cultural science

Art on the Edge: Hair, Hats and Hands in Renaissance Italy

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Abstract:

This paper argues that items designed for the bodily extremities such as hair-coverings, hats, fans and other accessories were valued for the ease with which they could be changed and adapted to express a range of different meanings: political, social and individual. They also provided an important point of contact between the world of commerce, the court elites and the wider community of men and women who purchased and used these goods. In studying these often marginalised items, we can explore mechanism for the transmission of concepts of fashion and innovation in the Renaissance period.

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Anthropologists have long argued for the importance of examining all aspects of bodily display. For scholars such as Edmund Leach and Raymond Firth, complex headdresses, beards, hair (long, short, washed and unwashed) offered essential mechanisms for displaying status and position, both sacred and secular.[1] Other items of material culture designed to be worn or carried such as umbrellas, flywhisks, or buttons have similarly been investigated for their ritual and personal meanings in periods as diverse as Ming China and contemporary America.[2] At the same time, specialists in contemporary fashion have stressed the ease with which accessories such as shoes, handbags or sunglasses can convey luxury and social identities.

Yet despite the increased interest in dress and the body, similar items broadly defined as accessories have received little attention within Renaissance studies.[3] They remain on the edge of our discussion just as they lie on the margins of the body. This may be, in part, because contemporary commentators regarded such goods as either unworthy of attention, or even

as immoral. For example, in the popular and widely-read *Romance de la Rose*, Lady Idleness was personified as a woman who wore white gloves and spoke with perfumed breath, introducing herself by saying, 'I have no care but to enjoy and amuse myself, and to comb and braid my hair.'[4]

To idleness was added effeminacy. Thus, in his early sixteenth-century writings, the Neapolitan-based humanist, Giovanni Pontano drew on a well-established trope to identify long-haired men with both women and barbarians,

> But does anyone approve of shoulder-length hair twisted into ringlets? Is there anyone who does not shudder at the sight of a beard which flows down to a man's chest, or at tufts of hair which protrude from his collar or are exposed at his arms, even though these fashions are characteristic of certain nations? Seeking beauty through care for one's appearance is for women; seeking to inspire horror is for barbarians.[5]

Pontano was clearly referring to Saint Paul's letter to the Corinthians which condemned long hair in men.[6] Yet despite his belittling of male ringlets, these remarks also demonstrate an awareness of the complex associations between appearance and national, regional and local identities.

Hair, and the many ways in which it could be moulded, shaved, plucked, curled, covered and ornamented, is only one aspect of body modification and

adornment that requires greater investigation from Renaissance and Early Modern scholars. As with headdresses and hair-coverings, other small-scale, personal items such as gloves, shoes, handkerchiefs and fans could be both valued possessions and sources of anxiety. This was not only because of their metaphorical meanings but also because of the ease with which they could be adapted and disseminated. In 1533, for example, the Venetian government stressed that women should wear relatively simple veils; they were not to 'innovate or change the said method of covering the head, nor wear berets or hats.'[7]

Leaving aside the complex question of what constituted innovation in this particular example, this paper argues that such regulations were a response to the rapidity with which such accessories could be modified and shared across social boundaries. Although garments were the focus of great concern, the fabrics that made up the majority of fifteenth and sixteenth-century wardrobes were often too costly to allow for major adaptations. Instead, goods that protected the body's extremities: areas which came into contact with dirt, dust, rain and mud, proved more flexible. In this context, stockings and shoes, gloves, fans, handkerchiefs and hats, headdresses and hair-ties all had dedicated uses for hygiene, protection and decorum. But as these goods were literally 'consumed' in their use, there were more opportunities to replace and, where desired, update them. This sustained a level of demand which encouraged high levels of production of ready-made or partly fashioned items,

creating a relationship between the market economy, urban communities and court fashion. At the same time, it also created complex relationships between the men and women who wore, or wished to wear them and those who manufactured and sold them. These networks challenge our traditional explanations for changes in fashion in the Renaissance and early modern period in Europe.

Hair, Hats and Head-dresses:

To explore issues of the social interconnections created by fashionable dress, this paper focuses on the inter-relationships between the court elites in cities such as Milan, Mantua and Florence and the wider market for dress accessories. Although shoes and stockings are important features of this market, the focus is primarily on the ornamentation of the head and the hands.[8] This is because, as one contemporary sociologist has argued, 'hair is perhaps our most powerful symbol of individual and group identity – powerful first because it is physical and therefore extremely personal, and second because, although personal, it is also public rather than private.'[9] In his work on beards and masculinity in the Early Modern Period, Will Fisher has similarly demonstrated the multi-faceted nature of responses to facial hair in sixteenth-century England.[10] Hands too, as one of the few areas of flesh visible lower down the body, were an equally important focus of attention and the sexualised nature of the glove was regularly celebrated in Petrarchan poetry.[11]

Caring for these parts of the body required time and could prove costly. For men the exercise was often undertaken professionally, either by employing a personal barber or through regular trips to the barbershop for shaving, hair-cutting, beard-trimming, nail-care and the removal of ear-wax.[12] For wives and daughters, such activities usually occurred in domestic settings, drawing together women from different social levels. In 1505, for example, the Mantuan courtier, Benedetto Capilupi told Isabella of the success of one of her hair styles in Ferrara, emphasising the collective amusement that Lucrezia Borgia and her ladies found in rearranging their hair:

> The head-dresses of these women and of the Duchess are just like those of your Excellency and our ladies, with little veils – some yellow, some of brocade and some white. The women pay attention to nothing but curling each other's hair just like our little girls do.[13]

The sociability involved in this activity is clear, but at the same time Capilupi dismisses it as an activity of girls, *putte*, rather than considering it as a serious pursuit. The female networks created by fashionable hair-care were not regarded as holding political or economic significance. This seems understandable yet even in these wealthy court communities hair care was neither straight-forward nor without its problems. Humoural theories based on the traditions of Aristotle and Galen considered any form of washing as potentially dangerous.[14] Warm

water and steam opened the pores of the skin allowing vapours to enter or exit the body which potentially changed one's natural temperament and led to illness. Although it has often been suggested that this resulted in a reduction in bathing, the solution was not to stop washing altogether but to do so with care.[15] Alternative dry methods might be employed, such as combing bran or flour through the hair or, when water was involved, to plan for a period of recovery. Thus in a letter to Isabella d'Este of 8 January 1518, Antonia del Balzo explained that her daughter Camilla could not leave the house, 'because she has washed her head today'. [16] Similarly, Lucrezia Borgia's devotion of an entire day to washing her hair does not seem to have been unusual and Isabella herself explained to her husband that, 'having washed my head today, I have spent so much time drying my hair that a whole day has passed.' Washing and drying were only the beginning of hair care. The paraphernalia involved in could be extensive including scented waters, dyes, combs, pins, special towels for drying the head (*sugacapi*) and mirrors while some of the procedures such as plucking and depilation were painful. This was before the finishing touches of ribbons, snoods and cauls, hats and caps, veils and jewels specifically designed to be worn as part of a head-dress, were included.

It would be easy to describe this investment of both time and money as vanity and frivolity. But in creating a very visible area for display of the upper body, women were also inviting comment and creating very public social identities that both emphasised their status and displayed their interconnections. In 1502, for

example, the Duchess of Urbino, Elisabetta Gonzaga wrote to the Mantuan courtier Vincenzo Calmeta, replying to earlier remarks concerning the hairstyles employed during Lucrezia Borgia's wedding to Alfonso II of Ferrara. She explained,

> The Lady Marquis (Isabella d'Este) who was responsible for the hairstyles and ornaments says that Piceno (Benedetto da Cingoli) should not marvel that the Romans were so pleased by the way she put up her hair because if they had paid as close attention to the front of medals as they did to their reverses, then they would not have praised her hairstyle so lavishly…You show such admiration for our new hair fashions and from the way we are dressed different from the others, that if with your subtle ingenuity you had considered it closely before you had seen it introduced you would not have been so surprised'… [17] [Figure 1]

It is not surprising that viewers were curious about Isabella's hair and that of her new sister-in-law, Lucrezia (whose medal shows her locks drawn up in a similar fashion). [Figure 2] Indeed, it is hard to appreciate today just how radical this informal hairstyle must have seemed to contemporaries. Although they were only in their twenties, the Marchioness of Mantua and the Duchess of Ferrara were mature, married women. The loosely-bound hair displayed in their medals was generally associated with younger women. It was highly unconventional in terms of the status and stage in life when a married woman wore a veil, hat or some

other form of head-dress. Indeed, in appearing without a head-dress of any sort, Lucrezia and Isabella were in danger of violating Christian norms. For example, In the same letter to the Corinthians condemning masculine long-hair, St Paul had demanded that women cover their head, both as a sign of respect to God and as an indication of their subservience to their husbands,

> But every woman praying or prophesying with her head unveiled dishonoureth her head; for it is one and the same thing as if she were shaven. For if a woman is not veiled, let her also be shorn: but if it is a shame to a woman to be shorn or shaven, let her be veiled. For a man indeed ought not to have his head veiled, forasmuch as he is the image and glory of God: but the woman is the glory of the man. For the man is not of the woman; but the woman of the man: for neither was the man created for the woman; but the woman for the man: for this cause ought the woman to have a sign of authority on her head, because of the angels.[18]

Although the precise interpretation of this passage was problematic, many commentators felt the implications were clear. One fourteenth-century text described how, 'the veiled head is also a sign that woman transgressed the first commandment and violated its terms…since the veil carries with it woman's humility, it would displease the Lord greatly should the woman behave arrogantly towards it.'[19]

Far from being simply shocking as a fashion novelty, Isabella's refusal to wear a veil in public and the circulation of her image with her hair loosely arranged challenged many conventional assumptions about female modesty and subservience. Lucrezia's adoption of this style during her wedding and in her subsequent medal reinforced their connections as sisters-in-law and as unconventional women who could challenge contemporary norms. Nonetheless, while the change prompted comment it did not cause an outcry; but it is noticeable, that neither Isabella (who also had herself depicted by Leonardo da Vinci with her hair down completely [Fig 3]), nor Lucrezia, continued with this style for long, reverting a few years later to elaborate head-dresses with complex ornamentation.

In doing so they took advantage of the Pauline demand that they should cover their heads as an opportunity for display; but if women accepted the need to wear a headdress the decision to what type to adopt could prove complex. Amongst court elites, it carried political and diplomatic overtones, indicating kinship, friendship and clientage as well as fashionability. When Isabella's sister, Beatrice d'Este came to Milan as the bride of Ludovico Maria Sforza in 1490, for example, she rapidly institutionalized a very unusual and distinctive look. This was the so-called *coazzone*, a long false braid that ran down from a centre parting. This style, Iberian in origin, predated her marriage; a portrait bust by Gian Cristoforo Romano, which identifies her as her father's daughter and alludes to her forthcoming marriage through a Sforza emblem on her chest

already depicts her with her hair tied back in this manner. [Figure 4] Beatrice would have been expected to relinquish this fashion on her marriage for it was conventional for aristocratic brides to adopt the dress of their husband's courts. For example, when he married Bona of Savoy in 1468, Duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza of Milan carefully ordered the Lombard garments he expected his new bride to wear, including the transparent veils that he ordered specially from Città di Castello.[20] Beatrice's very deliberate decision to retain her natal style, as seen in the later votive portrait by the Master of the Pala Sforzesca, rather than imitate her mother-in-law and adopt Lombard fashions, may have been prompted by the Milanese court's distinctive sexual politics. [Figure 5] Her spouse, Ludovico il Moro, was not the Duke of Milan; he was regent for his nephew, Gian Galeazzo Visconti who had recently married the daughter of the King of Naples, Beatrice's cousin, Isabella of Aragon. In addition, Ludovico had a mistress, Cecilia Gallerani who continued to live in the Castello Sforzesco during the early years of his marriage.[21] The relationship and precedence accorded to each of these women was closely observed by commentators inside and outside the court. In using, and then effectively imposing, her distinctive head-dress, Beatrice's visual dominance over the Milanese court and its women was made overt. In a series of portraits from Milan in the 1490s, the elite women in Milan are almost always shown with the long braid behind their backs [Figures 6-7] while the image of Ludovico's investiture in 1494 from the Arcimbolodo missal emphasizes the almost livery-like nature of the *coazzone* of Beatrice's court.[22] [Figure 8] Even Cecilia had herself painted by Leonardo da Vinci wearing a modified version of

the braid, effectively acknowledging her subordinate status. That this imagery was not simply a feature of local fashion or even due to Lombard styles of portrait painting can be seen from an altarpiece produced in exactly this period by the Florentine artist, Domenico Ghirlandaio for the Malatesta family in Rimini. Here, the wife, Violante Bentivoglio, a Sforza ally through her natal family and by marriage, also wears her hair in the style popularised by Beatrice. [Figure 9] The close association is further suggested by the fact that when the Duchess died in 1497, the *coazzone*, or at least its representation in portraiture, became much rarer. Although the fashion remained popular in Spain, it ceased to have meaning in Milan.

But Beatrice was not the only figure to use accessories and hairstyles to construct a collective identity, As the letter of 1505 from Capilupi above indicates, her sister, the Marchioness of Mantua also created a powerful hold over the visual image of her friends and followers. However, Isabella used very different mechanisms than those employed by Beatrice. Rather than fix on a single fashion such as the *coazzone* to be worn throughout her life, she modified her hairstyles regularly. [Figure 11] Thus, although only a small number of portraits of Isabella survive, all show different methods of managing her hair. Moreover, her correspondence suggests that while she encouraged emulation, she professed to be annoyed by direct copying. Aristocratic women might only adopt her hairstyles with permission, usually after the Marchioness herself had supposedly tired of

the fashion in question.[23] In 1509, for example, Eleanora Ruscha, the Countess of Correggio wrote to Isabella,

> Finding myself in Locarno, I heard that some noblewomen in Milan were wearing a new type of silk head-dress, a notable invention of your ladyship. And since I now find myself almost without a hat, with great desire I beg you to consider me worthy of one…And so I beg your ladyship that if there is some form of head-dress that you have stopped wearing, let me join in with it so that I will not seem to be outside the number of your most faithful servants.[24]

This letter makes it clear that the countess wanted to make her allegiance to Isabella visible, a strategy that was more political than this letter suggests. In 1509, Milan was under the domination of King Louis XII of France; Isabella's nephew, Massimiliano Sforza was widely regarded as the legitimate heir and the 'faithful servants' were not only pro-d'Este, they were anti-French. By January 1512, when Agnese degli Attendoli wrote from Milan to again describe the adoption of the Marchioness's styles, the battle lines between the French and Sforza supporters were at their height and Massimiliano would return to briefly rule Milan until 1515.

Agnese (who was probably related to Massimiliano Sforza's great-grandfather, Muzio Attendolo), did not describe the political situation in Milan, she focused on the reaction to her hair which she had adopted from one of Isabella's fashions,

> When I first came here, my headdress was much praised, except by Madonna Leonora who said that she did not like it at all and that is was a very silly sort of style. But two days ago even she went to Madonna Ippolita Bentivoglio to get the same hairstyle and when I saw her I said: 'so, now you too want to be one of the silly ones.' I believe she is regretting not having been the first to find this style and she wears a hat on top of it and has tinted her coif black. I am sending your Excellency one so that you can judge how these are.[25]

All the women involved in this exchange were related in some way to the Sforza cause. Ippolita Bentivolgio was the niece of the penultimate Duke of Milan and Leanora was probably the self-same Eleanora Ruscha who had asked Isabella for identity is unclear, her decision to reject Isabella's fashion (still unidentified) meant that she stood out from her peers. When she changed her mind, however, she required instruction or at least assistance from Ippolita Bentivoglio, adapting it enough to change it into her own distinctive style.

As this suggests, Isabella and other women were clearly attentive to their reputations as innovator. But Eleonora's reputation has not survived, Isabella

d'Este was able to embed hers across Europe. This was, in part, by a campaign that ensured she was regarded as a font of information about all things fashionable. During his period at the court of François I, for example, the secretary of her eldest son, Federico passed on the following request:

> The king desires that you send him a doll dressed in the style that you wear including your shirt, sleeves, under-dresses, over-garments and other items and your head-dress and your hairstyle as you wear it; but send a range of head-dresses, so that your Ladyship pleases him more for his Majesty intends to have some of these made up to give to ladies in France.[26]

Almost a decade later, Isabella's younger son, Ferrante's secretary wrote from Vallodolid with a similar demand:

> I have been implored by a number of the ladies- in-waiting to the Queen to have sent a doll from Italy dressed in the manner that is common there. I beg your Excellency to send one with some pleasantries for women such as the head-dress.[27]

Sometimes the communication was even more direct. On 15 June 1523, for example, Bona Sforza, Queen of Poland wrote thanking her for headdresses and praising Isabella as the inventor of new hairstyles,

> Via the nephew of the Royal barber we have had a letter from your ladyship and six silk and gold snoods in the latest fashion…we pray Your Ladyship to let us know when some new style of binding the head happens and to send us something that is pretty and pleases you, for we are sure you never miss anything as Your Ladyship is the source and origin of all of the loveliest fashions in Italy.[28]

Regardless of the hyperbole, Isabella's determination to create a reputation as 'the origin of all of the loveliest fashions in Italy' brought clear political benefits in a time of considerable unsettled military and geographic manoeuvring between the Valois and Habsburg dynasties. Unlike her sister, Beatrice whose *coazzone* style never made it beyond Milan's s borders, knowledge about Isabella's hair-fashions became an international sign of novelty, even if the women in question never actually wore her distinctive head-dresses.

These questions of imitation, already fraught for women, became even more problematic when they involved aristocratic men. Here forms of visual allegiance were tinged with issues of hierarchy. As the discussion of the *coazzone* has already indicated, adopting the same style of dress or hair could demonstrate subordination as well as allegiance. Thus when Isabella's son Federico went to Milan, effectively as hostage to the victorious French King Francois I who had retaken Lombardy, the Mantuan ambassador reported how, on 6 November 1515,

> On Sunday morning the King (Francois I) dressed in a doublet and stockings fit for armour and a German dress of cloth of gold and white, lined in black, short and tight; and he had a gold hairnet on his head with a beret of velvet decorated with feathers all around. Dressed in this manner he went to mass at the Grazie on foot and returning, also on foot, he joked and pushed this one and the other into the mud… His Majesty retired into his *guardaroba* and took my Lord (Federico) with him and spoke to him in a friendly manner, asking him when he wanted to go to France. My lord replied, 'When Your Majesty will go'; the King then put his beret on his head at an angle and said that he must wear beret of this type and cut his hair shorter in the manner that his Majesty had cut his over the forehead, and my Lord, most graciously said that tomorrow he would do so; His Majesty dressed him as a Frenchman and said that he would see many countries and cities and while they 'dressed up', they chatted thus.[29]

The next day, the same ambassador reported, 'After lunch, Monsignor Moretta came bringing with him a barber and one who brought berets in the style of those of the King and had his hair done in the style of the King and gave him a beret in the fashion of that of the King; he looks alright although it is true that he seems a bit fatter as his hair no longer comes down over his face.'[30]

The transformation of the adolescent Federico Gonzaga, whose father had fought the French and was now in prison in Venice, could not have been more overt. Once a Sforza supporter, he now stood subsumed under a beret, gilt snood and short hair similar to that of the courtiers depicted waiting on the King in the illuminated page of Diodorus Siculus. [Figure 10] This was no voluntary sign of friendship and support and it may not be surprising that later portraits of Federico emphasise his lengthy hair and curling beard rather than the French fashions he was once asked to adopt.

Design and Manufacture

The implications of these transformations are clear. Visible communities were constructed through hair and headwear; symbolic postures indicating connection, superiority or subordination could be quickly read by observant viewers. But unlike military helmets, crowns, cardinal's hats or other forms of traditional headwear indicating status, most Renaissance headwear was highly mutable. It could only be scrutinised for meaning for a brief period before it was replaced by yet another style. Thus the clues identifying relationships, status and connections through accessories were embedded within a much larger system of communication, supply, and demand.

King François I had presumably arrived in Milan with a wardrobe that was large enough to change his clothes frequently and hand out caps and other

accoutrements to his followers. While more work needs to be done on French court wardrobes, Italian court *guardaroba* accounts suggest that although fabrics were stored in reasonable quantities, the other items required: hats, shoes etc. were bought from specialists who served both the court and the wider urban community.[31] Isabella, for example, ordered many of her hats from Venice while the straw hats of Florence were sought after by court clients across Italy. This meant that while a court patron often had a dedicated supplier or suppliers, artisans rarely worked exclusively for a princely client. This had the potential to allow for overlap between objects that were supplied to the court and those that were sold to men and women at lower social levels. Indeed it suggests that despite Isabella's efforts, maintaining an exclusive control over any fashionable item must have been very difficult. It is noteworthy that Isabella's distinctive *capigliara* features in numerous portraits of the 1520s and '30s from the Veneto and Lombardy, including an image thought to be of Ippolita Bentivolgio, raising questions about whether she 'invented' the look or simply adapted what was available from a mercer's stock. [Figure 12] Here, emulation, where one leader sets the style that has to be followed by many, may not be the most obvious model for Renaissance innovation. Instead, a more multi-centred network of different groups: aristocrats, mercers and artisans needs to be explored.

Certainly, small-scale items such as the ribbons, hats, combs were easily available on the street and in shops to a wide range of consumers at varying prices and qualities. Ready-made items, such as woven ribbons, decorative

tinsel and bangles, fine linen, cambric or lace veils straw, felt and even velvet hats as well as silk and gilt netting could be purchased from haberdashers, or specialist producers such as *capellai* and *velletai.* Isabella was regularly sent hats by her agents from Venice, Milan and Florence and the 1530 inventory of Bernardo di Larione, a Florentine mercer indicates the type of range that was available. His shop contained 5 velvet hats 'of different types'; 9 taffeta hats 'of different types' and colours, 3 berets, and a range of smaller berets and coifs or *scuffie* of velvet and taffeta along with lace, ribbons, silk thread and fabrics.[32]

A number of surviving early seventeenth-century account books for veil-makers or *velletai* based on the Via dei Servi in Florence also demonstrate that they too, like the city's mercers, provided important services for women throughout the city, offering a wide range of head-ware and materials.[33] Although this material is from the seventeenth century, it may be suggestive of earlier practices which are more difficult to document.

The records indicate that unlike most shops where the customers who made purchases were male (even if they were products destined for women); *vellati* sold almost exclusively to women. Customers in 1610 ranged from Isabella de' Medici and members of the aristocratic Minerbetti family to the wives of builders, barbers, wet-nurses, servants. Moreover, although the shop was run by a male owner, Giovanni Piero di Andrea Challioni, he employed women to produce his products. Thus, he paid a '*Madona Lucia, nostra maestra di velli bolognese'* and

'Madona Portia, nostra maestra de gli panni.' The latter was paid, not in cash, but in the shop's products, exchanging 3 *braccia* of veil material that she had woven for gilt ornaments, *'gigliotti d'oro con lacrime'*. [34]

While Madonna Portia may have used these tear-shaped bangles for her own head-wear, such overlaps are suggestive. As commercial intermediaries such as mercers and veil-makers gained increasing prominence in Florence, they would have been able to rapidly translate the latest court fashions, such as silk flowers or twisted gilt ornaments into styles that could be adopted by a broader constituency. Likewise, fashions that were discussed amongst the women who came to the *velletaio's* shop could be introduced in turn to members of the court. As intermediaries, these professionals allowed for an overlap between the city and the court that should not be described as 'trickle-down' or even 'trickle-up', but as a constant interchange of ideas that could be accessed by a surprisingly wide range of social groups. For example, Eleanora of Toledo, the Duchess of Florence relied on the services on Gostanzo Gavazzeni, a veil-maker based on the Via dei Servi in Florence to provide her with her characteristic snoods as well as with lace collars and these styles could have been easily adapted for other materials and other clients.[35]

Hands, Gloves and Fans:

The question of the intersection between social meanings, court fashion and the market-place becomes even more sensitive when we move from head to hands, a shift that allows us to test these interactions in different ways. Accessories are highly visible in the many full and half-length portraits that became increasingly common in the sixteenth century. Some of what they offered to the viewer must have been based on pictorial conventions, but the sheer ubiquity of items such as gloves and fans is striking and is mirrored by their appearance in inventories where they were often given high values.

These items were certainly available in earlier periods. In Italy, the poetry of Petrarch and Lorenzo de' Medici played with a fixation on the glove of the beloved – where the woman's hand entering the glove was presented as a highly sensual act.[36] Popular as gifts, either amorous or as signs of friendship, the leather glove was also an indicator of high status at court.[37] There was a wide diversity of products available – heavy leather types, two- toned versions that were cut into ribbons on the edge, those that were slashed, as in Titian's 'Portrait of a Young Man' to allow rings to protrude and others that were simply slashed as a sign of fashionable insouciance. [Figure 13]

Produced primarily in Spain, leather gloves were exported across Europe in large numbers and specialist glove shops could be found in Rome by the early seventeenth century.[38] Gloves were then subject to further modification by shopkeepers and their clients. Numerous recipes for perfuming gloves survive,

some involved painting gloves with milk, egg white and brandy; others asked for the gloves to be dipped them in a mixture of scented waters or embed them in musk and dried flowers. [39] Isabella d'Este became renowned not only for her hair-styles but also for her ability as a perfumer, supplying gloves to the Queen of France and other court women, a form of courtly gift-giving that would eventually prove popular across Europe.[40] In 1588, for example, the Spanish ambassador to the Medici court presented the Grand Duke of Tuscany with a gold and silver intarsia writing desk from India filled with perfumed gloves while the Grand Duchess was also given perfumed gloves and other goods made in Spain.[41]

By the end of the century, dedicated glove shops could be found in the city centres of Rome and Milan where a wide variety of products could be purchased ready-made or to order while elaborately embroidered leather gloves now made up the bulk of New-Year's day gifts at Europe's major courts. But while the surviving examples, such as those in the Victoria and Albert Museum, are complex objects made up of gilt metal thread and embroidery, these items were also available to a much wider community. [Figure 14] In 1545, the Bolognese government tried to prevent prostitutes from wearing, 'embroidered and perfumed gloves.[42]

The cross-over between court fashion and the market is even more apparent when we turn to the other major item depicted in Renaissance portraiture, the fan. While the folding fan was an import from Ceylon and used primarily by

royalty, flag and feather fans were manufactured in a multitude of styles and materials.[43] By 1512, the Venetian government attempted to control the sale of exotic fans and in January 1525, the use of 'fans of lynx and marten with gold and silver handles with jewels and pearl' was again outlawed[44]; only 'those of simple feathers with handles of black wood or ivory' were permitted.[45] Venetian noblewomen were expected to eschew the elaborate fans that appear, for example, in Lucrezia Borgia's post-mortem inventory: 'a small fan newly made by master Alfonso Veronese, that is the body made of gold, stamped with flowers with a small square on each side and in the middle, worked with thread with *pastiglia*, and the handle was also of beaten gold, surrounded by black ostrich feathers. [46]

The maker of Lucrezia's fan is clearly identified as one Alfonso Veronese but most of the artisans involved in their manufacture and design remain anonymous. Yet it is clear from correspondence that the interactions between the court client, the mercer or other intermediary and the makers could often prove very fruitful. Lucrezia Borgia, who invested heavily in water-buffalo and the making and marketing of mozzarella cheese in order to increase her income, sent buffalo horn from her herd to be made into fan handles by Antonio Torlidore.[47] These were then distributed to her ladies-in-waiting as a sign of friendship and alliance.

In 1494, the young Isabella was also able to design her own type of fan by asking one supplier to modify the ready-made versions she had already received, writing:

> We wish to have three black fans of the size of the others that you sent to us, but we don't want them to have paper in the middle like those, but that for durability, the feathers with their quills should be in between, covered however by the feather as the paper is covered because when the feather and quill are one, they will not age so easily as the paper ones do.[48]

On other occasions, Isabella simply looked out for new trends and styles and then promoted them amongst her circle. In 1513, for example she wrote to Lorenzo Strozzi in Ferrara:

> I have understood the Duchess (Lucrezia Borgia), our honoured sister-in-law and sister, wishes to have one of those small fans of the type that they are starting to use here, and finding myself with one, which we had made for ourselves in the style of those that we saw in Milan which greatly pleased us so that we can wear it attached to a belt, I send it to you so that you can give it to Her Ladyship in our name, telling her that if it pleases her it will give us pleasure. If not, she should advise us of the style and measure that she wishes and we will immediately have it made. [49]

While Isabella's correspondence concerning accessories was primarily with other women, men also appreciated these items. For example, Baldassare Castiglione owned six 'fans of straw worked with silk'[50] and the seventeenth century inventory of Cardinal Ridolfo Pio da Carpi included two fans made from parrot feathers.[51] This makes the burgeoning market for 'throw-away' fans particularly interesting. By the mid-sixteenth century, it was possible to buy paper templates for fans that could be cut out, coloured, used to hold feathers and then thrown away once they had disintegrated. [Figure 14] An indication of the scale is given by the 182 folio sheets of printed fans or *ventole* found in the Milanese printer, Vincenzo Girardone's shop at his death.[52] The demand for these items was such that in 1577 the Milanese bookseller, Ambrogio Lanfranco was granted a patent giving him a lifetime monopoly on the manufacture and sale of printed fans bearing the emblems of the King of Spain and the Pope along with poems in praise of each, a privilege that was awarded because they were 'new products' that had been devised through Lanfranco's 'ingenuity, industry and expense'.[53] A few years earlier in 1573, the Milanese miniaturist Nunzio Galizio had requested the rights over, 'a most beautiful invention of illuminating fans in the Spanish style' while in 1584, Pompeo Romano put in an application for a Venetian patent, 'for a most beautiful invention of fans for women, working in Bergamesque paper in wood and in ivory of the most subtle workmanship, and of such there is no living man who can say that he has ever seen such except for those which have come from my hands.' [54] He wanted a ten-year exclusive

rights to make and sell fans ‘of the said three materials, that is wood, ivory and ‘carta bergamina’.

Thus by the early seventeenth century, as the English traveller and writer Thomas Coryate noted, imaginative fans could be found at very low prices; it was not necessary to be a member of the court to own one,

> The first fans that I saw in Italy did I observe in this space betwixt Pizighiton and Cremona. But afterwards I observed them common in most places of Italy where I traveled. These fans both men and women of the country do carry to coole themselves withal in the time of heate, by the often fanning of their faces. Most of them are very elegant and pretty things. For whereas the frame consisteth of a painted piece of paper and a little wooden handle; the paper which is fastened into the top is on both sides most curiously adorned with excellent pictures, either of amorous things tending to dalliance, having some witty Italian verse or fine emblemes written under them; or of some notable Italian city with a briefe description thereof added thereunto. These fannes are of a meane price. For a man may buy one of the fairest of them for so much money as countervaileth with our English groat.[55]

Unconcerned about such ubiquity, court aristocrats took advantage of the ease with which social, political and amorous messages could be rapidly diffused. In

1619, for example, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cosimo II de'Medici commissioned the engraver, Jacques Callot to depict the *naumachia* or water-battle that would take place between the Florentine dyers and weavers that he was staging in the Arno. [Fig. 15] In his chronicle, the Florentine Cesare Tinghi, noted that Cosimo,

> ...wishing that the women could better understand the subject of the festival he had more than a thousand engravings made of the theme, and from these he made five hundred fans in an oval form, printing on them the theatre with the design of the festival and on the other side many *stanze* composed on the theme of the festival with gilded handles for the said fans. And he presented them by the hand of Antonio Pulsanti who went to the windows where the said women and gentlewomen were placed, giving them each a paper fan and a handle.[56]

Unable to see the *naumachia* close-up, the women at the windows would see the engraved version on their fans. They, in turn, would be seen using these items, symbols of their inclusion in the increasingly aristocratic world of Grand-ducal Florence. Far from being a frivolous, 'throw-away' commodity, the fan, like the glove, braided hair and straw hats were distinctive signifiers of social standing within and without the court. They were also indicators of the wearer's access to specialised goods and knowledge of novelties and fashion. Yet at the

same time, these were firmly tied to a rapidly changing marketplace that responded with large numbers of inexpensive versions for a broader clientele. As this suggests the movement was not always in one direction, with mercers and *velletai* imitating and spreading the exclusive designs produced for the highest aristocrats. Indeed, they, along with other entrepreneurs, tried to present novel versions to Duchesses and Princesses who made their choices from the same selection that was more widely available. Here, as with hats and hairstyles, novelty and fashion did not always move downwards, but moved simultaneously in multiple directions. The speed of the cross-over and constant interaction between court clients, entrepreneurial manufacturers and merchants and fashionable urban men and women allowed for successful, rapid diffusion of these products not only within Italy but across Europe. It is this rapidity and mobility that may explain why in the late sixteenth-century portraits of Qeen Elizabeth of England and an unknown Cremonese noblewoman, both figures, despite their differing nationalities and social status were depicted holding brightly-coloured feather fans, symbols no longer of political allegiance but of their respective knowledge of novelty and innovative European fashions. [Figures 16 & 17]

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[1] There is a large literature on the anthropology of bodily display with a focus on hair. The most influential initial investigation is now much disputed, Edmund Leach, 'Magical Hair', *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 88 (1958), 147-64. See also Raymond Firth, 'Hair as Private Asset and Public Symbol' in *Symbols: Public and Private* (London, 1973); C.R. Halpike, 'Social Hair', *Man*, n.s. 4 (1969), 2256-64; P. Hershman, 'Hair, Sex and Dirt', *Man*, 9 (1974), 274-98. Anthony Synnott, 'Shame and Glory: A Sociology of Hair' *The British Journal of Sociology,* 38.3 (1987), 381-413. An interesting use of this approach can be seen in the essays devoted to hair in *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38 (2004), especially the introduction by Angela Rosental and Margaret Powell's essay, 'Big Hair'*,* 79-99. For further work see also Mary Louise Roberts, 'Samson and Delilah Revisited: The Politics of Clothing in 1920's France', *American Historical Review*, 98 (1993), 657-84; Alden Cavanaugh, 'The Coiffeur of Jean-Batiste Greuze', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38 (2004), 165-81 and Don Herzog, 'The Trouble with Hairdressers', *Representations*, 53 (1996), 21-43.

[2] For Ming China see Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things. Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China*, Cambridge, 1991; for contemporary America see Diana Crane, *Fashion and its Social Agendas. Class, Gender and Identity in Clothing*, (Chicago, 2000). See also Erica Rand, *Barbie's Queer Accessories* (Chapel Hill, 1995).

[3] An exception is Grazietta Butazzi, 'L'acconciatura femminile della seconda metà del secolo xv nei "figurini" di Vecellio in Jeannine Guérin Dalle Mese, ed., *Il vestito e la sua imagine. Atti del convegno in omaggio a Cesare Vecellio nel quarto centenario della morte* (Belluno, 2002), 41-54 who discusses Giovanni Guerra's 1589, *Varie acconciature di teste usate da nobilissime dame in diverse cittadi d'Italia*. On this text see also C. Mazzi 'Le acconciature di Giovanni Guerra', *La bibliofilia,* 1 (1900), 229-233. See also, Maria Hayward, ''The sign of some degree'?: The social, financial and sartorial significance of male headwear at the courts of Henry VIII and Edward VI', *Costume*, 36 (2002), pp. 1-17.

[4] Virginia Krause, *Idle Pursuits. Literature and Oisivité in the French Renaissance* (Wilmington, Delaware, 2004), 37.

[5] Giovanni Pontano, 'On the Prince' in Jill Kraye, ed., *Cambridge Translations of Renaissance Philosophical Texts: Moral and Political Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1997), 83.

[6] 1 Cor. 11:14-15 and the discussion in Synnot, 'Shame and Glory, 381.

[7] Marin Sanudo, *I diarii* (Venice, 1903), 58, col. 108: 8 May 1533: ... et no si possi innovar nè mutare foza circa il ditto coprire di testa, et far usanza nova, nè portar berete nè capeli.

[8] On footwear see Paola Venturelli, “Vigevano e la cazatura tra il xiv e il xix secolo” in *Dalla parte della scarpa. Le calzature a Vigevano dal 1400 al 1940*, Vigevano, 1992 and Giorgio Riello, *A Foot in the Past. Consumers, Producers and Footwear in the long Eighteenth century*, Oxford, 2006.

[9] Synott, ‘Shame and Glory’, 381. A discussion of Julius II’s beard was used to date his portrait by Raphael, see Mark Zucker, ‘Raphael and the Beard of Julius II’, *Art Bulletin*, 59 (1977), 524-33.

[10] Will Fisher, ‘The Renaissance Beard: Masculinity in Early Modern England’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 54 (2001), 155-87 and *Materializing Gender in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Cambridge, 2006).

[11] Peter Stallybrass and Ann Rosalind Jones, ‘Fetishizing the Glove in Renaissance Europe’, *Critical Inquiry,* 28 (2001), 114-32.

[12] On barbars and barbarshops see Anglica Pediconi, ‘The Art and Culture of Bathing in Renaissance Rome’, Unpublished MA Dissertation, V&A/RCA MA in History of Design, 2002; Anna Esposito, ‘Stufe a bagni pubblici a Roma nel rinascimento’, in Massimo Miglio, ed., *Taverne, locande e stufe a Roma nel rinascimento* (Rome, 1999), 77-91 and Sandra Cavallo, *Artisans of the Body in Early Modern Italy. Identities, Families and Masculinities* (Manchester,2007) .

[13] Alessandro Luzio and Rodolfo Renier, 'Il lusso di Isabella d'Este, Marchesa di Mantova: accessorî e segreti della "toilette"', *Nuova antologia,* 65 (1896), 666: Benedetto Capilupi to Isabella d'Este, 3 February 1505: La conzadura de la testa de queste donne et de la ducessa è appunto come quella de V. Ex. et de le donne nostre, cum le vellette chi zalde, chi broccate et chi bianche, nè attendono ad altro che ad meglio crisparle l'una de l'altra sì come facevano le nostre putte.

[14] Jane Huggett, *Did They Wash in Those Days? Personal Hygiene, Cleanliness and Washing in the 14th to the 17th centuries* (Bristol, 2000) and Georges Vigarello, *Concepts of Cleanliness: Changing Attitudes in France since the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1988).

[15] Douglas Biow, *The Culture of Cleanliness in Renaissance Italy* (Ithaca, 2006).

[16] Luzio and Renier, 'Il lusso', 670-1: On 25 January 1494, Isabella wrote to her husband: Havendome hozi lavata la testa, sono stata tanto a sugarla ch'el dì è passato. Similarly, in 1502, Lucrezia Borgia avoided her guests during her wedding ceremonies and wasn't seen for an entire day, 'per haverlo speso tutto in lavarsi la testa'. A later document from Antonia del Balzo, the wife of Gian Francesco Gonzaga of Bozzolo, explained that her daughter Camilla could not see Isabella on 8 January 1518, 'per havere hozi lavata la testa.'

[17] Alessandro Luzio and Rodolfo Renier, *Mantova e Urbino. Isabella d'Este ed Elisabetta Gonzaga nelle relazioni famigliari e nelle vicende politiche* (Turin, 1893), 118: 1 May 1502, La signora marchesana, a chi tocca la parte delli aconzamenti del capo, dice che'l Piceno (Benedetto da Cingoli) non si doveva maravigliare che li romani fussero remasti tanto satisfacti de li ligamenti de li capelli suoi, perchè se havessero posto quella acurata diligentia in considerare el diritto de le medalie, che hanno facto de li reversi, non haveriano tanto laudato l'acconziatura de la testa sua…voi mostrate pigliare tanta admiratione de le nove foggie di cappelli et del garbo diverso dalli altri, che se col vostro subtile ingegno ben l'havesti considerate iudicaresti che ad anteveduto fine fossero state introducte: unde acciò che n'habiate ad remanere chiaro, perchè poco recevere offensione dal sole nè da l'aqua era da vedere, parse a chi conosceva el costume de le genti cum quale se havesse a conversare che'l periculo solo drieto alle spalle consistesse et che reparto ad quella parte tutto il resto della persona se dovesse rendere sicura et cusì li cappelli se ben sono stati examinati coprevano quello che più era da temere, et ben fo utile et salubre remedio, che ancora cum tal deffensivo appena ne siamo possute redure salve et che sii il vero, benchè siamo lontane, de darci in la schena. Gli forno de quelle che hebbero in fantasia de fare qualche altro novo habito, ma per non torre la fogia ad certi che havevano già prima scripto de calze alla sforzesca, berette a l'antiqua cum la lettera alla ducale at altri novi ornamenti per non dispiacerli ad finchè loro soli de tale inventione havessero l'honore se resto de imitarli,

bastando assai comparire così mediocramente et provvedere fra tutte de cappelli, come de cosa più importante in li presenti tempi.

[18] First Letter to the Corinthians (11.4-11.15). See also G. Signori, “Veil, Hat or Hair? Reflections on an Asymmetrical Relationship”, *The Medieval History Journal*, 8, 2005, pp. 25-47 and Evelyn Welch, ‘Signs of Faith’.

[19] G. Signori, *Veil, Hat or Hair?* p. 30.

[20]Archivio di Stato, Milan, Archivio Sforzesco, Missive 84, f. 55 Galeazzo Maria Sforza to Nicodemo Tranchedini da Pontremoli, 20 July 1468: Perché la illustrissima nostra consorte damo inanti ha advestire l’habito e acconzature de la testa al modo lombardo et perho bisognandogli de quelli velli subtilissimi de bombacino et de li più belli et fini che se possino trovare como tu poy pensare perché siano boni et degni per el suo portare volimo che subito recevuta questa debii provedere meglio te parera che se habia fin in una dozena de quelli se fanno ad Città di Castello et al Borgo San Sepulchro dove intendemo se fanno in tutta perfectione quali poy subito ne manderay facendo havere advertentia como havere dicto che siano de tutta perfectione et sutilità et vineza et volemo essere deli curti al modo che se usano ogi de qui in lombardia.

[21] Evelyn Welch, *Art and Authority in Renaissance Milan*, New Haven, 1995, 225. On Cecilia see Janice Shell and Grazioso Sironi, ‘’Cecilia Gallerani: Leonardo’s Lady with an Ermine’, *Artibus et historiae*, 25 (1992), 47-66.

[22] Maria Teresa Binaghi Olivari, “La moda a Milano al tempo di Ludovico il Moro”, *Milano nell’età di Ludovico il Moro*, Milan, 1983, 633-50.

[23] For example Susanna Gonzaga’s request of 5 April 1512 to wear one of Isabella’s ‘inventione’, Luzio and Renier, ‘Il lusso di Isabella d’Este, Marchesa di Mantova: il guardaroba’, *Nuova antologia*, 63 (1896), 462.

[24] Luzio and Renier, ‘Il lusso’, 667: Ritrovandomi a Locharno, ho presentito essere stà portato a Milano da certe zentildone una nova fogia de zazare de seta provenute da notabile inventione dela prefata Vostra Signoria; et per retrovarmi al presente quasi senza capelli, cum sumo desiderio prego quella me voglia fare essere degna de una; la qual cossa per me non saria altramente domandata per non essere notata presumptuosa, se qualla mia ardentissima fede como è dicto non me havesse al tuto excitata e spinta a questo, et anchora per esserne sta mandato a Milano reputato la S.V. non farne gran capituli, che quando fusse per sua particularità servata non haveria ardito fare altra richiesta. Et cusì prego la prefata v.ill.ma S.a che essendoli qualche conziatura de testa avanzata e che più non sia a lo uso de la S.V. ma più presto demissa, me ne voglia far partecipevole aciò anchora io non para sia forra del numero de le fidelissime de epsa V. Ill.ma S.

[25] Luzio and Renier, ‘Il lusso’, 667: Agnese degli Attendoli to Isabella d’Este, 12 January 1512: Nel principio ch’io venne in questa terra assai laudavano la fogia de la cunciadura de la testa, excepto m.ma Leonora, qual disse che non li piacea

et che li parea una fogia da petegacola; et ley da lì a duy giorni andete da M.ma Ipolita Bentivola a farse cunziare anchor lei a dicta fogia. Quando io la vidi li dissi: dunque anchor voy voleti essere nel numero de le petegacole? Credo bene li rencresca ley non essere stata la prima a retrovare tal fogia, et ge porta una capigliara de sopra via et ha facto tenzere in negro li scuffiotti ge mandò v. ex. Lasso fare iuditio a quella come possa stare.

[26] Raffaele Tamalio, *Federico Gonzaga alla Corte di Francesco I di Francia nel carteggio private con Mantova (1515-1517)* (Paris, 1994), 128: Monsignor Moretta me ha detto ch'el Re desidera che Vostra Signoria li mandi una puva vestita alla fogia che va lei de camisa, di maniche, de veste di sotto, e di sopra, et de abiliamenti, et aconciatura di testa, et deli capilli, come la porta ; mandando perhò varie fogie di aconciatura di testa, Vostra Signoria satisfarà melio perché sua maesta designa far fare alcuni de quelli habiti per donar a donne in Franza, ASMna, AG 2121. For a discussion of the dolls see Ysanna C. Coroizat, '"Living Dolls": François I[er] Dresses his Women', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 50 (2007), pp.94-130.

[27] Raffaele Tamalio, *Ferrante Gonzaga alla corte spagnola di Carlo V nel carteggio privato con Mantova (1523-26): la formazione da "cortigiano" di un generale d'Impero*, (Mantua, 1991), 203, Pandolfo di Picci della Mirandola, 31 August 1524: Io sono importunate d'alchune damiselle dela Signora Regina che gli fazzi venire de Italia una puva vestita in tuta del modo se accostuma lí. Siché

supplico votra excellentia che commetta ne sia mandata una con qualch'altra gentilezza da donne come sono accunciature da testa per dare alla Signora Donna Magdalenea Manricha, una dele donzelle dela prefata Signora Regina, che cosi se chiama qualla che serve il signor mio patrone.

[28] Luzio and Renier, 'Il lusso di Isabella d'Este, Marchesa di Mantova: l'arredo degli appartamenti', *Nuova antologia*, 65 (1896), 267: Per il nepote del barbiero regio habbemo a questi dì passati una lettera de Vostra Signoria et per essa sei scuffiotti de seta et de oro de nova foggia…per tanto pregamo Vostra Signoria se contenta quando qualche nova foggia di abendare la testa li occorserà, che semo certissimo non mancarne mai per essere Vostra Signoria fonte et origine de tucte le belle foggie d'Italia, de mandarne qualche una bella et che li piaccia….

[29] Tamalio, *Federico Gonzaga*, 105-8:Stazio Gadio to Francesco Gonzaga, 6 November 1515: Domenica matina il Re se vestì d'uno zupone et calze da armare et una veste alla todescha de panno d'oro et pan biancho fodrata de bassette negre, cinta et curta, et havea uno scufiotto d'oro in testa con beretta de veluto fornita de penne a torno,et vestito a questo modo andò a messa alle Gratie a piede et ritornò anche a piede scherzando et urtando questo e quel'altro nel fango, a lui anchor vi andava… Finito il ragionamento Sua Maestà se ritirò in guardarobba et il signor mio andò seco, et il Re raginò seco molto domesticamente, dimandandoli quando vora andar in Franza: sua signoria

rispose <<quando Sua Maestà vi andarà>>; li [mise] la sua beretta in testa de una piga, et disseli ch'el [dovria] portar berette di quella sorte et farsi curtar più li capelli nel modo che Sua Maestà havea tagliati sul fronte, et molto gentilmente il signor mio li risponde dicendo che dimane il faria. Sua Maestà li divisò la Franza et dicevali che'el vederia tanti paesi e città et mentre si stravestirno stetteno in questi ragionamenti.

[30] Tamalio, *Federico Gonzaga*, 112, Stazio Gadio to Francesco Gonzaga, 7 November 1515: Hozi sua signoria ando al Re, qual per il mal tempo non uscì di castello ma udi messa in castello alla capella, et postosi Sua Maestà a tavola il signor mio venne ad disnar et seco menò il signor Federico da Bozolo. Doppo disnar monsignor Moretta venne menando seco uno barbero et uno che portò dele berete alla fogia di quelle dil Re, et fece acconciar li capilli al modo dil Re, et detteli una beretta da parte dilla Sua Maestà, nella qual sta assai bene, vero è ch'el pare alquano più grasso perche li capilli non li asconde il volto.

[31] On the management of the Medici guardaroba see Marcello Fantoni, *La corte del Granduca. Forma e simboli del potere mediceo fra cinque e seicento,* Rome, 1994.

[32] ASF, Magistrato dei Pupilli avanti il Principato 188, f.504r-505r. My thanks to Ann Matchette for this reference.

[33] ASF, Libri di commercio e di famiglia, 933, Giovanni Piero di Andrea Challionni velletaio nella via de Servi alla insegna di San Girolamo.

[34] ASF, Libri di commercio e di famiglia, 933, Giovanni Piero di Andrea Challionni velletaio nella via de Servi alla insegna di San Girolamo.

[35] ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1170, insert n.4, f.221, 1543 May 16., www.medici.org. Further documentation on the veil-maker is in ASF , Mediceo del Principato, 1170, insert n.2, f.145, 1542 Nov 27; ASF , Mediceo del Principato, 1170, insert n.27 f.409, 1542 Nov 29; ASF , Mediceo del Principato, 1170, insert n.2, f.134, 1542 Nov 26, www.medici.org.

[36] Stallybrass and Jones.

[37] On Ippolita Sforza, Duchess of Calabria's gift of gloves to Lorenzo dei Medici to pass onto his mistress in 1486 see, Judith Bryce, 'Between Friends? Two letters of Ippolita Sforza to Lorenzo de' Medici', *Renaissance Studies*, 21 (2007), 361.

[38] A description of early seventeenth century Rome describes, 'the statue of Pasquino, where one finds the seat of the compilers of topical pamphlets and the writers of stories. In that one is the post office of Milan, the printer of the chamber (Stampatore Camerale), the book sellers, the glove shops and the stationers.' See Rose Marie San Juan, *Rome. A City Out of Print* (Minneapolis, 2001), 7.

Bills of lading for Spanish ships arriving in Livorno often carried boxes of gloves destined for mercers in Florence and Milan as in ASF , Mediceo del Principato, 538a, f.1004, 1568 Oct 29, www.medici.org: 1 casetta di guanti a [Piero di Gino] Chapponi/1 casetta di guanti a Dusi e Rovelaschi [di Milano].

[39] Giuliana Grando, *Profumi e cosmesi nella Venezia del cinquecento* (Venice, 1985). See also Evelyn Welch, 'Scented Buttons and Perfumed Gloves: Smelling Things in Renaissance Italy', forthcoming.

[40] Welch, 'Shopping', 267-70.

[41] Archivio di stato, Modena,AF 29, 1, 455: Ha presentato esso Ambasciatore (di Spagna) al Granduca un scrittioi di canna d'India assai grande, tutto intarsiato d'oro et d'argento, con molte cassette dentro tutte peien et di guanti profumati et di lavori di Spagna....Ha anco appresentato le Principesse di guanti di Spagna profumati et di lavori di Spagna et di pasticche... Butters.

[42] Muzzarelli, *Emilia Romagna*, 190. 1545 28 March: Né sia loro etiamdio lecito portare al collo, alle braccia, alle orecchie, o alla cintura sorte alcuna di collane, cathene o simili ornamenti dove siano oro, argento, perle e gioie, misture d'ambra, muschio, profumi o altri simili odori, né anchora guante ricamati, o profumati.

[43] Anne Marie Jordan, 'Exotic Renaissance Accessories: Japanese, Indian and Sinhalese fans at the Court of Portugal and Spain', *Apollo*, 150 (1999), 25-35.

[44] Doretta Davanzano Poli, 'Ventagli veneziani', in *Ventagli italiani. Moda, costume, arte* (Florence, 1990), 35: 'ventoli di penne, zebellini...che le donne haveano principiato usar'

[45] Giancarlo Marsiletti, *Il ventaglio dipinto. Arte preziosa dal seicento all'ottocento* (Vicenza, 1992), 15: ventagli de lovi cervieri (lynx) et zebellini cum li manegi d'oro et d'argento cum zoglie de perle per sopra...siano del tutto banditi, che usar non se possino, salvo de pene semplice cum li maneggi loro de osso negro over avolio.

[46] Luzio and Renier, 'Il lusso', 688. Uno ventaglio piccolo novamente fatto per maestro Alfonso veronese, cioè tutto il corpo fatto d'oro battuto a fiori stampiti cum uno quadretto da ogni canto, nel mezzo lavorato di filo con pasta di compositione, et il manico pure d'oro batuto, circondato da penne de struzo negro. Lucrezia owned 6 other elaborate fans including, 'Uno manico da ventagio di oro battuto fatto ad epitaphio smaltato di bianco verde et rosso et in mezzo uno epitapho piccolo cum lettere; uno ventaglio negro coperto di penne bianche sotto ad uno g'rada di oro battuto col manico di oro battuto cum smalto....'. See Archivio di stato, Modena, Archivio Estense, amministrazione dei Principi, b. 1139, Inventario delle gioei e di altre robe di Lucrezia Borgia, 1516-19. My thanks to Diane Ghirardo for this reference.

[47] Diane Ghirardo, 'Le bufale estensi e l'imprenditoria femminile ducale nella Ferrara del Rinascimento', *Bollettino della Ferrariae Ducus*, 20 (2003), 74: L. una

soldi dua per tanti dela valuta dela sua merzede davere fato sie (sei) manichi di chorna di buffalo per fare sie (sei) ventalii a sie (sei) donzelle.

[48] Luzio and Renier, 'Il lusso', 687, Isabella d'Este to Francesco Staffetti, 30 April 1494: Desideramo havere tri ventalii negri de la grandeza che furono li altri ce mandasti, ma non voressimo che havessino carta in mezzo, come hanno quelli, ma che per forteza gli fussero poste inframezo le penne col nervo, coperte poi de le plume come si coprono le carte, però che esse penne integre col nervo non se inviscaranno così facilmente come fanno le carte.

[49] Luzio and Renier, 'Il lusso', 686-7. Isabella d'Este to Lorenzo Strozzi, 2 June 1513: Inteso per la littera vostra el desiderio de la Ill.ma Duchessa nostra congnata et sorella hon. de havere uno ventaglio piccolo de la sorte che si cominciano ad usare qua, et retrovandone haver uno, quale havemo facto fare per noi ala fogia de alcuni che vedessimo a Milano, che molto ni piacquero, per poterli portar attacati ala cinta, vi lo mandiamo aciò che in nome nostro la doniati a S. Ex. con dirli che s'el gli piacesse n'haremo piacere; se non, che ne avisi la fogia et la grandezza de che la el voria che subito il faremo fare...'

[50] Guido Rebecchini, *Private Collectors in Mantua, 1500-1630* (Rome, 2002) 320.

[51] Claudio Franzoni, Giorgia Mancini, Tama Previdi, Manuela Rossi, eds., *Gli inventari dell'eredità del Cardinal Rodolfo Pio da Carpi* (Pisa, 2002), 34: un ventaglio di penne di papagallo; un ventaglio longo di penne di papagallo.

[52] K. M. Stevens, 'Vincenzo Birardone and the Popular Press in Counter-Reformation Milan: A Case Study', *Sixteenth-century Journal*, 26 (1995), 653.

[53] K. M. Stevens and P. F. Gehl, 'The Eye of Commerce: Visual Literacy Among the Makers of Books in Italy', in Marcello Fantoni, Louisa C. Matthew and Sara Matthews-Grieco, eds*, The Art Market in Italy.* 15th –17th *Centuries* (Modena, 2003), 277.

[54] For Nunzio Galizio see Paola Venturelli, *Gioelli e gioellieri milanesi : sstoria, arte, moda (1450-1630*), 191 : 'belissima inventione di ameniatura di ventali ala spagnuola'. For Pompeo Romano see : Archivio di Stato, Venice, Provveditori di Comun, b.15, reg.29, 165v-67r: per una bellissima inventione di ventogli da donne lavorati in carta bergamina in legno et avolio de lavoro sottilissimo, e tal qual non e huomo vivente che possa allegar de haverne mai piu visti se non dalla origine delle mie mani.' My thanks to Luca Molà for this reference.

[55] Thomas Coryate, *Coryate's Crudities*, Glasgow, 1905, vol. 1, 256.

[56] *Ventagli Italiani,* 140-1: ...volendo che mellio le dame intendessero il sugetto della festa fece stampare più di mille cartelli del soggetto, et fece fare cinquecento roste o ventarole in forma ovata; stampandovi il teatro con la forma della festa; et dall'altra parte molte stanze, composte sopra la materia della festa

et con e’ manici inargentati di dette roste le mandò a presentare per mano di messer Antonio Pulsanti alle finestre dove erano dette dame et gentildonne, con un cartello e un vallo per ciascheduna’.