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.


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.


6. [Fioravante Martinelli and Giovan Pietro Bellori], Nota delle Musei, Librerie, Gallerie et Ornamenti di Statue e Piture 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 imprimitur is dated 1665. In light of Daly Davis’s excellent research, I have attributed the Nota delle 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.


7. Daly Davis’s article (see n. 5) may resolve some of the disparities between the account of Roman art galleries in Nota delle 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 delle 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 Scultura” di Fioravante Martinelli (Florence: Vallecchi, 1969).


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

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.


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 Cavazzoni, *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.


35. Ibid., 7–8.

36. Ibid., 48.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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,


69. Roche, People of Paris, 126.


Introduction


10. See the contracts archived in ASR, TN, uff. 5, vol. 107, cc. 131, 133, 135, all from January 11, 1626.


17. On the concept of the “sentimental society” see Campbell, “Capitalism, Consumption and the Problem of Motives.”


19. Ibid., 7.

20. Ibid., 10.


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*.


26. Given the lack of more precise data, wealth was measured in terms of household size.

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 nuove 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**


4. What Simmel maintained for human beings also applies to goods: the diffusion of


6. Ibid., xxvii.

7. ASR, Cartari Febei, b. 40, July 8, 1684.


13. See the case of Dorotea Antolini, pp. 35–36 herein; ASR, Notai RCA, b. 1474, cc. 221ff., will of Bernardino Gioj; ibid., b. 1474, cc. 275ff., will of Marta de Rossi (1639).


15. Ibid., 18.

16. Ibid., 231.


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.


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.


27. ASR, Cartari Febei, b. 22, November 1, 1633.

28. Ibid., January 17, 1634.


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.


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 quadria 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).
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.”
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.


64. Ibid., 118–19.

65. Ibid., 120.


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).


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).
87. ASR, S.ma Annunziata, b. 44, cc. 277–78 (italics mine).
88. ASR, Notai RCA, b. 1474, cc. 262ff., will of Francesco Raimondo, 1634; ibid. cc. 275ff., will of Marta de Rossi, 1639. For other examples of bequeathed objects see ibid., cc. 6ff., cc. 80ff., cc. 201ff., and cc. 329ff. 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. 32ff., 1667.
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.
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.
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.
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.
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.
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).
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

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 Panzirolì, 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. 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).
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.
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.