

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, gal-erie, 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, Gal-erie 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 Dandele, *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 Antiqua* 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 siècle," 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 Società 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, 51 (2008): 172–200; Roche, *Culture of Clothing*; and Giorgio Riello and Prasanna 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 Pardaillé-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 matérielle?” *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 Ariminense 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: 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 comuni della cultura europea e l’identità di genere*, ed. Andreina De Clementi (Rome: Binklink, 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: Fedecommissi 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, Turkey, 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 Pamphili 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 Movable: 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. 8of., cc. 201f., and cc. 329f. See also Howell, “Fixing Movable.”

89. “Movable 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. 79of., 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. Fideicommissary 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 ovvero 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.