition of the market to include a world of domestic production as well as artisanal commerce, not to mention Rome's well-known international money market the presence of the papacy fostered. These are the questions animating Ago's sensitive exploration of the relationships that early modern Romans had with the objects in their possession.

In 1618, the same year in which Corduba etched the modest possessions for sale in Piazza Giudea, Giacomo Lauro completed his visual itinerary

through Rome's ruins, *The Splendor of the Ancient City* (1612–18). His engravings of the past were created with an eye to the present, and we see this dialogue in his dual portrait of the ancient and modern Roman. While the ancient Roman, dressed in a toga, wears the traditional garb of the Senate, the modern Roman's attire reflects the values of his own day: his cloak, tall hat, ruff, brocaded shirt, and breeches declare him a man of some substance who can afford these things. *Romanus recentior* is a prosperous citizen of this early modern city, and he reflects his status through his fashion. He is the kind of man we can imagine as being among the city's conservators, who met in the Palazzo dei Conservatori atop the Capitol to deliberate upon the city's business, and who negotiated the city's relationship with the papacy. He is also the sort of Roman who participated in the annual Christmas dispersal of gifts—nougat, pepper, gloves, and wax—by the conservators to worthy civic and papal officeholders, and regulated shop prices on foodstuffs and other basic commodities during the rest of the year.[49] He also accepted gifts as a perquisite of office: silk handkerchiefs, silk flowers, and devotional images, silver teaspoons, freshly baked bread and cookies, preserves, chocolate, and (perhaps less appealing to the modern palate) rosemary and carnation-scented fish heads. Finally, as Ago reminds us, this is a man who by the late seventeenth century would fortify himself each morning the Conservators were in session by being served a little cup of chocolate on a silver tray with a silk napkin to wipe his lips, expressing his status by partaking publicly of such luxuries. This portrait of a seventeenth-century Roman offers yet another window into a society that carefully assessed its relationship to things and used them repeatedly to express status and identity.

Yet another way to see the city through its things is to enter one of the many Roman palaces Martinelli described not only to observe its art, antiquities, and books but also to understand it as a total system of things. Even the great noble palaces were characterized by their "sparse sumptuousness."[50] Dozens of upholstered chairs, a handful of inlaid tables, and seasonal wall hangings (tapestries in the winter months, silk or leather in the warmer months) were the standard furnishings of the most public rooms, and moved between them to accommodate visitors, meals, and special functions. One room typically contained a credenza, benches, chests, plate rack, and candleholders, as the designated location from which meals would be served in an adjoining room—not really a dining room, by our standards, but a large room where tables and chairs could be moved to accommodate a meal. There were also bedrooms, containing carved beds, velvet chairs, and typically some devotional images; often there was an adjoining study with a writing desk,



FIGURE 5. The Modern Roman Dressed in the Latest Fashion. *Source:* Giacomo Lauro, *Antiqvae vrbis splendor hoc est, Præcipva eivsdem templa, amphitheatra, theatra, circi, navmachiæ, arcvs trivmphales, mavsolea, aliaqve svmptvosiora ædificia, pompæ, item trivmphalis et colossæarvm imaginvm descriptio* (Rome, 1612–18). Courtesy of the New York Public Library.

chair, perhaps a foot warmer, some books that had migrated from the library (assuming the study was not also the library as occurred with more modest collections), papers, pen and inkwell, and a few paintings, perhaps one of Divini's excellent telescopes, and other small objects on shelves.[51]

Our image of a seventeenth-century Roman palace must therefore be inspired as much by a chessboard as a cornucopia since it was a series of interlocking rooms through which furnishings moved to create an often temporary but strategic effect. As the size and scale of Roman palaces grew in the seventeenth century, the number of rooms multiplied and the nobility retreated to upper parts of the palace (*piano nobile*), allowing the ground floor to be used for cooking, storage, sanitation, and other mundane things.[52] These decisions about the use of space also affected the distribution of things.

With the exception of the most public spaces in which Roman nobles and clerics permanently displayed precious things, the vast majority of rooms were hardly decorated, nor did they contain chests and cupboards filled with objects. The household objects were stored in several locked rooms: the *sala* containing the credenza (unlocked only during meals to protect the silver and plate), *dispensa* (storeroom filled with foodstuffs), *bottiglieria* (wine cellar containing wine and glasses), and most importantly the *guardaroba* (the wardrobe containing all the precious and portable things of the household to be brought out as needed and otherwise kept under lock and key). As Patricia Waddy eloquently observes, the *guardaroba* was "not only a place for storage but also the site of servicing, tending, and recording the prince's possessions."[53] It was the primary location from which to survey the totality of things and keep track of their movements and condition.

Even in these sumptuous palaces whose contents were enumerated in lengthy household inventories and carefully guarded account books, we occasionally catch a glimpse of the far more modest lifestyle of the ordinary Romans, the people whom Ago wants us to understand. Let us take the case of the widow Costanza Magalotti, who married into the Barberini family and resided in two rooms, not in the splendid new Palazzo Barberini but on the third floor (*secondo piano nobile*) of the older Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane. Her rooms contained old chairs, a straw pad, and a few devotional pictures. This pious refutation of an opulent lifestyle within the family palace expressed its austerity through a conspicuous absence of things. The Barberini widow was not the only noblewoman living modestly amid luxury. The 1693 inventory of Palazzo Orsini also reveals that all the rooms of the women's quarters—seventeenth-century Roman palaces used the increased number of rooms to demarcate male and female space—were sparsely furnished with an ordinary bed, small table, devotional picture, chamber pot, and closestool.[54] The simplicity and restraint of the lifestyles of these Roman noblewomen makes the lavish furnishings of other Roman princesses, not to mention the collections of Angelelli, Rondenini, and Queen Christina, stand out as a deliberate choice to eschew the traditional virtues of female modesty by surrounding oneself with things that others were permitted to see.

If we move down the social scale, as Ago invites us to do in her sampling of the records of early modern Roman households of the middling sort—*ceto mediocre* as Mancini defined this group in his guide to displaying art—we see how quickly space contracts from the endless vista of rooms and gardens that defined the Roman palace to the reality of keeping everything one owned

in a two- or three-room apartment. Don Francesco Ceccarelli, a member of Cardinal Scipione Borghese's household living in the Palazzo della Famiglia Borghese built specifically to house his staff, reflects the upper end of this kind of lifestyle. He lived in three rooms with his mother Prudentia and probably a female servant. They were fortunate compared to many seventeenth-century Romans, as Ago has discovered, because they were able to prepare meals at home; according to the 1643 inventory of the apartment, one room contained a fireplace with grill, tripod, and spit, copper vessels, terracotta and majolica plates, pots, and dishes, some chairs, and the ubiquitous credenza. Clearly, this was a room for cooking, eating, and warmth. A second room belonged to Prudentia who slept in the fancier of the two beds (hence the deduction of a female servant), kept her clothes and linens in the cupboard, kneeled on the prie-dieu to make her devotions, and enjoyed a few pictures hanging on the wall.[55] The basket of old books in this room probably belonged to Don Francesco who inhabited the third room, containing another carved walnut bed, chairs and a desk, more paintings, clothing and other personal effects, fireplace equipment, and a box of ashes.[56] Such were the household goods of an early modern Roman of the more prosperous variety who earned enough to afford two nice beds, a goodly amount of furnishings and clothing, and a servant who cooked and cleaned, but little more. Or, as Ago puts it, they were people who had shoes but only one pair in which they were probably buried. In these records we find the beginnings of a standard against which to measure the material parameters of a life.

Toward a New History of Material Culture

Ago's history of objects in seventeenth-century Rome takes its place in a rich historiography of material culture that has emerged during the past few decades. An early literature, pioneered especially by Fernand Braudel, saw material goods as manifestations of a nascent capitalism that first emerged in the late Middle Ages and expanded to create a world system of things by the seventeenth century.[57] Subsequent research crystallized into a series of specific discussions about the nature of consumption in different historical epochs, giving rise to lively specialists' debates about such subjects as the "empire of things" in Renaissance Italy, the "embarrassment of riches" in the Dutch Golden Age, and the "consumer revolution" of eighteenth-century Britain.[58] Each of these discussions has produced numerous responses to and revisions of the original thesis while seeking to explain, in some fundamental sense, the emergence of *Homo economicus* as an actor on the world stage.

Ago's study of seventeenth-century Rome responds to this impulse with a gentle admonishment not to begin with questions about the roots of modernity but to start instead with the insights of social and cultural anthropology about the importance of understanding human relationships with things while also attending to a model of economic history that emphasizes consumption as well as production.[59] She makes an equally important and useful distinction between studies devoted solely to historical questions of consumption and ones that subsume the issue of consumption within broader concerns about material culture.[60] Acquisition, use, exchange, inheritance, possession, and value are all categories of interrogation in her reconstruction of the meaning of things in the papal city. In taking this approach, Ago builds upon the recent work of historians such as Daniel Roche whose innovative studies of ordinary things, *choses banales*, have brought to life the material culture of ancien régime France, including the history of its clothing and fashions.[61] Ago's reconstruction of Roman material culture should be read in relation to Roche's classic account of how the people of Paris learned to be consumers in the eighteenth century as well as Lorna Weatherill's illuminating study of life in preindustrial England, including her innovative discussion of the use of probate inventories to reconstruct the material culture of a household.[62] It also takes its place in relation to the research done by art historians such as Evelyn Welch and Patricia Fortini Brown and economic historians of art such as Richard Goldthwaite who have insisted on the importance of understanding the production and display of works of art in such cities as Florence and Venice at the intersection of domestic life, artisanal production, and patrician values.[63] In short, Ago incorporates many of the insights from research on the history of private life and domesticity that have led historians and art historians to combine different kinds of documentation and to experiment with diverse methodologies with the goal of writing a history of social values and cultural preoccupations from the records of daily life.[64]

Ago's *Gusto for Things* has the additional virtue of bringing some of the insights emerging from research on the history of collecting to bear on material culture as a whole. Collectibles have often been treated as a special and distinct kind of object because they are artifacts consciously acquired and preserved as a measure of status, wealth, reputation, and interest. As Krzysztof Pomian influentially has written in his study of early modern collecting, they are *semiophores*—bearers of meaning that make the invisible visible.[65] We perceive the objects of daily life as belonging to an entirely different sphere because they have a more mundane function. Or is this actually the case?[66]

Ago ask us to consider how ordinary objects can be invested with great meaning, especially in the hands of someone with few things. Her careful attention to how people of the middling sort treated their things suggests that collecting is reflective of more general attitudes toward possessions brought to their logical conclusion. In an economy in which wealth largely existed in the form of tangible assets rather than liquid capital, early modern Romans constantly assessed and reassessed the value of their patrimony. They sold things as needed but retained as much as possible not simply to possess and use it but also to put some of it in temporary circulation, as objects to be pawned or rented, while reserving another portion of their patrimony for familial use, strategic gifts, and posthumous memory. As a result, we cannot think of everyday things simply as utilitarian. Behind each purchase was a hard-won choice about what to acquire when one had the means to add to the stock of things in one's possession and what to do with them. Behind every bequest was a decision about the fate of one's things after the death of the current owner or user. As a result, seemingly ordinary things, too, had a past as well as a future.

Capturing the genealogy of objects has proved especially difficult for historians because the records we use typically reveal artifacts at a single moment in their existence. They are therefore incapable of offering a complete history of an object, let alone the ebb and flow of all the objects in a given household. Yet perhaps there is a way to make a virtue of this inevitable fact. The linen, serving bowl, spoons, pots, pans, chairs, and myriad of other objects that appear in household inventories share the following characteristics with the books, paintings, antiquities, and curiosities on display in Martinelli's and Bellori's Rome: they mostly exist for us, in retrospect, as *written descriptions* of objects that once filled in an early modern Roman household. The vast majority of these artifacts no longer exist but instead survive in household account books, wills and testaments, and postmortem inventories. Animating these objects on paper is the primary task of a historian seeking to capture a material culture in which very few of the actual things survive. This kind of historical archaeology demands a certain skill in reading across different kinds of documentation as well as searching for those rare instances in which we have multiple accounts of the objects in the same household over several decades, or even the objects themselves.

During the past few decades historians of the early modern period have become adept at building databases of artifacts from these records in order to identify patterns of material culture in a city or region. Ago contributes to this overall project with her findings from the Roman archives. But she also

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turns our attention to the matter of writing itself by insisting on the necessity of understanding which people were mostly likely to record their possessions as well as why and how. Her findings suggest a correlation between social anxiety or precariousness and the desire to write things down. She begins to construct a history of how people learned to write about acquisitions and possessions, which was not a natural human activity but a product of emerging mentalities toward objects as a measure of existence. Ago's early modern Romans seem to have been far more self-conscious about their things at the end of the seventeenth century than they were at the beginning. They expressed these decisions by making lists of objects with ink on paper—two of the material goods her study tracks among Roman household possessions—and by correlating descriptions of objects with an estimate of their actual cost or, at the time of death, perceived monetary value. Of course such documents do have their limitations since they only capture a world that, either directly or indirectly, had access to the written word.[67] However, Ago is not trying to describe the "people" of Rome in the way that Roche did by using the police records of eighteenth-century Paris to go beyond the world of the middling classes. She instead seeks to capture the full spectrum of this middle, in part to explore in greater detail what Victoria de Grazia has aptly called the "sex of things."[68]

Ago's decision to include a significant number of women who recorded their possessions in her sample gives her the material from which to develop a number of interesting conclusions about gender and material culture in the Eternal City. Since many of the costly objects women used were actually owned by men, she makes a crucial distinction between ownership and usufruct. She brings to life a domestic economy, even at a fairly high socioeconomic level, of making things, not just for use but also to increase household wealth. Ago is also able to trace distinctive patterns of male and female possessions, including the predominance of smaller devotional paintings in female inventories as opposed to large canvases with secular themes that men overwhelmingly owned.

The typical early modern Roman woman owned very few books (let alone writing implements and furniture), virtually none of the important household items, or elegant clothing. Most of her clothes were acquired at marriage and preserved as long as possible. She was more likely to own the terra-cotta baby Jesuses, Lucca dolls, painted fans, and, by the end of the century, tobacco boxes in a household while her male relations amassed a far wider variety of things beyond the household necessities, including curiosities and clocks, books, maps, prints, and broadsheets, mirrors, arms, and so forth. It would be easy from such material to draw a simple conclusion about the restrictions

of the material life of women. Yet Ago surprises us by demonstrating the lack of direct correlation between wealth and things. In this society women were economically subordinate but not necessarily materially impoverished; her sampling of account books, wills, and inventories reveals that women often had more things than men, albeit of lesser value and in a smaller space. We are left instead to ponder how people made the objects available to them truly meaningful in their lives. As Daniel Roche writes eloquently, "A feeling for the home is not a luxury reserved for those who command unlimited space and means. It may exist in a minimum of space and with very few worldly goods."[69]

The correlation of things provides the basis for creating a composite portrait of the seventeenth-century Roman who was only barely being introduced to the great novelties of his century such as tulips, tobacco, tea, coffee, and chocolate in contrast to the fashion-conscious Londoners and Parisians whose comparative luxuries and profusion of goods made those Romans who traveled to these other capital cities marvel by the late seventeenth century. The slow and uneven penetration of new things into the Roman marketplace reminds us that a rich material culture is not necessarily a culture of innovation.[70] Indeed the predominance of "old" and "used" things in Roman inventories reminds us how few people participated in the global marketplace in the seventeenth century, at least in the Eternal City, in contrast to the eighteenth century when the diffusion of such things would become far more widespread at the same time that cheaper textiles such as cotton would transform the quantity and quality of clothes.[71]

Ago concludes her history of Roman things by reflecting on how a certain level of possessions became the distinctive marker of those who were neither truly noble nor evidently poor. She invites us to rethink the question of social status through the lens of material culture: did a sector of early modern Roman society define themselves less by birth or occupation than by their ability to achieve a certain kind of lifestyle expressed through things? While numerous accounts of material culture presuppose a model in which the noblest and wealthiest members of society primarily introduce innovations, Ago questions the universality of this model of social emulation. Her account of Rome is that of a city changing from the middle, in which Mancini's *ceto mediocre* takes a leading role in defining what early modern Romans wished to acquire and preserve. Fioravante Martinelli and Giovan Pietro Bellori would have surely appreciated the wisdom of this insight into a city they loved.

Paula Findlen

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The idea of translating Renata Ago's *Il gusto delle cose: Una storia degli oggetti nella Roma del Seicento* (Rome: Donzelli Editore, 2006) first emerged from conversations between Renata Ago and Paula Findlen about their mutual interests in collecting, material culture, and inheritance in early modern Italy before and after the completion of the Italian original. We thank the Stanford Humanities Center and the School of Humanities and Science, and especially Stephen Hinton, as Senior Associate Dean for the Humanities, for providing the funding to make this translation possible. We thank the Kratter Fund of the History Department at Stanford University for making it possible for Professor Ago to come to Stanford in January 2010 as a Kratter Visiting Professor during the final preparation of this manuscript. Finally, we thank the Fulbright Commission for providing Corey Tazzara and Brad Bouley with Fulbright Research Fellowships for their dissertation work, which took them respectively to Florence in 2008–9 and Rome in 2009–10, allowing each of them the opportunity to collaborate with Professor Ago on their part of the translation.

The collaboration among the four of us has been a pleasure from beginning to end. Over many enjoyable meals and e-mails between Italy and California, we have gladly succumbed to the desire to look up and debate yet another word in the dictionary, even knowing that some of them are probably rendered permanently inaccessible, or at least vaguely incomprehensible to all but the early modern Romans who inscribed these words about their things on paper. With Professor Ago's capable and willing assistance, the three English speakers have done their best to translate but not entirely betray the meaning of her elegant and important book in honor of the saying that

every translator of Italian knows well: *tradurre è tradire*. We are pleased to present her book in English.

Finally, we thank Susan Bielstein, executive editor at the University of Chicago Press, for her support and encouragement of this project, and Anthony Burton and our copyeditor Dawn Hall for their work in preparing this book for publication. The two anonymous readers of the book proposal offered excellent suggestions at an early stage in this project and encouraged us with their enthusiasm for this idea. We especially thank Lydia G. Cochrane, who carefully read the penultimate draft, and gave us the benefit of her advice and considerable experience about how to approach the translation of so many words about *la roba romana*.

Rome, Stanford, and Chicago
November 2011

ROMAN COINS & MONEY

baiocco	coin of varying value; in accounts worth a tenth of a giulio
giulio	worth ten baiocchi or two paoli
paolo	coin worth five baiocchi
scudo	coin worth ten giuli, twenty-five paoli, or one hundred baiocchi

INTRODUCTION

We postmodern humans are totally addicted to the presence of objects. Our rooms are full of them, but often we have the impression that our belongings take space away from us, that they expel us from our houses. And yet we love them, our things. We guard them jealously and become sad if we break or lose something; we rid ourselves of objects with mixed feelings of fatigue, displeasure, and ironically, relief. The bond that unites us to our possessions is often so strong it is difficult to break it even when possessions have become a burden. Our connection with objects is therefore profound, complex, and contradictory. But like all aspects of the human experience, our interaction with things has also changed over time, and thus has a history. The goal of this book is to begin to tell it.

Undertaking this task, however, is more difficult than it seems. Economists, philosophers, sociologists, and moralists of various persuasions have wrestled for a long time with the problem of defining consumers and consumer society.[1] During the last twenty years the question has also sparked a growing interest among historians. In this scholarship the novelty of the topic and the need to define consumption as a field of study has largely prevailed over the tendency toward conceptualization. As a result the theoretical framework of most of these studies has not fully exploited the potential of actually dealing with the world of objects. Many of these studies limited themselves to using consumption to find traces of grand trends that had already been recognized in preexisting scholarship. Some of these works surveyed the problem of relations between different social and economic classes, analyzing the role imitation and emulation played in promoting the adoption of new ways and new types of consumption. Others highlighted the contrast between

the aristocratic and bourgeois ways of life or between that of the elites and the popular classes; these dichotomies were symptomatic of a general social tension.[2] For those historians primarily interested in the birth of modernity, the ultimate goal of their research has been to locate and date the "consumer revolution" or "the birth of consumer society."[3] Guided by the usual "grand narrative" of modernization, their studies look for a new type of product that suddenly appeared in people's homes. They attempt to find the sort of households in which this change happened and then date when such novel objects made their first appearance. The joy of discovery and the taste for description are apparent in the style of these histories. In part this is a result of the documents they used: the essential sources were inventories put together after the death of the interested party or in other unusual circumstances that required a precise list of a certain person's possessions. If this type of source can tell us much about the goods of our ancestors, however, it cannot give us any additional information that would give depth to our reconstruction of the relationship between human beings and their objects. With this type of documentation we know what people had in their houses, but not the way these objects were acquired, for how long they were owned, how many transformations they underwent during this period, or how they were used. The inventories have nothing to say about such matters. Yet these types of interactions constitute an important part of the relationship between human beings and their goods, as some rare and precious documents—like the diary of Elizabeth Parker, studied by Amanda Vickery—reveal.[4]

In these conditions, the most that historians have been able to do is to correlate the diffusion of new furniture and movable goods, of new household linens or clothes, and of new foods and drink with the birth of a new sensibility. Thus scholars undertook an unfettered search for traces of intimacy and of a separation between the domestic and public spheres.[5] Women were relatively at the vanguard of this process, often acquiring fine china, new fabrics, and new furniture before men.[6] These rich documents, in addition to demonstrating the economic value of consumer objects and their role as engines of demand, have led to the important discovery that goods delineate different social hierarchies and gender categories than those historians use. Such conclusions must serve as a stimulus to research in the sense that I have alluded to earlier, encouraging us to develop a more rigorous conceptualization of the nature and uses of things.

In my opinion, a first step in this direction consists of abandoning the term and concept of *consumption* in favor of *material culture*.[7] Among historians the latter category has an illustrious tradition in scholarship. It has been used

in a slightly different way than I propose to use it here, however. The material culture that has been the subject of these studies concerns specific realms of technical expertise—namely, that of urban craftsmen or farmworkers. By contrast, the meaning that will be attributed to it here will be much broader and will encompass all aspects of the relationship between human beings and objects. In this sense by material culture I mean that part of the culture that is objectified in things, that requires things to materialize its own existence.

On this level the most useful and stimulating contributions come not so much from historians as from anthropologists, notoriously better equipped than we are for confronting similar problems. According to Mary Douglas's by now classic definition, goods are ritual accessories that work to fix meaning that would otherwise be unstable and fleeting.[8] Objects thus serve to decode the social world. Taking this idea together with the work of Georg Simmel, Daniel Miller has called attention to the central question concerning the relationship between human beings and the material world: if the subject, any subject, contextually constructs the object, to the extent that one acquires meaning and value only through the other, then this is true for the material world as well as human beings.[9] Living in houses furnished with hallways and separate rooms for use during the day and the night, possessing underwear, silverware, and dishes in sufficient numbers for each person at the dining table, having curtains on windows, cushions for seats, armchairs, little cups for tea or coffee, are all elements that construct modern man and woman. Their "modernity" is not only expressed in the possession of these objects, but also is constructed by their use. Environment—meant as the field of action for human beings—cannot be reduced to a mere reflection of a preexisting cultural system, but rather has an active part to play, entering into a reciprocal relation with people. The ordinary innovations to which I have alluded are not simply a passive result of a newly offered product or of a new demand on the part of the consumer; rather, they are themselves agents of change, able to reflect unto themselves the individual and the vision that individual has of him- or herself.

Connecting material culture too strictly to the birth of the modern individual, however, risks leading us up a blind alley. Premodern man, who had none of the movable goods just cited, did not clearly define the boundaries between himself and others, between inside and outside, public and private. He did not make these distinctions because they held no interest for him, but because the material context of his life offered nothing that made him aware of the existence of these boundaries. Nevertheless, premodern man was extremely aware of the presence of things and the importance of his

dominion over them; otherwise, why were there so many inventories and other legal documents disposing of objects, such as wills, donations, and marriage contracts? Also, why were there so many detailed supply contracts? Why, for example, did a Roman noble feel the need in 1626 to record a written contract before a notary for the regular supply of ten different types of pears, at ten different prices, from one fruit vendor?[10]

The human relationship with things cannot be taken into consideration only from the point of view of the continuing march of innovation and consequently the progressive construction of the Western individual. Objects are not all created equal, and human beings entertain a unique relationship with each thing. Thus we cannot limit ourselves to speaking generically of objectification. We need to be more specific. We first need to distinguish between how people intended to use objects and how they actually used them. Certain goods came to be removed from their ordinary uses; they were held in special conditions, and were, above all, kept and admired. This renunciation of utility, which at times was connected to a good's function but more often to its market price, was represented as a "sacrifice" that destroyed its value. However, at the same time this sacrifice recreated that value by forcing a mutation of an object's nature and transforming it from a *thing*—something clearly designated to be useful—into a semiophore—an object filled with meaning.[11] Goods that underwent this type of metamorphosis were first of all those that entered into a "treasury," such as the treasury of a temple or a cathedral, according to the principle of classification Krzysztof Pomian elaborated for the period he studied.[12]

A treasury is first of all a collection of goods removed from their normal uses or from the market in such a way as to construct a reserve of wealth. This is not to say that these goods will never be sold; on the contrary, their value is rooted in the fact that they can be converted into cash when needed. Nevertheless, in contrast to all other resources, these objects enjoy a special status: they are protected from being dispersed and are destined to be put up for sale only in cases of extraordinary, absolute necessity. In this way they become at least temporarily inalienable and charged with a value much higher than their potential market price. However, this is not necessarily a stable condition, because these things, like people, have a history, the course of which can change the conditions of ownership. None of these objects are necessarily tied to a single function but could pass from the status of merchandise to that of precious possession and back again.[13] As we will see, in making this distinction the most important part of the relationship between human beings and objects emerges.

If my considerations so far have focused on changes for any type of good, there are nevertheless some objects that lend themselves better than others to taking on a determined value, both at the symbolic and the financial level. Some items can establish themselves better than others in private "treasuries." As a general rule, in preindustrial societies these objects tend to be precious handicrafts most easily used in households: textiles and jewels. These categories of goods function as private treasuries of families. Jewels and textiles—the best clothes, embroidered linens, draperies, and bed covers—possess an economic value that makes them important reserves of wealth. At the same time these objects create the economic and symbolic value of the woman who has brought them with her as part of her dowry and, additionally, who has added to the worth of her family. As such they are not easily reducible to merchandise or to money-equivalent objects that can be disinterestedly put on the market; they tend to be inalienable and, inasmuch as they are part of the dowry, their status is recognized and protected by law.[14]

In Rome, the focus of this book, treasuries consisted of precious textiles and jewels to be conserved for one's whole life and then left to one's heirs. Their nature as reserves of wealth was universally recognized and legitimated, yet this not only did not impede, but actually facilitated their transformation into sources of income to be invested in the Monte di Pietà, the papal-sponsored bank, or loaned out. Even an inalienable good produces an income and so contributes to its own conservation.[15]

To qualify as an inalienable good, however, an object must have a significance that goes much further than economic value. To mark their own presence in the world human beings need to objectify themselves in something that is not transitory, but durable and nearly permanent. To do this, they elevate some of the objects in their possession to a position of inalienability. For this purpose singular objects, charged with a certain emotional significance because they are in close contact with their owner, can become personalized goods and hence inalienable. In last wills these items are not thrown together among the undifferentiated mass of "all movable goods." They are designated for a specific recipient, carrying out their duty of making the memory of the deceased present even after his or her death.[16] In a "presentimental" society, this work is done by crafted objects that speak of their owner (male or female) in a "public" manner, visible and socially recognizable.[17] A person's identity in this society is not split between public and private images that privilege the intimate sphere. The objects that carried out the work of remembrance must bear witness to the splendor of their former owner, demonstrating either his refinement or his erudition.

This worth is even greater for those possessions that belong not so much to a single as to a collective, a "body" in which one can feel he is taking part. The goods of a family constitute the most immediate example, for example, familial land, a house, or even domestic objects. The ability to identify in an exclusive and cumulative manner with a specific series of owners across time transforms common things into inalienable goods.[18] Respecting their inalienability and transferring them intact to one's heirs—hopefully binding these heirs as custodians to the goods in anticipation of setting up an order of succession for all generations to come—is equivalent to constructing and transmitting permanence, lasting for all time. All of this is not without a price. On the contrary, as Annette Weiner has written, and as a seventeenth-century head of a family in charge of a patrimony would have known well, "keeping some things transcendent and out of circulation in the face of all the pressures to give them to others is a burden, a responsibility, and at best, a skillful achievement."[19]

With their materiality, goods therefore embody continuity against the change that inevitably characterizes the individual and social life. They therefore transmit with the passage of time more than just an economic patrimony. The work of preserving some possessions from trade brings about a primary motor of change. To be able to affirm the inalienability of a few things is not simply "benign efforts to counterbalance death," but is the result of a competition where what is at stake is the identity of individuals and social groups.[20] The control of inalienable goods is the instrument of perpetuation or subversion of the established hierarchy. The ability to hold on to objects is therefore of vital importance.

A history of the human relationship with things is also a history of supply and demand, of commercial networks, of merchants, and of the social contexts in which all this takes place. A study of this interaction cannot be carried out in the abstract, but requires a precise location. The place I have chosen is seventeenth-century Rome, which, as we will see, was anything but an ordinary city. Between the middle of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth some huge changes assailed the domestic environment. Starting in Italy and the Low Countries, citizens' inventories began to list an ever-increasing number and variety of movable goods. At the same time a growing number of families or individuals began to register their acquisitions. The appearance of homes was thus changing, while a preoccupation with accumulating household objects was also on the rise. This process had obviously been underway for some time, and one can easily find it in the works of fifteenth-century writers such as Leon Battista Alberti and Giovanni Pontano, or in the paintings of their contemporaries such as Jan van Eyck and Carlo Crivelli. By the middle of the sixteenth century the phenomenon was widespread enough to attract the attention of contemporary observers; increasingly, it left behind visible documentary traces. Among these traces the inventories of goods stand out because they can be found with great ease in notarial papers and, more rarely, in private account books. The archives of seventeenth-century Rome are rich in both types of documents, and it is precisely on the capital of the Papal States that my research is focused.

Rome in the seventeenth century was not just any city, not even from the material or mundane point of view that will come into consideration here. It was the seat of the papacy, which was a public court in both a spiritual and temporal sense. At the same time Rome was also the home of numerous other, smaller private courts animated by the cardinals, whose members formed both a worldly nobility and an ecclesiastical aristocracy. For these reasons Rome became a formidable center of luxury consumption. Yet Rome was also the place where the vestiges of the classical past were most abundant and distinguished and where therefore the aesthetic researches of painters, sculptors, and architects centered. Active demand and a lively market of exchange existed for cultural production in all of its forms, but especially that which produced splendor in both its lay and ecclesiastic aspects. Unsurprisingly, larger subsections of the population, including lawyers, merchants, minor officeholders in the curia, artists, and successful artisans, embraced the explosion of nonessential consumables. All of these people formed that body that Giulio Mancini, when discussing the early seventeenth century, defined as "the middling class" (*ceto mediocre*).[21] Mancini claimed that this class shared many of the cultural choices of the aristocracy. His observations suggest the hypothesis that emulation of one's betters was the catalyst for luxury consumption. But as we will see, the paradigm of emulation is totally insufficient to explain what was going on.[22] Not all fashions were transmitted from high places in the social pyramid to ones further down. On the contrary, some of these trends, like the passion for novels, landscapes, or still life paintings, radiated outward from the middle of the social hierarchy and only secondarily conquered the upper levels.

To explain what happened in Rome during the seventeenth century, it is useful to take up again the idea that things, like people, also have a history and are not necessarily chained to a singular function. What emerges from the Roman sources as elsewhere is that goods can easily pass from the status of merchandise to that of individualized objects and back again.[23] Indeed,

things—both crafted items and agricultural produce—were still widely used instead of money to make payments of any type. However, individuals began to keep more valuable objects for longer periods before exchanging or selling them. Even the less wealthy started to explore the possibility of acquiring luxury goods with an eye toward permanent, rather than temporary, possession.[24] This development not only required a greater diffusion of wealth among larger sections of the population, but also must have been based on a change in the material world itself. After all, the more that things are in circulation, the greater the number of objects that can pass from the realm of exchange to that of inalienability, at least temporarily. These urban classes, whose patrimonies were based in part on credit and were therefore of an immaterial and ephemeral nature, found in the concreteness of things the possibility of creating tangible signs of their own identity and status. Additionally, the concrete possession of goods, by making visible and communicable the identity of the individual, contributed more than any legal title to establishing the social status of the owner. In the wills held in the public archives, people were constantly identified through the material things that surrounded them: their clothes, first of all, but also the movable goods of their house.[25] However, it was not necessarily true that the end goal of this accumulation of objects was to transcend one's social class and live like an aristocrat. If there existed a competition over object collecting, the competition was more about ensuring the survival of the family lineage (*casa*) than social climbing, of transmitting it to one's descendants and of constructing its permanence for all time.

The rich and the poor did not have the same type of relationship with things. Also, women and men did not comport themselves toward goods in the same way. The contrast between these different attitudes toward goods was more than just a question of amount and quality of goods that they could own, it was frequently about differences of taste and style. Hence the data that emerge from such comparisons does not support the hypothesis that consumption was about emulating the nobility. Rather, this data help to clarify the usefulness of concepts such as "gusto for things" in looking at people's relationship with their possessions.

Comparing the levels of wealth of men and women against the quantity of furniture and other movable objects that filled their rooms demonstrates that the relationship between income and number of goods was not linear: women were poorer than men of the same social standing, yet their rooms were filled with more things.[26] This apparent contradiction between a greater poverty on one hand and a greater accumulation of possessions on the other

hand is an indication, in my opinion, of a different attitude toward objects on the part of women. It bespeaks an attitude not purely utilitarian and not even strictly tied to disposable finances; rather, I would define it as a particular pleasure in possessing domestic objects, of surrounding oneself with them and saving them. Often these furnishings were fairly poor, shabby, and of bad quality, yet they were nevertheless conserved with care—not sold, rented, or put up to pawn—to give material concreteness to their owner's presence in the world.[27] Thus despite the mediocre quality of these goods, this type of ownership is pregnant with meaning for the historian.

Preserving a thing meant renouncing its function of being exchangeable. To acquire an object that is not strictly useful, such as a painting or a decorative trinket, sacrifices resources, preventing them from being used in an alternate way.[28] All of this goes to creating greater meaning and value. But what then is the price of doing this and who is allowed to pay it? Again the problem goes much further than who has the economic means. To be able to imbue an item with more than its market value requires a sense, derived from social or economic stability, of feeling justified in doing such a thing. But beyond this a person also must have the cultural capital that permits him or her to create of a transcendent object. The destiny of objects removed from their normal uses is, as Pomian has said, to be transformed into semiophores and to be put on the same level as the sacred, the beautiful, and other analogous, abstract concepts. This is true for everyone who maintains a valued object in such a way. However, the levels of legitimation that different categories of people enjoyed were not equal. The ability to give abstract meaning to an object depends, in part, on the financial means the owner commands, but above all, on the social and cultural prestige he or she enjoys. With the same income, a person who is alone and culturally deprived will find it more difficult to sacrifice the utility of an object on the altar of beauty. Only the invisible worlds equipped with a universally recognized value, like the sacred, can legitimate the renunciation of the utility of goods. Thus women, who were in general less wealthy and less educated than men of their same social status, decorated their walls with an equally great number of paintings, but more often chose paintings with sacred rather than secular themes. Women filled their homes with furniture, rather than ornaments, reflecting a solid perpetuation of the family lineage instead of a pursuit of the exotic or the fashionable. This practice does not exclude taking pleasure in beauty, which continued to manifest itself in a taste for decoration, but limited the search for "novelty," a pursuit of which women were frequently accused.[29] Only people without any hindrances—economic, social, or cultural—could

allow themselves the necessary level of freedom to sacrifice utility purely for the purpose of pleasure.

Due to the nature of the usable documents, constituted essentially of private sources—inventories, account books, memoirs, and correspondence—research on consumers has privileged the elites—precisely the social group that left private archives. My goal in this work has been to extend the field of inquiry, including in the analysis representatives of every social level, provided that they are sufficiently above the poverty line to make use of a notary. Hence my work has been based on about eighty inventories, out of which only two—Giustiniani and Santacroce—are from members of the aristocracy. Meanwhile, all the other inventories concern goods of people from the middling class, that is, lawyers, merchants, and artisans, chosen at random from the notarial registers.[30] Another source base has been about twenty books of family memoirs and records of expenses. All of these documents are easily found in the Archivio di Stato of Rome. Finally, I have also made use of about one hundred last wills and testaments from men and women of the middling class, along with those of a few more well known collectors.[31] I have enriched this body of material with other nonserial documentation, for example, the correspondence of a consistory lawyer. My goal has been to avoid overrepresenting the nobility, including the decision not to compare aristocratic inventories with those of people from other social strata. However, to understand what type of rapport all ranks of people—both nobles and nonnobles—entertained with their things, it seemed helpful to use as a model the great private collections. These collectors have often left accurate documentary testimony on the subject of their holdings. In fact, their care in describing their belongings is emblematic of the new "gusto for things," which is made explicit in nearly all of their declarations on the subject. This appetite for objects traces in some respects as far back as Petrarch, who compared his books to fine vases or tapestries and praised their value as objects capable of materializing in themselves nobility and a high degree of splendor.[32] However, the testimonies of collectors such as Jacomo Contarini and many others have left for us the clearest assertion of the value contemporaries attributed to the investment of time and money in the systematic accumulation of objects. By their own admission, the sacrifice of resources on which their collections were based gave life to something much more precious: honor, fame, and universal recognition. They transformed their wealth into objects removed from daily utility, whose purpose was simply to be exposed to view. However, these resources of money and time were not uselessly employed in unproductive tasks; rather, they created a kind of

value different from and greater than economic worth. These objects were now capable of conferring prestige on the owner during life and assuring the permanence of his legacy after death.

The men and women of the middling class whom I will treat in this book were not equally as well equipped as the aristocracy to carry out the task of imbuing an object with transcendental meaning: they had neither the financial nor the cultural means to do so. Yet even these people were inclined to renounce the utility of an object in the name of something greater.

CHAPTER ONE

The Function of Goods

According to Mary Douglas, goods serve to communicate, to give meaning to the world. Later scholars of material culture agree with her.[1] But goods, even consumer goods, can also be exchanged and can thereby fulfill a different task: not to fix meanings, but to make exchange possible.

The nature of goods varies according to their function. First, as objects for exchange, goods constitute a pure means to an end. They are only an instrument for obtaining other goods. Their value in this situation is essentially economic and coincides with that of exchange; they are dollar-equivalent goods. Second, as objects for exchange, goods can nonetheless constitute an instrument not for obtaining other goods but for procuring services, that is, for repaying the work done by other people. In this case their value continues to be essentially economic, although there is often a relational value involved as well; that is, they help create a relationship that is realized through the exchange. Third, as objects "kept temporarily or permanently outside the ambit of economic activity, subject to special protection," goods constitute an end in themselves. Here the purpose of acquisition is not exchange, but possession.[2] Their value is essentially symbolic and does not necessarily coincide with that of exchange, from which it may often be remarkably detached. And last, even these objects can be transformed again into commodities and reenter the market through circulation. More often, however, they do so under special conditions that reflect their preceding status and differ from the rules that regulate the exchange of other goods.

Historically, it is well known that these various functions existed simultaneously, as they still do. Nevertheless, the specific prevalence of one or another function has varied over time due to changes in the social and economic

structure of society.[3] The connection between the nature of goods and the development of a monetary economy is an important factor. The diffusion of money and its ever-expanding capillary circulation has liberated goods from their function as a means of exchange. This development has permitted social actors to give greater attention to the symbolic characteristics of things, to their secondary function of creating meaning and objectifying the identity of their owners.[4]

The scarcity of money, especially small coinage, and the problems deriving from a limited circulation of currency were facts of life for preindustrial Europe. Even in early modern Italy, complaints never ceased about "the shortage of specie and presence of regions (geographic or social) in which the shortage of money was chronic."[5] Only a small part of a state's monetary production was in bullion or copper, that is, in small change. As a result, most of the population was excluded from participating in the circulation of money.[6] Speculation and secret devaluations also affected the physical circulation of money, which one avoided handling directly so as "not to risk subjecting oneself to want, or falling prey to dim-wits and flimflams."[7]

The scarcity of money did not impede the functioning of the market, however, which developed because of actors' ability to find multiple ways of dealing with this bottleneck. The most widespread and important of these expedients was probably the recourse to credit. From the greatest international bankers to the most modest local artisans, all mercantile circles learned how to circumvent the problems with monetary circulation through the creation of convenient networks of debt and credit, in which assets and liabilities were settled on paper according to a complex system of compensation.[8]

At the level of social practice, what little information we possess confirms that money was scarce and reliance on credit was very common. For instance, a study of London's mercantile community at the end of the seventeenth century—and therefore of the social group that enjoyed the greatest access to genuine money—has demonstrated that transactions in currency amounted to only a fifth of the value of credit transactions. Another piece of evidence comes from documents regarding the world of things. The study of a large number of postmortem inventories from various parts of seventeenth-century England has shown just how small the reserves of currency kept in the household were, and above all their rarity: only one inventory out of two, and in some regions only one out of three, mention any money. Analogous evidence comes from the sample of seventy-six Roman inventories on which my research is based: in only eight cases was currency mentioned, while at least one piece of silverware was present in thirty-three cases and one of gold in twenty-eight cases.

Furthermore, money was not the only means of payment. Ruggiero Romano and Ugo Tucci have long ago dismantled the notion that there was a strict opposition between the direct exchange of things and exchange mediated by money. The natural economy and the monetary economy are not mutually exclusive but have existed and continue to exist together in complicated ways. For instance, not only agricultural wages but urban ones as well were often paid partly in money and partly in kind. Analysis of the modes of payment current in the cities of the ancien régime shows that the same was true for many kinds of commodities.[9] Even an operation of high finance could base itself on objects rather than on money, at least in part: according to Federico Chabod, a loan contract stipulated in 1559 between the Duke of Sessa and the Genoese banker Leonardo Spinola called for 180,000 lire in currency and 70,000 lire in silk cloth.[10]

This last example demonstrates how objects can function directly as money. In many cases they can also constitute a reserve of wealth, either to use as is or to convert into money in times of need. This implies that to give away, sell, or pawn a material object are easy operations and that there is a market for secondhand goods able to absorb them fairly quickly. But in these cases one must also be prepared to get rid of such objects without too much hesitation. Anthropological studies, such as the now-classic *Trousseau as Treasure* by Jane Schneider or more recent scholarship on northwestern India, have shown how this works with women's goods. In Sicily as in India, dowries and dotal jewelry constitute the most widespread form of savings because of their capacity to be transformed quickly into cash, especially through pawning.[11]

The little that we know about the circulation of women's goods in preindustrial Europe fully confirms this evidence.[12] It is not difficult to find women who in their last wills and testaments asked their executors to redeem jewelry deposited in the Monte di Pietà, or husbands who requested the same thing with their wives' dotal jewelry, or women who left pawn tickets to their heirs for lack of better options.[13]

Credit therefore was an obvious means of counteracting the scarcity of money, but so too was the monetary use of things, whether agricultural products or manufactured goods. In these cases, it was easy to change the social valence of a transaction, transforming it from a necessary payment to an act of liberality. Renaissance writers were well aware of the fact that the

gift of an object usually constituted a payment. In his five brief tracts on the use of money, for instance, Giovanni Pontano attentively reviewed all the possible ways of giving gifts and noted that the virtue of liberality "consists in employing the right measure in giving money and cannot exist without choosing wisely, [which in turn consists] of considering accurately what one gives, how much one gives, and when, how, and why one gives."[14] Citing the example of Alexander the Great, Pontano likened the gifts of money distributed to soldiers to the food distributed to the people, showing clearly that he did not distinguish between gift and payment.[15] In *De splendore* Pontano alluded explicitly to the use of objects as payment when he noted that "movable goods must be acquired by a splendid man for honest uses, so that he can avail himself of them when necessary and also, when reason so counsels, give them away, sometimes in great quantities."[16]

Goods as Money

Objects can thus serve to buy other objects, repay a service, or obtain money on credit. The documents I have looked at show how all three of these possible functions were exploited in Renaissance and baroque Rome. Private correspondence, postmortem inventories, and account books prove that many payments were made in kind and that many objects were used primarily for obtaining money.

Wills offer the clearest evidence for this phenomenon. Often, the testator ordered that all of his or her most precious movable goods—furniture, silver, jewelry, and more—be quickly sold and the revenue immediately invested in venal offices, credit bonds, shares of the public debt, or other titles of credit. For instance, when the merchant Attilio Casini composed his will in 1623, he ordered that all his silver and other valuables be sold and that with the yield "one buy the office of Knight of the Lily for my son, Signor Carlo Casini, so that he too can have an office similar to the ones which my other two sons have."[17] For their owners these objects served above all to substantiate or materialize economic value. They represented a treasury to be transmitted to future generations not as objects laden with symbolic and emotional values but as monetary equivalents.

Bequests of this type were made by people of differing status and social condition: respectable women and courtesans, artisans and merchants, lawyers and public officials, commoners and aristocrats, patriarchs and individuals without children. All of them intended to guarantee the future of their heirs by converting objects, superfluous in the final analysis, into solid financial returns.[18] At the beginning of the seventeenth century, even the Marquis Vincenzo Giustiniani, who as a collector and patron of the arts nourished a special reverence for artistic goods such as paintings, sculptures, and tapestries, nonetheless expressed disdain for the furniture, silver, and jewelry he had accumulated in the course of his life. In his 1631 will he ordered that right after his death his heirs should sell "all the silver . . . in my own rooms and those of my consort, Signora Eugenia, and in all the other rooms of my palazzo." In addition, they were to sell

> all my furniture, furnishings, and household goods . . . including my tapestries, silk, and gold cloth as well as my curtains, bed palls, tents, covers, rugs, and drapes . . . of gold, silk, wool, linen and cotton, and my mattresses, and also my leather wall hangings, pavilions, and netted bed curtains, and stuff of all kinds and of differing value.

Finally, he requested that they sell "all my jewels and noble vases."[19]

These precious fabrics and furnishings did not acquire any special value despite having been used by their owner and having been right in front of his eyes for so many years.[20] Exceptions to this general rule occurred only to prevent the family palace from being left unfurnished. The palace, unlike its contents, was clearly invested with a value that was more than economic. Giustiniani exempted from sale "all hangings of silk, leather, or other material that are in use or affixed to the walls of the palace . . . and all the leather chairs, sideboards, and walnut tables . . . lest my palace be left empty and naked."[21]

Almost a century later, another aristocrat as cultivated and art loving as Giustiniani did not hesitate to pawn or sell most of his young and elegant daughter-in-law's jewelry. A list of the "different jewels pertaining to the portion of the most illustrious Marquise Maria Isabella Vecchiarelli Santacroce," enumerating the necklaces, pendants, rings, diamonds, pearls, and other precious stones of the young woman's dowry, reveals their fate in the few years between her marriage (1699) and the death of her father-in-law, Antonio Santacroce (1707).[22] We learn that a diamond cross worth 300 scudi "was unmade, and six large diamonds and ten small ones were removed to put around a bracelet given to the Marquise Davia, daughter of the Marquis Filippo Bentivoglio, on the occasion of her nuptials," that a pair of pendants with two diamonds each was pawned to the Monte di Pietà, and that a "rosette of nine diamonds was sold to the buyer of the Monte di Pietà, where they had been pawned." Many other jewels were sold, given, or pawned to

the Monte: of the twenty-seven pieces specified in the list, only eight were still in the possession of their original owner. The same fate befell two candlestick holders, an inkwell, some articles for her dressing room, and various other pieces of silver given in the dowry.[23]

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Santacroce family was definitely not in decline. An uncle had just been named cardinal and made governor of Viterbo, and the heir of the family patrimony—Maria Isabella's husband—had been appointed "intimate councillor of state" to the emperor, for which he spent three years in Vienna and participated fully in the life of the court.[24] The sale of some of Maria Isabella's dowry goods was therefore not a sad consequence of grave financial difficulties. As I noted earlier, a basic function of dowry goods was rapid conversion into money, thereby permitting the payment of debts or the launching of new investments.[25] Evidently, this also applied to personal objects that were not laden with the kind of emotional values that prompted one to preserve them as long as possible and thus exclude them from the market. Even so, at least in the case of the Santacroce family, this cold-blooded rapport with one's personal effects or indifference toward their value as objects was not universal but characterized above all those individuals who, like the father-in-law who received jewelry in his custody, enjoyed only a distant relationship with these things. In contrast, the young daughter-in-law offers one of the best examples of a different attitude, as I will discuss much later.

Given how easy it was to get rid of the family jewelry, there was even less hesitation in selling one's own clothing, especially when age or life circumstances rendered them unsuitable to wear. In this case, too, Pontano's potential readers knew that it was right to do so. In one of his treatises on the social virtues he wrote,

> It is not appropriate for a splendid man to let his clothes get old, because old things cannot be splendid. Therefore, before they lose their sheen, he must transform them into acts of generosity: he must give them to his friends, acquaintances, or anyone else who merits recognition.[26]

Thus in 1634 a mature widow from Orvieto entrusted a Jewish secondhand dealer from Rome to sell some of her clothing and at the same time cautioned her son, who also resided in Rome, to keep an eye on the whole affair. "If he does not get twenty scudi for this white garment," she wrote in her first letter, "he could unload it for eighteen . . . and I reminded him to notify me when he manages to sell the long brocade gown"[27] Some time later, she wanted to be apprised "whether the white garment was sold" and asked that he make sure "that it not be lent outside [of Rome]."[28]

In Rome as elsewhere, traces of the sale of garments are very easy to find. There is no lack of evidence regarding the purchase of secondhand clothes, even by well-off people, or more frequently of their rental, especially when dealing with special garments.[29] Postmortem inventories or those drawn up for guardianship often contain estimates of various kinds of clothing made by professionals in the field—that is, by secondhand dealers—with the avowed aim of selling them.[30] Surviving account books, almost exclusively those of noble families, confirm this practice. A receipt for payment informs us that in 1659 Prince Giustiniani sold forty *canne* of cloth, "all infested with termites and torn in various places."[31] Despite their poor state of preservation, the prince received 20 scudi for them, which was a respectable sum, considering that that the nine-diamond rosette of the young Marquise Santacroce sold for 56.60 scudi. Similarly, a note in the account books of the Spada family shows that the Marquis Orazio obtained 21 scudi from the sale of a damask pavilion.[32]

All objects—not only precious ones—were easily sold on the market, and they retained some financial value even when they were used or ruined.[33] This explains the ease with which they were employed as a direct means of payment, without ever having been transformed into money. Currency was still all too rare.

The Marquis Santacroce's payment book demonstrates how to reduce the bills of various outfitters by giving something old in exchange for a new object. Thanks to the sale of thirty-nine pairs of used and ratty breeches and seven cloth jackets, which the Marquis evidently no longer needed, he reduced his bill with the tailor Israele di Tivoli by 20 percent, from 33.12 to 26.52 scudi. The same thing happened with the carriage maker who consented to take back old carriage seats and thus lowered the price of the new ones from 52 to 40 scudi. Naturally, the same was also true for the bills of the locksmith, the coppersmith, the bit maker, the saddle maker, and so forth.[34]

Agricultural goods and foodstuffs discharged a monetary function to an even greater extent than clothing and objects. Orvieto's widow, who sold her garments, was a landowner and as such continually faced the problem of bringing her produce to market. Her willingness to send money to her son, who practiced law in Rome, was linked to the price she could get for the grain, olive oil, and hemp her farms produced. As she wrote in one letter, for the moment she could not send money because "everything here is so cheap

that it is not possible to sell anything."[35] "Wait for the bill of exchange so that you could send money to him," she commented in another letter. "And indeed today I sold 296 lire of hemp because the *paoli* were thirty-seven for every hundred, although our partner will get his share of this . . . and I have gotten ten scudi and ninety-five *baiocchi*, from which tomorrow it will be necessary to give the treasurer seven scudi."[36] "Today I sold four jugs of olive oil because they were selling for thirty-four *giulii* per jug," she announced in a third letter.[37] The money she was sending, she declared in a fourth, "I took from the wine I sold, and also partly from the pigs that were sold."[38]

Behind every bit of money this woman scraped together lay the concrete image of the agricultural product with which it had been exchanged. Naturally, whenever possible, she and her son preferred to use their produce directly to pay debts or make gifts. From Rome the young man exhorted her not to worry about the scarcity of money and the expenses she faced.[39] After all, even the payment of their agent in Orvieto did not amount to much, since "one fights for twenty years over a *staio* of grain." He also asked her to pay the bill of their courier with "some wine, hemp, or oil."[40]

The monetary use of goods was even theorized. At the end of the sixteenth century, for example, Cesare Evitascandali's *Dialogo del maestro di casa* suggested stocking up on everything when prices are at their lowest, so that "things which are about to go bad can be used to pay artisans that serve the house and to settle accounts for things they sold and their invoices."[41] Several decades later the account books of the Duchess Sforza Cesarini demonstrate that the custom of paying in agricultural produce was still thriving. The duchess willingly paid in grain and especially in bread and charcoal. The recipients of these payments in kind were tradesmen of various types, from a secondhand cloth dealer and a Jewish tailor to a locksmith, wood carver, cobbler, carpenter, and even an artist who regularly accepted charcoal as payment for his paintings of flowers. To this list we could add a silversmith, an apothecary, a bookseller, and the duchess's French tailor.[42] Payments in kind were not destined only for the poorest or weakest tradesmen but also went to respectable members of the middling classes.

The Santacroce family's account books illustrate the triangle that trade made possible with this system of payment in money-equivalent goods.[43] The landowner furnished grain to a baker, who in turn furnished bread to an artisan who lent his services or made things for the landowner. This proprietor paid the artisan in bread, to be taken on credit from the baker, who received the grain on credit. Reciprocal debts were thus settled in kind, without money ever changing hands.

TABLE 1.1 Livia Sforza Cesarini's expenditures, January 1689

RECIPIENT	ITEM	VALUE	MODE OF PAYMENT
	silk stockings, thread, and other things for my use	10	
first cook	reimbursement	47.21	
washerwoman from Genzano	laundry done and to be done		1 *rubbia* of grain
Jacob Tedesco, Jew	for things given and work done	40	in charcoal
driver	wages	1.5	
brazier	work	50	
cobbler	shoes made and to be made for the duke	6	
cook	reimbursement	20	
vintner	pruning work	5	
	grafting taken by the piece at Genzano	4	
vintner	plants from the vineyard	4	
guard	wages for 4 months	7.2	
man from Aquila	road repaired at Genzano	50	
vintner	hay for cows	8.8	
accountant	reimbursement	12	
mason from Genzano	work	13.5	3 *rubbio* of grain (4.5 scudi) per *rubbio*
stableman	heart and hemp seeds for birds	2.1	
driver		3.5	in bread and flour
driver	transporting wine	3.5	

TABLE 1.1 *Continued*

RECIPIENT	ITEM	VALUE	MODE OF PAYMENT
barber	beard shaving done and to be done on the duke my consort	10	in charcoal
accountant	reimbursement for the tax and transport of grain	10.02	
wood-carver	work	25	in charcoal
Angelo di Cavi, Jew	settling the bill		in 67 dozen of bread
locksmith	work	30	
herald	expenses incurred in taking possession of various things	40	in charcoal
secretary	reimbursement	10.17	
steward	reimbursement	13.1	
carpenter	chest of drawers for my use	11	
	cut staves	1.45	
	staves	4.2	
The Signori Bernini	interest on credit bonds of 20,000 scudi (6 months)	325	
ironworker	work	1.4	
ironworker	work		2.5 *rubbio* in grain
accountant	reimbursement	30	
	staves for the vineyard	6.8	
—	—	3	
	license for moving the body of Monsignor	3	
	thread and silk	5	

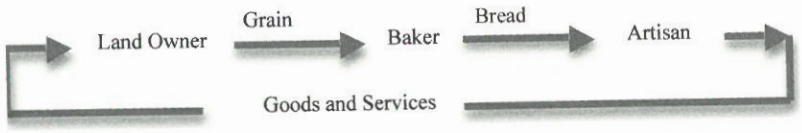
TABLE 1.1 *Continued*

RECIPIENT	ITEM	VALUE	MODE OF PAYMENT
	work	25	
	work	3	in bread
the nuns of St. Urbano	charity		3 dozen of bread
sister Felice Maria Cesarini		60	
washerwoman of Rome	December's laundry	5	
		4	
The Signori Bernini	interest on credit bonds of 4,000 scudi (6 months)	65	
	wages for 3 months	6	
[. . .], Jew	mourning clothes given at the death of Monsignor Sforza	9	from the Monte di Pietà
[. . .], Jew	mourning clothes given at the death of Monsignor Sforza	24	
	reimbursements for our table	25	
brazier		50	in charcoal
	750 plants for the vineyards of Rome and Genzano	3.75	
silversmith			150 dozen of bread
accountant	reimbursement for legal expenses	10	
apothecary	stuff for the house	60	in charcoal

TABLE 1.1 *Continued*

RECIPIENT	ITEM	VALUE	MODE OF PAYMENT
archivist of the Riccia family	copies	3.15	
Giuseppe Barberi, painter	two large paintings of flowers	3	in charcoal
Giuseppe Barberi, painter	two large paintings of flowers	3	
Benedetto Guidetti, painter		4	in charcoal

Aside from personal objects and agriculture produce, even domestic production could be aimed more at exchange than personal consumption. Inventories and account books show that domestic spinning and weaving were still very common throughout the entire seventeenth century. But that does not mean that spun flax and hemp and "coarse household fabrics" were destined to end up in the family linen closet. On the contrary, there existed a market for these products. They could be exchanged for money or, more often, for spun thread or fabric of better quality. At the beginning of summer, for example, when even the frugal widow of Orvieto felt the need for a fresher outfit, she prudently decided to exchange six scudi's worth of coarse cloth for a discount on the price of "certain light material" for a gown and a petticoat: the monetary expense accordingly decreased from 11.25 to only 5 scudi.[44] Other account books, which I will treat more fully later, reveal that this was a widespread practice.



Gifts

Apart from meeting payments, farm produce was also useful for making gifts. "Our Lord the Pope is expected at Castello on Sunday," wrote Carlo Cartari to his mother, "and I think it's a good idea that you send a case of wine to give to him."[45] When the wine finally arrived in Rome, accompanied by the woman's suggestions about how to distribute it, the young man did not fail "to give a full report" of his actions. He gave "twenty flasks to Our Lord, twenty to our Lord Cardinal Patron, twelve to Monsignor Fausto, twelve to Monsignor Boccabella, eight to the lawyer with whom I'm studying this August, six to Father Cherubino, and eight to the knight Giuseppino in recompense for the colors for the painting of our uncle."[46] He soon clarified the purpose of some of these presents: "On Wednesday," said the young man, "I went to present wine to Our Lord, who deigned to accept it with his usual kindness. . . . He asked how my sister was, and I replied that she was well and that she recommended her husband, Signor Horatio, to His Holiness. His Holiness replied that it was necessary to provide for him, which he repeated three or four times with unwonted affection."[47]

The use of payments and gifts in kind was not restricted to landowners. In fact, the practice was quite widespread among city dwellers as well. For instance, the "Memorandum on the marriage of Aurelio Antonio Baldini and Madonna Laura Sarda," describes, day by day, all the phases of their engagement and all the ceremonies that accompanied it, including the gifts the groom presented almost daily to his bride. The diary begins on Thursday, May 6, 1593, when "at almost four o'clock in the afternoon[48] . . . they got engaged, that is, they promised to take each other as husband and wife. . . . I touched her hand and the dowry contract was drawn up and she gave me one of her rings from which to make a new one to marry her with." On Friday and Saturday testimony was taken about the free status of both to marry, and on Sunday Aurelio sent to "Madonna Laura four quails and a piece of veal, all of which cost four *giuli.*" On the following Thursday—May 13—the young man brought a salesman to the girl's house "with many pieces of velvet and with the tailor, Messer Geronimo." One of the pieces met with the woman's approval and was bought for twenty scudi. On Friday the fourteenth, Aurelio brought a fish "which cost eighteen *baiocchi*," and on Saturday the sixteenth "a quarter of a little goat and a castrated lamb that cost sixteen *baiocchi.*" In the meantime he ordered the ring: "I had the ruby reset and polished, which cost fourteen *giuli* to do, as well as two for varnish, one for foil, and one for the six extra grains of gold I had put in." On the next Friday he gave another fish, "a pike that cost nineteen *baiocchi*," and in the six following days in quick succession came various "pounds of fruit," "a nut cake and a heart of marzipan," "two roast turtledoves," and a pair of slippers and shoes. Finally, on May 24, Aurelio sent a boy servant to his bride's house

with the coach, Madonna Laura, and his sister, the servant and nun Messer Montiero around Santa Maria del Popolo. Messers Iacomo, Messer Montiero, and I went there and took communion, and then we were married by Fra Ioannino. . . . Then we got into the coach . . . and returned to the house. . . . I dined, supped, and came back home to sleep and brought with me a silver cup, silver fork, two pieces of coral, a glass cup, a glass shuttle, a big knife, and a big fork to cut with while eating, not to mention the fruit, veal, peas and other things I had eaten there.[49]

In other words, Aurelio wanted to recoup his wedding expenses.

As one can see, in the course of a brief engagement, gifts of food were very common. Yet Aurelio, who was a city dweller by origin, did not take them from his own lands. Time after time he had to buy them and accurately record all of their prices.

In 1593, among members of the middling class the gift of a fish or a quarter of a goat was not considered coarse or inelegant. In 1628, in curial circles, gifts of food were equally widespread, even if marzipan cakes, candies, and other delicacies of the sort were preferred.[50] But already a man as refined as Cassiano dal Pozzo recognized that it was a good rule not to give "edible stuff" to important people and therefore avoided sending "to the Palace" the "great box, or rather chest, of most beautiful and delicate plums" that came from the "most delicious garden" of Giovan Battista Doni.[51] And in 1702–3, even if great aristocrats continued to exchange gifts of this kind among themselves, they chose delicate and rare foods, such as pheasant, melons, bass, tuna from Terracina, confections, candies, rose liqueur, and even a sea turtle.[52] They also paid a lot of attention to the food's appearance. In the account books of the steward of the Marquis Santacroce, expenses for food gifts were accompanied by the costs of "fixing them up," arranging them "like a triumphal arch," or decorating them with flowers.[53]

The marriage between Aurelio and Laura took place in 1593. The concrete, rather unfashionable nature of the gifts the man presented to his fiancée could therefore be explained by the absence in the market of more sophisticated objects as equally affordable as a fish or a quarter of goat. But an explanation that depended on the small size of the market would be much less convincing for the beginning of the seventeenth century. The persistence of this traditional custom must be accounted for in another way.

In any case, food gifts were not out of fashion. Further proof may be found in the diary Francesco Maria Febei kept in the trimester during which he served as conservator of Rome. The text is very illuminating because Febei's

interest lay precisely in the ceremonies that accompanied his assumption of office, the subsequent visits to the papal authorities, and the gifts that were exchanged on these occasions. Just after election, the three new conservators were received by the cardinal chamberlain, who greeted them while remaining in bed and made them sit on his right side, to underscore his own superiority in the hierarchy while at the same time conceding some signs of respect (such as giving them the right side of his body, considered more dignified to face than the left). On the next day a solemn mass was celebrated in Santa Maria in Aracoeli, where "a tunic-wearing priest gave a silk flower to each of us." Other ceremonies were held over the following days, and the conservators received various fish heads decorated with rosemary and carnations as signs of homage. When the Congregation of the Campidoglio (Capitol) convened, "in the middle of the Congregation they gave out fresh water, chocolate, and Savoy cookies, and they brought a silver platter with a silk handkerchief the color of coffee and a silver teaspoon to us four, namely, the conservators and the prior, and to the others they gave the platter with a similar teaspoon but without the silk handkerchief." When the nuns of San Lorenzo in Panisperna wanted to show their devotion to the supreme magistrates of the Capitol, they sent a tub with ten jars of preserves and a silk flower. The commentaries on the ceremonies and gifts constitute the focal point of the short diary, which concluded with this disappointed reflection:

With expenditures on tips and other things, the profit was very small, not even reaching 50 scudi, since it was 6.40 less [i.e., 43.6 scudi]. The fish heads that I expected to have in great quantity only amounted to 21, namely:

platters heads	17
sea bass heads	03
sturgeon heads	01
	21

beautiful silk flowers	6
bowls of pasta	2
jars of preserves	1
saints made of paper or silk	6
a drawing of St. Dominic	
a garment of Carmine	
loaves of bread from five places[54]	

The compensatory function of gifts is even clearer in other cases. Lavinia Cartari, who apparently did not have the greatest faith in her son's competence when it came to domestic matters, selected a nun who was a relative of hers to watch over the family possessions in Rome. Cartari was well aware that every service demanded a payment: "Remember to send something for carnival for Sister Alessandra," she wrote in February, "so that she pays more attention to our stuff."[55] In August she insisted that he visit Sister Alessandra to remind her to take care of "the clothes that usually suffer from ringworm, as well as our other things."[56]

People sold their personal objects for money without regret. Money in its turn preserved the obvious imprint of the agricultural products—olive oil, wine, grain, hemp, pork, and such—against which it was exchanged. And finally, to close the circle, agricultural products bought in the market were systematically returned to their monetary equivalents. There was a marked continuity between goods and money that united them and made the boundaries between their functions rather fluid.

Objects Removed from Exchange

If some goods were exchanged for money without regret, others were jealously guarded, that is, willingly removed from "the normal circuits of economic life."[57] The most obvious example would be land, real estate par excellence. But I have chosen to study city dwellers and have put the problem of their potential rural landownership into the background. My analysis will therefore focus on that other category of real estate, city buildings, and the status of the family palace in particular.[58] That this was considered inalienable should not be surprising. The immobilization of resources required for the construction of an "honorable house" involved a different attitude to the world of goods and how to conserve them. Fynes Moryson, who traveled across Europe between 1591 and 1595, observed that Italians "bestow their money in stable things, to serve their posteritie."[59]

The Renaissance passion for building that infected princes and citizens alike was an indication of the powerful symbolism that architecture, both public and private, could manifest.[60] Contemporaries were well aware of the ostentatious implications of city palaces and the advantages investing in buildings could offer from this point of view compared to other types of real estate. As Michelangelo noted, "A noble house in the city brings much honor because it is more visible than other possessions."[61]

In Rome this process began slightly later than in Florence and was promoted by the behavior of popes, cardinal-nephews, and the other grand prelates of the curia.[62] The fever for construction quickly struck the increasingly numerous families of the minor nobility, who experimented on their own houses to make them conform to the new standards for upper-class residences. The family thereby came to identify itself—and from a lexical point of view, even confuse itself—with the "house" (*casa*), the building in which it dwelt, and even with the actual site on which the house stood. This development is particularly well documented in the case of some Roman lineages such as the Del Cinque, the Altieri, the Cenci, and also those of transplants such as the Pamphili.

From 1570 the Del Cinque transformed the old houses they owned in front of the Ponte Sisto in Trastevere into a single building that could truly be described as a palace. They immediately instituted a *fedecommesso*, which safeguarded its perpetual inalienability.[63] Some generations later the Del Cinque were struck by a series of financial bankruptcies and were forced to retire to the countryside to trim their expenses. This change in lifestyle was nonetheless insufficient to set them on a sound footing. A long-drawn-out series of battles with their creditors ensued, during which they made every effort possible to protect their palace, which represented the ultimate symbol of social distinction. In fact, the family was quite impoverished and was often excluded from lists of nobility. Their only hope for redemption rested on their house: "It is enough to visit their old residence," says one source, "and to recall that the street is called Del Cinque," to recognize their right to claim nobility.[64]

The palace constituted the bedrock of family identity for the Altieri as well. A text from the first half of the seventeenth century states that "the nobility and antiquity of this lineage can easily be observed in the name of a famous piazza in the Pigna Quarter. The Altieri family has lived in the Piazza degli Altieri for more than 300 years."[65] Similarly, it was said of the Cenci that the family residence "gives them great nobility, since all their houses are connected in the Regola Quarter with a church in the middle that is under their legal patronage and is called the Monte de Cenci." In 1555, they too instituted a *fedecommesso*.[66]

The immigrant Pamphili family, who arrived in Rome from Gubbio toward the end of the fifteenth century, was firmly ensconced in the Parione Quarter. They began to build ties to Roman families through a series of marriage alliances and a tenacious policy of house construction. Following the pattern we have already noted, they connected a series of contiguous houses they acquired between Piazza Pasquino and Piazza Navona and thereby

transformed them into a palace. The house was further enlarged and embellished until it became the current Palazzo Pamphili after Giovanni Battista was elected pope in 1644.[67] The coats of arms placed on facades further invested the palace with the family's identity. As such, the palace had to be defended and placed beyond the dangers of sale or dispersal.[68] That is why they were incorporated into *fedecommessi* or locked into perpetual inalienability.

We have already observed that the furniture and movable goods stored inside the palace were not subject to the same regime of preservation. Nonetheless, it was not rare for a testator to name a specific household object to bequeath to a beloved heir, especially when dealing with extraordinary objects the owner wished to rescue from anonymity. To take one example, Gregorio Giulianelli left "a show clock with its alarm and all its parts," to a friend.[69] In another instance, Marcantonio Vignolio gave the "large, exquisite porcelain bowl with a big plate," to the executor of his will "so that he takes joy in it through love of me."[70]

A separate discourse was used for objects that were considered collectible. In this arena, all owners nourished sentiments similar to those expressed by the Venetian collector Jacomo Contarini, who in 1595 gave the most explicit instructions in his last testament: "One of the dearest things I own is my *studio,* from which all the honors and esteem for my person have come." For that reason he instituted a legacy "for the perpetual preservation of [his] study and books."[71]

The identification of the collector with his collection was also evident in the 1610 will of Ciriaco Mattei, who explained to his heir how he had transformed a rustic vineyard:

> With great expense, care, and time, I have created a garden through having made different statues, columns, carved tables, vases, paintings, and various works of marble. . . . The garden was also very relaxing and enjoyable, and a place for *virtuosi* and of no little reputation when the house was seen. It was visited daily not only by important Roman individuals and people but also by foreigners, with good praise and fame.[72]

It is therefore not surprising that Mattei bound in a *fedecommesso* all the objects of his collection "of whatever quality or value, even if they are not worth much."

Other collectors did the same, including Cardinal Del Monte in his 1626 will[73] and Vincenzo Giustiniani in his will of 1631. As Giustiniani wrote:

> My intention is that all the statues, all the paintings, and everything listed above, which are now present in or which at the time of my death shall be present in my palace . . . my gardens, and my lands at Bassano, and everything else that is in the workshops of sculptors, woodworkers, or painters, or in any other place, remain perpetually to decorate my palaces and gardens for my memory . . . and they cannot ever be sold or alienated in any way, neither in whole, nor in part.[74]

I will treat this matter more fully later in this book.

Objects Not Collected

The removal of some objects from their usual utilitarian function, foregoing exchanging them for money and deciding instead to preserve them, at least for a while, did not only pertain to collections. Even an isolated object, one not part of a larger group, could change its nature. The same people who did not hesitate to exchange some of their goods could jealously protect other ones.

For example, the correspondence between Carlo Cartari, his mother, and her secretary contains not only astute observations on the movement of agricultural prices or the exchange value of agricultural products and objects but also information on seeds, bulbs, the possibilities of procuring potted plants, and pleasant banter about their shared passion for gardening. In the autumn of 1633, Carlo sent bulbs to Orvieto: "There are three hundred and fifty bulbs or more accompanying this [letter], all for the most beautiful tulips, as I already wrote to Signor Angelo. You will do me a big favor by delivering them to him, and at the same time commend them to him, since they are the best that I have. God willing, Signor Girolamo won't see them, because he'd want his share."[75] In her reply the practical Lavinia limited herself to telling her son that "today the secretary planted all of them" and showed herself to be much more worried about the price of paper than impressed with the novelty of the bulbs: "when you write," she advised, "be careful to write in small characters, so that everything fits into one page, since it is costing us too much."[76] But when the bulbs began to flower in the spring, she finally allowed herself a smile:

> The gardener [their nickname for the secretary] says that he now has a lot of flowers, such as white narcissi, double and simple, and also simple yellows, and white and blue diacynths. He enjoys them, as do I,

and out of jealousy always carries the key to the garden in his pocket, but he says for you not to puff yourself up too much about your flowers, because the aforementioned gardener pretends to be their master, rather than other people.[77]

"Now the priceless bulbs are about to flower," noted the son from Rome. "The gardener is paying attention to the flowers," replied the mother, "but he says that those priceless bulbs are keeping themselves shut tight," because so far they had not produced anything.[78] She added: "He begs that you do him the favor of sending six bitter orange plants and would greatly appreciate if among these six there were one or two lemon plants."[79]

In the middle of April came the surprise: the tulips began to flower. The happy woman explained how pleased she was with "these beautiful flowers that your bulbs are making, of which I keep a vase full in my bedroom. Yesterday and today they produced two beautiful flowers of six petals each, one that was red and white and another that was red and yellow, truly beautiful. More and more people have asked the secretary for the bulbs, but he excuses himself by saying that they aren't his, even though they are."[80] Even a prudent matron like Lavinia, always attentive to the concrete side of things, allowed herself to be fascinated by the beauty of the new flowers from the Netherlands and willingly forgot that her son had invested money in buying them. She herself was also ready to spend something for the pure pleasure of her eyes: "Today I was sent by Sister Modesta two beautiful boughs of silk flowers with birds and fruit to keep in the study, and truly they are very beautiful things, although I'm not yet sure what I'll have to pay for them."[81]

The capacity for enjoying the beauty of things was probably fostered by the great respect for objects that Lavinia showed on other occasions. For example, her attention to their intrinsic value, not only their exchange value, is apparent from the care with which she prepared the packets she sent to her son in Rome, the minute detail with which she described all the things she put in each package, and the marks of identification through which he could recognize each of them. Flasks of wine of a certain type "are marked with a red patch at the attachment," those of another "with a white patch,"[82] a "little basket with two pieces of pork sirloin, with thirteen small pieces of sausage and the same number of liver sausages," was bound in a card with "a large C" written above, and so forth.[83]

Equally detailed were the instructions left by Giovanni Maria Contelori, a gentleman of Cesi, to his wife and the other women of the house. When he left the family home to move to Rome to assume office as a collateral judge in the tribunal of the Auditor Camerae, Contelori penned a series of detailed instructions on loose-leaf paper on how to pack the objects that were to be moved and how to secure everything that would remain in the empty house. Clothes, linen, sheets, mattresses, covers, flax and jute fiber for spinning, plates, pots and pans, and leather were packed. There were also

> all the saffron, spices, confectionaries of all kinds . . . the pears that are kept inside, and the apples. . . . All the books for the children could be put into a separate valise or a hand bag on top of the pack animal, so that it could be easily unloaded . . . and look in the little credenza on top of the marble table, where there are certain printed lexicons, other commonplace books in my hand, others which could be useful for students. Among my law books, besides the legal lexicon there is also another lexicon or dictionary for students in quarto. Place them with the books for the children that have two or three lines and [put the children's books aside] so that they can leave them where I want without inconveniencing the pack animal.

Contelori advised the women that when preparing the bags, they should hide their new cloth in the middle over the old bedding, that they put the flax and the jute fiber in different bags, that they not forget the "passerine grapes," the "sack of dry roses," and he suggested that "those pieces that are kept within the basket in the credenza could be used here to accommodate and line the camlets and mockados as well as the wool." Then he exhorted them to take "an inventory of all the books that remain and [send them] with the other inventory that was done for the household things." Finally, he ordered them to make an inventory of everything else and to lock everything up as well as to close the credenzas, cabinets, doors, and windows of the study.[84]

Contelori's concern for objects as such was accompanied by the zeal of the prudent householder for the conservation of his *masserizia*, or household goods.[85] Years later, Carlo Cartari's behavior would demonstrate how the appreciation for aesthetic value and the passion for objects could reach substantially higher registers, about which I will say more in a later chapter. Here I will present other examples of analogous behavior—halfway between utilitarian and contemplative—in which the nature of goods oscillated between monetary equivalence and intrinsic value.

The provisions contained in Dorotea Antolini's will and testament should be interpreted in this sense. Dying without heirs, this aged city dweller, the daughter and granddaughter of lawyers, did not enjoin that all her goods be

sold and the revenue spent on works of charity, but rather she insisted that the objects themselves be transformed into bequests. Thus some of her velvet and brocaded garments, trimmed with gold and silver, were to be made into altarpieces for some of the Roman churches. But the most eloquent legacy was her jewelry: "I leave to the Chiesa del Giesù a jewel which I pawned for seventy scudi, and a diamond necklace which I pawned for fifty scudi, and a diamond ring for one hundred scudi, all three of which I desire be given by my heir to the said fathers for the Madonna di Trapano, to put around the neck of the Blessed Virgin." As with the jewelry, the clothes had also been pawned, and it was the heir's obligation to redeem them. Her personal effects, which in life had been pure cash equivalents and which their owner did not apparently wear very often, in death became goods endowed with an intrinsic value and preserved to decorate altars and sacred images. Their nature as goods underwent a total transformation.

Bequests to friends and servants confirm the woman's intentions. To each she left a relatively significant sum of money, but also a particular object: a silver basket to the executor of the will, an ebony cabinet for the procurator, precious garments for her godmother, household linen for the washerwoman, skirts to poor mendicant women, and so forth. Some of these goods, such as the silver basket, had been pawned. The bequest of an object did not serve to supply a want of hard currency, therefore, but should be understood explicitly as the legacy of a singularized good. The good assumed particular value through having belonged to the dead woman, and often this connection was emphasized with a succinct biography of the object in question.[86] When she wanted her possessions to lose their meaning as things and become merely money-equivalent objects, Dorotea explicitly ordered her executors "to sell all my books, spiritual and temporal, and give the profit to the poor."

Many years earlier, Cardinal Benedetto Giustiniani behaved like Dorotea rather than his nephew Vincenzo, leaving to a "dependent" "the worked leather from Spain that is in the room in front of my chapel, a coaster, two big, simple candle holders, and the bed of red damask which was bought in Bologna." To Cardinal Montalto, his benefactor, he left "*for my memory* my round painting of the Annunciation by Parmigianino," and to the executor of his will "my round painting of the Madonna by Giulio Romano."[87] Further evidence that these were not isolated acts comes from many other wills of both men and women, from the very rich, like a noble Genoese cleric of the Reverend Camera Apostolica, to those barely making ends meet, such as a woman who bequeathed her pawn tickets rather than the objects themselves.[88]

According to Giovanni Pontano, the practice of offering ever more desirable goods lay halfway between the utilitarian use of goods for their exchange value and the contemplation of their intrinsic merits.[89] This use is well illustrated by the account books of the Santacroce family, where alongside all the goods to be given away, we find "a crystal credenza," a "dolphin wig," and four fans with pen drawings of Naples, Palermo, and other cities that had been sent from Venice.[90] Several decades earlier, an affectionate husband had already lavished a profusion of fashionable gifts upon his wife: sprigs of fake flowers, papier-mâché figurines for a nativity scene, and other trinkets to put on top of the furniture.[91] At the beginning of the century, Cassiano dal Pozzo gave his sister-in-law "a little Indian writing desk" full of "silk and gold flowers," worked to appear "as natural as possible and quite varied," in addition to some "fashionable gifts of glass, such as little pendants, necklaces, and the like."[92]

However, the best-documented fashionable gifts were those offered by Virgilio Spada to his male and especially female relatives. This prelate's passion for organization prompted him to keep his account books in a particularly precise and distinct manner, dedicating at least two sections specifically to gifts.[93] To his granddaughters and to all the other Spadas he was careful not to give "edible stuff." His gifts were silk flowers, books, drawings, coral vases, crowns and reliquaries of gemstones, and also "a clock from Geneva with a case of mountain crystal" and, like Dal Pozzo, "two cabinets adorned with ebony."[94]

The reasons for this development are not immediately apparent. The silver platters covered with a coffee-colored silk tablecloth on which Savoy cookies were arranged for presentation to the conservators of Rome performed the same function as the preserves and fish heads: they too were a way of repaying the magistrates for their work without openly offering them money. Clearly, adding aesthetic value to a gift was not an irrelevant choice, and giving a collectible object was different from giving a useful one. The search for the unknown and never-before-seen but also refined and elegant object constituted an obligation and, at the same time, indicated a worldly awareness that a "donor" could exploit to his or her advantage by transforming, as Carlo Cartari put it, even something as simple as dry prunes "placed on a table on a silver tray" into a "singular thing."[95]

This did not mean that the exchange value was forgotten or that the beauty of a thing always trumped its monetary worth. The two ways of considering objects generally coexisted. Cartari, who wrote the comment about the dry prunes, was often a profound judge of the intrinsic worth of objects. He was

by no means inclined to put them on the same level as their mere exchange value. Yet not even he was scandalized when the winners of a lottery immediately set about selling their prizes, which consisted of a "celebrated diamond ring" and a "crystal mirror."[96]

There remains the problem of why objects won such a privileged position, why they came to be so highly regarded by people as to arouse the desire to preserve them rather than to use them to obtain something else in their place. The care lavished on objects is not significant in itself. Their nature as cash equivalents would have been sufficient to justify such attention. The concern with which Lavinia Cartari urged her son to protect their travel trunks and especially the household linen, which "usually suffered from ringworm, like our other stuff," seems to confirm this hypothesis.

Even the frequency and method with which people monitored their goods could have had more to do with their exchange value than their affective meaning. It is well known that inventories were usually drawn up at the death of somebody through the initiative of heirs who wanted to appraise the entire patrimony. But an inventory was made on many other occasions. Detailed lists of the goods that composed a trousseau often accompanied dowry contracts, and, for legal reasons, their economic value had to be given pride of place. In the event of a possible return of the dowry it was essential that the goods received a monetary appraisal. Similarly, itemized lists of tools and stock merchandise accompanied contracts of sale or rent for shops, inns, taverns, and so forth.

The detailed enumeration of household objects punctuated the private life of families, from noble ones who wanted to know precisely what they were entrusting to their servants, secretaries, or household stewards, to burghers who aspired simply to monitor the state of their movables. As a result, not only do the archives of the Giustiniani, Santacroce, or Spada Veralli families teem with inventories that are both general and specific (of their paintings, silver, wardrobe, library, and so forth), but so too do the archives of the Cartari and the Febei, and other small family archives that have accumulated in the collections of large charitable institutions such as that of the Contelori family. Carlo Cartari recorded the "cloth that my mother gave me," the "paintings that I have in Rome," and the "ornament which my daughter Maria Virginia brought with her to the house of Giulio Febei her spouse." Giovanni Maria Contelori separately cataloged the china, books, things sent to Rome, and what remained at Cesi.[97] The goods that Margherita Betti bequeathed to a hospital were accompanied by four different lists drawn up on four separate dates.[98]

Such attention was certainly linked to the relative scarcity of goods and their exchange value. But it is worth asking what other sentiments were involved in this concern for cataloging. As we will see in subsequent chapters, the little evidence at our disposal suggests that the bulk of a family's domestic movables was acquired at the moment of setting up a household and persisted over time without major new purchases—but also without major losses. If in fifteenth-century Florence nuptial, clothing and jewelry were sold within a few months of the wedding or even borrowed, this happened less frequently in seventeenth-century Rome, partly because pawning was by now standard practice.[99]

The purpose of cataloging goods was not so much to keep track of changes as to affirm ownership. This inevitably translated into identifying with one's own things. The inventories the owner drafted personally offer further proof of this phenomenon because they deployed a wealth of individual details—the subjects of paintings, the precise titles of books, the material out of which figurines were made, and so forth—far beyond what was necessary. A concern for objects that had value was transformed into a concern for objects that were "one's own."[100]

CHAPTER TWO

Reflecting on Things

If the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries really witnessed the gradual emancipation of goods from their monetary function, what documentary traces has this process left behind? Which sources illuminate the genesis and diffusion of the desire to remove objects from exchange, protect them from dispersal, and invest them with different values? What were the underlying reasons for this process, both from the point of view of society as a whole and at the private level of individual families?

Family Accounting

Account books have existed since the late Middle Ages. Initially, income, expenditures, and family occurrences such as births, deaths, and marriages appeared indiscriminately in family records. Only gradually did more specialized procedures come to separate the administration of household finances from other matters. Archival material suggests that it was only in the second half of the seventeenth century that new standards were adopted by Roman families—by nobles as well as by merchants, lawyers, and other members of the middling classes. Until around the middle of the seventeenth century, income and expenditure books continued to be characterized by a great diversity of entries. An Iacovacci family record book dating from about 1550 lists the income and expenditures connected to the purchase of public bonds and private credit bills together with the writer's marriage, the payment of his wife's dowry among his assets, and his sisters' dowries among the liabilities. He also included an expenditure for a consumer good: the leather wall hangings he acquired on the occasion of his wedding.[1]

The contemporary "book in which will be written the record of the things that happen to me, Febeo Febei, and will be named Memory Book One" is composed in the same way, although individual entries are richer in detail and the register was kept in a more systematic fashion. Febei was not content to write that he fought with his wife's father over his dowry claims almost immediately after their marriage. He also noted with great care the particulars of every transaction that concerned him, diligently recording contracts as well as household matters—the partition of goods with his father-in-law, the birth and baptism of his children, the university studies of his brother. As in the case of the Iacovacci, for Febei income and expenditures consisted of such things as the transfer of a public bond, the acquisition of a house, the sale of a farm, or the purchase of land or a cow. He presented not only the names of contracting parties but also those of the notary and the witnesses, the exact price and method of payment, and any additional clauses. The wealth of detail with which he recorded these transactions is an index of their importance to Febei. His concern did not merely reflect his own sentiments, however, it was intended to evoke a similar sensibility in the reader. It sought to arouse the attention of whoever alighted upon the account books in the future. Recording an expenditure emphasized the importance of the payment as well as information about the purchased item that was its counterpart.

Febei's only note regarding a consumer good dated from November of 1565, when "a robe of black velvet and a gold chain were purchased, and the robe was sold to Paulo Turano."[2] Although the Febei family regularly spent money on food, garments, and other daily necessities, they did not feel the need to record this type of expenditure. Their accounting was limited to extraordinary occasions.

Forty years later the account books of two ladies, Faustina Madaleni Capizuccchi and Cilla Boccarini, show signs of a change in recording practices. Next to the pages containing receipts for payment, in which Capizucchi appears alternately as a creditor and a debtor, and other pages devoted to the recording of income from public bonds, leases, and so forth, was one section of the book dedicated to current expenses. Under the title "Money paid in January 1606," the woman listed line by line all the expenses she incurred in the course of the month: for the driveway, the olive oil dealer, the notary's fee, a stack of *struffoli* (a Christmas sweet), the cobbler's bill, the carpenter's bill, and finally the purchase of slippers, shoes, and sleeves for one of her daughters. The price paid is listed next to every entry.[3]

Boccarini followed the same method. She too divided a single volume into various parts, each dedicated to a different series of accounts. She also reserved some pages for day-to-day current expenses. Besides the salaries for her "family," there are entries for "a little book of prayers to the Virgin Mary"; *broderie anglaise*; silk and buttons for a page's livery; cloth, silk, and ribbon for a mantle; two bay horses; and a piece of fabric for the carriage.[4] Significantly, the household steward, a professional in domestic administration, kept the account book.[5]

Another thirty years later, the account books of Valerio Santacroce demonstrate that practices had not changed much: the method was still that of a mixed notebook divided into more or less clearly delineated sections of receipts, income, and current expenses.[6] Only in the course of the 1650s did the Giustiniani and the Spada Veralli begin to employ "modern" methods of accounting. From 1640, after Andrea Giustiniani and Maria Pamphili's marriage, their household steward started to sew all the bills from their suppliers into fascicles ordered by month and year. Nonetheless, it was only from 1650 that the fascicles were kept consistently and only from 1658 that the gatherings appear complete. Around this same date Maria Spada Veralli's ledgers, compiled by her husband, came to display the specialization and completeness that distinguish "modern" accounting from earlier practices.[7] Shortly thereafter, Maria's husband became head of the family and began to keep notebooks for all their expenditures.[8] More at ease with archives and principles of recording than the Spada Veralli, Carlo Cartari had already announced to a friend in 1647 that he had "made a notebook for daily expenses," immediately explaining the reason: "Given that all expenses will devolve upon my heir whom, if I do not leave him any capital, I will also not burden with debts as my ancestors have done."[9]

At least among noble families domestic accounting assumed precise and stable characteristics around the mid-seventeenth century. These characteristics applied to both the principles of recording income and expenditures as well as to the physical shape of the bound volumes that contained them. In Prince Francesco Pio's inventory of writings dealing with bookkeeping, drawn up in 1700, the oldest book dates from only 1614, but the series of ledgers, daily journals, and writs of payment seems regular and complete.[10] Nonetheless, the proliferation of specific books—for the wardrobe, for instance, or the kitchen, or the accounts of various household dependents—piled one on top of the other without apparent order demonstrates that the administration of family archives proceeded in a practical rather than theoretical manner.

So far, the evolution I have traced appears to be fairly linear: from sixteenth-century disorder, accounting moved gradually to a new rationality

and was perfected in the last decades of the seventeenth century. Even domestic accounting participated in the general march of science! But things were a little more complicated than that. The notebook titled "The outcome of all the expenses that passed through the hands of me, Vittoria Santacroce, after the death of my consort," dating from 1551, is a genuine journal of daily expenses kept in the "modern" way.[11] If this still-young widow knew how to keep her accounts, why should the other people I have cited not have done the same? It would be hasty to charge them with ignorance: the reasons lay not in their technical competence but in their interests and needs. Rather than wonder why the Iacovacci or Febei or Boccarini were so careless, we need to ask why Vittoria Santacroce felt the need to be so precise. The answer probably lay in her condition as a new widow with the responsibility of caring for children who were still minors. The woman kept such careful tabs on her expenditures because she knew that she would have to answer for her actions and give an account of her administration of the family patrimony to her husband's heirs, especially the children when they came of age.

As a noblewoman and a landowner, Vittoria Santacroce was probably very rich and disposed of means in a far superior manner than the other figures we have examined. Compared to her, the expenditures of Faustina Madaleni Capizucchi are almost laughable, both in their quantity and their value. Moreover, Capizucchi's notebook contains a few, scarcely significant, agricultural expenses. Her single possession seems to have been a grove of reeds. Most of her expenditures were due to passive interest on credit bills, leases on two vineyards, wages for her "family," the bills of a mason and carpenter for various repairs on her house and her stores, and above all various legal expenses. Even the payments to the tailor and cloth merchants were extremely modest. Yet the woman, who wrote in her own hand with half-literate letters and a rather approximate orthography, regularly paid a "writing teacher." She was forced to detail her daily expenditures and learned to write so that she could do so.

A few books of guardianship found among notarial documents demonstrate that detailed accounting was a practice current among guardians and administrators of minors.[12] The same precision was expected from household stewards; they too had to justify their use of money and therefore tended to be early adopters of the type of accounting I have termed *modern* out of convenience.[13] As a result the only regularities to be found in the account books of the Boccarini are to be attributed to family dependents. The new accounting methods of these families came from people in delicate positions, who were aware that they would be called to account for their administration

of the money entrusted to them. As a result, they felt obliged to note carefully all income and expenditures.

The rule of good bookkeeping among guardians and household stewards also applied to those family members who received a monthly allowance and had to balance their expenditures with their income, as we will see with Bernardino Spada and Scipione Santacroce. It was also true for younger sons like Virgilio Spada, who decided to keep his own account apart from that of the general household after the death of his father. His expense book demonstrates that he was a real virtuoso when it came to domestic accounting.[14] Virgilio established that only a third of the income assigned to him by his father's will would be utilized "for the upkeep of his own person and for every other need that does not regard the maintenance or the exaltation of his illustrious House," while the rest would go to the benefit of his heirs.[15] The detailed recording of every type of expense was a means for him to demonstrate his adherence to these principles. Even somebody who had just emerged from grave financial difficulties could find reassurance in the precise recording of monetary outlays. One of the reasons that prompted Carlo Cartari to keep his daily expense book was the need to prove to his heirs that, unlike his own ancestors, he was economically virtuous in the administration of domestic affairs.

The same principle was also true for wives. A married woman could find herself in a complicated situation, especially if she wanted to keep the administration of her personal, extramarital patrimony distinct from that of her husband. Such was the case of Maria Spada Veralli, who began to keep account books in 1649. Her case is special not only because Maria was a married woman who tended to her own goods, but also because her husband, Orazio, was almost treated as a minor, since his uncles were the true heads of the family and made all the important decisions.

Minors, younger sons, widowed mothers, and wives all kept account books. Although the writers on household economy considered their science strictly masculine and directed their treatises explicitly to the paterfamilias, domestic accounting seems to have been a field for younger sons and women, that is, for those who were "not independent."[16] The primary audience of these tracts—the male heads of household—was not the first on the scene. Orazio Spada began to keep his account books only after the death of his uncles, in 1663, although his wife had been keeping hers for fourteen years. Andrea Giustiniani began collecting the accounts of the extraordinary expenditures undertaken for his bride and only gradually began to keep track of all the others as well.

Accounting and the Nature of Goods

In the oldest notebooks only monetary expenditures were noted. As a result, there is a paucity of noted expenses for consumer goods: Iacovacci bought only leather wall hangings, and Febei a velvet robe and a gold chain. It was precisely the rarity of such purchases that conferred a particular value on the objects in question. The fact of recording their expenses assumed a special importance. But as people gradually began to note all expenditures, those regarding the purchase of extraordinary objects came to be lost amid the infinitely more numerous expenses associated with the ordinary administration of the household.

Vittoria Santacroce bought oil, meat, salt, wood, and candles, and she paid the bills of the doctor, apothecary, cloth merchant, tailor of luxury fabrics, as well as the wages of the farm overseer, swineherd, and other servants. It is only amid all this that some "account books," "a half ream of paper," and "glasses and a carafe for the house" appear. Even Cilla Boccarini dedicated most of her expenditures to household repairs and above all to the payment of wages, as did Monsignor Giovan Battista Gavotti. It is not surprising that their account books are full of receipts in the form of crosses signed by various dependents certifying that they had been paid. Expenditures on nonessential or superfluous goods became important only on the occasion of special events, such as the graduation of Monsignor Gavotti, the marriage of a Santacroce daughter, or the departure of their two sons for Padua.

Special events such as graduations and marriages—and funerals, too—caused a spike in ceremonial expenses, from the outfits to the decorations, refreshments, and gifts. Extraordinary expenditures prompted people to dedicate more attention to recording them and were among the first to have been documented in some detail. For our purposes they are doubly important, because they signified moments of heightened consumption and, through the act of recording them, brought special attention to the *things* themselves. For example, in little more than a year, from the end of October 1551 to the end of December 1552, Vittoria Santacroce spent a total of 921 scudi for herself and her numerous children and servants on clothing, shoes, and household linen. Of this, 581 went to prepare the trousseau of her daughter Porzia, who was married to a Capizucchi. A robe of turquoise-colored lightweight silk decorated with gold lace was made for her, complete with socks and slippers also made of turquoise fabric, as well as a velvet robe and a dyed mantle. She also had countless handkerchiefs and various shirts, some of whose collars and silk cuffs were embroidered with gold, trimmed, sewn, and decorated. More money (at least 20 scudi) was spent on two rochets—a white, often lace-trimmed tunic worn over the cassock—to give to her brother-in-law, an ecclesiastic, and on four shirts (at least 35 scudi) for her husband. In comparison, the wardrobe prepared for her two sons for their departure to study in Padua cost only a pittance: little more than 59 scudi was used to buy stockings, shoes, boots, gloves, hats, shirts, and handkerchiefs. All told, the attire of the two students was quite sober. To the clothing that they already possessed the mother added only one new article for each category: a new pair of shoes, a new pair of gloves, a new hat, and so forth.[17]

Even the Giustiniani, though descendants of a long line of merchants and certainly at ease with accounting, began to collect their suppliers' receipts only when Andrea Giustiniani married Maria Pamphili in 1640. As was customary, the groom gave the bride a rich robe of gold cloth and pink satin, furnished with lace and ribbons of fine gold. The expenses incurred on this occasion were worthy of being documented and preserved in the family archive. Thus the household steward kept the invoices the cloth and silk merchants presented to him. Giustiniani himself wrote on the back on one of the bills: "Diego [the household steward], pay 78 scudi to Francesco Solaro the silk merchant to cover the present bill and for everything else we have gotten from his store for the use of the marquise, and get a receipt for it." The marquis personally examined all of the items on the bill, from the whalebones to the satin "made in Florence in the Persian style" to everything else, along with their prices. But for his children and grandchildren who might have found this note in the family archive, the relative significance of things was inverted: it was no longer the uniqueness of the robe that determined its being written down, but, on the contrary, the writing that called the robe to attention and rendered it important.

The meaning of accounting changed with the transition from extraordinary to quotidian record keeping. We begin to perceive this transformation clearly in Maria Veralli's books. They not only contain the record of her extraordinary expenses, but also of her ordinary daily payments. Unlike the women examined above, Maria was not a widow. As a result the current expenses of the household were not her duty, and the wages of servants or necessities such as food did not figure among her expenditures. Like many of her contemporaries, however, Veralli was overburdened with repeated legal expenses. As mistress of the house, she had to fulfill her charitable duties, which involved disbursing tips and alms, and she also had to discharge worldly commitments that required the presentation of gifts. Many of these

obligations were met through offering objects, sometimes in the marquise's possession, but other times were met by being bought at impressive prices. She already owned a Madonna of yellow amber and a crown of black amber, both of which she had cleaned and polished to give to a distant relative. By contrast, she purchased the thirty pounds of wax and refined sugar given to her lawyers (14.15 scudi)[18] as well as the mantle "bought for Camilla Piazza, my former chambermaid, in conformity with my duty" (8 scudi),[19] the brocade and gold lace used to make a chasuble (10.20 scudi)—a highly decorated liturgical vestment worn to perform the Mass[20]—and the pair of gloves given to a gentlewoman (5.50 scudi).[21] There were also gifts for her children in the form of precious garments for her married daughters or their children,[22] fancy foods for her daughters who were nuns,[23] and money "to spend" or "to gamble with" for her sons. Despite these many gifts, the fashionable items the marquise presumably bought for herself did not amount to much: a few pairs of silk stockings or slippers, two sable mittens that were ordered from Venice (61.60 scudi), a "coiffeuse for hairdressing" of embroidered satin (9.60 scudi), and a little voile bonnet (0.50 scudi).[24] Although some of these objects were very expensive, their number is so small as not to attract much attention.

Objects were even less prominent in the books of Orazio Spada, in which current household expenses, consisting of food, candles, soap, oil, various repairs, and little else—the wages for servants, the bills of doctors, lawyers, and notaries, and lastly farm expenses—occupied almost the entirety of his activity. Even the bill for the tailor appears singularly sober, though it was laden with a great quantity of clothes for children and servants. Only in his hats did Spada seem to let loose a little bit, purchasing cords "of mixed gold and silver, well-made in the French style" and hats of "stylish double Lyon wool" or "fine Florentine straw."[25] Apart from these hats, the only things that stand out from the background of his current expenses were six "big stools" (pedestals) painted with the Spada coat of arms, and plants and flowers for the palace garden in Piazza Capodiferro. In this last case, Spada spent seven scudi for four vases of tulips, bought cedar, mulberry, myrtle, thyme, and jasmine plants, and repeatedly had good dirt brought in.[26] But since he spent hundreds of scudi a month on things of an altogether different sort—and carefully noted all their costs—these objects did not define the nature of his account books.

The account books of his son, Bernardino, and daughter-in-law, Vittoria, both kept in their own hands, make an entirely different impression. Freed from the responsibilities of household administration, these young people could dedicate all of their income to nonessential or superfluous expenses. From 1667 Bernardino enjoyed "an allowance of one thousand scudi per year for the maintenance of me and my wife concerning dress, clothing, and anything else we might need."[27] Despite this, the young husband spent his money more on tips and gifts than on the purchase of refined things. He and his wife limited their luxuries to clothing, accompanied by temperate indulgence in sorbets, "fresh water," and candies. Nonetheless, Bernardino also spent money on having "musical arias" and songs copied, strings for a guitar and a *chittarino*, carnival masks, various decks of playing cards, perfumed oils and creams, a French wig, and some printed newspapers (*Avvisi*). Hunting also cost money. On these occasions Bernardino had to procure ammunition and gunpowder, distribute tips to his attendants, and pay off his debts to the person who lent him a horse. His wife Vittoria's expenditures were far more monotonous: alms, tips, and gifts constituted the majority of entries, as usual. The young woman limited herself to paying the bills of the tailor and purchasing ribbons and lace, the occasional dessert, or the odd luxury object such as a fan, a tortoise-shell box inlaid with silver, or "two carafes of turquoise crystal."[28]

I will return later to the classification and quality of these objects. Here it is useful to pay attention to expenditures on what I have called tips and gifts. Bernardino Spada distributed tips to the servants of his own household and also to those of the Patrizi, his wife's family, as well as to the dependents of his friends and acquaintances. He regularly sent gifts to his sisters and other relatives who were nuns, in Rome and elsewhere. His sisters, cloistered in the convent of Tor de' Specchi, received his gifts of sorbets, lemonades, fresh fruit, chocolate, cooked dishes, flowers, pens made of brass and lapis lazuli, and "a small box of many kinds of irons."[29] He sent a book titled *The Exercises of St. Ignatius* with a cover of tooled leather and clasps of silver, in addition to a dozen illuminated saints painted on parchment and an equal number of brass medallions, to a relative in Brisighella.[30] The young man was thus assiduous about cultivating relationships with members of his family. He was equally solicitous about his relationships with the outside world: he offered snacks in one of his vineyards, opened his house to "conversations," went to receptions in the Strozzi garden "to dine like the French" at least twice a month, and participated in countless hunting expeditions.[31] His account books reveal an active social life, and the goods he bought often served to promote and maintain its vibrancy. The same was true of the tipping: his wife's first delivery in childbirth was celebrated with more than 20 scudi worth of gifts distributed to at least twenty people.[32]

Something similar emerges from his wife's account books, although Vittoria's relationships were generally limited to her relatives, as was often the case with women. She was even more attentive than her husband in sending fresh fruit, sweets, young chickens, pasties, and other delicacies to her cloistered sisters and cousins. As mistress of the house she also had to buy little jewels of all types—necklaces, rings, pendants, crowns, small medallions—to give to her serving women and those of the her mother-in-law the marquise and their vassals in Castel Viscardo, when she was called to serve as godmother for baptisms and confirmations.[33]

Besides expenses associated with relationships, there were expenditures for what can be considered genuine domestic production. Every month Vittoria bought ribbons for lace and silken thread for embroidering in quantities that suggest she and her serving women used them to adorn her and her daughter's clothing. With some regularity she recorded expenses for spinning hemp or linen, weaving and blanching cloth, or harvesting silk after having sent a culture of worms to Castel Viscardo.[34] The purpose of these "household fabrics" was not specified, but the bills of cloth merchants, ribbon venders, tailors, and embroiderers demonstrate that recourse to the market was certainly not superfluous.

Vittoria's personal account books are thus characterized by the absolute preponderance of expenses associated with relationships and consumption, among which I would include expenses for the production and decoration of clothing. There were relatively few luxury items: a pair of fans, horn and ivory combs, a few pieces of silver, and some jewelry. Vittoria also spent money on having her hair done at least once a month, cushions sown "with French needlework,"[35] her comb box painted with "figures and landscapes," and a "country walking stick" adorned with a silver pommel. The mixture of these luxury objects with the continual expenses for ribbons, lace, gold and silver thread, and swatches of satin that populate her account books highlights rather than obscures their elegant superfluity. Above all, Vittoria personally recorded these items in her own book, and this had a decided influence on her perception of the things she bought.

Thirty years later another young wife had a similar experience when writing her own "memory book." But right from the start, the tenor of Maria Isabella Vecchiarelli Santacroce's account books was very different from that of Vittoria Patrizi Spada. The first entries for expenditures, dating from the early months of 1700, comprised various paintings "for my boudoir" and a gilded, inlaid "little table" destined for the same room. In the following pages there were more notes concerning the furnishing of her private room.

Hardly a month passed in which she did not record a payment for a new piece of furniture or accessory: a gilded "display cabinet," six round chairs, various carved shelves, "a mirror held up by five children with a chord that they pretend to hold in their hand." Everything was always gilded.[36] In addition, Isabella noted the purchase of a box of teaspoons, some wooden frames, two coffee cups of fine porcelain, a little card table made of olive wood and "inlaid with Indian fig," a lacquered and gilded inner window for her bedroom, a gold watch "with a tooled casing stamped with gold and a chain of gilded silver," twelve "cups for chocolate and two soup cups, with their saucers," and "a velvet purse with three table games with bone dice and ninety tokens."[37]

The young woman also bought back a few objects from her father-in-law that had been part of her dowry—namely, two chandeliers, two silver tankards, a porcelain cup, and various Bohemian crystal glasses. From a pawnshop she redeemed a clock and a glove box, both made of silver.[38] In value if not in quantity, this kind of object assumed a position of the highest importance in her account books. In buying those pieces of silver and crystal back from her father-in-law, and in redeeming the other objects in the following months, Isabella revealed that she wanted them for herself, to keep them and probably also to show them in her "display case." It is precisely through this act of purchasing, as she duly recorded, that things passed from the anonymous condition of cash equivalents, in which goods were aimed primarily toward increasing the value of a woman's dowry, to the nominal condition of things to be protected and removed from the normal circuits of exchange.

Bernardino Spada, Vittoria Patrizi, and Isabella Vecchiarelli kept their own account books. The task of recording their expenses was not entrusted to an accounting professional such as a household steward or secretary. This is clearly reflected in the way in which they noted some expenditures, especially those pertaining to food and drink. In his books, Orazio Spada recorded the generic monthly entry of "expenses for the masters' table." By contrast, his son and daughter-in-law specified what they purchased for each occasion: every expenditure was thus connected, both on paper and in memory, to a unique and specific event. Since Vittoria and Isabella were more involved with the materiality of the kitchen and more cognizant of its secrets, they even detailed the ingredients that went into particular dishes. As Vecchiarelli wrote, "a total of more than 0.87 scudi were spent for having had two dozen donuts made with water for the nuns of Santa Anna, between the flour, sugar, anise, and four loaves worth of yeast." The same was true for thread and cloth. Each

of the two young women noted the quality—"two fingers large," "smooth," "fine," "diapered," and "wavy"—the quantity, and the unit price of every piece of lace or ribbon she bought. By contrast, Orazio was presented with the complete bills of the tailor or the merchant, certainly equally detailed, but always organized in a way that tended to eliminate individual entries in favor of the sum total of an expense. If recording expenditures influenced the way people perceived or were conscious of what they bought, wives and children must have reached a new understanding much earlier than their husbands, fathers-in-law, and fathers.

Margherita Betti's Four Inventories

So far we have sought to understand how the taste for things could have developed, and how such things, beyond their status as possessions, could have aroused in their owners the desire to keep them rather than return them to circulation. But to be more concrete, what were people actually keeping? At first sight a postmortem inventory might appear to be the best document for answering this question. The appearance of an object on such a list is irrefutable proof that its owner had kept it until the very end. But if an inventory enables us to know how the relationship between a person and a good reached its conclusion, we are unable to reconstruct how it began—that is, when the object entered into his possession. This is a well-known limitation of this type of documentation. An inventory can give us a static picture of a patrimony at a precise moment in time, but cannot furnish any information on the dynamics of its formation. Only the most fortunate circumstances, producing a series of inventories staggered over time, can offer a more complete perspective. One such example is Margherita Betti, who died in 1669 and has left us four lists of her goods: the earliest is from 1644 and was drawn up for her first wedding, the second is from 1653 and lists the goods restored to Betti after the death of her husband, the third was made for her second wedding in 1656, and the last was drafted for her heirs after her death in 1669.

In the lists' totality, the portrait that emerges of this woman demonstrates her strong tendency to preserve virtually everything: most of the objects that appeared in the first list are found in the last list twenty-five years later. This is particularly true for the basic elements of domestic life such as furniture, kitchen equipment, and tableware. It is not surprising that durable objects like boxes and iron or copper pots and pans were preserved. The survival of fragile objects such as porcelain is evidence that particular care was taken

to preserve them, and that she desired and knew how to protect them from domestic accidents and the wear and tear of usage. Five or six pieces of fine porcelain—very rare for Rome during that period—passed unharmed from the first to the second marriage. Each time they were inventoried, probably under Margherita's supervision, their quality and fineness were underscored. Only in the final inventory, composed after her death, were they lumped into the anonymous category of "thirty plates, large and small." Other precious objects such as silverware were as jealously guarded: all the tankards, trays, and tableware listed in her nuptial inventory were present in the final, postmortem inventory. A little wooden case inlaid with ivory, two baby Jesuses from Lucca, and an alabaster Madonna were preserved with similar care. From her first marriage to her death, Margherita also preserved about thirty books, which grew slightly in number toward the end of her life.[39] Curiously, they were excluded from her second nuptial inventory: perhaps she had temporarily loaned them to someone or perhaps she did not want to submit them to the juridical regime of the dowry, preferring to keep them utterly unencumbered by such agreements.

The inclination to change seems more marked when discussing objects of a more personal nature, especially those associated with the physical body: from one inventory to another, the household linen, clothing, and jewelry appear and disappear at a slightly steadier pace. Such changes were certainly not fast paced, and the objects in question, especially the household linen, were exposed to wear and tear over time. Nonetheless, the changes are indicative of something more than a simple substitution of old and worn things.

The case of clothing is most significant. The 1653 inventory that accompanied the restitution of Margherita's goods after the death of her first husband mentions the same garments that had been entered into the nuptial inventory nine years earlier. Such evidence confirms the idea that matrimony was the moment when women acquired most of their clothing, which was intended to last for many years. As further proof of this hypothesis, the second nuptial inventory (1656) lists three new outfits, complete with dress, corset, sleeves and gown, and a sable hand warmer. The quality of these fabrics suggests that widowhood had not endangered the woman in the least, but on the contrary increased her resources: while her old outfits were all made out of wool, more or less fine and expensive, these three were respectively of damask, velvet, and lightweight silk. Their relationship with Margherita was of short duration: by the time of her death these beautiful and precious garments had disappeared, as did the wolf fur coat lined with red camel wool

and the marten hand warmer that accompanied her second marriage. Given the fate of the other valuable clothing discussed earlier, it is likely that these had been sold or exchanged for something new. In their place were three or four new dresses "for widows."

Her jewelry suffered a similar fate. An especially valuable gold "collar," a little cross made of rock crystal, and inexpensive "manacles" (bracelets) all disappeared. A necklace of irregular pearls and various gold rings inlaid with precious stones took their place. The other twenty pieces of jewelry that Margherita brought with her dowry from her first marriage passed to her heirs unaltered twenty-five years later.

More drastic alterations of things appear in a list of knickknacks, and of other decorative, desirable, or curious objects that filled her house. From one inventory to another, a guitar, "three stones of sculpted rock salt," "four busts of the heads of emperors," three umbrellas, and "a musket for hunting birds" disappeared. "A portable clock with the gears on display," two brass inkwells, "three little cases to weigh gold, with scales," "thirty pairs of buttons embroidered with frogs," a fluid number of "balls made of various gems," and four or five statuettes of the Madonna took their place. In all likelihood, at least some of these new objects were the fruit of Margherita's inheritance from her second husband, Feliciano Bonghi, but others she personally purchased.[40] Some of the furniture almost certainly came from her husband—a bed, a table, a ladder for the study that opened like a book—in addition to the little cases for weighing gold and a telescope. By contrast, Margherita acquired the umbrellas, clock, four busts, and some of the stone balls during her first widowhood. The same was true for a good number of paintings, most conspicuously the portraits of some of her dead relatives. Was it from them that the woman inherited the new objects in her possession? Or did she give something away in exchange for these new furnishings? In any case, Margherita was a great preserver of her possessions. An undated document within the same fascicle explains that Feliciano Bonghi had to pawn a series of objects to the Monte di Pietà, and then lists them: mostly silver and paintings, but some household linen as well. Almost all of them were redeemed upon her death.

Finally, the omissions that also characterize these inventories are interesting. In the two oldest ones, Margherita was in possession of a flax comb, which disappeared in the later inventories. And yet like many other women, she continued to possess a significant quantity of linen and hemp, spun and unspun. Did she turn to others rather than work them herself? Or did she find it improper to record a tool used for manual labor?[41]

Old, Used, and New

Margherita Betti left behind particularly rich documentation that has allowed us to analyze the state of her goods at various moments in her life. No other person included in my research sample has done likewise.[42] Did other owners preserve their possessions for a long time or did they rapidly exchange them for other goods and objects? Although it is an indirect and approximate indicator, the state of preservation listed for inventoried objects is the only gauge we have for understanding their owners' relationship to their things. As I have already suggested, these additional comments in the entries can only be used in a suggestive fashion, especially since they appear in only one case out of every two or three (or even more rarely for some classes of goods such as paintings or those grouped under the category "Other"), and also because we have no way of knowing whether an old object had not been exchanged for another one, different but equally old, rather than for a new one. But for lack of a better procedure I have constructed a table, divided into men and women, that shows the percentile frequency of the adjectives "new," "used," and "old." So as not to run the risk of overestimating the new, I have limited the analysis to inheritance inventories, excluding those for dowries.

New things were almost nonexistent, confined to clothing and some household linen. This rough index corroborates what we saw in Betti's inventories: modest changes in objects occurred for things pertaining to the physical body of a person. Overall, women had a greater propensity toward preservation, confirming that the core of their patrimony of clothing and linens was formed at the moment of marriage through their trousseau.

Although clothes and linen were renewed every now and then, the absence of the "new" decisively characterized the domestic environment. Only some furniture and a few paintings were defined as such; everything else was either used or old. Even more than furniture and paintings, the handcrafted artifacts grouped under the phrase "Other"—which ran the gamut from knickknacks to devotional dolls, clocks, and fans—were inevitably "old." And yet one might have expected decorative, curious, or even courtly objects, due to their nature, to be more responsive to the demands of novelty and fashion. To a differing degree, their general state of wear and tear seems to have been a measure of the affection with which they were preserved throughout the lifetimes of their owners, more than a sign of the spread of a new propensity toward consumption.

On the other hand, the report Camilla Pellegrina submitted to a notary in 1645 concerning her actions as a guardian indicates that expenses such

TABLE 2.1 The number of objects defined as new, used, or old in postmortem inventories

	MEN					
	LINENS	CLOTHING	FURNITURE	WALL HANGINGS	PAINTINGS	OTHER
New	64	33	13	0	2	0
Used	157	195	101	17	9	36
Old	70	117	166	15	21	86
Total	291	345	280	32	32	122
	WOMEN					
	LINENS	CLOTHING	FURNITURE	WALL HANGINGS	PAINTINGS	OTHER
New	4	8	1	0	0	0
Used	10	12	17	0	3	4
Old	24	20	22	3	2	7
Total	38	40	40	3	5	11

as those for furniture, wall hangings, and similar domestic furnishings were made once and for all at the moment of assembling a household. Pellegrina was the mother, guardian, and trustee of the children of the late Tommaso Busio. The family was certainly well off, since a carriage figures among their expenses. The fact that they spent only 31.72 percent of their total expenses on food also indicates that the family enjoyed an elevated lifestyle, comparable to that of noble families. Only noble families were able to earmark 70 percent of their expenses for nonfood consumption.[43]

Expenditures for "household furniture"—a rubric that generally included all domestic furnishings of any kind—totaled a modest 2 percent, equal to

what was spent on alms. But "clothing," which assuredly included clothes for mourning as well, did not amount to even a third of the expenses for food. Since she had to account for her administration of a patrimony that did not belong to her, Camilla Pellegrina probably avoided superfluous expenses more than she would have if she had been completely free to act. In fact, although expenses for food approached those of great personages such as the Riccardi of Florence or the Odescalchi of Como, those for clothing were decidedly more modest.[44] Her behavior constitutes further proof that the tendency to preserve rather than acquire new things was characteristic of Romans of the middling classes during the seventeenth century.

TABLE 2.2 Percentage of objects defined as new, used, or old in postmortem inventories

	MEN					
	LINENS	CLOTHING	FURNITURE	WALL HANGINGS	PAINTINGS	OTHER
New	22.0	9.6	4.6	0.0	6.3	0.0
Used	54.0	56.5	36.1	53.1	28.1	29.5
Old	24.1	33.9	59.3	46.9	65.6	70.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	WOMEN					
	LINENS	CLOTHING	FURNITURE	WALL HANGINGS	PAINTINGS	OTHER
New	10.5	20.0	2.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Used	26.3	30.0	42.5	0.0	60.0	36.4
Old	63.2	50.0	55.0	100.0	40.0	63.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 2.3 Expenses made over the course of five years, by category

CATEGORY OF EXPENDITURE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Spices and medicinals	25.87	0.51
Funerals	76.40	1.52
Food	1594.04	31.72
Various	1544.61	30.73
Carriage	1039.04	20.67
Clothing	534.62	10.64
Household furniture	107.00	2.13
Alms	104.45	2.08
Total	5026.03	100.00

Note: The document is not very clear, but it seems that her guardianship lasted from May 1, 1639, to December 31, 1644.

Exchange and Conservation

Affection for objects emerges even more clearly when we look at wills instead of inventories. We have seen how normal it was to bequeath an object in the place of, or in addition to, money. In some cases, good manners imposed this practice. Etiquette forbade leaving money to a superior but not giving him desirable or precious objects such as "a watch with a gold-enameled case, a gift of the Prince my patron," given by Filippo della Molara to the Princess of Nerola, "to do everything I can in appropriate recognition of the infinite favors and priceless graces I have received from the aforementioned lady."[45] Good manners counseled the same behavior among equals, especially among individuals of certain educational attainments such as the lawyer Camillo Moretto or the ex-governor Francesco Maria Frollieri, both of whom bequeathed books, paintings, or devotional objects to their relatives and friends.[46]

In many wills, especially women's, the bequest of an object assumed a less formal, more intimate meaning. In these cases the bequests were goods that had come into close contact with the testator, especially clothing, jewelry, or linens. Too regular or frequent use, as we see with "ordinary household clothing" or the shirts that many women left to their servants, devalued objects. Instead, others that were evidently worn only on special occasions and had not suffered any damage—such as precious garments or jewelry—acquired the capacity of creating a direct physical link between the deceased person and her heir.[47] This link could not only be forged with another person, but also with a thing, which in its turn became a symbol of an abstraction: a church altar or the rooms of a castle. Just as Dorotea Antolini left her silk garments to some Roman altars, so too did Giulia Veronica Sforza Attendoli Manzoli Cesi order that her most beautiful clothing be made into tapestries for her husband's castles.[48] Both kinds of bequests represented attempts to preserve one's goods, to prevent their dispersal after one's own death, and to guarantee their preservation over time.

Paradoxically, the same kind of concern is apparent in wills that called for the immediate sale of goods. Those who left this kind of will did so not to disperse all of their material possessions indiscriminately and transform them into pure financial profit, but rather to protect the part of their patrimony they deemed most precious. Just as Vincenzo Giustiniani sold his collections and palaces to preserve them, and Ciriaco Mattei forbade the alienation of his garden, but did not prohibit renting it or earmarking its earnings for its maintenance,[49] so too did other testators order the dispersal of their movable goods to protect the unmovable part of their property, or to guarantee their children's status as gentlemen through the acquisition of offices and knighthoods.[50] Others, not originally from Rome and perhaps without children, sold their things to end their Roman experience, sending their resources back to their place of birth, or alternately to sever ties with their original locality, making themselves definitively Roman.[51] The alienation of some types of objects served to ratify the inalienability of others. Significantly, in many cases these other goods were further protected by their incorporation into a *fedecommesso*.[52] Such acts were not attempts simply to preserve goods but to render them inalienable, thereby elevating them to a level superior in value to those ordinary things that could be exchanged with impunity.

The Inalienability of Things

The nature of some things changed. They passed from the state of being merchandise to becoming individualized objects and therefore essentially inalienable. While this transformation was not irreversible, given that even

the most venerated of objects could be put up for sale at some point, it is clear enough from the sources we have examined that some kinds of goods—precious fabrics, silver, especially manufactured items of particular quality—lent themselves better than others to this process of "singularization." At the same time the great variety of manufactured objects in circulation multiplied the number of possible candidates for inalienability. Literary sources, as well as the documents we have examined, support this view, though few of them are explicit on this point. It is worthwhile to compare the paucity of terms Leon Battista Alberti used in the fifteenth century to describe the "precious things" to be jealously guarded for the household (no more than four: "silver, tapestries, clothing, and gems"), and the lexical variety that characterized the discourse of Sabba da Castiglione a century later.[53] In his *Memoirs* he spoke of statues, medals, cameos, paintings, prints, tapestries, rugs, Turkish muskets, and many other "new, fantastic, bizarre, and ingenious things that come from the Levant or from Germany."[54]

Alberti offered the most explicit declaration of the material anchors—in other words, the "inalienable goods"—of the urban elites to which he belonged: "the house, land, and the workshop" were the sole authentic sources of "utility and profit" for the family. Insofar as they were stable goods, they were capable of producing goods that were likewise durable, able to be "saved and stored," that is, preserved.[55] By contrast, money existed in an antithetical state because it was volatile by nature: it could not be stowed away without the complete loss of utility, and yet in the moment in which one used it, there was nothing "more apt to be lost, more difficult to save, more dangerous to abuse, more irksome to get back, more easy to disperse, spend, or let it go up in smoke."[56] Alberti's *Four Books on the Family* exalted the value of that which was immobile, stable, and permanent. This attitude was not in complete contrast with the principle of alienability, since it was "useful for the father of the family to be a bigger seller than buyer."[57] But if the products of the workshop or the villa could be sold to obtain money for meeting inevitable expenses, their alienation was virtuous only insofar as it supported the preservation of what was truly important: the land and the house, with all the "precious things" that were kept within. This permanence created the possibility for the family itself to survive over time and to endure across generations.

Two centuries later and in a very different context, the Roman middling classes with which we are concerned were less rich and enjoyed infinitely less prestige than Alberti. They definitely did not belong to the urban elite. Some of them possessed vineyards, but never as full proprietors, only as perpetual renters (a legal practice known as *emphyteusis*). The same was true for their houses and especially their workshops, which they usually held in rent. In their patrimonies, the proportion of their wealth in real estate was rather small, while the proportion of non–real estate income was growing: other forms of wealth, private credit bonds, bills of exchange, shares of the public debt, commercial credit, and such. And yet even our early modern Romans pursued transcendent objectives that aimed toward guaranteeing the survival of the family over time by instituting *fedecommessi* over their goods and dictating the rules of succession for the generations to come. As we have seen the house was the most tangible sign of this continuity. But objects also discharged this function.

The increase in manufactured goods in circulation broadened the palette of things that could be used to form a nucleus of inalienable goods in which one could entrust one's permanence over time. When examined closely we see that the process of continual exchange between objects and money I have illustrated was actually an instrument for reaching a very different end. If it was true that everything has a history and can pass from the category of individualized object to that of merchandise and vice versa, it was also true that this sequence of transformations made sense only within a more general system in which the movement of some goods was only the means for guaranteeing the stability and prospective inalienability of others.

Material Goods and Immaterial Things[58]

What was in the houses of middling-class Romans in the seventeenth century? What did men and women keep for themselves and thereby avoid exchanging for other goods or services, at least temporarily? Even more fundamentally, how were their homes organized? Inventories are able to give some kind of response to all of these questions, as we will see in the next chapters. The different behavior Margherita Betti and others showed with respect to various classes of goods suggests the need to break down the sample into two subgroups, which I would define as "material goods" and "immaterial things." The first group consists of those goods that had to do with a person's material well-being, such as furnishings, clothing, tableware, and so forth; the second group consists of those goods that served essentially for nourishing the imagination or one's aesthetic sensibilities, such as paintings, books, devotional objects, ornaments, and the like.

Part Two

MATERIAL GOODS

CHAPTER THREE

Furniture

The Specialization of Rooms

In what kinds of homes did seventeenth-century Romans live? In the high and narrow houses with only one room per floor that can still be found in some streets in the center of Rome, or in apartments similar to ours, with all of the rooms on the same floor? Were rooms distributed according to modern criteria, which assign a precise function to each room and separate public space from private space, or in the "traditional" manner, with mixed purposes and functions? It is difficult to answer these questions. Most of the inventories I have studied catalog objects by type rather than by room—paintings, furniture, linen, kitchenware, and such—and therefore do not specify the number of rooms in a house or where each object was kept.[1] But notaries listed the placement of objects for twenty-nine of the men and seven of the women. We thus have information on the division of space and the distribution of various goods within the household. In approximately twenty other cases the quantity and quality of furnishings suggest the possible dimensions of the house.

Although fairly common, inventories were nonetheless documents tied to social status and are therefore capable of providing information chiefly on the well-off sectors of the population. The majority of their dwellings consisted of four or more rooms surrounding a primary structure composed of a room and a hall.

The room and hall formed the central structure of every kind of house and were always present, whether or not there were other types of rooms. Between big houses and little houses there were enormous differences, however, and not only in size. The kitchen appeared regularly only in the

largest dwellings and was found only once among the smallest ones. Only in large houses was it possible to find rooms on different floors, in addition to a cellar or a "roof room." Nonetheless, there was at least one example of a small house with three rooms arranged like a tower, one above the other.[2] As the number of rooms increased, their distribution on different levels became more regular and could amount to a genuine "second apartment" above or below the first. In these cases there were also courtyards, loggias, hallways, and internal stairways. The largest dwellings, which reached or exceeded twenty rooms, sometimes had a "third apartment" situated on the third floor.

Overall, households were structured horizontally by apartments, rather than vertically by buildings. This is a significant fact. According to studies of this subject, the apartment was "the most important contribution made by the Renaissance to the civilizing of life indoors."[3] In treatises on architecture such as those of Sebastiano Serlio or Vincenzo Scamozzi, the term *appartamento* designated a whole series of rooms, from the "principal" to the "middling" and "minor" ones—the latter to be used by only one person, within a much larger house.[4] This is basically the structure of apartments in Roman noble palaces.[5] In middle-sized houses, by contrast, the term *appartamento* seems to have designated a more generic, organic unity of rooms that all occupied the same floor. But this format could be repeated on a second or third story, thus shrinking the distance that separated the houses of the bourgeoisie from those of the aristocrats.

In addition to the vertical or horizontal orientation of houses, historians have also been interested in the functional specialization of rooms, from the names by which they were designated to the kinds of furnishings they contained.[6] Current research on early modern Europe has shown that the basic functions of sleeping, cooking, eating, and entertaining could all occur indiscriminately within the same spaces, even in the houses of the well to do.[7] Contemporary paintings and prints confirm this impression, offering images of families united around a dinner table that stands beside a luxurious bed.[8]

Yet Roman inventories demonstrate not only that Roman families rather precisely designated the various rooms of their homes—"room," "hall," "kitchen" (if one existed), and so forth—but also reveal how the kinds of furnishings in each room reflected these designations. Only in the largest houses did the multiplication of rooms render some names generic, such as "first room," "second room," or "the next room." Rarely did a space defined as a "room" and one defined as a "hall," let alone one called a "kitchen,"

TABLE 3.1 House sizes

	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL
1 room	7	4	11
2–3 rooms	12 (3 + 9*)	10 (6 + 4*)	22
4 or more rooms	20*	3*	23

Note: The asterisks mark figures that were provided by the inventories themselves. the other figures were deduced from the quantity and quality of furnishings.

contain the same type of furniture and movable goods. The furnishings of one room were clearly distinguished from those in another even during the first decades of the seventeenth century.[9] Out of eighty-one beds for which we know the exact placement, only six were in a hall and three in a kitchen, while all the others were confined to bedrooms. On the other hand, cupboards and sideboards were found above all in halls, and the same was true for chairs and stools.

Beds in rooms, dressers and chairs in halls: the functional distinction among spaces in eating, sleeping, and entertaining appeared to be fairly substantial and in line with our present customs.[10] These Roman houses thus present a set of characteristics that, from our current point of view, could be defined as modern. Seventeenth-century Rome, like other important cities, was at the forefront of the process of reorganizing domestic spaces that eventually occurred in all of Europe.

Like rooms and halls the sixteen kitchens about which we have information also had their own proper furnishings and were thus quite distinct from other rooms. Here, too, the specific use of the space was marked by a certain indicator, in this case by andirons, which were signs of the existence of a fireplace. As the table below shows, however, not every kitchen had andirons, especially if it belonged to a man. It is difficult to determine what this absence signifies. Perhaps some fireplaces did not have andirons or the andirons belonged to the wives of the dead men and did not make it into the inventory. This seems to have been the case for Polidoro Neruzzi who, as owner of a fourteen-room house, possessed a great quantity of paintings and decorative objects but remained almost completely bereft of furniture.

TABLE 3.2 Distribution of beds, dressers, and chairs, by type of room

	MEN				WOMEN		
ROOM	ROOM	HALL	KITCHEN		ROOM	HALL	KITCHEN
Beds	1.3	0.3	0.2	beds	1.3	0.2	0.0
Dressers	0.5	1.6		dressers	0.7	1.7	
Chairs	2.6	9.0		chairs	3.5	4.5	

TABLE 3.3 Distribution of andirons

ROOM	MEN	WOMEN
Room	0.3	0.2
Hall	0.2	0.2
Kitchen	0.7	1.0

Perhaps sometimes a brazier was used rather than a fireplace. Nonetheless, the absence of essential kitchen equipment is not all that surprising. Every study of inventories has shown that being able to cook was almost a luxury among seventeenth-century homes and within the grasp of only a minority of people.[11] Fireplaces were rarer in other rooms, judging by the absence of the equipment that usually accompanied them. Sometimes braziers could provide a modicum of heat, but overall it seems that people made do with less warmth.

Words and things did not always correspond perfectly, and the apparent exceptionality of Rome must be reconsidered. In at least ten homes, pots, pans, colanders, graters, and other items of the kitchen were kept in rooms bearing a different name, usually the hall but also the bedroom or, more often, the imprecise "other room." On the other hand, the kitchen itself could contain furniture that had nothing to do with the preparation of food. For instance, two beds, two "shop cabinets for paintings," and a *studiolo* were found in the kitchen of the painter Raspantini.[12]

Furniture

The functional differentiation of rooms, still very fluid at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was increasingly more pronounced toward the end of the century in the great cities of Europe. In Rome, by contrast, the specialization of domestic spaces developed early, and there was substantial continuity between the first and last decades of the century. This was also true with respect to furniture.[13] Even in this area the seventeenth century witnessed a progressive abandonment of "horizontal" organization—exemplified by the Renaissance chests—in favor of a more "vertical" organization, that is, one defined by wardrobes and dressers.[14] But subdividing the totality of furniture into four distinct periods (1620, 1640, 1660, and 1700) does not reveal any clear developmental tendency. On the contrary, variations from one period to another seem random, due more to the number and particularities of individual inventories than to a precise tendency toward change. In any case, chests continued to be present in people's homes and coexisted with more innovative kinds of furnishings. Given the irrelevance of chronology, I have preferred to analyze the distribution of furniture using the total data for the whole century in order to utilize more consistent samples.

The per capita distribution of furniture reveals the relative poverty of women, a condition that will be discussed frequently in the course of my analysis. This appears undeniable even when considering the fact that a third of female inventories were dowries (not patrimonies) and that women's furniture was probably underrepresented as a result. This proviso is only valid to a certain degree, since it was quite common for a bed and a chest to be part of a dowry. Yet even beds and chests were proportionally more male than female. Women could boast preeminence only in the possession of braziers and chamber pots, and only in the case of beds, washbasins, and cupboards was their property not so different from that of men. The disparity is particularly notable for all types of chairs and tables, underscoring the fact that women's rooms were on the whole more "private" than those of men and were not furnished to receive outsiders.

The measure of per capita distribution is partially misleading. It tells us how much furniture a person owned, but not how someone's rooms were actually furnished. This is precisely what interests us here. We have already

TABLE 3.4 Amount of furniture per head (46 men and 30 women)

TYPE OF FURNITURE	MEN	WOMEN
Writing desks	0.13	—
Counters	0.22	—
Braziers	—	0.13
Sideboards	1.35	0.57
Chests	3.83	2.70
Little chests	0.78	0.43
Cembalos and spinets	0.19	0.06
Dressers and wardrobes	1.60	0.93
Cupboards	0.54	0.30
Cradles	0.07	0.03
Windows	0.24	0.10
Prie-dieux	0.78	0.40
Washbasins	0.30	0.20
Simple beds	0.76	0.63
Beds in a cupboard	0.26	0.07
Luxury beds	1.00	0.60
Cupboards	0.15	0.13
Dressing tables	0.20	—
Shelves	0.65	0.03
Chairs	9.89	3.80
Armchairs	1.70	0.77
Chamber pots	0.33	0.53
Stools	3.77	1.20
Stools with armrests	1.33	0.40
Pedestals	0.59	0.07
Studioli	0.93	0.40
Tables	0.80	0.33
Coffee tables	1.74	0.83
Total	*23.08*	*8.36*

seen that the homes of women were smaller than those of men and had fewer rooms. If we keep this fact in mind and adopt the distribution of furniture by total number of rooms rather than merely by the gender of the testator, a strikingly different picture emerges.

Subdividing objects, while taking into account the number of rooms, transforms the relative poverty of women into relative wealth. If one considers the specific subgroup of chests, dressers, and sideboards, the abundance of female furniture becomes even more apparent: almost three pieces per room in the houses of women, compared to only 1.5 for men. Even *studioli*, which we customarily associate with the very male space of the educated and the scholarly, appeared slightly more frequently in women's houses. On the other hand, the smaller number of chairs and stools that women owned reflected the different nature of their houses, which were not only smaller but also less furnished with antechambers and halls.

Fewer chairs and more stools, fewer tables and more coffee tables, more albeit less elaborate beds: there was a lot of female furniture, in short, but it did not create more sumptuous rooms. An examination of materials confirms this impression. *Albuccio*, a soft wood similar to fir, characterized the furniture of women much more than it did that of men.

The apartments of women were more full of furniture than those of men, but their furniture was of lesser quality and often second rate. This relative abundance was not determined by greater wealth, which was a special

TABLE 3.5 Number of furniture by specific room (196 male and 26 female)

TYPE OF FURNITURE	MEN	WOMEN
Writing desks	0.03	—
Counters	0.06	—
Side tables	0.22	0.46
Chests	0.69	1.23
Little chests	0.20	0.38
Cembalos and spinets	0.20	—
Dressers and wardrobes	0.03	0.35
Cupboards	0.35	0.27
Cradles	0.10	—
Prie-dieux	0.02	0.15
Washbasins	0.15	0.04
Simple beds	0.06	0.27
Beds within a cupboard	0.04	0.08
Luxury beds	0.17	0.19
Cupboards	0.01	—
Dressing table	0.03	—
Shelves	0.13	—
Writing tables	0.03	—
Chairs	2.09	2.00
Armchairs	0.37	0.15
Chamber pots	0.03	—
Stools	0.57	0.27
Stools with armrests	0.27	0.42
Pedestals	0.14	—
Studioli	0.21	0.23
Tables	0.13	0.08
Coffee tables	0.35	0.42
Total	*6.58*	*6.99*

Note: The sample for women is so small because the majority of female inventories listed goods without specifying the room in which they were found.

TABLE 3.6 Type of wood utilized

TYPE OF WOOD	MEN	WOMEN
Albuccio (fir)	36.44%	43.07%
Walnut	63.56%	59.93%
Total	100%	100%

privilege of men. The taste for *things* was at play here. More statistics will help us understand the dynamics.

Children's Furniture and Furniture by Occupation

Although it had a young population with a high percentage of children, seventeenth-century Roman society did not develop a material culture that allotted a specific place to childhood.[15] There were very few cradles in these inventories (four altogether, between men and women), just as there was little clothing, toys, or other objects intended for children. Even the account books of nobles are characterized by the rarity of purchases for children:

a few articles of clothing now and then or some pairs of shoes. For this reason the descriptions of children's things owned by the painter Raspantini are particularly touching, such as the wood-ribbed crib lined with cloth and red damask, the "high seat on which little children sit for dinner," the "little chair and chamber pot for children," the "two small seats for children to play in," and little beds on rollers.[16] Save for another "reed-cradle lined inside and out with fine needlework" and a "cart and a clothes-warmer with a seat for children," mentioned in a dowry inventory of 1700, these are all the children's furniture I have found.[17]

Nonetheless, the rich merchant Giovanni Rotoli, who died in 1628, had a room in his home called the "children's study," sparsely furnished with a bench "for studying," a table, a large empty dresser, and an old spinet. There was a brazier to keep the children comfortable and perhaps to increase their dedication to their studies.[18] Raspantini was also unique among the people I studied in having a portrait of his little son.[19] A few people, all of them male, had some toys among their children's things such as "puppets for children," little carts, and horse figurines. The only doll I found was given as a gift by the Santacroce family to the daughter of the imperial ambassador.[20]

The Santacroce bills furnish further information on the objects intended for children at the beginning of the eighteenth century. More loquacious than the notaries who drew up the inventories, a carpenter asked to be paid for having "fit the infant's cradle that is kept in the bed, raised the cover again, made the seat, put the bed frame back together, and set it up in front of the seat so that the infant can play."[21] A year later, with the birth of Scipione and Maria Isabella's second child, their needs increased. The carpenter presented a new bill for having "made the feet of a dinner cradle out of worked and polished fir for the little marquis, fixed the cradle for keeping the infant in bed, and fixed the roller bed with four heels to make it higher for the little Master."[22] Yet another year later, a third bill reported, "four pieces of wood for the bed of the little master Marcello to make four small columns so that the covering-net does not fall on the infant."[23] Thus we discover that there were three different kinds of beds for children, according to their age and relationship with their wet nurse: a basinet to keep by her side in bed, a genuine cradle, and a little roller bed with netted sides.

The material culture of childhood in the Santacroce family was rather sophisticated. Some time later, the general inventory of movable goods, composed upon the death of the old Marquis Antonio, adds further details to our picture, but it also demonstrates that the specialization of rooms and furnishings did not go beyond what we have already seen. The children were given two rooms, contiguous with those of their mother. Apart from some regular furniture for the nurses, the first room—called "that of the little masters"—contained "two chairs made out of hollowed wood for the infants," a "wicker cradle with wooden feet," and the netted bed we have just seen. Another wicker cradle and the little cradle kept in the nurse's bed were in the next room, that "of the women." In the children's room there was also a "chamber pot in a frame with a majolica casing and a red damask cover used by the most illustrious Marquise Maria Isabella." A lady did not keep her chamber pot in the room where she slept or received but relegated it to her children's room, which was certainly less public than her own.

If children had relatively little furniture, the servants had almost none. Rotoli and Raspantini each had a bed for their male or female servant, and the blacksmith Giunti had one in the workshop for his apprentices.[24] That is all. There was somewhat more differentiation between the furniture of masters and servants (still defined as "family," accord to the Latin usage) in the matter of sheets, tablecloths, and napkins, which at least five inventories described as "fine" and "rough, for the family's use."

By contrast, "technical" furniture used for work was quite numerous and also tended to be clearly distinguishable, since whoever drew up the inventory did not neglect to specify the professional use for which the furniture was intended. We are thus able to form an idea of the kind of furnishings found in the workshop. Counters were obviously the most common—they could simply be called "for the workshop" or, more specifically, "for commercial measuring"—and especially chests of all types, from large ones to small ones "for counting money." There were also more unexpected and sophisticated objects, such as the twenty "display cases with their curtains"—glass boxes with cloth coverlets—of the Lirighetti company, or the "display case for draperies" and the "podium or commercial writing desk with its cabinet and money case" in the same workshop, or the new display cabinet "with glass windows" that a dealer in fans owned.[25]

The Value of Furniture

In twelve inventories the description of objects was accompanied by an estimate of their value. Naturally, this value depended on their quality as well as their state of preservation. More elusively, the estimate was also linked to the interests of the person who drew up the document: in two cases one has the clear impression that the state of wear and tear was knowingly exaggerated to lower the value of the objects. It is likely that the contrary,

TABLE 3.7 Value of furniture (in scudi)

FURNITURE	NUMBER	MINIMUM VALUE	AVERAGE VALUE	MAXIMUM VALUE
Luxury beds	11	4.00	28.54	75.00
Beds	9	0.60	5.15	18.00
Sideboards	12	1.00	3.65	6.00
Cupboards	7	1.20	1.67	3.00
Dressers	5	0.90	2.68	6.00
Closets	5	3.50	8.40	20.00
Chests and trunks	36	0.30	2.12	5.00
Chairs	85	0.01	2.41	5.00
Studioli	4	0.60	3.65	7.00
Tables and coffee tables	18	0.20	2.95	30.00

overestimation, was equally as frequent. As a result it is not surprising that the portrait that emerges from our analysis shows a great range of values, especially in the case of beds and tables. These kinds of furniture ranged from very simple models, made out of ordinary wood, to extremely elaborate ones, made out of precious wood, richly carved, gilded, inlaid, with other expensive materials added on (bronze for the bed frames, for instance, or marble tops for the tables).

The same was true for chairs, which could be made from hay but also of velvet, damask, or "French needlework" at the extreme level of refinement. Likewise *studioli* varied from a small piece of simple walnut furniture of little compartments to a precious piece of craftsmanship with inlays of ebony or carved figures.

Some Concrete Examples

Individual inventories offer a more evocative image of domestic spaces than aggregate numbers and relative averages. The first correlation is the obvious one between wealth on the one hand and the variety of furnishings and number of rooms on the other. The two-room home of Ippolita Venturola, a widow who died in 1626, was very desolate, for instance.[26] Her bedroom contained only a luxury bed of fir and walnut, with darkened columns supporting a simple cloth canopy, and two fir chests that stored her clothing and linens. Her hall had a dresser containing majolica plates, four leather chairs with armrests, three wooden stools, and a walnut coffee table. She had no paintings, wall hangings, or furnishings for the hearth, of which there was none in any case. There were not even any kitchen items. Nonetheless, this less-than-well-off woman possessed silverware, probably received as wedding gifts or repayment for some important service.[27]

The apartment of Porzia Taglina (d. 1666) was richer than that of Ippolita Venturola. It also comprised two rooms. In her bedroom she had a bed complete with a yellow and red canopy made of wool and cotton thread, two lion-footed chests, a *studiolo* with compartments, and a coffee table. The walls were decorated with an impressive eight paintings, large and small. In the hall there was a cupboard of fir and walnut, a smaller cupboard, and a little chest, as well as two calfskin chairs, a velvet chair, three stools, and a coffee table. Here too the walls were ornamented with paintings, and the presence of andirons and kitchenware suggests the existence of a hearth and the possibility of cooking in the household.[28]

The households of two men, Ippolito Giunti and Bartolomeo Piantarella (d. 1645 and 1646), were very similar to that of Porzia Taglina.[29] The apartment of Maria de Litteris (d. 1667) was more sumptuous, with three rooms. The door to her hall was decorated with worked leather panels varnished with red and gold, the dresser was entirely of walnut, and on one of the two sideboards there was a *studiolo* "with various carved puppets." Some forty paintings covered the walls and depicted a variety of subjects, from the portrait of Cardinal Ottoboni to that of a cobbler, from flowers to landscapes or battles. In the room, the usual walnut luxury bed with gilded knobs was covered with a colored thread-and-silk canopy, flanked by a prie-dieu with tortoise-shell columns, a closet in two pieces, and two large chests. There were some large devotional paintings on the walls and many other small tondos or other forms. Remarkably enough, this home also had a kitchen furnished with three chests, a dresser "with a stair-like shelf above," a coffee table, a stool, and a washbasin. Two pairs of andirons attest to the presence of a hearth.[30]

A similar typology in terms of the distribution of room and furnishings is found in the rented houses, such as that leased in 1667 to the furrier Pietro

Antonio Vittori (three rooms). His few pieces of furniture were essential ones—in the hall a large chest, a table, four chairs, and seven stools, in the room another chest, a luxury bed with tortoise-shell columns and carved knobs, a prie-dieu, and a stool—but all of walnut and of good make. As in the previous case, the hall door was decorated with green- and gold-varnished worked leather, and the walls were adorned with around fifty paintings and a mirror in a gilded and painted frame. The subjects of these paintings were all secular, and it is worth lingering on them, especially since the home was being rented. Many were history paintings, such as that of Acteon, Europa, or Tancred and Clorinda. Others were landscapes, flowers, or simply "nude women" flanked by cupids or gold vases. There was even a recent portrait of the tenant himself. Some precious frames, "made of lapis lazuli and gold," offer further proof of the relative riches in this rented home. The bedroom walls were also covered with more than thirty paintings, but these were all on devotional subjects. Rarer was the "weapons rack" present in the same room, not to mention the harquebus, swords, pistol, and dagger that filled it. Andirons, braziers, and kitchenware completed the apartment.[31]

The typology of rooms became richer and more complicated as their number increased. The simplest additions to the basic structure of room and hall were a kitchen and a third or fourth room, often situated beneath the roof or on a lower level on a different floor. Still, there is no lack of evidence that some apartments were organized vertically rather than horizontally. The inventory of Alessandro Tinelli (d. 1645), a spaghetti vendor, mentions a "roof room," a "room in the middle," and three other rooms "on the ground floor."[32]

The multiplication of rooms did not entail a proportional increase in the furniture present in each room. The furnishings of the halls of Margherita Betti and Francesco Raspantini (five and seven rooms, respectively) were much reduced with respect to some of those we examined earlier. Margherita possessed only a chest, a cupboard containing some pieces of silver, and a closet, all of walnut. There were nine portraits on the walls, three little landscapes, and four devotional paintings. Raspantini had a chest, a dresser (of fir and walnut), an arms rack, four chairs, and a tripod with a basin for washing one's hands. He also owned a cembalo "with its feet and leather covering."

Their bedroom furnishings were more interesting. Margherita had a little trunk full of books, three small but expensive ebony chests and another of ivory-inlaid wood, a cupboard, some twenty chairs, a large walnut table "with a rounded frame," and three coffee tables with their *studioli*. Apart from the usual wooden luxury bed covered with a canopy and flanked by a prie-dieu, the room also contained a "small bed with a headboard gilded in the Neapolitan style" and a "seminary-like cot, with three benches and four tables." The doors were adorned with satin or leather palls, and the presence of andirons suggests that there was also a fireplace, a rarity in bedrooms. There were a few mirrors on the walls and about thirty paintings, not all on religious subjects. The furnishings of Raspantini's bedroom were similar. Here too there were a dozen chairs of various kinds, five coffee tables with *studioli* on top, a dresser, two cupboards, and two trunks, as well as the usual luxury bed accompanied by a prie-dieu. There were hints of color coordination as well: the palls that covered the doors were of the same red and yellow hues as the canopy on the bed. Six devotional paintings hung on the walls.[33]

Even the larger homes of the lawyers Negrelli and Pari (nine and twelve rooms) did not differ much from the arrangements we have just seen. Both had a study with shelves for books, benches for reading, chairs, stools, and paintings on the walls. Negrelli's paintings were of various subjects, whereas Pari had rather appropriately chosen "six portraits of the most famous writers on legal affairs." But the same kinds of furnishings that we have already seen in smaller homes continued to adorn their hall and other rooms.[34] The same was true for the Lirighetti merchants, whose house had an impressive thirteen rooms. Differences in profession and wealth (as expressed in the dimensions of the house) did not affect lifestyle.[35] Apart from differing social status as expressed in the right to adopt certain titles ("illustrious and most excellent" for lawyers, "magnificent" or at best "illustrious" for merchants), their tenor of life unified them all in a single "middling" class. There was one exception: the hall, study, and at least one other room in the homes of both lawyers had sumptuous leather wall hangings that were gilded or varnished with gold, silver, and red.

Only with the goldsmith Cangiani do we find a true qualitative leap, not so much in the number of rooms—fourteen, only one more than the Lirighetti—as in the quality of furnishings. His home resembled the typical dwelling of aristocratic Romans, characterized by a series of antechambers almost devoid of furniture and instead decorated with statues and paintings, which led finally to the bedroom of the owner of the house. The first room was furnished with only four chairs, portraits of his mother and father, and a mirror. The windows had tambours protruding over the road, which was an absolute rarity. The next room was adorned with a profusion of tapestries and a frieze with red, gold, and azure glazes. There was little furniture here:

six chairs "done in French needlework," a coffee table with "various semi-precious stones" in a carved frame, and six stools or pedestals surmounted by gesso statues. There was another mirror on the wall and three paintings done by an ordinary hand.[36] The room that followed, however, was dominated by a luxury bed with carved and gilded columns, and covered by a silk and red damask canopy. The bed was surrounded by a polished walnut chest with a lock, four chairs with inlaid backs and another with "purple-and-silver damask fringed with gold," a little armchair of "feminine" green damask, and four stools that matched the chairs. The walls were covered by a profusion of leather hangings, varnished with gold, azure, and red in various designs of flower vases, over which presided a portrait of the owner of the house. The next room opened onto a loggia and reproduced the same scheme: a luxury bed with a bright red damask canopy, a chair of red hide, and three small armchairs of green damask, a dressing table of red silk embroidered with gold, and an ebony *studiolo* inlaid with ivory having ten little compartments and a cover. Next was a dining room covered with leather hangings of gold, silver, and red and furnished with a large walnut table, a coffee table, chairs, stools, and "a cembalo or spinet with a tripod covered in red leather." The loggia itself is worthy of attention because it contained an uncertain number of vases filled with carnations, bitter oranges, and other flowers.

Equally impressive was the value of this furniture. The two luxury beds were worth 75 and 70 scudi, the coffee table of precious stones was 30 scudi, the hangings in the form of flower vases were 25 scudi, the chairs with French needlepoint were 3.5 scudi apiece, the inlaid *studiolo* was 7 scudi, and a closet adorned with mother-of-pearl and two sideboards, all stored in another room, were 10 scudi each.

Situated on the first floor, the five initial rooms were by far the most sumptuous and probably the ones shown to visitors. More modest furnishings characterized those situated on the second floor. The leather wall hangings had largely disappeared, and in their place appeared paintings: twenty-six of the thirty-eight paintings in the house were concentrated in this "second apartment." Vincenzo Giustiniani was right when he maintained that paintings performed the same decorative function as the varnished leather wall hangings.[37] Even the values of the two kinds of objects were not that different: the eleven paintings in the "room that opened onto the corridor above the loggia," all done "by an ordinary hand," were worth 12.40 scudi in total, which was about the same as the hangings that decorated the room with the cembalo (10 scudi). Some of the paintings had a more than ornamental function, however; the portraits of his ancestors in the first room demonstrated

TABLE 3.8 Value of the furnishings in the Cangiani house (in scudi)

ROOM	TOTAL VALUE OF FURNISHINGS
Hall	12.70
First adjoining room	94.20
Second room	125.50
Room above the loggia	85.60
Adjoining room	20.80
Kitchen	3.30
Room adjoining the kitchen	10.90
Loggia	4.00
Room that opened onto the corridor above the loggia	56.90
Room that faced the loggia	4.20
The next loggia	0.50
Room at the top of the stairs	21.20
The little adjoining room	23.60
Total	463.40

the antiquity of the house and the genealogy of its inhabitants. Finally, the wealth of this home may also be gauged through the fact that two rooms in the second apartment—aside from the kitchen—were furnished with andirons and thus fireplaces.

An "Almost Noble" Lifestyle

The series of antechambers leading to the bedroom of the owner of the house is even more marked in the inventory of the rich merchant, banker,

and money changer Giovanni Rotoli (d. 1628). His three-story house had a courtyard surmounted by a double loggia that was accessed through a spiral staircase. A portico connected the road to a "room called the bank" where the proprietor carried out his business. Comprising twenty-four rooms, the house was most sumptuous, for the quantity of artistic objects that decorated the various rooms as well as for the richness of the tapestries that covered the walls. Almost every room had walls adorned with leather hangings in the usual brilliant colors framed by gold and silver, or with Venetian brocades of equally vivacious hues: red and yellow with green columns in two rooms, yellow and deep blue with red and white columns in another. The wardrobe contained six large tapestries and two small ones with floral designs. Even some of the leather hangings had designs: flower vases in one case, grotesques in another.

The order of the rooms was similar to that of Cangiani's home. Rather than cover the same ground twice, I will limit myself to noting the particularities of this house, the richest in our entire sample. The first aspect is that the sequence "first antechamber—second antechamber—bedroom" was repeated three or four times: six out of twenty-four rooms were furnished only with chairs, rich tapestries, paintings, and other objects of art. The first "room at the level of the courtyard," for instance, did not contain any furniture at all if one excludes a coffee table and ten chairs. It also contained six marble sculptures—a head and five busts—mounted on the same number of "pedestals," and an "antique pedestal with an inscription"; in the following room were two columns of yellow marble; in yet another room was a clock with a glass bell jar; in a fourth room, which was covered with leather hangings with grotesque designs, were sixteen portraits of popes, cardinals, princes, and noblewomen. For the greater glory of his house, the art objects that Rotoli collected also comprised marble statuary, for the most part antique. His paintings were not only decorative elements but were also indicators of his political loyalties and declarations of belonging to powerful pontifical patronage networks.

Although there was not much furniture, the tapestried rooms of the Rotoli household reveal a conscious strategy of promoting "splendor." The style was the same in the bedrooms. The only truly furnished room was that defined as the "hall" on the first floor, although it seems more like a bedroom, having chests and strongboxes, a luxury bed with a canopy of green damask, a prie-dieu, a dressing table of red leather, a wash basin, various chairs, a coffee table, a *studiolo*, and a spinet. There were four devotional paintings on the walls, aside from red and green leather hangings that suggest the great

size of the room, since they were valued at 300 scudi rather than the usual 150 to 200.

This house was exceptional with respect to the middling classes to which its proprietor belonged. It was distinguished by the quantity of small rooms or little chambers that intruded into the larger rooms, by the presence of one room furnished only with cupboards as well as another "of the wardrobe," where all of the furniture and movable goods not being used were kept, and finally by the richness of the furnishings of the kitchen. All of these features clearly distinguish this house from the other houses in our sample, including that of the goldsmith Cangiani, and approaches the style of noble dwellings.[38]

The synthetic picture the table below offers is more eloquent than words in giving an immediate idea of a rich, "almost-noble" household of the early seventeenth century. Considering that the house contained twenty-four rooms, the total amount of furniture appears low and strongly biased toward chairs. Seventy years later, in 1700, the style of houses does not seem to have changed much.

The inventory that the guardian of Fabio Ugolini made is only partly comparable with that done at Rotoli's death, since the absence of china and kitchenware suggests that only the movable goods of his dead father were counted and not (for instance) the dowry goods of his mother. Nonetheless, his eighteen-room home demonstrates many similarities with Rotoli's. The richness of the wall decorations is one clear example: in the Ugolini household the tapestries were so important they were counted separately, as the most significant possession. The same was true of the paintings. Finally, the superabundance of chairs with respect to any other kind of furniture was also comparable.[39]

It is also interesting to compare Rotoli's and Ugolini's inventories to that of Vincenzo Giustiniani, from the point of view of the total amount of furniture as well as from the specific furnishings of his private rooms.[40]

If for the purpose of comparison we use the percentages of each kind of furniture out of the total, the similarity in the composition of the three households is striking. This is especially true considering the social distance that separated the men: Giustiniani was a titled nobleman, the lord of Bassano, as well as the nephew and brother of cardinals.

Certainly there were differences. For instance, Giustiniani owned many more cupboards and display cases than did the other two, partly because he had to guard many more precious objects. But there were numerous similarities as well. One striking example is the equal percentages in *studioli*, which

TABLE 3.9 Furniture of the Rotoli household, 1628 (24 rooms)

FURNITURE	
Wardrobes and dressers	5
Chests and strongboxes	14
Cupboards and sideboards	11
Writing desks	5
Book shelves	3
Studioli	7
Chairs	90
Stools	18
Spinets	2
Tables and coffee tables	12
Luxury beds and sofas	5
Prie-dieux	3
Washbasins	3
Seats	3
Dressing tables	1
Paintings	59
Wall hangings	15
Clocks	2

were among the most refined of furniture and were used for equally refined purposes such as protecting small precious objects, from domestic accounts to money. The disproportion in the number of chairs and stools and the low number of tables are also perfectly comparable. This suggests that the line between a noble lifestyle and an almost-noble one was a thin one. A

comparison of these figures with the last column in the table below, which lists the percentages for all types of furniture among the other seventy-four inventories, makes clear the distance that separated Rotoli, Ugolini, and Giustiniani from the lifestyle of the middling classes.

The markedly smaller size in the number of chairs in the larger group makes their other percentage figures much higher, mostly in favor of chests and strongboxes, followed by beds. The most modest houses had neither antechambers nor atriums and were thus less prepared to deal with the presence of a large number of inhabitants, permanent or temporary: fewer family members, servants, or guests walked their halls. Their furnishings hinged upon the bed, the large chest, the table, and some chairs. This pattern is all the more evident the further one descends the ladder of wealth in both its economic and its social dimensions. Even toward the top of the scale,

TABLE 3.10 Furniture of the Ugolini household, 1700 (18 rooms)

FURNITURE	
Wardrobes and dressers	12
Chests and strongboxes	9
Cupboards and sideboards	5
Book shelves	1
Studioli	6
Chairs	74
Stools	17
Tables and coffee tables	7
Luxury beds and sofas	2
Prie-dieux	2
Paintings	72
Wall hangings	24

TABLE 3.11 Furniture of the Giustiniani household, 1634 (64 rooms)

FURNITURE	
Wardrobes, dressers, and closets	46
Sideboards and cupboards	32
Chests and strongboxes	29
Cembalos and organs	3
Studioli	14
Chairs	200
Stools	40
Tables	9
Writing desks	1
Lectern	1
Beds and luxury beds	15
Prie-dieux	5
Washbasins	3

however, the almost-noble lifestyle is clearly distinct. Despite his profusion of tapestries, the goldsmith Cangiani fully fits the profile of the middling classes.

The same difference that was found between noble and almost-noble homes and the dwellings of the middling classes appears again in the comparison between male and female inventories.

Beds and chests alone constituted more than 25 percent of all female furnishings, confirming the state of relative deprivation in which women lived with respect to their male peers.[41] Their rooms could be more crowded with things, but the variety of their furniture was decidedly less apparent.

Returning to the comparison between Vincenzo Giustiniani's inventory and those of Giovanni Rotoli and Fabio Ugolini, the similarities we have

noted remain evident even when the marquis's private apartment and the furnishings of his rooms are taken into account. The hall contained only a sideboard, eight chairs, and two tall stools; the antechamber was altogether free of furniture; the room "where the marquis slept" did not contain anything more than the usual luxury bed, prie-dieu, four chairs, a stool, and

TABLE 3.12 Percentage of the various kinds of furniture in the inventories of Rotoli, Ugolini, Giustiniani, and everybody else comprised within my sample

FURNITURE	ROTOLI	UGOLINI	GIUSTINIANI	EVERYBODY ELSE
Wardrobes and dressers	2.7	8.9	11.5	5.2
Chests and strongboxes	7.7	6.7	7.3	14.3
Small chests	0	0	0.5	3.0
Sideboards and cupboards	6.0	3.7	8.0	5.9
Studioli	3.8	4.4	3.5	2.6
Book shelves	1.6	0.7	0	1.7
Writing desks	2.7	0	0.3	0.1
Lecterns	0	0	0.3	0
Chairs	49.5	54.8	50.0	30.9
Stools	9.9	12.6	10.0	15.0
Tables and coffee tables	6.6	5.2	2.3	8.1
Cembalos and spinets	1.1	0	0.8	0
Beds and cots	2.7	1.5	3.8	7.6
Prie-dieux	1.6	1.5	1.3	2.6
Washbasins	1.6	0	0.8	1.0
Chamber pots	1.6	0	0	1.7
Dressing tables	0.5	0	0	0.4
Total	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*

TABLE 3.13 Percentage of the various kinds of furniture from all 76 inventories

FURNITURE	MEN	WOMEN
Wardrobes and dressers	4.93	6.18
Chests and strongboxes	11.73	17.88
Small chests	2.40	2.87
Sideboards and cupboards	5.80	5.74
Studioli	2.86	2.65
Book shelves	2.00	0.22
Writing desks	0.40	0
Chairs	35.51	30.24
Stools	15.59	10.38
Tables and coffee tables	7.79	7.73
Beds and cots	6.20	8.61
Prie-dieux	2.40	2.65
Washbasins	0.93	1.32
Chamber pots	1.00	3.53
Dressing tables	0.47	0
Total	*100.00*	*100.00*

a coffee table. Although very sumptuous, these furnishings were at least as sparse as those of Rotoli, if not more so. The sense of "splendor" continued to be linked to the number of wall hangings. The hall had 270 pieces of leather, the marquis's bedroom 207, as well as paintings and other artistic objects of the highest quality. Remarkably, the antechamber, which another part of the inventory listed as the room "where the marquis used to eat," had no furniture: the table and chairs were apparently kept elsewhere and brought in only when needed. This instability of furnishings is suggested by other pieces

of evidence. In the Ugolini household "the dining room" was likewise free of furniture, and the letters that the Spada and Santacroce families exchanged when about to depart for vacation demonstrate that the beds in noble rural residences were assembled only upon the arrival of their masters.

Eighteenth-Century Transformations

If it is correct to consider Ugolini's inventory typical of the domestic interiors of the nobility in late seventeenth-century Rome, then one can more easily understand the astonishment and admiration that struck Scipione Santacroce when he saw the lifestyles of his peers in Paris and London as he traveled through Europe in 1696–97. The descriptions in his travel diary are always extremely detailed, suggesting the dual influence of travel literature, fast becoming a proper genre from the mid-seventeenth century onward, and the rules of epistolary writing, which enjoined writers to give an "exact relation" of everything they did or saw.[42] Nonetheless, the object of his descriptions changed from place to place. In Flanders and Holland, Santacroce was struck by the order and cleanliness of the cities, in London by the wealth and variety of the merchandise and the technical perfection of many of the objects, in Germany by the ceremonials of the little courts, in Moravia by the asceticism of a reformed community, in Poland by the rusticity of the way of life. The force of stereotypes combined with his capacity for observation determined what he noticed. In France the attention of the young traveler was always and everywhere—in the streets, in inns, in homes—attracted by elegance, and he dedicated page after page to describing the appearance of noble residences and the quality of daily life there. This indicates the importance the French style had assumed even in Rome and the difference he perceived between what he observed and what he was familiar with. Scipione wrote from Paris:

> I went to a conversation where I observed many decorations and furniture that are used in France. First of all, conversations are usually held in the bedroom and there are not that many rooms; the fireplaces are very beautiful, with mirrors placed low and at head height so that people can look at themselves. Above the frame there are various baubles of fine porcelain, such as coffee cups and little vases placed above finely carved wooden bases. Larger vases are placed above small, rather low tables which have gold feet. On account of being from China the coffee tables are said to be of excellent craftsmanship and are either

carved, or done in Chinese lacquer or some other craft. They use Chinese dressers without cornices but lacquered or with curious Chinese figures. Next to the bed is always a more comfortable chair, for resting. They also use certain narrow but long beds for resting. When it is time to take coffee, tea, or chocolate they bring a little table into the room with the plates, cups, and other implements on top.[43]

Four years later his young spouse must have read his old travel diary very carefully. Her personal account books, begun shortly after their marriage, show that the young woman was furnishing her private chamber in the French style. As one may recall, many of her expenditures pertained to the furnishing of her "boudoir," for which she purchased a series of extremely elegant furniture and accent pieces.[44]

Years later a general inventory of the goods of the Santacroce household described the "Furniture in the Most Illustrious Marquise Maria Isabella's apartment on the first floor," including the room on whose furnishing so many expenses were lavished.[45] The walls of the bedroom where the young marquise slept were covered with tapestries of various size and shape, finished with a "frieze of crimped red damask with arabesques in gold fringe from Germany" that ran along all the walls. On one side stood "a curtain of red damask decorated with tiny, very fine gold lace," which covered a bed made of the same material; next to it was a "prie-dieu made of olive wood" with four small cases adorned with silver and two red damask cushions with lace and tassels of gold. There were twelve red velvet chairs around the room, also furnished with gold thread, an armchair "with a multicolored coverlet," two "lathe-turned gilded columns, two small ebony chests with four drawers, another small ebony chest of drawers, and a bookshelf with various books." The windows were covered with white taffeta curtains, cords and tassels of white silk, and "a white bronze compass with the Santacroce family monogram, with clear glass and a white taffeta curtain." The furnishings were completed with "a two-piece display case gilded and carved with various figurines, three large crystals and four other small ones, a small oval table made out of gilded wood the color of walnut; a coffee table of Indian fig with similar feet; a small ebony table inlaid with ivory in the shape of dice with lathe-turned feet painted black; two triangle-shaped coffee tables of olive wood and ebony for gaming." The walls, in the few spaces not occupied by tapestries, contained five paintings and smaller pieces of saints and the Madonna with carved and gilded frames, "a wood cross inlaid with mother-of-pearl," and "a little hourglass."

The mirror had "a large black and gold frame with five gilded putti and a gilded tassel" and was found in the adjacent room, "where the fake cabinet made by the Most Illustrious Marquis Scipione stood." This cabinet was a space delimited by a painted cloth that served as the "sky" and two curtains that closed in the sides.[46] It was furnished with four calfskin chairs with the arms of the Vecchiarelli, a walnut writing desk, a bookshelf full of books, and a stool covered with fabric. The quantity of paintings the couple succeeded in stuffing into such a small space is surprising: three "vistas," two "pastorals and bacchanals," a Madonna, a portrait of Cardinal Vecchiarelli, two little paintings "with French figures," two with vases and flowers, another Madonna, and two other "vistas and seascapes," four little landscapes, two more pastorals, another little painting of fruit, one of flowers, and a picture of a horse.

The colors (red and gold) and the fabrics (damask and velvet) were traditional, just as the devotional paintings that adorned the walls of Isabella's bedroom were traditional as well. Nonetheless, the furnishings of that room recall quite directly the salon of the *précieuse* Madam de Rambouillet. Just like in Paris, beds in Rome were covered by a canopy and surrounded by twelve chairs that served as a divan. The little cases made of precious woods had a decorative role. Above all, Isabella's room was crammed full of furnishings, as was her husband's "fake cabinet." There is a notable contrast between the "fullness" of these rooms and the usual "emptiness" of the antechambers and halls, which even in the Santacroce palazzo continued only to be furnished with many paintings and a few chairs.

The Taste for Domestic Spaces

Maria Isabella Vecchiarelli Santacroce was a titled noblewoman, while Margherita Betti was a simple member of the middling classes, and the differences between the rooms of these two women are undeniable. Nonetheless, they share some common elements, and many other people in our sample resemble them as well.

There is no source beside the inventories of goods for judging the level of wealth. Contrary to the usual practice, in other words, wealth and social status are not our primary data but are rather deduced from lifestyle: the poor were those who lived in a house of one or two rooms; the well off were those who had more spacious homes. Nonetheless, the quantity of furnishings does not always confirm this rough distinction. On the contrary, these data are often deceptive. For instance, the private rooms of the Marquis Giustiniani,

TABLE 3.14 Number of paintings, mirrors, and tapestries per room

	MEN			WOMEN		
ROOM	PAINTINGS	MIRRORS	TAPESTRIES	PAINTINGS	MIRRORS	TAPESTRIES
Bedroom	8.62	0.37	0.12	9.42	0	0.14
Hall	12.78	0.36	0.36	12.85	0.28	0.14
Other room	6.93	0.23	0.41	5.11	0	0

who lived in a palazzo of more than sixty rooms, were much emptier than the rooms of Maria de Litteris, who lived in an apartment with two rooms and a kitchen. The doors to the woman's hall were covered with leather painted with red and gold, her dresser was entirely of walnut, and on one of the two sideboards there was a *studiolo* carved with figures. The walls were almost completely covered with gilt-framed paintings. In the bedroom, the luxury bed was flanked by a prie-dieu, a cupboard, and two large chests; the walls were again covered with paintings large and small. Only the leather tapestries that abounded in the Palazzo Giustiniani but were wholly absent in the de Litteris household reveal the difference in wealth between the two people. Certainly, the paintings of the marquis were the work of the most famous painters of the day, whereas those of the woman were in all probability rather cheap, but what I would like to emphasize is that Maria de Litteris, despite her infinitely more modest means, constructed a domestic space that evoked a modicum of "splendor."

I believe that these conclusions may tentatively be generalized. In my opinion, a reasonably trustworthy indicator of the relationship between wealth and the taste for things consisted precisely in the difference between male and female homes. Women had smaller houses, as we have seen, yet they were surrounded by a larger quantity of furniture. Nonetheless, the quality of their furnishings was inferior, probably because they disposed of smaller financial resources. Moreover, the variety of these same furnishings was more limited, which makes one suspect that their cultural resources were also smaller. An analysis of the distribution per room of paintings, mirrors, and tapestries confirms this point.

Women did not allow themselves pricey mirrors or leather tapestries, but paintings cost less—often very little—and could therefore be accumulated, reaching and often surpassing the splendor of men. It is this apparent contradiction between greater poverty on the one hand and the greater tendency to accumulate on the other that allows us to recognize that different attitudes toward things and the desire to possess them were partially independent variables and not simply concomitants of wealth. A more detailed analysis of the ownership of paintings and other decorative household goods will show even more clearly how complex were the connections among people, things, and wealth. This is the subject of the upcoming chapters.

CHAPTER FOUR

Furnishings and Clothing

Tableware and Kitchenware

We have seen that only the biggest dwellings (those with at least four rooms) tended to have a space explicitly dedicated to cooking. But as with halls and bedrooms, the goods the kitchen contained were fairly distinct and did not witness much evolution between the beginning and the end of the century. There is no evidence of a progressive passage from an "older" to a more "modern" way of cooking. The situation was much more varied and complicated. Little more than thirty people (twenty-three men and twelve women) had the necessary tools like skewers and grills for making the most of their fireplaces, let alone an instrument broadly comparable to a stove, such as an iron trivet "for a pan." Even more surprisingly, only some sixty individuals (thirty-five men and twenty-four women) possessed at least one pot or pan or other article used for cooking. Almost a fourth of our sample had no kitchenware whatsoever, although part of the reason for this should be attributed to the fact that the inventories cataloged ownership and not access to things. Those "missing" items probably belonged to some other member of the family.

If we exclude inventories that did not contain even a single "kitchen implement" and limit the analysis only to those fifty-nine individuals who owned one or more such things, the average distribution of pans, pots, skillets, and frying pans seems to have been adequate even by our standards. For once, difference in gender did not translate into disparities in distribution: only cauldrons—which, when they were large, could also be used for washing the laundry or the dishes—were decisively female objects.[1]

TABLE 4.1 Cooking implements per person (35 men and 24 women—Betti counted 4 times)

	MEN		WOMEN	
	NUMBER	PER PERSON	NUMBER	PER PERSON
Graters	11	0.31	9	0.38
Small sauce pans	36	1.03	21	0.88
Kettles	6	0.17	8	0.33
Small pots	21	0.60	19	0.79
Pots and pans*	23	0.66	8	0.33
Bowls and pipkins*	142	4.06	11	0.46
Large and small cauldrons*	44	1.26	20	0.83
Lart pans	22	0.63	12	0.50
Spits	38	1.09	18	0.75
Grills	22	0.63	12	0.50
Trivets	40	1.14	25	1.04

Note: *These objects were in reality more abundant, since in some inventories the "pots and pans" (*tegami*) and the "bowls" (*pile*) were mentioned only generically and lacked precise numbers.

As usual, the analysis of particular inventories offers a more vivid image of seventeenth-century kitchens than mere averages. The dowry inventory of Margherita Betti also included an evaluation of the worth of the cataloged objects and allows us to form a precise idea of the materials from which her kitchenware was made and their value.

Margherita Betti had a rich assortment of cooking paraphernalia, but not exceptionally so: in a distribution graph of ownership she would be situated

TABLE 4.2 Margherita Betti's kitchenware (1644)

OBJECT	VALUE IN SCUDI	MATERIAL
1 Water pitcher	1.00	copper
1 Large knife with a small hammer	0.60	
5 Ladles	0.25	iron
1 Large kettle	1.00	copper
2 Small pots	2.00	copper
1 Frying pan	0.25	iron
1 Grater	0.10	
1 Mortar and pestle	2.00	bronze
1 Mortar with 2 pestles	0.20	marble
4 Skewers	0.30	iron
1 Spit for turning the roast	2.00	iron
1 Grill	0.20	iron
3 Trivets	0.80	iron
2 Triangular trivets	0.10	iron
1 Set of kitchen scales	0.50	
1 Jar for olive oil with a cover and clasp	5.00	
1 Cask of vinegar	2.00	
2 Splits for wine	1.50	
1 Large cauldron for washing	5.00	copper
2 Tubs for washing	0.20	clay
3 Jars for lye	1.00	

TABLE 4.2 *Continued*

OBJECT	VALUE IN SCUDI	MATERIAL
1 Pulley for a large well, with trappings	0.70	iron
2 Well buckets	2.00	copper
Total	*28.70*	

in the upper part of the quadrant but would remain close to the median line. She did not possess many casseroles or other copper implements, which were by far the most valuable items in a kitchen. The goldsmith Cangiani, whose inventory also contained estimates of value, was much better furnished both in terms of quantity and quality of kitchenware.

Compared to Margherita Betti and almost everybody else, Cangiani owned rather uncommon items, such as "a table for pounding fats and meat" and a "tin for cooking fish." In their obscure humility, even these were signs of distinction.

The frequency with which some types of implements appeared in the inventories suggests some hypotheses about the way seventeenth-century Romans cooked.[2] How was food prepared? Was it boiled, roasted, cooked in an oven, or fried? At least judging by kitchen implements, the table shows that the three operations were not equivalent: roasting meat on a grill or a spit was within the means of only a restricted number of people. Even fewer could cook cakes or pies in an oven.[3] The majority had to be content with boiling or stewing their food in the various copper and clay pots or pipkins that appear in these inventories.[4]

The impression of normality noted earlier of the small distance between seventeenth-century Roman culinary practices and our own must be radically revised when examining the distribution of plates and flatware. Only seven out of thirty women possessed plates, bowls, or other vessels for eating food,[5] and only twenty people total (out of more than seventy) possessed kitchen knives or spoons.[6] This scarcity is even more astounding considering that silverware was not equally as rare: twenty testators had at least one pair, comprising a spoon and a fork. The manner of preparing food in the

TABLE 4.3 Paolo Cangiani's kitchenware (1667)

OBJECT	VALUE IN SCUDI	MATERIAL
Basin	1.2	brass
40 Ordinary plates	0.4	
12 Jars	10	clay
2 Vases with worked handles	6.5	copper
8 Spoons		wood
3 Cooking spoons		iron
22 Copper kitchen pieces	9.3	copper
1 Small pot	0.4	
2 Cauldrons with trivets	1.2	iron
1 Pan for roasting chestnuts		
4 Frying pans	1	
25 Various bowls	0.2	
2 Tins for cooking fish	0.1	tin
3 Mortars	0.3	marble
2 Little mortars	2.5	bronze
4 Spits	0.5	iron
4 Grills	0.7	iron
3 Trivets	0.3	iron
2 Trenchers	0.05	wood
1 Table for pounding fats and meat	0.05	
1 Cask with a little vinegar		
15 Full jugs of wine		
1 Cauldron		copper
Total	*34.7*	

TABLE 4.4 Number of kitchen utensils listed in all the inventories, and the number of male and female owners of each kind of utensil

	UTENSIL		OWNER		
OBJECT	NUMBER	MATERIAL	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL
Frying pans	57	iron/copper	18	14	32
Grills	34	iron	18	11	29
Skewers	56	iron	16	7	23
Tart pans	34	copper	12	8	20
Cauldrons	64	copper	19	12	31
Kettles	14	copper	5	6	11
Small pots	40	copper	16	13	29
Bowls and pipkins	153	clay	14	5	19
Pitchers	37	copper	17	9	26
Trays	53	copper	17	13	30
Trivets	65	iron	18	11	29

seventeenth century is more distant from our own than it may have seemed at first.

If the paucity of knives and spoons makes it difficult to compare seventeenth-century cooking to our own, the rarity of plates and cups makes it equally difficult to compare their manner of consuming food and drink to ours. The differences were particularly marked in the case of women.

The table below demonstrates that tablecloth, silverware, and plates appear with comparable frequency in male inventories, whereas tableware is very rare in female inventories. The plates listed were of very different quality according to the varying status of their owners. The rarest were of porcelain, while others were made of majolica, tin, or clay. This paradox is resolved by comparing the four successive inventories of Margherita Betti:

only in the last, drawn up at the moment of her death, did the woman possess an appropriate amount of plates, which she had apparently inherited from her husband. Tableware was a predominately male good, and in the division of labor between husband and wife, it was the man's duty to provision the house.

There was no gender difference in glasses, however; they were very rare for everybody, although other utensils were apparently able to substitute for them. The term *glass* was reserved only for those made of glass or crystal. Other objects made of majolica or earthenware, called *mugs*, could also be used for drinking, although more often they seem to have served as little pitchers. Although these pitchers could certainly be used for sipping water or wine, they were not so widespread as to modify the picture I have outlined. Only one woman and three men possessed at least one cup.

Our knowledge of the manner of consuming food and drink in the seventeenth century derives largely from the images paintings and prints transmit, from the anecdotes that surround the diffusion of forks, and from the development of specialized kitchenware more generally. Etiquette manuals complete the picture, and our information on this subject appears to be fairly complete and reliable.[7] Nonetheless, these inventories call some conclusions into question. There apparently existed a segment of the urban classes, well off enough to own a house, furniture, linen, and fine clothing, but unable to cook at home, or even to consume food on their own plates or drink from their own glasses. Only the pinnacle of the middling classes—lawyers,

TABLE 4.5 People in possession of at least one object for preparing and consuming food

OBJECT	MEN	WOMEN
Pots	35	24
Kitchen flatware	9	11
Plates	24	7
Cups	6	2
Silverware	20	10
Tablecloth	29	16

painters of some success, goldsmiths, merchants, and their wives and widows—could see themselves reflected in those family portraits, so diffuse in this period, in which parents and children sat around a table covered by a properly starched tablecloth and set to the nines. The social promotion and self-celebration that such paintings aspired to are best understood by comparing the splendor the pictures suggest with the more modest realities revealed in inventories.

Household Linens

If kitchenware and culinary implements appear in only one in three inventories, household linens by contrast were ubiquitous. But they, too, hold some surprises for us. Ownership of household linen was also divided unequally in favor of men. Although slight, this relative male advantage is enough to disprove the hypothesis that sheets, tablecloths, towels, and napkins constituted the female portion of the domestic patrimony.[8] In the seventeenth century as in the early Renaissance, the trousseaus of girls from well-off families did not include household linens.[9] Given that our source comes largely from postmortem inventories, one cannot exclude the possibility that the reason for this umpteenth instance of relative female poverty is to

TABLE 4.6 Categories of household linen per person (43 men and 26 women)

CATEGORY OF LINEN	MEN	WOMEN
Sheets	17.5	16.8
Pillowcases	3.3	4.0
Tablecloths	6.9	6.4
Towels	24.6	24.1
Napkins	12.6	8.8
Blankets	3.8	3.0
Bed canopies	1.7	1.0
Total	*70.3*	*60.3*

be found in the utilitarian relationship between women and their linens. If the trousseau was the principal reserve of wealth for women, as some wills clearly indicate, perhaps it was in a practical way: trousseaus could not only be preserved but also utilized productively to yield an income.[10] Since lending or renting out sheets or tablecloths ruined them, they would obviously have tended to disappear from the trousseau. Unfortunately, it is difficult to follow the destiny of things to find confirmation for this hypothesis. The inventories used here to reconstruct material culture offer snapshots into the situation at a particular moment but are silent about change over time. We cannot usually reconstruct the effects of the passing years on clothing, linens, and various other objects. Only Margherita Betti's documents allow us to see how things changed over time. In the arc of twenty-five years she lost in some categories of linen—for instance, the number of her sheets declined from thirty to twenty—while making substitutions in other categories. A few things appeared as "new," but overall the entries found in her last inventory were described as "used," "old," "ruined," not to mention the numerous tablecloths and napkins by now reduced to "rags."

Clothing

The asymmetry between the sexes does not diminish if one moves from household linen to examine personal clothing. Whereas women had 11.1 shirts per person on average, men had 12.7, almost two more. And while at least three men owned some pairs of underwear, only one woman had any in her dowry trousseau. But the most remarkable discovery is not so much the different number of clothes owned on average by men and woman as the fact that male inventories contained female garments in great quantities while the opposite never happened. We also know the fabric that went into 283 male garments and 193 female ones, and can thus compare their quality as well as their quantity. The most precious female garments—those made of brocade, damask, or gold leaf—are almost all found in male inventories.

As in the Florentine Renaissance studied by Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, luxury clothing continued to belong to husbands in seventeenth-century Rome. This is apparent from other sources, such as wills: a husband often disposed of his wife's garments. For instance, Giacomo Anguillara left as a gift to his wife "two garments which I had made for her use," although "the purple brocade and lace one" were to go to his heirs.[11]

But there is more. While female garments made of common wool, such as *revers* (turned wool) or serge, were decidedly more frequent than those made

TABLE 4.7 Female clothing in male inventories and vice versa (36 men and 24 women)

	MALE INVENTORIES		FEMALE INVENTORIES	
GARMENT	FOR MEN	FOR WOMEN	FOR MEN	FOR WOMEN
Shirts	457	95	31	267
Outfits	295	88	8	129

TABLE 4.8 Female clothing made of precious fabric

FABRIC	MALE INVENTORIES	FEMALE INVENTORIES
Brocade	5	
Damask	3	2
Fine wool	7	1
Gold or silver leaf	3	
Satin	2	1
Taffeta	7	6
Gold thread	3	1
Velvet	8	2
Total	*38*	*13*

TABLE 4.9 Fabric of male and female outfits

FABRIC	MALE GARMENTS	FEMALE GARMENTS
Serge or *revers*	47	55
Gine wool	15	8
Silk	57	40
Total	*119*	*103*

of drapery or silk, in the case of male garments the proportions were inverted, all in favor of more precious fabrics. The vanity of women and their luxurious and squandering ways are revealed for what they were: stereotypes.

Ownership and Usufruct

An examination of the value of clothing suggests that the laments of male contemporaries were not altogether unjustified, however. The maximum value of a complete male outfit was worth less than half of its female equivalent.

The female garments we are dealing with come mostly from dowry inventories and were thus predominantly new, or at least in good condition. The male ones, by contrast, almost all come from postmortem inventories and probably showed more wear and tear, as the difference between minimum and maximum values suggests. Nonetheless, this is not sufficient to explain away the entire difference between male and female clothing. Nor could it be imputed to ornamentation, which abounded in the garments of both sexes, or to the quality of fabric, which was more valuable in the case of men. But the quantity of material that went into female clothing was much greater, and the price reflects this fact.

TABLE 4.10 Value of male clothing (44 garments)

GARMENT	NUMBER OF TIMES LISTED	MINIMUM VALUE	MEDIUM VALUE	MAXIMUM VALUE
Breeches	3	1.50	2.75	4.00
Cassocks	2	0.80	1.12	2.00
Short cloaks	10	3.00	5.00	10.00
Doublets	10	0.50	2.16	5.00
Complete outfits	11	2.00	5.21	15.00
Gowns	8	1.00	6.81	10.00
Total	*44*		*3.84*	

TABLE 4.11 Value of female clothing (104 garments)

GARMENT	NUMBER OF TIMES LISTED	MINIMUM VALUE	MEDIAL VALUE	MAXIMUM VALUE
Complete outfits	30	3	11.6	35
Corsets	24	0.3	2.21	8
Doublets	5	2	3	6
Sleeves	6	0.5	0.92	4
Dresses	28	1	6.32	11
Gowns	11	0.8	2.57	
Total	*104*		4.44	

The difference in value between male and female clothing is not the interesting issue per se, insofar as it only allows us to evaluate the varying patrimonial wealth of men and women. If such a difference is important it is because it draws attention to gender relations. The most sumptuous female clothing was found in the patrimonies of men. On the one hand, this is partly explained by the groom's duty of offering his bride nuptial gifts in the form of a "counterdowry," and, on the other hand, by the regime of separation of goods that was the rule among married couples. A purchase remained under the control of the spouse who paid for it even if it was to be used by the other spouse.[12]

The tension between ownership and usufruct was not easy to overcome. The fact that these costly garments remained under the male ownership was not sufficient to erase the original spot that tainted them: a man paid for them for the benefit of a woman who was to have exclusive use of them. The resentment displayed by so many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors against women for their obsession with novelty and luxury may be explained by this duplicity of rights, which hinged upon the same object. For example, the Rimini knight Pietro Belmonte, though speaking to his own daughter, employed vehement words to denounce the avidity of so many wives: "the uses, or to be more precise, abuses that today are the custom in the embellishment and dress of women, *in which at times the dowry is insufficient and recourse is made to the husband's wealth,* is a great scandal and infamy."[13] This same tension, which was not always or necessarily conflictual, prompted many husbands to use their wills to give definitively to their wives the clothing and linen they had been using for so many years. Other men by contrast could be brought to claim their property, as Captain Anguillara did. And some women recognized their own debt, as did a wife of an embroiderer when she declared that all the objects found in her room were acquired with her husband's money and therefore belonged to his heirs.[14]

The Quality of Clothing

Despite the relative abundance of clothing in our sample, not all inventories contained a proper list of clothing or personal linen. Listing them was probably superfluous or unnecessary given the reasons that led to the creation of the documents in question, or perhaps they were cataloged separately.[15] The fact remains that only thirty-six men and twenty-four women possessed some piece of clothing, and only a smaller number (twenty-four men and twenty-one women) could boast of a more or less complete outfit composed of breeches, cassock, and a riding cloak, with the optional addition of a doublet, in the case of men; and a dress, corset, and sleeves as a possible complement to the gown, in the case of women.[16]

The appearance of such clothing is difficult to imagine, especially by relying solely on the bare descriptions in the inventories. The summary expressions "clothing" or "garment" followed by the specifications we have seen recall Spanish-style fashions, but they are not sufficient for clarifying our ideas, especially considering that the definition is the work of a notary rather than a tailor.[17] Moreover, only one woman owned the farthingale, which completed the Spanish look; the others had nothing of this kind.[18] In any case, it seems that there were few major changes between the beginning and the end of the century even in this field, at least from the point of view of definitions. French fashions were already present at the beginning of the century, and the terms the notaries used to designate the various kinds of clothing were also the same.[19] Signs of development may be discerned only through rare details.

What the documents define as male "dress"—the combination of cassock and breeches—does not differ much from the image that is familiar to us from the self-portraits of artists from Domenichino in 1603 to those of Carlo Maratti toward the end of the century.[20] Several men also possessed a gown: a long, front-buttoned coat that covered most of the legs or went

to the ground. It was a garment for mature people such as magistrates or jurists, and it is not surprising that the lawyers Negrelli and Pari had two apiece, and that the gentleman Neruzzi had one as well.[21] Rotoli possessed four, of which one was made of damask, and Ludovico Santolino (d. 1625) had an impressive seven. But it was not by chance that this last individual lived between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. After 1650, the gown fell out of fashion, a fact reflected in the inventories. As a sign of his status and wealth, the banker Rotoli also had two fur coats, one with "sleeves to be worn" and another, even more sumptuous, with "hanging sleeves."

None of the men in this sample had only the clothes on his back, as sometimes happened in cases brought to court. All of them had at least another cassock or another pair of breeches, and often two or more complete outfits of different fabrics and states of wear. The same was true for their riding cloaks. By contrast, starched collars and cuffs were less widespread, not to mention hats and berets.[22] At least one individual out of three also had one or two pairs of separate sleeves, to be tied to the shoulders of the cassock or doublet according to a rather antiquated practice.

The situation was no different for women: they too generally possessed two or more outfits complete with dress, corset, sleeves, and possibly a gown. They also used sleeves separated from the corset that they attached to the shoulders with laces. Collars and cuffs were much rarer, and hats practically nonexistent.[23] In recompense almost all of them had an apron and also a kind of cloth mantle called a "dryer," which went up from the belt to cover the head.

Although ankle socks were very common, shoes were quite rare.[24] One woman had a pair of slippers, another "string shoes." The others were completely devoid of footwear. Even the trousseau of Maria Virginia Cartari, daughter of Carlo the consistorial lawyer and archivist of Castel Sant'Angelo, had only a pair of bedroom slippers: very elegant ones, adorned with "large" gold lace, but only one pair.[25] The same was true for men: only six (including the goldsmith Cangiani and the painter Raspantini) had boots or shoes, while another six only owned cloth shoes similar to those of the women, although it is difficult to know how their soles were made. But account books show that payments to cobblers were not rare and that footwear in general was not frightfully expensive: a pair of good-quality slippers cost around 0.40 scudi, and a pair of boots came to about 1 scudo.[26] The shop inventory of a "slipper-maker" shows how rich an assortment of slippers was available on the market: *pianelle, pianelloni,* and *pianellette* of wood or cork, with soles of different heights, not to mention *scarpette* and *scarpini* of

various types of leather.[27] Despite this, from the point of view of consumers, footwear was extremely rare, and not only in Rome; it is a rarity too well documented to dissolve simply by attributing it to the insufficiencies of the inventories.[28] As in the case of the well-furnished dinner tables, one might think that the slippers, boots, and shoes fastened with a bow that appear in the paintings and prints of the period are often an idealization—or self-promotion—with respect to a more prosaic reality composed of many bare feet. But if so, what was the point of so many pairs of stockings recorded in the inventories? Perhaps only the very rich owned more than one pair of shoes, while everybody else brought with them to the grave the only pair in their possession, so as not to present themselves barefooted to the Creator in contempt of all decorum.

Some of the inventories (six male and one female) mention children's clothing as well. The goldsmith Cangiani possessed an entire wardrobe for kids, from swaddling clothes for infants to shirts and doublets, including three little gowns, one of which "had lace on its sleeves": an elegant little garment similar to those which are to be found in so many portraits of young nobles. The garments Raspantini owned were suitable for an older child that had by then abandoned long outfits in favor of the typical male suit, comprising breeches and cassock, although only "for a kid." They were very elegant as well, made of black velvet. A further piece of fancy child-wear was the little feathered beret belonging to the embroider Bronconi.[29] It is striking that all these articles of clothing are found in the inventories of men, while the only one owned by a woman was an ordinary "little shirt for a child."[30]

Fashion

Did those men and women who owned clothing follow fashion? Were they traditionalists dressing in the conventional way, donning clothes as old as twenty or more years, or did they change them to adapt to developments in appearances and style? And, first of all, were they conditioned by the sumptuary laws that prohibited certain materials and colors?

Roman legislation concerning luxury was not very restrictive. The Dress Reform of 1586 did not distinguish between different grades of people—townsmen and peasants, gentlemen and burghers, and so on—as happened in Florence or France, nor did the popes institute a magistracy that occupied itself specifically with violations of sumptuary laws.[31] The bull limited itself to detailing a series of rules on "dress for men," "for brides," "for wives," and "for widows" that prohibited ornamentation that was too expensive:

gold and silver tassels, for instance, could not be wider "than a finger," the "bands" on cassocks or hats should not have "more than six paddings," slashing should be done in a certain manner, and lining could only be of taffeta and, in the case of women, of a nontransparent fabric.[32] However, we have no idea of the efficacy or severity of the law's application, and the inventories are not detailed enough to permit an examination.

Turning our attention from laws to the actual choices of individuals, the first impression the documents give is one of great stability: the names of clothes were always the same, as were fabrics and colors. Dowry inventories, which undoubtedly contained more new than inherited things, do not change this impression. Women like Margherita Betti, Angela Zericchi, or Orsola di Maurizio, who all married between 1644 and 1647, had traditional clothes in their trousseaus, composed of a dress, gown, and girdle of reliable woolens such as *perpignan*, sometimes adorned with lace or silk tassels. The same types of garments were found in the trousseau of Anna Agnese Marinoni, married in 1664, and in that of Teresa Trombetta, married in 1667.[33] Only Teresa Marozzi, a bride of 1700, had a wardrobe decidedly different from the preceding ones. Her trousseau approached an aristocratic standard: three "stylish bonnets," a "blouse," a "night gown," two "manteaux," and two *zamberlucchi*, or hooded Turkish cloaks.[34]

Compared to brides of the middling classes, noblewomen obviously had richer trousseaus. In addition, beginning with the generation of Vittoria Patrizi Spada (born around 1650), they began to buy new clothes independently from grand ritual occasions.[35] As we have seen, Vittoria allotted most of her personal resources to paying the bills of the tailor and fabric merchant. She dressed "in the French style," bought collars "in Colbert's manner," had "fashionable little curls" to put in her hair, and paid to have "an hongreline of black velvet" produced.[36]

By the end of the century, when Isabella Vecchierelli Santacroce began to keep her memory book, the phenomenon of fashion seemed already to have exploded, at least among noble families. Isabella in Rome and her young husband in Vienna did not let a month pass without buying a new article of clothing or modifying an out-of-fashion one.[37] The phrases "in style," "in fashion," and "in the latest fashion" appear with increasing frequency in both their expense book and in the bills of their tailors. In addition to promptly following changes in taste, the two were very precise in describing what they bought. In November of 1701, Isabella recorded paying the embroiderer "for having embroidered figures in silk and gold into a nightgown, including the faces of the figures, which cost one scudo apiece." Some time later she wrote of leaving for Loreto and having "made a sequined scarf with iridescent colors for the trip." The appearance of her clothing was always minutely detailed: "a corset open in the front and perforated on the sides"; "a manteau and petticoat with an extra piece made of yellow material, the same color as the dress"; "stuff for the bedroom" that was "made of Indian material"; two corselets, "one of white *amuer* (wavy silk) dotted with white, with the blouse attached by a silver string and gilded galloon, and the other of green *amuer* dotted with green, with a blouse attached by a golden string and another gilded galloon," and even "a wig to wear with a travel outfit." Among so many manteaux and petticoats of the traditional wardrobe, it is hardly surprising that there were also a "*surtout* for traveling," various bonnets in the *bat-en-l'oeil* (eye-fluttering) style, aside from a pair of underwear and a pair of male stockings that were probably used in an Amazon outfit, that is to say, when she dressed like a male.[38]

During the same years her husband Scipione in Vienna had outfits of English or Dutch fabric made for hunting, the countryside, and parties, as well as various expensive costumes for masked balls (one like Pantalone, a character from the Commedia dell'Arte, and another like a Venetian nobleman).[39] Moreover, the young couple as well as the older members of the family spent lofty sums on "adjustments" and repairs, as the surviving bills of tailors attest. Scipione regularly paid a certain Signora Anna who modified his shirt collars and ties for him, and the old Marquis Antonio, his father, had his jerkin shortened and his buttonholes enlarged, apparently to keep up with new styles.[40] The women of the family did no less: Isabella had various garments modified or dyed, and the tailor Margherita Guarnier presented another Santacroce with a bill requesting payment "for adjusting the hood of the cedar domino, for modifying the masquerade outfit by adding silver trimming above the green velvet waist, for remaking a farthingale with bones of whales out of yellow thread embroidered at the bottom, and for making it larger and more fashionable, with all its hoops changed."[41]

For men of the middling classes, changes in fashion were much less important. In their cases, moreover, it is impossible to distinguish between the time of their wedding and that of their death. Their inventories were all postmortem, and it is probable that all of their clothes were bought many years earlier and were by then old-fashioned. It was not until the end of the century that there appeared garments different from the normal stockings, cassocks, doublets, and riding cloaks: the lawyer Pari (d. 1667) was in possession of four hongrelines—cassocks of a more modern appearance thanks to their longer, more open coattails along the back and the flanks, and the frog

decorations on the front—and Nicola Salvati (d. 1700) owned "abbot collars starched in the French style" and "handkerchiefs for tobacco." In reality, these were only half-innovations, because ultramontane fashions had spread to Rome many decades earlier: already in 1628, a clothier numbered among his wares some doublets for men "in the French style."[42] Handkerchiefs for tobacco were just appearing, however, and nobody possessed snuffboxes except Raspantini, who probably sold them.

Colors

The distribution of colors confirms what iconographers have always maintained: black was absolutely prevalent in male garments (exactly half of the clothes whose colors were recorded were black), while women's clothes were much more vivid (less than a third were black), with a strong showing in red, followed by tawny and blue.

TABLE 4.12 The colors of clothing (excluding shirts and other linens)

	MEN		WOMEN	
COLOR	NUMBER	PERCENT	NUMBER	PERCENT
Blue	5	3.23	12	8.28
White	6	3.87	3	2.07
Tawny	8	5.16	13	8.97
Yellow or gold	9	5.81	8	5.52
Gray or silver	4	2.58	7	4.83
Black	78	50.32	45	31.03
Pink	12	7.74	8	5.52
Red	18	11.61	33	22.76
Green	7	4.52	10	6.90
Violet	1	0.65	1	0.69
Different or multicolored	7	4.52	5	3.45
Total	*155*	*100.00*	*145*	*100.00*

Although not as predominant for women as for men, the table below shows that black nonetheless occupied a position of clear importance. It would be interesting to follow changes in the use of colors between the beginning and the end of the century, to be able to trace a progressive abandonment of the austere inspirations of the Spanish style in favor of brighter pre-eighteenth-century looks. Nonetheless, colors vary greatly according to specific cases, and we do not have enough data to say that there was a passage from the sober Spanish style dominated by black to a brighter, more colored French style that used lighter fabrics. In the account books of noblewomen there began to appear new types of material, such as the "Indian" fabric that Maria Isabella Vecchiarelli Santacroce acquired in 1703.[43] But there is still no trace of this sort of thing in the inventories. More than any novelty imported from abroad, the reds, yellows, and turquoises of the Romans seem to have been the persistence of a local tradition.[44]

Clothing and Status

What was the relationship between clothing and status? The legislators of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were convinced that there had to be a perfect equivalence between the two, and many sumptuary laws aimed at precisely this end.[45] But we usually do not have any way to verify their efficacy. What we can do is examine the congruency between various aspects of the patrimony to determine how much correspondence there was between the sumptuousness of the furnishings on the one hand and the richness and variety of the wardrobe on the other.

Our documents show that there *was* a relationship between clothes and wealth, but not a very strict one. Ippolita Venturola's home was among the most impoverished, but she had a trousseau of clothing richer than that of many other women: three rather severe gowns, black or tawny and apparently quite old given their small value, but also two dresses and a red or purple "stomacher" of Milanese serge, that is to say, of very superior fabric, one of which was worth fully 6 scudi. In compensation, however, she did not possess even a single shirt. Porzia Taglina, who had many paintings on her walls and owned kitchenware, did not have much clothing: only one dress with a gown, ten shirts, and ten handkerchiefs. By contrast, the relationship was much more linear in the case of Maria de Litteris. A rich assortment of clothing accompanied her profusion of furnishings: two full outfits, four girdles, and

various petticoats and jackets—some black like the two outfits, but also red or turquoise ones—eight pairs of stockings, about fifty handkerchiefs, some twenty aprons, including one the color "of seawater" adorned with silk lace, and three slips. She also had a "red silk belt with gold lace."

For the painter Raspantini and the lawyers Negrelli and Pari, the comfortable atmosphere of their homes corresponded to the preciousness of their clothes: complete outfits for men in black velvet or slit fabric that allowed one to see the silk lining, lace collars, starched cuffs, shirts, stockings, hats, gloves, shoes, and such. The three wardrobes were not identical, however. Each had its own marks of originality: the lawyer Negrelli had a doublet in the French style at the beginning of the century when the article was not yet very common; having lived a long time in Naples, the painter Raspantini had a predilection for Neapolitan and Spanish fashions, and he possessed collars and cuffs of all types and three complete velvet outfits; and finally the lawyer Pari (d. 1667) had four gowns in the latest fashion and a pair of high boots. Despite this, the differences that separated them from the banker Rotoli remained profound. Rotoli had much more clothing, in more beautiful fabrics and with richer decorations. But that is not all. Aside from his own clothing, he also owned sumptuous women's clothes: one was of red brocade with gold embroidery in the Milanese style, another of turquoise drapery with gold and silk embroidery, another still of *tabine* with sliced fabric the color of turtledoves and adorned with gold fabric, or even gold fabric adorned with gold lace and tawny taffeta, and so forth. Nonetheless, even Lodovico Santolino, whom the notary did not call "illustrious" by accident, had women's dresses of damask or satin with gold decoration.[46] Maria Virginia Cartari had equally beautiful garments: one "the color of lead brocaded with gold flowers, adorned with gold and silver lace from Venice," and another "brocade of gold in the French style, the color of ash, with black and gold silk lace."[47]

Clothing as Treasure

Ludovico Santolino, Giovanni Rotoli, Paolo Cangiani, and Francesco Raspantini all left at least one small child and, more to the point, a young wife behind when they died.[48] It is likely that the women's garments found in their inventories were carefully preserved wedding gifts. In addition, all the clothes—male and female—belonging to Santolino and Cangiani were appraised, and these figures could be added to the other three male inventories in which women's clothing received monetary values.

TABLE 4.13 Total value of clothing in scudi

TESTATOR	MEN'S CLOTHING	WOMEN'S CLOTHING	TOTAL
Cangiani	33.2	182.8	216
Fortini	62.4	6	68.4
Giunti	33.5	7	40.5
Santolino	59.3	33	92.3
Saracinelli	45.2	2.5	47.7

As the table below shows, the value of these wedding gifts was rather high and in some cases truly extravagant when compared to the total worth of the whole wardrobe. Why were they kept? Why did these Roman husbands not quickly sell them, as the Florentine merchants of the fifteenth century did?

Usually an inheritance was appraised because of the intention of selling it, and we know for certain that this actually happened in at least one case. On the same day Santolino's inventory was penned, his widow sold all of the dead man's movable goods to the secondhand dealer Simone dell'Arpa for 565 scudi.[49] Slightly more than a fourth (150.70 scudi) of the total value was composed of furnishings and a sixth by clothing (92.3 scudi): a significant proportion, which illustrates how important clothing was from the perspective of the family patrimony.[50] The sale of Dorotea Antolini's inheritance shows that the value of clothing arrived at even higher proportions for women: out of a total of 517.61 scudi earned in the sale, the "linens and dresses" yielded 210 scudi, almost half.[51] The hospital of San Girolamo della Carità, heir to Dorotea Antolini, has preserved a list of the goods they had to redeem: clothes, linens, some jewels, and some pieces of silver, for a total of 147.20 scudi.[52] Despite the presence of silver and jewels, half of the value of the pawns (77.85 scudi) was in textile products: brocaded or velvet goods adorned with gold or silver, sheets, tablecloths, and even a curtain, which alone had guaranteed a loan of 10 scudi. A similar document, penned for the return of a dowry to the family of a dead wife, reveals the same model: out of a loan worth 178.11 scudi, 78.80 scudi were backed by various linens, two silk women's dresses, and a damask canopy.[53] It is reasonable to conclude

that clothing (together with bed canopies) constituted a safe reserve of wealth and was preserved as such because it could be liquidated at a moment's notice, during life or after death. After marriage, a man did not rush to sell the clothes he had given his wife for their wedding, but kept them and passed them to his heirs. They would be the ones to sell them, potentially, along with other facets of their patrimony.

Woven Fabric, Spun Fabric, Ribbons, and Lace

A significant number of inventories (twenty-one male and fifteen female) record the presence of a varying quantity of woven or spun pieces, predominantly of linen. While rolls of woven goods generally belonged to men, skeins and balls of thread are found principally in the dowry inventories. For instance, Giovanna Bianchi brought forty-two pounds of spun linen and eleven of silk in her dowry, and Margherita Betti in all of her four inventories owned varying amounts of linen and hemp that was already spun or to be spun.[54] These examples offer a first glimpse of the existence of domestic spinning that fell under the specific purview of women. Further evidence comes from other kinds of documents, such as the notes of a husband who, in disposing of the things in his house, entrusted his wife with the supervision of the materials to be spun: these "were to be made into fabric, along with the other things for working, scissors, and other things that are necessary for the house and for her."[55] Considering the diffusion of domestic spinning this evidence suggests, it is strange how few spinning implements were mentioned in the inventories: no needles or pins, except in the Raspantini household, only two pairs of scissors, again in Raspantini's house as well as Cangiani's, and four linen combs divided among two women (Betti and de Litteris) and one man (Cangiani again). Betti, Raspantini, Cangiani, Rotoli, to whom the Santacroce family should be added for having bought spindles and distaffs: implements for spinning were only found in the houses of the well to do. They also belonged to some tradesmen: the Lirighetti, who were "silk workers," owned a spinning wheel, a tool for spooling silk, and silk reels. The embroiderer Bronconi had various embroidering frames and their accessories. But workingwomen owned nothing of the sort.

Here we must confront a problem that we have already faced more than once in this book: when considering the variety of objects present on the Roman scene, there are often significant discrepancies between the objects listed in inventories and those indicated by other kinds of sources. Women worked, but they did not own tools; cobblers and shoemakers produced shoes for all tastes and budgets, but almost nobody had a pair in their household. The responsibility for these discrepancies may be attributed to the inventories, which are partial and probably selective sources. But this seems to me an overly hasty explanation. For every careless notary there were other, more accurate ones, and in any case, there is no reason why selectivity would have affected scissors more frequently than knives, or flax combs rather than raw flax. It is more likely that omissions in the inventories were not random but reflect real absences. The silences of the records, in fact, reveal distinctive characteristics of the society in question: the poverty of consumption and the paucity of domestic tools. But there was also the capillary diffusion of all those forms of temporary possession: things loaned or rented, with onerous or generous terms.[56] Workingwomen probably used implements that were not theirs but were given to them for their use by the same artisan for whom they spun or wove.[57] Some evidence even suggests that they did not work in their own houses but rather in a kind of workshop, under a "female master."[58]

Domestic production was not limited to textile fibers. On the contrary, a large part of household labor was dedicated to the production and adornment of clothing. Aristocratic ladies participated in these activities as well, probably aided by their servants. For instance, in late seventeenth-century Florence the Gondi family produced all their linens—personal and household—in their home.[59] The domestic accounting of Roman families was not equally precise, and as a result we do not know exactly what was produced at home and what was purchased, but it is certain that every month Vittoria Patrizi Spada bought ribbon, lace, and silk thread for decorating her clothes and those of her daughter in such quantities that suggest she and her servants embroidered the clothes in the house rather than giving them to a tailor. In any case, the bills of fabric and ribbon merchants, tailors, and the embroiderer attached to her expense book demonstrate that domestic adorning and embroidering supplemented but did not replace the market. The frogs, buttons, and bundles of ribbons, thread, lace, and braids found in the homes of Margherita Betti, Polidoro Neruzzi, and Giovanni Rotoli show how precious these decorations were and how they were preserved by transferring them from one garment to another.

In more than one instance, Vittoria Patrizi's notes include an explicit entry for "ribbons for making lace" and suggest the domestic production of clothing decorations.[60] Such a hypothesis is supported by notes on other expenses, such as a tip given to a female embroiderer "for having helped me," a small sum paid to a household servant "for having made a cuff for

me," and finally a note left by her husband, Bernardino Spada, concerning "four collars and four straight cuffs made at home."[61] Moreover, many years earlier her mother-in-law had bought lace designs in vellum.[62] In the same period the daughter of Carlo Cartari had brought in her trousseau a "new pillow for bobbins made of green light silk, with a gold ribbon," "a frame for making ribbon," and a "book in folio with colored pages, having various pictures of lace and many paper designs of other grand, stylish laces for collars."[63] Even Isabella Vecchiarelli Santacroce, an elegant and fashionable woman, bought bobbins, thread, and pillows for making lace, as well as ivory thimbles that were certainly not intended for the servants.[64] The production of some kinds of lace could thus take place inside the home by exploiting nonprofessional labor. This was the purpose of pattern books such as the one included in Virginia Cartari's trousseau, of which Rome was an active center of production.[65] Two women were the principal protagonists of this market, profiting from the potential of engravings and prints to attract clients beyond a restricted circle of readers.[66] People like Raspantini, who possessed thirteen lace patterns, took it upon themselves to put them into circulation among their clients.

In addition to lace, pleated collars could also be made in the house, as the five "copper frames for collars" mentioned in five inventories suggest. Nonetheless, many women did not limit themselves to the creation of fashionable accessories. With the help of the nursemaid of her firstborn daughter, Vittoria Patrizi Spada planted a nursery of mulberries at Castel Viscardo, her husband's fiefdom, and produced silk thread in moderate quantities.[67] Every year between September and October she bought hemp and flax in impressive amounts, which she then had her maids spin and weave. For instance, in October 1668 she bought 137 pounds of hemp and 163 of flax, and a few months later she paid her nursemaid "for the manufacture of ninety-three *braccia* of fabric"; in May 1672 she bought a small batch (twenty pounds) of raw wool, which she had "made suitable," spun, and finally transformed into a serge.[68] In the same period she bought mulberry leaves (4.70 scudi), paid a woman "for her labors with the worms" (6 scudi), had cocoons brought to Rome (1.50 scudi), and used them to have five pounds of silk made.[69] About twenty years later, the Duchess Livia Sforza Cesarini, lady of Genzano, did even more: an expenditure note attached to her account books shows that her factor had set at least thirteen women to working flax under the direction of a "female master."[70] One of her expenditure books shows that she spent remarkable sums (50 scudi) to plant mulberries in Genzano and that she too raised silk worms.[71]

If these enterprising activities were directed toward autoconsumption, we could without a doubt consider them a sign of the weakness of the market: one produces in the household either to save money, or because industry, not stimulated by an adequate demand, offers products that are too expensive and not varied enough. But more than a few signs suggest that it is better to interpret these various female activities as an example of the "industrious revolution" for which Jan de Vries argues.[72]

A large part of those spun and woven goods was not geared toward autoconsumption, but rather toward the market. Even well-to-do women seemed to sell their domestic production, especially when their activity practically assumed the dimensions of a proper workshop: one of the batches of linen purchased by Vittoria Patrizi Spada, for example, was specifically designated for a certain "Monsieur Rubiaglio," a fabric merchant.[73] But rather than sell the spun and woven articles made in their house, noblewomen tended to exchange them for materials of better quality.[74] In 1623, for instance, Giovanna de Rossi consigned a "large sack of yellow fabric" containing seven pounds of raw silk to the merchant Francesco Sebregondi. The silk was "made in the home" of the woman, and she gave it to the merchant as payment for a certain quantity of fabric she had bought to make a dress for one of her wards, whom she had recently married to a bookseller.[75] Lavinia Beccola Cartari, the mature and usually thrifty widow of Orvieto, was involved in a similar exchange. When Lavinia felt the need for a cooler outfit at the beginning of the summer of 1634, with prudent parsimony she decided to cede 6 scudi of coarse cloth for a discounted price on "certain light material" for a gown and a petticoat: the cost thereby decreased from 11.25 to only 5 scudi.[76] Other account and receipt books show how widespread this practice was.

Instead of limiting themselves to directing operations from afar, women of lower status had to act personally, working at home periodically or continuously for a merchant or an artisan.[77] But when they could, they too willingly exchanged the fruit of their labor for the fabrics or laces their employers marketed. Thus an embroideress was given a certain amount of black *revers* by the merchant for whom she embroidered, and he "agreed to discount [the price] for my work." A silk worker begged her "female master" to exchange her salary directly for a used dress of red *perpignan* adorned with wool lace.[78] Household work and domestic production were thus ways for striking a deal with the market. On the one hand, it was a way of using it less, for keeping oneself aloof from the market; on the other hand, such activities were an effective means to participate in it. At least some part of

what was produced in the house was not used directly by the producer, but assumed the characteristics of a money-equivalent good and was exchanged for other goods.

The Market, Exchange, and the Preservation of Objects

The textile market of early modern Europe is probably the best-documented market of its kind, both in Rome and elsewhere.[79] Since the papacy farmed out the customs of its capital, after the first half of the sixteenth century we do not have data on foreign merchandise imported into the city. Nonetheless, we have lists of mercantile firms, inventories of warehouses and shops, and supply contracts. These materials allow us to reconstruct the state of the textile market in seventeenth-century Rome in suggestive if not precise terms.

The assortment of textiles contained in the inventories of mercantile warehouses was characterized by a preponderance of medium-quality products. No merchant owned the gold silk draperies of Milan (which in fact were prohibited by sumptuary legislation) or the most precious velvets of Genoa and Lucca, nor did they own brocades. The predominant fabrics were silks of inferior weight and quality and especially woolens, both of which were manufactured in Italy. A treatise on domestic economics published in Rome in 1657 advised "importing from abroad" the most precious materials. The author did nothing but recommend a necessary choice: those fabrics were apparently only obtained on order.[80]

Moving from fabrics to garments, the supply changes since there were many tailors in Rome. People of quality only used tailors, but Roman consumers also enjoyed a good supply of ready-made clothing. The shop inventory of a clothier reveals a rich panoply of men's clothing—stockings, doublets, sleeves, socks—of various makes and fabrics, for a total value of more than 1,000 scudi.[81] Among the many articles were various "outfits" whose prices were not different from those current in private inventories (see the table below). A mercer's shop inventory shows a similar variety of socks and sleeves.[82] From the point of view of supply, there were no bottlenecks in the market, at least at the level of less precious manufactures.

Secondary supply flourished alongside primary supply. Furniture, clothing, and household linen nourished a vibrant alternative market for used or rented objects.[83] Secondhand dealers, professionals who dealt with used merchandise by trade, played the most conspicuous role in this commerce. But a small percentage of the market was also available to private people who wanted to profit from their possession of quotidian objects that ex-

TABLE 4.14 Men's garments present in the shop of a mercer

TYPE OF GARMENT	NUMBER OF EACH TYPE	PRICE PER TYPE PER SCUDI
Padded mixed wool	28	2.80
Mixed wool with buttons and button loops	8	3.20
Mixed wool with lace	6	3.80
Mixed wool with nubs in the French style	8	3.30
Mixed wool, pleated in the French style	4	3.00
Coarse wool with decorations	14	5.30
Coarse wool without decorations	6	4.50
Coarse wool with nubs	2	6.20
Mixed wool for young men	28	2.00

ceeded their own needs. The account book of the Sforza Cesarini family shows that this activity could be rather lucrative. In 1689, for example, they rented funeral decorations for their house and carriage from the Duke of Acquasparta for the considerable sum of 15 scudi. Even great aristocrats like the Colonna family nonchalantly rented both as lessors and lessees, and the literature on household stewardship insisted on the disorders this practice could spawn if it went on without the master's knowledge.[84] Thanks to the registers of notaries and tribunals, we have evidence of the renting of beds, mattresses, sheets, tablecloths, and so forth even by those who have not left behind account books.[85] The same type of information is sometimes found in wills, when the testator recommended the retrieval of goods on loan or lease. Clothing, linens, jewelry, and silverware were also pawned, especially if they were valuable.

All of this shaped a relationship with things that is worth lingering on. Anthropologists have argued that in many cultures, precious fabrics are included among inalienable goods, that they must therefore be safeguarded as much as possible from the market in order to serve as treasure. The canopies and beautiful garments that Rotoli, Cangiani, Raspantini, and others owned seemed to share this same goal. Nonetheless, they were also among the objects in most rapid motion, frequently passing from one possessor to another. It is not by chance that I have spoken of possession rather than ownership. Renting and pawning did not constitute loss of ownership over an object but were means created for obtaining economic advantages from one's goods without alienating them definitively. This was the underlying purpose behind the recommendations to redeem pawned objects so often found within wills. And yet if beautiful clothes were left to heirs in some cases, and not only to people but even to the altars of churches, in other cases they were sold without regret, as was the case with Lavinia Cartari and as happened in all the inventories accompanied by appraisals and thereafter sold en masse.[86]

In seventeenth-century Rome the border between the alienable and the inalienable was uncertain, fluid, and tied to particular contingencies. Beautiful objects were meant to be preserved in order to objectify the self through them and to fix them as a sign of one's place in the world. But their number was multiplying, and it was no longer only one class of goods that served this function. The following chapters will be devoted to objects whose aesthetic and symbolic aspects clearly prevailed over their functional ones.

Part Three

IMMATERIAL THINGS

CHAPTER FIVE

The Great Collections

Renaissance Italy

For a long time, the "grand narrative" of Italian history depicted the sixteenth and especially seventeenth centuries as periods of decline. The narrative initially focused on political and military histories, followed by accounts of cultural and moral deterioration, and expanded to include the economy. Economic histories have taken up questions closely linked to the themes of this book: the rise of conspicuous consumption. Scholars have postulated that at the beginning of this period luxury consumption exploded while sumptuary laws fought, ineffectively, to hold back this swell. Meanwhile, investors purchased more and more land, immobilizing wealth in the construction of ever-larger buildings, and the merchant elite began to adopt the lifestyle of the nobility. All these enterprises subtracted resources from productive investments in manufacturing and commerce. In consequence, Italian cities declined. According to some historians, there was even a direct connection between the "hard times" of a depressed economy and the investments in culture that made possible the extraordinary artistic flowering of the Italian Renaissance.[1] This theory posits that during the period immediately following the Black Plague, when the fortunes of commercial and manufacturing firms became too uncertain to assure real growth in productivity, holders of private wealth chose to direct themselves toward ennobling forms of investment that guaranteed integration into the upper levels of the social hierarchy and, hence, security.

This traditional periodization of Italian decline has been subjected to a more or less radical revision. Among the first to critique this picture was

Fernand Braudel. While sixteenth-century Italy certainly saw a slowdown of its economic growth, he argued that this did not actually represent a real inversion of the trends that had been going on in previous centuries. Furthermore, the balance of payments still favored Italians through the first few decades of the seventeenth century and the appearance of new economic protagonists—such as Holland and England—did not constitute a loss of Italian primacy or spell her ruin.[2] Even if the economy was declining, the possibilities for accumulating public and private wealth were by no means near to being exhausted. More recently, Richard Goldthwaite has taken up the question again, proposing an even less harsh and dramatic picture of the economy during this period. He has found that the diminution of foreign demand was compensated by rising domestic consumption. This allowed the principal economic centers of Italy, such as Genoa, Florence, and Venice, to maintain their positions intact and even to expand their manufacturing beyond the traditional sectors of textile production into the creation of handcrafted goods. The development of these regional capitals also gave a push to the economies of various smaller centers of production throughout the peninsula. All of this allowed wealth to spread through wide sections of the population and assured a greater domestic demand for all sorts of goods. This in turn stimulated production of high quality objects, both those for daily use—such as glass and majolica—as well as artwork and cultural products, such as books and paintings.

Paolo Malanima's recent attempts to quantify the economic situation of this period confirm these reassessments. The data collected and elaborated on by this Tuscan historian show that the gross domestic product of central and northern Italy continued to grow until the middle of the eighteenth century, with a particularly marked increase in production from 1510 to 1640. Hence, for the entire sixteenth century one can speak of a golden age of the Italian economy, followed not by an abrupt inversion of this tendency, but rather by a long silver age, lasting until 1730–40. Even in 1750 the per capita product in central and northern Italy was second only to that of Holland and superior to that of the United Kingdom.[3]

Sixteenth-century Italians—and even their children and grandchildren—thus had money to spend. This was especially true because opportunities to invest in commercial enterprises did not hold pace with the growth of wealth in circulation. Those who had money invested it in land, which led to a rapid rise in real estate prices. Otherwise, they used their money to provide credit to rulers, which created a consequent fall in levels of interest for such loans. A third option was to invest money in luxury goods, thus stimulating the production of more high quality cultural objects. In these conditions, one should not be surprised that the art of spending money attracted increasing interest, both from a practical and a theoretical point of view. This trend was reflected in the composition of serious treatises on the matter.[4]

The Sacrifice of Utility

Classical economic motivations can thus explain the wave of consumerism avant le lettre that assailed Renaissance Italy. Although this perspective clarifies the conditions that made the increase in consumption possible, one must still explain what the significance of this development was for the period. Accumulating objects and thereby removing them from the normal circuits of exchange was a practice that certainly was not born during the Renaissance. It was a need that did not have to wait for the advent of the modern man to appear.

According to Krzysztof Pomian, the origins of collections of *naturalia* and *artificialia*—that is, collections of natural and man-made objects characteristic of the Renaissance period—date back to the funerary decorations and treasures accumulated in temples in remote antiquity.[5] Just like these original collections of votive objects, secular collections originated through people preserving goods and thus keeping them "temporarily or permanently outside of the circuit of economic activity."[6] Furthermore, goods in both types of collections exchanged their utility for a less tangible, invisible quality. Votive objects were sacrificed to the dead or the gods in hopes of receiving their favor or, at least, their neutrality. Similarly, "the sacrifice made on the level of the utility" of goods dedicated to a secular collection forced a metamorphosis of their nature, transforming them from *things* into *semiophores*.[7] Removed from daily use and exposed for display, goods became charged with significance, imbued with the capacity to put the visible world of things in contact with the invisible realm of abstraction. In this realm, where the hand is of no use, "the gaze, prolonged by an activity of language, either tacit or explicit . . . creates a connection between the object and an invisible element."[8]

The goods that make up collections are therefore not destined to be used or traded. They are solely to be "looked at," and it is just this "sacrifice of utility" that elevates them to the level of semiophores, messengers of the invisible. The value of this type of good defines itself through its ties with the invisible rather than through exchange or utility. However, the fact remains that this value can paradoxically be expressed in terms of the capacity to acquire *things* that do have utility and are fully enmeshed in the normal

circuits of the economy. Even if there were societies in which these two realms—useful goods versus meaningful goods—were rigidly separated, this was not the case in Renaissance Italy. In this society even the most sacred relics and the most sublime works of art could be exchanged for money or other equivalent goods. Ownership of meaningful objects did not put one completely outside of the market or the usual mechanisms of exchange. On the contrary, ownership of this sort was powerfully influenced by wealth. Riches were transformed into taste and knowledge the moment they were used to acquire a fine object filled with artistic or cultural meaning. The acquisition of such an object thereby altered the social hierarchy, which was based on status and reputation. By virtue of their connections with the invisible, semiophores confer a particular prestige on anyone who owns them. As Pomian writes, their significance

> derives from the emergence, alongside the twin hierarchies of power and of sacred (the clergy) and secular (artistic and intellectual circles) knowledge, of a hierarchy of wealth, which did not correspond to these first two. All three were themselves arranged in a hierarchy, with power dominating knowledge, sacred knowledge struggling to maintain its pre-eminence and domination over its secular counterpart, while within the latter, different professions were given different statuses. Wealth was situated at the very bottom, as it consisted solely of the instruments of economic constraint, namely money and the means of production. Once again, usefulness was subordinated to meaning. In this light, it is easy to understand why the acquisition of semiophores, the purchase of works of art and the founding of libraries or collections, represented one way of turning usefulness into meaning and of enabling someone occupying a lofty place in the hierarchy of wealth to attain an equivalent position in the hierarchy of taste and learning. As we have already seen, collection pieces were emblematic of social rank, if not superiority, and this meant that the admission to this exclusive milieu, which depended on the withdrawal of part of one's wealth from the utilitarian circuit, could be obtained through the purchase of semiophores.[9]

In short, collections represented a means to gain prestige, a way to transform money into superior social standing.

The wealth accumulated during the Renaissance increased the resources available not only to lay princes and ecclesiastical elites but also to more private investors. These greater resources in turn encouraged competition for

cultural goods. Hence, through the efforts of rich financers, intellectuals, and literati, collections of art and natural curiosities multiplied.[10] An increasing number of people were inspired to invest part of their money in the acquisition of goods that were not intended to be useful and were thereby charged with symbolic value. Religious paintings put one in communication with the divine. Coins, marbles, and other archaeological artifacts established a bridge to antiquity. Minerals, fossils, and other natural curiosities opened the door to nature. The owner of these types of objects could possess culture and the cosmos. Through ownership, one could appropriate the prestige these objects signified.[11]

Moving beyond semiotics, anthropologists also have something interesting to say about the difference between goods removed from exchange and those that are put back in circulation. At least ideally, the former are declared inalienable, and it is precisely from this status that they derive their value. In contrast, the latter are exchanged in order to ensure the inalienability of these other objects.[12] This distinction—between that which is inalienable and that which is not—manifested itself in baroque Rome as well.

Collecting in Seventeenth-Century Italy

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, collecting in Italy could boast a century of history, as evidenced by the literary production on the topic, including the many *Galeria* published during this period.[13] The vogue for collecting had spread widely since the Renaissance to include private individuals as well as princes and religious institutions.[14] In any case, by the middle of the sixteenth century it must have been a common practice if Sabba da Castiglione, writing in 1546, was able to analyze the phenomenon by subdividing it into various types. There were gentlemen and lords—he noted in his *Ammaestramenti*—"many of whom amused themselves by adorning and polishing their palaces, their houses, and above all their bedrooms and studies, with various and diverse ornaments."[15] Others chose musical instruments, while

> some adorn their houses with antiquities such as heads, trunks, busts, and ancient statues of marble or bronze. . . . And others ancient medals of gold, silver or metal . . . And others cameos of pink chalcedony and other carved objects. . . . Others delight themselves by decorating their houses with panel and canvas paintings, histories and portraits . . . And others decorate with copper or wood engravings. . . . Others deck out and adorn their rooms with Flemish tapestries and long cloths . . .

> others Turkish carpets and beds . . . others ingeniously worked leather . . . and some others delight in new, fantastic, and bizarre things, cleverly brought from the Levant or Germany.[16]

According to Sabba's description, collectible objects were many and varied. Medallions, paintings, tapestries, and ancient statues were all used to decorate domestic spaces and, above all, for the materialization of "splendor." Splendor was revealed in a person's desire to surround himself with beautiful and precious objects for his own pleasure and for the enjoyment of his guests. However, aside from promoting a certain lifestyle, Sabba seems to have been describing a phenomenon that he had personally observed. A century later the impression one gets through examining the inventories is that broad strata of the population engaged in home decoration. Lawyers, jewelers, painters, merchants, and other representatives of the Roman middling classes collected decorative objects purely for aesthetic pleasure.

The idea behind this enterprise was to accumulate as many signs as possible of the wonders of nature or of the grandness and beauty of human ingenuity. At least in intention, a collection was a way to recreate the unity of knowledge. It presented itself as a tangible and readily available summa of all the realms of human understanding, each capable of being manifested through a single object of the collection.[17] Every natural or artificial element of a collection constituted in itself a summa of knowledge about nature or art that, in its materiality, represented the synthetic whole. Thus the collection became a summa of summae, embodying the dictates of an ancient and authoritative literary canon.[18] The aphorisms, commonplaces, and individual *sententiae* were condensed into a concise synthesis that was the essence of "the old and new classics, both in Latin and the vernacular."[19] Printed collections of emblems, in vogue during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, carried out the same functions and enjoyed great popularity among the reading public.[20] However, objects, as opposed to emblems, could also provide an immediate reference, recapitulating knowledge with much greater complexity. Indeed, the success of collections indicates the value this reference system had for contemporaries. Like a dictionary or an encyclopedia, the collection allowed its owner to have at hand a key with which to access the totality of culture.[21] It placed all things next to their definitions and pictures. An identical demand for the direct synthesis of knowledge comes from the advice that Fabio Albergati offered to Odoardo Farnese and from the oration titled *In Praise of the Commendator Cassiano Dal Pozzo*, recited in 1657 by Carlo Roberto Dati in the Florentine Academy. According to Albergati:

> The Cardinal-Prince, as a wise Prince with the rank of Cardinal, will keep in his service men of letters, so that, like causal agents, they may inculcate in him the most noble form of the most perfect sciences . . . thus, speaking continuously with scholars and discoursing about literature, he will become learned without effort, and knowledgeable (*scientiato*). . . . Scholars, like living books, can in a short time use their reason to discover and explain to other people a thousand obscure paths in the sciences which a man enclosed in a great library might never understand, or only after a long time. . . . Thus, whereas ordinary men, because they do not have copies of literature, cannot achieve this level of knowledge except through a very great amount of time, study, and effort, Princes, having every convenience, may do so with *incredible quickness, ease, and pleasure.*[22]

Dati praised Cassiano dal Pozzo for having brought together in the twenty-three volumes of his *Paper Museum* "the entirety of Roman Antiquity," translating into images "as much of that rich treasure as was written by the most famous Antiquaries."[23] Just like the scholars described by Albergati in the service of the cardinal-prince, Cassiano was able to make available to his readers an entire library of antiquarian studies. Furthermore, he had given this to them in the form of a "museum," a collection of objects reduced to images and "translated" into print.[24]

Splendor and Magnificence

A collection of precious things could objectify the splendor of the owner. It gave strength to and made visible his ability to use his wealth for good purposes. Additionally, accumulating precious objects served, through purchased or invented material, to fashion and define the identity of the person who threw himself into this enterprise. In the conclusion of his analysis, Sabba wrote, "I commend and praise all of these ornaments—antiques, medallions, cameos, paintings, etchings, tapestries, leatherwork, and the new things coming from the Levant or Germany—because they reveal ingenuity, politeness, civility, and courtliness."[25] Collecting and conserving objects was a way of constructing an aesthetic image of oneself as refined and cultured, and not simply rich.[26]

At the same time, collections had celebratory functions. Jacomo Contarini, writing in 1595, testified to this use of the collection: "[from my study has come] all of the honors and fame of my person." The declarations of many

other collectors confirm Contarini's sentiments.[27] Collections served to exalt the fame of those who had made them and to perpetuate their memory. However, according to Vincenzo Giustiniani, there was something in collecting that made one feel both sublime and guilty. After having put together one of the most beautiful and richest collections of antique statues and marbles, he commissioned famous artists to draw, engrave, and print these works. The reproduction would be appropriately titled *Galleria Giustiniana*.[28] Both undertakings—collecting and printing a collection—naturally had a cost, which was so considerable that at the point of his death, the price seemed extravagant and exorbitant even to Giustiniani himself. Consequently, in the instructions contained in a sealed packet he left to Camillo Massimi, the executor of his will, Giustiniani invited "the deputies of the Giustiniani family" to take printings from the "copper engravings" of his *Galleria* of not more than two hundred copies at a time, in a way that

> you might derive the greatest use [from them] that one could reasonably hope, and that from the images which you will obtain from them . . . you must make an investment, and buy many new *monti camerali* [an investment in papal land, which paid interest as taxes on the residents who came in] or other secure ventures, as you will be able to do. . . . And the fruit that will come forth from the said investment in the *monti* . . . will be distributed annually by the deputies of the above mentioned family to the poorest and most wretched members of the Giustiniani family. . . . Since, I made this work of engraving the things of my Gallery and collected them together through a sinful desire (*humor peccante*),[29] having undertaken this for a long time at continual and considerable expense, not only in the cost of the statues, but also in the copper engravings; knowing well that this expense could have been applied to another pious use, and one more beneficial to others, I wanted in some way to compensate for my previous deficiency.[30]

This plan proved to be absolutely unrealistic, however. Already by 1650 the printings of the *Galleria Giustiana* became rather rare "because in sending the copper plates to Genoa, and selling those copies that had been made, today the owners of the said copper plates, due to the great expense that goes into printing, do not care to have it done, and have made them defunct."[31]

To remove a resource that might be beneficial to others is therefore a "sin" and "deficiency" that must be redeemed, possibly through those same

resources. Yet a collection derived its value precisely in this "sacrifice" of goods and wealth. The idea that a collection entailed an unusual financial obligation, but that the collector did not care about the expense, was already present in the *Life of Nicholas V* by Vespasiano da Bisticci. In this work Vespasiano recounted how, for the construction of the first nucleus of the Vatican Library, the pope had an enormous quantity of books acquired, "never regarding the price." Furthermore, "he brought together a number of learned men and rewarded them liberally for producing new books and also translating others not yet available."[32] Between the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth, this theme was taken up again by Michele Mercati ("without sparing expense or effort"), Ciriaco Mattei ("with much expense, care, and time"), Vincenzo Giustiniani ("with continual, immoderate expense"), Cassiano dal Pozzo ("I never spared any expense . . . for the space of many years"), and many others.[33] Ciriaco Mattei, moreover, was not satisfied with just a small sacrifice of time and money. He felt the need to certify, through sworn declarations of witnesses given before a notary, the precise amount he had spent, so that it would be preserved for future memory.[34] Years later Bellori, giving information about the library of Felice Contelori, explained that it contained "the works of a great number of authors, of which the transcriptions and copies alone had cost the profuse sum of six thousand scudi."[35] From a subjective point of view, then, the value of the collections could be measured first of all in the amount of time and money that were necessary to collect them. However, such an unusual enterprise, which was difficult and entailed great expenses, was also valuable in that it commanded the respect and praise of others. Gabriel Naudé was very explicit on this point: "these curious works, which are neither trivial nor ordinary, can legitimately pass for one of the good signs of which Cardano spoke in his chapter *de signis eximiae potentiae*, because they are extraordinary, difficult, and of great expense. Thus one cannot do otherwise than speak well and nearly with admiration of those who practice it."[36] Here the reference to the sacrifice of time and money is intended above all as a rhetorical device, as an artificial discourse that recurs to justify the value of the enterprise. The reality of things is often more modest, as demonstrated, for example, by the expenditure earmarked to create and increase the collection of Scipione Borghese at the beginning of the seventeenth century: in the span of twenty-nine years, only 0.5 percent of the cardinal's revenues were used for the acquisition of paintings and statues for his collection.[37]

All the people mentioned thus far clearly intended to suspend the

ordinary uses of their resources for the purpose of making a collection. Altering the normal flow of time and money made a collection truly precious and worthy of being treated differently from other possessions. For a collection to have value one must commit a "sacrifice" that entails renouncing the other possible uses of the resources used to create it.[38] These other uses could be more profitable in economic terms and more legitimate in moral terms. However, the collection—a compendium of all art and knowledge, at least in intent—contained elements that were capable of legitimating the diversion of resources from "other uses more beneficial to those nearby." Nevertheless, a private collection of precious objects always remained a form of individual appropriation, of personal treasure making that violated the community ethic of sharing resources. Private gain and enrichment were in fact legitimate activities as long as they were put rapidly back in circulation and thus enriched the entire community.[39] From this point of view, sumptuary expenditure, which gave employment to innumerable workers and brought together a certain number of peers in the enjoyment of luxury foods and goods, was in its own way a form of redistribution.[40] The collection of precious objects, on the other hand, was pure accumulation, totally estranged from any principle of charity, and as such a blameworthy activity. It was not by chance that one of the first acts performed by Carlo Borromeo, on the day after his conversion to asceticism, was the dismantling of his collections, which he sold or donated to benefit the poor.[41]

The suspicion of avarice that burdened any form of private accumulation had to be redeemed through forms of compensation that restored to the community at least some part of the resources that had been removed from it. Vincenzo Giustiniani chose to create an annuity to benefit the poor members of his family lineage. Furthermore, in at least one of his writings, he was very explicit in underlining the moral obligation that weighed upon a gentleman by virtue of the wealth and honor he enjoyed. It was the gentleman's duty to give back to the community something of what he received and continued to receive from it. In his *Discorso sopra l'architettura*, Giustiniani warned that in building a palace, "one must also aim for the public and general ornamentation of the city and the country, which *each of us is obliged to counterbalance according to the riches and respect which he receives from it daily*."[42] If Giustiniani opted for partial forms of compensation, other collectors, such as Domenico Grimani in 1523 or Federico Borromeo nearly a century later, chose solutions rather more radical, giving their collections to their native city. As already noted, Grimani's library would constitute the initial base for the Marciana in Venice, while Borromeo's collection gave life to the Ambrosiana in Milan.[43] It is in this context that one can situate the last will and testament of cardinal Alessandro Farnese, who in 1587 arranged matters so that both his statues and his library would be "preserved and cared for in perpetuity" in the Palazzo Farnese in Rome. He expressly forbade the exportation or alienation of the objects in his collection.[44] As Pontano had already claimed, the man of excellence acquired and surrounded himself with beautiful objects not solely for himself, but also for "the use and convenience of the entire populace."[45]

The opening to the public of museums, galleries, libraries, and private gardens therefore constituted a particular form of restitution. Many bibliophiles left their libraries to a monastery or other foundations, "with orders that they put it in a room for the service of the public."[46] At least as many people opened their private collections of books, paintings, statues, medallions, and natural curiosities to anyone who desired to see them. While visiting the Vatican Library in 1581, Montaigne noted in his diary: "I saw it without any difficulty; anyone can enter and take out from it what they want."[47] Boissard opened his *Romanae Urbis topographia et antiquitates* by writing that the Roman prelates ordered their own servants to admit visitors "to the upper levels [of their dwellings], to the gardens, and to their most secret rooms; and in particular, men of culture, so that they can contemplate and admire everything worthy of observation and not only take notes on the rare and precious marbles, vases, statues, paintings, coins, and images engraved into gems, but also peruse with care the library of the same prelate."[48] On the other hand, readers of Pontano knew that looking upon refined and precious objects "is pleasing and garners prestige for the patron of the house, as long as the house can be visited and admired by many."[49] It is not by chance that Ciriaco Mattei used a very similar argument in recommending the care of the garden of Navicella to his heirs: "that garden was also very relaxing and entertaining, and a place for *virtuosi* of no little reputation for the house since it was seen and visited daily not only by individuals and people from Rome, but also by foreigners, with good praise and fame."[50] Removing a few goods from their usual utilitarian functions also required that they be exposed to view, possibly by a great number of people. Forms of sociability arose around the exhibition of objects. This sociability fully met the requirement of generosity expected by the community ethic.

Many viewed the opening of collections to the public and the restitution to the city of some particular pieces of symbolic value as forms of compensation toward the community. However, collectors and their families also exploited them as instruments in a politics of social promotion. Putting their

private splendor out for the benefit of the public transformed it into magnificence, according to the distinctions between the various types of generosity introduced by Pontano and other humanists. The collector thereby aspired to a value that surpassed the prerogatives of private citizens by attempting to match the magnificence of sovereign princes.

Likewise, collectors who attempted to prohibit the sale or dismemberment of their collections, a practice introduced by *fedecommessi*, or those who donated their entire collection to the body politic perhaps attempted to achieve perpetual fame and immortality. However, these practices were also ways to construct and legitimate the inalienability of the goods that made up the collection. In fact, the symbolic value of collections did not totally supplant their financial value and consequently led to their definitive exclusion from the world of exchange. On the contrary, the great worth acquired by objects that had become part of a collection exposed them to the constant risk of being reintroduced into the circuits of commercial exchange. Nothing prevented a semiophore from being turned back into a commodity; in fact, its higher value encouraged this process. The inalienability of a collection had to be constructed and defended. Yet one did not refrain from selling a collection solely to gain immortal fame. Inalienability had immediate value that was very concrete and present-minded, and not simply a projection into the future. The control of inalienable goods determined membership at the top of the social hierarchy, and success in preserving one's collection immediately assumed political value beyond prestige and honor.[51]

If this research shows that the great Renaissance and baroque collectors were motivated by contact with the invisible realm of meaning and the possibility of immortality, what can one say about those collectors of lesser status? What inspired the small and even miniscule collections of paintings, medallions, curious objects, and ornamental household objects present in the homes of lawyers, jewelers, painters, women with minimal education, and other representatives of the Roman middling classes? Was the discourse on sacrificing utility and renouncing the exchange of objects worthwhile for them? Did they also attempt to make a few items inalienable—or to obtain at least one object that would be considered inalienable—and thereby gain prestige and, in the long run, immortality?

Collecting and Sociability

If the collection had to be an extraordinary work, capable of conferring immortal fame on its owner and worthy of becoming inalienable, someone had to recognize its value and legitimate it publicly. In dealing with cultural assets, legitimation could come from no other source than the public world of virtuosi, as Ciriaco Mattei recognized and as Pontano had noted many years earlier. They—and only they—could offer a collector those "services of identification" he needed.[52] Just as agreement among consumers conferred economic value on goods, the glance of admiring visitors was essential to a collection. This was an important element in the construction of the collection, which only later represented a form of restitution.[53] Therefore, it is little wonder that an intense sociability surrounded collections and even singular valuable works. The same thing occurred with gardens rich in exotic and rare plants. The correspondence between intellectuals contains constant references to the visits they paid each other to admire handcrafted works, natural curiosities, paintings, and manuscripts of particular value. Furthermore, travel literature is overflowing with information on this subject, because a visit to the "museums" and collections that would be found along travel routes quickly became an obligatory stop for any traveler of high social standing or with an elevated soul. Even authors of the guides to various cities quickly began to insert information of this type in their works. Fioravante Martinelli's *Roma ricercata nel suo sito*, published in 1644, offers an example of this mentality. Speaking of the Palazzo Barberini, for example, he said: "you can see the great library of Cardinal Barberini, and his most noble garden."[54] Regarding the "palace of Capodiferri now of the Spada," Martinelli informed the reader: "you will see the library, the living room, the bedrooms . . . and the most voluptuous garden." He continued to enumerate these features of all of the principal public and private buildings of the city. Pompilo Totti's *Portrait of Modern Rome*, published a few years earlier, followed the same model, as one would gather from the title of the second edition: *Portrait of Modern Rome, in Which the Churches, Monasteries, Hospitals, Brotherhoods, Colleges, Seminaries, Palaces, Architecture, Libraries, and Museums Are Portrayed*.[55] The same formula was used again in Giovan Pietro Bellori's well-known *Notice of the Museums, Libraries, Galleries, and the Ornaments of Statues and Paintings in the Palaces, Houses, and Gardens of Rome*.[56]

The marvels collected in Roman palaces and gardens were also places for gatherings and meetings that were more mundane than learned. For example, every year on the first of August, Giovangiorgio Cesarini invited around one hundred Roman gentlemen and foreigners into his garden of San Pietro in Vincoli and offered them refreshment. His wife, Cleria, did the same thing with the ladies.[57] Other Roman noble families adjusted rapidly to this new

practice, and soon the Roman *Avvisi* were full of reports on parties and banquets, such as the gathering in Cardinal Flavio Chigi's garden at the Quattro Fontane whose arrangement was organized by Carlo Fontana and which was considered extraordinary for its magnificence and elegance.[58] Beautiful objects and sociability were inextricably intertwined.

CHAPTER SIX

Paintings

The Diffusion of Paintings

While the princes and great aristocrats could allow themselves the luxury of locking up enormous resources in the construction of imposing galleries filled with paintings, learned people of more modest means had to content themselves with smaller investments. However, paintings or pictures, even if done by "an ordinary hand" instead of a famous artist, and on paper instead of canvas, were found in most inventories. Indeed, by the beginning of the seventeenth century the acquisition of paintings had become a fashion, a simple element of decoration, to such an extent that, according to Vincenzo Giustiniani, "not only in Rome, Venice, and other areas of Italy, but also in Flanders and France, the practice of completely adorning palaces with paintings has recently begun, thus varying the sumptuous adornments of the past."[1] In effect, two concomitant phenomena were in full bloom by the middle of the seventeenth century: the vogue for exhibiting art, and the turn to the painting of more popular pictorial subjects such as still lifes, landscapes, scenes from daily life, or genre works.[2] These two phenomena "helped to make painting a far more 'public business.'"[3] In this way approaching art became the prerogative of not only well-established collectors but also people, as Mancini wrote, of "middling or low social standing."[4] Nearly all of the people whose inventories are considered here belonged to this more modest group.

For the most part, great collectors commissioned and purchased original works according to their needs and taste directly from artists. More modest art lovers turned to ready-made works, not to mention works produced en masse that began to appear around the middle of the century.[5] Beyond the

venue of the art exhibit, this encounter between producers and consumers of artistic goods was made possible by a discreet channel of specialized dealers. They sold paintings in artists' or art dealers' workshops and also in the shops of people in totally unrelated occupations. Frequently, tailors, barbers, and masons dealt in paintings.[6] The painter Francesco Raspantini was just this kind of person: he left his heirs 1,778 paintings and prints, and more than four hundred empty frames of all sizes and types upon his death in 1667. The numbers alone suggest that Raspantini—pupil and heir to Domenichino—in addition to painting on commission, kept a stock of ready-made works to be sold. Close analysis of the quality of these works fully confirms this hypothesis: at least five hundred printed sheets of various subjects, including more than one hundred prints of battles or of ancient and modern buildings in Rome, along with the associated copperplate engravings, 114 prints of Lady Olimpia and the accompanying engravings, four paintings representing the *Ecce Homo*, five with Mary Magdalene, thirty Madonnas, two portraits of Cardinal Pamphili, three of Pope Innocent X, and five more of Lady Olimpia. Evidently, part of this collection was produced as a series, which left some of the stock of Pamphili portraiture unsold after changes in the pontificate.

The Value of Pictures

Giustiniani's comments suggest that decorating walls with paintings was, in effect, a way of saving money, in addition to an easier way of varying decoration. The appraisals that sometimes accompany the simple description of objects in the inventories demonstrate how inexpensive paintings usually were. Indeed, often the frame cost more than the painting.[7] Thus the Duchess Sforza Cesarini could enter at least ten payments for paintings in her account book for 1689, spending in total 107 scudi along with some payments made in loaves of bread and loads of coal.[8] However, it was the scrupulous record keeping of Marquis Santacroce's master of the house that allows for a closer comparison. Even in a noble house with important portraits, a frame could cost more than the painting it contained.

The desire to emulate the nobility that perhaps came with the success of painting did not exclude the more profound desire, for more ordinary people, to possess a part of their culture and the signs of its status. The high number of copies of famous works that circulated in Rome during the seventeenth century supports this thesis.[9] The success of copies is well attested by two inventories considered here: Alessio Moglia owned a copy of Michelangelo's

TABLE 6.1 Prices of paintings and frames acquired by Antonio Santacroce in 1702

OBJECT	PRICE IN SCUDI
Portrait of Clement XI	1.50
Frame engraved with flowers for the portrait of the pope	2.40
Retouching of the papal portrait	0.30
Portrait of Emperor Leopold and Archduke Charles of Habsburg	2.50
Frame designed with leaves for the portrait of the Emperor	4.50
Portrait of the king of the Romans	1.20
Five gilt frames for these portraits and for that of His Excellency [the Marquis]	2.50 each
Four views of Rome by Gian Girolamo Monti	7.00 each
Four black frames with two orders for engraving	0.80 each

Note: ASR, Santacroce, b. 286, February, March, July, and August 1702.

Last Judgment and of a *Savior* by Raphael; a woman from the Contelori family owned a work listed as *Pietà on Black Diaspro by Michelangelo of Caravaggio*.[10] An equally significant testimony comes from the will of a lawyer who left to his sister-in-law, as a precious gift, a *Madonna Copied from Titian*.[11] An even more fitting example comes from the signed contract of the Milanese Carlo de Ferrari, who in 1645 charged the Neapolitan painter Sebastiano Coccurulli "to make for him 15 painted copies on large canvas [about 95 × 135 cm], of which ten will portray the niches of the Chigi loggia in the Lungara, and the rest will be designed to the satisfaction of Signor Carlo provided that they do not exceed three figures for each painting, which should be copied well and diligently" for 3.50 scudi each.[12] In truth, the loggia of the Lungara garden seems to have enjoyed a great symbolic prestige and fortune among "mid-level" collectors: Alessio Moglia also owned a painting on large canvas that depicted it. Indeed, his painting was of a much greater value than usual since its estimated worth was 16 scudi.[13]

Beyond the question of copies, with an average of 23.5 pieces per head, inventories demonstrate how widely spread ownership of paintings was even

among the middling classes.[14] Painting truly had become a "public question," as Haskell asserted.[15] Nevertheless, such a large quantity of paintings in male and female patrimonies that were in other respects rather poor, or even devoid of other decorative objects, merits some further reflection. Paintings were objects removed from the normal circuits of trade, and as such even the most ordinary of them possessed that capacity to make contact with the invisible, as Pomian has discussed.[16] The value of these paintings resides in this feature. Such a capacity was particularly evident in devotional images. Paintings and statues of religious subjects possessed a metaphysical virtue, they were a key to accessing the afterlife, "they stimulated the imagination of the faithful to the point of making a presence perceptible; they made such a presence a living reality and hence true."[17] According to Alphonse Dupront, this quality is a specific property of all religious images, especially anthropomorphic ones. However, this turns out to be a shared characteristic of all images, provided that they have been removed from the realms of use and exchange. Sacred or profane, cheap or refined, paintings were capable of speaking the language of the invisible world, composed of ideas and abstract concepts. Paintings manifested the desire to communicate with the realm of transcendence. It is likely that both sacred and profane images had many meanings beyond our analytic simplifications and could therefore reflect a variety of abstract concepts. Sacred meaning does not exclude the possibility of a connection with culture, innovation, or even eroticism. Similarly, an object designed for elegance or for the creation of pleasant surroundings can in turn imply an attempt to communicate nobility or a desire to convey the magnanimity of the family.[18]

In light of these considerations, the paintings that decorated the walls of even the most modest habitations assume a new significance. Many were paintings of a religious subject, evidently designed to entrust the house and its inhabitants to the protection of Christ, Mary, or the saints. Among the saints depicted, a few representatives of Counter-Reformation piety such as Saint Carlo Borromeo or Filippo Neri stood out. These however did not manage to wrest primacy away from Saint Francis or, above all, Mary Magdalene.

The most interesting question concerns the imagery in male versus female patrimonies. The genders differed in what images they collected. This difference helps indicate how the attempt to make contact with the invisible—turning a few objects into semiophores—could become a reality.

In contrast to men of their same social standing, women were both financially and, perhaps more importantly, culturally more impoverished. This

TABLE 6.2 Paintings of a devotional subject, out of a total number of 2,040 known subjects

SUBJECT	NUMBER OF PAINTINGS
Madonna	165
Christ	72
Sacred history	64
Mary Magdalene	33
Saint Francis	24
Saint Carlo Borromeo	18
Saint Filippo Neri	17
Angels	16
Saint Jerome	14
Nativity scene	13
Saint Peter	12
God the Father	3
Other Saints	458
Total	*909*

poverty was reflected in the quality as well as the quantity of their goods. Since they were poorer, women could renounce the utility of an item more rarely than men, and their "collectible goods" had to be fewer in number. Similarly, their lesser cultural standing meant that when they sacrificed the utility of their items it was usually for the purpose of an immediate and elementary form of legitimation.

Women possessed far fewer paintings than men, both in the sense that there were more female inventories that contained not a single painting and in the sense that on average women had fewer paintings than men—an

TABLE 6.3 Quality of the paintings for men and women

NUMBER OF PAINTINGS	MEN	%	WOMEN	%
In which the subject is mentioned	2,633/3,137	83.9	249/405	61.5
In which the technique is mentioned	1,805/3,137	57.5	54/405	13.3
On paper or fabric	51/1,805	2.8	10/54	18.5
Defined as "ordinary"	62/3,137	1.9	24/405	5.9
Defined as "small"	639/3,137	20.3	137/405	33.8

average of twenty paintings per woman versus forty-one per man.[19] In general, women had fewer than half the number of paintings than men did. In addition, women's paintings were more often of an anonymous subject, of smaller dimensions, and of more ordinary quality and poorer technique than those men owned.

Finally, the paintings women owned in large part depicted devotional images.[20] In contrast, men preferred profane subjects.[21] With less means, both economic and cultural, women evidently worked harder to renounce the utility of their goods, and when they did it was almost exclusively for the purpose of establishing contact with the realm of the sacred. It is not random chance that they tended to prefer images of the Madonna, Mary Magdalene, and other female saints, which were three times more present proportionally in female versus male inventories.[22] Natalie Zemon Davis was correct to argue that Catholic women could find in the Virgin and the saints a sacred patronage specifically addressed to them and denied to Protestant women.[23] Evidently, given that they filled their houses with these images, women held dear these female patron saints, preferring them to the more publicized masculine saints of the Counter-Reformation.

The differences in imagery found in the estates of men and women appeared again in the case of profane subjects. Women did not seem to be interested in historical or architectural representations. The breadth of their interests was much more limited: landscapes, still lifes, and portraiture exhausted the entire panorama. In contrast, in men's houses the range of

subjects included, in addition to history and architecture, birds, fish, and various subjects that ranged from cherubs to allegorical compositions ("the five senses," "music," "the four seasons") and genre paintings ("a kitchen," "a seated soldier," "supper," "blind men singing and playing"), which at times echoed famous paintings. This echoing of famous paintings again presents the issue of the value of copies.[24]

Women's relative poverty explains the simplicity of their image choices. Histories and architectural images were notoriously more expensive than landscapes. Only portraits—members of the family or illustrious personages—reflected an invisible realm solemn and elementary enough to justify the expense of a painting.[25] A portrait that celebrated the grandeur and continuity of the lineage or the authority of the prince justified the removal of resources from the realm of utility in a manner more immediate than history, antiquity, or culture in all its diverse aspects. This explains the fact that Caterina Francescona owned nineteen portraits of members of the Medici family while the rest of her estate included only nine images of the Madonna and other saints.[26] Furthermore, this also explains the enormous quantity of portraits of illustrious people, clearly destined for sale, that the painter Raspantini kept in his study.[27]

Some of the inventories are detailed enough to provide information about the display of the paintings inside the house. The owners of these estates probably never read Mancini, who suggested placing paintings of secular subjects in the salon and devotional ones in the bedroom. Nevertheless, they too preferred to entrust religious images to the intimacy of their bedroom and to display paintings of profane subjects in the salon.[28]

The result is that there was a scarcity of secular works hung in the bedroom (see the table below). Thus in his recommendation Mancini did nothing other than "theorize" a widespread practice. However, the significance of this discovery is that this arrangement of paintings confirms once again the potential that religious images had of making themselves intermediaries between the earthly world and the realm of the sacred. Additionally, one might speculate that other nonreligious images had the capacity to reflect a type of "worldly" invisible realm. This realm was no less important than the sacred. The example of portraits serves as particularly eloquent testimony. They had the power to portray an individual as a transcendent entity, and therefore when they were of the same family as the owner to construct an image of the lineage that went beyond a single generation.[29] The fact that one finds a great number of portraits of dead relatives in the inventories suggests that in addition to this capacity to connect with the invisible, they were also

TABLE 6.4 The subjects of paintings in the inventories of men and women

SUBJECT	MEN	%	WOMEN	%
Known subject	1810		230	
Unknown subject	1327		175	
Total	*3137*		*405*	
Agnus Dei	3	0.2	7	3.0
Angels	16	0.9	0	0
Christ	57	3.1	15	6.5
God the Father	2	Insignificant	1	Insignificant
Madonna	123	6.8	42	18.3
Mary Magdalene	25	1.4	8	3.5
Nativity scene	10	0.6	3	1.3
Male saints	461	25.5	44	19.1
Female saints	28	1.5	10	4.3
Sacred history	56	3.1	7	3.0
Total devotional images	*782*	*43.2*	*137*	*59.6*
Miscellaneous subjects	115	6.4	5	2.2
Animals	30	1.7	0	0
Architecture	115	6.4	0	0
Battles	39	2.2	3	1.3
Flowers	94	5.2	8	3.5
Fruits	10	0.6	9	3.9
Landscapes	168	9.3	20	8.7
Portraits	259	14.3	48	20.9
Portraits with landscapes	45	2.5	0	0
Secular history	65	3.5	0	0
History and architecture	89	4.9	0	0
Total secular subjects	*1028*	*56.8*	*93*	*40.4*

by nature inalienable. Another indication of this comes from wills: many of the objects the owners rescued from anonymity, naming them so as to leave them in legacy to relatives or dear friends, were portraits. In her last will, written in her own hand, a certain Cleria Giustina gave explicit instructions on what to do with her own portrait, her father's, and that of another relative. She ordered that they be separated from the undifferentiated collection of "all her movable objects," left to her daughter Lucrezia, and delivered to the husband of her second daughter, also named Cleria.[30] Another woman left the portrait of her dead husband to his nephew, recognizing and emphasizing the tie that united them by a common surname.[31] Yet another left a canopy and her portrait to her nephew as her sole legacy.[32] However, it is in Venice, and not in Rome, where we find the most eloquent testimony for the value of portraits. The will of a certain Girolamo Pesaro, who died in 1664, warns that the images of Saint Anthony, Saint Dominic, and Saint Paul that were in his house represented in reality his grandfather, his father, and his brother. These men, he explained, "had been put into this religious habit because they did not want to be sold at the auctions or above the mats with contempt, and that they did not want to be bought by those who should not buy them."[33] Family portraits could not be exposed to the risk of ending up decorating the walls of an undeserving house—perhaps even the house of a courtesan—and to protect such paintings one could even disguise them as devotional images. For Rome we do not have any declarations of such significance, but it is not by chance that the portraits were all, without exception, displayed in the salon and visible to any visitor.

TABLE 6.5 Number of paintings of sacred and profane subjects in various types of rooms

MEN

TYPE OF ROOM	TOTAL NUMBER OF ROOMS OF THIS TYPE	SACRED SUBJECT	PROFANE SUBJECT	TOTAL
Bedroom	8	42/5.25 per room	20/2.5	62/7.75
Salon	19	47/2.47	119/6.26	166/8.73
Other rooms	98	90/0.92	115/1.17	205/2.09

WOMEN

TYPE OF ROOM	TOTAL NUMBER OF ROOMS OF THIS TYPE	SACRED SUBJECT	PROFANE SUBJECT	TOTAL
Bedroom	7	29/4.14	8/1.14	37/5.28
Salon	7	14/2.00	39/5.57	53/7.57
Other rooms	9	31/3.44	6/0.67	37/4.11

Pictorial Subjects

If the comparison between female and male art collections illustrates the significance of these small, popular collections, the subjects of paintings men possessed encourages another comparison, namely, their relationship to the great noble and princely collections.[34] The number of landscapes present in the inventories reflects the contemporary passion of collectors for this pictorial genre. The popularity at all levels of society of the Flemish painters, and the success of great, cultured artists like Poussin, Domenichino, and Lorrain, further demonstrates these tendencies.[35] With the dozens of landscape and architectural perspective paintings (at least 258) that filled his study, Francesco Raspantini, a former pupil of Domenichino, seemed ready to pass on to potential "mediocre" clients the suggestions of Cassiano dal Pozzo.[36] Dal Pozzo recommended displaying paintings in a way to make one stand out against another, based on the principle that "a perspective put in the middle of two landscapes creates a beautiful image; it is of the greatest effect if the images of the countryside and the perspective are of matching grandeur."[37] As a painter, Raspantini was well aware of the current tastes of great nobles and kept abreast of what was fashionable. Perhaps thanks to intermediaries such as Raspantini, even the middling classes held a widespread predilection for landscapes and architectural scenes: the lawyer Pari owned at least five, the goldsmith Cangiani had seven, the furrier Vittori twelve, Onofrio Lansi fourteen, and Francesco Bava had as many as twenty-eight.[38]

Pictorial "series" were present in Rome if not widespread. They were groups of five or more paintings of equal shape and dimensions that depicted the same subject.[39] The term *series* was never used explicitly, but it is possible to detect a few instances of it in our inventories: a collection of paintings that depicted "The Twelve Apostles" or another comprising "Busts of Twelve Sibyls" with identical frames were probably both a series. People liked serial paintings because they allowed the walls to be fully decorated. They alternated other paintings in with the series to give a sense of order and symmetry to the gallery. It seems quite proper, then, that Pietro Antonio Vittori decorated his little study with three series featuring "fourteen octagons of flowers," five *da testa* size [48.4 × 40 cm] paintings of "flower vases," and another five analogous "flower baskets."[40] Along the walls Vittori hung about another forty paintings of various sizes, depicting saints, landscapes, and sacred and profane history, the latter preferably lascivious in nature. It is easy to imagine how the three series enhanced the role of memory and the need to make connections in the arrangement of paintings. Vittori decorated this rented apartment very much in the latest style.

The most well documented popular gallery belonged to Alessio Moglia. He was the owner of a "stove," or public bath, located in via Giulia, decorated with paintings of greater than average value done by fairly well established painters.[41] As can be seen from the table below, even in a public bath, landscape pictures constituted the dominant choice of image. Here, for the first time, the artists were mentioned: Davit, probably to be identified with David Han, a Flemish painter who died in 1622, and Filippo Napoletano, noted by his contemporaries for his real-life paintings of the Monti Tiburtini.[42] We do not have a single scrap of information about any of the other painters. It is therefore difficult to say if the choice of one or another iconographic theme constituted a tendency in taste or a particular cultural option. Yet the

TABLE 6.6 Landscape paintings owned by Alessio Moglia in 1645

SUBJECT	PRICE IN SCUDI
Battle featuring a bridge over water and a man leading an ox	10
Woods featuring a horseman hunting with dogs and other figures	8
Woods, by Davit	3
Garden with many figures taken from the Garden of Longara	16
Seashore featuring many ships and other figures, by Davit	10
Seashore featuring a rock and other figures	10
Countryside with some little figures, by Filippo Napoletano	6
Countryside with old objects, cows, and other animals	8
Countryside with woods and many shepherds, one of whom is playing a pipe, by Davit	10
Countryside featuring many small figures	10
Countryside imitating the Camaldoli di Frascati, hand of Davit	10
Countryside imitating the Camaldoli di Perugia, hand of Davit	10

success of landscapes as well as the popularity of architectural scenes and flowers perhaps can reveal something about the owners of these paintings. If one can draw conclusions about the aesthetic tastes of the Roman "middling classes" from a simple list of subjects in paintings, I would say they are situated on the side of Arcadia and antiquity rather than that of smug bourgeois realism.

Moglia was not the only example of a bathhouse proprietor who displayed paintings at his business. Many others did the same. A barber, for example, left an inventory of the goods from his workplace in the Tribunale del Governatore. He owned twenty-two paintings.[43] Giacomo Cagnacci sold all the household effects of his bathhouse situated "behind the Banchi" for a total of 530.82 scudi in 1645.[44] Besides the barber's instruments and the containers for heating water, the sale inventory included fifty-eight paintings, all anonymous, whose total value amounted to 136.5 scudi. In the first room, Cagnacci virtuously had hung the portrait of Cardinal Barberini, images of the Madonna, and female saints. We have to wonder, somewhat maliciously, why were there only female saints in a "warming room" (*stufa*), a place presumably frequented only by men? In the second and third rooms profane subjects were displayed instead—that is, images of Venus, satyrs, Cupid, and so on. Cagnacci's bathhouse would seem to have been a much more libertine environment than Moglia's establishment.

Portraits

Nobles and plebeians shared a predilection for portraits of great men.[45] While Caterina Francescona owned nineteen images of members of the Medici family, the Marquis Antonio Santacroce enriched his collection of princes and sovereigns, commissioning portraits of the Emperor Leopold of the Hapsburgs and Archduke Charles, his son.[46] For both Santacroce and Francescona, the ownership of these effigies equaled a declaration of political fidelity, recognizing a debt of honor and loyalty.[47] Similarly, Orazio Spada—who purchased "a canvas with paper printed with life-like images of the emperors, to be displayed in Castel Vicardo"—was transparent in his desire to use images to further justify his feudal jurisdiction over the land he received as part of his wife's dowry.[48] Such images immediately recalled to the viewer the idea of sovereignty and Spada's proxy representation of the *imperium*.

However, the aristocrats who purchased images could not restrict themselves only to the world of politics. Equally important was collecting the likenesses of philosophers and literary men, which bespoke their cultural rather than political ambitions. In his *Advice for Establishing a Library*, Naudé advised hanging portraits of illustrious men on the walls of the library. Such images were not just decorative, they also evoked the wisdom and magnanimity of these sages. It made these scholars participants in the room that held them and with the people who contemplated their work.[49] In homage to these principles, Cassiano dal Pozzo began collecting portraits of artists, writers, and philosophers, asking Naudé himself to write an epigram for each of them.[50] The significance Cassiano attributed to these images was stated explicitly in a 1641 letter to Galileo:

> Since due to the long distance, I cannot enjoy your presence as I would have liked, I have succeeded as best I could in supplying myself with a

portrait, which lends nobility to my miserable little library and offers me frequent opportunity to declare to its visitors the cordial servitude which I profess to you and to show them a likeness of a most eminent virtuoso, that is, my Signor Galileo, who is worthy not of portraits but of statues.[51]

The collectors of "middling status" who have left us their inventories contented themselves with images "on printed paper" of a few philosophers.[52]

Not all of the images that adorned studies and libraries were necessarily so austere. While others kept portraits of philosophers, the playwright Giovanni Azzavedi owned instead twelve "pastels in the hand of Padovanino," which depicted women who were excellent not for their learning, but for their beauty.[53] In the possessions of this writer of Portuguese extraction, who died in 1667, we find the first example of a collection of "beauties." Cardinal Chigi, along with other high nobles and members of the Roman curia, would soon create similar collections.[54] In 1671–72, in fact, Chigi would commission the Flemish painter Jacob Ferdinand Voet to make at least twenty paintings of the young women most visible in the Roman court. From this moment on collections of female portraits, either by Voet or other more or less famous painters, spread with great success into many noble residences, both in Rome and abroad. Azzavedi's series of pastels contributed to the diffusion of the fashion for *cabinets des dames* in the papal capital, a practice that already had been established elsewhere with success.[55]

Images were capable of evoking memories of and feelings for places as well as people. Among the hundred or so paintings he possessed, Vincenzo Giustiniani chose views of Genoa, Scio, and Bassano to adorn the space above the doors to his private apartments.[56] In this instance, Giustiniani combined the contemporary taste for city maps with the more personal pleasure of always having in view images of places that were dearest to him and symbolically important: Genoa was the cradle of his family with which they maintained strong ties, Scio the city his forefathers had had to abandon, and Bassano the land from which he took his noble title. In the wardrobe of the palace at San Luigi dei Francesi the marquis kept another "view from the windows of the antechamber where he used to eat."[57] Art thus became an instrument to reproduce and permanently fix what one normally could not see. Furthermore, from the moment an image was put into a painting, even on a large canvas, it was once and for all transportable. The view from the windows of the house was probably similarly useful, as Cassiano declared, "for supplying in a portrait" a presence "that due to distance one cannot enjoy."

Geographic Maps and Printed Illustrations

Halfway between books and images, there existed a series of products including everything from geographic maps to engravings of famous works. To this list we must also add printed illustrations of important events to accompany their descriptions in the *Avvisi*.

Geographic maps were rather rare: among the "middling" collectors only two people possessed a few during the course of their career. The same two collectors also owned two *mappamundi* each. The first owner was Giovanni Battista Contelori, who in 1602 went to Rome to take up his office as judge in the tribunal of the Auditor Camerae.[58] The second was a member of the Febei family, which in every generation provided at least one lay or ecclesiastical magistrate. Febei's study contained three "geographic maps" of Spain, France, and Italy, along with "five smaller maps of the four parts of the world and Germany."[59] Along with various paintings and a few modest pieces of furniture, these constituted part of the austere furnishings of a magistrate's house. Nevertheless, he also possessed a "harpsichord in three registers with an ivory keyboard" and a "gaming table with boards and rings for playing." These objects marked him as a person conscious of the latest fashions and interested not only in geography but also in other sorts of cultural products. Anton Stefano Cartari exhibited identical traits when he asked his father to send him two geographic maps while he was simultaneously studying mathematics, taking lessons in music, and exploring the ancient history of Orvieto.[60] Similarly Isabella Vecchiarelli Santacroce, a fashionable woman of elegance, bought twelve maps all at once.[61]

Printed reproductions of renowned works enjoyed the same sort of diffusion. This genre included drawings of ancient marbles, commissioned by the great collectors, up through engravings of famous paintings. In effect, print representations constituted a very important vehicle for communication and the spread of information. Circulating much more easily than the originals they depicted, "print translations," that is to say, engravings of existing sculptures or paintings, contributed in a definitive way to the creation of a common artistic language among the various European countries. These images promoted what has been called "the extraordinary increase in 'translatability' of ideas and art forms in Europe during the sixteenth and two successive centuries."[62] However, drawings and prints constituted a means of conveying information in a more strict sense. They allowed the great collectors to document exactly what they wanted to buy and what they were looking for.[63] At the same time these reproductions familiarized a much

wider public with images of medals, archaeological finds, and famous works of art, all of which would otherwise have been inaccessible to them. It was in this spirit that Vincenzo Giustiniani had the copper plates of his famous collection of ancient marbles engraved.[64] Engravings of people, buildings, and daily events—produced and distributed in great numbers and with surprising speed—also effectively transmitted information and documentation. Raspantini was a probable producer and vendor of this type of product; he owned fourteen prints of battles, forty-nine of ancient Roman buildings, and forty-nine of modern Roman palaces and churches. He also had various copperplate engravings of the same subjects and of Titian's *Triumph of Christ*. Once again, however, other sources provide better information than the inventories.

Battles and wartime deeds were the primary object of printed works. In July of 1672, for example, Carlo Cartari wrote to his son: "In this instance I had Signor Don Antonio take eight large sheets of paper, on which eight places acquired by the King of France in his war against the Dutch were rather well engraved, and they are currently engraving the other places as well."[65] A few days later Cartari sent an "account of a naval battle" and added: "another four Dutch military sites have been engraved, as they have been acquired by the arms of the most Christian king [of France], and engravings of the others will follow. I have ordered Don Antonio to provide me with what they publish. Let me know if the said engravings have appeared there, and if the reports being printed have appeared."[66]

The events worthy of being engraved could also be papal funerals or the parade of *possesso* for the pope's successor. The *Effemeridi Cartarie*, a sort of diary that Cartari wrote almost daily, contained many of these printed scenes, at times so large as to have to be folded two or three times to be fitted into a quarto-sized volume. On Thursday, the first of February 1691, for example, Alexander VIII died. A few days later, Cartari noted: "with their usual diligence these Roman printers are selling through Sunday the attached report and engraved page. When it comes they will publish the other reports concerning the catafalque, and the possession of office by the new pontiff."[67] The next page indeed contains the *Report of the Last Sickness and Death of Our Saintly Lord Pope Alexander VIII* by Giovanni Francesco Buogni. In a note to this entry it was written "Sold by Francesco Leone, bookseller in Piazza Madama."[68] The two next pages contain prints with designs of the *Funeral Service Carried Out on 2 February 1691 for the Death of Our Lord Pope Alexander VIII*. One of these prints proclaimed it was "printed by Matteo Gregorio Rossi in piazza Navona."[69] In the same book there was

an account of the funeral rites, an engraving with a map of the conclave, and another engraving of the funeral bier. In all three cases the printer-seller made sure to make his name visible to the reader.[70]

From politics to culture, the likenesses of illustrious persons also enjoyed popularity and wide diffusion. For example, in an Academy held in Rome during August of 1672 there circulated

> a printed portrait which represented rather well Signora Cornara, a Venetian lady and a great *virtuosa* of our century. It is said that besides erudition in Latin language and Italian (*volgare*), both in prose and in verse, she frankly possesses more languages, especially Greek. She is also as knowledgeable about the celestial as the earthly sphere and is versed in the lessons of the Holy Fathers and those of the philosophers. She is about twenty-five years old and wants to live in her paternal house without marrying or entering a nunnery.[71]

Elena Lucrezia Cornaro Piscopia, who in 1678 would become the first woman to receive a doctorate in philosophy, from the University of Padua, was therefore already an "event" that merited the attention of her contemporaries and, consequently, the market of engravings in print.

Although void of the evocative power of images, the *Avvisi* and other reports on the events of the day were closely related to printed representations. They circulated in manuscript form in great quantities, as one can ascertain from Carlo Cartari's allusions to them.[72] Bernardino Spada Veralli's account book records the first instance of an expenditure for procuring this type of information. In 1667 he recorded the purchase of a "narration on the creation of Clement IX," a "map of the new cardinals," and "capitulations of peace between France and Spain," as well as between Spain and Portugal.[73] However, it was only with Antonio Santacroce that the purchase of *Avvisi* became a regular practice: every month his chamberlain recorded the expenditure of 0.60 scudi for this purpose.[74] Like his daughter-in-law Isabella, Marquis Santacroce attentively followed current events, buying works that spoke of recent happenings, such as La Rochefoucauld's *The Moral Reflections* or Abbot Magnati's *Historical Notes on Earthquakes*.[75] The acquisition of this latter book was evidently brought about by some seismic event, as it was accompanied, to help avoid bad luck, by "275 pages of names for Jesus and Mary [that would work] against earthquakes."[76] Everything was very cheap. The price of the reports purchased by Spada Veralli varied from 2 to 10 *baiocchi*. The books bought by Santacroce were both 0.30 scudi. Only

the "printed pages against earthquakes" cost a little more (1.37 scudi), but then, there were 275 of them.

While paintings enjoyed a direct connection with the invisible and the transcendent, these "intermediate" products were primarily a means of information and, as such, vehicles of an absolutely contingent language, as opposed to the transcendent one of paintings. Should one then leave these objects in the realm of utility rather than of meaning, considering them things rather than semiophores? It is difficult to believe that Carlo Cartari bought engravings of the places conquered from the Dutch by the most Christian armies for utilitarian reasons. Indeed, what use did he have for this information, given that he was not an officer of the papal armies or a magistrate who was somehow involved with the war or foreign politics? He was not even a papal counselor, a cardinal-nephew, or a secretary of state. Cartari was a lawyer of the consistory whose interests extended at most as far as Orvieto, where part of his family lived. He loved books and erudite pastimes; he enjoyed attending the academies held in Rome during his lifetime. He did not have sons or even nephews or other relatives in the war. He was far away from any involvement in war that would have implied the necessity of staying informed so as to make decisions. The information he so avidly collected was not used for any sort of action; on the contrary, it was justified in and of itself.

More ambiguous in this particular context was the nature of a book such as Magnati's *Historical Notes on Earthquakes* or flysheets reporting the death of the pope or the living arrangements of the cardinals who came together for the papal conclave. This type of news could effectively have some practical utility and may have been bought for this purpose. However, this is not enough to cancel out the impression that these works served more to create an informed reader than simply to provide information. They functioned in the exact same way that representations of strongholds cleared by the French or the portrait of "Signora Cornara" did: they made a reader more worldly and aware of current events.

When an art market and its artistic products came to life, establishing a buying public larger than just the great patrons and purchasers, the entire sector of cultural production underwent a change. The ambition to possess semiophores, and the concrete possibility of sacrificing the utilitarian function of some of their objects on the altar of meaning, involved a growing circle of people. These included people of lesser means who expressed a demand for less expensive cultural products. Paintings that were not especially well made, books, prints, and news pages served this desire well enough. These items were sufficiently far from the realm of utility to be charged with significance

and, at the same time, in some circumstances, they could even be useful. They maintained their marketability and exchange value, yet nonetheless conferred prestige on their owners. Their value was thus charged with an additional fundamental quality: they constituted supplementary resources of taste and knowledge that were available to the public for only a few pennies.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Ostentatious Things

Devotional Trinkets

If goods removed from useful purposes became charged with significance and had a superior value, it is understandable that the growth of disposable wealth stimulated an increasing demand for semiophores. Artistic and cultural goods began to appear in greater number than ever before, a fact that has struck Renaissance scholars. These scholars have frequently explained the new prevalence of such ostentatious goods as the quick response of the market to new demand. But goods removed from the normal rhythms of everyday use and exchange did not consist only of those objects we associate with the Renaissance collector, such as paintings, medallions, marble statues, antique vases, natural curiosities, or scientific instruments, as these items were rather expensive and accessible to relatively few people. Furthermore, industrial production and great international trade were not the only means by which demand for luxury objects was met. Rather, as one can see from the table below, the products available to Roman consumers were quite varied.

As far as product demand, sculptors could not in any way compete with painters: Roman consumers were strongly biased in favor of painting. The sample set covered in the table does contain around 130 statues, however. This number includes about thirty busts and heads of Roman emperors, along with a few bronze or low-quality silver medals. We see here in the ownership of this sort of object the same difference in attitudes that divided women and men noted in nonreligious paintings. Out of thirty women, only Margherita Betti owned three "carved stone objects for reception rooms," which she brought with her from one house to another. In time she also acquired four

TABLE 7.1 Number of "miscellaneous" objects contained in the inventories of 41 men (excluding Raspantini) and 22 women

TYPE OF OBJECT	MEN	AVERAGE PER MAN	WOMEN	AVERAGE PER WOMAN
Fonts and other devotional objects	49	1.2	16	0.7
Sacred and secular dolls	8	0.2	10	0.5
Partial total	*57*	*1.4*	*26*	*1.2*
Ink wells and other tools for writing	12	0.3	2	0.1
Paper	21	0.5	9	0.4
Books	216	5.3	84	3.8
Lamps and candle holders	191	4.7	61	2.8
Candles	47	1.2	0	0
Partial total	*474*	*11.6*	*149*	*6.8*
Swords and harquebuses	61	1.5	2	0.1
Heraldic insignia	27	0.7	0	0
Partial total	*88*	*2.1*	*2*	*0.1*
Cases and boxes	34	0.8	7	0.3
Curiosities	18	0.4	1	0.1
Picture frames	19	0.5	0	0
Silk flowers	23	0.6	0	0
Cages	4	0.1	4	0.2
Umbrellas	2	0.1	3	0.1
Clocks	9	0.2	3	0.1
Plants in vases	26	0.6	0	0
Mirrors	59	1.4	16	0.7
Statues	107	2.6	22	1.0
Musical instruments	14	0.3	4	0.2
Scientific instruments	12	0.3	1	0.0
Vases	37	1.0	12	0.5
Partial total	*364*	*8.9*	*73*	*3.3*
Toiletries	28	0.7	5	0.2
Fans and tobacco boxes	0	0	8	0.4
Partial total	*28*	*0.7*	*13*	*0.6*
Total	*938*	*22.9*	*270*	*12.3*

busts of emperors.[1] In contrast, there were at least fourteen men who owned a statue, that is, one in five.

However, there were also categories of collectible objects that were often produced in a series at moderate prices. Dolls from Lucca, for example, were already present in Florentine inventories from the fifteenth century.[2] Roman inventories from two centuries later reveal that this object was still in great demand. In the meantime, demand for woven Agnus Dei, which were both embroidered and painted, little saints on parchment, and silk flowers began to match that for terra-cotta dolls. On this issue the inventory of the painter Francesco Raspantini is particularly revealing. It listed sixty "little

baby Jesuses" from Lucca, positioned as standing, sitting, dressed, naked, accompanied by their glass chime or alone, along with sixteen little dolls of other types. In this case the total number of these objects is so high it suggests that Raspantini owned them to sell rather than to contemplate. Among his clients could have been Margherita Betti or Cornelia Alicorna, owners of the ten "baby Jesuses" that appeared in the female inventories.[3] Similarly, the young Virginia Cartari could also have been one of Raspantini's clients: after her wedding, she brought figurines of two cherubs with embroidered wings, a lap dog, and a good seven "Babies" with her into her husband's house.[4] Sacred dolls evidently continued to be fashionable, given that Vittoria Patrizi spent a small fortune in 1674 making a crown gilded with silver and studded with diamonds and pearls for her "Little Jesus from Lucca" and preparing a cradle for it with "a mattress and accompanying cushion."[5]

The same held true for silken branches and flowers, a typical Italian product normally fashioned in convents.[6] Raspantini's inventory is particularly full of this item. A few flowers or branches in his collection were expressly stated to have been gifts made by him for his wife's nativity scene, but even in this case the total number of these silken objects—which exceeds 140—seems to go beyond the devotional needs of a single family. Silk flowers enjoyed wide popularity, though. Groups of them appear as entries in the expenses of Lavinia Beccoli, mother of Carlo Cartari.[7] Similarly, Vittoria Patrizi owned some to be used in her nativity scene, like Raspantini.[8] Silk flowers also appear among the gifts that Virgilio Spada made to his relatives, and, thanks to his precision, we know that the value of these flowers varied from 3 to 4 scudi. This was not a small expense considering the price of paintings or that of the coral rose Virgilio donated to his niece, which cost 2.50 scudi. Cassiano dal Pozzo intended to give to his sister-in-law "silk and gold flowers" made "to look as natural as possible and all of different designs."[9] Yet not a single female inventory records silk flowers or plants. Like dresses and jewels, these objects seemed to be intended for women but owned by men.[10]

Similarly, Raspantini possessed a large number of Agnus Dei, little images of saints, reliquaries, and even frames and paintings, which he undoubtedly produced himself. He actually owned 407 empty frames, 370 images of saints, seven Agnus Dei, fifteen reliquaries, an unspecified number of small images of saints and relics, and some twenty-three natural curiosities such as a "bezoar egg," a piece from the claw of the "great beast" (usually the elk), and the tooth of a wolf.[11] In addition to being a painter, Raspantini seems to have also been a merchant who sold curious, decorative, and devotional objects that were of scant economic and artistic value. One or more examples

of such devotional trinkets were found in the dwellings of at least another twenty-six men and women out of the total of seventy-six inventories. Virginia Cartari's dowry, in addition, contained around eighty small images of saints on vellum and other materials, some illuminated and others not.[12] Both Agnus Dei and silk flowers were often used as gifts. Thus they were at times made at home, but more often were acquired from nuns who specialized in their production.[13]

Beyond these analogies, the difference between the amount of these objects that Raspantini owned and how much other people possessed again raises the problem of the gap between supply and demand. In the case of Raspantini, one finds 295 devotional objects or curiosities, 1,778 paintings and prints, 407 frames, and twenty statues. In all the other seventy-five cases taken together, devotional trinkets numbered only 132, accompanied by another 1,359 paintings, 129 statues, and nineteen empty frames. If we let Raspantini's estate serve as an indicator for supply and the goods listed in the other sixty-three inventories stand for demand (disregarding the twelve inventories that do not list products of this type), evidently the balance of trade faced a serious obstacle: supply seems to have been superabundant in comparison with the capacity of the Roman market to absorb it.

On the other hand, the relatively high number of a few luxury objects in the inventories skews the totals and thus conceals the fact that distribution was extremely unequal. As one can see from the table below, even oil lamps and candleholders remained outside the grasp of many people. If one considers that Margherita Betti was the sole woman who possessed writing

TABLE 7.2 Number of male and female inventories that contain at least one devotional trinket or other type of specific object

OBJECT	MALE INVENTORIES	% OF THE TOTAL FROM MALE INVENTORIES	FEMALE INVENTORIES	% OF THE TOTAL FROM FEMALE INVENTORIES
Dolls	8	17.39	4	13.33
Fonts	8	17.39	3	10.00

TABLE 7.2 *Continued*

OBJECT	MALE INVENTORIES	% OF THE TOTAL FROM MALE INVENTORIES	FEMALE INVENTORIES	% OF THE TOTAL FROM FEMALE INVENTORIES
Devotional objects*	14	30.43	5	16.66
Silk flowers	7	15.21	0	0
Natural curiosities	4	8.69	1	3.33
Perfume	6	13.04	0	0
Toiletries	12	26.08	0	0
Lamps and candle holders	29	63.04	13	43.33
Writing implements	8	17.39	1	3.33
Scientific instruments	6	13.04	1	3.33
Musical instruments	14	30.43	4	13.33
Umbrellas	2	4.34	1	3.33
Clocks	7	15.21	2	6.66
Fans and snuff boxes	1	2.17	4	13.33

Note: *"Devotional Objects" includes crucifixes, reliquaries, images of saints, etc.

implements (an ink pot), scientific instruments (a "spyglass"), clocks, and umbrellas, the gap between supply and the effective diffusion of these objects becomes even more pronounced. One gets a similar impression by comparing the inventory of a china merchant's shop and the incredibly small number of plates and glasses to be found in contemporary homes. But we will return to this topic later.

Exotic Plants and Little Birds

If the consumption of devotional trinkets was nothing more than the expansion of a practice that dated to at least the start of the Renaissance, then the taste for flowers, exotic plants, and little singing birds seems also to have been part of a tradition. Throughout the seventeenth century Romans were seized by a true passion for gardening.[14] At the beginning of the century Bernardo Bizoni, who accompanied Vincenzo Giustiniani on a long voyage across Europe, took note above all of the gardens he visited and the unusual plants he found.[15] Several years later, while building a new palace in Bassano, Giustiniani wrote systemized rules for the layout of a park and even ended up composing a little discourse on the subject.[16] In the meantime, tulips, anemones, hyacinths, and daffodils were conquering the Roman public. The great figures of the curia such as Cardinal Sannesio or diplomats and scholars like John Barkley spent conspicuous sums on the acquisition of bulbs. The most passionate collector was Francesco Caetani, who in 1651 already had collected in his garden at Ninfa more than two hundred varieties of anemones.[17] These he obtained thanks to a channel of correspondence extending throughout Europe and stretching even to Constantinople.[18] This high level of competence was shared by Cassiano dal Pozzo who, as superintendent of the Barberini garden at the Quattro Fontane, introduced the yellow jasmine—the same flower that was admired in France in the gardens of the great botanist Robin.[19] Dal Pozzo's gardening knowledge was such that Giovanni Battista Ferrari, the author of an innovative botanical treatise in 1638, declared himself to be indebted to the former for a few "most beautiful secrets" concerning citrus fruits and flowers in general.[20] Among these secrets was how to create "pictures" using petals glued onto a plate or paper instead of paint.[21] Cassiano would later recount that "the joy of gardens, flowers, and citrus has become very dear to some cardinals and princes. Thus, the Spanish ambassador has brought over three types of plants: a sort of orange which is very valuable in Lisbon, a sweet citron, and a very sweet lemon . . . and he gave these plants to Signor Cardinal Francesco Barberini."[22]

Collectors of *naturalia* such as Dal Pozzo, and on a smaller scale Virgilio Spada, accumulated exotic specimens systematically and with zeal. Others were animated by more casual sentiments and mundane interests. In any event, the passion for gardening created numerous adepts. Carlo Cartari purchased lemon and orange tree saplings, cultivated tulips, and most importantly acted as go-between for some enthusiasts and the Roman botanical garden: "If you ever go for a walk in the Garden of Simples or in another

place," he wrote to a friend from Florence, "and you happen upon some curious seeds of a unique and bizarre plant, know that I still cultivate that same taste, even more so than before."[23] "It seems to me that you were a friend," Cartari insisted, "if I remember correctly, of Signor Trionfetti, the superintendent and custodian of the Garden of Simples in San Pietro in Montorio, from whom one could get seeds of some curious and new plants, or other luxury specialties"[24] Plants and flowers were therefore *galanterie*—luxury goods—and it is hardly surprising that so many fashionable people enjoyed them.[25] Orazio Spada, Antonio Santacroce, and Livia Sforza Cesarini all lavished considerable money on the care of their gardens, both in Rome and on their country estates.[26] Even libraries were decorated and furnished in such a way to seem as if they opened onto a garden.[27] A good number of the inventories, even among people infinitely less wealthy, attest to the presence of vases of citrus plants or carnations arranged in the loggia or along the sides of the door to the house. Girolamo Amatelli de Grotti cultivated bitter oranges and little lemons in the courtyard while he kept carnations and jasmine in the loggia on the first floor. Polidoro Neruzzi held vases of "mixed greens" on his windowsill.[28] But the cultivation of flowers could also be a good investment, as Orazio Spada happily discovered, when after eight years he made no less than 65 scudi by selling roses to a pharmacist.[29]

In addition to exotic plants, singing birds attracted the attention of Roman consumers. Scholars and collectors of *naturalia* were interested in birds. This was true to such an extent that the first gift from Cassiano dal Pozzo to the Accademia de' Lincei was "a book of birds printed by a young man of the house" titled *The Aviary, or a Discourse on the Nature and Properties of Different Birds, and in Particular Those That Sing, along with How to Catch, Understand, Breed, and Maintain Them. Accompanied by Figures Taken from Real Life and Diligently Engraved in Copper from Tempesta and Villamena. The work of Giovan Pietro Olina from Novara.*[30] However, the passion for singing birds conquered people even less learned and with more mundane interests. In Spada's house the care of birds seems to have been a tradition: among Orazio's monthly expenses, his chamberlain notes money spent "for the care of the nightingale, blackcap, and canary."[31] His son Bernardino paid a bird keeper to borrow the keeper's finches for a month.[32] Orazio's daughter-in-law, Vittoria, spent nearly a scudo (0.82) to buy a nightingale with a little cage.[33] Carlo Cartari possessed a goldfinch "singer," and Livia Sforza must have had many of the same, given that she spent more than two scudi a month to have them fed and attended to.[34] At least six inventories report the possession of wire cages: the merchant Giovanni Rotoli had one "for a goldfinch," the painter Raspantini had "a dome-shaped bird cage," Captain Alberto Battistoni had a "large round cage," and Margherita Betti owned as many as four, one of which was even gilded.[35]

Along with the real birds some people enjoyed fake animals, particularly the little terra-cotta dogs that were made, like the sacred dolls, predominately in Lucca. Fashionable wives, such as Virginia Cartari, Vittoria Patrizi, and Isabella Vecchiarelli, had one each, which they kept on a silk cushion. However, just like the holy dolls, the little dogs were not a new thing. They dated from at least the start of the sixteenth century, when Lorenzo Lotto created a portrait of one that resided in the study of a prelate.

New Drinks and New Dishes

Historians of the consumer revolution attribute great importance to the diffusion of exotic products such as tobacco, coffee, and chocolate. Their use became established during the course of the seventeenth century and wrought changes both at the level of social practice and at that of material culture. They brought in tow new tableware specifically designed to be used with hot beverages and new, more-or-less luxury objects, including pipes and especially snuffboxes. Walter Raleigh introduced the practice of smoking tobacco in England. From there it enjoyed rapid diffusion into Holland—where very quickly "pipe smokers" became a popular pictorial subject—Germany, and the rest of Europe. The consumption of chocolate began in Spain, but soon spread into Italy and, with the marriage of Louis XIV to the Infanta Maria Teresa, into France. As coffee was of Middle Eastern origin, in contrast to tobacco and chocolate, the Venetians launched its popularity around 1650.[36]

All of this brought profound changes not only to the economy but even to the customs of the various European countries. However, one must not forget that cold drinks had their place alongside hot ones. Especially in Mediterranean Europe the consumption of these beverages predated and was probably favored over that of tea, coffee, and chocolate. Their presence in Rome has been attested from at least the middle of the seventeenth century: Vittoria Patrizi and her husband Bernardino Spada, for example, noted regular purchases of lemonade and sorbet, along with exorbitant quantities of sugar.[37] They even bought "fresh water from Nocera" or from other renowned sources. Livia Sforza Cesarini paid huge sums to the snow vendor, that is, a person who kept snow or ice to be used in cold beverages or other confections.[38] Apparently, therefore, sorbets, lemonades, and

mineral waters enjoyed the favor of fashionable ladies and gentlemen. They were also served to celebrate special occasions for a family: in July 1669, for example, Bernardino Spada noted the expenditure of 2.20 scudi to pay for "fresh water on the day of baptism" for his firstborn daughter.[39] However, sweet and fresh drinks were also very much appreciated by nuns, who made up the vanguard of consumers for the most refined foods. In May 1667, for example, Bernardino Spada recorded the expense of 0.75 scudi "for five mugs of lemon water with sugar, snow and lemon, for the nuns of Tor di'Specchi [*sic*] when they went to the vineyard."[40] A month earlier the same Bernardino spent 1 scudo for a pound of chocolate to give as a gift to his sister the nun.[41] The predilection for fresh water was also marked north of the Alps: in Vienna Scipione Santacroce spent much more for "fresh water" sipped at the Prater or in the garden of Favorita than he spent on tea, coffee, or chocolate.

About all of this, though, the inventories give us only scant traces. Glasses, of crystal or glass, were present only in eight houses and two shops.[42] However, these two shops had a very rich assortment of tableware. The Lirighetti merchants, who owned one of these stores, had more than two hundred pieces of "Romanesque crystal," among which were 140 "friar's glasses" and seventy "glasses for spirits."[43] The other shop, owned by Stefano Del Chenne, offered an even richer assortment. He possessed an enormous quantity of all types of plates and of "various glassware." He had no fewer than 1,415 "pieces" of crystal, among which were at least three hundred crystal objects from Venice. Even the "display" of the window was full of crystals. Nevertheless, the term "drinking glass" appears explicitly only twice, in describing four "drinking glasses *alla ceciliana*," of majolica, and an imprecise number of "double glasses."[44]

In people's houses, glasses were just as rare and summarily described.[45] On the occasion of his move from Cesi to Rome, for example, Giovanni Maria Contelori drew up a detailed list of dishes that were displayed in a dresser in the living room of his house—that is to say, well in view, serving a decorative function—or closed in a cupboard, or even packed in a chest.

Glasses and salt containers must have been of little interest, given that they were not displayed. They were evidently worth little, as Contelori did not linger to describe them in detail, as he had done with the other tableware, and did not even take the trouble to count them. They must also have been few in number and overwhelmed by the presence of numerous plates. Yet as a contemporary handbook on home economics stated, cosmopolitan men in fact used two types of glasses: gilded silver ones when they were in the countryside and crystal ones on other occasions. As the manual noted, "truly one derives better taste and satisfaction from crystal glassware than any other types. They sell glasses and cups of every sort and one can have made every model of the greatest products found in Venice, where they work with every diligence."[46]

TABLE 7.3 List of Giovanni Maria Contelori's tableware

OBJECT	NUMBER
In the sideboard	
Large plates in the form of half basins with the family crest, to be put on the table	9
Similar but Without the Crest	6
A bucket in the grotesque style with tankards	3
Terracotta basins with one painted tankard and another with a crest	2
Brass basins	2
Tin flasks	6
Tin tankards	2
Large and small tin plates	7
Terracotta flasks	5
In the Cupboard	
Used half bowls with a cross	22
Used round plates	10
Used half bowls with the family crest	14
Used round plates with the family crest	10
Used and new little plates	12
Saucers	4

TABLE 7.3 *Continued*

OBJECT	NUMBER
Fruit bowls	4
Terracotta basin	2
Diverse glasses and salt containers	N/A
In a Chest	
Unused little plates with the crest	13
Unused half bowls with the crest	10
Little plates and round plates with the crest of the Bishop of Todi	9
Plain white little plates	49
Flat round plates made in the French style	42

If glasses were rare, bowls and cups were even scarcer. As noted above, in 1667 Bernardino Spada bought a pound of chocolate to send to a sister who was a nun.[47] But almost no inventories list mugs, cups, or other types of tableware suitable for sipping chocolate in liquid form, as was the custom during this period. The two exceptions were Polidoro Neruzzi, who owned two majolica cups, and Margherita Betti, whose inventory mentioned "three little cups of dark porcelain."[48] One must wait until 1681 to find a specific reference to the designated use of cups. In that year Orazio Spada noted the purchase of twenty-four mugs for chocolate.[49] To these he added two boxes covered with worked red leather and gold thread, a roller, and a silver spoon, all "for the chocolate." In total this setup cost Spada 2.21 scudi.[50] At the end of the seventeenth century the consumption of new hot drinks, and the possession of household objects appropriate for serving them, seems to have been extremely limited.[51] The aforementioned inventories from the two large shops, which contained significant quantities of bowls, cups, plates, and saucers (respectively forty and 280), certainly do not suggest that this tableware was destined to be used for chocolate or coffee. The materials

from which they were made—Romanesque crystal, Roman chalcedony, and glazed ceramic—make one think that these items were more decorative than practical.[52]

Twenty years later, while the inventories continued to be silent on this issue, other sources illustrate that consumption by the nobility was rising and becoming more refined. From the account book of Isabella Vecchiarelli we learn that she purchased "two mugs of fine porcelain in which to drink coffee" for a total price of 2 scudi. In the two decades that separate her purchase from that of Orazio Spada the quality of material used must have improved enormously: the price of each of Spada's mugs did not surpass 4 *baiocchi*, while Vecchiarelli's cost 1 scudo apiece.[53] In the following months this young woman would complete her supply: she bought ten pounds of chocolate (4.17 scudi), then a pound of coffee (0.30 scudi), a jar in which to keep the coffee (1.50 scudi), and two "tobacco handkerchiefs for the coffee" (0.35 scudi).[54] Isabella's in-laws also recorded their expenditures for these years, and it would seem that they regularly purchased coffee, tobacco, and chocolate as well.[55] Scipione Santacroce in Vienna bought snuff, pipe tobacco, a silver snuffbox, tea, chocolate, and coffee from a Dutch merchant.[56] He also purchased a large quantity of tableware suited to the consumption of these substances, including twenty-five little cups for coffee, two for tea, a sort of jug called a *cuccumo* for the coffee, a *caldarino con suoi piedini*, that is, a freestanding boiler in which the water was heated and the coffee was ground, and a little pan for roasting the coffee.[57] As the century progressed the practice of drinking chocolate in the morning had entered into the convents, encompassing not just the nuns but also the girls who boarded there. In fact, the rules for the Barberini convent stipulate that at breakfast "those who have their own chocolate may enjoy it."[58] Furthermore, the *Conservatori* of Rome were offered chocolate, in a cup with a little silver plate and a silk napkin, every morning.

As new drinks, both hot and cold, increased in popularity, we see more frequent and numerous purchases of cups and glasses in which to drink them. A "note of expenditure" Santacroce made during a brief trip to Tivoli in October of 1702, for example, clearly reveals the insufficient supply of tableware in the suburban villa and their need to adjust to the new style of consumption. In a list of expenditures largely for foodstuffs, the only purchases of household objects were "two little glasses for spirits," "twenty-four crystal carafes," "thirty-six little glass lids," "six crystal glasses in the *pan di zucchero* style," "two decks of French cards for playing," and "six chamber pots with fine coverings."[59]

The spread of housewares such as crystal and porcelain, which were as precious as they were fragile, was built around the new consumption of hot and cold beverages. Plates and bowls did not, in themselves, constitute a new thing. The novelty, in this case, came from the material with which they were made. At the beginning of the century, Vincenzo Giustiniani, whose ancestors had maintained strong relations with the Orient, possessed at least 235 pieces of porcelain, including plates, cups, and bowls. To this he added 150 gilded "plates from Constantinople," but also fifteen "little puppets for children." Nevertheless, it seems that he did not possess a single crystal glass or carafe.[60] His inventory, however, is one of the first testimonies to the presence in Rome by the 1630s of porcelain objects. Margherita Betti's documents confirm the presence of porcelain as she brought a basin, five bowls, and three little plates all of fine porcelain as a dowry to her first marriage in 1644, for a total value of 4 scudi. No one else owned porcelain, though, and even majolica was not commonly used: only seventeen out of forty-seven men had plates, basins, or other items that were explicitly listed as being made from majolica. Furthermore, at least three of these men possessed majolica for professional reasons, as they made or sold these products. Isabella Vecchiarelli, with her two coffee mugs, was far from the equal in style to her husband Scipione, who in Vienna paid at least 41 scudi to a Dutch merchant "for a lottery of porcelain."[61]

The same thing can be said for pipes, which were absent from every inventory, and for snuffboxes. Raspantini, who might have sold them, had five fairly precious snuffboxes made of bone and silver or gilded copper. But among the other seventy-five inventories, only Margherita Betti ended up owning a snuffbox, in 1669.

In contrast, many people owned silverware, including flatware as well as plates, bowls, washbasins, and saucers. Like nearly all other objects, these housewares were predominately owned by men. A good percentage of men (nineteen out of forty-seven inventories) possessed at least one set of silverware, that is, a paired spoon and fork, and fourteen owned at least four sets. Rotoli, who was a banker and therefore dealt in silver, had fifteen sets at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Lucatelli, a more modest merchant, had twenty at the end of the century; Raspantini had twelve during the same period. Much rarer was the presence of a knife with a silver handle: Rotoli and Lucatelli did not have even one and Raspantini owned only seven. In 1625 Carlo Cartari's father had nine silver spoons and ten forks, but not a single knife. A few years later, his son Carlo listed six knives "with a silver handle and a gilded crest" in addition to the flatware inherited from his father.[62] For their part, female inventories were poorer.[63] However, the silver "flatware set" made a recurring appearance in the trousseau of brides, and some wives even had multiple sets. The frequently cited Margherita Betti owned seven, accompanied by as many knives.[64]

Silverware in general and "flatware sets" in particular could be turned into fine gifts: Virgilio Spada gave three sets to his nephew Orazio.[65] Carlo Cartari recorded that among his silver there was "a bread plate with our and his crest, which Signor Febei gave us as a large gift on Christmas, along with a spoon, fork, and a knife with a silver handle."[66] Years later Isabella Vecchiarelli gave as a gift a "flatware set" to the wet nurse of her children on multiple occasions: when the children had their first tooth, when they came out of their swaddling clothes, or again when they were weaned.[67]

Weapons and Good Manners

If the goods people owned reveal their patterns of consumption, hence their patterns of behavior and participation in a culture, what emerges from our inventories is the wavering influence of the chivalric-military ideal. Fewer than half of the men (nineteen out of forty-six) possessed weapons. Only twelve of these owned a sword, the symbol par excellence of knightly status. In practice, if not by law, master artisans of a certain financial status, who make up nearly all those whose inventories have been surveyed here, were allowed to own a sword. More numerous (sixteen), were those who had a firearm, a few of which were clearly to be used for hunting. However, hunting and the imitation of knightly accoutrements does not explain everything. In fact, at least four people (three merchants and one bathhouse proprietor) owned harquebuses. These were probably possessed in connection with military service in the militia, the quarter of the city, or one's trade. Even in the seventeenth century, men were required to guard the gates of the city.[68] Given that two owners of pikes came from the diocese of Bergamo, perhaps geographic origin was connected to weapon ownership. The legislation on weapons forbade those who were not knights to possess a sword, but participation in the militia allowed for dispensation.

The fact that owners of weapons were a minority does not imply that chivalry was incompatible with trades of the robe such as judges or lawyers or even with the ecclesiastical estate. On the contrary, it was understood that a great noble like Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna could leave in his will two carbines to Cardinal Flavio Chigi. Colonna justified the incongruence of his gift with Chigi's social status by explaining that "although they are not

appropriate mementos for an ecclesiastic, nevertheless I leave them to you so that they may be kept in your museum and so that you will remember me."[69] A comparison between those who owned swords and harquebuses and those who owned books and other cultural products demonstrates that there was no strict correlation between owning one type of item or the other, neither in a positive nor a negative sense. There were members of the curia, like Nicola Pari, who owned a sword and a drum, while gentlemen like Polidoro Neruzzi did not have even one little sword. The majority of people did not see any discrepancy between the ownership of weapons and that of musical instruments or books.

Surviving account books of nobles reveal that they acted in a similar manner. Bernardino Spada spent large sums to go hunting, but this money went to tips for his staff, gifts for those who invited him, and to those who let him borrow a horse. All of these costs were greater than what he paid for weapons and ammunition. His passion for hunting did not stop him from buying luxury items such as wigs, from having songs and sonnets copied for him, or from regularly attending social gatherings. Similarly, Antonio Santacroce paid his sword maker's bill and bought La Rochefoucauld's *Moral Reflections*. His son, Scipione, was banished from Rome for having killed a rival in a duel, but in Venice he comported himself like a noble dandy. As for Isabella Vecchiarelli, in addition to a fashionable bonnet and a fan, she also bought a steel flint lock.[70] If there ever had been a conflict between chivalric ferocity symbolized by swords and the gentleness of manners associated with life at a court, it seems to have been happily resolved in a shared compromise that included nobles as much as individuals of a "middling condition."

Musical Instruments, Scientific Instruments, and Natural Curiosities

As one can see from the table below, eighteen inventories contained at least one musical instrument. For the most part, these were guitars (ten of them, divided between two women and five men), to which one could add a *colascione*, another plucked instrument. These were popular means of making music that had little to do with the lutes and other refined instruments that were portrayed in so many compositions from the period. The popularity of the guitar was also attested by the testimony of people brought before the papal tribunals: courtesans owned them as did the dissolute bands of young men who stirred up their neighbors with their music playing. Nine other inventories had more complex keyboard instruments: an organ, six harpsichords, and four spinets. Both Raspantini and Cangiani, who were included in this latter group, also owned "music books," among which were two volumes of the manual by Giovan Girolamo Kapsberger titled *Entablature for the Chitarrone* (a type of lute).[71] The ownership of these more complex musical instruments and the associated musical books indicates a more elaborate musical culture and perhaps also a more pronounced desire for respectability on the part of these owners. No other individual owner surveyed here managed to equal the richness and variety of instruments possessed by the Jewish doctor Abraham fu Martio di Cameo, who died in 1626. In his inventory there were "four wooden trumpets, a harpsichord, a violin, a bassoon, three small flutes, six large flutes, a small zither, and three *chitarrini* or mandolins." These instruments were accompanied by a variety

TABLE 7.4 Ownership of weapons, books, musical instruments, and other items

NAME	SEX	DATE	WEAPONS	BOOKS	CLOCKS	MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS	SCIENTIFIC INSTRUMENTS
Contelori	M	1617	Yes	Yes		Spinet	World map
Bertone	M	1624	Yes				
Cusida	M	1624			1	Organ	
Scapucci	M	1625					
Fortini	M	1626					
Jani	M	1628	9				
Mayno	M	1628				Harpsichord	
Negrelli	M	1628		402			Atlas
Rotoli	M	1628	Yes	49	2	Spinet and a spinettina	
Neruzzi	M	1641		424			Spyglass
Bellini	M	1644	Yes	134		Spinet	

TABLE 7.4 *Continued*

NAME	SEX	DATE	WEAPONS	BOOKS	CLOCKS	MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS	SCIENTIFIC INSTRUMENTS
Betti	F	1644	Yes	24		Guitar	
Francescona	F	1644				Harpsichord	
Battistoni	M	1645	Yes			Guitar and drum	
Bava	M	1645		10		Harpsichord	
Lirighetti	M	1648	Yes	12		*Colascione* (a sort of popular lute)	
Betti	F	1656	Yes		1		
Mansueti	M	1666				Guitar	
Albertini	M	1667	Yes	11	1		
Arpini	M	1667	Yes				
Bronconi	M	1667	Yes			Guitar	
Cangiani	M	1667	Yes	97		Guitar and harpsichord	
Diana	F	1667				Guitar	
Lansi	M	1667		7		Spinet	
Pari	M	1667	Yes	406	1	Drum	
Raspantini	M	1667	Yes	160	5	Harpsichord	Compass
Trombetta	F	1667				Harpsichord	
Vittori	M	1667	Yes			Guitars	
Betti	F	1669			1		Spyglass

of books on Jewish music and a large folio volume of Giuseppe Zarlino's *Harmonic Institutions*.[72]

Although ownership of music instruments was relatively widespread, scientific instruments were much more rarely found in inventories: only six men and one woman possessed one. One must also distinguish between those, like Raspantini, who possessed tools for their trade—including compasses, straightedges, squares, stonecutters, a "perspective crystal," various "little wooden models," and many unspecified "mathematical instruments"—and those, such as Betti, Neruzzi, Contelori, or Raspantini again, who owned "tools" that were clearly not for professional use.[73] These might include a "looking glass" or a world map. With this second set of owners one can measure not so much scientific culture as curiosity about it. It is not chance that it was exactly the most cultured people in the sample set who owned these types of scientific instruments. Carlo Cartari, for example, spoke in his correspondence about a particularly powerful telescope. Cartari was the same man who discussed that intellectual phenomenon of the late seventeenth century, Elena Piscopia Cornaro, admiring her perfect knowledge of the two "spheres": the celestial and the terrestrial. That astronomy was important for seventeenth-century intellectuals, independently from their principal specialization, is a well-known fact. However, the discovery that small and obscure scholars like Cartari or individuals who owned a few books and knew how to read also took part in this passion is important.

Interest in natural science expressed itself both in the ownership of scientific instruments and in natural curiosities. One should not be surprised that it was Contelori and Neruzzi again who owned respectively a "paw" and a "sea turtle shell." As for Raspantini, in addition to the bezoar stone, the piece from the claw of the "great beast," and the tooth of the wolf that have already been mentioned, he also had a "small Indian bean," a "small piece of a unicorn," a "little piece of mother of pearl," two "little jugs with manna from Saint Nicholas," and like the bezoar, "other concoctions to combat against various evils."[74] Although being a great collector—interested, however, more in art and antiquity than in natural curiosities—Giustiniani did not own diverse objects of a rare or sophisticated nature: his *naturalia* were limited to about twenty bezoar stones, some rhinoceros horns that were mounted on glasses, two pieces from the claw of a "great beast," the shell of mother of pearl, and three "gourds of blond balsam." As for his scientific instruments, he only had a "celestial globe" and a few books, among which Andrea Cesalpino's *De metallicis libri tres* stands out. However, the superior quality of his cultural curiosities and his connections was manifested in his

ownership of a copy of *Basilica Chymica* by Oswald Croll, a medical doctor and alchemist at the court of Rudolf II, along with a "book of Indian hieroglyphs," and twenty-four "idols from the Indies."

Powders and Perfumes

The transition from the old to the new century did not bring only an increase in the consumption of chocolate or in the acquisition of porcelain. Ladies and gentlemen began to invest ever-increasing sums in creams, powders, perfumes, wigs, combs, brushes, and little dressing tables. Elite males started to be shaved more often, defying the ridicule laid on them by Lucrezia Marinella, who at the beginning of the seventeenth century accused men of being as vain as women, if not more.[75] Obviously, these types of objects are among the most poorly documented in the inventories. But the account books are rich in information. At the start of the century the banker Rotoli owned six flasks of rose water, but not a single comb or other object for grooming. In contrast, the Marquis Giustiniani—one of the richest men in Rome—had a comb as well as a brush, although his "perfumery articles" end there. The lawyer Negrelli had a sponge and some "pieces for his head," but went no further. In the second half of the seventeenth century things did not change: even Raspantini, whose home was otherwise so rich with things, had only a box of perfume balls, a little vase of soap, and a beard brush. Yet the list of goods for the two public Turkish baths demonstrates that perfumed water and powders were readily available. Again, there seems to have been a gap between supply and demand. The account book of Vittoria Patrizi Spada reveals that around 1670 a noblewoman did not have difficulty procuring combs of horn or ivory, orange flower water, and almond oil. The same holds for her husband Bernardino, who bought perfumed oils and creams, combs, brushes, and wigs. At least a part of the perfumed essences consumed in the Spadas' house depended on domestic production. In many cases, in fact, the account book records the acquisition of raw material, that is, flowers to be "distilled": elderberry flowers, rosebuds, jasmine, and orange flowers.[76] However, from the 1670s the acquisition of finished products came to dominate: "water of bitter oranges," "Grand Duke's oils," "almond oil," and "violet oil."[77] But it is with Isabella Vecchiarelli that the consumption of powders and perfumes appears to have really taken off. Her application of these cosmetics seems to have become a nearly daily habit. Creams and powders were by then "of various odors" and their use brought with it an expansion of appropriate furniture and home wares: a dressing table, two

cases with silver studs to complete them, "a little traveling case for the care of the head," and a bottle of gilt silver "for the Hungarian Queen's water."[78] Not to be outdone, her husband, Scipione, bought jasmine powders and oils nearly every week and regularly paid a barber who came to shave him every two or three days.[79] At the beginning of the seventeenth century, being shaved daily was derided as a sign of femininity or as an absurd desire to appear as a beardless youth.[80] One hundred years later fashion evidently imposed the smooth cheek on gentlemen as well. Santacroce moreover acquired wigs and "a mannequin bust" on which to store them. Additionally, there was at least one man of "middling condition" who was able to imitate Santacroce: in 1700 Nicola Salvati left to his heirs, among other things, a "little wig along with its box."[81]

Jewelry

Given what we have already learned about the division of goods between women and men, we should not be surprised that jewelry was in large part owned by men: out of a total of 537 pieces, 429 were found in male inventories while only 108 were in female ones. However, proportionately, there were many more women who possessed a piece of jewelry: thirteen out of thirty, that is, 43.3 percent, while for men the percentage was lower, at 32.6 percent. Excluding reliquaries, medals, and a few other anomalous objects, and focusing instead on more traditional types of jewelry only partially changes the result, and men continue to have more, in total, of these luxury items. Yet aside from jeweled studs, all the other items were predominately female ornaments. This observation holds true also for the gems that adorned the jewelry in question.

Precious stones—in particular diamonds, but also coral and the garnets that we are so accustomed to associating with women and wives—belonged largely to men. This conforms to the same trend we saw with fine and brocaded clothing: husbands purchased and remained the owners of the most expensive items their wives used. Men thus made use of the last will to finally give their wives the jewelry and other items that in practice was already theirs. The silk vender Tommaso Brancavalerio, for example, left to his "most sweet wife a diamond, a ruby, and a turquoise held together in a gold band, which she regularly wore, so that she would remember to say prayers for my soul."[82] It also happened that some pieces of jewelry recorded in a will had been removed from it by the time of the owner's death, pawned to the Monte di Pietà or to a private party. There were at least three (male)

inventories that described this phenomenon, for a total of eight objects of widely varying values, from 3 to 55 scudi.

The type of precious stones seventeenth-century goldsmiths used merits a bit more commentary. As has been frequently noted, the inventories surveyed here represent the goods of people from the "middling classes." They excluded incredibly rich people and great nobles. Yet the stones most used were diamonds, followed closely by pearls, while coral and garnets were in a clear minority. On the other hand, every type of jewelry had a preferred type of stone: for necklaces and earrings, the most used were pearls; while diamonds were mostly mounted on rings, as is the practice today. In contrast, it seems amazing that the use of all the semiprecious stones, like garnets, amber, and especially coral, was confined essentially to rosaries. Apparently, their production was not such to make them competitors with the more precious stones: a true piece of jewelry called for something else. In spite of this, the average value of a single piece of jewelry was not very high, especially if one compares it with prices for clothing.

TABLE 7.5 Number of pieces of jewelry recorded in male and female inventories (15 men, 13 women)

TYPE OF JEWELRY	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL
Rings	46	41	87
Jeweled studs	213	16	229
Crowns (rosaries)	19	5	24
Crosses	8	1	9
Pendants	36	18	54
Brooches and bracelets	8	4	12
Charms, necklaces, or chains	45	17	62
Total	*376*	*102*	*478*

TABLE 7.6 Number of pieces of jewelry with precious stones

PRECIOUS STONES	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL
Corals	20	5	25
Diamonds	51	12	63
Garnets	21	4	25
Pearls	36	25	61

But it was the jewels themselves—not just the low quality pieces surveyed here—that were not worth much more than precious fabrics, which, moreover, often contained gold. Comparison with the dowry jewelry of Maria Isabella Vecchiarelli Santacroce confirms this: while the diamond ring of the young marquise was worth 55 scudi, the scarf with Flemish lace and gold that

TABLE 7.7 Value of appraised goods (in scudi)

TYPE OF JEWELRY	NUMBER	MINIMUM VALUE	MEDIAN VALUE	MAXIMUM VALUE
Rings	24	1.5 ("turquoise")	5.08	40 (diamonds)
Rosaries	3	3.0 (coral)	7.66	15 (coral)
Pairs of earrings	8	2.5 (pearls)	12.62	25 (pearls)
Brooches and bracelets	3	2.5 (jet)	3.87	6 (claw from a great beast)
Charms, necklaces, and chains	11	4.0 (baroque pearls)	15.44	45.23 (gold?)
Total	*49*		*7.8*	

she received as a wedding present cost 50. The distance between nobles and the "middling sort" appears profound in every case: although Margherita Betti also owned a ring worth 40 scudi, Maria Isabella had a diamond cross with a loop that was worth 300, that is, double the value of all Margherita's jewels put together.[83] Rotoli and Cangiani, who could perhaps have rivaled the Santacroce, unfortunately did not leave estimates of the worth of their valuables.

Acquisition and the Circulation of Information

The inventories from the Lirighetti and Del Chenne shops, which provide us with information on the availability of plates, glasses, and other tableware, and that of Raspantini's house, which instead testifies to the availability of decorative objects of varying worth, raise a few questions about the correspondence between products available on the Roman market and those that were regularly found in people's houses. This issue has already been confronted in part through consideration of the lack of paraphernalia from the workplace or the rarity of shoes in the inventories. It seems to me, though, that these gaps cannot be explained by the incompleteness of the sources. Rather, this additional example of the difference between products available and those actually owned recalls the problem of the slender market of consumers. Thus the inventories confirm a fact that has been recognized by economic historians for some time: in preindustrial society demand was weak and widely fluctuating.

Supply, on the contrary, seems to have been solidly guaranteed. Two financial rolls listing merchants by name, the first from 1628 and the second from 1708, for example, demonstrate that in Rome there were between thirty and forty merchant firms dealing in fabrics, woolen clothing, and other textiles.[84] To these must be added about another twenty companies that engaged in similar activities but were affiliated with guilds separate from the merchants. The haberdashers would be one example of this practice.[85] In 1708 the contribution requested from each of these firms was quite high, in the majority of cases greater than 30 scudi. This indicates that these were important firms with a wide range of business dealings. At the beginning of the seventeenth century nearly all the merchants who operated in the Roman market were of foreign origin, including people from Tuscany, Umbria, the Marche, and especially Bergamo. This fact additionally indicates a trading network that was by no means limited. The names that appear in successive lists, from the middle of the seventeenth century until the beginning

of the eighteenth, illustrate that after decades things did not change and Rome continued to be filled with merchants from north-central Italy. From the middle of the seventeenth century, if not before, the French joined the competition, being fairly numerous among the makers and resellers of fabrics and more prominent among the tailors. This information comes from the lists registering merchants by name and is confirmed by a seventeenth-century author who observed that "the Flemish and French merchants hold in their stores diverse fabrics that are both durable and inexpensive."[86] Rome was therefore fully enmeshed in the circuits of international trade—given the importance of the papal court it would have been strange if this were not the case—and its inhabitants apparently were able to find in the city any type of good produced and sold in Europe. Nevertheless, the reports from voyages reveal that such an image of great supply was not necessarily always the case in reality. Scipione Santacroce expressed wonder when confronted with the wealth of goods displayed in the shops on the Pont Neuf in Paris. In London the things he saw were so unusual and ingenious he felt the need to describe them individually:

> Near the Church of St. Paul's I entered an eyeglass maker's shop, which had many nose glasses of fine quality for twenty shillings. He had as well an instrument similar to a microscope with which one saw the circulation of the blood in a living fish in such a way that one could not doubt it. The owner asked four pounds sterling for this instrument. He also possessed spyglasses and "fist" glasses and everything was made to perfection.[87]

The clockmaker in particular attracted his attention:

> The crafts too are excellent, and they make clocks to perfection. Among the most highly esteemed and who are paid for the favor of their works are Tampion and Quarc. Tampion's prices for his clocks are as follows: the large weighted pendulums that run for eight days and show the hours, minutes, seconds, and days of the month cost between twelve and eighteen pounds sterling.[88]

Santacroce felt it worthwhile to note other objects as well: "In London they also work very beautiful things with steel, such as locks and keys for a very high price. They make beautiful steel sword guards as well as snuffboxes, [and] watch chains, and table clocks with springs for which they charge five

pounds."[89] Regarding textiles, their fame was not usurped: "All of the woolen products like clothing and caps are excellent as much for the quality as for the colors of the fabric. I have seen and purchased some beautiful ones in the shop at the sign of the Cat. It is the best in London."[90]

Through Santacroce's eyes London appears truly to be a consumer's paradise, where one could find everything. However, Scipione was certainly not the only person to use travel as a way to make a few purchases. Vincenzo Giustiniani, while in Murano—an island in the Venetian lagoon known for glassmaking—bought "a quantity of glasses." The young noble Filippo Orsini, while completing a grand tour across France and Germany, profited from a stop in Lyons by purchasing fabrics in the latest fashion.[91] The picture of the relationship between supply and demand that one can reconstruct from the private archives illustrates that the options available to the Roman consumers were not limited to the two that we have just witnessed—that is, dealing with merchants in the city of Rome or going abroad to find products. In addition to these one must also note the role of figures other than the normal merchants. In fact, if local demand was weak, supply as well seems to have been insufficient, at least if one judges from the number of shipments of goods or purchases made through the correspondence not of professional intermediaries but rather private persons. Purchases via correspondence were also treated in a manual for the head of the household, published in Rome in 1657. The author strongly advises against supplying oneself via the Roman market and suggests instead turning to foreign merchants who "hold in commission all things, and from these one gets every advantage, good things, fresh and also with a little time to pay."[92] However, one would ideally have sent directly from abroad the most important foreign goods, such as "fabrics from Naples, Venice, and Florence," as well as "groceries, sugar, wax, spices," while for silk lace and silver and gold ribbon it was preferable to turn to local workers, as it was easier to be on guard against false goods at the price of the real thing.[93]

The advice of this author simply reflects the normal practices of the Roman consumers. The correspondence of Carlo Cartari, an intellectual of modest ability and limited connections, illustrates how the mechanism of trade and different types of exchange operated among friends living in different cities. The model is similar to that of the networks of great scholars with dozens of correspondents spread throughout Europe.[94] This comparison makes the letters Cartari received from Bernardino Saracinelli, sent for the most part from Florence, interesting. Even at a modest level, either in regard to wealth or in number of connections, many acquisitions, mainly of rare and curious

objects, could arrive only thanks to channels of friends and correspondents, spread in many places and therefore able to have access to an ever-greater number of suppliers. As we have seen, Saracinelli asked a Roman friend to procure for him "a few curious seeds of unique and bizarre plants," going to the Botanical Gardens to get them.[95] Two weeks later, the friend having thanked him for the "pumpkin seeds sent to me," he proposed to have distilled in Florence a bottle of fragrant water to send to Saracinelli. He then added at the end of the letter:

> I had occasion in a library to see a frontispiece, or to put it better, an account of the contents of the book designed to explain it to those who wanted to purchase it. The said notice began with *Recreation for the Eye and for the Mind through the Observation of Snails*. This was the title of the folio. I'm telling you because if you could send me a copy of this book, I would be very pleased. It is printed by Varese at Cesaretti's expense at the sign of the Queen. I would like to send it to Bologna and would be very much in your debt.[96]

Sometime later, in another letter, Saracinelli wrote: "I am delighted that the seals pleased you. Do not worry about the price because it is a small thing." In return Saracinelli asked for "a plant of the Iris Pharaonis" and new seeds from curious plants.[97]

Others did not leave correspondence, and we must therefore be content with different sorts of less detailed information. Maria Veralli, Virginia Patrizi, and Isabella Vecchiarelli's account books contain payment entries for goods arriving from abroad or, in contrast, records of objects sent to friends not living in Rome. Behind these registries of expenses it is not difficult to imagine an exchange as rich and full as that which we have just observed. Maria Veralli had ten pounds of "half silk" and two sable muffs sent from Venice, and thread and ribbon from Viterbo.[98] For her part, Veralli sent to Florence "a collar of thin fabric with pleats" and various pairs of gloves.[99] Virginia Patrizi spent 2.80 scudi to send "a box to and from Venice" and received a few "shoulder veils" from Pesaro and fabrics from Florence.[100] Additionally, her husband, Bernardino Spada, paid for the transport of some goods coming from Venice and Naples.[101] However, his most interesting expense concerned "a wig brought for me from France" for which he reimbursed not a merchant but rather a friend who had evidently acted as an intermediary.[102] This little episode reinforces the hypothesis many other examples suggest: the acquisition of new products occurred through the professional

work of merchants who managed their commercialization, but the informal network of friends and acquaintances that circulated first information and then also real objects through the regular exchange of correspondence had an equally important role.[103]

Isabella Vecchiarelli, the most active consumer of all, had little cases of "orange cream," lace, and fabric from Florence; girdles, velvet, and chocolate from Genoa; ribbon from Lucca; silk handkerchiefs for tobacco from an unidentified location; and even "a silver watch from England" sent to her for a price of 33.20 scudi including "transport and other expenses." In exchange she sent little black-sequined berets, gloves, violin strings, and even, in turn, "a black tabinet girdle with a silver clasp" to a Signora Lomellina who lived in Genoa.[104] All these exchanges of objects, which were certainly not unobtainable and not even particularly rare, must have been preceded by an exchange of notes on the advantages that one could gain in having these items acquired by a friend in their own city and then having them shipped. Similarly, it is likely that there was correspondence regarding the differences of quality or style of objects that were used or sold in Rome and elsewhere. On the other hand, when acquiring a "little writing desk" garnished with silk flowers and "glass luxury goods" to be given as a gift to his sister-in-law, even Cassiano dal Pozzo preferred to turn to a Florentine merchant with whom he was already in correspondence rather than commissioning a Roman artisan to do the job.[105] Yet mercantile firms were not lacking in the Roman market, and Roman consumers did not disregard them. In Vittoria Patrizi's account books one can discern at least four such shops, and in the book of Isabella Vecchiarelli one finds six, including some that were clearly French.[106]

Finally, there was a significant role for domestic production, as we have seen in regard to clothing. Yet even these products could enter into the circuits of exchange, as has been demonstrated for the case of silk flowers, which were normally produced in convents, or that of yarn and fabrics made by housewives, which were given to merchants in exchange for finer articles of clothing.



PLATE 1. Jacopo and Francesco Bassano, *Christ in the House of Mary, Martha, and Lazarus*, ca. 1577. Oil on canvas. Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation, Houston.



PLATE 2. Vincenzo Campi, *In cucina*, ca. 1580. Pinacoteca de Brera.

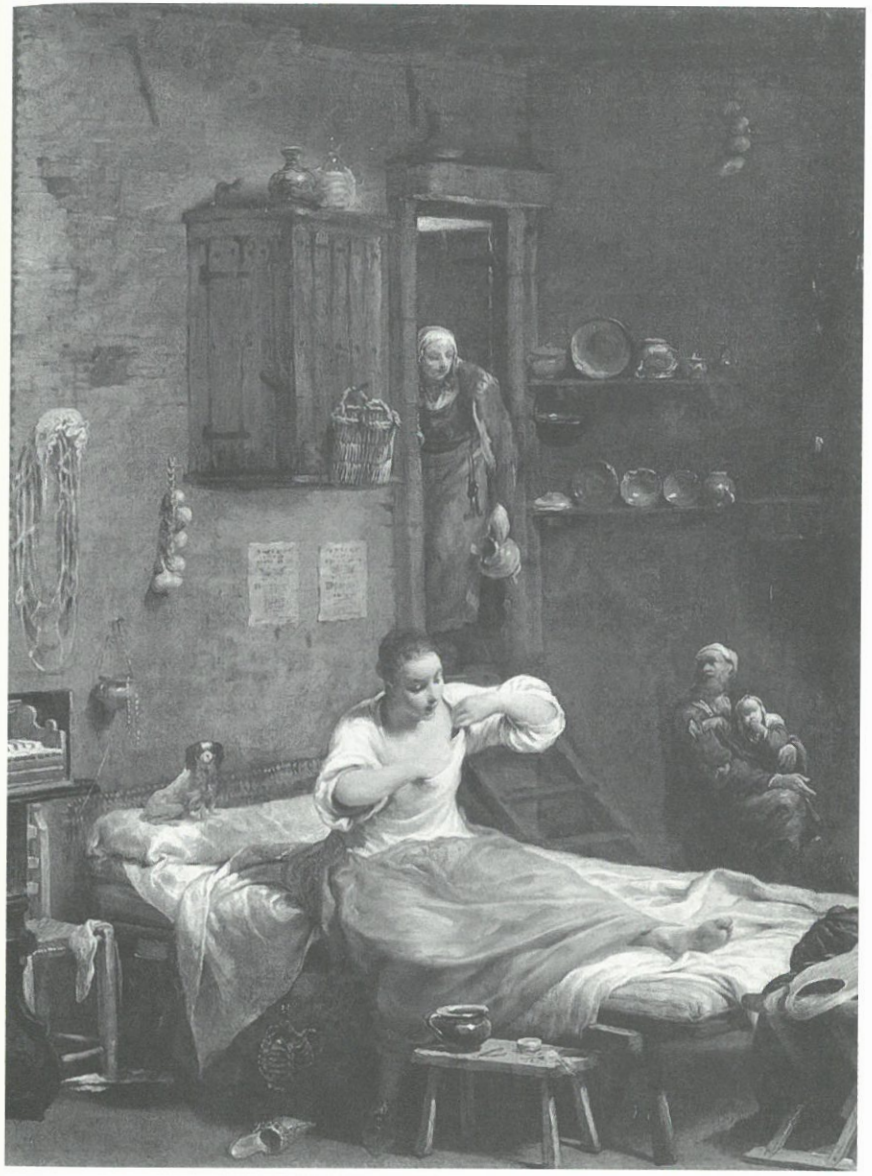


PLATE 3. Giuseppe Maria Crespi, *La pulce*, ca. 1730. Museo di Capodimonte, Naples.

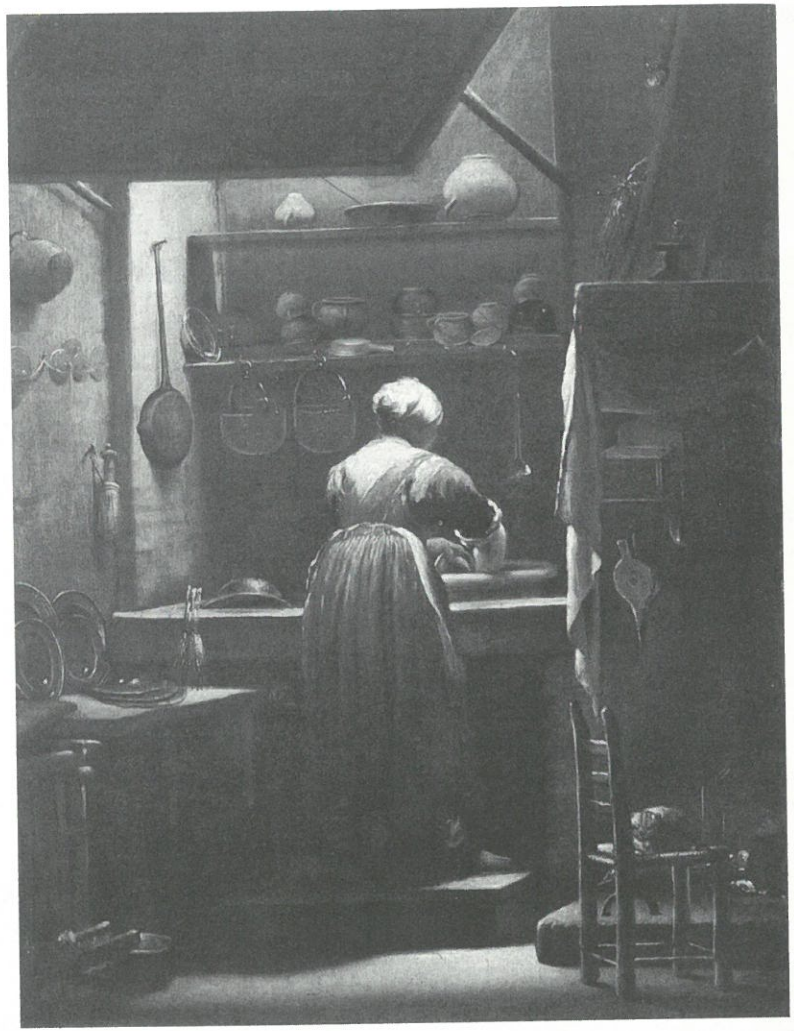


PLATE 4. Giuseppe Maria Crespi, *La sguattera*, ca. 1710. Uffizi Gallery, Florence.

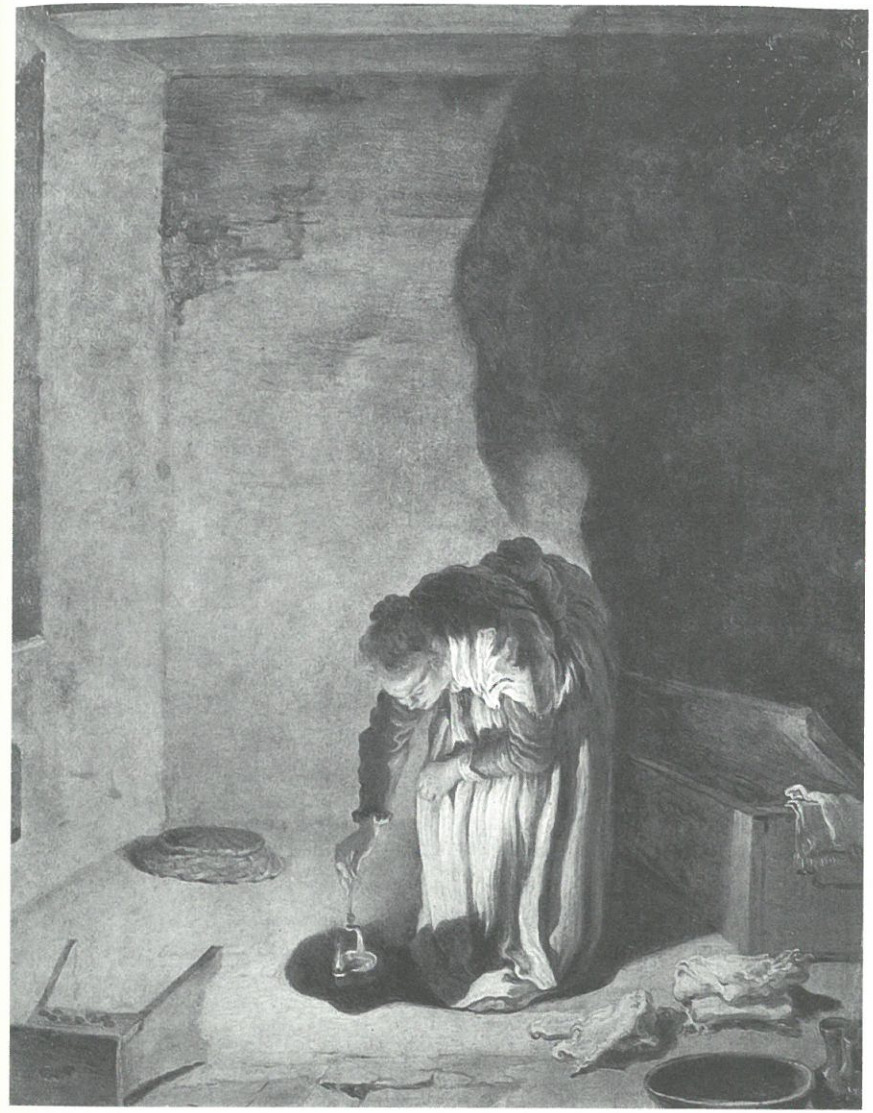


PLATE 5. Domenico Feti, *Parable of the Lost Drachma*, ca. 1620. Oil on wood. Gemäldegalerie, Dresden.



PLATE 6. Caravaggio, *Boy Peeling a Pear*, 1593. Oil on canvas. Longhi Collection, Rome.



PLATE 7. Tommaso Salini, *Boy with a Flask and Cabbages*, ca. 1610. Oil on canvas. Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid.



PLATE 8. Agostino Verrocchi, *Dispensa con fruttiera, bicchieri, recipienti di vetro, terracotta e metallo* (particolare), first half of seventeenth century. Museo Duca di Martina, Naples.

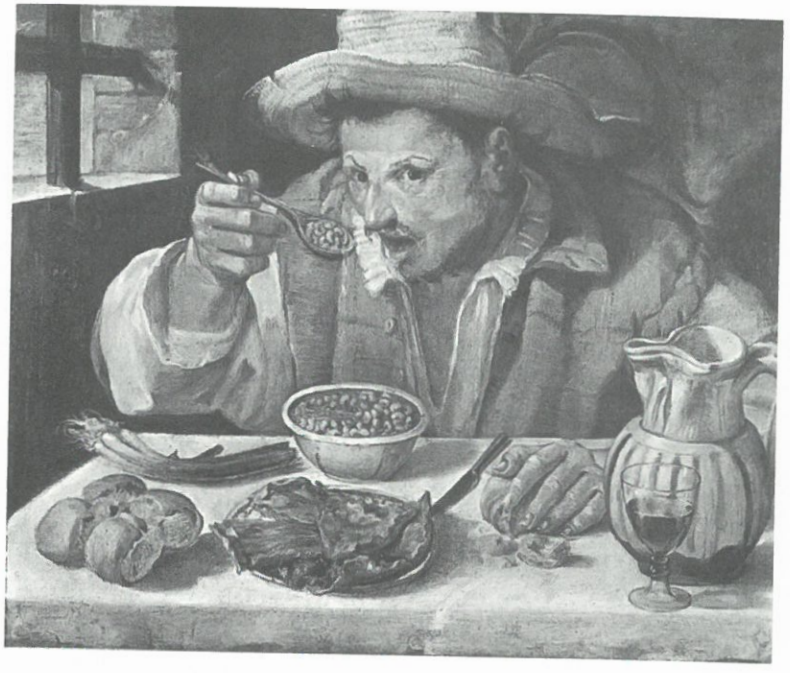


PLATE 9. Annibale Carracci, *The Beaneater*, 1583. Oil on canvas. Galleria Colonna, Rome.



PLATE 10. Abraham Bosse, *Les femmes à la table*. Etching. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

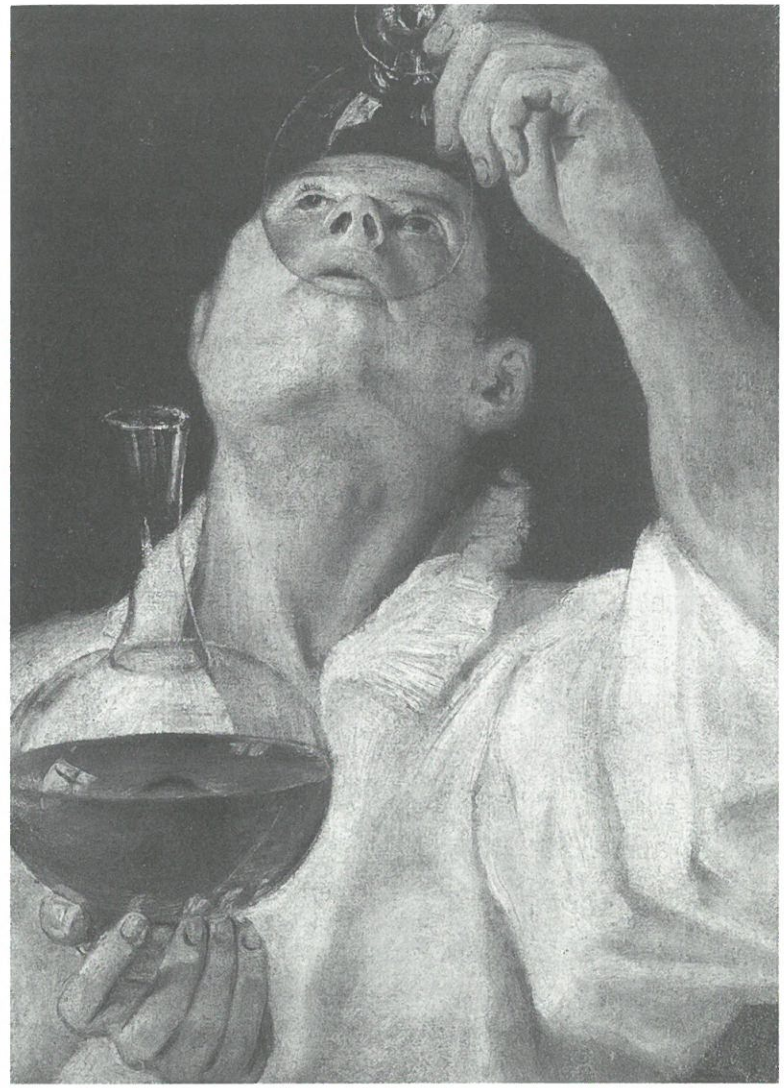


PLATE 11. Annibale Carracci, *Ragazzo che beve*, ca. 1583. Private Collection.

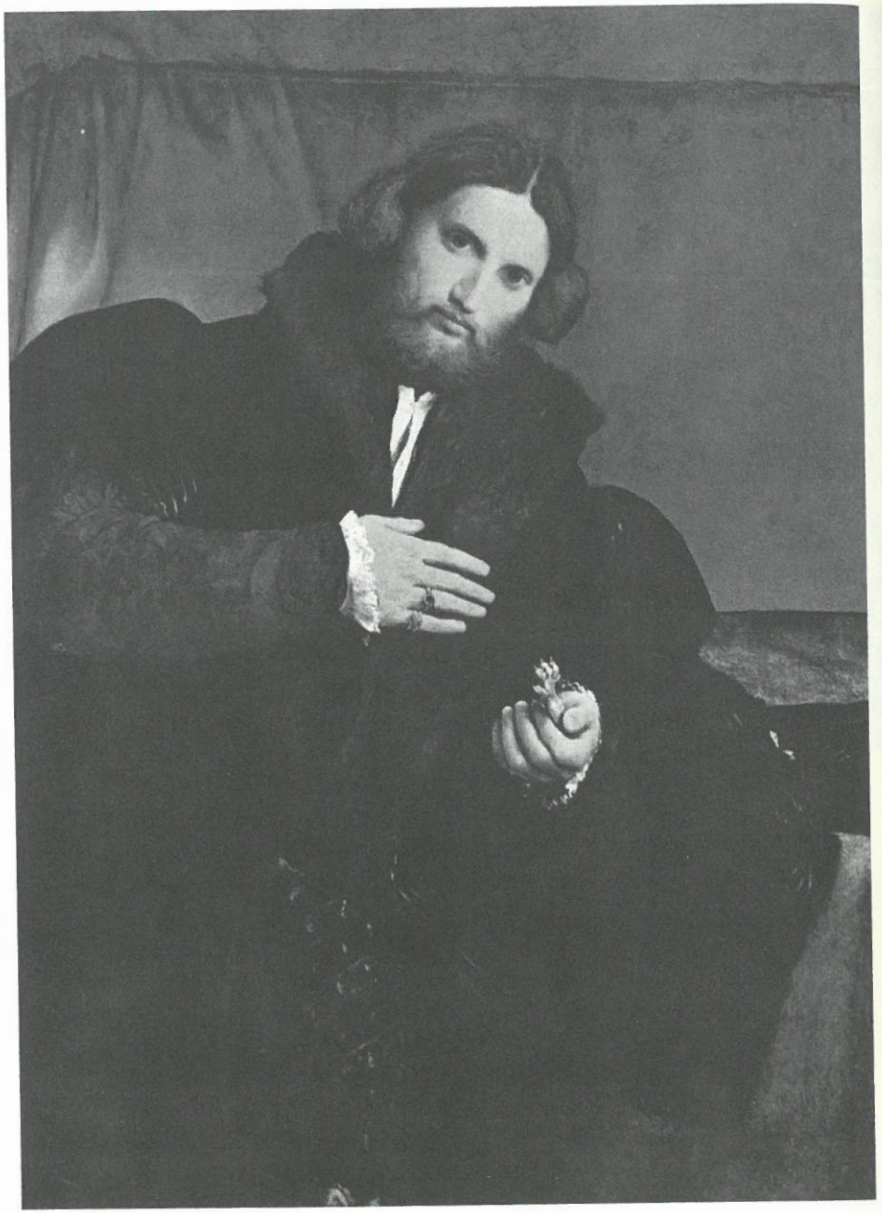


PLATE 12. Lorenzo Lotto, *Gentiluomo con zampino di leone*, ca. 1527. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

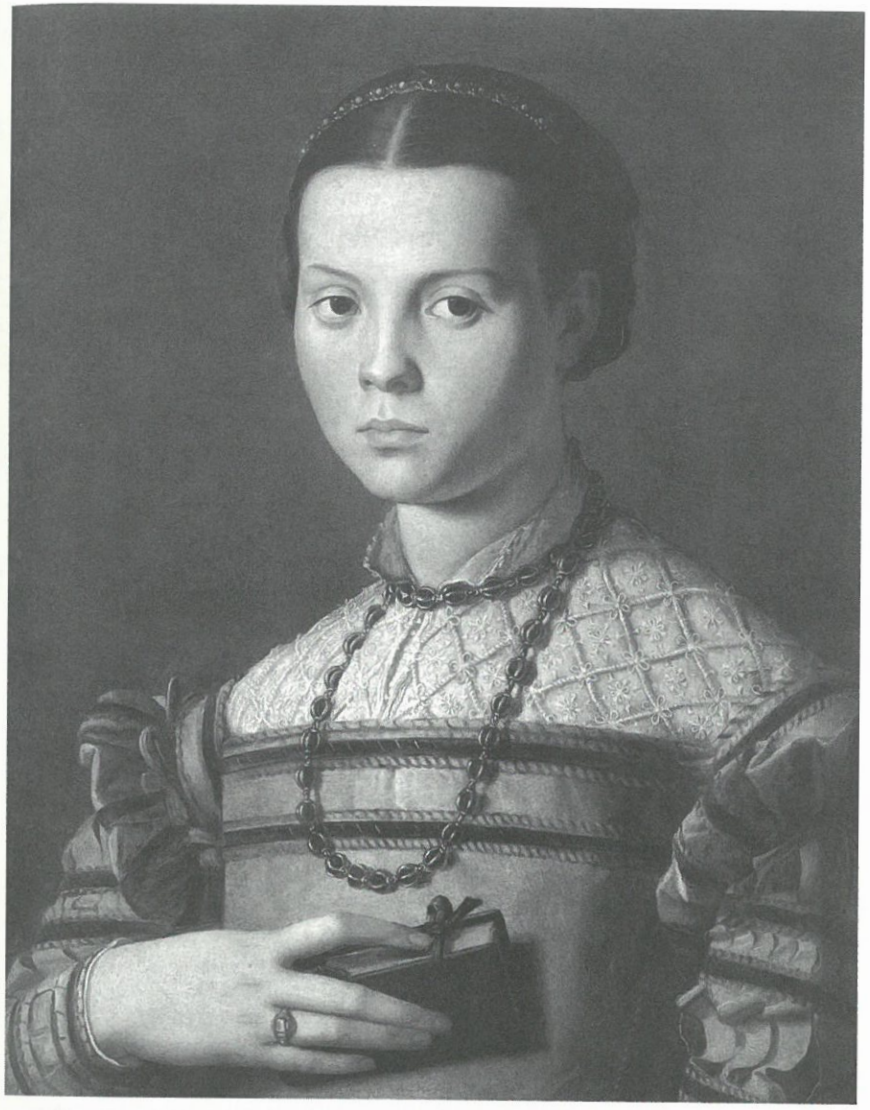


PLATE 13. Bronzino, *Ritratto di giovane donna*, ca.1541–45. Uffizi Gallery, Florence.

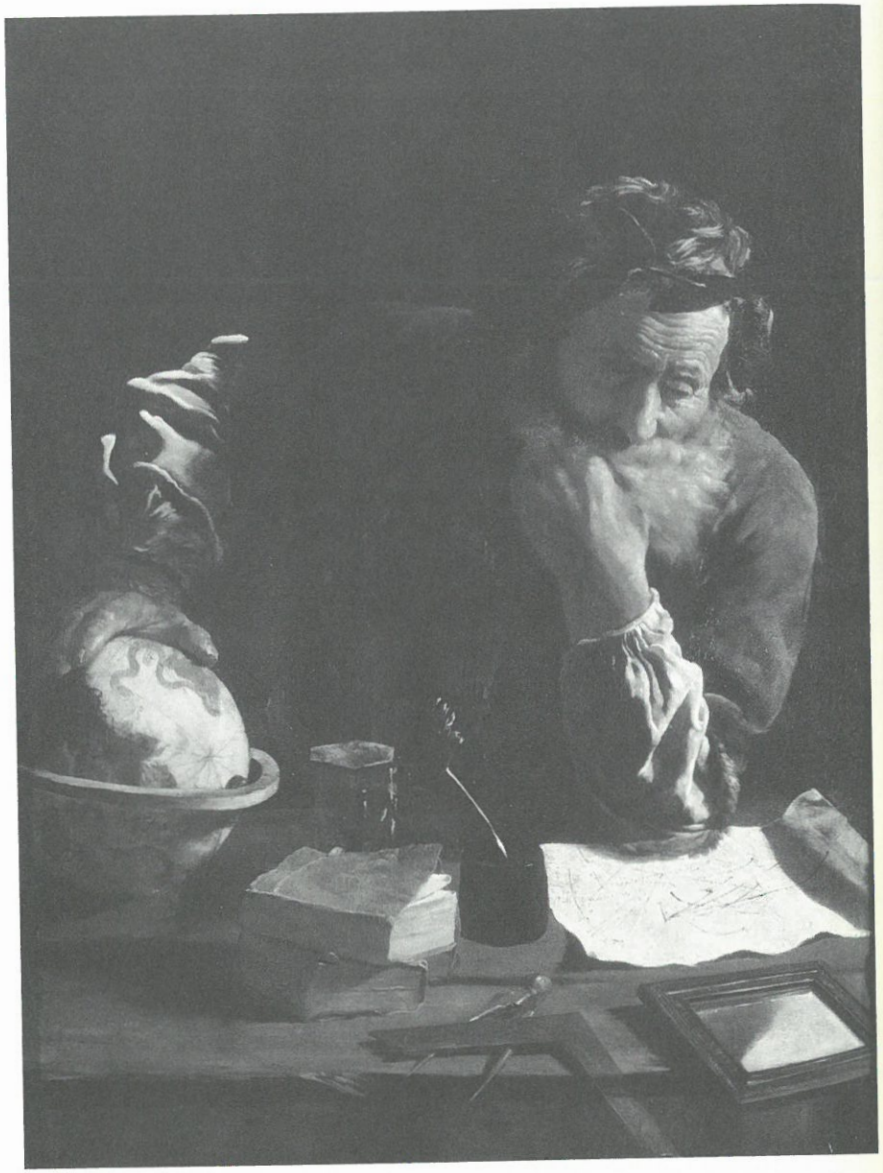


PLATE 14. Domenico Feti, *Aristarco di Samo*, ca. 1620. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden.

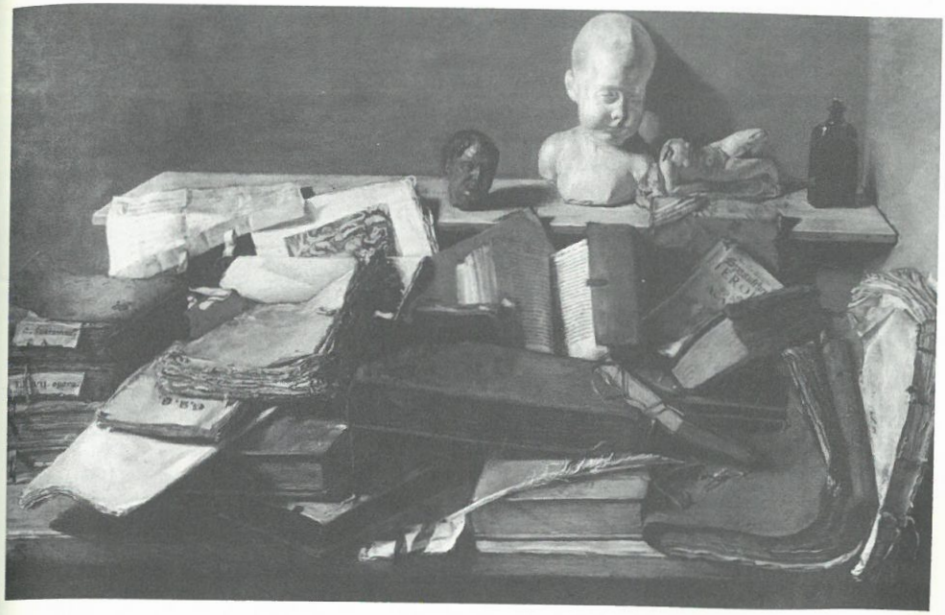


PLATE 15. Maestro di Leid, *Natura morta con libri*, ca. 1628. Alte Pinakothek, Monaco.

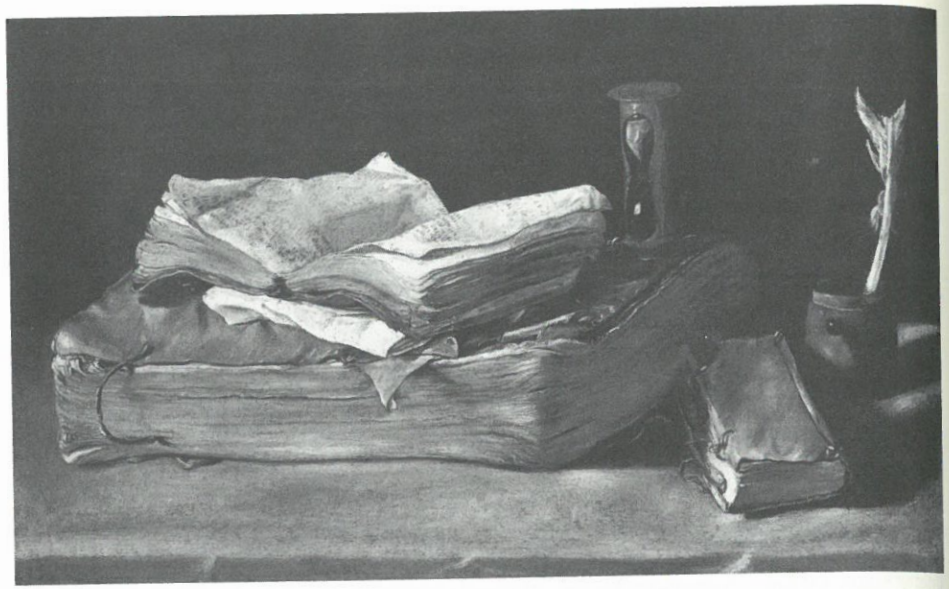


PLATE 16. Spanish artist, *Still Life with Books*, first part of the seventeenth century. Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

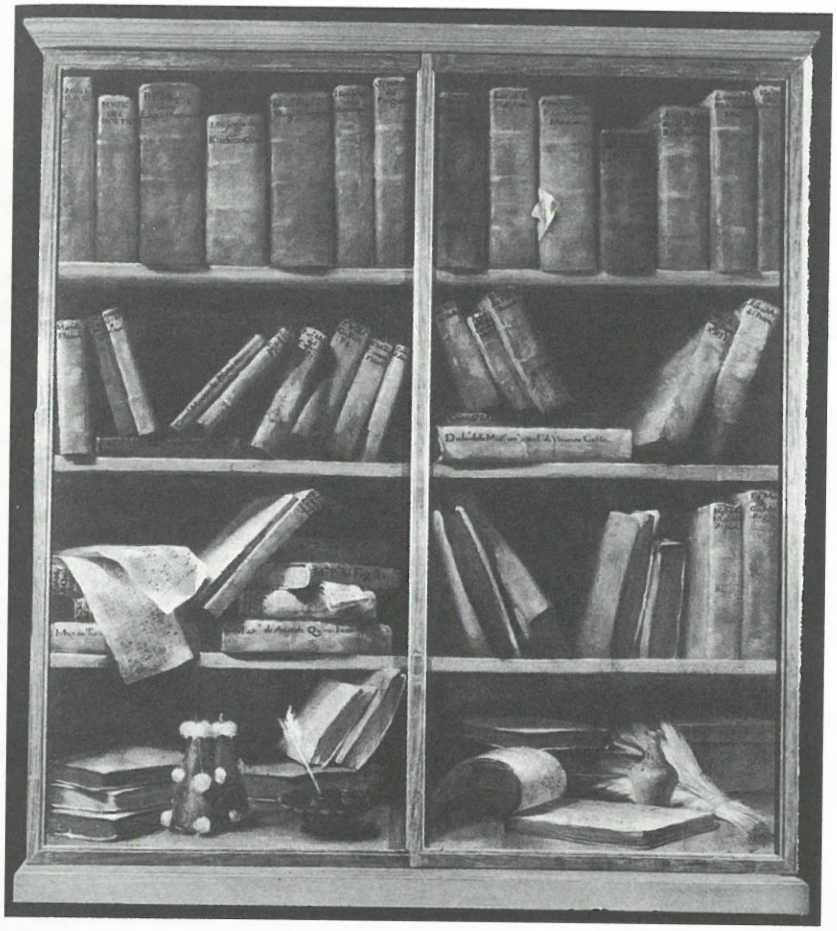


PLATE 17. Giuseppe Maria Crespi, *Scaffali di libri*, ca. 1725. Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Bologna.



PLATE 18. Domenichino, *St. Cecilia*, ca. 1617–18. Louvre, Paris.



PLATE 19. Cecco del Caravaggio, *The Fluteplayer*, ca. 1615–20. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.



PLATE 20. Antiveduto Gramatica, *The Theorbo Player*, ca. 1615. Galleria Sabauda, Turin.



PLATE 21. Giuseppe Maria Crespi, *Woman Playing a Lute*, ca. 1700–1705. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



PLATE 22. Caravaggio, *Amor Vincit Omnia*, ca. 1602– 1603. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin.



PLATE 23. Abraham Bosse, *Compagnia di musici*, ca. 1635. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

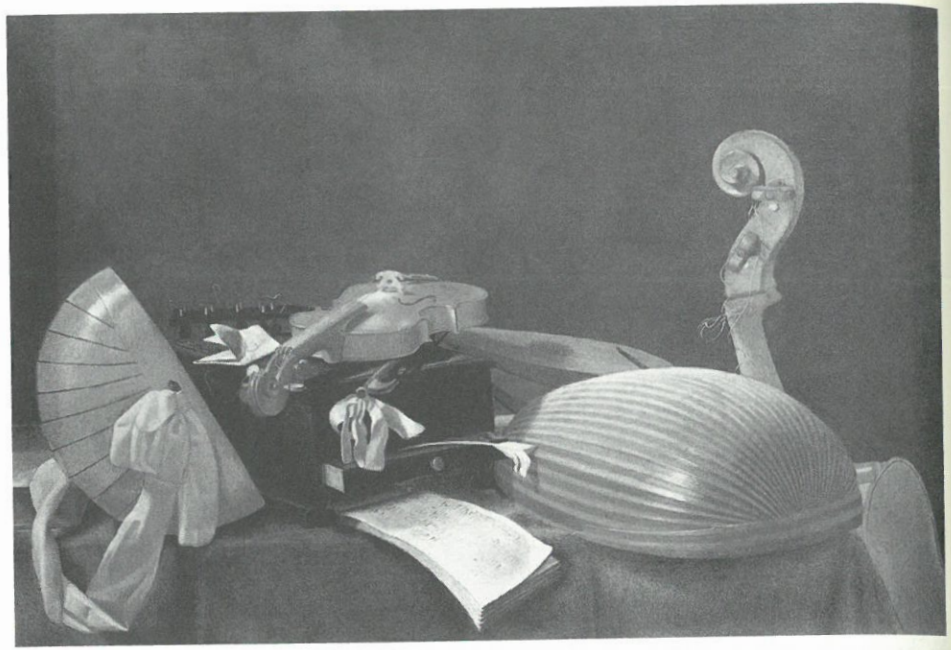


PLATE 24. Evaristo Baschenis, *Still Life with Musical Instruments*, 1650. Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, Italy.

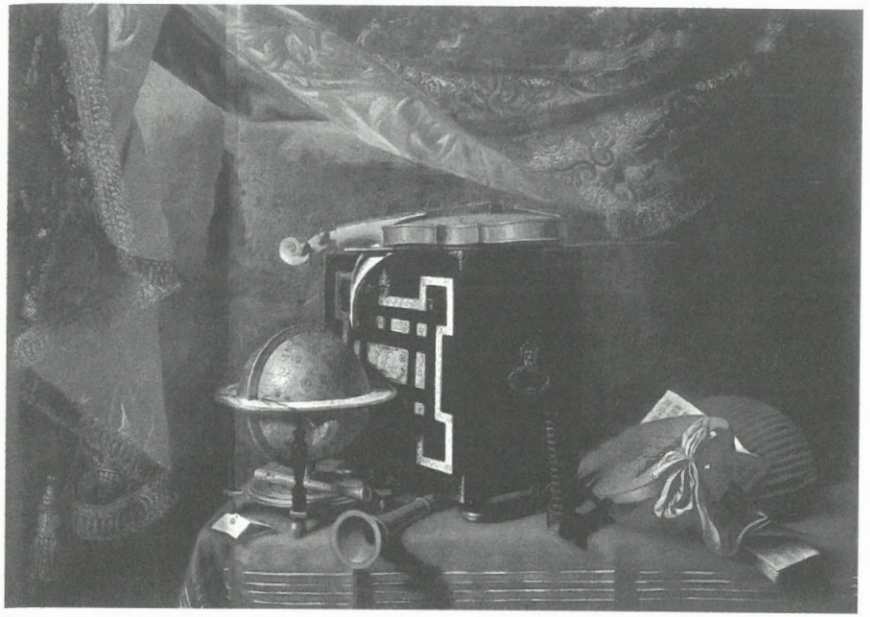


PLATE 25. Evaristo Baschenis, *Still Life with Musical Instruments*, ca. 1667–77. Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice, Italy.

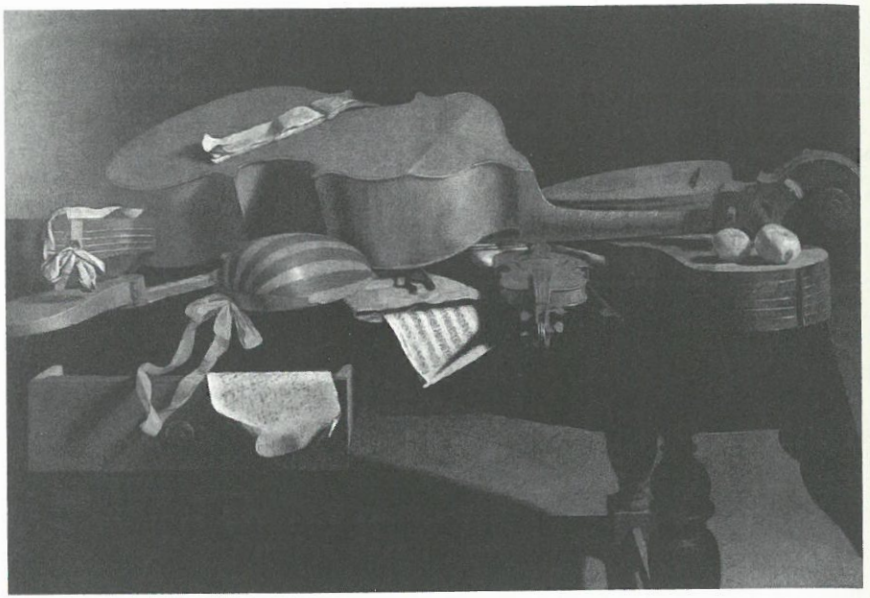


PLATE 26. Evaristo Baschenis, *Musical Instruments*, second half of the seventeenth century. Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium.



PLATE 27. Walnut table, seventeenth century. central Italy.



PLATE 28. Chairs. seventeenth century. France.



PLATE 29. Franz Franken II, *Gallery of Art*, ca. 1636. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.



PLATE 30. Girolamo Mazzola Bedoli, *Portrait of Anna Eleonora Sanvitale*, 1562. Galleria Nazionale, Parma.



PLATE 31. Giovan Battista Moroni, *The Tailor*, ca. 1560. National Gallery, London.

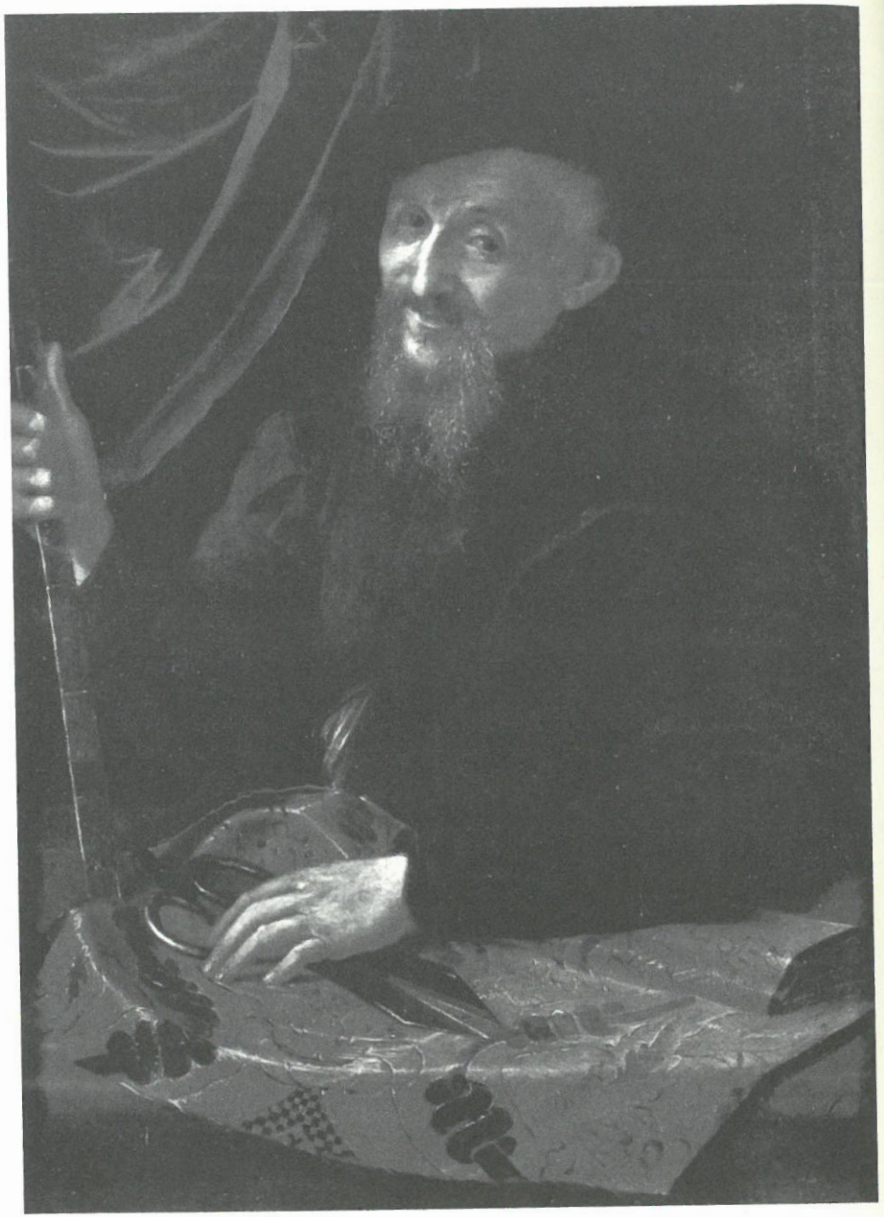


PLATE 32. Girolamo Mazzola Bedoli, *Portrait of a Tailor*, ca. 1540–45. Museo di Capodimonte, Naples.



PLATE 33. Caravaggio, *La Maddalena*, ca. 1594–96. Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Books

Book Collections

The few studies of reading practice in Italy have underscored the low levels of literacy for both men and women.[1] It is therefore a pleasant surprise to discover that fourteen out of the forty-six men surveyed possessed at least a pair of books. The lawyers Negrelli and Pari along with the gentleman Neruzzi, each with more than four hundred volumes, led the group, followed by the painter Raspantini, who had 160, the jeweler Cangiani, with ninety-seven, and Onofrio Lansi, who had only seven books recorded in detail and an imprecise number of other "various little books of fine literature." However, there were also owners of small libraries who recorded their books only in total numbers without specifying an author or title. Such owners included Silvestro Bellini, whose profession we do not know (134 volumes), the embroiderer Bronconi (fifty-eight) and the banker Rotoli (forty-nine volumes). The other five bibliophiles—among them the merchants Lirighetti and Lucatelli—were satisfied with a much smaller number of texts: about ten each. One of them, the blacksmith Giunti, had only three, all related to his "art."[2]

Women, in contrast, rarely owned books. The only ones to have any were Cornelia Alicorna, who owned a *Little Office of the Madonna*, and Margherita Betti, who, in the inventory of her first dowry in 1644, had appraised "twenty-four pieces of different books" and an "office of the Madonna with a large gilded cover printed at Paris in France," for a total of 2.30 scudi.[3] Margherita held onto these items for some time since in a survey carried out shortly after her death in 1669 her heir found "a little trunk" in the "bedroom of signora Margherita" in which was kept, amid hemp and spun and

raw linen, "thirty-three small, large, and broken books." Such a tendency to preserve books, especially on the part of a woman, indicates a particular attachment to this type of object. On the other hand, for Margherita, this was an attachment that was equally demonstrated for other things she owned and preserved from her first marriage until her death.[4]

In loving books Margherita was not totally alone: her distant relative Dorotea Antolini refused to sell what must have been a beautiful "library" of "spiritual and temporal" works. Her heirs waited until after her death to sell it, along with the twelve bookcases that contained this library, to Monsignor Acciaioli for the considerable sum of 769 scudi.[5] During the last years of her life Dorotea had probably found herself in economic difficulties, given that she had been forced to pawn clothing, jewelry, silverware, and linens to get 147 scudi.[6] Nonetheless, she preserved her books, which were certainly salable and worth much more than the things she pawned.

Margherita Betti and Dorotea Antolini were both daughters and wives of lawyers, and they both died without direct heirs. Probably this combination of factors led them to believe that they should preserve their books. In making this decision, their actions mirrored those of men of the same social standing. A similar care for books characterizes the four gentlemen of legal professions—judges and lawyers—who have left inventories. More extraordinary was the case of the playwright Giovanni Azzavedi. In his last will and testament Azzavedi ordered the sale of all his goods and the profits reinvested in credit titles, "except for the books in five bookcases, for which there is an index in my own hand and which must be kept in the house. . . . I expressly command that the said books not be alienated, either in whole or in part, but rather saved for the abovementioned sons or for any one of them who occupies himself with letters and learning."[7]

Like art galleries, "libraries" were a great fashion among the cultured elite of seventeenth-century Rome. Instruction manuals on collecting a great library became a rather popular genre. High profile scholars, like Gabriel Naudé, as well as more modest intellectuals such as Carlo Cartari, tested their skills in writing this type of manual.[8] Cartari in fact undertook the setting up of libraries for noble estates, such as the Altieri and the Rocci, as well as for one of his colleagues, a law professor at the "Sapienza." Thanks to Cartari we have descriptions of the libraries in Palazzo Altemps as well as Palazzo Barberini. The former opened on a loggia that was frescoed in such verdant colors it gave the illusion of being in a garden.[9] An excellent collection of books was therefore a necessary complement to the furnishing of honorable people's homes. In this respect books were not much different from paintings.

"Great ornament and utility is brought to each house or palace with a copious library," one booklet explained.[10] Bellori's guide to collections of works of art kept "in the palaces, houses, and gardens of Rome" included libraries, which were put on the same level as "statues and paintings."[11] We should not be surprised, therefore, that during the final years of the seventeenth century an elegant woman such as Isabella Vecchiarelli Santacroce felt the need to include books among the "beautiful things" with which she surrounded herself, and turned to a scholar such as Gian Vincenzo Gravina for advice on what to read and which works to buy. The virtuous and pedantic tone Gravina adopted in response to her question does not seem to acknowledge how unusual it was for a woman to make such a request. Yet he recognized that there were new social pressures that imposed the weighty burden on women of readings things other than "offices" for the Madonna:

> in our times, when it is the custom to allow noble women to engage and converse with men, such practices and familiarity [must be] nurtured by sublime and erudite discourses [in such a way that] one does not encourage base, evil, or disreputable thoughts.[12]

He therefore advised reading Cicero's *On Duties*, which "described all the laws of suitable behavior and the precepts of natural and civil honesty," immediately followed by Giovanni della Casa's *Galateo* "so that reading Cicero you principally will cultivate your interior, and with *Galateo* the exterior."[13] Finally, one should complete this list by reading Baldassare Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier*, which teaches the way "in which every genteel person must behave in negotiation and in conversation."[14] Otherwise, he considered "histories" and the "fables" of the ancients and moderns suitable for a woman.[15] Obeying these instructions, Isabella recorded the acquisition "of the book of Giuseppe Flavio" together with the poetry of Anacreon in 1702.[16] A little bit later the young woman recorded the purchase of a book "to cover Biondi."[17] Did one therefore have to purchase the works of Biondi, a successful novelist, secretly? Evidently, in Isabella's social circle reading novels was considered improper, and in fact the Santacroce library contained very few of them. Jewelers, painters, and others of the middling class, whom we have treated before and will again shortly, did not suffer these same restrictions.

If, like paintings, books were also collectible objects, "ornamental and useful" for houses and palaces, it was natural to pass them on to children, whether or not they were encumbered by *fedecommesso*. This is exactly what Giovanni Maria Contelori, a book collector, did. In 1602 he came to

Rome from Cesi to take up the position of criminal judge at the tribunal of the Auditor Camerae.[18] When he divided his goods among his three sons in 1617, in splitting up houses, lands, and furnishings he did not forget his books. He left his first son Felice, a doctor in philosophy, theology, and law and destined to become prefect of the Vatican Archive in 1643, the books of "proverbs and mottos" as well as those on theology, philosophy, law, and various other subjects.[19] Giovanni received his books on medicine and natural philosophy while Cristoforo received those on "histories" and war.[20] Sixty years later, Bellori did not neglect to mention the "library" of Monsignor Felice Contilori, filled with more than eight thousand volumes on jurisprudence, science, sacred and profane literature, as well as precious bibliographies of "a very large number of authors."[21]

Polidoro Neruzzi's library of 424 titles clearly originated in a similar division of inheritance, since Neruzzi only owned half of these books; the rest belonged to his brothers.[22] We know almost nothing about Neruzzi except that he was a "Sienese gentleman"—with all the vagueness that such an expression implies. In all likelihood, Neruzzi's father, not Neruzzi, had put together the collection since about half were legal manuals. Perhaps the elder Neruzzi had been one of those university-trained lawyers who came to Rome from Siena and other smaller cities in central Italy to practice law in one of the city's tribunals.[23] This would explain the high number of *Consilia* and *Decisiones* that Polidoro and his brothers inherited.[24] But either the elder Neruzzi or his sons were interested in other subjects than law. The nonlegal titles alone constituted a corpus noteworthy for its size. Thus the behavior of the Neruzzi was similar to that of Giovanni Maria Contelori from Acquapendente who divided his books among his three sons.[25]

TABLE 8.1 Subject areas for nonlegal texts in Neruzzi's library

SUBJECT	NUMBER OF BOOKS	PERCENTAGE OF LIBRARY
Classics	36	19.4
Religion	28	15.1
Philosophy	27	14.5
Literature	25	13.4

TABLE 8.1 *Continued*

SUBJECT	NUMBER OF BOOKS	PERCENTAGE OF LIBRARY
History and current events	23	12.4
Language	17	9.1
Medicine	9	4.8
Other	5	2.7
Unknown	16	8.6
Total	186	100.0

Whoever compiled Neruzzi's inventory counted 170 volumes in both Latin and the vernacular.[26] This list included at least thirty-six works by ancient authors as well as about thirty books on religious subjects, ranging from the gospel to acts of the church councils to an inquisitors' manual. Finally, there were about one hundred volumes by "modern" authors. This final category of books gave the library its distinctive character. Above all, Neruzzi displayed an interest in acquiring compendia, collections, and exempla. In fact, he possessed seven letter collections, of which only one can be ascribed to a single author (Pietro Bembo).[27] He also possessed five "encyclopedias" of moral philosophy or science, such as Reisch's *Margarita philosophica*—"one of the most successful Renaissance humanist encyclopedias"—or Leonardo Fioravanti's *Specchio di scienza universale*.[28] Finally, he had seven collections of verse, and at least four of them were certainly anthologies of various authors.[29] The next most interesting subject to Neruzzi, or whoever created his library, seems to have been the structure of speech since it contained seven Latin or Latin-Greek vocabularies or lexicons, two grammars, five treaties on logic, and one on dialectic. His medical texts (nine total) were primarily in the form of aphorisms, and at least two works on "magic" by Giambattista della Porta and Salomone Jamblico were in the same style. Classics were also present though they tended to be extracts: four of the five works of Cicero recorded in the library were collections of *sententiae*, or commentaries on his orations and letters, while the fifth was made up of *Topics*, in other words, a collection of Cicero's "commonplaces."

During the seventeenth century the practice of making anthologies was not new. Born during the Hellenistic period, this genre had been revived successfully by scholastic authors in the late Middle Ages, when the development of university studies and the multiplication of writings led to the parallel flowering of summaries and collections of citable phrases, designed to facilitate the work of masters and students. Only a few books were read in their entirety; the rest were read in abridged versions or in sections selected for a specific subject.[30] The reasons for this evolution were already clear in the twelfth century when Peter Lombard declared his intention to bring together the opinions of the church fathers in an anthology: "so that the seeker need not consult an abundance of books [because] the brevity of the extracts assembled offers, effortlessly, what he is looking for."[31] The traditional work of retrieval and citation of learned authorities became much easier, and the reading of original texts tended to disappear in favor of "exclusive consultation of extracts."[32]

In the Renaissance this process did not disappear but rather underwent a final acceleration.[33] In response to the rising demand of "ready to use" knowledge, summaries and florilegia originally written in Latin were translated into different vernacular languages; they took their place next to the new, rich production of books of which we have seen some examples in Neruzzi's library.[34] Bibliophiles did not display any sense of guilt for a practice that debased texts, substituting the collection of selections for the full version of a work. On the contrary, Naudé considered this practice useful and necessary since the brevity of human life did not allow us to learn all one ought to know.[35] Moreover, he was absolutely certain that a great deal of success in speaking and writing depended on the study of such anthologies.[36] At the same time, scholastic teaching continued to encourage the development of a style of reading and memorization based on compendia. Such books offered a dual advantage of facilitating the work of students, supplying them with citations assembled according to their needs, and of being securely cleansed of any heretical or lascivious ideas that could be present in the original.[37] The enduring success of anthologies was therefore connected with more stringent censorship and the intensification of the practice of "expurgating" every type of work, both ancient and modern.[38]

The primary goal of this sort of scholastic training and the tools it provided was a formal style of written and spoken communication. Collections of Cicero's phrases helped one to create works in a Ciceronian style, while anthologies of memorable sayings or deeds allowed readers to multiply their citations and buttress their arguments with the strength of *auctoritates*.[39] The

presence of florilegia and exempla in the library of a private gentleman who did not write essays or make speeches makes one think that such tools—probably carried over from school years—constituted the shared kernel of literary culture in this period, making them the essential library that formed the bookish patrimony of every person who "studied."

Neruzzi's choices of books on "history" and "current events" reveal the same encyclopedic passion. Here we find a *History of China*, *Letters from Japan Written by Fathers of the Society of Jesus*, a *Summary of Miraculous Things in the City of Milan*, a *Crushing of the Moors of Spain*, and finally Tommaso Garzoni's *Hospital for the Incurably Insane*.[40] The fact that Neruzzi also possessed Fioravanti's *Mirror of Universal Science*, which was one of Garzoni's sources, among his various philosophical-scientific encyclopedias, is a testimony to the consistency of his choices.[41]

In addition to being a lover of compendia of knowledge, Neruzzi was also a fashionable reader. He had an evident penchant for contemporary literature, or rather nearly contemporary, given that his library, as so often happened, contained books whose first edition dated to the previous century.[42] His taste in literature included different comedies, all of them anonymous, a few novels—including Jacopo Caviceo's *The Pilgrim's Book*, which more than a century after the author's death continued to enjoy the public's favor—and various successful poems such as Giovan Battista Gelli's *Circe*, Gaspare Murtola's *The Creation of the World*, Torquato Tasso's *Jerusalem Conquered*, and Tomasso Stigliani's *Songbook*. He was missing Ariosto and Bembo, who was present in his library only as the author of letters. Did Neruzzi therefore see himself as a fan of the "modern" style, that is, the baroque?[43]

Finally, the books of this "Sienese patrician" also contained an anonymous tract on *The Arts of Memory* whose presence is rather significant. The art of memory was closely connected with "those mnemonic systems that are placed halfway between dictionaries and encyclopedias: they are great lists of commonplaces and florilegia of varying types."[44] Equipped with indexes and other apparatuses for ease of consultation, these books "assumed a double value: they were organized schemes within which one could place elements derived from the 'anatomy' of texts and they were at the same time the key . . . for writing other books."[45]

We also know where exactly fifty of the books in Neruzzi's library were published. It should come as no surprise that a minority was printed in Rome. Only fifteen books were printed there as opposed to twenty-two in Venice and thirteen beyond the Alps (eight in Lyons, three in Antwerp, one

TABLE 8.2 Place of publication for Polidoro Neruzzi's 194 books

PLACE OF PUBLICATION	NUMBER OF LAW BOOKS	PERCENT OF LAW BOOKS	NUMBER OF OTHER BOOKS	PERCENT OF OTHER BOOKS
Venice	90	62.5	22	44.0
Lyon	30	20.8	8	16.0
Rome	22	15.3	15	30.0
Antwerp	0	0	3	6.0
Basel	2	1.4	1	2.0
Paris	0	0	1	2.0
Total	*144*	*100.0*	*50*	*100.0*

in Basel, and one in Paris). If the calculation is also extended to include law books, the superiority of Venetian and Lyonnais editions becomes even more evident: 83.3 percent of the juridical texts come from these two cities. While its editorial production was increasing, Rome in 1641 evidently had not yet succeeded in surpassing Venice.[46]

A Lawyer, a Jeweler, and a Painter

Neruzzi was not the only person who had an interesting library. Although the lawyer Negrelli had virtually only collections of *Decisiones* or *Consilia*, they were accompanied by juridical treatises on various subjects and a few classics.[47] By contrast, another lawyer (Pari), a jeweler (Cangiani), and a painter (Raspantini), owned respectively forty-two, seventy-one, and 107 titles of poetry, art, history, travel, and current events in addition to legal and devotional texts.[48]

The lawyer Pari obviously knew Latin. Raspantini also seems to have understood it a little since he owned about a dozen titles in the language. Cangiani instead only had books in the vernacular, but this does not make his library incomparable with the other two. Different aspects of their libraries

had much in common. First of all, none had an overwhelming number of religious works. Only in the case of the lawyer Pari did this category reach 30 percent of the total—and here only because I have excluded his legal books since their number is, in fact, so great that they would have skewed any percentage. In the other two cases devotional literature made up between 10 and 20 percent of the total, as was the case for Neruzzi's library.[49] Devotional books were thus important, but they do not seem to have aroused more than some curiosity in our collectors since their assortment was limited to the Bible, some saints' lives, a few compendia of sermons, and confessional manuals. The number of sacred texts did not reach the quantity of books they owned in other topics. Instead, their secular works were more varied in scope—from literature and classics to history and art—and there was a corresponding tendency to accumulate a much larger number of titles.[50]

A second point of contact between these libraries as well as Neruzzi's collection was the large number of books intended for "action" more than for amusement or reflection. These works included not only books of a true vocational character—jurisprudence for Pari, painting and architecture for Raspantini, military arts and mathematics for Cangiani—but also the many compendia and anthologies that filled these libraries and whose function was eminently practical. Grammars, vocabularies, collections of letters, but also frequently Cicero's *Topics* or *Sententia* were there to be consulted and used in the same way in which lawyers consulted *decisiones* from the Rota

TABLE 8.3 Religious and nonreligious books (excluding legal texts)

OWNER	RELIGIOUS	PERCENT OF TOTAL	JURIDICAL	PERCENT OF TOTAL	OTHER	PERCENT OF TOTAL	TOTAL NUMBER OF BOOKS
Pari	17	28.3	(327)*	NA	43	70.0	60
Cangiani	19	20.9	1	1.1	71	78.0	91
Raspantini	16	10.2	34	21.7	107	68.2	157
Total	*53*	*17.2*	*35*	*11.4*	*220*	*71.4*	*308*

Note: *These data are not taken into consideration because Pari was a lawyer.

TABLE 8.4 Subjects of nonlegal and nonreligious books in absolute numbers and percentages

OWNER	LETTERS	HISTORY	ART	EXEMPLA	PHILOSOPHY	SCIENCE	CLASSICS	CORRESPONDENCE	MEDICINE	LANGUAGE	SECRETS	TOTAL
Pari	2	16	0	4	0	3	9	3	4	0	2	43
Cangiani	18	26	1	4	7	5	0	4	1	4	1	71
Raspantini	35	11	32	10	10	3	0	0	2	2	2	107
Total	*56*	*51*	*33*	*18*	*17*	*11*	*9*	*7*	*7*	*6*	*5*	*221*
Owner	Letters %	History %	Art %	*Exempla* %	Philosophy %	Science %	Classics %	Correspondence %	Medicine %	Language %	Secrets %	Total %
Pari	4.7	37.2	0.0	9.3	0.0	7.0	20.9	7.0	9.3	0.0	4.7	100
Cangiani	25.4	36.6	1.4	5.6	9.9	7.0	0.0	5.6	1.4	5.6	1.4	100
Raspantini	32.7	10.3	30.8	9.3	9.3	2.8	0.0	0.0	1.9	1.9	1.9	100
Total	*25.5*	*23.2*	*15.0*	*8.2*	*7.7*	*5.0*	*4.1*	*3.2*	*3.2*	*2.7*	*2.3*	*100*

or *consilia* of illustrious jurists for practical models and immediate instructions. Just as a lawyer would turn to collections of *decisiones* and *consilia* when he needed to draw up a legal opinion, this other genre of publication was a resource for writing a letter, developing a good and proper speech, or constructing an efficacious argument.

The presence of four manuals on correspondence in a jeweler's house and Annibal Caro's familiar letters and the *epistolae* of Cicero, Simmacus, and Marsilio Ficino in a lawyer's house was therefore an eloquent sign of the success of printing, a phenomenon that has been attested in many other ways.[51] Between 1538 and 1627 around 540 volumes of contemporary letters were published in Italy. In fact, it was the publishers themselves who promoted their printing: Gabriele Giolito published thirty-eight of these books, while Paolo Manuzio produced twenty-two. Other works that presented themselves as "selections of 'sayings,' 'flowers' of speech, and repertories of infinitely reproducible discursive situations, for every occasion in which epistolary communication could be used" were closely tied to correspondence manuals.[52] Books like *Adages for the Two Best Written Languages*, published by Manuzio and found in Pari's collection, or Giovanni Gisano's *Treasure of Poetic Concepts* owned by Cangiani, were intended to be "support apparatus" and therefore meant for practical purposes. Of course this did not exclude the possibility that a reader instead might also be content to use a compendium or a collection of exempla solely for edification or recreation.

Nonetheless, the primary reason for the success of these anthologies or encyclopedic collections was perhaps different from the ones we have mentioned so far. As we have observed with the scholastic manuals, the goal of the authors and publishers involved in creating these works was to "produce useful books, capable of helping the public, and offering the user a short, easy, verifiable, and repeatable guide to literary writings and, more generally, knowledge."[53] In this spirit, a bibliographic collection such as Anton Francesco Doni's *The Library*, published in the mid-sixteenth century, defined itself as "a useful and necessary book to all those who need to understand language and who want to know, write, and discuss all authors, books, and works."[54] From such comments we can see the importance of and public consensus on the many different kinds of anthologies that filled Neruzzi's library, as well as indexes and the increasingly copious aids to consultation that accompanied old and new classics, including "commentary, allegories, rhyme index, commonplaces, and sayings."[55] Equipped with specula, synoptic tables, and other visual aids, these texts allowed immediate reference

to a much larger corpus of knowledge, supplying the reader with a key for accessing the universality of culture.[56] As Doni described the process:

> We put ourselves in front of a mountain of books, inside of which there is a flood of words, and from this mixture we make others, so that from so many books we arrive at one. Those who come afterward will again take this or that fact and, remixing words with words, create another mishmash and from that a work. Thus turns this wheel of words up and down a thousand times per hour: yet one does not depart from the alphabet, nor from saying in the same style and way (and the same things, I should say!) all that others in the past have said.[57]

This activity of indexing and publication was not limited to belles lettres. On the contrary, the sixteenth century saw the publication "of every sort of encyclopedic manual, including books for everyone from barbers to meat carvers to stone engravers."[58] For every possible intended reader the words of a Spanish scholar at the end of the sixteenth century held true: "the reader should choose as if he were seated at a table richly laid with everything that seems appetizing, healthy, and fortifying. If the text seems to be too long, he should read only as much of it as he can stand."[59] While it is a bit of a strain to call this genre of works "encyclopedias," since these volumes often lacked any principle of subject classification and the taste for variety dominated over the need to be methodical, nonetheless as successive editions of the same work evolved, it is often possible to see traces of its systematic transformation into the approach of the summa, including the adoption of an alphabetical or a chronological order and a more precise principle of classification.[60] In making these changes publishers seem to have responded to the demands of readers who wanted instruments with which they could immediately identify what would be useful in the text.

Traces of this profound tension between an easily accessible literature and a tool for action appear in the libraries surveyed here.[61] The jeweler Cangiani owned at least eight titles that pertained to the art of writing: correspondence manuals, grammars, and dictionaries. But technical works also were not neglected since he possessed two treatises on firing a harquebus and a volume on the *Universal Discipline of the Military Arts*. He owned an additional five texts on war, which were less technical and more historical-political. They included Galeazzo Gualdo's *The Prudent Warrior*, Giovanni Pontano's *Reports of the Wars of Naples*, and Giulio Rosso's *The Book of Portraits and Eulogies of Illustrious Captains*.[62] To this list we can also add a volume of

Tacitus's *Historical Aphorisms* and another titled *Pleasing Deeds of Various Princes Collected by Ludovico Guicciardino*. Three manuals for "social" or "sociable" professions then followed: Lelio Pascali's *The Preceptor*, Bartolomeo Scappi's *The Butler*, and Francesco Listini's *The Chamberlain*. The presence of these works in Cangiani's library confirms the ability of this type of literature to serve diffuse audiences. However, Cangiani also had a very active interest in current events, as his books on universal history and above all by his copy of Pietro della Valle's *Travels* demonstrate.[63] This predilection made his collection of books the most up to date of all. Indeed, Cangiani was the only owner surveyed who could boast a consistent presence (nine works) in his library of authors who had died after 1650, while in the other three libraries the "moderns" were primarily from the sixteenth century.

For his part, the lawyer Pari owned some classics in abridged versions, such as Cicero's *Sententiae insignes* and a commentary on Cicero's dialogue, *De Oratore*.[64] He rounded out his collection with a volume of *Exemplorum memorabilium cum ethnicorum tum christianorum*, a learned manual on the art of gymnastics, and two tracts midway between economics, agronomy, and botany.[65] Finally, he possessed two works by Erasmus well hidden beneath the name of their publisher, Paolo Manuzio: the *Apophtegmatum ex optimis utriusque linguae libri* and the *Adages*.

Raspantini's library was also filled with anthologies and encyclopedic collections. However, being a painter, his interests largely centered on emblems, images, and figures. Thus he owned a book of *Diverse Imprese Accommodating Different Morals Taken from Alciato's Emblems*, at least three handbooks of ancient and modern medals, Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, Cesare Vecellio's *Ancient and Modern Clothing of the Whole World*, and Vincenzo Cartari's *Images of the Ancient Gods*. Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which evidently constituted a privileged subject for a painter who also had literary interests, merited a place apart. Indeed, Raspantini owned a book of Ovidian figures by Antonio Tempesta, the *Metamorphoses* itself, two copies of Ovid's *Letters* translated into the vernacular by Remigio Nannini Fiorentino, and a final volume in Latin of select passages. Completing this catalog was the work of Gabriele Simeoni titled *The Life and Metamorphoses of Ovid Illustrated and Abbreviated in the Form of Epigrams*. The style of this last work recalls that of the *Handbook of the Medals of the Most Illustrious and Famous Men and Women from the Beginning of the Word . . . With Their Abridged Lives*, which Raspantini also owned. Both demonstrate the pervasiveness of a model that we could call "Giovian." Giovian works were characterized by a repertory of images accompanied by explanatory epigrams.[66] The preface to

the 1593 edition of Ripa's *Iconologia* is very indicative in this respect. Ripa declared that "images are made to signify something diverse from that which one sees with the eye. Images have no more certainty, nor a more universal truth than the imitation of memory which one finds in books" unless they are in medals and engraved marbles.[67] There was traditionally a very strong relationship of equivalency and mutual reinforcement between images and words, but by the mid-seventeenth century the icon was diminishing in its power to convey meaning. Increasingly there was a need for words that alone could clarify the significance of the icon.[68]

Next to these illustrated encyclopedias, Raspantini also had more traditional works, such as Lucio Fauno's Italian translation of *The Customs, Laws, and Fashions of all Peoples Divided into Three Books Collected by Johannes Boemius of Ulm German*; Mauro Fiorentino's Italian translation of the Latin original of Alessandro Piccolomini's *The Vulgar Sphere Newly Translated with Many Notes, Geometrical Additions, Cosmography and Other Things*; and Mario Antonini's volume *On the Various Practices of Things Resolved in Three Ordered Books*. The technical manuals in his library also were not limited to the topics of painting and perspective. Raspantini possessed a *New Vocabulary with Which One Can Learn by Oneself Various Languages, That Is, Italian, Greek, Turkish, and German*. This title explains rather well how texts in this genre fulfilled the goals of a good manual, namely, a didactic purpose tied immediately to practice. From this point of view one cannot differentiate between the works of Daniele Barbaro, Giacomo Barozzi, Andrea Palladio, Vincenzo Scamozzi, Sebastiano Serlio, Domenico Fontana, Giovan Paolo Lomazzo, Raffaello Borghini, and others, that is, the many manuals on perspective, painting, and architecture owned by Raspantini.

In addition to these fairly heterogeneous summae that represented, at least in theory, knowledge resulting in action, our book collectors owned numerous examples of purely edifying or recreational works, beginning with some of those poetry collections that were often republished from the middle of the sixteenth century onward.[69] The lawyer Pari contented himself with Angelo Poliziano'a *Works* and Giovanni Battista Guarini's *The Loyal Pastor*. However, in the house of the jeweler Cangiani one in four books belonged to the category of belles lettres, while with Raspantini the proportion jumps to one in three. Cangiani did not have a particular proclivity for lyric poetry even if he owned four poetry collections and two works each by Marino and Guarini. Instead, narrative prose and drama commanded his attention. He especially loved picaresque novels (e.g., *Il picaro*, *Il picariglio*, *La vita della picara*), and even owned two modern novels that had enjoyed great success: Giovan Francesco Biondi's *Eromena* and Giovan Battista Rinnuccini's *The Scottish Capuchin*. Judging from his collection of chivalric stories, Raspantini also loved narrative. He owned both serious and comedic examples of this genre, including *Amadis* and *Miserable Guerin*, along with recently published novels such as Carlo della Lengueglia's *Prince Ruremondo* or Giovan Ambrogio Marini's *Calloandro*.[70] However, the painter Raspantini also enjoyed satire since he possessed the works of Cesare Caporali and Giovan Francesco Loreadano's *Witty Jokes*. Finally, he loved poetry, and in this area his titles were the most up to date of the three book collectors. He even preferred modern poets and the writings of Cortese, Gelli, Sanazaro, Stigliani, along with Tasso and Marino. Ariosto was present in two editions, both with commentaries by Ludovico Dolce. The only work by Petrarch he owned seems more a book of art than one of poetry; it was described as "a little book adorned with the most beautiful copperplate engravings."

As for Lansi, we have only a partial catalog of his library. He owned various literary works in a small and manageable format. His other books were particularly interesting. Together with Pari and Cangiani, he was one of the few members of "the middling class" who owned a Tacitus, and he was the only person to have a contemporary work on the art of government: Paolo Paruta's *Political Discourses*. He seems to have had a real interest in reason of state. However, Lansi also had another peculiarity, which deserves attention: he was the only owner of a treatise on good manners, Stefano Guazzo's *Civil Conversation*.[71]

The literary preferences of these three people were perfectly consistent with those of the great contemporary artist Gian Lorenzo Bernini who, despite appearances, was from the same middling social group. In Bernini's house, like Lansi's, one can find manuals on comportment such as Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier* and Della Casa's *Galateo*, even if the works that dominated his library were, on the one hand, professional manuals and, on the other hand, narratives, with a massive presence of novels and romances, the same ones found in Cangiani's and Raspantini's libraries. In fact, the genre of the novel enjoyed great popularity in the seventeenth century; between originals and translations during the course of the century there were more than eight hundred published editions of them.[72] The libraries surveyed here reveal the public that determined this degree of success, confirming the opinion of one writer from the period who stated that these works were read by "every level and condition of person, whether learned, of a middling sort, or even fools."[73] The authors whom we have just encountered were among the

most well read: during the course of the century Biondi's works appeared in thirty-seven editions, those of Ambrogio Marini in thirty-eight, and those of Loredano in forty.[74]

A Noble Library

If we compare these "middling class" libraries with the more well furnished libraries of the Giustiniani or the Santacroce—whose inventories were taken respectively in 1638 and 1707—the results are most instructive. While the differences are noteworthy, the collections do not lack certain similarities; at their core, even noble libraries were largely composed of "professional" manuals. Indeed, what else were treatises on the art of government or on courtly etiquette if not works intended for a specific field of action—politics—in which their owners were involved?

Vincenzo Giustiniani, who most likely inherited the books of his cardinal brother, owned a good number of controversial texts concerning the Venetian Interdict and the separation of the Anglican Church from Rome—England was a country that Giustiniani visited as a youth.[75] Yet as one can see in the table below, books on history, current events, politics, the art of government, military practice, and reports on exotic countries such as China or the Congo dominated his collection enough to give it a certain feel. Indeed, the few classics present in the library represent only writers consistent with this preoccupation, such as Tacitus, Plutarch, Suetonius, and Valerius Maximus. There was not a single work of poetry or even an edition of Cicero in the whole collection! Naturally, the principal thinkers on contemporary politics, including Antonio Guevara, Justius Lipsius, Giovanni Botero, Paolo Paruta, and Ludovico Zuccolo, were present and, next to them, numerous volumes of history (including works on the papacy, the Republic of Genoa, Milan, the kingdom of France, and so on) and reports on recent events (the war in Flanders, Bohemia, and such). A good half of the books the Giustiniani brothers owned were therefore made up of works devoted to professional utility, just as was the case with Raspantini, Bernini, Cangiani, and Peri.

Despite these similarities, there were also differences between the noble and middling libraries. For example, the Giustiniani were interested in astrology, signs from dreams, and heraldry, but other book owners did not share these interests. Most importantly, the Giustiniani owned books in French and Spanish besides works in the Italian vernacular and Latin. Thus among the few literary works in their possession the *Life of Don Quixote from La Mancha*, and especially Barclay's *Argenis* and Chavigny Beaunois's *Les*

TABLE 8.5 The Giustiniani library: subjects that can be securely identified

SUBJECT	NUMBER OF BOOKS	PERCENT OF TOTAL
Art	4	1.1
Literature	11	3.3
Controversies	27	8.1
Religion	51	15.3
Saints' lives	24	7.2
Classics	6	1.2
History/current events	76	22.8
Politics	27	8.1
Military arts	6	1.8
Reports on countries	5	1.5
Philosophy	26	7.8
Science	12	3.6
Medicine	4	1.1
Secrets	2	0.6
Language	2	0.6
Correspondence	2	0.6
Exempla	5	1.5
Law	44	13.2
Total	*334*	*100.0*

Pléiades, stand out. The cardinal and his collector brother do not seem to have been great lovers of literature. Yet they did not fail to procure French novels and poems, and even the fashionable novel par excellence, the *Argenis*, which, together with Urfé's *Astrée*, was the most read narrative work of the period.

Thus for the owners of the libraries we have considered, books were not solely an ornament or a cultural product devoid of practical purposes, but like law books for judges and lawyers, they were collected for professional purposes, to be used as works of reference whose purpose placed them fully in the realm of utility.[76] Yet they also made up a library, that is, one of the most typical kinds of collections containing objects to be preserved. Perhaps their use was not entirely in contradiction with their transformation from useful to meaningful objects.

The Power of Censorship and of Chance

Cardinal Giustiniani was authorized to keep any type of book that could be useful to him, even if that work had been listed on the *Index of Prohibited Books*.[77] His library cannot therefore serve as a test case with which to measure the pervasiveness of censorship or, alternately, the ability of prohibited books to circulate.[78] The situation of the other four bibliophiles, who respected without exception the decisions of the Congregation of the Index, was quite different. Neruzzi was the most audacious; he owned a copy of the Tommaso Stigliani's *Rhymes*, condemned in 1605. However, he might simply have benefited from the professional status of his father who, since he was a judge or a lawyer, could more easily obtain permission to keep prohibited books. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the other two lawyers—Negrelli and Pari—were the only ones who also owned banned books. Negrelli had Girolamo Cardano's *De supplemento almanach* and the *De restitutione temporum et motum coelestium*, while Pari owned Marchino's *De bello Divino*, which was condemned in 1647.

While the field surveyed is fairly small, the fact remains that out of nearly 420 titles only four works were prohibited, and, moreover, their owners were probably authorized to have them. The evidence suggests that during the second half of the seventeenth century censorship in Rome still functioned rather well.[79] If Cangiani, who died in 1667, came to possess a copy of Giovan Battista Marino's *Lira*, he must have acquired it at least ten years before it was put on the *Index* in 1678, when it was still legal to do so. However, Cangiani and Raspantini owned the entire Bible in "the maternal language," as did Bernini, despite the fact that it was still prohibited.[80] The title of Cangiani's copy of the *Bible of the Old and New Testament* is very reminiscent of the edition Giovanni Diodati translated that was present in the library of this great Roman architect, since the typographic characters from the frontispiece of the first edition of 1607 were arranged in such a way as to induce the reader to synthesize the slightly longer full title in this fashion.[81] In the 1660s and 1670s a jeweler and a great artist allowed themselves to own the most well known Protestant version of the Sacred Scriptures in Italian and have it included in their library inventories without incurring particular censure. *The Bible Recently Printed in the Mother Tongue with Theological and Moral Notes* in Raspantini's possession, while also in Italian, was not heretical. Its author was Nicolò Malerbi who completed the first vernacular translation of the entire Sacred Scriptures at the end of the fifteenth century.[82] During the first decades of the sixteenth century his work was reprinted several times, remaining the canonical text until at least 1530.[83] From this point onward, other versions appeared, some of them suspect, such as Antonio Brucioli's version, which ended up on the *Index*, and other more reassuring versions such as the one by Sante Marmochino that we find in Bernini's library.[84]

All of this is fairly surprising. In Italy the prohibition against access to complete translations of the Bible, definitively introduced by the Clementine Index of 1596, remained officially enforced until the mid-eighteenth century.[85] Nonetheless, the Inquisition's strength must have been rather attenuated after 1650 if the prohibition against reading sacred texts in the vernacular could be so easily circumvented. Or perhaps in the course of the seventeenth century it became so easy to obtain a license that even members of the artisan elite succeeded in getting one.

The composition of these libraries did not depend, however, only on censorship but also on chance, which is far more difficult to measure. The arguments I have presented up until this point presume that book owners had in some way chosen the works they possessed, and that these choices reflected their interests. However, one can become the owner of a book—just like any other artifact—randomly. A few volumes or even an entire library can enter into a house through inheritance, as happened to Neruzzi. Raspantini probably inherited the thirty or so juridical books he owned from a relative who was a jurist.[86] Indeed, there are signs of books being left to heirs in wills. The lawyer Carmillo Moretto, for example, ordered all of his books to be sold "except those humanist texts which could serve Tommaso di Girolamo Vannini and Cecchino my nephew." He then added: "I leave to messer Tommaso Vannini the *Theatrum orbis et imagines civitatum*."[87] The ex-governor Francesco Maria Frollieri had books to leave to his heirs, but added that "there are some books, which are legal texts that I have kept in my care as security for a certain Pietro Paolo Schieggio, to whom I have lent 50 scudi."[88] His legatee found himself in possession of books chosen by a person

very far away from him, with whom he had no contact and whom perhaps he had never even met. Probably he would have been very content to restore these works to the rightful owner in exchange for the settling of the old bill of 50 scudi. Frollieri had come into possession of these legal books by chance as well, as they were ceded to him—temporarily in theory—as a guarantee for a debt. Next to involuntary owners who were probably not readers of the books, there also existed readers who were not owners. It could in fact happen that a person had access to books that were not his own property because he had obtained them on loan from someone else. The practice of loaning books among erudite individuals and bibliophiles has been amply documented. In the inventory of Negrelli's library, next to a certain number of juridical texts a note was added, "loaned to . . ." demonstrating that the practice of lending was widespread among professionals as well, who considered these books the tools of their trade.[89] On the other hand, in his youth Bernini borrowed and never returned a copy of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*.[90] The diversity of ways in which objects, including books, circulated—being bought and sold, but also exchanged, offered as a guarantee, sequestered, loaned and borrowed, and even given or received as gifts—conditioned the way in which libraries were put together in a manner that is difficult to evaluate, but certainly important to assess.[91]

The libraries that appear in these inventories contained a maximum of about a hundred volumes. It is probably unrealistic to try to find traces of the contemporary method of classification in which books were first divided according to size and then by a few large thematic categories such as theology, medicine, jurisprudence, history, philosophy, mathematics, fine literature, and such.[92] However, Polidoro Neruzzi respected at least the division according to size, even if it is rather difficult to discern a division according to subject. Vincenzo Giustiniani's books underwent a more rigorous organization by size and subject matter, even though his library, containing a little more than 350 volumes, was closer to those of Neruzzi or a Raspantini than a bibliophile like Cassiano dal Pozzo, Cardinal Del Monte, or even Carlo Cartari. The criteria that determined the organization of the Santacroce library were even more precise, rich as it was with several thousand tomes.

Imposing Tomes and Manageable Books

Regarding the way in which these books were used—whether they were read in silence or aloud, consulted frequently and intensively, or each read from beginning to end—we unfortunately do not have any clues. We must base our conclusions on circumstantial evidence. Historians of the book have coined the expression "intensive reading" to define a rapport with texts based on the continuous and repeated consultation of a small number of works. Whoever possesses only a small number of books generally uses them in this way, while those who have many can decide to engage in "extensive reading," that is to say, a diffuse reading practice not concentrated on only one or two works. Cornelia Alicorna probably devoted herself to the intensive reading of her only book, *The Office of the Madonna*. Meanwhile, the rich libraries of Neruzzi, Cangiani, or Raspantini would have allowed them to vary their choices, passing from one book to another. An analysis of the format of those texts for which we have this information yields results that partially support this hypothesis: books that were small and manageable, that is, easy to pick up and leave off, comprised the great majority of works in these libraries.[93] Works of philosophy or classics were for the most part in octavo versions, while poetry, narrative, prose, and some works of devotion were presented in the even smaller format of sextodecimo, or the generic "small" form. By contrast, collections of *decisiones* and *consilia*, and in general all juridical texts, were exclusively available in folio versions.[94]

The size of a book naturally affected its value, but even some of Raspantini's little books, described as "small but rather good," "decorated," or "historiated," must have been quite expensive. Nevertheless not a single library inventory was accompanied by an appraisal, and thus we do not have detailed information about the value of individual pieces.[95] We do know, however, that Dorotea Antolina's heirs sold her library for more than 700 scudi—the equivalent of a good dowry—and that the procurator Pietro Paolo Schieggio gave his books as a guarantee for a loan of 50 scudi. We have seen how some bibliophiles recorded their own libraries in their wills and recommended their care to their heirs. Even if every one of these books could not be worth more than a few dozen *baiocchi*, altogether the books had a commercial as well as an emotional value.[96] This can also be deduced from the way in which the books were kept and preserved. Only Margherita Betti kept hers in a little trunk; everyone else placed them on bookshelves or in credenzas made for the purpose. Those individuals—like the playwright Azzavedi or the lawyer Moretti—who due to their profession or their passion came to identify themselves with their books, could do no less than to extend this connection with books to their entire family. They established the inalienability of their libraries, entrusting the continuation of their biological and spiritual inheritance to their permanence in time.

Ways of Reading

The small and manageable format that distinguished the majority of nonjuridical books is a primary indication of the way in which books were treated and used.[97] Some other indications can be taken from the typology of works in the libraries. Many of them were designated for a practical purpose, and a good number could even be considered professional tools for work. The academic model of the compendium, furnished with indexes and synoptic tables, and organized in a way to allow information or citations to be found immediately, therefore influenced a considerable portion of library production, as we learned from looking at contemporary publishing practices. However, this model was evidently capable of influencing the consumption of printed works and orienting the direction of public taste. People continued to choose anthologies and collections even when they treated subjects that were devoid of practical value for the owner, and hence should be thought of as entertainment. A jeweler certainly did not read the *Historical Aphorisms* drawn from Tacitus or *The Pleasing Deeds of Various Princes* as a guide for his actions. Even edifying literature conformed to this model. Poetry, for example, existed in many anthologies of ancient and modern poets that our bibliophiles owned. The true exception seems to have been prose literature, that is, comedies, tragedies, and novels that filled the libraries of seventeenth-century readers in ever-growing numbers. These works were therefore the true progenitors of the evolution in reading styles.

Yet there was probably something else at work in our bibliophiles' choices. The diffusion of compendia, dictionaries, and encyclopedias did not depend only on the influence of the academic model that defined the scholarly genres by which such books might be categorized. This type of work attempted to offer to the reader the sensation of being able to dominate every type of knowledge or field of inquiry. It allowed him to find the response to any genre of question or problem. It made every book into a library and multiplied its potential uses. This expansion of the possible uses of texts—no longer presented as a compact and well-defined system but rather as an assemblage of distinct parts to be infinitely dismantled and recombined in diverse ways and for diverse uses—became the principal reason for their success. This conclusion is perfectly consistent with what we have begun to know about ways of reading in the early modern period. The reader occupied a dominating position over a text that was dismantled and reassembled according to the common categories of humanist education.[98] Compendia were commonly organized according to the same principles. Even the practice of rereading the same book multiple times, pursuing again and again the answers to various questions, reveals an analogous rapport with written works.[99] In northern and central Europe—Germany and England—a reader made this way of reading tangible by redacting selected passages extracted from the books he owned in a personal notebook.[100] In Italy it seems that the printing industry itself took charge of this task.

Domestic Writing

Next to true and proper books, domestic account books and family correspondence also became objects of systematic collection and cataloging. After her first purchases of Giuseppe Flavio and Anacreon, Isabella Vecchiarelli did not buy many more books. However, she did have a group of sonnets bound that were dedicated to her.[101] Many years earlier, Orazio Spada collected the letters that he exchanged with his wife and other members of his family and regularly had them bound.[102] Carlo Cartari, who sent his son detailed instructions on how to put together and catalog the private papers of the Febei family, who were relatives of the Cartari, did the same. Cartari advised his son:

> the letters that must be chosen to create books of them are those from illustrious people, that is, cardinals, prelates, and other men of status, either in letters, arms, or worth. . . . The other letters either will be about domestic affairs and must be kept, or will be letters from other people about unimportant things and likewise should be kept. . . . Using these distinctions, you should make some bundles, and write out in ink on top of the bundle the sort of writings contained therein; if there are historical writings or other learned works, make a separate bundle.[103]

Infected by a similar passion for archiving, Orazio Spada had bound even the bills that various suppliers gave him.[104] He also invested considerable sums in the acquisition of ledgers for household accounting.[105]

Domestic writings were kept as the most precious treasures. As Leon Battista Alberti noted in an earlier century, they were absolutely inalienable because they contained the family's memory. The greater and lesser nobles who constructed well-organized archives confirmed Alberti's statement.[106] However, the "extravagance" of Orazio Spada, which led him to have his proofs of payment sewn together and recopied onto vellum, can only be fully understood by considering the ordinary uses of paper and writing. For

TABLE 8.6 The Spada Veralli family: the paper maker's bill, 1662

DESCRIPTION OF THE OBJECT SUPPLIED	PRICE IN SCUDI
A book in the "imperial" format with 500 paper pages and covered with red leather from Cordoba. The book is painted at the top in miniature with the letter A and the family crest. Another painted crest appears atop the gilded and lined cover.	15.00
A golden family crest in miniature atop the cover.	0.80
An alphabet covered with vellum with forty paper pages for the mentioned book written in Venetian style inside.	1.00
A book in the "royal" format with 200 paper pages marked on top with "Journal A"	2.00

this purpose, however, inventories are not the most useful source; some of them mention papers and documents, but none undertake to describe them. Instead, the parts of family archives left to pious institutions such as the Hospital of San Giacomo or San Girolamo give us a fairly good idea of the rapport that many people had with the material culture of writing and record keeping. For example, in the midst of moving to Rome, Giovanni Battista Contelori wrote various reminders to himself, his wife, and a trusted associate. He listed all of the movable goods that must be taken to Rome and those that instead must remain in Cesi. Always recycling paper, Contelori used the backs of letters addressed to him or the blank parts of pages full of other writings, or scrap pieces.[107] Aurelio Baldini did the same, writing on the back of some legal notes, and even dividing his paper into rectangles that were about 6 × 10 cm. He would then fill in a different section every time he wrote in a way that separated the various notes in each square.[108] None of these writings were sewn together, and parchment was used less and less frequently.

This parsimonious recycling of paper did not depend on the relative importance of the notes written on it, however. On the contrary, at the head

of one of the pages lined into several squares by Baldini it was written: "this reminder [*memoria*] is extremely important." The same attitude led people to fill in all the empty spaces and to exploit fully every blank page, as, for example, happened in memory books, which contained receipts of payment and other notes in addition to their more central subjects. There were also explicit declarations about being thrifty with paper. Lavinia Beccoli, for example, advised her son Carlo Cartari: "when you write you should write smaller so that everything can fit on one sheet, as I am spending too much."[109]

Paper was thus rare and expensive and so could not go to waste.[110] Yet some people left blank spaces on their pages and did not fill the margins with words. They left blank pages in their diaries, and they failed to recycle letters and receipts; instead they kept these things in bound volumes. These acts implied a sacrifice of the utility of a product invested with certain economic value. They were therefore all acts intended to create meaning. On the other hand, when Orazio Spada spent 20 scudi for a ledger, his motives were fairly transparent: the glory and greatness of the house was also present here. The same aspirations of greatness evidently inspired Antonio Santacroce, who purchased a book for his memories with a cover made not from cardboard or vellum, as was usually the case with books of this sort, but rather of "black sharkskin from France with silver buckles."[111]

Although these examples might seem to suggest the contrary, those who collected and bound their domestic writings were the exception. There were,

TABLE 8.7 Inventories that mention objects necessary for writing

OBJECT	NUMBER OF MALE INVENTORIES	PERCENT OUT OF ALL THE MALE INVENTORIES	NUMBER OF FEMALE INVENTO-RIES	PERCENT OUT OF ALL THE FEMALE INVENTORIES
Lamps and candlesticks	29	63.04	13	43.33
Pens and inkwells	7	15.21	1	3.03
Sheets of paper	3	6.52	1	3.03

in fact, very few people who had the means to preserve their papers, let alone to bind them.

As one can see from the table above, only a tiny minority of people owned paper and pen. Surprisingly, even the owners of objects to make light constituted little more than half of the total surveyed, along with the usual disparity between men and women. One should not be surprised therefore that only thirteen people (eleven men and two women) had letters, bills, receipts, and other domestic writings in their house. Indeed, only the banker Rotoli owned a diary.[112] These results, though, reflect very improbable absences. The lawyers Pari and Negrelli, for example, did not possess either a pen or an inkwell. Negrelli did not appear to have had any private writings.[113] Francesco Bava's inventory, made at the behest of his creditors, mentions instead at least eight registers and notebooks for sales, expenditures, bank receipts, and copies of letters. This illustrates how full and accurate the bookkeeping practices of a representative of the middling class could be.

The postmortem inventory of a tailor sheds even more instructive light on the situation: he had seven books of receipts, a similar number of diaries and memory books, eight records of the *compagnie di ufficio* (credit bonds), a dozen shares in the Monte, "a tailor's book with bills marked by an MB," five bundles of writings and bills, a set of notarial instruments, and another of "information," that is, judicial documents, the dowry agreement from his first wife, a second wife's miscellaneous writings and insurance policies, and finally "a half sack of bound, poorly written things."[114] This tailor's heirs, who likely also inherited his profession, kept and had inventoried the details of the papers in his archives. Others, like the two lawyers' heirs, did not show any interest in having documented exactly what could be found in their studies, except for the books, which had a value. Pari's papers were only named as accessories to "a shelf for writing," while Negrelli's papers remain totally unmentioned.

Books and Other Things

What else did book owners own? Can the fact of having books indicate a recognizable cultural orientation, or even a quest for distinction? Could it also mark certain boundaries in lifestyle between those who did and did not read?

As one can see from the table below, book ownership undoubtedly correlated with the possession of other categories of goods such as musical and scientific instruments or natural curiosities. This correlation also was appar-

TABLE 8.8 Other objects present in the inventories of those who owned books

SEX	NAME	BOOKS	PAINTINGS	WRITING TOOLS	MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS	SCIENTIFIC INSTRUMENTS	CURIOSITIES	LUXURY ITEMS AND PERFUME	CRYSTAL	CLOCKS
M	Neruzzi	424	38	No	0	1 Spyglass	1 Tortoise Shell	Yes	Yes	0
M	Pari	406	46	Yes	1 Drum	0	0	No	No	1
M	Negrelli	402	31	No	0	1 Atlas	0	Yes	No	0
M	Raspantini	160	1778	Yes	1 Harpsichord	Various	Various	Yes	No	5
M	Bellini	134	22	No	1 Spinet	0	0	Yes	No	0
M	Cangiani	97	77	Yes	1 Guitar and 1 Harpsichord	1 Box for Making Tests	0	No	Yes	0
M	Bronconi	58	55	No	1 Guitar	0	1 Wolf's Tooth	No	No	0
M	Rotoli	49	59	Yes	2 Spinets	0	0	Yes	No	2
M	Lirighetti	12	73	No	0	0	0	No	Yes	0
M	Albertini	11	52	No	0	0	0	No	No	1
M	Jani	9	0	Yes	0	0	0	No	No	0
M	Lansi	7	79	Yes	1 Spinet	0	0	No	No	0
M	Giunti	3	9	No	0	0	0	No	No	0
M	Contelori	Yes	5	No	1 Spinet	2 *Mappamundi*	0	No	Yes	0
M	Lucatelli	Yes	60	No	0	1 Lancet	0	No	No	0
F	Betti	25/33	26	No	1 Guitar	1 Spyglass	0	Yes	Yes	1
F	Alicorna	Yes	36	Yes	0	0	0	No	No	0

ent with "novelties" such as clocks, powders, and perfumes as well as fragile and decorative objects made from crystal, porcelain, or fine ceramic.

Those who did not own books, in contrast, had a much smaller chance of owning even some of the items just mentioned. The impression that one gets is therefore of a material culture in which habitual reading was associated with other forms of cultural distinction, such as the possibility of making music, a certain interest in nature and technology, and an openness to uncommon and ostentatious goods. The presence of all these categories of objects together creates a complete profile that demands attention and is distinguished from the profile of those who instead did not possess any of these furnishings. The image that emerges is one of "cultivated" and fashionable individuals who were capable of differentiating themselves from others, thanks to a lifestyle that appears to be more refined, elegant, and richer in "immaterial things," less oppressed by physical needs, less dominated by the ethic of utility, and hence more disposed toward making aesthetic choices. Neruzzi, Raspantini, Cangiani, and Margherita Betti stand out from the somewhat opaque totality of the group to embody an elite of taste, founded on the possession of cultural goods whose value, for those who could see it, was based on the beauty, ingenuity, or innovation more than the richness of materials. In the complete absence of any other type of documentation or testimony, direct or indirect, it is their material culture speaks for them, restoring a rich and multifaceted image of their complete physiognomy that is, in every instance, neither flat nor one dimensional.[115]

CONCLUSION

A Material Culture

The decision to adopt the lens of material culture has a precise aim: to understand, through the patrimonies of objects documented in inventories, the type of rapport that existed between human beings and things, the ways in which individuals and social groups objectified themselves in the culture of their material world, and how objects in turn affected culture. All of this must be understood on its own terms, however, resisting the temptation to look for forerunners of a consumer society that was still somewhat distant in time, or to label a culture backward through facile comparisons with the present.

Inventories have been the means toward the realization of this goal. Therefore, as a starting point for such a project, we have had to test the reliability of these documents to be reasonably certain they were neither too incomplete nor overly conditioned by the logic of those who requested or executed the inventories. Examining their internal coherence and elements of their incoherence, and comparing them with other kinds of documents, has revealed them to be up to the task. Inventories are limited, however, because they only document property and not the availability of objects and are at times incomplete, yet such limits are fairly evident; if nothing else, they do not induce errors. In compensation, inventories supply ample information that when supplemented with details from account books, contracts, and legal testimonies effectively succeeds in giving us an idea of what the patrimony of objects looked like to its owners. Thus they permit us to reconstruct their material culture.

In many ways this culture was very distant from our own. Many early modern Romans did not cook—nor did they eat—at home, and nearly

everyone had only a single pair of shoes. Others did not own some of the furnishings they used and thus had to borrow everything from equipment for work to beds and linens. For this reason these same people were in general very attentive to underscoring their relations with property, for example, by making an inventory of everything they loaned or rented out, and also what they subdivided between their various dwellings or shared among the diverse members of their family. Thus we confront a culture that was, on the one hand, based on the possession of a fairly limited number of things, forcing people to come up with substitutions for what they lacked, while on the other hand being defined by a strong sense of having one's own possessions.

In regarding the first point—the limited number of objects people owned—we find the inventories and other sources reveal the numerous and varied products in circulation in seventeenth-century Rome. Nevertheless, people either did not own or owned only very small quantities of these objects. It is difficult to find traces of tools for sewing, for treating textile fibers and making thread, as well as implements for cooking, consuming food and drink, and even for generating light. In many other sectors it is evident that supply—of plates and glasses, for example, or shoes and decorative objects—was substantially richer and more varied than demand. At times, however, demand could not be satisfied. Not all of the channels for supplying Roman clients with garments and textiles necessarily passed through local shops. Suppliers' inventories never indicated the presence of particularly precious or sought-after goods. Their assortment of wares was decent but not outstanding. Goods beyond a certain quality or price could not easily be found in the marketplace but needed to be ordered specially on commission from a merchant, as the domestic manuals advised, or by requesting the services of some friends abroad who could get the item, as private correspondence reveals. If local supply was in excess in one thing and deficient in another, this was not an incomprehensible Roman incongruence but rather a fairly predictable consequence of a demand that was still uncertain and limited. Yet even in the Roman piazzas things were changing. Novelties, luxuries, and purely decorative objects were still few and far between, and a single inventory did not mention more than one or two at most, but the variety of objects found in Roman households had increased enormously relative to what had been the norm in the early Renaissance.

The discrepancy between what was available in Rome and what was recorded in the inventories is perhaps the result of the many different ways of possessing property. If someone lacked the necessary equipment they could borrow or rent it, as likely happened with tools for work. Additionally, tasks that could not happen inside the home due to a lack of materials could simply be done outside of the home, as people did with their eating of meals. Contemporaries regularly ate at the *osteria* or had food brought in to be eaten at home. The diffusion of eating establishments throughout the city not only responded to the demands of foreign visitors, who were always numerous, but also met the needs of all those regular urban inhabitants who did not have any means of cooking at home. To eat one needed to have access to not just a hearth and kitchenware but also to food provisions. In their totality these things required an investment that people who lived on what they earned day to day could not make.[1] A meal taken at an *osteria* and eventually consumed at home ended up being a more economical solution. This practice was also documented in contemporary literature: in one scene from a dialogue by Pietro Aretino a woman dines in her own house on a meal offered by an admirer and purchased from an *osteria*.[2]

A person's relationship with his possessions, not to mention the singularly complex relationship between ownership and use of things, also distinguished the material culture of this period. The familial division of goods, sanctioned by the dowry system, reaffirmed the way in which inventories recorded and organized objects: only that which was property, in the strict sense of the term, came to be included in these documents. A spouse's goods were not included in this tally. Obviously in everyday practice this distinction was not necessarily applied; indeed, often the two patrimonies became confused with each other and each of the spouses had access to the other's possessions. This reality creates problems of definition because, most of the time, a person's constant and exclusive use of an object constituted proof of his or her ownership.[3] Yet law forbade donations between spouses. Even exclusive and repetitive use of clothing and jewelry was not enough to give a wife ownership of goods bought with her husband's money. Gifts between spouses were always temporary and did not infringe upon the rights of their respective heirs. The experience of objects therefore contradicted their legal definition, and, as some wills demonstrate, individuals were conscious of this problem. Property rights were always at risk and were continually being reaffirmed: the inventories themselves offer tangible proof of this fact.

Criteria for Social Stratification

Over the course of the preceding chapters we have encountered some people and their inventories more frequently and at greater length than others. Their

things more often have become objects of analysis. Their patrimonies and their consumption practices have therefore assumed a more precise appearance, defined against the rather undifferentiated background that makes up the rest of the inventories. They delineated their choices in a particularly clear way, and the resulting image is therefore well defined. They owned all or nearly all of the products we could define as being "cultural," including paintings, books, pens and inkwells, musical instruments, clocks, scientific instruments, and/or natural curiosities. These items were supplemented by other objects that I would call "ostentatious," such as crystal glasses or carafes, porcelain or fine ceramic plates, perfumes, fans, snuffboxes, and finally jewelry and silverware. They loved paintings for their aesthetic value; they read books that taught them how to compose letters or a speech with distinction and elegance. They owned anthologies of citations that made their own conversations authoritative and encyclopedic works that expanded the horizons of their knowledge, and they brought into their houses news from faraway lands. They aspired to a conscious religious devotion and they read the Bible in Italian. Finally, they were fashionable: they read novels and collected landscapes or paintings of flowers.

The image of these people their goods created was that of refined, well-to-do gentlemen and gentlewomen. The arrangement of rooms inside their houses and of objects inside their rooms expressed the same type of culture: landscape paintings and still lifes as well as images of the Madonna or of the saints hung on their walls. They owned desks and little tables in addition to the traditional chests. Among the women whose documents we have studied, only Margherita Betti belonged to this group. There are more male examples: Neruzzi, Raspantini, Cangiani, Pari, Contelori, Rotoli, all of whom we have encountered many times, were full-fledged participants in this new culture of things. To this list we must also add Silvestro Bellini, whose profession we do not know, and the embroiderer Bronconi. In total there were more than a few of these elites; others such as Cartari, Azzavedi, Bernini, and Dorotea Antolini, who are not included in this survey but who have been discussed in other ways, shared their material culture. Men of law—as well as their women—played an important role, while scholars and artists held an even greater position of prominence. Rich merchants and artisans associated with this latter group.[4] Together they give the impression of creating a separate social class, unified by a common culture—material and immaterial—more than by income or even profession.[5]

To reiterate this point: the ownership of paintings of secular subjects, books, musical instruments, decorative items, and even scientific instruments

indicates the existence of a social class among the intermediate strata of the population that wanted to be recognized as "cultivated," "attentive to novelty," and "refined," entrusting its own respectability to these traits. The current supply of goods, the quality of products circulating in Rome, local style, and the criteria of legitimation that people of different social standing applied to their own choices all had an undoubted effect on the final outcome, determining the spaces of objectification that each individual enjoyed. Individual and movable patrimonies are the result of this process. However, as I have argued throughout this study, the relationship between culture and material culture is not a one way street. The former does not simply determine the latter. On the contrary, as we have witnessed with our own eyes, things define the appearance of their owners. Even at the level of individual experience we can confirm an analogous process: people define themselves in terms of their possessions.

The salient characteristic of this culture—which included artists, merchants, and successful artisans—was its distance from the more immediate and material category of utility and its valorization of the more abstract categories of the beautiful, the new, and the ingenious. This feature separated and distinguished these people from others, from people who had few paintings, no other cultural products, and rather bare household interiors. These other people also constituted a "social class" that when seen through the lens of material culture appears impoverished and deprived. Or we might say, culturally withdrawn. Unfortunately we cannot estimate with precision to what extent this rapport with goods was linked to income, but one suspects that such a relationship was not perfectly unambiguous and linear. There were artisans who made up this culturally deprived social class, but also some merchants. And they were above all women whose patrimonies were restricted essentially to furniture, clothing, and some devotional images. Yet their relative poverty does not imply a lack of interest in things. Theirs was a different culture—both material and immaterial—in which the category of utility was central.

Accordingly, it is therefore possible to hypothesize the existence of a type of social stratification based on lifestyle rather than on other categories. This way of understanding social stratification was rooted in the culture of the period and not, as statistics for the nineteenth century have uncovered, founded on estates or professions. As many richly focused studies of phenomena such as apprenticeship, spousal choice, or participation in devotional organizations have revealed, early modern urban society was crisscrossed by networks of relationships that closely connected individuals employed in various trades

with people of diverse levels of wealth. The attention to appearances, so typical of the baroque period, forms a final piece of the evidence: social status was connected with lifestyle. To this end people paid attention to the clothes and jewelry they wore and, more generally, to displays of wealth. This also explains concerns about sumptuary abuses, as a subversion of social order, and the corresponding efforts to use laws to guarantee a perfect correspondence between the appearance and the quality of an individual.[6]

Gender difference constitutes the final element of social stratification. The fact of being male or female signified a level of noteworthy discrimination generally ignored by traditional principles of classification. Such criteria tend to assume, somewhat casually, that women enjoyed the same social prestige as the men who had jurisdiction over them, that is, their fathers, husbands, and in some cases brothers. However, investigating material culture illustrates profound differences between women and men of the same social class. Women appear to have been more utilitarian in their material culture and much less inclined to cultivate a taste for the superfluous. The boundaries of legitimation within which they moved were much more restricted: only contact with the sacred or considerations regarding the stability and perpetuation of the lineage—and their own position within this familial structure—allowed women to abandon an essentially instrumental rapport with things. Taken as a whole, such considerations imply a cultural formation more tied to practice and less open to abstract ideas, but they also suggest a different conception of one's own patrimony and possibilities for economic survival. In other words, women had other ways of feeling poor or rich than men. Finding honorable employment in the exercise of a trade or a profession was especially difficult for women. Instead, their things, which served as a treasury, assumed a fundamental and permanent guarantee of whatever security life might offer. For this reason their patrimonies tended to be made up primarily of goods that were easy to convert into money: clothing, fine wall hangings, and jewelry that easily could be pawned as a guarantee for credit and enjoyed a steady demand on the market for used and rentable goods.

The Paradigm of Emulation

We generally take for granted the notion that new products diffuse from the top to the bottom of the social pyramid, and similarly assume—and consider so true that there is no need for demonstration—that the middling classes tried to emulate the elites, and that they used consumable objects and lifestyle

to reach their goal. Conventions like these, which common sense dictates, are often refuted by research, yet this problem cannot be discarded with too much confidence. The Roman case demonstrates that members of the lower classes, in some circumstances, did indeed take up models of comportment of the higher social groups. The structure of dwellings, for example, seems to support this point, to such an extent that I have used the term "an almost noble lifestyle" to underscore the differences between the homes of the richest merchant-bankers and those of others. Certain consumable goods, such as cold drinks, chocolate, powders, and perfumes, also seem to fit this pattern of emulation. Unfortunately, inventories give us very little information on the use of these items, and what little we have available comes almost exclusively from noble account books.

In many other cases, however, the role of material culture in mediating relationships among the various social classes is far more complex than what common sense alone would dictate. This relationship was founded upon proximity but also distance, on emulation but also indifference. At times, even the spread of novelties began with the lower classes before reaching the higher ones. The artists, lawyers, merchants, and successful artisans we have discussed throughout this book occupied a position that facilitated or even encouraged mediation, and accordingly the transmission of tastes and lifestyles from high to low within the social hierarchy, and vice versa. We should not be surprised that they adopted other aspects of the genteel lifestyle, beginning with its forms of sociability.

To take one example of the reciprocal influence that likely transpired between the heights of the social pyramid and the intermediate social classes, it is worth underscoring the existence of a "local" style that both groups shared. In Rome this local style manifested itself primarily in the passion for paintings. Every house in the Eternal City, evidently, no matter how modest, contained at least one painting. This occurred not just at the level of the great collectors but also for more ordinary sorts of people, and therefore the interest in paintings thus outstripped the desire for exotic products or natural curiosities by a wide margin.[7] This is an essential fact about this world we still do not fully understand.

In the great noble houses, collections of objects—artistic, precious, curious, or simply pleasing—were strictly tied to the need for them to be displayed and thus facilitated the development of sociability. This explains the many testimonials from the period describing visits to collections, conversations of virtuosi, and so on. The structure of noble palaces, with their successions of antechambers and their public rooms furnished with particular "splendor,"

seems to confirm the openness of such dwellings to social life.[8] Instead, with the middling classes, we are groping in the dark: we do not know if their paintings of secular subjects, their mixed marble balls, or their silk flowers were made to be displayed to strangers. More generally, we do not know if they received guests, and there are few sources that can tell us anything. Thus conclusions must be based on circumstantial evidence. On the one hand, what we know so far is that many seats and stools filled a great number of houses and in particular the larger ones, more likely to be furnished with antechambers and living rooms. On the other hand, we have literary evidence: for example, the cautionary advice the knight Pietro Belmonte dedicated to his daughter Laudomia on the occasion of her marriage. Belmonte instructs her on how to behave after her marriage, when other ladies of her rank will certainly come to visit her:

> When the gentlewomen, who due to their courtesy and gentility come to visit you, they will rightfully bow down. Have them rise and ask them to come with you elsewhere: and thus lead them either to the fire, the window or the garden, according to the season and the temperature. Show them the house and something of yours that is either new or beautiful. . . . And then let them refresh themselves, restoring their strength with sugared almonds, fruits, or something else that you will have had prepared for them.[9]

This document is precious because it tells us two important things: women received and offered refreshments (one notes, however, that when speaking of refreshments drinks were not mentioned), and they showed their house to their guests along with the new and beautiful things it contained. The domestic environment and valuable objects held an important role in everyday life: they acted as "ritual accessories" in the ceremony of visits, making such an occasion more refined, more elegant. Among women of "middling condition" even a single object, provided that it was new or beautiful, could be just as much the pivot for sociability as a collection of statues would be in the garden of a Roman noble. The gusto for things could not be better illustrated.

Gusto for Things

In the absence of a will, the traces of individuals from the middling classes are not many, and those that do remain aid little in understanding what

their relationship with objects might have been. As a key for reading this phenomenon, I have therefore exploited the example of the great collectors, their attitudes toward their own collections, and their explicit declarations on this subject. From the evidence with which they provide us, a rapport with things emerges that celebrated their intrinsic value, but that also exalted the relationship between subject and object, between owner and property. A large part of the value of objects derived from their belonging to a respected person. At the same time a great part of a person's reputation derived from having collected or possessed these things: the sacrifice of utility that was required for this undertaking demonstrated the owner's capacity for using his own wealth not for base or utilitarian ends but to pursue higher—even transcendent—purposes. In this way one constructed an "immortal fame." However, the collection had to be protected from dissipation to be able to fully materialize the prestige of the owner and his lineage. In other words, it had to become inalienable. Between subject and object there existed a bilateral rapport: inalienable goods conferred on their owner huge amounts of prestige—and the power that was connected to this prestige.

How can these concepts be extended to people who owned more than a few objects, but certainly did not have a collection? How should we consider the material culture of people who did not have power and were certainly not in a position to compete for a spot at the top of the social hierarchy? What should we make of people who left us lists of their goods, but hardly commented on them, or said nothing at all?

We have seen how the gusto for things could manifest itself through the objects themselves, especially if they were accumulated and preserved by people with few resources. The discrepancy between the circumstances of poor people—and we know they were poor because they lived in small houses and possessed goods of mediocre quality—and the abundance of furnishings that filled individual rooms is a good indicator. Even a poor woman could aspire to create a modest "splendor" for herself. Keeping old things and refusing to get rid of them in order to acquire new things could be seen as another index of affection, especially when we are talking about nonessential items such as paintings, books, or decorative things that could be exchanged for something more useful. Moreover, even individuals of middling status made wills, and they at times explained at length the destiny they had in mind for some of their things. Some declared them inalienable, as Azzavedi did with his books. Others reconstructed their histories to give them greater importance, as Filippo della Molara did when he explained that the "clock with the enameled gold case" that he intended to leave to the princess of Nerola,

was left to him by his "patron," the prince. For this reason it seemed to him proper to leave it to the princess as a display of gratitude. Others illustrated the closeness of an object to their heart, or they described objects with care, emphasizing their exceptionality, as Gregorio Giulianelli did regarding a "show clock with an alarm and all its parts."[10] Finally, there were those who left valuable paintings and family portraits to their heirs. More than any other object, images of "ancestors" had the power to construct and transmit genealogies, and women pursued this objective as much if not more than men: patrilineage was not a deterrent here.

Even those who had a few valuable possessions, but certainly not a true collection, demonstrated an attachment to their goods. They demonstrated this through their actions, preserving their own paintings or their clocks instead of offering them in exchange for something else, but also in their words. They envisioned a destiny for their unique objects that would save them from loss of individuality and prevent them from being transformed back into merchandise. In recompense these objects offered their owners a fundamental service. In reality the house and its furnishings made visible the identity of individuals who could not realize that identity through the ownership of prestigious tracts of land or particularly impressive urban real estate. This is not to say these people were poor; rather, wealth unto itself was an abstract entity that had to be translated into things to become manifest; those things needed to be beautiful and ingenious because through them one inferred "ingenuity, politeness, civility, and courtliness."[11]

Inalienable Treasuries

One of the principal functions of goods was to construct a "treasury" in a double sense: a collection of things that tended to be inalienable and a reserve of wealth that could be mobilized in extraordinary situations. At least in principle this function could be assigned to any category of object, provided that it had a minimum value of exchange. Nonetheless, some objects were used more regularly for this purpose, whether because of their high intrinsic value or because there was a long tradition that sanctified their use as credit. Naturally jewelry and silverware were among the things first to be pawned. But more precious textiles—whether clothing, wall hangings, or bed covers—often enjoyed the same fate, as numerous examples demonstrate. Books, paintings, and decorative objects were pawned less often. Thus the goods that were most easily turned into treasuries were typically feminine. Family practices confirmed this tendency: jewelry and wives' clothing most often ended up at the pawn shop. Furthermore, the evidence of wills indicates that jewelry and female clothing were always transformed by choice into more permanent institutions: sacred images, church altars, and noble dwellings. For women, even more than for men, objects were therefore a guarantee of permanence in life. In their daily lives these items provided them with an income because they could be pawned or rented out. After death, these goods allowed them to obtain a kind of permanence that transcended the limits of time, because, having absorbed something of the person to whom they had belonged, these things were able to preserve and transmit aspects of this individual to future generations.

If a treasury was by definition naturally inalienable, in seventeenth-century Rome there was nothing that truly and absolutely fit this definition. Even family dwellings or adored collections could at a certain point be put up for sale by heirs who were far less conscientious, or simply interested in other matters. Inalienability was therefore not an intrinsic quality of some specific classes of items, but rather the result of a relationship that owners created with their possessions. The criteria of inclusion or exclusion were therefore changeable and varied according to circumstance. Not all things achieved with equal efficacy the task of incarnating a permanence that money in itself could not create. Similarly, all items could not speak in the same manner to human beings' diverse needs. While reputation and temporal permanence can be said to constitute unwavering objectives for rather different types of individuals, the means for realizing these aims are not necessarily the same. On the contrary, it varied according to the quality of the individual. Respectability for an artisan required different rules from those for a noble, just as a widow's respectability was founded on principles that were not valid for a merchant. People sought to neutralize change by objectifying themselves in something enduring and stable. Some realized this goal by fashioning an aesthetic image of themselves that was informed, cultivated, and open to novelty. For these people the distance from immediate utility, along with the ability to materialize beauty, novelty, or ingenuity, permitted an object to enter the realm of the potentially inalienable. Beauty, novelty, or ingenuity, much more than the intrinsic value of the materials from which a thing was made, made it an object worth preserving. The piece of silver worked in a particular manner was listed separately in a will, but not "all the silverware," which by contrast was often converted back into merchandise and therefore sold. The same held true for clothing and jewelry. Entrusted to others as a gift or an inheritance, these unique products that were able to materialize something of those who had chosen them thus became an essential step on the

path toward contesting change and achieving permanence. The transmission of objects raised the power of preservation.

Along with these people there were other individuals who entertained a much more instrumental rapport with things that set the category of utility above the more ephemeral categories of beauty and novelty. They used things for their normal purposes and as a monetary equivalent, trading them for different items that were of greater utility at that moment. Yet even these people preserved certain objects. Their care for objects, dictated primarily by their exchange value, can in fact be translated into attention to the intrinsic qualities of these goods. But even these people aspired to pass on not just a generic patrimony but also a few things that were dear to them, thus hoping like the others to give life to their own modest genealogy.[12]

Preserving goods instead of trading them—that is, sacrificing utility on the altar of something higher—naming items individually in a will, and leaving them as an inheritance to a specific person or institution did not necessarily make these items effectively inalienable, but it clearly reflected this aspiration. The attempts by members of the middling class to construct the continuity of their own lineage through the introduction of *fedecommessi*, the adoption of son-in-laws or nephews if one lacked other direct male descendants, and so on were by now commonly accepted practices. We have seen how women fully interiorized the logic of the language men employed to the extent that they willingly identified with their husband's lineage in these undertakings.[13] The transmission of things besides money allowed people to make visible that familial continuity, giving it concrete, material support. The preservation of some objects to leave to one's heirs was indeed equivalent to constructing a genealogy, and in this sense one can speak of the aspiration to inalienability. It emerged not from the desire to compete with great nobles but, far more simply, from the desire to continue to exist.

ABBREVIATIONS

AC, Archivio Capitolino

AGU, Archivio Generale Urbano, Rome

ASR, Archivio di Stato, Rome

Notai AC, Notai dell'Auditor Camerae

Notai RCA, Notai della Reverenda Camera Apostolica

TN, Trenta notai capitolini

NOTES

Foreword

Thanks to Renata Ago, Brad Bouley, and Corey Tazzara for their comments, and to Rose-Marie San Juan and Laurie Nussdorfer for providing me with crucial illustrations.

1. On Roman printing in this era, see Massimo Ceresa, *Una stamperia nella Roma del primo Seicento: Annali tipografici di Guglielmo Facciotti ed eredi (1592–1640)* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2000). The history of early Roman guidebooks is further discussed in Ludwig Schudt, *Le guide di Roma: Materielen zu einer Geschichte der römische topographie* (Vienna: Filser, 1930); Eunice Howe, ed. and trans., *Andrea Palladio: The Churches of Rome* (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1991); and Rebecca Zorach et al., *The Virtual Tourist in Renaissance Rome: Printing and Collecting the Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* (Chicago: University of Chicago Library Publications, 2008).

2. Giovanni Mercati, *Note per la storia di alcune biblioteche romane nei secoli XVI–XIX* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1952), 147–60.

3. Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1650–63). Diversino (or Diversin in French) funded the publication, which was printed by Vitale Mascardi and included Bellori's *Vita*.

4. Giovan Pietro Bellori, *Le vite de' pittori scultori e architetti moderni* (Rome, 1672); also available in a modern critical edition and translation: Alice Sedgwick Wohl, Helmut Wohl, and Tommaso Montanari, eds., and trans., *The Lives of the Modern Painters, Sculptors, and Architects* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). For more on Bellori, see Evelina Borea and Carlo Gasparri, eds., *L'idea del bello: Viaggio per Roma nel seicento con Giovan Pietro Bellori*, 2 vols. (Rome: Edizioni de Luca, 2000); and Janis Bell and Thomas Willett, eds., *Art History in the Age of Bellori: Scholarship and Cultural Politics in Seventeenth-Century Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

5. Margaret Daly Davis, "Giovan Pietro Bellori and the *Nota delli musei, librerie, galerie, et ornamenti di statue e pitture ne' palazzo, nelle case, e ne' giardini di Roma* (1664): Modern Libraries and Ancient Painting in Seicento Rome," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 68 (2005): 191–233.

6. [Fioravante Martinelli and Giovan Pietro Bellori], *Nota delli Musei, Librerie, Galerie et Ornamenti di Statue e Pitture ne' Palazzi, nelle Case, e ne' Giardini di Roma* (Rome, 1664–65). I have consulted the facsimile edited by Emma Zucca (Rome: Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, 1976), though all my references to the *Nota* refer to the original pagination. While the title page dates the work, printed at the Stamperia del Falco, as 1664, the colophon bearing Falco's imprimatur is dated 1665. In light of Daly Davis's excellent research, I have attributed the *Nota delli Musei* to both Martinelli and Bellori to reflect their probable respective roles in the two different parts of the text while also leaving open to further research whether we should consider this simply a pairing of two different publications on Rome in a single book by the publishers or a more active collaboration between the two authors.

On Rome during this era, see Richard Krautheimer, *The Rome of Alexander VII, 1655–57* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985); Torgil Magnuson, *Rome in the Age of Bernini*, 2 vols. (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1982); and Thomas James Dandelet, *Spanish Rome, 1500–1700* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001).

7. Daly Davis's article (see n. 5) may resolve some of the disparities between the account of Roman art galleries in *Nota delli Musei* and Bellori's clearly articulated aesthetic preferences in his theoretical writings on painting and sculpture. See Hans Ruben, "Bellori's Art: The Taste and Distaste of a Seventeenth-Century Art Critic in Rome," *Simiolus* 32, no. 2/3 (2006): 126–46.

8. Fioravante Martinelli, *Roma ricercata nel suo sito* (Rome, 1644); and Pompilo Totti, *Ritratto di Roma moderna* (Rome, 1638). The expanded title quoted above belongs to the 1645 edition and surely was one of the direct sources of information and inspiration for Martinelli and Bellori's *Nota delli Musei*. The culture of guidebooks in seventeenth-century Rome is further discussed in Cesare D'Onofrio, *Roma nel Seicento: "Roma ornate dall'Architettura, Pittura e Scoltura" di Fioravante Martinelli* (Florence: Vallecchi, 1969).

9. Biagio Diversino and Felice Cesaretti, "A' Lettori," in Martinelli and Bellori, *Nota delli Musei*, 4.

10. On the legislation restricting exportation of Rome's patrimony, especially its antiquities, see Ronald T. Ridley, "To Protect the Monuments: The Papal Antiquarian (1534–1870)," *Xenia Antiquq* 1 (1992): 117–54; and Frances Haskell, "La dispersione e la conservazione del patrimonio artistico," in *Storia dell'arte italiana*, part 3, vol. 3 (Turin: Einaudi, 1981), 5–35.

11. Ulisse Aldrovandi, *Delle statue antiche che in Roma da ogni parte si vedono* (Venice, 1556), later retitled *Delle statue antiche, che per tutta Roma, in diversi luoghi, e casa si veggono* in the 1562 edition. In all instances, Aldrovandi's work appeared as part of Lucio Mauro's *Le antichità della città di Roma*. For more on this work, see Kathleen Wren Christian, *Empire without End: Antiquities Collections in Renaissance Rome, c. 1350–1527* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010); and Paula Findlen, *A Fragmentary Past: The Making of Museums in Late Renaissance Italy* (forthcoming). The culture that inspired these early antiquities collections is well described in Leonard Barkan, *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999).

12. Kathleen Weil-Garris, ed., John F. D'Amico, trans., *The Renaissance Cardinal's Ideal Palace: A Chapter from Cortesi's "De Cardinalatu"* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Elefante and the American Academy in Rome, 1980); Patricia Falguières, "La cité fictive: Les collections de cardinaux, à Rome, au XVIème siécle," in *Les Carrache et les décors profanes* (Paris and Rome: École française de Rome, 1988), 215–333; and Gigliola Fragnito, "Cardinal's Courts in Sixteenth-Century Rome," *Journal of Modern History* 65 (1993): 26–56.

13. Martinelli and Bellori, *Nota delli Musei*, 17: "Nel suo palazzo in Borgo le celebri antichità del Cardinale Pier Donato Cesi." See Sabine Eiche, "On the Layout of the Cesi Palace and Gardens in the Vatican Borgo," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 39 (1995): 258–81.

14. Martinelli and Bellori, *Nota delli Musei*, 54–55.

15. Ibid., 24, 27. On gardens, see especially David R. Coffin, *Gardens and Gardening in Papal Rome* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991); and Lisa Jane Neal Tice, "Recreation and Retreat: Garden Casini in Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Century Rome" (PhD diss., Rutgers University, 2009). The passion for tulips has been especially well described in Ann Goldgar, *Tulipmania: Money, Honor, and Knowledge in the Dutch Golden Age* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

16. Dora Thornton, *The Scholar in His Study: Ownership and Experience in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997).

17. Interestingly, Martinelli did not include any reference to Cassiano dal Pozzo's contemporary, the Barberini intimate and papal servant Francesco Gualdo (1576–1657) whose home on via della Salita del Grillo was filled with natural curiosities and Egyptian and Roman antiquities and was visited by such noteworthy figures as John Evelyn. This absence reinforces the idea that Martinelli was creating a guidebook of contemporary Rome, which could not include even recently defunct collections, in contrast to Dal Pozzo's collection that was maintained after his death in 1657 by his brother Carl'Antonio. On this museum, see Claudia Franzoni, "Ancora sul museo di Francesco Gualdo (1576–1657)," *Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento* 17 (1991): 561–72; and Franzoni and

Alessandra Tempesta, "Il museo di Francesco Gualdi nella Roma del Seicento tra raccolta private ed esibizione pubblica," *Bollettino d'arte* ser. 6, 77 (1992): 1–42.

18. Determining the exact number of listings in Martinelli's guidebook has its complications since a number of entries describe multiple collections in the same or adjoining locations, but there are no less than 150 sites to see in Rome, quite separate from the numerous Roman ruins which were the subject of most guidebooks.

19. On the evolution of Roman mapmaking in this period, see Rose Marie San Juan, *Rome: A City Out of Print* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001).

20. Martinelli and Bellori, *Nota delli Musei*, 5.

21. Ibid., 46, 38. On the Dal Pozzo collection, see Donatella Sparti, *Le collezioni dal Pozzo: Storia di una famiglia e del suo museo nella Roma seicentesca* (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1992); Mirka Beneš et al., *The Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo* (Ivrea: Olivetti, 1993); and Francesco Solinas, ed., *I Segreti di un collezionista: Le straordinarie raccolte di Cassiano dal Pozzo 1588–1657* (Rome: Edizioni de Luca, 2000).

22. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, XXXVI.xxiv.101. On Roman libraries, see Giuseppe Lombardi, "Libri e istituzioni a Roma: Diffusion e organizzazione," in *Storia di Roma nel Rinascimento*, ed. Antonio Pinelli (Rome: Laterza, 2001), 267–90; Valentino Romani, *Biblioteche romane del Sei e Settecento* (Rome: Vecchiarelli Editore, 1996); and Daly Davis, "Giovan Pietro Bellori."

23. Martinelli and Bellori, *Nota delli Musei*, 31, 6.

24. Ibid., 11, 17, 19, 21, 37. On the Chigi and Kircher collections, see Giovanni Incisa della Rochetta, "Il museo di curiosità di Card. Flavio I Chigi," *Archivio della Societa Romana di Storia Patria* ser. 3, 20 (1966): 141–292; Eugenio Lo Sardo, ed., *Athanasius Kircher: Il Museo del Mondo* (Rome: Edizioni de Luca, 2001); and Paula Findlen, "Scientific Spectacle in Baroque Rome: Athanasius Kircher and the Roman College Museum," in *Jesuit Science and the Republic of Letters*, ed. Mordechai Feingold (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003), 225–84. Corvino Corvini was a naturalist of Flemish origin and the brother-in-law of the well-known Roman physician and botanist Pietro Castelli, who had been custodian of the Farnese gardens.

25. Paula Findlen, "The Museum: Its Classical Etymology and Renaissance Genealogy," *Journal of the History of Collections* 1 (1989): 59–78.

26. Cristina De Benedictis, ed., *Per la storia del collezionismo italiano: Fonti e documenti*, 2nd ed. (Florence: Ponte alle Grazie, 2002), 165, originally published in V. Golzio, "Il testament di Martino Longhi junior," *Archivi* 5 (1938): 140–41, 207–8. On the emergence of the collection as a special kind of patrimony, see Paula Findlen, "Ereditare un museo: Collezionismo, strategie familiari e pratiche culturali nel Cinquecento," *Quaderni storici* 115 (2004): 45–81. This essay appeared in a special issue edited by Renata Ago on *Consumi culturali nell'Italia moderna*.

27. Martinelli and Bellori, *Nota delli Musei*, 47–48. Ricci was an intimate of Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici and a talented mathematician who became a cardinal in 1661.

28. Martinelli and Bellori, *Nota delli Musei*, 22. On Divini's reputation as an instrument maker, see Maria Luisa Righini Bonelli and Albert Van Helden, "Divini and Campani: A Forgotten Chapter in the History of the Accademia del Cimento," *Annali dell'Istituto e Museo di storia della scienza di Firenze* 6 (1981): 3–176.

29. Martinelli and Bellori, *Nota delli Musei*, 24, 28, 30, 42. The most recent study of this important collection is Silvia Danese Squarzina, ed., *La collezione Giustiniani* (Turin: Einaudi, 2003).

30. Janis Bell, Introduction, in Bell and Willett, *Art History in the Age of Bellori*, 6–7, 12.

31. Martinelli and Bellori, *Nota delli Musei*, 30. On the idea of the gallery, see Wolfram Prinz, *Die Entstehung der Galerie in Frankreich und Italien* (Berlin: Mann, 1970); Italian trans., Claudia Cieri Via, ed., *Galleria: Storia e tipologia di uno spazio architettonico* (Modena: Edizioni Panini, 1988).

32. Giulio Mancini, *Considerazioni sulla pittura*, ed. Adriana Marucchi, 2 vols. (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1956). This modern edition includes his *Viaggio di Roma per vedere le pitture*. On Mancini, see Frances Gage, "Exercise for Mind and Body: Giulio Mancini, Collecting, and the Beholding of Landscape Painting in the Seventeenth Century," *Renaissance Quarterly* 61 (2008): 1167–207; and Silvia de' Renzi, "A Career in Manuscripts: Genres and Purposes of a Physician's Writing in Rome, 1600–1630," *Italian Studies* 66 (2011): 234–48.

33. For an overview of the Roman art scene during this period, the best starting point is Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque*, rev. ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1980); and Patrizia Cavazzini, *Painting as a Business in Early Seventeenth-Century Rome* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008); and most recently Richard Spears, Philipp Sohm, et al., *Painting for Profit: The Economic Lives of Seventeenth-Century Italian Painters* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), especially the sections dealing with Rome by contributors such as Spears and Ago.

34. Martinelli and Bellori, *Nota delli Musei*, 48.

35. Ibid., 7–8.

36. Ibid., 48.

37. On Christina as a collector, see Enzo Borsellino, "Cristina di Svezia collezionista," *Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte* 54 (1994): 4–16; and Tomaso Montanari, "La dispersion delle collezioni di Cristina di Svezia: Gli Azzolino, gli Ottoboni e gli Odescalchi," *Storia dell'arte* 90 (1997): 250–99.

38. Martinelli and Bellori, *Nota delli Musei*, 11 (quote), 66.

39. *Ritratto di tutti quelli che vanno vendendo per Roma* (ca. 1600), as described in Peter Partner, *Renaissance Rome, 1500–1559: A Portrait of a Society* (Berkeley: University

of California Press, 1976), 89. See also Ambrogio Brambilla's engraving, *Ritratto di quelli che vano et lavorando per Roma con la nova agionta de tutti quelli che nele altre mancavano sin al presente* (Rome, 1582), reproduced in D'Onofrio, *Roma nel Seicento*, 290–91, which also includes Martinelli's description of all the locations in which goods were sold each week.

40. Eugenio Sonnino, "The Population in Baroque Rome," in *Rome—Amsterdam: Two Growing Cities in Seventeenth-Century Europe*, ed. Peter van Kessel and Elisja Schultz (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1997), 50–70, esp. 53. For slight variations in these numbers, see Laurie Nussdorfer, *Civic Politics in the Rome of Urban VIII* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 27.

41. Krautheimer, *The Rome of Alexander VII, 1655–57*, 13.

42. Paolo Malanima, "Measuring the Italian Economy, 1300–1861," *Rivista di storia economica* 19 (2003): 265–95.

43. Renata Ago, *Carriere e clientele nella Roma barocca* (Rome: Laterza, 1990). See also Maria Antonietta Visceglia, *La nobiltà romana in età moderna: Profili istituzionali e pratiche sociali* (Rome: Carrocci, 2001); and Caroline Castiglione, *Patrons and Adversaries: Nobles and Villagers in Italian Politics, 1640–1760* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

44. Andrea Spetiale, *Historia nuova, et piacevole dove si racconta tutte le cose, che si vanno vendendo ogni giorno da gli artigiani per Roma* (Rome, 1629), 2v. This text is cited by Partner, *Renaissance Rome*, 88, and quoted in San Juan, *Rome*, 152, 285n47. It can also be translated as "disposes" or "gets rid of stuff," but given the function of Piazza Giudea as a secondhand market, I have preferred the more specific meaning.

45. San Juan, *Rome*, 146–49, 153–54.

46. Thomas V. Cohen and Elizabeth S. Cohen, eds. and trans., *Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome: Trials before the Papal Magistrates* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 39, 40, 170, 176.

47. Renata Ago, *Economia barocca: Mercato e istituzioni nella Roma del Seicento* (Rome: Donzelli, 1998), 6.

48. Partner, *Renaissance Rome*, 89; see also Nussdorfer, *Civic Politics in the Rome of Urban VIII*, 28. On the fascinating story of Sixtus V's vision of repurposing the Colosseum in order to create a late Renaissance industrial manufacturing complex that would employ Rome's poor, see Luca Molà, "States and Crafts: Relocating Technical Skills in Renaissance Italy," in *The Material Renaissance*, ed. Michelle O' Malley and Evelyn Welch (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 142.

49. Giacomo Lauro, *Antiquae urbis splendor* (Rome, 1612–18). See Nussdorfer, *Civic Politics in the Rome of Urban VIII*, 8, 120–21, 124.

50. Patricia Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces: Use and the Art of the Plan* (New York and Cambridge, MA: The Architectural History Foundation and MIT Press, 1990), 8. The details in this section are taken entirely from this excellent study, which focuses especially on Palazzo Barberini with several other points of comparison.

51. Ibid., 308. I have extrapolated from Waddy's description of Cardinal Flavio Chigi's bedroom and study.

52. Ibid., 12; Raffaella Sarti, *Europe at Home: Family and Material Culture, 1500–1800*, trans. Allan Cameron (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002), 110.

53. Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces*, 36–40 (quote on 39–40).

54. Ibid., 29–30.

55. A prie-dieu is a prayer desk that might be simply a padded chair in which to kneel or a full-fledged wooden desk that could contain a few books, devotional images, and small religious objects such as Agnus Dei.

56. Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces*, 43. The contrast with the well-appointed lifestyle of his employer is apparent in Volker Reinhardt, *Kardinal Scipione Borghese (1605–1633): Vermögen, Finanzen und sozialer Aufstieg eines Papstnepoten* (Tübingen: Martin Niemeyer, 1984).

57. Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism 15th–18th Century*, 3 vols., trans. Siân Reynolds (New York: Harper and Row, 1981–84).

58. A good starting point into this considerable literature includes: Richard Goldthwaite, "The Empire of Things: Consumer Demand in Renaissance Italy," in *Patronage, Art, and Society in Renaissance Italy*, ed. F. W. Kent and Patricia Simons (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 155–75; Chandra Mukerji, *From Graven Images: Patterns in Modern Materialism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983); Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance* (London: Macmillan, 1996); Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1987); Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982); and John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds., *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: Routledge, 1993).

59. The fundamental starting point for understanding this approach to material culture is Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). Among recent historical studies that have taken this approach to aspects of the early modern economy, see Richard A. Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300–1600* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); Keith Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000); and especially Jan de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

60. A fundamental point of departure for this subject is John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds., *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: Routledge, 1993); and Lisa Jardine,

Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance (New York: Doubleday, 1996). More recent work includes Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford, eds., *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe, 1650–1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press,1999); Woodruff D. Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600–1800* (New York: Routledge, 2002); Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); and Marcello Carmagnani, *Le isole del lusso: Prodotti esotici, nuovi consumi e cultura economica europea, 1650–1800* (Turin: UTET libreria, 2010).

61. Daniel Roche, *A History of Everyday Things: The Birth of Consumption in France, 1600–1800*, trans. Brian Pearce (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); and idem, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the Ancien Régime*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

62. Daniel Roche, *The People of Paris: An Essay in Popular Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, trans. Marie Evans with Gwynne Lewis (Leamington Spa, UK: Berg, 1987); and Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behavior and Material Culture in England, 1660–1760*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 1996), esp. 201–7. See also such works as Lena Cowen Orlin, ed., *Material London, ca. 1600* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000).

63. Richard Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence: An Economic and Social History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982); idem, *Wealth and the Demand for Art*; Patricia Fortini Brown, *Private Lives in Renaissance Venice: Art, Architecture, and Family* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004); O'Malley and Welch, *The Material Renaissance*; and Evelyn Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance: Consumer Cultures in Italy, 1400–1600* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009). For a relevant critique of recent work on Italian Renaissance material culture, see Samuel Cohn, "Renaissance Attachment to Things: Material Culture in Last Wills and Testaments," *Economic History Review* (2011): 1–22.

64. The classic starting point for this subject is Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby, eds., *A History of Private Life*, vol. 3, *Passions of the Renaissance*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1989). For recent case studies, see Marta Ajmar-Wollheim and Flora Dennis, eds., *At Home in Renaissance Italy* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2006); Annick Pardailhé-Galabrun, *La naissance de l'intime: 3000 foyers parisiens, XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1988); Sarti, *Europe at Home*; and Amanda Vickery's *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009).

65. Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities: Paris and Venice, 1500–1800*, trans. Elizabeth Wiles-Portier (London: Polity Press, 1990). See also Paula Findlen, "Possessing the Past: The Material World of the Italian Renaissance," *American Historical Review* 103 (1998): 83–114.

66. Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, eds., *Everyday Things: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and Its Meanings* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Press, 2010). For an interesting experiment in looking at those rare everyday objects that end up in museums, see Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *The Age of Homespun: Objects and Stories in the Creation of American Myth* (New York: Knopf, 2001). See also Roberta J. M. Olson, Patricia L. Reilly, and Rupert Shepherds, eds., *The Biography of the Object in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006).

67. For a fascinating discussion of the outer limits of this world, see Duccio Balestracci, *The Renaissance in the Fields: Family Memoirs of a Fifteenth-Century Tuscan Peasant*, trans. Paolo Squatriti and Betsy Merideth (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999).

68. Victoria de Grazia, ed., with Ellen Furlough, *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

69. Roche, *People of Paris*, 126.

70. Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise: A Social History of Spices, Stimulants, and Intoxicants*, trans. David Jacobson (New York: Pantheon, 1992); and Piero Camporesi, *Exotic Brew: The Art of Living in the Age of Enlightenment*, trans. Christopher Woodall (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994). More recent studies include Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005); and Marcy Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Atlantic World* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008).

71. Anne E. C. McCants, "Exotic Goods, Popular Consumption, and the Standard of Living: Thinking about Globalization in the Early Modern World," *Journal of World History* 18 (2007): 433–62; idem, "Poor Consumers as Global Consumers: The Diffusion of Tea and Coffee Drinking in the Eighteenth Century," *Economic History Review* 61, S1 (2008): 172–200; Roche, *Culture of Clothing*; and Giorgio Riello and Prasannan Parthasarathi, eds., *The Spinning World: A Global History of Cotton Textiles, 1200–1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Introduction

1. Jean Baudrillard, *La société de consommation: Ses mythes, ses structures* (Paris: Gallimard, 1974); Mary Douglas and Baron C. S. Isherwood, *The World of Goods* (New York: Basic Books, 1979); Alan Aldridge, *Consumption* (Cambridge: Polity, 2003); Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984); James Clifford, "On Collecting Art and Culture," in *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988); Angus Deaton, *Understanding Consumption* (New York: Clarendon, 1992); Colin Campbell, "Capitalism, Consumption

and the Problem of Motives," in *Consumption and Identity,* ed. Jonathan Friedman (New York: Routledge, 1994); Daniel Miller, *Acknowledging Consumption: A Review of New Studies* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Daniel Miller, *Consumption: Critical Concepts in the Social Sciences* (New York: Routledge, 2001).

2. Daniel Roche, *The People of Paris: An Essay in Popular Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); and especially Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the "Ancien Régime,"* trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

3. Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Europa Publications, 1982); John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds., *Consumption and the World of Goods* (New York: Routledge, 1993); Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Vintage Books, 1997); Sara Pennell, "Consumption and Consumerism in Early Modern England," *Historical Journal* 42, no. 2 (1999): 549–64; Peter N. Stearns, *Consumerism in World History: The Global Transformation of Desire* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001).

4. Amanda Vickery, "Women and the World of Goods: A Lancashire Consumer and Her Possessions," in Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 74–104.

5. Annik Pardailhé-Galabrun, *La naissance de l'intime: 3000 foyers parisiens aux XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1988).

6. Neil McKendrick, "Home Demand and Economic Growth: A New View of the Role of Women and Children in the Industrial Revolution," in *Historical Perspectives: Studies in English Thought and Society in Honor of J. H. Plumb*, ed. Neil McKendrick (London: Europa Publications, 1974), 152–210; McKendrick, Brewer, and Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*; Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1600–1760* (London: Routledge, 1988); Lorna Weatherill, "The Meaning of Consumer Behaviour in Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth-Century England," in Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 206–27.

7. On this subject see also Dominique Poulot, "Une nouvelle histoire de la culture materielle?" *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* 44, no. 2 (1997): 344–57, who discusses the conceptual difficulties apparent in a series of French and Anglo-American studies on consumers.

8. Douglas and Isherwood, *The World of Goods*.

9. Georg Simmel, *On Individuality and Social Forms; Selected Writings* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971); Daniel Miller, *Material Culture and Mass Consumption* (New York: Blackwell, 1987); Daniel Miller, *A Theory of Shopping* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998).

10. See the contracts archived in ASR, TN, uff. 5, vol. 107, cc. 131, 133, 135, all from January 11, 1626.

11. Krzysztof Pomian, "The Collection: Between the Visible and the Invisible," in *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, ed. Susan M. Pearce (New York: Routledge, 1994).

12. Krzysztof Pomian, "Collezione," in *Enciclopedia* (Turin: Einaudi, 1978), 1:330–64.

13. Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 64–94.

14. Jane Schneider, "Trousseau as Treasure: Some Contradictions of Late Nineteenth-Century Change in Sicily," in *Beyond the Myths of Culture: Essays in Cultural Materialism*, ed. Eric B. Ross (New York: Academic Press, 1980); Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985); Annette B. Weiner and Jane Schneider, *Cloth and Human Experience*, Smithsonian Series in Ethnographic Inquiry (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989).

15. Annette B. Weiner, *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping-While-Giving* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 26.

16. Martha C. Howell, "Fixing Movables: Gifts by Testament in Late Medieval Douai," *Past and Present* 150 (1996): 3–45.

17. On the concept of the "sentimental society" see Campbell, "Capitalism, Consumption and the Problem of Motives."

18. Weiner, *Inalienable Possessions*, 33.

19. Ibid., 7.

20. Ibid., 10.

21. Giulio Mancini, *Considerazioni sulla pittura* (Rome: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 1956).

22. On the paradigm of emulation, the obligatory reference is naturally to Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Penguin Books, 1994).

23. Apart from Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," see the similarities considered by Pamela H. Smith and Paula Findlen, eds., *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, Science, and Art in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

24. As was happening, for example, for goods acquired on ceremonial occasions and then quickly given back; see Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*.

25. Renata Ago, *Economia barocca: Mercato e istituzioni nella Roma del Seicento*, Saggi (Rome: Donzelli, 1998).

26. Given the lack of more precise data, wealth was measured in terms of household size.

27. Regarding all uses readily available for any type of good, including those of poor quality, see Melanie Tebbutt, *Making Ends Meet: Pawnbroking and Working-Class Credit* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983); Renata Ago, "Di cosa si può fare commercio: Mercato e norme sociali nella Roma barocca," *Quaderni storici* 91 (1996): 113–34; Renata Ago, "Gerarchia delle merci e meccanismi dello scambio a Roma nel primo Seicento," *Quaderni storici* 96 (1997): 663–83; Luciano Allegra, "Come il capitalismo maturo riscoprì la protoindustria e la impose (agli altri)," in *Il genere dell'Europa: Le radici comuni della cultura europea e l'identità di genere*, ed. A. DeClementi (Rome: Biblink, 2003).

28. For the idea that the economic value of a thing should be measured via the resources, which could have been used differently but were sacrificed to acquire this object, see Georg Simmel, *The Philosophy of Money* (New York: Routledge, 1990).

29. For an example among many of such accusations see Pietro Belmonte, *Institutione della sposa del cavalier Pietro Belmonte Ariminese fatta principalmente per Madonna Laudomia sua figliuola nelle sue nuoue nozze* (Rome: Per gl'heredi di Giouanni Osmarino Gigliotto, 1587).

30. In fact, Rome did not have a magistrature, like that of the pupils (*pupilli*) of Florence or that of the orphans of Amsterdam, that kept specific documents related to inheritance. From this point of view, the index or repertory of the notarial acts is generally useless, and relying on chance is still the most efficient solution.

31. While the former are unedited, the latter have in most cases been edited.

32. I use here the term *splendor*, following Pontano's usage, to indicate a noble and honorable domestic wealth aimed at increasing the reputation of the person who possesses it.

Chapter One

1. For recent reviews on consumption and material culture, see Alan Aldridge, *Consumption* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003), Daniel Miller, *Consumption: Critical Concepts in the Social Sciences*, 4 vols. (London: Routledge, 2001), Fred R. Myers, ed., *The Empire of Things: Regimes of Value and Material Culture* (Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, 2001).

2. Krzysztof Pomian, "Collezione," in *Enciclopedia* (Turin: Einaudi, 1978), 1: 330–64.

3. See Jonathan Friedman, *Consumption and Identity* (Chur, Switzerland: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1994); and above all Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 64–94.

4. What Simmel maintained for human beings also applies to goods: the diffusion of money "liberates" from physical ties. Cf. Georg Simmel, *The Philosophy of Money* (New York: Routledge, 1990).

5. Ruggiero Romano and Ugo Tucci, eds., *Economia naturale, economia monetaria*, vol. 6, *Storia d'Italia, Annali* (Turin: Einaudi, 1983), xxvi.

6. Ibid., xxvii.

7. ASR, Cartari Febei, b. 40, July 8, 1684.

8. Romano and Tucci, *Economia naturale, economia monetaria*; and Renata Ago, *Economia barocca: Mercato e istituzioni nella Roma del Seicento* (Rome: Donzelli, 1998), 59; Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (New York: Palgrave, 2001).

9. Ago, *Economia barocca*.

10. Federico Chabod, "Stipendi nominali e busta paga effettiva dei funzionari dell'amministrazione milanese alla fine del Cinquecento," in *Carlo V e il suo impero* (Turin: Einaudi, 1985), 281–450.

11. Jane Schneider, "Trousseau as Treasure: Some Contradictions of Late Nineteenth-Century Change in Sicily," in *Beyond the Myths of Culture: Essays in Cultural Materialism*, ed. Eric B. Ross (New York: Academic Press, 1980); Helen Ward, "Worth Its Weight in Gold: Women and Value in North West India" (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 1997); Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation*, 80; Giulia Calvi and Isabelle Chabot, eds., *Le ricchezze delle donne: Diritti patrimoniali e poteri familiari in Italia (XIII–XIX secc.)* (Turin: Rosenberg and Sellier, 1998). On the role of women in the circulation of goods, see also Marilyn Strathern, *The Gender of the Gift: Problems with Women and Problems with Society in Melanesia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); Marilyn Strathern, *Property, Substance, and Effect: Anthropological Essays on Persons and Things* (London: Athlone Press, 1999).

12. Renata Ago, "Oltre la dote: I beni femminili," in *Il lavoro delle donne*, ed. Angela Groppi (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1996), 164–82; Sandra Cavallo, "Proprietà o possesso? Composizione e controllo dei beni delle donne a Torino (1650–1710)," in *Le ricchezze delle donne*, 187–208.

13. See the case of Dorotea Antolini, pp. 35–36 herein; ASR, Notai RCA, b. 1474, cc. 221f., will of Bernardino Gioj; ibid., b. 1474, cc. 275f, will of Marta de Rossi (1639).

14. Giovanni Gioviano Pontano, *I libri delle virtù sociali*, ed. Francesco Tateo (Rome: Bulzoni, 1999). On the uses of money, also see Tateo's introduction, p. 16.

15. Ibid., 18.

16. Ibid., 231.

17. ASR, TN, uff. 28, Wills, vol. 2, cc. 63f.

18. Some examples of bequests that called for the liquidation of furniture, silver, and other goods are found in ASR, TN, uff. 28, Testamenti, vol. 2, cc. 63, 790, 916; ASR, Notai RCA, b. 1474, cc. 6, 7, 23, 221, 266; ibid., b. 854, c. 849.

19. ASR, Giustiniani, b. 132, cc. 29–31.

20. On the role of time in creating a symbolic link between an object and its owner, see Daniel Miller, *A Theory of Shopping* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998), 171–72.

21. ASR, Giustiniani, b. 132, cc. 30–31. Giustiniani was not the only one to withhold part of his goods from sale. The lawyer Camillo Moretti ordered everything to be sold except his "books of the humanities," which his nephew might use (see ASR, Notai RCA, b. 1474, c. 6, 1597).

22. ASR, Santacroce, b. 969 and b. 747, f. 3.

23. Ibid.

24. Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome, ms. 5054, *Lettere di Girolama Naro Santacroce al figlio Scipione*. In reality he was in exile because of a duel, but this did not prevent his full participation in court life or cause the disgrace of his family in Rome.

25. Despite their power and riches, even the Colonna family did not disdain pawning their jewelry, tapestries, silver, and other goods to obtain hard currency. See Natalia Gozzano, *La quadreria di Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna: Prestigio nobiliare e collezionismo nella Roma barocca* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2004), especially 152–55.

26. Pontano, *I libri delle virtù sociali,* 239.

27. ASR, Cartari Febei, b. 22, November 1, 1633.

28. Ibid., January 17, 1634.

29. Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the "Ancien Régime,"* trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Patricia Allerston, "Clothing and Early Modern Venetian Society," *Continuity and Change* 15, no. 3 (2000): 367–90; Patricia Allerston, "The Market in Second Hand Cloths and Furnishings in Venice, c. 1500–1650" (PhD diss., European University Institute, 1996); Ago, "Gerarchia delle merci e meccanismi dello scambio a Roma nel primo Seicento," *Quaderni storici* 96 (1997): 663–83; Beverly Lemire, "Second-Hand Beaux and "Red-Armed Belles": Conflict and the Creation of Fashions in England, c. 1600–1800," *Continuity and Change* 15, no. 3 (2000): 391–417; Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli, *Guardaroba medievale: Vesti e società dal XIII al XVI secolo* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1999).

30. See, for instance, Ludovico Santolino's inventory of goods, drawn up by the secondhand clothes dealer Simone dell'Arpa, who afterward acquired them en masse (cf. chapter four, note 49 herein).

31. ASR, Giustiniani, b. 21, fasc. 2, October 13, 1659.

32. ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 775, conto n. 16, 1681.

33. Luciano Allegra, "Come il capitalismo maturo riscoprì la protoindustria e la impose (agli altri)," in *Il genere dell'Europa: Le radici communi della cultura europea e l'identità di genere*, ed. Andreina De Clementi (Rome: Biblink, 2003).

34. ASR, Santacroce, mandati nn. 174, 193, 207, 208 in 1702 and 35 in 1703.

35. ASR, Cartari Febei, b. 22, December 6, 1633.

36. Ibid., December 13, 1633.

37. Ibid., December 20, 1633.

38. Ibid., February 1634.

39. The mother had written: "I have already made the fur coat for Father Gregorio and I spent two scudi on it, and now it is necessary to send money as payment to our agent Facchini, otherwise he won't do anything for us" (ASR, Cartari Febei, b. 22, December 6, 1633).

40. ASR, Cartari Febei, b. 22, December 10, 1633.

41. Cesare Evitascandali, *Dialogo del maestro di casa* (Roma: Vullietti, 1603), 81, cited also by Gozzano, *La quadreria di Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna*, 158.

42. ASR, Sforza Cesarini, b. 249, Register of Payments, 1689.

43. ASR, Santacroce, b. 747, n. 164 of 1702.

44. ASR, Cartari Febei, b. 22, 20 and 27 of June 1634.

45. Ibid., October 29, 1633.

46. Ibid., December 24, 1633.

47. Ibid., November 12, 1633.

48. The original reads *19 hore* (19 hours). Since Italian hours began the day at a half hour after sunset, on May 6, 1593, the sun set at 7:13 p.m., making this just before 4 p.m. (PF).

49. ASR, S. Giacomo, b. 172, fasc. 10 (Fabiani).

50. ASR, S. Giacomo, b. 172, fasc. 8 (Gavotti). In 1657 Maria Veralli gave Venetian wax and fine sugar to the lawyers who were dealing with one of her cases (see ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 1002).

51. Cited by Donatella Livia Sparti, *Le collezioni Dal Pozzo: Storia di una famiglia e del suo museo nella Roma seicentesca* (Florence: Panini, 1998), 169, December 13, 1642.

52. Ibid., February 1702, March 1702, July 1702, March 1704, and May 1703. Even melons were a sought-after food: in an account book they appear as an exceptional expense for the Feast of the Assumption (see ASR, Santacroce, b. 713, August 1552).

53. Ibid., March 1702 and March 1704.

54. ASR, Cartari Febei, b. 40.

55. Ibid., b. 22, February 14, 1634.

56. Ibid., b. 22, August 8, 1634.

57. Pomian, "Collezione."

58. Maura Piccialuti Caprioli, *L'immortalità dei beni: Fedecommessi e primogeniture a Roma nei secoli XVII e XVIII* (Rome: Viella, 1999).

59. Fynes Moryson, *An itinerary written by Fynes Moryson Gent. [. . .] containing his ten yeeres trauell through the twelue dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Jtaly, Turky, France, England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London: John Beale, 1617), 1:93. Quoted by Richard A. Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300–1600* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 242.

60. Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy.*

61. In ibid., 217.

62. From the Palazzo Venezia to the Palazzo Farnese, the bibliography on the great Roman palazzos of the Renaissance is very rich. For a recent synthesis see Maria Letizia Gualandi, "Fervore edilizio, trasformazioni urbanistiche e realizzazioni monumentali da Martino V Colonna a Paolo V Borghese," in *Roma del Rinascimento*, ed. Antonio Pinelli (Rome: Laterza, 2001), 123–60.

63. Maria Luisa Madonna and Mario Bevilacqua, "The Roman Families in Urban Development," in *Rome and Amsterdam: Two Growing Cities in Seventeenth-Century Europe*, ed. Peter van Kessel and Elisja Schulte van Kessel (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1997), 104–23.

64. Ibid., 118–19.

65. Ibid., 120.

66. Mario Bevilacqua, *Il Monte dei Cenci: Una famiglia romana e il suo insediamento urbano tra Medioevo ed età barocca* (Rome: Gangemi, 1988), 78.

67. Benedetta Borello, "Du patriciat urbain à la Chaire de Saint Pierre: Les Pamphilj du XVe au XVIIIe siècle" (PhD thesis, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales [Paris], 2000).

68. Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy*, 168–69; Bevilacqua, *Il Monte dei Cenci*, 76–78. On the "obsession" of Filippo Strozzi, who in his testament devoted page after page to a minute assessment of all the genealogical possibilities that could have led to a similar catastrophe—namely, the loss of the family palazzo, see Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy*, 233.

69. ASR, Notai RCA, c. 274, 1638.

70. Ibid., c. 206, 1606.

71. Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 293. Identical concepts are found in the wills of Ulisse Aldrovandi (1603) and Alfonso Donnino (1651).

72. Rodolfo Amedeo Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma e notizie intorno le collezioni romane di antichità* (Bologna: A. Forni, 1975), 83.

73. Christoph Luitpold Frommel, "Caravaggios Früwerk und der Kardinal Francesco Maria del Monte," *Storia dell'arte* 9–10 (1971): 5–52; Zygmunt Wazbinski, *Il cardinale Francesco Maria del Monte, 1549–1626*, 2 vols. (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1994).

74. ASR, Giustiniani, b. 132, c. 30.

75. ASR, Cartari, b. 22, November 1, 1633.

76. Ibid., March 21, 1634.

77. Ibid., March 25, 1634.

78. Ibid., March 27, 1634.

79. Ibid., April 4, 1634.

80. Ibid., April 18, 1634.

81. Ibid., May 25, 1634.

82. Ibid., December 18, 1633.

83. Ibid., February 14, 1634.

84. ASR, Misc. famiglie, b. 61, fasc. 6.

85. Leon Battista Alberti and others often used the adjective "massaio" and the noun "masserizia" to indicate "concern and care for things." See Leon Battista Alberti, *I libri della famiglia*, ed. Ruggiero Romano, Alberto Tenenti, and Francesco Furlan (Turin: Einaudi, 1994).

86. Martha C. Howell, "Fixing Movables: Gifts by Testament in Late Medieval Douai," *Past and Present* 150 (1996): 3–45.

87. ASR, S.ma Annunziata, b. 44, cc. 277–78 (italics mine).

88. ASR, Notai RCA, b. 1474, cc. 262f., will of Francesco Raimondo, 1634; ibid. cc. 275f., will of Marta de Rossi, 1639. For other examples of bequeathed objects see ibid., cc. 6f., cc. 80f., cc. 201f., and cc. 329f. See also Howell, "Fixing Movables."

89. "Movables must be acquired by a splendid man for honest uses, so that he can avail himself of them when necessary and also, when reason so counsels, give them away, sometimes in great quantities." Pontano, *I libri delle virtù sociali*, 231.

90. ASR, Santacroce, b. 286, October and November 1702; ASR, Santacroce, b. 747, gifts, 1703.

91. ASR, Notai AC, vol. 4772, cc. 32f., 1667.

92. Letter of October 2, 1627, cited in Sparti, *Le collezioni Dal Pozzo*, 173.

93. ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 827, cc. 7, 9, 10, 13, 17, 33.

94. Ibid., cc. 7 and 9.

95. ASR, Cartari, b. 33, August 31, 1672.

96. Ibid., August 6, 1672.

97. ASR, Misc. famiglie, b. 61, fasc. 6.

98. ASR, S. Girolamo della Carità, b. 4.

99. Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, "The Griselda Complex: Dowry and Marriage Gifts in the Quattrocento," in *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 213–46.

100. That the commercial value of objects created a favorable climate for the development of a different attitude toward them is argued by Smith and Findlen, *Merchants and Marvels.*

Chapter Two

1. ASR, S. Giacomo, b. 183. On family record books in Italy, see Angelo Cicchetti and Raul Mordenti, *I libri di famiglia in Italia* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1985).

2. ASR, Cartari Febei, b. 40, f. 1.

3. ASR, Santacroce, b. 514.

4. ASR, S.ma Annunziata, b. 150, 1616.

5. Monsignor Giovan Battista Gavotti always had his household steward keep the account books, although he reviewed them himself (ASR, S. Giacomo, b. 172, 1628–31).

6. ASR, Santacroce, b. 524, 1647–53.

7. ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 1002, years 1651–63. An old inventory defines them as ledgers, but in reality they were journals of income and expenditure. They contained all the receipts and expenses in which the marquise was involved on a daily basis, with income written on the left side of the page and expenditures on the right side.

8. The first is in ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 756, 1662.

9. ASR, Cartari Febei, b. 40, July 30, 1647.

10. ASR, Notai AC, b. 945, cc. 37f., 1700.

11. ASR, Santacroce, b. 713, 1551.

12. For some examples see ASR, TN, uff. 28, vol. 142, cc. 51f., February 7, 1628; ibid., uff. 25, vol. 101, cc. 499f., August 21, 1625; ASR, Notai AC, vol. 2204, cc. 565f., 1645.

13. See the expense book of Monsignor Gavotti in ASR, S. Giacomo, b. 172.

14. Virgilio Spada divided his notebook into six distinct, highly ordered parts, such as the expenses for the Spada family of Rome, his "relatives, the Fantuzzi," his "own upkeep," the Spada of Faenza, etc. He concluded with a few pages of general summary (see ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 827).

15. ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 827, c. 30.

16. On economic treatises and the duties of the paterfamilias, see Daniela Frigo, *Il padre di famiglia: Governo della casa e governo civile nella tradizione dell'Economica tra Cinque e Seicento* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1985).

17. Ibid.

18. ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 1002, 1657.

19. Ibid., 1658.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid., 1659.

22. The documents record a taffeta hood from England in 1659, a feather beret in 1660, and a robe of silver leaf in 1661 for one girl. For the other, a shawl embroidered with gold and a matching outer girdle in 1657 and a collar of white lace and a dress of quilted fabric in 1660. See ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 1002.

23. Young chickens, pigs, pigeons, eggs, and sausage on various occasions. See ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 1002.

24. See ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 1002.

25. ASR, Spada, b. 756, n. 15, 1663; ibid., n. 46, 1663.

26. Ibid., n. 30, 1663; ibid., n. 20, 1663; ibid., nn. 20 and 50, 1663.

27. ASR, Spada, b. 794, c. 3.

28. ASR, Spada, b. 801.

29. ASR, Spada, b. 794, January, April, May, and July 1667; August, February, April, June, July, and August 1668.

30. Ibid., December 1667.

31. Ibid., January, May, and December 1668; January and February 1669.

32. Ibid., July 1669.

33. ASR, Spada, b. 801, September 1670: 1.50 scudi for "stuff bought from the milliner who came to the Castle to give [the purchased merchandise] to those women."

34. Ibid., November 1668; February, June, July, October 1669; October 1670; January, July, August, December 1671; May 1672, etc.

35. That is, like a tapestry. See Luigi Grassi, Marco Pepe, and Giancarlo Sestieri, *Dizionario di antiquariato: Dizionario storico-critico di Arte e Antiquariato dall'antichità all'inizio del Novecento* (Turin: UTET, 1989).

36. ASR, Santacroce, b. 969, March, September, and December 1700; May 1701.

37. Ibid., November and December 1700, October 1701, January and May 1702; March 1703.

38. Ibid., February, October, and November 1700.

39. We do not know their titles because the first two inventories mention only "twenty-four different books" and "one devotional to the Virgin Mary," and the final one only speaks generically of "thirty books" and "three devotionals."

40. The sources offer at least one more case in which the monetary part of a dowry was restituted in kind: the will of the merchant Bernardino Gioj (1632), which ordered the restitution of 300 scudi in the form of jewelry, silverware, and "stuff from the shop." See ASR, Notai RCA, b. 1474, cc. 221f.

41. Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, "Un salario o l'onore: Come valutare le donne fiorentine del XIV–XV secolo," *Quaderni storici* 79 (1992): 41–49.

42. The sample consisted of seventy-six inventories—not only postmortem but also dowry and others—chosen at random, provided that the testators were members of the middling classes (they did not come from the titled nobility).

43. Paolo Malanima, *I Riccardi di Firenze: Una famiglia e un patrimonio nella Toscana dei Medici* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1977); Carole Shammas, *The Pre-Industrial Consumer in England and America* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990); Maria Antonietta Visceglia, "I consumi in Italia in età moderna," in *Storia dell'economia italiana*, vol. 2, *L'età moderna: Verso la crisi*, ed. Ruggiero Romano (Turin: Einaudi, 1991), esp. 212–15.

44. See Malanima, *I Riccardi di Firenze*, 159, table XVIII. On the Odescalchi family, see Giuseppe Mira, *Vicende economiche di una famiglia italiana dal XIV al XVII secolo*

(Milan: Società editrice "Vita e pensiero," 1940). On the expenditures of noble households in general, see Valeria Pinchera, *Lusso e decoro: Vita quotidiana e spese dei Salviati di Firenze nel Sei e Settecento* (Pisa: Scuola normale superiore, 1999).

45. ASR, TN, uff. 5, Testamenti 1645, cc. 15f.

46. ASR, Notai RCA, b. 1474, cc. 6f e cc. 201f.

47. See, for instance, the will of Serafina Mancini, who left "her best garment to her cousin." ASR, Notai RCA, b. 1474, cc. 329f.

48. ASR, Notai AC, Testamenti e donazioni, b. 4, 1641. For Dorotea Antolini, see pp. 35–36 herein.

49. Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma.*

50. ASR, Notai RCA, b. 854, cc. 849, will of Gian Girolamo Spinola, 1622; ASR, TN, uff. 28, Testamenti, vol. 2, cc. 63f, will of Attilio Casini, 1623; ASR, Notai RCA, b. 1474, cc. 7f, will of Vincenzo Panziroli, 1598.

51. Ibid., cc. 790f., will of Alessandro Cataneo, 1602; ibid., cc. 916f., will of Giovanni Maria Benaglia, 1629; ASR, Notai RCA, b. 1474, cc. 6f., will of Camillo Moretti; ibid., cc. 23f., will of Virginia Bardi, 1604; ibid., cc. 266f., will of Sofonisba Ciaroni, 1635; ASR, Notai RCA, b. 1029, cc. 301f., will of Alessandra Pelliccia, 1648. On "becoming Roman," see ASR, Notai RCA, b. 1474, cc. 221f., will of Bernardino Gioj, 1632.

52. Fideicommisary agreements emerged with increasing frequency in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Italy, inspired by Roman law. They offered a version of entail, creating an inalienable trust, often in perpetuity, out of the most precious aspects of a family patrimony (PF).

53. Leon Battista Alberti, *I libri della famiglia*, ed. Ruggiero Romano, Alberto Tenenti, and Francesco Furlan (Turin: Einaudi, 1994). Book 2, *De re uxoria,* 86f. Elsewhere, when he spoke about "unnecessary" but still honorable expenses, he cited only "beautiful books and noble horses" (ibid., 224). Even Giovanni Pontano spoke only about vases, drapes, flatware, and "similar things." Pontano, *I libri delle virtù sociali*, 229.

54. Sabba da Castiglione, *Ricordi overo ammaestramenti di monsig: Sabba Castiglione, caualier gerosolimitano; ne i quali con prudenti, e christiani discorsi si ragiona di tutte le materie honorate, che si ricercano a un vero gentil'huomo* (Venice: Griffio, 1575), 160–67.

55. Alberti, *I libri della famiglia.*

56. Ibid., 263.

57. Ibid., 218.

58. Ago defines this distinction more vividly as *beni del corpo* (corporeal things) and *beni dello spirito* (goods for the soul), but since "spiritual" in English has a more specific meaning than the idea of "goods for the soul" in Italian, we have preferred a less literal translation.

1. Keep in mind that half of the female inventories were for dowries and unsurprisingly did not mention rooms. Another ten lists were only partial and explicitly did not catalog all the property of the testator, but only some goods. If one excludes these two "anomalous" categories, a majority of inventories (71.4 percent) were detailed by room.

2. This arrangement was still widely prevalent in Paris (see Annik Pardailhé-Galabrun, *La naissance de l'intime: 3000 foyers parisiens aux XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1988); more generally, on the use of space and specialization of room functions, see Giorgio Simoncini, *L'uso dello spazio privato nell'età dell'Illuminismo* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1995) and Raffaella Sarti, *Vita di casa: Abitare, mangiare, vestire nell'Europa moderna* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1990).

3. Peter Thornton, *The Italian Renaissance Interior, 1400–1600* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1991), 300.

4. Sebastiano Serlio, *I sette libri dell'architettura* (Forni: Sala Bolognese, 1987), published in Venice between 1537 and 1575; and Vincenzo Scamozzi, *Dell'idea dell'architettura universale* (Forni: Sala Bolognese, 1982), published in Venice in 1615.

5. See the Marquis Giustiniani's private apartment, pp. 83–88, or that of the Marquise Maria Isabella Vecchiarelli Santacroce, pp. 90–91 herein.

6. At the theoretical level, Francesco di Giorgio Martini was the first to have discussed the "distribution of rooms" in his *Trattato di architettura*, which was composed around 1480. But apparently he did not resolve all the problems, since much later texts such as Scamozzi's *L'idea dell'architettura* continued to discuss the issue. See Thornton, *Italian Renaissance Interior*, 284.

7. See the study on Amsterdam by John Loughman and John Michael Montias, *Public and Private Spaces: Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Houses* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2000).

8. See, for instance, the engravings of Abraham Bosse.

9. On the other hand, inhabitants of Paris and Amsterdam did not begin to draw this distinction until the second half of the century. See Pardailhé-Galabrun, *La naissance de l'intime*, and Loughman and Montias, *Public and Private Spaces: Works of Art in Seventeenth-century Dutch Houses*. Cf. Ursula Priestly and P. J. Corfield, "Rooms and Room Use in Norwich Housing, 1530–1730," *Post-Medieval Archeology* 16 (1982): 92–123.

10. This was not the case in Paris, where chairs were found largely in bedrooms. This is a sign that entertaining took place in the bedroom. See Daniel Roche, *The People of Paris: An Essay in Popular Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

11. Pardailhé-Galabrun, *La naissance de l'intime*; Daniel Roche, *A History of Everyday Things: The Birth of Consumption in France, 1600–1800* (New York: Cambridge University

Press, 2000); Anne Montenach, "Une économie de l'infime: Espaces et pratique du commerce alimentaire à Lyons au XVIIe siècle" (PhD thesis, European University Institute, 2003).

12. Raspantini, Francesco, ASR, Notai AC, vol. 4772, cc. 32f., January 18, 1667, inheritance.

13. On furniture in general, see Goffredo Lizzani, *Il mobile romano* (Milan: Görlich, 1970); Alvar González-Palacios, *Fasto romano: Dipinti, sculture, arredi dai palazzi di Roma* (Rome: Leonardo-DeLuca, 1991); Thornton, *Italian Renaissance Interior*; Alvar González-Palacios, *I mobili italiani* (Milan: Electa, 1997); Alvar González-Palacios, *Arredi e ornamenti alla corte di Roma: 1560–1795* (Milan: Electa, 2004).

14. Pardailhé-Galabrun, *La naissance de l'intime*.

15. On the material culture of childhood, see Karin Lee Fishbeck Calvert, *Children in the House: The Material Culture of Early Childhood, 1600–1900* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992).

16. Raspantini, Francesco, ASR, Notai AC, vol. 4772, cc. 32f., January 18, 1667, inheritance.

17. Marozzi, Teresa, ASR, Notai AC, vol. 945, cc. 441f., February 22, 1700, dowry.

18. Rotoli, Giovanni, ASR, TN, uff. 28, vol. 142, cc. 510f., February 7, 1628, inheritance.

19. On the importance of portraits, see chapter six.

20. ASR, Santacroce, b. 747, fasc. 1, conto n. 12, 1702.

21. Ibid., conto n. 83, 1702.

22. Ibid., fasc. 2, conto n. 157, 1703.

23. Ibid., fasc. 3, conto n. 76, 1704.

24. Giunti, Ippolito, ASR, Notai AC, vol. 2095, cc. 139f., 1645.

25. Lirighetti, Nicola, Francesco e Antonio, ASR, Notai AC, vol. 766, cc. 484f., 1648, judicial; and Rosati, Santa, ASR, Notai AC, vol. 945, cc. 365f., January 28, 1700, sale.

26. Venturola, Ippolita, AC, AGU, sez. VII, vol. 2, cc. 225f., June 9, 1626, inheritance.

27. On silverware as gifts, see pp. 172–73 herein.

28. Taglina, Portia, AC, AGU, sez. XLVI, vol. 17, April 21, 1666, inheritance.

29. Giunti, Ippolito, ASR, Notai AC, vol. 2095, cc. 139f., 1645, inheritance; Piantarella, Barolomeo, ASR, Notai AC, vol. 2204, cc. 554f., 1645, inheritance.

30. De Litteris, Maria, ASR, Notai AC, vol. 4772, cc. 694f., March 9, 1667, inheritance.

31. Vittori, Pietro Antonio, ASR, Notai AC, vol. 4772, cc. 324f., February 22, 1667, rent. For a comparison with other rented homes some decades later, see Paolo Coen, "Vendere e affittare quadri: Giuseppe Sardi, capomastro muratore e mercante d'arte (Roma XVIII secolo)," *Quaderni storici* 116 (2004): 421–48.

32. Tinelli, Alessandro, ASR, TN, uff. 5, vol. 172, cc. 173f., 1645, inheritance. This

seems to have been the most widespread organization for apartments in seventeenth-century Paris. See Pardailhé-Galabrun, *La naissance de l'intime*.

33. Betti, Marghertia, ASR, S. Girolamo della Carità, b. 4, cc. 25f., 1669, inheritance; Raspantini, Francesco, ASR, Notai AC, vol. 4772, cc. 32f., January 18, 1667, inheritance.

34. Negrelli, Francesco, ASR, TN, uff. 28, vol. 142, cc. 71f., January 5, 1638, inheritance; Pari, Nicola, ASR, TN, uff. 5, vol. 258, cc. 11f., April 2, 1667, inheritance.

35. Lirighetti, Nicola, Francesco, and Antonio, ASR, Notai AC, vol. 766, cc. 484f., 1648, judicial.

36. Cangiani, Paolo, ASR, Notai AC, vol. 4772, cc. 413f., March 20, 1667, inheritance.

37. See pp. 139–40 herein.

38. Rotoli, Giovanni, ASR, TN, uff. 28, vol. 142, cc. 510f., February 7, 1628, inheritance.

39. Ugolini, Fabio, ASR, Notai AC, vol. 945, cc. 520f., March 5, 1700, guardianship.

40. On the dwellings of Roman nobles, see Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, *Seventeenth-Century Barberini Documents and Inventories of Art* (New York: New York University Press, 1975); Patricia Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces: Use and the Art of the Plan* (New York: Architectural History Foundation, 1990); Stefanie Walker and Frederick Hammond, *Life and the Arts in the Baroque Palaces of Rome: Ambiente Barocco* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999). On their furnishings see González-Palacios, *Fasto romano*. On the Giustiniani, their collections, and their inventories see Silvia Danesi Squarzina, ed., *La collezione Giustiniani* (Turin: Einaudi, 2003).

41. Although the table as a whole is very clear, in the case of women there is some risk of ambiguity. As I have said, a third of female inventories are dowry inventories. It is thus normal that they dealt primarily with beds and wedding chests while excluding chairs and stools. Nonetheless, the percentages of tables, cupboards, and *stuodioli* were very near those for men, and this seems to reduce the chance of a possible distortion owing to the nature of the documents.

42. On travel literature see Cesare De Seta, *L'Italia del Grand Tour: Da Montaigne a Goethe* (Naples: Electa Napoli, 1992); Cesare De Seta, *Grand Tour: Viaggi narrati e dipinti* (Naples: Electa Napoli, 2001); Antoni Mączak, *Travel in Early Modern Europe*, trans. Ursula Phillips (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995); Attilio Brilli, *Quando viaggiare era un'arte: Il romanzo del grand tour* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1995). On epistolary writing see Amedeo Quondam, *Le "Carte messaggiere": Retorica e modelli di comunicazione epistolare per un indice dei libri di lettere del Cinquecento* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1981); Renata Ago, "Donne, doni e public relations tra le famiglie dell'aristocrazia romana del XVII secolo," in *La donna nell'economia XIII–XVIII secolo*, ed. Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Florence: Le Monnier, 1990), 175–83; Irene Fosi, *All'ombra dei Barberini: Fedeltà e servizio nella Roma barocca* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1997).

43. ASR, Santacroce, b. 86, cc. 45v–46v.

44. ASR, Santacroce, b. 86, cc. 45v–46v.

45. ASR, Santacroce, b. 1122, unnumbered folio (f.n.n).

46. Here too Santacroce was influenced by his travels, in the course of which he visited the curiosity cabinets of illustrious collectors whom he apparently wanted to imitate, at least in appearance (ASR, Santacroce, b. 86, cc. 12v–13r). On the sociability tied to collections see pp. 136–38 and following, herein.

Chapter Four

1. I have excluded from this figure all those cauldrons that were specifically designated "for washing," but probably even those that did not receive any particular designation were usually used for this purpose.

2. On culinary practices and the manner of eating food, see Jean Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari, *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present*, trans. Albert Sonnenfeld (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).

3. One "baking tin" was said to be explicitly for "tarts."

4. On the kinds of kitchen utensils used in other contexts, see Daniel Roche, *The People of Paris: An Essay in Popular Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Flandrin and Montanari, *Food*; Raffaella Sarti, *Vita di casa: Abitare, mangiare, vestire nell'Europa moderna* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1990); Madeleine Ferrières, *Le bien des pauvres: La consommation populaire en Avignon, 1600–1800* (Seyssel, France: Champ Vallon, 2004).

5. In addition, another five women possessed at least a "small tray" which could also be used as a plate.

6. The small value of these objects could have led to their exclusion from the inventories, which are otherwise so detailed as to list even rags and broken flasks. In any case, this proviso would only have been true for wooden spoons, not for knives or even plates.

7. See Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982).

8. This relative poverty of female trousseaus certainly owed to the smaller dimensions of their homes as well. In fact, constructing a table by room rather than by head changes the results in favor of women, as we saw in the case of furniture as well:

Categories of household linen by room (eighty male rooms and fifteen female rooms)

CATEGORY OF LINEN	MEN	WOMEN
Sheets	4.1	8
Pillowcases	1.4	3
Tablecloths	5.4	5.1
Towels	10.3	17.1
Napkins	6.5	5.7
Blankets	1.3	1.7

9. Cartari, b. 40, unnumbered sheet, "Inventario dell'acconcio, che Maria Verginia mia figlia porta seco a casa del S. Giulio Febei suo sposo." On Renaissance trousseaus see Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, "The Griselda Complex: Dowry and Marriage Gifts in the Quattrocento," in her *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 213–46.

10. Cf. the testator who claimed to have made money through managing some of her linen in ASR, Notai RCA, b. 1474, c. 25, 1604; also see Renata Ago, "Di cosa si può fare commercio: Mercato e norme sociali nella Roma barocca," *Quaderni storici* 91 (1996): 113–34.

11. ASR, Notai RCA, b. 1474, cc. 337f., 1649. Another testator left his wife a pearl necklace that was bought when they were married (ASR, TN, ufficio 5, Testamenti, cc. 97f., 1645).

12. Cf. Klapisch-Zuber, "The Griselda Complex."

13. Pietro Belmonte, *Institutione della sposa del cavalier Pietro Belmonte Ariminese fatta principalmente per Madonna Laudomia sua figliuola nelle sue nuoue nozze* (Rome: Per gl'heredi di Giouanni Osmarino Gigliotto, 1587), 19.

14. See the will of Bernardina Bertazzoli, wife of Giovanni Parola (ASR, Notai RCA, b. 1474, c. 272, 1635).

15. Keep in mind that not all the inventories pertained to inheritance.

16. On the appearance and use of these various garments, see Rosita Levi Pisetzky, *Storia del costume in Italia*, vol. 3, *Il Cinquecento e il Seicento* (Milan: IEI, 1966); Rosita Levi Pisetzky, *Moda e costume, Storia d'Italia* (Turin: Einaudi, 1973); Rosita Levi Pisetzky, *Il costume e la moda nella società italiana* (Turin: Einaudi, 1978); Anna Giulia Cavagna and Grazietta Butazzi, *Le trame della moda* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1995); Ranieri Varese and

Grazietta Butazzi, *Storia della moda* (Bologna: Calderini, 1995); Nathalie Bailleux and Bruno Remaury, *Moda: Usi e costumi del vestire* (Trieste: Electa Gallimard, 1996); Carlo Marco Belfanti, "Maglie e calze," in *Storia d'Italia, Annali*, vol. 19, *La moda*, ed. Carlo Marco Belfanti and Fabio Giusberti (Turin: Einaudi, 2003), 583–617.

17. Paola Venturelli, *Vestire e apparire: Il sistema vestimentario femminile nella Milano spagnola, 1539–1679* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1999), 24.

18. Diana, Dorotea, ASR, TN, uff. 5, vol. 259, cc. 347f., August 19, 1667, inheritance.

19. On French fashions, see pp. 111–12, 114 herein.

20. Levi Pisetzky, *Storia del costume*, 361, figure 161.

21. Neruzzi, Polidoro, ASR, Notai AC, vol. 3180, cc. 857f., 1641, inheritance.

22. Fourteen men had collars and cuffs, and fifteen possessed hats or berets.

23. Only two women owned a hat, while another two had some bonnets.

24. On stockings, see Belfanti, "Maglie e calze"; on the appearance and quality of shoes, as well as their diffusion, see Andrea Vianello, "Storia sociale della calzatura," in *Storia d'Italia, Annali*, vol. 19, *La moda*, ed. Belfanti and Giusberti, 627–66.

25. ASR, Cartari Febei, b. 40, f.n.n.

26 Vittoria Santacroce's account book from the mid-sixteenth century mentions various payments to cobblers for shoes and slippers, both for members of her family and their apprentices (ASR, Santacroce, b. 713). For an example of the cost of slippers, see Vittoria Patrizi Spada's account books (ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 801, April 1669 and January 1671). In Cangiani's inventory, two pairs of boots and two umbrellas were valued at 4 scudi.

27. ASR, TN, uff. 23, vol. 23, c. 431, October 6, 1626.

28. For the argument that shoes were only a conquest of the Age of Enlightenment, see Roche, *People of Paris*, 166; see also Carlo Poni, "Norms and Disputes: The Shoemakers' Guild in Eighteenth-Century Bologna," *Past and Present* 123 (1989): 80–108.

29. Bronconi, Filippo, ASR, Notai AC, vol. 4773, cc. 515f., August 20, 1667, inheritance.

30. Di Profilo di Francesco, Caterina, AC, AGU, sez. XLVI, vol. 17, December 1, 1666, dowry.

31. On Florence, see Giulia Calvi, "Abito, genere, cittadinanze nella Toscana moderna (secoli XVI–XVII)," *Quaderni storici* 110 (2002): 477–504. On France, see Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the "Ancien Régime,"* trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). On sumptuary legislation elsewhere in Italy and Europe, see Alberto Liva, "Note sulla legislazione suntuaria nell'Italia centro-settentrionale," in *Le trame della moda*, ed. Anna Giulia Cavagna and Grazietta Butazzi (Rome: Bulzoni, 1995), 31–52; Alan Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions: A History of Sumptuary Law* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996); Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli, *Gli inganni delle apparenze: Disciplina di vesti e ornamenti alla fine del Medioevo* (Turin: Scriptorium, 1996); Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli, "Le leggi suntuarie," in *Storia d'Italia, Annali*, vol. 19, *La moda*, ed. Belfanti and Giusberti, 185–220; Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli and Antonella Campanini, eds., *Disciplinare il lusso: La legislazione suntuaria in Italia e in Europa tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna* (Rome: Carocci, 2003).

32. *Bullarum, Privilegiorum ac Diplomatum Romanorum Pontificum Amplissima Collectio*, vol. 4 (Rome: Tipografia della Camera Apostolica, 1747).

33. Marinoni Ricciardini, Anna Agnese, AC, AGU, sex. XLVI, vol. 16, October 4, 1664, dowry; Trombetta, Margherita Teresa, AC, AGU, sex. XLVI, vol. 17, February 15, 1667, dowry.

34. Marozzi, Teresa, ASR, Notai AC, vol. 945, cc. 441f., February 22, 1700, dowry. The *manteau* came into style around 1680 and was a kind of gown with short sleeves open in front of the "little petticoat" and with the tails collected in back. The *zamberlucco* was a loose, oriental-style garment that could be used as a nightgown.

35. Before this time, purchases clustered around the time of matrimony. See Renata Ago, "Il linguaggio del corpo," in *Storia d'Italia, Annali*, vol. 19, *La moda*, ed. Belfanti and Giusberti, 117–48.

36. ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 801, January, April, and August 1668; January and September 1669; January 1670; January 1672. The *hongreline* (from Hungary) is a close-fitting garment, long to the knee, which became very fashionable in the late seventeenth century.

37. Ago, "Il linguaggio del corpo."

38. ASR, Santacroce, b. 969, April, May, August, and September 1702; May 1703; January 1705; August 1706; October 1707.

39. ASR, Santacroce, b. 544, February, March, and May 1706; January 1707.

40. ASR, Santacroce, b. 544, passim.

41. ASR, Santacroce, b. 1122, fasc. 1, account n. 181, 1732.

42. Renata Ago, "Gerarchia delle merci e meccanismi dello scambio a Roma nel primo Seicento," *Quaderni storici* 96 (1997): 663–83.

43. ASR, Santacroce, b. 969, May 1703.

44. Cesare Vecellio, *De gli habiti antichi, et moderni di diuerse parti del mondo libri due* (Venice: Zenaro, 1590); Alessandra Camerano, "La restaurazione cinquecentesca della romanitas: Identità e giochi di potere tra Curia e Campidoglio," in *Gruppi ed identità sociali nell'Italia dell'età moderna*, ed. Biagio Salvemini (Bari: Edipuglia, 1998), 29–79; Alessandra Camerano, "Donne oneste o meretrici? Incertezza dell'identità fra testamenti e diritto di proprietà a Roma," *Quaderni storici* 99 (1998): 637–66.

45. Muzzarelli and Campanini, *Disciplinare il lusso*; Ago, "Il linguaggio del corpo."

46. Santolino, Ludovico, ASR, TN, uff. 25, vol. 101, cc. 499f., August 21, 1625, inheritance. The title "illustrious" did not designate a noble, but simply a gentleman.

47. ASR, Cartari Febei, b. 40, f.n.n.

48. Their inventories were in fact ones for guardianship.

49. ASR, TN, uff. 25, vol. 101, cc. 379f., August 12, 1625; cc. 499f., August 21 1625; AC, AGU, sez. VII, vol. II, cc. 177f., May 27, 1626.

50. Cangiani's patrimony confirms this: the value of his clothing totaled 46.6 percent of that of his sumptuous furnishings.

51. ASR, S. Girolamo della Carità, b. 4, c. 188.

52. Ibid., c. 199.

53. ASR, TN, uff. 28, cc. 74r–v, January 4, 1630.

54. ASR, TNC, uff. 1, vol. 117, 1620; ASR, S. Girolamo della Carità, b. 4, inventari del 1644, 1653, 1656, 1669. For other examples, see AGU, sez. XLVI, vol. 17, 1647; TN, uff. 5, vol. 258, 1667.

55. ASR, Misc. famiglie, b. 61, fasc. 6, Contelori.

56. Renata Ago, *Economia barocca: Mercato e istituzioni nella Roma del Seicento* (Rome: Donzelli, 1998).

57. Ago, "Gerarchia delle merci."

58. See, for example, the case of a woman who, in the course of a trial, declared that she used to work under a "female master," in ASR, Tribunale civile del Senatore, b. 2083, cc. 933 and 934, August 23, 1628. On the work of women in general, see Angela Groppi, *Il lavoro delle donne* (Rome: Laterza, 1996); Merry E. Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

59. Jean Boutier, "La fattoria, le palais, la boutique: Les consommations textiles d'une famille aristocratique florentine, fin xviie–début xviiie siècle," in *Échanges et cultures textiles dans l'Europe pré-industrielle*, ed. Jacques Bottin and Nicole Pallegrin, Revue du Nord ([Villeneuve d'Ascq]: Université Charles-de-Gaulle, Lille III, 1996), 39.

60. ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 801.

61. Ibid., January and April 1673; ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 794, January 1667.

62. ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 1002, 1660 and 1661. A frame for making ribbons and one for embroidering were also present in a Santacroce inventory from 1707 (ASR, Santacroce, b. 1122, f.n.n.).

63. ASR, Cartari Febei, b. 40, f.n.n. The bobbins served precisely for making collar lace.

64. ASR, Santacroce, b. 969, October 1700 and May 1705. But in 1707 among the family expenditures appear one for "spindles and pins" (ASR, Santacroce, b. 286, fasc. 1).

65. Alessandra Mottola Molfino, "Nobili, sagge, e virtuose donne: Libri di modelli di merletti e organizzazione del lavoro femminile tra Cinquecento e Seicento," in *La famiglia e la vita quotidiana in Europa dal '400 al '600: Fonti e problemi, atti del convegno di studi* (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1986), 277–93.

66. Evelyn Lincoln, *The Invention of the Italian Renaissance Printmaker* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000); Evelyn Lincoln, "Models for Science and Craft: Isabella Parasole's Botanical and Lace Illustrations," *Visual Resources* 17, no. 1 (2001): 1–35.

67. ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 801.

68. Ibid., July 1669, and elsewhere. As a point of comparison, keep in mind that the amount of thread contained in the dowry inventories varied between twenty and fifty pounds.

69. Ibid., but see also the "payment accounts" of her father-in-law Orazio (ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 756).

70. ASR, Sforza Cesarini, serie 1, etichetta ovale, b. 36, Giustificazioni di pagamento 1687–99, fasc. 31.

71. Ibid, July 1689.

72. Jan de Vries, "Between Purchasing Power and the World of Goods: Understanding the Household Economy in Early Modern Europe," in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. John Brewer and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1993), 85–132.

73. ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 801, October 1668.

74. Maria Veralli, for instance, recorded an expense of only 1.10 scudi for four *canne* of camlets the color of musk, "the remainder for which was taken from the five *canne* of black wavy taffeta which were sold for 3.22 *scudi* per *canna*." ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 1002, 1661.

75. ASR, Tribunale civile del Senatore, b. 2083, c. 295v, April 24, 1625.

76. ASR, Cartari Febei, b. 22, 20 and 27 of June 1625.

77. Ago, *Economia barocca*.

78. ASR, Tribunale civile del Senatore, b. 2083, c. 295v, April 24, 1625; c. 933, August 23, 1628.

79. On the textile industry see the essays and bibliography in Belfanti and Giusberti, eds., *Storia d'Italia, Annali*, vol. 19, *La moda*; on the capillary circulation of garments and fabrics, see Margaret Spufford, *The Great Reclothing of Rural England: Petty Chapmen and Their Wares in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Hambledon Press, 1984); Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the "Ancien Régime,"* trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Beverly Lemire, "The Theft of Clothes and Popular Consumerism in Early Modern England," *Journal of Social History* 24 (1990): 225–76; Beverly Lemire, *Fashion's Favourite: The Cotton Trade and the Consumer in Britain, 1660–1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); Beverly Lemire, *Dress, Culture, and Commerce: The English Clothing Trade before the Factory, 1600–1800* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997).

80. See chapter seven, pp. 182–84 herein.

81. ASR, TN, uff. 28, vol. 142, c. 41, December 31, 1627.

82. ASR, TN, vol. 138, c. 1001, March 28, 1627.

83. On the trade in secondhand furniture and clothing, see Patricia Allerston, "The Market in Second Hand Cloths and Furnishings in Venice, c. 1500–1650" (PhD diss., European University Institute, 1996), 367–90; Patricia Allerston, "Clothing and Early

Modern Venetian Society," *Continuity and Change* 15, no. 3 (2000): 367–90; Patricia Allerston, "L'abito usato," in *Storia d'Italia, Annali*, vol. 19, *La moda*, 561–82.

84. Natalia Gozzano, *La quadreria di Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna: Prestigio nobiliare e collezionismo nella Roma barocca* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2004), 147–48.

85. Ago, "Gerarchia delle merci."

86. See chapter one.

Chapter Five

1. Roberto S. Lopez, "Hard Times and Investment in Culture," in *The Renaissance: Six Essays*, ed. William K. Ferguson (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), 29–54; Roberto S. Lopez, *The Three Ages of the Italian Renaissance* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1970); Judith C. Brown, "Prosperity or Hard Times in Renaissance Italy?" *Renaissance Quarterly* 42, no. 4 (1989): 761–80.

2. Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th Century* (New York: Harper and Row, 1982); Fernand Braudel, *The Wheels of Commerce* (New York: Harper and Row, 1982); Richard A. Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300–1600* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); Paolo Malanima, "Measuring the Italian Economy, 1300–1681," *Rivista di Storia Economica* 19, no. 3 (2003): 265–95.

3. Malanima, "Measuring the Italian Economy."

4. See for example Sabba da Castiglione, *Ricordi, overo Ammaestramenti di monsig. Sabba Castiglione, cavalier gerosolimitano: Ne i quali con prudenti, e christiani discorsi si ragiona di tutte le materie honorate, che si ricercano a un vero gentil'huomo* (Venice: Appresso Giouanni Griffio, 1575); Matteo Palmieri, *Vita civile*, ed. Gino Belloni (Florence: Sansoni, 1982); Giovanni Gioviano Pontano, *I libri delle virtù sociali*, ed. Francesco Tateo (Rome: Bulzoni, 1999); For recent secondary sources on this issue see Tateo's intro to Pontano, *I libri delle virtù sociali*, 9–41, and Amedeo Quondam, "Pontano e le moderne virtù del dispendio onorato," *Quaderni storici*, no. 115 (2004): 11–44.

5. Krzysztof Pomian, "Collezione," *Enciclopedia* (Turin: Einaudi, 1978), 1:330–64. But Schlosser traced this genealogy at the start of the twentieth century (see Julius Schlosser, *Raccolte d'arte e di meraviglie del tardo Rinascimento*, ed. Cristina De Benedictis (Milan: Sansoni, 2000). On collecting during the Renaissance see also Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor, *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Europe* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1985), 1–16; Patricia Falguières, "Invention et mémoire: Aux origines de l'institution museographique: Les collections encyclopédiques et les cabinets de merveilles dans l'Italie du XVIe siècle" (PhD thesis, University of Paris I, 1988); Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

6. Pomian, "Collezione," 332.

7. Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities: Paris and Venice, 1500–1800*, trans. Elizabeth Wiles-Portier (Cambridge: Polity, 1990), 4–5.

8. Ibid., 42. It seems to me that despite the criticism offered of him by Antoine Schnapper, among others—see Antoine Schnapper, *Le géant, la licorne et la tulipe: Collections et collectionneurs dans la France du XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Flammarion, 1988)—Pomian's thesis on the centrality of the sacrifice of utility holds a fundamental heuristic value.

9. Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities*, 39.

10. The literature on collecting and collections in Renaissance Italy is too vast to be able to give an exhaustive account of it here. Indeed, for some time research has been specialized according to the nature of the collection. On these topics, I will refer the reader to works I have already cited: see on the one hand Findlen, *Possessing Nature*; Pamela H. Smith and Paula Findlen, eds., *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, Science, and Art in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2002); and on the other Olivier Bonfait et al., eds., *Geografia del collezionismo: Italia e Francia tra XVI e il XVIII secolo: Atti delle giornate di studio dedicate a Giuliano Briganti: Roma, 19–21 settembre 1996* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 2001); Silvia Danesi Squarzina, ed., *La collezione Giustiniani* (Turin: Einaudi, 2003).

11. Paula Findlen, "Possessing the Past: The Material World of the Italian Renaissance," *American Historical Review* 103, no. 1 (1998): 83–114.

12. Annette B. Weiner, *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping-While-Giving* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Daniel Miller, *Material Cultures: Why Some Things Matter* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Fred R. Myers, ed., *The Empire of Things: Regimes of Value and Material Culture* (Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, 2001).

13. See Andrea Battistini, *Il barocco: Cultura, miti, immagini* (Rome: Salerno, 2000), 68–70, which refers first of all to the *Galeria* of Giovan Battista Marino, published in Venice in 1620. On this work see also Marc Fumaroli, *La scuola del silenzio: Il senso delle immagini nel XVII secolo* (Milan: Adelphi, 1995), 61–80.

14. On the collections of princes see the now classic Hugh R. Trevor-Roper, *Princes and Artists: Patronage and Ideology at Four Habsburg Courts, 1517–1633* (New York: Harper and Row, 1976), and Jonathan Brown, *Kings and Connoisseurs: Collecting Art in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995). On private collections with particular attention to the case of Rome, aside from the works already mentioned above (n. 5), see Luigi Salerno, "Arte e scienza nellle collezioni del manierismo," in *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Mario Salmi* (Rome: Edizioni de Luca, 1963), 193–213; Paola Barocchi, "Storiografia e collezionismo dal Vasari al Lanzi," in *Storia dell'arte italiana*, part 1, *Materiali e problemi*, vol. 2, *L'artista e il pubblico*, ed. Giovanni Previtali (Turin: Einaudi, 1979), 5–81; Claudio Franzoni, "Le collezioni

rinacimentali di antichità," in *L'uso dei classici*, ed. Salvatore Settis (Turin: Einaudi, 1984), 299–360; Claudio Franzoni, "'Urbe Roma in pristina forma renascente': Le antichità di Roma durante il Rinascimento," in *Roma del Rinascimento*, ed. Antonio Pinelli (Rome: Laterza, 2001), 291–336; Gigliola Fragnito, *In museo e in villa: Saggi sul Rinascimento perduto* (Venice: Arsenale, 1988); Claudio Franzoni and Antonio Tempesta, "Il museo di Francesco Gualdi nella Roma del Seicento: Tra raccolta privata ed esibizione pubblica," *Bollettino d'arte* 73 (1992): 1–42; Donatella L. Sparti, *Le collezioni dal Pozzo: Storia di una famiglia e del suo museo nella Roma seicentesca* (Modena: F. C. Panini, 1992); Sergio Benedetti, ed., *Caravaggio e la collezione Mattei* (Milan: Electa, 1995), 29–54; Bonfait et al., *Geografia del collezionismo*; Elizabeth Cropper and Charles Dempsey, *Nicolas Poussin: Friendship and the Love of Painting* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996); Luigi Spezzaferro, "Le collezioni di 'alcuni gentilhuomini particolari' e il mercato: Appunti su Lelio Guidiccioni e Francesco Angeloni," in *Poussin et Rome: Actes du colloque à l'Académie de France à Rome et à la Bibliotheca Hertziana, 16–18 novembre 1994*, ed. Olivier Bonfait (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1996), 241–55; Danesi Squarzina, ed., *La collezione Giustiniani*; Massimiliano Rossi, "Arte della memoria, antiquaria e collezioni fra '500 e '600," in *Memoria e memorie: Convegno internazionale di studi: Roma, 18–19 maggio 1995, Accademia nazionale dei Lincei*, ed. Lina Bolzoni, Vittorio Erlindo, and Marcello Morelli (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1998), 107–32; Findlen, "Possessing the Past"; Dora Thornton, *The Scholar in His Study: Ownership and Experience in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998); Giuseppe Finocchiaro, *Il museo di curiosità di Virgilio Spada: Una raccolta romana del Seicento* (Rome: Fratelli Palombi, 1999); Francesco Solinas, ed., *I segreti di un collezionista: Le straordinarie raccolte di Cassiano dal Pozzo, 1588–1657* (Rome: Edizioni de Luca, 2000); Silvia Danesi Squarzina, *Caravaggio e i Giustiniani: Toccar con mano una collezione del Seicento* (Milan: Electa, 2001); Natalia Gozzano, *La quadreria di Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna: Prestigio nobiliare e collezionismo nella Roma barocca* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2004).

15. Castiglione, *Ricordi*, 159.

16. Ibid., 160–67.

17. On this see also Giuseppe Olmi, "Science—Honour—Metaphor: Italian Cabinets of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Europe*, ed. O. R. Impey and Arthur MacGregor (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 5–16.

18. Paolo Cerchi, "La Piazza Universale: Somma di altre somme," in *Repertori di parole e immagini: Esperienze cinquecentesche e moderni data bases*, ed. Paola Barocchi and Lina Bolzoni (Pisa: Scuola normale superiore, 1997), 119–57.

19. Lina Bolzoni, "Memoria letteraria e iconografica nei repertori cinquecenteschi," in *Repertori di parole e immagini: Esperienze cinquecentesche e moderni data bases*, ed. Barocchi and Bolzoni, 13–47. See also pp. 235–36.

20. Jean-Marc Chatelain, *Livres d'emblèmes et de devises: Une anthologie, 1531–1735* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1993); Claude Balavoine, "Dès Hieroglyphica de Pierio Valeriano à l' 'Iconologia' de Cesare Ripa, ou le changement du statut du signe iconique," in *Repertori di parole e immagini: Esperienze cinquecentesche e moderni data bases*, ed. Barocchi and Bolzoni, 99–117; Peter Burke, "Images as Evidence in Seventeenth-Century Europe," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64, no. 2 (2003): 273–96.

21. On this see also Lina Bolzoni, *La stanza della memoria: Modelli letterari e iconografici nell'età della stampa* (Turin: Einaudi, 1995), esp. chap. 6. Schnapper also insists on the encyclopedic aspirations of many collectors, citing in support an article on cabinets of natural history from the *Encyclopédie*, in which the author says that "a cabinet of natural history is therefore a shortcut to nature in its entirety" (see Schnapper, *Le géant*, 10).

22. Fabio Albergati, *Del cardinale* (Rome: G. Facciotto, 1598), 186–87, emphasis mine. The image of the scholar as an animated book is clearly taken from the recommendation by Agostino Valier to Federico Borromeo where he says verbatim "erudite men are living books" (*libri animati sunt homines eruditi*) (see Agostino Valier, "De occupationibus diacono S.R.E cardinale dignis ad Federicum cardinalem Borromaeum (1587)," in *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, ed. Angelo Maio (Rome: Typ. Vaticanis, 1832), 303. See also Patricia Falguières, *La cité fictive: Les collections de cardinaux, à Rome, au XVIe siècle* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1988), 326–27.

23. Rossi, "Arte della memoria," 127–28.

24. To substitute an image for the inevitable gaps in one's actual collection was a common practice among collectors (see Schnapper, *Le géant*, 54). On the concept of the "printing as translation" (*stampa di traduzione*) see Barocchi, "Storiografia e collezionismo dal Vasari al Lanzi." On Cassiano dal Pozzo's paper museum see Francis Haskell, *Il Museo cartaceo di Cassiano Dal Pozzo: Cassiano naturalista*, Quaderni puteani, 1 (Milan: Olivetti, 1989); Ian Jenkins and Jennifer Montagu, *Cassiano dal Pozzo's Paper Museum*, Quaderni puteani, 2, 3 (Milan: Olivetti, 1992); Mirka Benes, *The Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo*, Quaderni puteani, 4 (Milan: Olivetti, 1993); Sparti, *Le collezioni dal Pozzo*; Solinas, *I segreti di un collezionista*.

25. Castiglione, *Ricordi*, 168.

26. Findlen, *Possessing Nature*, 294.

27. Cited in ibid., 293. Identical concepts can also be found in the last will and testament of Ulisse Aldrovandi (1603) and Alfonso Donnino (1651), both of whom appear in Findlen's work.

28. Contemporaries spoke at length about this undertaking: see the letter of Cassiano dal Pozzo (cited in Sparti, *Le collezioni dal Pozzo*, 169–70, April 12, 1653), which among the painters cites Lanfranchi. For the contribution of Sandart to the operation see Ferdinando Bologna, *L'incredulità del Caravaggio e l'esperienza delle "cose naturali"* (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 1992), 178–79; Sybille Ebert-Schifferer, "Naturalezza e 'maniera

antica': Joachim von Sandart disegnatore all'Antico," in *Caravaggio e i Giustiniani: Toccar con mano una collezione del Seicento*, ed. Silvia Danesi Squarzina (Milan: Electa, 2001), 57–64; Cecilia Mazzetti di Pietralata, "Sandart e la scultura: La collezione Giustiniani nel capitolo sulle statue antiche," in *Caravaggio e i Giustiniani: Toccar con mano una collezione del Seicento*, ed. Silvia Danesi Squarzina (Milan: Electra, 2001), 173–78.

29. The expression *humor peccante* is used here exactly in the manner Virgilio Spada used; see ASR, Spada Veralli b. 463 c.n.n., cited in Finocchiaro, *Il museo di curiosità*. Also Cassiano dal Pozzo and Michele Mercati underline the immensity of the investment of time and money. See Giacomo Lumbroso, *Notizie sulla vita di Cassiano dal Pozzo* (Turin: Paravia, 1875, 39); Alix Cooper, "The Museum and the Book: The Metallotheca and the History of an Encyclopaedic Natural History in Early Modern Italy," *Journal of the History of Collections* 7, no. 1 (1995): 6.

30. Michele Giustiniani, *Lettere memorabili*, vol. 2 (Rome: Tinassi, 1667), 63.

31. Cassiano dal Pozzo, cited in Sparti, *Le collezioni dal Pozzo*, 170, April 12, 1653.

32. Vespasiano da Bisticci, *The Vespasiano Memoirs: Lives of Illustrious Men of the XVth Century*, trans. W. G. Waters and Emily Waters (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 49.

33. Cooper, "The Museum and the Book," 6; Rodolfo Amedeo Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma e notizie intorno le collezioni romane di antichità*, vol. 3 (Bologna: A. Forni, 1975), 95; ASR, Giustiniani, b. 132, cc. 29–31; Lumbroso, *Notizie sulla vita di Cassiano dal Pozzo*, 38.

34. Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi*, 95. "Dico e confesso realmente haver speso più di sessantamila scudi come appare per testimonij esaminati ad perpetuam rei memoriam da Ms Ottavio Capogallo già notaro Capitolino reposti nel mio Archivio."

35. Giovanni Pietro Bellori, *Nota delli musei, librerie, gallerie et ornamenti di statve e pitture ne' palazzi, nelle case, e ne' giardini di Roma* (Rome: Apresso Biagio Deuersin e Felice Cesaretti, 1664).

36. Gabriel Naudé, *Advis pour dresser une bibliotheque* (Paris: Rolet le Duc, 1644), 10–11.

37. Volker Reinhardt, *Kardinal Scipione Borghese, 1605–1633* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1984).

38. Georg Simmel, *The Philosophy of Money* (New York: Routledge, 1990).

39. Bartolomé Clavero, *Antidora: Antropologia catolica de la economia moderna* (Milan: Giuffré, 1991), but above all Giacomo Todeschini, *Il prezzo della salvezza: Lessici medievali del pensiero economico* (Rome: Nuova Italia scientifica, 1994); Giacomo Todeschini, *I mercanti e il tempio: La società cristiana e il circolo virtuoso della ricchezza fra Medioevo ed età moderna* (Bologna: il Mulino, 2002).

40. Peter Burke, *The Italian Renaissance: Culture and Society in Italy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999).

41. Falguières, *La cité fictive*, 317.

42. Vincenzo Giustiniani, *Discorsi sulle arti e sui mestieri* (Florence: Sansoni, 1981), 59. Emphasis is mine.

43. On Grimani, see Marilyn Perry, "Cardinal Domenico Grimani's Legacy of Ancient Art to Venice," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 41 (1978): 215–44; on Borromeo see Attilio Barera, *L'opera scientifico letteraria del card: Federico Borromeo* (Milan: Arti Grafiche Milanesi, 1931); Giorgio Nicodemi, "L'accademia di pittura, scultura e architettura fondata dal cardinale Federico Borromeo alla Ambrosiana," in *Studi in onore di Carlo Castiglioni* (Milan: Giuffré, 1957). See also Falguières, *La cité fictive*, 328.

44. Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi*, 165. On the will of Alessandro Farnese see also Pio Pecchiai, "La buona morte del cardinale Alessandro Farnese," *Rivista di studi e di vita romana* 21, no. 3 (1943): 333–44. It is nevertheless necessary to be cautious not to connect too strictly the idea of "restitution" to the post-Tridentine ascetic climate, because this sentiment was much older. Already by the end of the fifteenth century an epigraph, desired by Sixtus IV to solemnize the transfer into the Campidoglio of a few bronze statues from the Lateran, declared that it was an important sign that the past greatness of the Roman people needed to be *restored* to them. Additionally, Sixtus IV, in turn, did not neglect to take up the formula of so many Roman inscriptions from the republican and imperial periods (see Franzoni, "Urbe Roma," 308).

45. Pontano, *I libri delle virtù sociali*, 231.

46. Pierre de Nolhac, *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini: Contributions à l'histoire des collections d'Italie et à l'étude de la Renaissance* (Paris: E. Bouillon and E. Vieweg, 1887), 264; G. Lombardi, "Libri e istituzioni a Roma: Diffusione e organizzazione," in *Roma del Rinascimento*, ed. Antonio Pinelli (Rome: Laterza, 2001), 276–78.

47. Michel de Montaigne, *Journal de voyage de Michel de Montaigne*, ed. François Rigolot (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1992), 112; see also Lombardi, "Libri e istituzioni," 272.

48. Jean Jacques Boissard, *Romanae Urbis Topographia and Antiquitates: Qua succinte & breviter describuntur omnia quae tam publice quam privatim videntur animandversione digna 3 . . . Pars Antiqvitatvm Sev Inscriptionvm & Epitaphiorum quae in saxi & marmoribus Romanis videntur cum suis signis & imaginibus* (Francoforte: Johann Theodor de Bry, 1597); Franzoni, "Urbe Roma," 315.

49. Pontano, *I libri delle virtù sociali*, 232.

50. Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi*, 95.

51. See pp. 4–5, 9–11, 30–33, and 59–61 herein.

52. Mary Douglas defines "service of identification" as participation of the public in the rituals of consumption; without this the ritual would be without meaning; indeed, it would not even be a ritual; see Mary Douglas and Baron C. S. Isherwood, *The World of Goods* (New York: Basic Books, 1979), 81–82.

53. Ibid., 82.

54. Fioravante Martinelli, *Roma, ricercata nel suo sito e nella scuola di tutti gl' antiquarij* (Rome: Bernardino Tani, 1644); now in Cesare D'Onofrio, *Roma nel Seicento* (Florence: Vallecchi, 1968), 231, 236.

55. Pompilio Totti, *Ritratto di Roma moderna* (Rome: Mascardi, 1638); Pompilio Totti, *Ritratto di Roma moderna* (Rome: De Rossi, 1645).

56. Bellori, *Nota*.

57. David R. Coffin, *Gardens and Gardening in Papal Rome* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), 229.

58. Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco, ed., *La festa barocca* (Rome: Edizioni de Luca, 1997); Flavia Matiti, "La Festa come 'laboratorio' del Barocco," in *La festa barocca*, ed. Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco (Rome: Edizioni de Luca, 1997), 86–87; Carla Benocci, "Dalle donne illustri alle belle dame," in *Le belle: Ritratti di dame del Seicento e del Settecento nelle residenze feudali del Lazio*, ed. Carla Benocci and Tommaso Di Carpegna Falconieri (Rome: Pieraldo, 2004), 19–32.

Chapter Six

1. Vincenzo Giustiniani, *Discorsi sulle arti e sui mestieri* (Florence: Sansoni, 1981), 45. In Rome this phenomenon was a relative novelty. For a good part of the sixteenth century, wall decoration had consisted of frescoes or painted, worked leather, rather than collections of paintings. See Luigi Spezzaferro, "Problemi del collezionismo a Roma nel XVII secolo," in *Geografia del collezionismo: Italia e Francia tra XVI e il XVIII secolo: Atti delle giornate di studio dedicate a Giuliano Briganti: Roma, 19–21 settembre 1996*, ed. Olivier Bonfait et al. (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 2001), 1–24.

2. Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1980), 125–28.

3. Ibid., 129.

4. Cited in ibid.,130. See also Marc Fumaroli, "Rome 1630: Entrée en scene du spectateur," in *Roma 1630: Il trionfo del pennello: Villa Medici, 25 ottobre 1994–1 gennaio 1995*, ed. Olivier Bonfait (Milan: Electra, 1994), 53–82.

5. If Haskell maintained that an "art market" real and proper had developed in Rome only in the second half of the seventeenth century, and that until then artists depended strictly on the commissions of the greater merchants, more recent studies are showing that commerce in paintings was already very active at the beginning of the century. See Patrizia Cavazzini, "La diffusione della pittura nella Roma di primo Seicento: Collezionisti ordinari e mercanti," *Quaderni storici* 116, no. 2 (2004): 353–74.

6. Francesca Cappelletti, *Decorazione e collezionismo a Roma nel Seicento: Vicende di artisti, committenti, mercanti* (Rome: Gangemi, 2003); Cavazzini, "La diffusione della pittura nella Roma di primo Seicento: Collezionisti ordinari e mercanti"; and for the eighteenth century Paolo Coen, "Vendere e affittare quadri: Giuseppe Sardi, capomastro muratore e mercante d'arte (Roma, XVIII sec.)," *Quaderni storici* 116, no. 2 (2004): 421–48.

7. The four series of estimates for paintings that I have laid out have an average value respectively of 1.09, 1.37, 2.81, and 5.44 scudi for a total of 30, 26, 36, and 43 paintings. For other series of estimates that confirm the low value of the great majority of these works, see Cavazzini, "La diffusione della pittura nella Roma di primo Seicento: Collezionisti ordinari e mercanti."

8. Sforza Cesarini, s. VIII, b. 249: Giuseppe Barberi 6 scudi in January, 12 scudi in March, 4 in May; Benedetto Guidetti 4 scudi in January, 20 in May; Giovanni di Momper 31 dozen loaves of bread in April; Benedetto Guidetti 20 scudi in May, Teodoro Helmbrecker 30 scudi in July; Juan Jopste 14 scudi in October and November, monsù Gasparo 7 scudi in November; Pietro Cappella 15 loads of coal in December. Giuseppe Barberi, Benedetto Guidetti, monsù Gasparo, and Pietro Cappella are not identified with any other artist mentioned in *Künstlerlexikon* 1999. The other three are instead cited: Giovanni di Momper was a painter of landscapes and ocean scenes who died in Rome after 1688. Teodoro Helmbrecker (Dirk Helmbreker) was a genre painter, born in Haarlem in 1633 and died in Rome in 1696; for Juan Jopste, *Künstlerlexikon* cites a Johann Jobst who died in Kassel around 1656 who could be his father. Momper and Helmbreker were two painters whose names appeared frequently in contemporary collections. In particular, Helmbreker was a "bambocciante," that is, a sort of genre painter who depicted realistic images taken from daily life, and his presence in the service of the duchess Sforza Cesarini demonstrates that he enjoyed favor not only among the middling classes but also with the elite. On this issue see Luigi Spezzaferro, "Per il collezionismo dei bamboccianti a Roma nel seicento: Qualche appunto e qualche riflessione," in *Da Caravaggio a Ceruti: La scena di genere e l'immagine dei pitocchi nella pittura italiana*, ed. Francesco Porzio (Milan: Skira, 1998), 83–88.

9. On the success of copies see Gérard Labrot, "Eloge de la copie: Le marche napolitain (1614–1764)," *Annales, histoire, sciences sociales* 59, no. 1 (2004): 7–35; Richard Spear, "Rome," in *Painting for Profit: The Economic Lives of Italian Seventeenth-Century Painters*, by Richard E. Spear and Philip Sohm (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010). The copies to which I am referring were not those unique and fragile kinds of copies, destined to disappear, that were the foundation for Cardinal Del Monte's collection of copies or of Cassiano dal Pozzo's paper museum, but something far more ordinary. On Del Monte see Zygmunt Wazbinski, *Il cardinale Francesco Maria del Monte: 1549–1626* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1994); on Cassiano dal Pozzo see above, chapter 5, n. 24.

10. ASR, Notai AC, vol. 2205, c. 332, 1645; ASR, Misc. Families, v.61, fasc. 6, circa 1660. Black diaspro is *pietra di paragone*. On the fortune of copies in Naples in more or less the same period, see Labrot, "Eloge de la copie: Le marche napolitain (1614–1764)."

11. ASR, Notai RCA, b. 1474, cc. 6f., will of Camillo Moretti, 1598.

12. ASR, Notai AC, vol. 2095, c. 674, March 19, 1645.

13. Ibid., vol. 2205, c. 332, 1645.

14. The average is taken from a total of 1,764 paintings (excluding the 1,778 owned by the painter Raspantini) divided between seventy-five inventories (including also those who did even have a single painting). The success of painting emerges also from the fact that in some documents paintings are even listed in a block, without an indication of the subject or the dimensions. For a consideration of the situation in the Low Countries see Bruno Blondé, "Art and Economy in XVIIth- and XVIIIth-Century Antwerp: A View from the Demand Side," in *Economia e arte, secc. XIII–XVIII*, ed. Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Florence: Le Monnier, 2002), 377–92; David Freedberg and Jan de Vries, *Art in History, History in Art: Studies in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Culture* (Santa Monica, CA: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1991); John Michael Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft: A Socio-Economic Study of the Seventeenth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982); John Michael Montias, *Le marché de l'art aux Pays-Bas, XVe–XVIIe siècles* (Paris: Flammarion, 1996).

15. Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*.

16. Other than the already cited works by Pomian, see also Giovanni Pozzi, *La parola dipinta* (Milan: Adelphi, 1981); Giovanni Pozzi, *Sull'orlo del visibile parlare* (Milan: Adelphi, 1993); Marc Fumaroli, *L'école du silence: Le sentiment des images au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Flammarion, 1994).

17. Alphonse Dupront, *Du Sacré: Croisades et pélerinages: Images et langages* (Paris: Gallimard, 1987), 119.

18. Camillo Cybo described the decorations of his rooms as "grotesque," saying that they inspired "a devotion but also a noble horror" (see Renata Ago, *Carriere e clientele nella Roma barocca* [Rome: Laterza, 1990], 76). On the role of the spectator and responses to images see David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); John K. G. Shearman, *Art and the Spectator in the Italian Renaissance* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992).

19. Those who had not even a single painting account for 33.3 percent of women's inventories (ten out of thirty) against 26.1 percent for male inventories (twelve out of forty-six). Limiting the field solely to the inventories that mention at least one painting, every woman has on average twenty paintings, while, excluding the painter Raspantini who alone possessed 1,778 images, every man had on average forty-one.

20. Devotional images constituted 60 percent of the total works they owned.

21. Profane subjects made up 57 percent of the total for men.

22. The images of the Madonna or of female saints possessed by women numbered at least sixty-three, equivalent to 15.5 percent of the total, against 186 for the men, or 5.9 percent.

23. Natalie Zemon Davis, "Women on Top," in her *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1975), 124–51.

24. On the history of still life and genre painting in Italy see Federico Zeri, ed., *Forme e modelli* (Turin: Einaudi, 1982), 35–116; Luigi Spezzaferro, "Il Caravaggio, i collezionisti romani, le nature morte," in *La natura morta al tempo di Caravaggio*, ed. Alberto Cottino (Naples: Electa Napoli, 1995), 49–58; Spezzaferro, "Per il collezionismo dei bamboccianti"; Silvia Danesi Squarzina, "Natura morta e il collezionismo a Roma nella prima metà del Seicento: Il terreno di elaborazione dei generi," *Storia dell'Arte*, no. 93–94 (1998): 266–91; Mina Gregori, ed., *La natura morta italiana: Da Caravaggio al Settecento* (Milan: Electa, 2003).

25. On "pictures of history" see Roberto Guerrini, "Dal testo all'immagine: La 'pittura di storia' nel Rinascimento," in *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana*, vol. 2, *I generi e i temi ritrovati*, ed. Salvatore Settis (Turin: Einaudi, 1985), 45–154.

26. Caterina Francescona, ASR, Notai AC, vol. 2203, cc. 160f., 1644, possession.

27. On the role of ancient portraits in Italian art see Klaus Fittschen, "Sul ruolo del ritratto antico nell'arte italiana," in *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana*, ed. Settis, 2:383–412. On the passion of collectors for portraits see also Osvaldo Raggio, *Storia di una passione: Cultura aristocratica e collezionismo alla fine dell'ancien régime* (Venice: Marsilio, 2000).

28. Giulio Mancini, *Considerazioni sulla pittura* (Rome: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 1956), 141–42.

29. On family portraits see the by now classic Diane Owen Hughes, "Representing the Family: Portraits and Purposes in Early Modern Italy," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 17, no. 1 (1986): 7–38.

30. ASR, TN, uff. 6, Testamenti 1591–1721, cc. 111, f., 1644.

31. ASR, Notai RCA, b. 1029, c. 265, 1610.

32. Ibid., b. 1474, cc. 275f., will of Marta de Rossi, 1639.

33. Isabella Cecchini, *Quadri e commercio a Venezia durante il Seicento: Uno studio sul mercato dell'arte* (Venice: Marsilio, 2000), 66.

34. On the value of diverse pictorial subjects and on their different weights in five noble collections see Richard Spear, "Rome."

35. Luigi Salerno, *Pittori di paesaggio del Seicento a Roma*, 3 vols. (Rome: Bozzi, 1977–80); Marco Chiarini, "Il Paesaggio," in *Forme e modelli*, ed. Federico Zeri (Turin: Einaudi, 1982), 5–34; Ann Sutherland Harris, Marcel Roethlisberger, and Kahren Jones Arbitman, *Landscape Painting in Rome, 1595–1675* (New York: R. L. Feigen, 1985); Margaretha Rossholm Lagerlof, *Ideal Landscape: Annibale Carracci, Nicolas Poussin, and Claude Lorrain* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990); Helen Langdon, "Claude and the Roman Landscape, 1630–1690," *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 73, no. 3 (2004): 130–32.

36. Francesco Raspantini, ASR, Notai AC, vol. 4772, cc. 32f., January 18, 1667, inheritance. This inventory is not the one that has been singled out by Bortolotti and, for the part concerning paintings and drawings, published by Richard Spear in his *Domenichino* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982). Rather, this is a separate document, put together three years later by a different notary and containing other books and paintings. The major difference concerns the attribution of the work: in this second inventory the paintings are practically all anonymous and only the drawings are attributed to a specific artist (Dürer, Carracci, Tempesta). Perhaps on this second occasion only the objects really belonging to Raspantini were mentioned, without those that he had inherited from Domenichino, as G. B. Passeri has asserted. See Spear, *Domenichino*, 22, 290.

37. Donatella L. Sparti, *Le collezioni dal Pozzo: Storia di una famiglia e del suo museo nella Roma seicentesca* (Modena: F. C. Panini, 1992), 107.

38. Nicola Pari, ASR, TN, uff. 5, vol. 258, cc. 111, f., April 3, 1667, inheritance; Paolo Cangiani, ASR, notai AC, vol. 4772, cc. 413f., March 20, 1667, inheritance; Pietro Antonio Vittori, ASR, Notai AC, vol. 4772, cc. 324f., February 22, 1667, rent; Onofrio Lansi, ASR, Notai AC, vol. 4473, cc. 126, 1667, inheritance; Francesco Bava, ASR, Notai AC, vol. 2205, cc. 337f., 1645, inheritance.

39. They were actually quite popular in Naples: Gérard Labrot, "Un marché dynamique: La peinture de série à Naples 1606–1775," in *Economia e arte, secc. XIII–XVIII*, ed. Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Florence: Le Monnier, 2002), 261–79.

40. On the history of flower paintings see Marco Rosci, "La natura morta," in *Forme e modelli*, ed. Federico Zeri (Turin: Einaudi, 1982), 83–116; Gregori, *La natura morta italiana: Da Caravaggio al Settecento*, 45–49.

41. Alessio Moglia, ASR, Notai AC, vol. 2205, cc. 332f., 1645, sale. This does not exclude the possibility that Alessio Moglia was one of those barbers who also acted as a painting merchant (see Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, 121).

42. One can identify Davit with the painter David from Flanders or David Han, a Flemish painter who lived in the palazzo of the Marquis Giustiniani and who died in 1622. On this artist see Antonino Bertolotti, *Artisti belgi ed olandesi a Roma nei secola XVI e XVII: Notizie e documenti raccolti negli archivi romani* (Rome: A Forni Editore, 1974), 92, 98–100. The *Küstlerlexikon 1999–2000* cites him as David de Haen, painter, who died in Rome in 1622. For Napoletano as a painter from real life see Chiarini, "Il Paesaggio," 17. On Filippo Napoletano as a painter in the circle of Cardinal Del Monte see also Wazbinski, *Il cardinale Francesco Maria del Monte: 1549–1626*.

43. ASR, Tribunale Criminale del Governatore, Atti di Cancelleria, b. 232, fasc. 12/7, 1628.

44. Giacomo Cagnacci, ASR, notai AC, b. 2204, cc. 18f., 1645, sale.

45. A large quantity of portraits of family members, but above all of princes and illustrious men and women, were present in the playwright Giovanni Azzavedi's house (see Spezzaferro, "Per il collezionismo dei bamboccianti," 85).

46. ASR, Santacroce, b. 286, February and March 1702.

47. In fact, Santacroce had just received the news from the emperor of the appointment of his son as a privy councilor.

48. ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 775, conto n. 2.

49. Gabriel Naudé, *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque* (Paris: Rolet le Duc, 1644), 146–47.

50. Sparti, *Le collezioni dal Pozzo*, 119. The model to which Cassiano dal Pozzo aspired was clearly the Giovian Museum, in which each portrait of an illustrious figure was accompanied by an *elogium* (see T. C. Price Zimmermann, *Paolo Giovio: The Historian and the Crisis of Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995).

51. Sparti, *Le collezioni dal Pozzo*, 118.

52. Giovan Francesco Cusida, ASR, Notai AC, vol. 5344, cc. 934f., March 8, 1624, inheritance; Nicola, Francesco, and Antonio Lirighetti, ASR, Notai AC, vol. 766, cc. 484f., 1648, judicial. An analogous combining of library and portraiture of illustrious men emerges from the inventory of G. B. Marino. See Spezzaferro, "Problemi del collezionismo a Roma nel XVII secolo," 20.

53. See the inventory of the study of Giovanni Azzavedi in Spezzaferro, "Per il collezionismo dei bamboccianti."

54. Carla Benocci and Tommaso Di Carpegna Falconieri, eds., *Le belle: Ritratti di dame del Seicento e del Settecento nelle residenze feudali del Lazio* (Rome: Pieraldo, 2004).

55. Francesco Petrucci, "Ferdinand Voet e le 'belle,'" in *Le belle*, ed. Benocci and Falconieri, 59–67.

56. The images of Genoa and Scio appeared in the salon of the second noble apartment of the marquis, whereas that of Bassano was on the wardrobe. ASR, Notai AC, vol. 1377, cc. 793f.

57. ASR, Notai AC, vol. 1377, cc. 793f., wardrobe.

58. The division of his goods assigned to his son Felice contained the "Cosmographical Maps in Rome and in Cesi." See ASR, Misc. famiglie, b. 61.

59. ASR, Cartari Febei, b. 40.

60. Ibid., August 31, 1672.

61. ASR, Santacroce, b. 969, October 1706.

62. Giovanni Careri, "Le lingue comuni dell'Europa dall'Umanesimo ai Lumi: Le arti," in *Storia d'Europa*, ed. Maurice Aymard and Perry Anderson (Turin: Einaudi, 1995), 364.

63. Natalia Gozzano, *La quadreria di Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna: Prestigio nobiliare e collezionismo nella Roma barocca* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2004), 19; Isabella Colucci, "Il salotto e le collezioni della Marchesa Boccapaduli," *Quaderni storici* 116 (2004): 449–94.

According to Schnapper, "Peiresc's correspondence gives us a good example of the use of engraved plates to make miscellaneous flowers known to a distant correspondent." See Antoine Schnapper, *Le géant, la licorne et la tulipe: Collections et collectionneurs dans la France du XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Flammarion, 1988), 56. On the use of drawing or printing for natural illustrations see Giuseppe Olmi, *L'inventario del mondo: Catalogazione della natura e luoghi del sapere nella prima età moderna* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1992); David Freedberg, "Cassiano, Ferrari, and the Drawing of the Citrus Fruit," in *Citrus Fruit*, ed. David Freedberg and Enrico Baldini (London: Harvey Miller, 1997), 45–84.

64. The collection of Del Monte's copies, the paper museum of Dal Pozzo, and the *Galleria Giustiniana* were born in this manner.

65. ASR, Cartari Febei, b. 33, July 9, 1672.

66. Ibid., July 13, 1672.

67. ASR Cartari Febei, vol. 103, c. 24v.

68. Ibid., c. 25.

69. Ibid., cc. 26–27.

70. Ibid., c. 41, 45, 46.

71. ASR Cartari Feberi, b. 33, August 6, 1672. In the same years Livia Sforza Cesarini paid 6.50 scudi to a certain Arnold Vannesteraunt (the engraver van Westerhout?) as the price for an imprecise number for "printed cards" (see ASR, Sforza Cesarini, s. VIII, b. 249, October 1689).

72. On the production and diffusion of this type of product see Brendan Dooley, "Printing and Entrepreneurship in Seventeenth-Century Italy," *Journal of European Economic History* 25, no. 3 (1996): 569–98; Brendan Dooley, "De bonne main: Les pourvoyeurs de nouvelles à Rome au XVIIe siècle," *Annales HSS* 54, no. 6 (1999): 1317–44; Brendan Dooley, "Printing Matters—The Wages of War: Battles, Prints, and Entrepreneurs in Late Seventeenth-Century Venice," *Word and Image* 17, no. 1 (2001): 7–24.

73. ASR Spada Veralli, b. 794, July 1667, December 1667, June 1668.

74. ASR, Santacroce, b. 286.

75. Ibid., April 1702.

76. Ibid., January 1703.

Chapter Seven

1. Margherita Betti, ASR, S. Girolamo della Carità, b. 4, cc. 92f., 1644 dowry; idem, cc. 116f., 1653 dowry restitution; idem, cc. 157f., 1656, dowry; idem cc. 25f., 1669, inheritance.

2. Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, "Le zane della sposa: La donna fiorentina e il suo corredo nel Rinascimento," in *La famiglia e le donne nel Rinascimento* (Rome: Laterza, 1988), 193–212.

3. Betti 1644 and 1669; Cornelia Alicorna de Fabiis, ASR, TN, uff. 5, vol. 258, cc. 340f., May 16, 1667, inheritance.

4. ASR, Cartari Febei, b. 40, f.n.n.

5. ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 801, March 1684, in total 29.50 scudi.

6. Fynes Moryson, traveling through Italy at the end of the sixteenth century, reported "Nunnes, more specially at Sienna, Ravena and Mantua, used to work curious flowers in silke, which our wemen of late have worne in their heads." Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary Written by Fynes Moryson Gent . . . containing his Ten Yeeres Travell Through the Twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweizerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Italy, Turkey, France, England, Scotland and Ireland* (London: John Beale, 1617), 422; quoted in Peter Thornton, *The Italian Renaissance Interior, 1400–1600* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1991), 260.

7. ASR, Cartari Febei, b. 22, May 25, 1634.

8. ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 801, December 1671.

9. See the letter of October 2, 1627, cited in Donatella Livia Sparti, *Le collezioni Dal Pozzo: Storia di una famiglia e del suo museo nella Roma seicentesca* (Florence: Panini, 1998), 173.

10. Aside from Raspantini there were only seven other men who possessed fake flowers, while not a single woman had any. On the precarious nature of marriage gifts to the young wife see Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 310–29.

11. The "egg of belsuarro" or bezoar stone, was a concretion that formed in the stomach of some herbivores, to which was attributed the property of working as an antidote against poisons deriving from plants. The "great beast" was usually an elk.

12. ASR, Cartari Febei, b. 40, f.n.n.

13. Even Isabella Vecchiarelli, far and away the most fashionable of all the women being treated here, had an Agnus Dei dressed with a silver filigree (see ASR, Santacroce, b. 969, November 1702). Renata Ago, "Donne, doni e public relations tra le famiglie dell'aristocrazia romana del XVII secolo," in *Economia e arte, secc. XIII–XVIII*, ed. Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Florence: Le Monnier, 1990), 175–83.

14. On Roman gardens in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including the plants that were cultivated and the arrangements that Romans adopted, see David R. Coffin, *Gardens and Gardening in Papal Rome* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991).

15. Bernardo Bizoni, *Europa milleseicentosei: Diario di viaggio di Bernardo Bizoni*, ed. Anna Banti (Milan: Rizzoli, 1942).

16. Vincenzo Giustiniani, *Discorsi sulle arti e sui mestieri* (Florence: Sansoni, 1981).

17. Antoine Schnapper, *Le géant, la licorne et la tulipe: Collections et collectionneurs dans la France du XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Flammarion, 1988), 42.

18. Coffin, *Gardens and Gardening*, 208.

19. Giacomo Lumbroso, *Notizie sulla vita di Cassiano dal Pozzo* (Turin: Paravia, 1875), 35; Schnapper, *Le géant*, 42; on the rapport between Dal Pozzo and the Barberini see Lorenza Mochi Onori, "Il cavalier dal Pozzo ministro dei Barberini," in *I segreti di un collezionista: Le straordinarie raccolte di Cassiano dal Pozzo, 1588–1657*, ed. Francesco Solinas (Rome: Edizioni de Luca, 2000), 17–20.

20. See Giovanni Battista Ferrari, *Flora ouero cvltvra di fiori distinta in quattro libri* (Rome: Facciotti, 1638). On this treatise and the thick correspondence between Ferrari and Dal Pozzo on citrus fruits, see David Freedberg, "Cassiano, Ferrari, and the Drawing of the Citrus Fruit," in *Citrus Fruit*, ed. David Freedberg and Enrico Baldini (London: Harvey Miller, 1997), 45–84.

21. Lumbroso, *Notizie*, 35–36.

22. Ibid., 63.

23. ASR, Cartari Febei, b. 40, March 3, 1681. "Simples" referred to the herbs that comprised the basic ingredients of many medicines.

24. Ibid., March 17, 1681. In another letter he added, "Ho sentito gusto che duri tuttavia il giardino de semplici, dal quale a tempo nuovo desidero una pianta d'Iris Faraonis, essendomi andata male quella che dal medesimo luogo ebbi un'altra volta [. . .] intanto la ringrazio del seme delle zucche piene, e delle meraviglie di Spagna [. . .] Mi sarà carissimo vedere a suo tempo il libro del Trionfetti avendo genio alle piante pellegrine delle quali mi provvidi in Firenze d'alcuni altri libri che non son cattivi." Ibid., December 1684.

25. As has been noted, this phenomenon was not limited to Italy: for a recent reflection of this issue see Anne Goldgar, "Nature as Art: The Case of the Tulip," in *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, Science, and Art in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Pamela H. Smith and Paula Findlen (New York: Routledge, 2002), 324–46.

26. ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 756, 1663, accounts nn. 10, 30, and 50; ASR, Santacroce, b. 747, fasc. 1, 1701, account n. 27; ASR, Sforza Cesarini, b. 249, passim (October 1689: the acquisition of asparagus plants for Genzano's garden). Livia Sforza Cesarini kept an account as well with the florist from whom she often bought flowers for "dinners" (ASR, Sforza Cesarini, s. I, oval label, b. 36, 1687–99, account n. 39).

27. Carlo Cartari described the library at the palazzo Altemps as opening onto a loggia whose ceiling was frescoed with "air and birds." Outside every window there were vases of plants "to make it green for those studying there" ASR, Cartari Febei, b. 185, c. 78; see also Joseph Connors, "Delle biblioteche romane intorno all'Alessandrina," in *Roma e lo studium urbis: Spazio urbano e cultura dal Quattro al Seicento*, ed. Paolo Cherubini (Rome: Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali, Uffico centrale per i beni archivistici, 1992), 486–97.

28. Girolamo Amatelli de Grotti, ASR, Notai AC, vol. 4765, cc. 592f., 1665, inheritance; Polidoro Neruzzi, ASR, Notai AC, vol. 3180, cc. 857f., 1641, inheritance.

29. ASR Spada Veralli, b. 775, account n. 21.

30. Lumbroso, *Notizie*, 14; Sparti, *Le collezioni Dal Pozzo*, 42f.

31. ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 756, 1663.

32. Ibid., b. 794, October 1667.

33. ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 801, May 1672 (to evaluate the entirety of the sum, one must also include that the young woman received from her husband a monthly allowance of 26 scudi).

34. ASR, Cartari Febei, b. 33, October 10, 1671.

35. Giovanni Rotoli, ASR, TN, uff. 28, vol. 142, cc. 510f., February 7, 1628, inheritance; Francesco Raspantini, ASR, Notai AC, vol. 4772, cc. 32f., January 18, 1667, inheritance; Alberto Battistoni, ASR, Notai AC, vol. 2205, cc. 368f., 1645, inheritance; Margherita Betti, ASR, S. Girolamo della Carità, b. 4, cc. 25f., 1669, inheritance. On the passion for exotic birds see also Osvaldo Raggio, *Storia di una passione: Cultura aristocratica e collezionismo alla fine dell'ancien régime* (Venice: Marsilio, 2000), 27, 28 and passim.

36. G. B. Masefield, "Crops and Livestock," in *The Economy of Expanding Europe in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, vol. 4, ed. E. E. Rich and Charles Wilson (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 295–99. On the introduction of the novelty of hot drinks see Carole Shammas, *The Pre-Industrial Consumer in England and America* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990); G. J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds., *Consumption and the World of Goods* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

37. ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 801, July and August 1674.

38. ASR, Sforza Cesarini, S. I, Oval Lael, b. 36: records of various suppliers, including the *nevarolo*, from 1687 to 1699. In 1689 the payment amounted to 31.80 scudi.

39. ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 794.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid., April 1667

42. Giustiniani in 1606 at Murano had bought "a quantity of glasses," but it is highly probable that he was discussing refined decorative objects rather than drinking utensils (see Bizoni, *Europa milleseicentosei*, 48).

43. Nicola, Francesco and Antonio, ASR, Notai AC, vol. 766, cc. 484, 1648, judicial. The friar's glass was a type of short-stemmed glass for wine or beer. The "glass for spirits" was a long-stemmed glass similar to a modern grappa flute.

44. Stefano Del Chenne, ASR, Notai AC, vol. 4765, cc. 300f., May 28, 1665, inheritance.

45. The same Giustiniani who in 1606 bought a "quantity of glasses" in Murano, in his 1634 inventory did not even have a single glass (see Bizoni, *Europa milleseicentosei*, 48).

46. Antonio Adami, *Il nouitiato del maestro di casa* (Rome: Per Tomaso Coligni, 1657), 165–66.

47. ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 794, April 1667.

48. Neruzzi, 1641; Betti, 1656.

49. ASR, Spada b. 775, account n. 2.

50. Ibid., account n. 16.

51. ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 794, April 1667. Livia Sforza Cesarini's account book also includes an expenditure of 3.60 scudi "for chocolate" (see ASR, Sforza Cesarini, b. 249, April 1689).

52. Del Chenne, 1665; Lirighetti, 1648.

53. ASR, Santacroce, b. 969, October 1701.

54. Ibid., September 1701, September 1702, December 1702.

55. ASR Santacroce, b. 747, fasc. 1, June 1702; idem, fasc. 3, December 1703; idem, b. 286, fasc. 1, October 1702, idem, b. 747, fasc. 1, October 1702, April 1702.

56. ASR, Santacroce, b. 544, fasc 1., passim, November 1706, August 1706, February 1706.

57. Ibid., December 1706, March 1707, May 1707. The *cuccumo* was a sort of jug that is thicker on the bottom than the top.

58. ASR, Santacroce, b. 1122, fasc. 2.

59. ASR, Santacroce, b. 286, fasc. 1. The *pan di zucchero* style was a glass in the shape of a squat cone with the bottom ending in a rounded point.

60. It is however possible that this absence has simply been caused by a documentary gap, and the missing crystals may have ended up in a separate inventory.

61. ASR, Santacroce, b. 544, April 1707.

62. ASR, Cartari Febei, B. 40.

63. On average 24.2 silver objects per man and 12.6 per woman.

64. Vittoria Patrizi Spada, who perhaps had these in her trousseau, during the first months of her married life bought a "flatware set" including a knife (see ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 801, September 1668).

65. ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 827, c. 7.

66. ASR, Cartari Febei, b. 40.

67. ASR, Santacroce, b. 969, February and December 1793, January 1704, December 1706, September 1707. On other similar occasions she gave instead a pearl charm (December 1701), a silver cup (June 1702), a chest of drawers (March 1703), or a pair of sleeves (July 1704).

68. On the weapons used by the artisans who had to guarantee the safety of the city gates see Eleonora Canepari, *Stare in "compagnia": Strategie di inurbamento e forme associative nella Roma del Seicento* (Rubbettino: Soveria Mannelli, 2007), 107.

69. Natalia Gozzano, *La quadreria di Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna: Prestigio nobiliare e collezionismo nella Roma barocca* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2004), 100–101.

70. ASR, Santacroce, b. 969, March 1702.

71. For the other owners we do not know whether they had music books of this type because they did not leave inventories of their libraries.

72. AC, AGU, sex. I, vol. 93, cc. 408f., February 19, 1626.

73. Similarly, the *vermicellaro* Tinelli owned various pasta-making instruments; the embroiderer Bronconi owned fifteen embroidery looms; the merchant Lirighetti had various implements for spinning; and the blacksmith Giunti had horse and mule shoes, anvils, hammers, bellows, and other tools of the trade (see the respective inventories).

74. The "manna from Saint Nicola" was a liquid that dripped from the sarcophagus of the saint into the Cathedral of Bari and came to be collected in precious painted bottles.

75. Lucrezia Marinella, *Le nobiltà, et eccellenze delle donne, et i diffetti, e mancamenti de gli huomini: Discorso* (Venice: Giouan Battista Giotti senese, 1600).

76. ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 801, May 1668, August 1669, September 1670, July 1672.

77. Ibid., January 1672, April 1672, June 1672, August 1674.

78. ASR, Santacroce, b. 969, March 1704, April 1704, April 1707.

79. ASR, Santacroce, b. 544.

80. Marinella, *Le nobiltà*.

81. Nicola Salvati, ASR, Notai AC, vol. 945, cc. 573f., March 16, 1700, inheritance.

82. ASR, TN, uff. 28, Testamenti, vol. 2, c. 821, 1602.

83. For the jewelry of Vecchiarelli Santacroce see ASR, Santacroce, b. 968, f.n.n.

84. Giuseppe Gatti, *Statuti dei mercanti di Roma* (Rome: Tipografia della pace di F. Cuggiani, 1885), 108–10; ASR *Congregazione economica 1708*, b. 28, fasc. 107.

85. Ibid., fasc. 112.

86. Ibid., fasc. 132; Adami, *Il nouitiato del maestro di casa*, 175.

87. ASR, Santacroce, b. 86, c. 74v.

88. Ibid., c. 80v.

89. Ibid.

90. Ibid.

91. See above, n. 42; A Griffo, "Il viaggio di formazione di un giovane nobile nel Settecento: Il caso di Filippo Orsini" (Tesi di Laurea, Università "La Sapienza" di Roma, 2004).

92. Adami, *Il nouitiato del maestro di casa*, 76.

93. Ibid., 77.

94. There are now many different studies of the channels of correspondents and friends that made the formation of many collections possible. Among the classic studies are Schnapper, *Le géant*; Giuseppe Olmi, "'Molti amici in vari luoghi': Studio della natura e rapporti epistolari nel secolo XVI," *Nuncius* 6, no. 1 (1991): 3–31; and the most recent is Pamela H. Smith and Paula Findlen, eds., *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, Science,*

and Art in Early Modern Europe (New York: Routledge, 2002). See in particular Findlen's article in this last collection, pp. 247–323.

95. ASR, Cartari Febei, b. 33, March 3, 1681.

96. Ibid., March 17, 1681. The book in question was by the Jesuit naturalist Filippo Buonanni, *Ricreazione dell'occhio e della mente nell'osservazione delle chiocciole* (Rome, 1681).

97. Ibid., December 30, 1684.

98. ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 784, cc. 59f., "Spese dal 1 febbraio 1649," July 13, 1649, 25, 30 scudi to reimburse the expense of Abbot Merozzi; ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 1002, 1659.

99. ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 1002, 1659; idem, 1660, 1661.

100. ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 801, September 1671; idem, November 1671; idem, July and November 1672.

101. ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 794, July 1667.

102. Ibid., November 1667.

103. For a detailed analysis of this role of intermediary carried out by friends and acquaintances, in a manner that at times became nearly professional, see Vittoria Orlandi Balzari, "Alessandro Verri antiquario in Roma," *Quaderni storici* 116, no. 2 (2004): 495–528.

104. ASR, Santacroce, b. 698, fasc. 2, respectively: December 1702, February 1703, August 1704, March 1703, August 1704, January 1705, March 1706, January 1706, March 1706, March 1706, September 1705, October 1703, November 1704, June 1705, April 1706. *Tabinet* is silk and worsted fabric with a moiré finish. Thanks to Lydia Cochrane for this information (PF).

105. See the letter from 2 October 1627 cited in Sparti, *Le collezioni Dal Pozzo*, 173; ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 801, *passim*. The documents mention Monsù Claudio Mellun, Francesco Gasparini, Settimio Restagna, Francesco Liberti and Monsù Rubiaglio.

106. ASR, Santacroce, b. 698, fasc. 2, passim. The documents mention Monsù Giacomo, Bonelli merchant, Ferrari merchant, Monsù Profeta e Bevilard, Gammorra merchant e Medoro merchant.

Chapter Eight

1. The difficulty in effecting this calculation for Italy has been noted, but at the end of the sixteenth century in Venice, which was not just any big city but the seat of the most important printing industry in Europe, the literacy rate was, for example, about 33 percent for men and 13 percent for women. See Peter Burke, "The Uses of Literacy in Early Modern Italy," in his *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 110–31; Marino Zorzi, "La circolazione del libro a Venezia nel Cinquecento: Biblioteche private e pubbliche," *Ateneo veneto* 28 (1990): 117–89; Paul Grendler, "Form and Function in Italian Renaissance Popular Books," *Renaissance Quarterly* 46 (1993): 451–85.

2. On libraries, collections of books, and reading practices see Armando Petrucci, ed., *Libri, editori e pubblico nell'Europa moderna: Guida storica e critica* (Rome: Laterza, 1977); Armando Petrucci, ed., *Libri, scrittura e pubblico nel Rinascimento: Guida storica e critica* (Rome: Laterza, 1979); Armando Petrucci, ed., *Scrittura e popolo nella Roma barocca: 1585–1721* (Rome: Quasar, 1979); Christian Bec, *Les livres des Florentins (1413–1608)* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1984); Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987); Roger Chartier, *Lectures et lecteurs dans la France d'Ancien Regime* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1987); Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994); Roger Chartier, ed., *Histoires de la lecture: Un bilan de recherches* (Paris: Editions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 1995); Daniel Roche, *The People of Paris: An Essay in Popular Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Daniel Roche, *La cultura dei lumi: Letterati, libri, biblioteche nel XVIII secolo* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1992); Zorzi, "La circolazione del libro a Venezia nel Cinquecento: Biblioteche private e pubbliche"; Simonetta Cavaciocchi, *Produzione e commercio della carta e del libro secc. XIII–XVIII* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1992); Roger Chartier and Alain Paire, *Pratiques de la lecture* (Paris: Payot, 1993); Henri-Jean Martin, *Print, Power, and People in Seventeenth-Century France* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1993); Marc Baratin and Christian Jacob, *Le pouvoir des bibliothèques: La mémoire des livres en Occident* (Paris: A. Michel, 1996); Frédéric Barbier, Sabine Juratic, and Dominique Varry, *L'Europe et le livre: Réseaux et pratiques du négoce de librairie, XVIe–XIXe siècles* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1996); Roger Chartier and Guglielmo Cavallo, *A History of Reading in the West*, trans. Lydia Cochrane (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999); Michel Marion, *Collections et collectionneurs de livres au XVIIIe siècle: 1598–1701* (Geneva: Droz, 1999); Brian Richardson, *Printing, Writers, and Readers in Renaissance Italy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing, 1450–1800* (New York: Verso, 2000); Giuseppe Lombardi, "Libri e istituzioni a Roma: Diffusione e organizzazione," in *Roma del Rinascimento*, ed. Antonio Pinelli (Rome: Laterza, 2001), 267–90; Xenia von Tippelskirch, "Sotto controllo: Letture femminili all'inizio dell'Epoca moderna in Italia" (PhD diss., European University Institute, 2003).

3. ASR, TN uff. 5, vol. 258, c. 340, 1667; Margherita Betti, ASR, S. Girolamo della Carità, b. 4, cc. 92f., 1644, dowry. Margherita Betti was also the only woman who owned an inkwell.

4. On female readers see Federica Ambrosini, "Libri e lettrici in terra veneta nel sec. XVI: Echi erasmiani e inclinazioni eterodosse," in *Erasmo, Venezia e la cultura padana nel '500*, ed. Achille Olivieri (Rovigo: Minelliana, 1995), 75–86; Tippelskirch, "Sotto

controllo"; Giuseppe Lombardi, *Roma donne libri tra Medioevo e Rinascimento: In ricordo di Pino Lombardi* (Rome: Roma nel Rinascimento, 2004).

5. Dorotea Antolini's library must have been very full if it took twelve bookcases to contain it. In comparison Azzavedi, who was a scholar by profession, only needed five bookcases to contain his whole library.

6. ASR, S. Girolamo della Carità, b. 4, cc. 185f.

7. Cited in Luigi Spezzaferro, "Per il collezionismo dei bamboccianti a Roma nel seicento: Qualche appunto e qualche riflessione," in *Da Caravaggio a Ceruti: La scena di genere e l'immagine dei pitocchi nella pittura italiana*, ed. Francesco Porzio (Milan: Skira, 1998), 85.

8. Gabriel Naudé, *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque* (Paris: Rolet le Duc, 1644).

9. Joseph Connors, "Delle biblioteche romane intorno all'Alessandrina," in *Roma e lo studium urbis: Spazio urbano e cultura dal Quattro al Seicento*, ed. Paolo Cherubini (Rome: Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali, Uffico centrale per i beni archivistici, 1992), 486–97.

10. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberiniani latini, n. 4360, cited in Donatella Livia Sparti, *Le collezioni Dal Pozzo: Storia di una famiglia e del suo museo nella Roma seicentesca* (Florence: Panini, 1998), 80.

11. Giovanni Pietro Bellori, *Nota delli musei, librerie, gallerie et ornamenti di statue e pitture ne' palazzi, nelle case, e ne' giardini di Roma* (Rome: Apresso Biagio Deuersin e Felice Cesaretti, 1664).

12. ASR, Santacroce b. 1260, fasc. 8, G. V. Gravina, "Regolamento di studi," 5–6.

13. Ibid., 21–22.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid., 26f.

16. ASR, Santacroce, b. 969, August 1702; In September she bought "il Torsellino" (a book of histories from all over the world) and another book, in February 1703 "various devotional books," in March 1703 "4 breviaries printed in Cologne with a cover of red worked leather and golden thread."

17. Ibid., September 1702.

18. ASR, Misc. Families, b. 61, fasc. 6.

19. Ibid., fasc. 1, fasc. 5.

20. Ibid., fasc. 2.

21. Bellori, *Nota*.

22. Polidoro Neruzzi, ASR, Notai AC, vol. 3180, cc. 857f., 1641, hereditary.

23. Renata Ago, *Carriere e clientele nella Roma barocca* (Rome: Laterza, 1990).

24. The books on legal subjects numbered 238.

25. Felice, Giovanni, and Cristoforo Contelori, ASR, Misc. Famiglie, fasc. 6, c. 2, 1617, division.

26. In reality there were other books that were probably not legal texts. However, for about fifteen books it is impossible to establish their subject matter.

27. Letter collections to be used as a model for one's own correspondence were a rather popular genre: the *Libraria* by Anton Francesco Doni, in the middle of the sixteenth century, included at least eighteen editions in just a few years (see Amedeo Quondam, "La letteratura in tipografia," in *Letteratura italiana* [Turin: Einaudi, 1983], 627–28). See also Amedeo Quondam, *Le "Carte messaggiere": Retorica e modelli di comunicazione epistolare per un indice dei libri di lettere del Cinquecento* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1981); Gigliola Fragnito, "Per lo studio dell'epistolografia volgare del Cinquecento: Le lettere di Ludovico Beccadelli," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 43 (1981): 61–87; Roger Chartier, "Secrétaires per il popolo? I modelli epistolari dell'Antico regime tra letteratura di corte e libro di colportage," in *Dimensioni e problemi della ricerca storica* 1 (1988): 59–102.

28. Paolo Cerchi, "La Piazza Universale: Somma di altre somme," in *Repertori di parole e immagini: Esperienze cinquecentesche e moderni data bases*, ed. Paola Barocchi and Lina Bolzoni (Pisa: Scuola normale superiore, 1997), 122.

29. On the success of verse collections and on the role of editors in this type of literary production (between 1526 and 1600 there were published at least thirty of these collections) see Quondam, "La letteratura in tipografia," 679.

30. See Jacqueline Hamesse, "The Scholastic Model of Reading," in *A History of Reading in the West*, ed. Roger Chartier and Guglielmo Cavallo (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), 103–19; see also Charles Schmitt, "Auctoritates, Repertorium, Dicta, Sententia, Flores, Thesaurus and Axiomata: Latin Aristotelian florilegia in the Renaissance," in *Aristoteles Werk und Wirkung: Kommentierung, Uberlieferung, Nachleben*, ed. Jürgen Wiesner (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1987), 515–37.

31. Cited in Hamesse, "The Scholastic Model of Reading," 109.

32. Ibid., 118.

33. Ibid.; Anthony Grafton, *Commerce with the Classics: Ancient Books and Renaissance Readers* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997); Anthony Grafton, "The Humanist as Reader," in *A History of Reading in the West*, ed. Roger Chartier and Guglielmo Cavallo (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), 179–213. Grafton insists on the continuity between the humanistic and scholastic styles of reading.

34. Hamesse, "The Scholastic Model of Reading," 111. See also Ann Blair, "Reading Strategies for Coping with Information Overload ca. 1550–1700," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64 (2003): 11–28; Ann Blair, "Bibliothèques portables: Les recueils de lieux communs dans la Renaissance tardive," in *Le pouvoir des bibliothèques: La mémoire des livres en Occident*, ed. Marc Baratin and Christian Jacob (Paris: A. Michel, 1996), 84–106.

35. Naudé, *Advis pour dresser une bibliotheque*, 62: "Et pour moy je tiens ces collections pour grandement utiles et necessaries, eu esgard de la briefveté de notre vie et la multitude des choses qu'il faut aujourd'huy sçavoir ne nous permettent pas de pouvoir tout faire de nous mesme."

36. Ibid., 60–61: "Il ne faut aussi oublier toutes sortes de lieux communs, dictionnaires, meslanges, diverses leçons, recueils de sentences, et telles autres sortes de repertoires, parce que c'est autant de chemin fait et de matiere preparée pour ceux qui ont l'industrie d'en user avec advantage, estant certain qu'il y en a beaucoup qui font merveille de parler et d'escrire sans qu'ils ayent guere veu d'autres volumes que ces mentionnés."

37. Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 178–79; see also the introduction from Chartier and Cavallo, *A History of Reading in the West*, 1–36.

38. Gigliola Fragnito, ed., *Church, Censorship, and Culture in Early Modern Italy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

39. Ann Blair has shown how the *Universae naturae theatrum* by Jean Bodin (1596) was built upon a collection of commonplaces (see Blair, "Bibliothèques portables").

40. The first work dealt with the work by Juan Gonzales de Mendoza, who was Philip II's ambassador to China, the summary of miracles were by the Milanese Jesuit Paolo Morigia, and the tract about the Moors was by Damiano de Fonesca.

41. Cerchi, "La Piazza Universale," 126. *Lo Specchio della scienza universale* (1564) was another of Fioravanti's popular encyclopedias.

42. On this characteristic of libraries from the ancien régime see Marion, *Collections et collectionneurs*, 164; Amedeo Quondam, "Il barocco e la letteratura: Genealogie del mito della decadenza italiana," in *I capricci di Proteo: Percorsi e linguaggi del Barocco, atti del convegno internazionale di Lecce, 23–26 ottobre 2000* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2002), 119.

43. Quondam, "Il barocco e la letteratura," 174–75.

44. Lina Bolzoni, "Memoria letteraria e iconografica nei repertori cinquecenteschi," in *Repertori di parole e immagini: Esperienze cinquecentesche e moderni data bases*, ed. Paola Barocchi and Lina Bolzoni (Pisa: Scuola normale superiore, 1997), 22.

45. Lina Bolzoni, *La stanza della memoria: Modelli letterari e iconografici dell'età della stampa* (Turin: Einaudi, 1995), 61.

46. On the primacy of Venetian publishing during the first twenty-five years of the seventeenth century, and on the development of Roman publishing, see Quondam, "La letteratura in tipografia"; Amedeo Quondam, "'Mercanzia d'onore,' 'mercanzia d'utiles': Produzione libraria e lavoro intellettuale a Venezia nel Cinquecento," in *Libri, editori e pubblico nell'Europa moderna: Guida storica e critica*, ed. Armando Petrucci (Rome: Laterza, 1977); Mario Infelise, "La librairie italienne (XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles)," in *L'Europe et le livre: Réseaux et pratiques du négoce de librairie, XVIe–XIXe siècles*, ed. Frédéric Barbier, Sabine Juratic, and Dominique Varry (Paris: Klincksieck, 1996), 81–97; Richardson, *Printing*; Ugo Rozzo, ed., *La lettera e il torchio: Studi sulla produzione libraria tra XVI e XVIII secolo* (Udine: Forum, 2001).

47. Francesco Negrelli, ASR, TN, uff. 28, vol. 142, cc. 71f., January 5, 1628, hereditary.

48. Nicola Pari, ASR, TN, uff. 5, vol. 258, cc. 11f., April 3, 1667, hereditary; Paolo Cangiani, ASR, Notai AC, vol. 4772, cc. 413f., March 20, 1667, hereditary; Francesco Raspantini, ASR, Notai AC, vol. 4472, cc. 32f., January 18, 1667, hereditary.

49. These percentages are completely comparable with the French statistics reconstructed by Daniel Roche for more or less the same period (see Roche, *La cultura dei lumi*, 116f.). The same results appear in Marion, *Collections et collectionneurs*, 135: out of a field of 586 library catalogs at the beginning of the eighteenth century, theological works accounted for 15 percent of the total.

50. For a comparison with the typology of works collected in similar French libraries see Henri-Jean Martin, *Livre, pouvoirs et société à Paris au XVIIe siècle (1598–1701)* (Geneva: Droz, 1969).

51. It is perhaps worthwhile to remember that Negrelli owned seven volumes of letters and one of "compliments"; even Bernini had in his house at least four volumes of letters. See Sarah McPhee, "Bernini's Books," *Burlington Magazine* 142 (2000): 442–48; Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco, *L'immagine al potere: Vita di Giovan Lorenzo Bernini* (Rome: Laterza, 2001), 377–81.

52. Quondam, "La letteratura in tipografia," 677.

53. Bolzoni, *La stanza della memoria*, 57.

54. Antonio Francesco Doni, *La libraria di Anton Francesco Doni: Divisa in tre trattati*, ed. Vanni Bramanti (Milan: Longanesi, 1972), cited in Quondam, "La letteratura in tipografia," 623. The same holds true for Orazio Toscanella (see Bolzoni, *La stanza della memoria*, 63).

55. Bolzoni, "Memoria letteraria," 22.

56. On these see Bolzoni, *La stanza della memoria* and in particular chapter 6.

57. Doni, *La libraria*, cited in Quondam, "La letteratura in tipografia," 630.

58. Cerchi, "La Piazza Universale," 121.

59. Diego Perez de Valdivia, *Annotazioni intorno alla vita, e morte della serenissima donna Maria principessa di Parma* (Florence: Giunta, 1593), cited in Xenia von Tippelskirch, "'Con la lettura di questa santa operina attenderà ad infiammare se medesima': Annotazioni alla Vita di maria di Portogallo, principessa di Parma e Piacenza (1538–1577)," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome—Italie et Méditerranée* 113, no. 1 (2001): 250.

60. Claude Balavoine, "Dès Hieroglyphica de Pierio Valeriano à l'Iconologia de Cesare Ripa ou le changement du statut du signe iconique," in *Repertori di parole e immagini: Esperienze cinquecentesche e moderni data bases*, ed. Barocchi and Bolzoni, 99–117;

M. P. Paoli, "La donna e il melograno: Biografie di Matilde di Canossa," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome—Italie et Méditerranée* 113, no. 1 (2001): 173–215.

61. On reading "for action" see Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, "'Studied for Action': How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy," *Past and Present* 129, no. 1 (1990): 30–78; Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000).

62. He also owned the *History of the Wars of Ferdinand II*.

63. He owned two volumes of the *Book of the History of the World* by Giovanni Tarcagnota, another two added by Mambrino Roseo, as well as a *Universal History on the Origins of the Turks* by Francesco Sansovino.

64. The commentary was by the humanist and professor of eloquence Marco Antonio Maioragio.

65. The first work was by the Portuguese Dominican André Resende. *De artis gymasticae* was by the illustrious doctor Girolamo Mercuriale, and *Lo stabulo dell'agricoltura e l'Economia del cittadino in villa* was by Vincenzo Tanara.

66. The term "Giovian" is used because it was Paolo Giovio who first produced portraits of illustrious men accompanied by epigrams that exalted their lives and their talents (*virtù*) in the mid-sixteenth century.

67. Balavoine, "Dès Hieroglyphica," 80.

68. Ibid., 88f., Jean-Marc Chatelain, *Livres d'emblèmes et de devises: Une anthologie, 1531–1735* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1993).

69. Quondam, "La letteratura in tipografia."

70. On the spread of prose narrative, both ancient and modern, see Martin, *Livre*, 292–93.

71. As for the other books, he had a Plutarch that was translated and abridged by Giovan Bernardo Gualandi, a *Historia sacra della Guerra di Gerusalemme* by Guglielmo di Tiro, and finally the work *Nautica mediterranea* by Bartolomeo Crescenzio.

72. Albert N. Mancini, *Il romanzo nel Seicento: Saggio di bibliografia, parte prima* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1970).

73. See Giovanni Maria Versari's preface to his *Cavaliere d'honore* (Velletrri, 1673), cited in Lucinda Spera, "Un consuntivo tardo-secentesco sul romanzo (Gio Maria Versari e Il cavaliere d'honore)," *Studi secenteschi* 35 (1994): 145–65; see also Quinto Marini, "La prosa narrativa," in *Storia della letteratura italiana*, vol. 5, *La Fine del cinquecento e il seicento*, ed. Enrico Malato (Rome: Salerno, 1997), 1023.

74. Mancini, *Il romanzo nel Seicento*.

75. On the Giustiniani library see also Irene Baldriga, "La personalità di Vincenzo Giustiniani nello specchio della sua biblioteca," in *Caravaggio e i Giustiniani: Toccar con mano una collezione del Seicento*, ed. Silvia Danesi Squarzina (Milan: Electa, 2001), 73–80.

76. Cangiani and Raspantini were not the only ones who owned "useful" books: in addition to the jurists, Ippolito Giunti had books used for his profession, that is, "books on the blacksmith's art" (see Ippolito Giunti, ASR, Notai AC, vol. 2095, cc. 139f., 1645, inheritance).

77. Baldriga, "La personalità di Vincenzo Giustiniani."

78. On censorship in Italy see Antonio Rotondò, "Editoria e censura," in *La Stampa in Italia nel Cinquecento*, ed. Marco Santoro (Rome: Bulzoni, 1992); Antonio Rotondò, "La censura ecclesiastica e la cultura," in *Storia d'Italia*, vol. 2, *I documenti*, ed. Ruggiero Romano and Corrado Vivanti (Turin: Einaudi, 1973), 1397–492; Mario Infelise, *I libri proibiti: Da Gutenberg all'Encyclopédie* (Rome: Laterza, 1999); Fragnito, *Church, Censorship, and Culture in Early Modern Italy*.

79. Gigliola Fragnito, "The Central and Peripheral Organization of Censorship," in *Church, Censorship, and Culture*, ed. Fragnito, 13–49.

80. McPhee, "Bernini's Books." On the importance of this issue see Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo: La censura ecclesiastica e i volgarizzamenti della Scrittura: 1471–1605* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1997).

81. The complete title was *The Bible/that is the books* (written in much smaller letters)*/of the Old* (in large letters again)*/and the New/Testament*.

82. Edoardo Barbieri, *Le Bibbie italiane del Quattrocento e del Cinquecento: Storia e bibliografia ragionata delle edizioni in lingua italiana dal 1471 al 1600* (Milan: Editrice bibliografica, 1992).

83. Ibid.

84. McPhee, "Bernini's Books."

85. Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo*.

86. Whoever put together this inventory mentioned a "book of various instruments and *sententiae* by Marino di Basilio Raspantini di Assisi." A relative of the painter must have therefore been a notary or perhaps a jurist. This would explain also the dozen works on civil procedure present in his library and the seven tomes of "acts and information." Raspantini himself could have been interested in Paolo Leonio's tract on the *fedecommesso* substitutions, or in Andrea Tiraqueau's work on donations, or even in Pietro Rebuffi's *Praxis beneficiorum utilissima acquirendi, conservandique illa, ac amittendi modos commitens, usumque & stylum literarum Curiae Romanae*.

87. ASR, Notai RCA, b. 1474, c. 6, 1597. Probably he is referring to the *Theatrum orbis terrarum* by Abraham Ortelius.

88. Ibid., c. 201, 1624.

89. ASR, TN, uff. 28, vol. 142, c. 61, 1628.

90. McPhee, "Bernini's Books," 443.

91. On books given as gifts see Natalie Zemon Davis, "Beyond the Market: Books as Gifts in Sixteenth-Century France," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 33 (1983): 69–88; on those loaned out and the spread of this phenomenon see Brendan

Maurice Dooley, *Morandi's Last Prophecy and the End of Renaissance politics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002) and in particular chapter five.

92. Naudé, *Advis pour dresser une bibliotheque*, 131–32.

93. I have excluded from this analysis legal books, as I consider these to be largely texts for consultation rather than reading.

94. On the relationship between the work, its format, and reading see the famous letter by Machiavelli; Niccolò Machiavelli, *Lettere*, ed. Franco Gaeta (Turin: UTET, 1984), 425–26, which is also cited in Grafton, "The Humanist as Reader," 179–80.

95. The only library inventory accompanied by appraisals that have been found was that of a doctor who died in 1744 and who is therefore outside of the chronological limits of my research: see ASR, TN, uff. 19, vol. 558, cc. 519f. The doctors' books in this library, however, had a value that varied between ten and twenty *baiocchi*. Yet this source says nothing on the size or the bindings of these works, which obviously indicates much about the price of a volume.

96. See also Gian Ludovico Masetti Zannini, *Stampatori e librai a Roma nella seconda metà del Cinquecento: Documenti inediti* (Rome: Fratelli Palombi, 1980).

97. On the importance of the format of a book and its affect on the practice of reading see Grendler, "Form and Function"; Grafton, "The Humanist as Reader"; Tippelskirch, *Sotto controllo*.

98. See Jardine and Grafton, "Studied for Action"; Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions*.

99. Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions*.

100. Ibid.; Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*.

101. ASR, Santacroce, b. 969, December 1707.

102. ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 775, account n. 2, 1681.

103. ASR, Cartari Febei, b. 40, August 31, 1672.

104. ASR, Spada Veralli, b. 775, conto n. 16, 1682.

105. The meticulousness of Orazio Spada is quite peculiar and very pleasing to modern scholars. However, analogous cases, even if they kept their records in a more chaotic manner, can be found easily among the records of Federico and Livia Sforza Cesarini and Antonio Santacroce (see for example ASR, Sforza Cesarini, etichetta ovale, s. I, b. 36, account n. 41, 1687; ASR Santacroce, b. 747, fasc 3, account n. 55, 1703).

106. On the importance of the archive for family identity see Maura Piccialuti Caprioli, *L'immortalità dei beni: Fedecommessi e primogeniture a Roma nei secoli XVII e XVIII* (Rome: Viella, 1999).

107. ASR, Misc. Famiglie, b. 61.

108. ASR, S. Giacomo degli incurabili, b. 172, fasc. 10.

109. ASR, Cartari Febei, b. 22, November 8, 1633. See pp. 22–24.

110. On commercial production of paper see Cavaciocchi, *Produzione e commercio della carta e del libro secc. XIII–XVIII*.

111. See ASR, Santacroce, b. 286, May 1703.

112. In seventeenth-century Paris, in contrast, private writings began to be widespread. See Roche, *The People of Paris: An Essay in Popular Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, 207–9.

113. It would be valid to say that all of this was willingly left outside of the inventory as it pertained to the professional life of the two lawyers and not to their private patrimonies. But as well as being anachronistic this hypothesis denies the fact that the books were in fact recorded in their inventories. The more likely explanation is therefore that the inventory was interrupted because recording all the papers in the study would have been too time consuming, expensive, and of little use to their heirs.

114. ASR, TN, uff. 23, cc. 818f., August 8, 1627.

115. For Raspantini, for example, not a single known painting remains. See Richard E. Spear, *Domenichino* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982).

Conclusion

1. Melanie Tebbutt, *Making Ends Meet: Pawnbroking and Working-Class Credit* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983); Daniel Roche, *The People of Paris: An Essay in Popular Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Renata Ago, *Economia barocca: Mercato e istituzioni nella Roma del Seicento* (Rome: Donzelli, 1998).

2. Pietro Aretino, *Ragionamento: dialogo* (Milan: Garzanti, 1984).

3. Ago, *Economia barocca*.

4. From a census of 1656, which was limited only to the *rione* of Campo Marzio, it emerges that out of nearly one hundred painters surveyed, about half were classified as "comfortable," that is to say, well off. See Richard Spear, "Rome," in *Painting for Profit: The Economic Lives of Italian Seventeenth-Century Painters*, by Richard E. Spear and Philiop Sohm (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010).

5. Their membership in a distinct class is indicated also by the fact that the honorific titles they adopted in public acts were very similar to one another: "illustrious and most excellent" for lawyers, "illustrious" for successful merchants, "knight" for established artists, and so on.

6. The importance of this connection had already been recognized by Max Weber, who constructed the notion of a class based on lifestyle rather than other different and more "objective" parameters (see Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology* [New York: Bedminster Press, 1968]).

7. Antoine Schnapper, *Le géant, la licorne et la tulipe: Collections et collectionneurs dans la France du XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Flammarion, 1988); Julius Schlosser, *Raccolte d'arte e di meraviglie del tardo Rinascimento*, ed. Cristina De Benedictis (Milan: Sansoni, 2000).

8. The literature on the family, the house, and social virtues discusses "*conviti*," or large dinners often connected with religious holidays, and gives prodigious advice on how to organize and manage these events.

9. Pietro Belmonte, *Institutione della sposa del cavalier Pietro Belmonte Ariminese fatta principalmente per Madonna Laudomia sua figliuola nelle sue nuoue nozze* (Rome: Per gl'heredi di Giouanni Osmarino Gigliotto, 1587), 58.

10. ASR, Notai RCA, b. 1474, c. 275, 1639.

11. See above, p. 131.

12. Annette B. Weiner, *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping-While-Giving* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 7.

13. ASR, Notai RCA, b. 1474, c. 124, 1612; see the case of Costanza Belo, widow of Pini, who left her goods to the male sons of her two daughters on the condition that they take the last name of her dead husband; or (in ASR, Notai RCA, b. 1029, c. 265, 1610) that of Lavinia Dionisia, the widow of Barisiani, who did not force but invited the daughter or her sister, her heir, to marry a young man who bore the name Barisiani.

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