

“ Elizabeth Currie vividly captures the pleasures and perils of engaging with appearances for Florentine men of the sixteenth century. Recent work on the history of clothing has taught us much about sumptuary laws, courtly etiquette, and cultures of consumption in the period. Currie teaches us more, showing how the politics and materials of dress informed the very experience of men's lives, from political posturing in the lucco, through the reputational risks attached to balancing magnificence and sobriety, to the playful freedoms sought in eroticised youthful display and dressing for the homosocial pursuits of sport and carnival. Accessible and scholarly, *Fashion and Masculinity in Renaissance Florence* is a valuable addition to an expanding literature on sartorial histories.

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Elizabeth Currie

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In loving memory of my parents, Pamela and Robert Currie

5 THE VERSATILITY OF BLACK

From the early years of the ducal regime up to the end of the sixteenth century, Florentine male portraiture embraced black clothing to a degree almost unrivaled in other parts of Italy, establishing a model from which very few artists or patrons deviated. The brighter colors sometimes glimpsed in portraits by Venetian or Lombard artists, such as Bartolomeo Veneto or Giovanni Battista Moroni, are even rarer in representations of Florentine noblemen.¹ Of course, such enthusiasm for male sartorial austerity both on and off canvas was far from unique, both in terms of time and place. It evolved as part of a European-wide trend, whose origins have been traced back to at least the fourteenth century. Over time, black became firmly established as the color of power and authority, as John Harvey and Michel Pastoureau have both shown, and to this day it is used for professional garb or for significant events, festive, ceremonial, or commemorative.² However, color symbolism in dress was far from static and could assume different connotations according to the identity of the wearer. In Grand ducal Florence, yellow was one of Cosimo I de' Medici livery colors, despite the fact that it was employed across Italy to mark out marginalized social groups, such as Jews or prostitutes.³ White could embody purity, holiness, and cleanliness, but each of these individual qualities was emphasized to differing degrees depending on the circumstances in which it was worn.⁴

No other color was as heavily laden with meaning as black, not least because of the very diverse nature of the different individuals or groups who chose to wear it. This chapter explores the significance of black clothing in paintings of Florentine men and argues that its polyvalency contributed to its appeal. At first glance, we are struck by the similarities between sixteenth-century portraits of men in black. However, on closer inspection the nuances of black clothing shift markedly depending on the sitter's age, status, profession, or political affiliations. A study of dyes and pigments in the early modern period argues that colors "possess value

in three distinct but overlapping categories of human activity: the aesthetic, the economic, and the social.⁵ To fully appreciate the significance of black we need to take account of the material aspects of clothing, such as dyeing processes and variations between textiles, in conjunction with contemporary aesthetic, cultural, and political beliefs.

Count Federico Fregoso's speech in the *Courtier* cited in Chapter 1 is often referred to as a manifesto for black in male clothing. The fact that Fregoso associates black primarily with "ordinary apparel" tends to be overlooked and, as we see in Chapters 1 and 7, it was not appropriate for every occasion. Moreover, Fregoso's link between black and ordinary dress does not account for its popularity in paintings, given that a portrait was an extraordinary event even for the wealthy and clothing was often represented in such loving detail that it almost eclipsed the wearer. Patrons were prepared to leave valuable garments at an artist's workshop so that they could be copied at leisure, while they themselves were rarely accessible for such lengths of time. Unfortunately, although clothing was selected for portraiture with some care, little evidence survives to explain why specific garments are depicted. Aileen Ribeiro notes that even for the eighteenth century we know very little about "the processes of choice" that led to the inclusion of particular types of clothing.⁶

In exceptional cases, documentary sources have survived to shed light on the meaning of the garments represented. A well-known example from this period is Agnolo Bronzino's portrait of Eleonora di Toledo and her eldest son, Francesco [FIG. 5.1]. In January 1550, the family's secretary, Lorenzo Pagni, wrote to their Major-Domo, Pier Francesco Riccio, with the Duchess' instructions regarding her son's clothing for the painting. Eleonora asked Bronzino to include a red satin gown (*robba*) over Francesco's doublet and hose.⁷ In the first instance this followed standard dress decorum, as Eleonora considered it inappropriate to have her eight-year-old son and heir depicted in a simple doublet and hose without a more formal overgown. The second reason was more personal and would be impossible to reconstruct without the letter, which recalls that Francesco had worn a very similar garment on one of his first official engagements, a trip to Genoa just over a year before, with a group of ambassadors sent to greet the future King Philip II of Spain. Eleonora was keen that the portrait should serve as a reminder of such a significant event, not least because it was commissioned as a diplomatic gift for Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, the Bishop of Arras, who later that year became Charles V's Secretary of State. It seems likely that this level of consideration regarding the representation of clothing was by no means exceptional. Given that insights of this nature are extremely rare, it is fortunate that clothing in paintings often followed conventions that are easier to read. Small boys destined for ecclesiastical careers might be shown in cardinal's robes, for example, while other sitters were depicted wearing the colors of their family coat-of-arms. Agnolo Bronzino painted the young Florentine courtier Ludovico Capponi in a white doublet and black jerkin



FIGURE 5.1 Agnolo Bronzino, *Eleonora di Toledo and her son, Francesco de' Medici*, ca. 1549, oil on panel. Pisa, Museo Nazionale di Palazzo Reale.

and hose, referencing the Capponi family coat-of-arms, and it has been suggested that the black jerkin in a Jacopo Pontormo portrait thought to be of Carlo Neroni alludes to the sitter's name, although given the prevalence of black this cannot be certain.⁸

5.1 Clothing owned and painted

For each outfit that was chosen, many other possibilities were discarded. The elimination process is an intriguing one, which can be explored further when we know exactly what was in the subject's wardrobe. In the case of the Florentine Niccolò di Luigi Capponi, it is possible to do just that by comparing his portrait, which has been attributed to Giovanni Stradano, with the clothes he recorded in his account books [FIG. 5.2].⁹ Niccolò kept two household account books during the 1570s, which list 281 separate payments for clothing, totaling approximately 5800 *lire* (almost 830 florins). By piecing together all the individual transactions over this decade, it is possible to identify forty-two outer garments, combined with an extensive range of other items such as footwear, silk stockings, shirts, and accessories such as belts and bags.

Niccolò belonged to one of Florence's oldest and wealthiest families. His father, Luigi Capponi, together with his uncle Alessandro, headed a hugely



FIGURE 5.2 Attributed to Giovanni Stradano, *Niccolò di Luigi Capponi*, 1579, Gift of June Pilliod Torrey, class of 1939, 1987.16. Frances Lehman Loeb Art Center, Vassar College.

successful network of banking and textile companies, operating in Spain, Portugal and France, as well as Italy. Niccolò pursued various business activities, being involved, for example, in one of the family's companies of wool merchants and indigo dyers, one of the ingredients used to produce black textiles.¹⁰ After suffering from long periods of ill health, he died just before his thirty-third birthday, only slightly older than the average age of marriage for Florentine noblemen. In the last years of his life, Niccolò spent increasing amounts of time outside Florence, at the family's extensive property in Vico d'Elsa near Siena: a noble residence complete with an orchard, vineyard, an olive press, and various outlying buildings, including stables and a weaver's workshop.¹¹ From here he continued to follow developments at court with interest. In 1578 he purchased a copy of Baccio Baldini's newly published *Life of Cosimo de' Medici: First Grand Duke of Tuscany*. An academic and doctor who attended the Grand Duke, Baldini was also a personal acquaintance of Niccolò and provided him with medical advice.¹² Niccolò's favorite pastimes were those we might expect of a cultivated courtier, such as playing music and expanding his library. His book purchases included four volumes on the art of the duel by different authors.¹³ Like Eleonora di Toledo, he was also partial to betting on the sex of his friends' and relatives' babies, losing 331 *lire* in the process.¹⁴

Although no documentary evidence has been found in connection with Niccolò's portrait, it is thought to have been commissioned posthumously by his father and, just like Eleonora di Toledo, Luigi must have deliberated over the appropriate clothing for his son. In the portrait, Niccolò's pallid face is gaunt and pinched. Despite his direct gaze, he remains detached and remote, an attitude compounded by the gesture of pulling his cloak across his body, which simultaneously gives greater prominence to the ring with the Capponi arms on his left hand. The clock on the table behind him is inscribed with his age and the year of his death.¹⁵ He wears a black wool doublet edged with silk guards, black, slashed velvet breeches, a black short cloak with a contrasting silk lining and black silk, knitted hose. His bright white linen ruff, set into scrolling shapes, and his detachable cuffs stand out against this dark background. In the years before he died, Niccolò purchased various black garments, including a "pair of breeches of black sarcenet decorated with rivets and braid" and a "cassock of black grosgrain," which might possibly have inspired the clothing shown in the portrait.¹⁶ While the modern viewer's knowledge of Niccolò's outward appearance is based entirely on this sole surviving image and a smaller copy of it, now in the Uffizi, his circle of acquaintances would have known him in several other guises.¹⁷ If we turn to the kinds of clothing worn by Niccolò during his lifetime, it is evident that the artist could have constructed numerous versions of his subject.

Niccolò's wardrobe contained many practical clothes suited to a life led in the countryside, including a winter hat made of beaver fur and different pairs of boots that were either waxed or lined with fox belly furs for extra warmth. He owned woolen gloves with a raised nap for riding, and for falconry he wore a coarse woolen cloak and a pair of goat's leather gloves "to hold birds on a fist."¹⁸ Hunting was a favorite pursuit: his accounts show purchases of gunpowder and a harquebus made in Brescia, a city renowned for its manufacture of armor and weapons, as well as expenses for rearing dogs and falcons and large quantities of netting used for catching birds. He purchased several *buricchi*, for himself and his servants, a type of cloak that is more often found in the records of Tuscan peasants than those of the wealthy.¹⁹ Niccolò also owned a padded leather jerkin, of the kind favored by Cosimo de' Medici as a mark of valor. Domenico Mellini suggests that Cosimo used to wear a jerkin or tunic (*giacco tondo*) of this type during Florence's war against Siena and this is confirmed by Roberta Orsi Landini's findings that Cosimo owned sixty leather jerkins, half of which were made between 1546 and 1551.²⁰ Their aggressive overtones are underlined in a 1585 law passed by the *Otto di Guardia* magistracy banning garments described as "Dante's jerkins" (*colletti di Dante*), "designed as protection rather than ordinary garments," made of thick leather or sometimes more unusual materials such as paste-board or fish skins.²¹ Similarly, an English proclamation in 1579 on the use of guns also prohibited men from wearing "privy coats and doublets of defence, thereby intending to quarrel and make frays on others unarmed."²² The decoration of pinking on this

English leather jerkin in the Museum of London, typically reinforces its soldierly appearance [FIG. 2.7]. Niccolò also owned two pairs of martingale breeches, the style discussed in Chapter 3, considered to be particularly comfortable for riding. As an alternative to these kinds of clothing, the portrait could have represented a more colorful view of Niccolò, who participated in Carnival celebrations as well as hosting various small gatherings and parties at his family's country villa. On his trips to Florence he borrowed his uncle's coach to attend *commedia dell'arte* performances. This was likely to have been the kind of event where he would have worn one of his outfits combining more vivid hues and striking decorative effects. His wardrobe included breeches made of shot silk, mixed serge with bands of green velvet, black velvet slashed to reveal a pink silk lining, and other pairs in green and brown taffeta, silver and gray camlet and damask. His doublets tended to be in subdued colors, black or tawny, apart from one made of yellow wool.

Rather than choosing to preserve the memory of a son who enjoyed falconry and hunting in the Tuscan countryside as much as evenings at the theater, Luigi favored a far more cerebral image, almost as restrained as Luigi's own portrait, which probably dates from about 1560 [FIG. 5.3].²³ In it we see a somber individual in his mid-fifties, dressed in a black doublet and cloak with a plain white down-turned collar and cuffs with a tiny border of lace, lacking even the most restrained forms



FIGURE 5.3 Anonymous/Giovanni Stradano/Jacopino del Conte, *Portrait of Luigi Capponi*, ca. 1560, oil on wood panel, Gift of Henry White Cannon Jr., Class of 1910, in memory of his Father, y 1935–59. Princeton University Art Museum (Photo: Scala, Florence).

of male ornamentation, such as silk buttons. As Niccolò's portrait was painted posthumously, black dress might appear to be an obvious choice. However, there is nothing to indicate that his clothing was intended primarily as a reference to death or mourning. In the many sixteenth-century portraits of widows, it has been shown that mourning apparel was often not limited to black clothing but denoted with a series of specific markers, such as head veils or black jewelry and accessories.²⁴ If props or accessories were used to allude to mourning, in Niccolò Capponi's portrait this function is amply fulfilled by the inscribed carriage clock. The role of the clock as a *memento mori* is heightened by his gesture pointing toward it. Given that strict mourning clothes were very plain, the fact that Niccolò's garments are embellished and partly made of silk places them within the realm of fashionable dress. Wool was considered to be the most appropriate fabric for mourning, partly because it conveyed a sense of sobriety, but also because the sheen and light-reflecting qualities of silk were thought to be too festive.²⁵ Various sixteenth-century treatises laid out the correct decorum for female mourning dress, including Giovan Giorgio Trissino's *Epistle* (1524), which typically emphasized the need for moderation. To achieve this, widows had to perform a careful balancing act, avoiding too much ornamentation and attention to worldly goods on the one hand, and excessive abjuration and neglect of appearances on the other. This call for restraint, which governed sartorial appearances in various contexts, as we have seen, is one of the key values embodied in Florentine male portraiture.

5.2 Representing restraint

Being seen to distance oneself from the fickle nature of fashion was vital to constructions of male identity in many portraits. At a time when both portraiture and fashion were becoming increasingly affordable, black lent the sitter greater dignity and gravity.²⁶ The sense of family lineage associated with portraits coupled with a desire for long-term posterity made black, with its connotations of timelessness, an obvious choice. With future generations in mind, it was felt that paintings should depict conservative rather than fashionable dress, as modish garments might seem absurd with the passing of time. In his *Treatise on Painting*, Leonardo da Vinci had recommended:

As far as possible avoid the costumes of your own day. . . . Costumes of our period should not be depicted unless it be on tombstones, so that we may be spared being laughed at by our successors for the mad fashions of men and leave behind only things that may be admired for their dignity and beauty.²⁷

Da Vinci's unpublished treatise reflects a view that held currency over a very long period of time.²⁸ The simplicity of black commended it and for many Florentine

men its appeal surely lay in the fact that it came to represent a kind of "anti-fashion," despite its popularity. According to many sixteenth-century Italian color theorists, one of the most important properties of black was the fact that it was unchangeable. Nine out of the fourteen authors discussed in Jonas Gavel's study of color and art theory in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italy referred to the permanence of black.²⁹ This was especially pertinent at a time when clothing was a highly recyclable good at all levels of society, and garments were regularly cut up, re-trimmed, and dyed, until they were totally worn out. Although these were common practices, Alessandro Piccolomini satirized them in his dialogue *La Raffaella, ovvero dialogo della bella creanza delle donne* (1539), poking fun at a woman who repeatedly alters her wedding dress, dyeing it a different color and eventually wearing it inside out.³⁰ In contrast, black clothing intimated stability. In his *Dialogo dei Colori*, first printed in 1565, Lodovico Dolce went a step further, linking the properties and symbolism of the color with the virtue of the men who wore it. His underlying message was that men should rise above the concerns of dress, and that the steadfastness of black would express male disdain for fashionable clothing's inevitable propensity to evolve and mutate. He asserted that "in addition to being virile and temperate, black also demonstrates firmness [*fermezza*] because this colour cannot be changed into any other."³¹ Dressing in black from head to toe suggested that the wearer was capable of the kind of single-mindedness that was associated with masculine action and strength. With this in mind, Dolce recommended that no more than two colors be worn at one time: "indeed a variety of colours of different sorts, combined in one outfit, signifies a very bizarre mind, full of different appetites."³²

The various virtues of black, including this aura of moderation, were bound up in the raw materials and dyeing processes necessary for its creation. Although black was beyond the reach of many men in this period, it was by no means the most costly of dyes to produce. Workshop books belonging to Tuscan tailors based outside Florence, show that their customers, who included military officers, hostel owners, barbers, cobblers, sailors, and builders, regularly purchased black clothes, usually made of relatively cheap fabrics, such as Sangallo wool, camlet, fustian, or linen-cotton mixes.³³ John H. Munro underlines this point in connection with Flemish woollens, stating:

there is no statistically significant difference in the costs of dyeing woollens in any of the colours other than those created by using the scarlet *kermes*: that is, the prices for black-dyed woollens are no higher or lower than those for greys, browns, purples, greens, standard reds, and medley and striped woollens.³⁴

Even for silks, black was far from the most expensive dye. An early fifteenth-century Florentine codex, repeatedly copied until the first printed version appeared in the nineteenth century, includes prices by the pound for different dyes. Of the

nineteen colors listed, as many as eleven are more expensive than black, which is priced at fifteen *soldi* per pound. The most expensive is twice-dyed *cremisi* (crimson from kermes) at forty *soldi*, followed by *verde bruno* (greeny-brown), *alessandrino* (deep violet), and different types of *pagonazzo* (purple). The only dyes cheaper than black cost twelve *soldi* per pound and include *tane* (tawny), and *inciannomati* (light blues), *sbiaditi* (faded colors), and *bigi* (grays).³⁵

And so the primary purpose of black clothing in these portraits was not the manifestation of worldly riches. The successful production of black textiles was more about skill than cost, translating into further cultural prestige for the wearer of high-quality black clothing. It was perhaps the thought of a perfect black that excited Isabella d'Este when she ordered some "black cloth for a mantle, such as shall be without a rival in the world. . . . If it is only as good as those which others wear, I had rather be without it!"³⁶ To achieve a good, fast, black the fabric had to be immersed in successive dye baths, to obtain an increasingly darker, even, and steadfast hue. The Venetian Giovanni Ventura Rosetti's *Il Plichto dell'Arte* (1548) recommends following techniques used in Florence and Genoa, boiling the fabric in a bath of gall and the following day in a mix of green vitriol or ferrous sulfate (*vetriolo Romano*), iron filings, and gum Arabic.³⁷ If the color was not strong enough, the immersion would be repeated with the same three ingredients, up to four times.³⁸ It is striking that Rosetti includes about twenty different recipes for dyeing textiles black, superseded only by the number of recipes for different shades of red, including vermilion, scarlet, and crimson. The obsession with creating a perfect black reflected both its popularity and the level of skill required. The techniques for producing black improved significantly during this period. As José Luis Colomer explains, the discovery of logwood in the Bay of Campeche, Mexico, by Spanish settlers and its subsequent exportation in the early to mid-sixteenth century was a significant development. Although it met with some initial resistance, it became a highly sought-after ingredient used to create black, as it reduced the reliance on corrosive iron filings as a mordant.³⁹ Florentine guild laws focused strongly on the need to preserve the quality and reputation of local black cloth, highlighting both the difficulties involved in these processes, as well as the opportunities for malpractice.⁴⁰

5.3 Gendered portrait conventions

Women were frequently imagined as desiring and encouraging the process of fashionable change, a need that was attributed to specific traits of the female physiognomy and psychology. In medical and popular literature, cold and moist female humors were usually viewed as being more susceptible to metamorphosis. Being more malleable, women could take impressions more easily, but they were also more capable of inventiveness, which could be extended to the arenas

of physical appearance and self-fashioning.⁴¹ Taking this further, writings on fashion often described women's use of cosmetics and clothing to create false appearances as indications of their innate capacity for deception and trickery.⁴² It is not surprising, therefore, that Cesare Vecellio chose to compare his struggles to keep abreast with new forms of female dress with the waxing and waning of the moon, which was thought to have such a strong influence on women's bodies. He lamented that

because women's clothes are so quick to change, and are more variable than the forms of the moon, it is not possible to include everything there is to say about them in one account. Rather, I am concerned that while I am in the midst of describing one garment, it will be transformed into another, so that it will be impossible to do justice to all.⁴³

Up until Anthony Van Dyck developed his style of impressionistic undress in the early seventeenth century, dress in portraiture tended to be rendered in painstaking, minute detail. Consequently, plain black garments fulfilled the necessary function of distancing men from the negative, female associations of fashionable dress.⁴⁴ This is most evident in double portraits, where wives' flamboyant dress and costly jewelry often contrast dramatically with the more modest clothing of their husbands. Although by no means solely an Italian phenomenon, this dialectic has been fruitfully explored through a series of companion paintings by artists such as Piero della Francesca, Raphael, and Titian.⁴⁵ Agnolo Bronzino's portraits of the courtier, diplomat, and scholar, Bartolomeo Panciatichi and his wife, Lucrezia di Sigismondo Pucci, continue this tradition in a rather more subtle way [FIGS. 5.4 and 5.5]. The dark, undifferentiated background in Lucrezia's portrait draws the viewer's attention to her crimson dress and the brilliance of this most expensive of dyes overshadows the relatively plain surface of the garment. The decorative elements are refined, including her voluminous shoulder rolls and striped under-sleeves glimpsed through slashed over-sleeves ornamented with ribbons and aglets. The mandatory string of pearls around her neck, the longer, gold necklace, and the paternoster beads in her hair and her belt all underline the prosperity of the Panciatichi family. In terms of color, Bartolomeo's clothing is an exact mirror image of his wife's. He is clad in black, apart from the crimson sleeves of his doublet, which emerge from underneath his dark jerkin. In contrast, Lucrezia's sleeves are the only dark component of her crimson dress, the color linking the two portraits. Unlike the rather hermetic image of Lucrezia, several elements in the composition of Bartolomeo's portrait, such as the palace façades behind him, the source of daylight in the background to the left, the family arms, the large hunting dog, the closed notebook, point to a more public and active social presence. These features, according to Charles McCordquodale, are intended to ensure that Bartolomeo Panciatichi "obtains our respect for his accomplishments rather than his social status or his sumptuous clothes."⁴⁶



FIGURE 5.4 Agnolo Bronzino, *Bartolomeo Panciatichi*, ca. 1540–45, oil on panel. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (Photo: Gabinetto Fotografico, Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici di Firenze).

Although on occasion Cosimo I and his sons were represented in clothing expressing extreme pomp and circumstance, most notably when they were shown in the Grand ducal regalia, in the case of double portraiture they tended to follow this formula of vicarious consumption. In 1581, Alessandro Allori was commissioned to paint double portraits of Francesco de' Medici and Bianca Cappello and the clothing for the portraits were left at his workshop. An entry in the artist's workshop book records Francesco's rather modest outfit of "grey breeches and doublet and a simple black sarcenet robe." In contrast, Bianca was depicted in a far more costly and sumptuous "overgown of cloth of silver and purple, that is, of purple figured velvet."⁴⁷ When black-clad men were not offset by the brighter colors of their wives' clothing, a similar function was performed by a vivid backdrop, often in the form of a green silk draped curtain.



FIGURE 5.5 Agnolo Bronzino, *Lucrezia Panciatichi*, ca. 1540, oil on panel. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (Getty Images).

While the fashionable clothing of the female elites was typically characterized by bold statements like Bianca Cappello's patterned silver and purple velvet dress, representations of male dress tended to hinge upon subtle variations on a single theme. This prefigured a trend that has characterized male dress in later centuries, both worn and depicted. We can trace underlying parallels, for example, with the mentality of the nineteenth-century "hidden consumer," described by Christopher Breward. Although many Victorian men cultivated the semblance of a disregard for fashion, they succeeded in projecting sartorial distinction by operating in a different register from women, with innovations often being based on subtle alterations, perhaps in the fit or length of a jacket.⁴⁸ Similarly, in the sixteenth century, rather than gaining prestige through applied surface ornamentation or elaborate figured textiles, it was possible to convey male authority by using more understated elements of dress, such as the quality of a plain silk, a half-glimpsed lining, or the number of buttons down the front of a doublet. In keeping with these sartorial codes, in portraiture it was often only the lower, baser half of the male body that was "feminized" with added embellishments and brighter colors. We can see this in Niccolò di Luigi Capponi's portrait where his silk slashed breeches are more ornamental than the rest of his outfit. This custom extended beyond visual representations as Medici sumptuary legislation was particularly concerned with curtailing expenditure on breeches. The 1562 law focused first on jewelry and

over-gowns for women, the most expensive elements of their wardrobe, while the section on male dress described the quantity, type, and decoration of the textiles allowed to make their breeches, before moving onto upper garments.⁴⁹

Florentine artists seem to have relished the challenges of distinguishing between black surfaces, creating a compendium of small differences. The depiction of relatively plain, black garments allowed artists to concentrate more on the silhouettes and sculptural forms of dress, as well as contrasting types of textiles, rather than prioritizing surface decoration. Representations of male clothing in Florentine portraiture generally place far more emphasis on surface texture than applied ornament. Black on black clothing was popular partly because it exaggerated the contrasts between different fibers, weaves, and heights of pile, together with the way they reflected or absorbed light, as illustrated in a portrait of an unknown gentleman [FIG. 3.1] in a black damask doublet. This is also exemplified in a portrait by Michele Tosini (Michele di Ridolfo Ghirlandaio), painted in 1575 when the unknown subject was thirty-one, details inscribed on the letter in his hand [FIG. 0.1]. Despite the differences in technique, the picture bears some obvious similarities with Niccolò di Luigi's portrait. Tosini picks out a range of highly refined details: the braid down the doublet front, the cloak decorated with thin bands of velvet and the snipped edging on the collar, its contrasting satin lining revealed to full effect where it is pulled across the subject's chest. The same aesthetic is eulogized in Giorgio Vasari's commentary on a portrait of Pietro Aretino from about 1525 by Sebastiano del Piombo, now badly deteriorated. Vasari wrote that "it is a very wonderful painting to see the difference between the five or six different shades of black he is wearing: velvet, satin, sarcenet, damask and cloth, and a very black beard above these other blacks."⁵⁰ Appreciation of this particular effect was surely increased by the knowledge that these various shades of black perceptibly altered according to the wearer's movements and surroundings. By candlelight, for example, the differences between even a limited range of blacks and dark grays would have been thrown into greater relief.

5.4 The social values of black

As we have seen in Chapter 2, in Grand ducal Florence black was the color of clothing worn by the professional classes. According to Lodovico Dolce, members of the *togati* in Italy now included lawyers, procurators, notaries, solicitors, doctors, and so theoretically its use was becoming more widespread.⁵¹ Robert Dallington, visiting the Medici court in 1596, connected black with civic garb, writing of the Florentines: "As touching their apparel, it is both civil, because black, and comely because fitted to the body."⁵² In his view, Florentine male clothing was restrained, and his choice of the word "civil" was presumably intended to signify both modesty and the association of black with civic life. As an Englishman, these

links would have been familiar to Dallington. Although black is not mentioned specifically, it is obviously alluded to in William Harrison's 1587 description of English merchants' clothing, which also connects the color with civic virtue:

Certes of all estates our merchants do least alter their attire and therefore are most to be commended, for albeit that which they wear be very fine and costly, yet in form and colour it representeth a great piece of the ancient gravity appertaining to citizens and burgesses.⁵³

Italian merchants were also identifiable by their black clothing. Michel Pastoureau offers the intriguing, although hard to substantiate, theory that wealthy patrician merchants first adopted the color in the second half of the fourteenth century as a form of "rebellion" against sumptuary legislation that forbade them from wearing more expensive, brighter colors such as scarlet and crimson.⁵⁴ By the fifteenth century, in several countries, black was already associated with attributes that were fundamental for mercantile success. In his early fifteenth-century treatise *Blason de Couleurs*, first printed in Italy in 1593, the Burgundian author Jean Courtois wrote that when worn by merchants black signified loyalty, because it indicated reliability and honesty, both essential characteristics in the eyes of a potential customer.⁵⁵ According to Cesare Vecellio, you would see "few colours except black" among Venetian merchants and well-to-do shopkeepers.⁵⁶

In contrast with the black of the professional classes, black worn by courtiers was a more recent phenomenon. It is thought to have been first worn in a courtly context by Philip the Good of Burgundy, who continued to appear in black long after the normal period of mourning for his father, John the Fearless who was murdered in 1419, had run its course.⁵⁷ As a consequence, his courtiers also began to demonstrate a preference for the color. The prevalence of black among the European elites in the sixteenth century was clearly boosted by many factors, including the religious asceticism of the Catholic Reformation, as well as the continuing involvement of the Spanish Empire in Italian society and politics. Although various scholars have shown that its popularity in the late fifteenth century at the courts of Northern Italy developed at the same time as its use in Spain, it nevertheless came to be seen as emblematic of Spanish court dress.⁵⁸ The associations of black with Spanish fashions could be a source of antipathy, as intimated in an oration given by Scipione Ammirato following the death of Francesco, praising the Grand Duke for being free from "all vanity." Ammirato enthused that although Francesco's mother was Spanish and he had been accustomed to the ways and fashions of the Spanish court, he did not himself possess any trace of what Ammirato termed "Spanish haughtiness":

The honours, the grandeur and the sovereign glory of this century consist in laying out a magnificent table, gambling very large sums of money, dressing

in very expensive robes, and the highest and most supreme peak of all is disparaging one's inferiors. All these things were very far from the nature of Grand Duke Francesco who, having more illustrious, and longstanding goals, of greater benefit to humankind, refuted vanity.⁵⁹

This emphasis on Francesco's modesty was doubtless partly a way of compensating for the oddities of his character, his reclusiveness, and lack of what might now be called charisma. This was an important statement that Francesco, who did not assert his authority particularly well during his reign, was not subjugated to the will of the Spanish court.

Even black was possible to misjudge, therefore, and if it did not appear too haughty it could also be accused of being a sign of subservience. Castiglione's promotion of it was partly related to his emphasis on the necessity for understatement, or *sprezzatura*, which he considered to be a form of grace in male behavior.⁶⁰ However, writing on court protocol, Daniel Javitch argues that the code of understatement was motivated by a combination of factors, which included the ruler's need to assert his own authority, and the court's rigid, hierarchical structure of decorum. He elaborates that a court forces "its members to subdue or at least mask their aggressive and competitive drives. That is why such qualities as reticence, detachment, and understatement are so valued at court."⁶¹ Although this leads Javitch to take a critical view of the courtier's appearance, Jennifer Richards has interpreted this as an opportunity for the courtier to wield a positive, moderating influence, pointing out Castiglione's conception of temperance as a "moral, political and aesthetic value," taken from Cicero's *De Officiis*, which suggests that the courtier's example was intended to actively inspire similarly moderate behavior in his monarch.⁶² Far from being simply an aesthetic preference, wearing black was a way of masking desires, vanity, and unbridled masculinity, of oneself and others, a prerequisite for survival at court.

The ubiquity of black, worn by so many different social groups, contrasts sharply with the notion that social hierarchies should be easily distinguished through dress. Stefano Guazzo was just one author who outlined this widely shared view in his *Civil Conversazione* (1574), where he argued that merchants and courtiers should be distinguished by different forms of clothing. He complained that this ideal was no longer reflected in contemporary fashions:

You see that peasants dare to compete in their clothing with artisans, and artisans with merchants, and merchants with noblemen, so much so that once a grocer has taken up the habit of carrying arms and wearing the clothing of a noble, you cannot tell who he is until you see him in his shop selling his wares.⁶³

However, the fact that black was such a fluid signifier might in fact have been one reason why Florentines were so eager to be portrayed wearing it.

As we have seen, the true nature of nobility was the source of much debate at this time. Pastoreau speaks of the "dual nature" of black, in other words the black of kings and princes versus black of monks and clerics, yet it could be argued that for wealthy Florentines the color had three primary meanings simultaneously; it acted as a summation of their mercantile, civic, and courtly identities. The fact that restrained and steadfast black was fitting for men of different political persuasions and occupations perhaps contributed to its almost uncontested rule in Florentine portraiture throughout the second half of the sixteenth century. The notion of black as the universal color of the elites would have had a strong appeal in Florence, where it was still possible to combine roles that were considered to be incompatible in many other parts of Italy and abroad. As such, black glossed over some of the social and sartorial distinctions that were inconvenient truths for many Florentines. While there might have been other noticeable sartorial differences between professionals, merchants, and courtiers, it is significant that black had key associations with each of these groups, all gaining in different ways from the color's inherent gravity. Black was therefore highly suited to what Wayne Rebhorn has termed the "protean nature" of the courtier.⁶⁴

When the portraits of Luigi and his son Niccolò Capponi were commissioned, black was able to create visual harmony where others might have perceived dissonance. In Luigi Capponi's portrait, his very plain black gown was presumably intended to emphasize his mercantile and civic, rather than courtly affiliations. His advancing age was perhaps also a deciding factor in the choice of this particularly sober attire, but, more importantly, it alluded to his position as a businessman and diplomat.⁶⁵ Despite their wealth, the family had a public reputation for restraint. Luigi's brother Alessandro avoided all forms of self-aggrandizement, preferring to wear a modest cape rather than a civic gown and, as we have seen, he chose to forego the customary mourning drapes on the family home after his death.⁶⁶ Niccolò's black is more aristocratic: the fine fabrics perhaps referring to his family's silk trading interests, while the elegance of his outfit pushes at the boundaries of black as the renunciation of fashion. Furthermore, the three-quarter-length pose relates to developments in international court portraiture, while his cloak draped over one shoulder and drawn around the waist is a typically courtly gesture, also employed in the Tosini portrait. A deep-rooted preoccupation with circumscribing sartorial display in Florentine portraits continues to strike modern viewers. In the catalogue accompanying an exhibition of Medici portraiture, two of the most successful Florentine artists working on the cusp of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Tiberio Titi and Cristofano Allori, are described as embodying an "austerity that limited sumptuous excesses," "free of any heroic overtones."⁶⁷ This muted quality is apparent in the two, earlier portraits of Luigi Capponi and his son and such a marked continuity reflects a caution regarding flamboyance in male dress in paintings that belied the extravagance of court display in other areas of Florentine life.

6 YOUTH, FASHION, AND DESIRE

The relationship between advancing age and sartorial restraint is central to a portrait of four brothers from the Magalotti family [FIG. 6.1]. Painted in 1601, just after the death of their father Filippo di Antonio Magalotti, it is suffused with a sense of loss, poignantly heralding approaching adulthood and its accompanying responsibilities. In the absence of a paternal guide, it is also a powerful didactic image.¹ Tiberio Titi's painting alludes to the momentousness of this occasion in various prominent ways.² The date of the portrait is inscribed on the architrave of the door next to the conjoined Magalotti-Capponi arms while the children's ages are painted onto their clothing or the objects they hold: Marcantonio, 11 ½, Orazio, 6 years 4 months, Luigi 4, and Filippo 2 ½.³ Baptized Ottavio, the youngest boy was renamed in memory of his father. Now the eldest male member of the family, Marcantonio's pose reflects his new responsibilities. His hand gently resting on the shoulder of his youngest brother, he closes the small group of children and solemnly regards the viewer. The interplay of the boys' hands focuses attention on the objects they hold, each with its own symbolism. The youngest brothers, Filippo and Luigi, still occupied with the pursuits of childhood, clutch a small bunch of flowers and a ball. In contrast, Orazio and Marcantonio hold a pocketbook and a letter, respectively, hinting that they are poised to enter the world of adult affairs.

The boys' clothing was selected equally carefully to represent the upward trajectory toward masculine continence and adult codes of conduct. Unlike widows, children did not tend to wear mourning clothes for extended periods of time. Instead, Filippo, the youngest, is shown in a crimson damask gown, an *ungherina*, woven with a fashionable small-scale geometrical motif. Although wealthy children were often dressed as miniature adults, there was a growing feeling that they required new types of clothing suited to their specific needs. The *ungherina* was the first garment designed specifically for children. Popular in Italy at the end of the sixteenth century, it was worn by both boys and girls up to around

- headed *vestiti diversi per la morte della buona memoria di sua eccellenza* in the folder *Amministrazione, conti, note di opere*.
- 34 Valeria Pinchera, "Vestire la vita, vestire la morte: abiti per matrimoni e funerali, XIV-XVII secolo," in *Storia d'Italia: La Moda*, eds Carlo Marco Belfanti and Fabio Giusberti (Turin: Einaudi, 2003), 257.
 - 35 ASF, Riccardi 21, 87v.
 - 36 J. G. Peristiany, "Introduction," in *Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society*, ed. J. G. Peristiany (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1965), 11.
 - 37 Françoise Point-Waquet, "Les Botti: fortunes et culture d'une famille florentine (1550-1621)," *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome* 90, no. 2 (1978): 690.
 - 38 *Ibid.*, 692-96.
 - 39 Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori*, vol. IV, 355-56.
 - 40 See Point-Waquet, "Les Botti: fortunes et culture d'une famille florentine," 689-712.
 - 41 Roberto Cantagalli, "Matteo Botti," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 13 (1971). [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/matteo-botti_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/matteo-botti_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) (accessed June 7, 2015).
 - 42 ASF, *Libri di Commercio* 747, 16r, 20r, 27r.
 - 43 *Ibid.*, 15v, January 27, 1590.
 - 44 Although in this instance it served Botti well, it was a dubious connection given Don Pietro's character, see Cornelison, *Art and the Relic Cult of St. Antoninus*, 280-81.
 - 45 De' Ricci, *Cronaca 1532-1606*, 460-61. The event ended in disaster: a violent dispute over the allocation of prizes caused a stand full of spectators to collapse, killing several people underneath them.
 - 46 ASF, *Manoscritti* 130, 155r.
 - 47 Roberto Cantagalli, "Matteo Botti," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. XIII (Rome: Treccani, 1971), 447.
 - 48 ASF, MDP 4622, fol. 318v, Paris, April 14, 1611.
 - 49 Maria Hayward, *Dress at the Court of King Henry VIII* (Leeds: Maney Publishing, 2007), 228-29.
 - 50 Catherine Fletcher, *Our Man in Rome: Henry VIII and his Italian Ambassador* (London: Bodley Head, 2012), 28.
 - 51 ASF MDP 5079, ins. 2, fol. 87. Transcription on the "Medici Archive Project" documentary sources website, Doc ID 13344 (accessed June 7, 2015).
 - 52 ASF, MDP 4624a, fol. 157.
 - 53 Eugenio Alberi ed., *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, series II vol. 5 (Florence, 1858), 446.
 - 54 Fletcher, *Our Man in Rome*, 29. See also Hayward, *Dress at the Court of King Henry VIII*, 229.
 - 55 Bragaccia, *L'Ambasciatore*, 420.
 - 56 ASF, MDP 4624a, fol. 164.
 - 57 *Ibid.*, fol. 314.
 - 58 Orsi Landini and Ricci, *Il guardaroba di un sovrano*, 176-90.

- 59 The portrait was painted in 1631 by a fifteen-year-old Carlo Dolci, commissioned by Don Lorenzo de' Medici, see *Il Seicento Fiorentino: arte a Firenze da Ferdinando I a Cosimo III. Pittura* (Florence: Cantini, 1986), 434-35.
- 60 Point-Waquet, "Les Botti: fortunes et culture d'une famille florentine," 703-12 discusses Botti's library in some detail.
- 61 *Ibid.*, 697.
- 62 Ottavio Rinuccini, *Lodi de' giocatori di pallone* (Florence: Zanobi Pignoni, 1619) unnumbered.
- 63 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea 398, 175r/v: *un paio di scarpe di corame nero tutte straforate sotto teletta bianca piana e ricamate tutte piene di canutiglio d'oro e d'argento e lama d'oro battuto con un riguardo attorno di catanelle di canutiglio d'oro e orlate di nastrino d'oro filato con rosoni grandi di nastro di seta bianca guarnita con gigliettone alto di oro et argento filato*.
- 64 *Ibid.*, 61r, 25r, 170v.
- 65 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea 398, 42v.
- 66 *Ibid.*, 42v, unnumbered second page.
- 67 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea 391, ins. 5, names some of the individuals who purchased items from Botti's estate when it was auctioned off by the *Magistrato dei Pupilli*, a *rigattiere*, a *valigiaio*, two *materassai* and two Jews, one of whom, Abramo Tedesco, bought a very large quantity of clothing worth 1135 ducats.

Chapter 5

- 1 A notable exception to this is the red doublet in portraits of Francesco de' Medici as a young man. See, for example, *Francesco di Cosimo de' Medici*, attributed to Agnolo Bronzino, c. 1565, Florence, Stibbert Museum, illustrated in Orsi Landini, *Moda a Firenze 1540-1580*, 60.
- 2 John Harvey, *Men in Black* (London: Reaktion Books, 1995); Michel Pastoureau, *Black: The History of a Color* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2008).
- 3 Cecily Booth, *Cosimo I, Duke of Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921), 179. ASF, 1176b, ins. 3, fol. 464 records an order of yellow velvet ducal liveries in 1543 (transcription on the "Medici Archive Project" documentary sources website, Doc ID 3275 (accessed June 7, 2015). On the association between prostitutes and Jews and the color yellow, see Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli, *Guardaroba Medievale: vesti e società dal XIII al XVI Secolo* (Bologna: il Mulino, 1999), 295.
- 4 White could denote purity, worn at weddings and funerals and young children were often dressed and buried in white. Its religious connotations are evident in its use for the robes of the Order of Saint Stephen and, in 1619, the Medici Wardrobe recorded the gift of an entirely white outfit, including hat, belt and garters, presented to "a Jew who is to be baptized," see ASF Guardaroba Medicea 391, ins. 4.
- 5 Andrea Feeser, Maureen Daly Goggin, and Beth Fowkes Tobin, eds., *The Materiality of Color: The Production, Circulation, and Application of Dyes and Pigments, 1400-1800* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012), 1.

- 6 Aileen Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress: Fashion in England and France, 1750-1820* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 7.
- 7 See Bruce Edelstein, "Bronzino in the Service of Eleonora di Toledo and Cosimo I de' Medici: Conjugal Patronage and the Painter-Courtier," in *Beyond Isabella: Secular Women Patrons of Art in Renaissance Italy*, eds Sheryl E. Reiss and David G. Wilkins (Kirkville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2001), 226-27.
- 8 Carol Plazzotta, "Pontormo: Portrait of a Young Man in a Red Cap," in *Renaissance Faces: Van Eyck to Titian*, eds Lorne Campbell, Miguel Falomir, Jennifer Fletcher, and Luke Syson (London: National Gallery, distributed by Yale University Press, 2008), 224-27.
- 9 Philippe Costamagna, "Deux portraits de Luigi Capponi et de son fils Niccolò peints par Giovanni Stradano," *Paragone* 479-81 (1990): 101-04 attributes the portrait to Stradano, but Alessandra Baroni suggests that it is stylistically dissimilar to other works by the Flemish artist, see Alessandra Baroni, "Portrait of Luigi Capponi," in *Stradano, 1523-1605. Court Artist of the Medici*, eds Alessandra Baroni and Manfred Sellink (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 193.
- 10 The 1561 workshop census records him renting two workshops, see ASE, Decima Granducale 3784, 157r, 163r. Further documentation about his involvement in the textile trade can be found in the Archive of the Ospedale degli Innocenti, Florence.
- 11 ASE, Capponi 68, no. 97.
- 12 ASE, Capponi 146, 81r.
- 13 Niccolò purchased a trumpet and paid for lute lessons. His reading matter included volumes on cookery, agriculture, medicine, and works by Plutarch, Guicciardini, Malaspina and Baccio Baldini as well as books on duels by Muzio, Fausto, Pigna, and Possovino. Pietro Bembo's *Rime* and a book of satire were accompanied by a concordance between the Old and New Testament and penitential psalms translated into Tuscan, see ASE, Capponi 146, 1r, 48v, 57v, 58r, 58v, 81r.
- 14 ASE, Capponi 146, 41r, 43v and 147, 46r.
- 15 NICH.VS CAPP.US/. ALOISSI F./OBIIT.AN.S.D./M.D.L. XXVIII./AETATIS.SUE./AN.XXXIII.
- 16 ASE, Capponi 147, 61v, 95v.
- 17 The head and shoulders version in the Uffizi (Inv. 1890 n. 763) has been catalogued in the past as depicting the poet Torquato Tasso.
- 18 ASE, Capponi 147, 1r/v.
- 19 Paolo Malanima, *Il lusso dei contadini: consumi e industrie nelle campagne toscane del Sei e Settecento* (Bologna: il Mulino, 1990), 29 notes *buricchi* in inventories belonging to Tuscan peasants. See also Orsi Landini, *Moda a Firenze 1540-1580*, 99-102.
- 20 Mellini, *Ricordo intorno ai costumi*, 1820, 10. Orsi Landini, *Moda a Firenze 1540-1580*, 99.
- 21 Calvi, "Abito, genere, cittadinanza," 491. On the military origins of leather garments see also the Museo Stibbert exhibition catalogue *Abito per il corpo, il corpo per l'abito: Islam e Occidente a confronto* (Florence: Artificio Edizioni, 1998), 72-78.
- 22 John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1824), 296. See the forthcoming work on "doublets of defence" from the Tudor Tailor team (www.tudortailor.com).
- 23 The authorship of the portrait is debated. Costamagna, "Deux portraits de Luigi Capponi et de son fils Niccolò," 103-04, Baroni, *Jan Van der Straet detto Giovanni Stradano*, 148 (cat. 40) and *ibid.*, "Portrait of Luigi Capponi," 192-93, consider it to be the work of Giovanni Stradano. It has also been attributed to Jacopino del Conte, see Antonio Vannugli, "Conte, Jacopino (Jacopo) del," in *Saur Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon*, 20, München-Leipzig 1998, 602.
- 24 Murphy, "Lavinia Fontana and Female Life Cycle Experience," 131.
- 25 Giovanni Giorgio Trissino, *Epistola del Trissino de la vita, che deve tenere una donna vedova* (Venice, 1524), unnumbered folios.
- 26 See the complaint from Pietro Aretino, himself a cobbler's son and frequently portrayed, "It is the disgrace of our age that it tolerates the painted portraits even of tailors and butchers," quoted in Peter Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 165.
- 27 Quoted in Gen Doy, *Drapery: Classicism and Barbarism in Visual Culture* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2002), 30.
- 28 See Joshua Reynolds on the subject, quoted in Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth Century Europe 1715-1789* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), 163.
- 29 Jonas Gavel, *Color: A study of its Position in the Art Theory of the Quattro- & Cinquecento* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell international, 1979), 138. See also Raffaello Borghini, *Il Riposo*, vol. I (Milan: Dalla Società Tipografica de' Classici Italiani, 1807), 275-76.
- 30 Alessandro Piccolomini, *La Raffaella* (Milan: Longanesi, 1969), 38-39.
- 31 Lodovico Dolce, *Dialogo dei colori* (Venice: Sessa, 1565), 25.
- 32 *Ibid.*, 36.
- 33 Monica Cerri, "Sarti toscani nel seicento: attività e clientela," in *Le Trame della Moda*, eds Anna Giulia Cavagna and Grazietta Butazzi (Rome: Bulzoni, 1995), 421-35.
- 34 Munro, "The anti-red shift—to the 'Dark Side,'" 91.
- 35 Girolamo Gargioli, ed., *L'Arte della seta in Firenze. Trattato del secolo XV* (Florence: Barbèra: 1868), 78-79. See also Franco Brunello, *The Art of Dyeing in the History of Mankind* (Vicenza: N: Pozza, 1973), 163-64.
- 36 Quoted in Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance*, 250.
- 37 A mix of ingredients, including roots and tree bark, or the rarer and more costly oak gall, usually imported from eastern Europe, were used in conjunction with a mordant rich in iron oxide, see Paolo Bensi, "La tintura delle stoffe in nero nei centri di produzione italiani nel XVI secolo," in *Giovanni Battista Moroni. Il Cavaliere in Nero*, eds Annalisa Zanni and Andrea Di Lorenzo (Milan: Skira, 2005), 57-60. There were already concerns in the fifteenth century that ferro-tannic compounds would damage textiles, see Brunello, *The Art of Dyeing*, 190.
- 38 Giovanni Ventura Rosetti, *Plico dell'arte del tingere tutte le sorte di colori* (Venice: Alessandro Vecchi, 1611), 54-56.
- 39 J. L. Colomer, "Black and the Royal Image," in *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, eds J. L. Colomer and A. Descalzo, vol. I (London: Paul Holberton, 2012), 91-93. See also Munro, "The anti-red shift—to the 'Dark Side,'" 92-93.
- 40 Cantini, *Legislazione toscana*, vol. XIV, 291. Pastoureaux, *Black: The History of a Color*, 90-92.

- 41 Ian Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Women* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), in particular 42–43 and 50.
- 42 Patricia Phillippy, *Painting Women. Cosmetics, Canvases and Early Modern Culture* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 1–22.
- 43 Vecellio, *De gli habiti antichi et moderni* (1590), 140.
- 44 Alison McNeil Kettering, "Gentlemen in Satin: Masculine Ideals in Later Seventeenth-Century Dutch Portraiture," *Art Journal* 56, no. 2; "How Men Look: On the Masculine Ideal and the Body Beautiful" (Summer, 1997): 41–47. See also Ribeiro, *Fashion and Fiction*, 94–119.
- 45 See Rosalia Bonito Fanelli, "The Textiles of Italian Renaissance Dress as seen in Portraiture: A Semiological Interpretation (I)," *Bulletin de Liaison du Cietà* 74 (1997): 83–95; Paola Tinagli, *Women in Italian Renaissance Art: Gender, Representation, Identity* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 98 and Patricia Simons, "Alert and Erect: Masculinity in some Italian Renaissance Portraits of Fathers and Sons," in *Gender Rhetorics: Postures of Dominance and Submission in History*, ed. Richard Trexler (Binghamton and New York: Medieval and Early Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1994), 173–75.
- 46 Charles McCorquodale, *Agnolo Bronzino* (London: Chaucer Press, 2005), 60.
- 47 I. B. Supino, ed., *I ricordi di Alessandro Allori* (Florence: Alfani & Venturi Editori, 1908), 24–26.
- 48 Christopher Breward, *The Hidden Consumer: Masculinities, Fashion and City Life 1860–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 24–53.
- 49 Cantini, *Legislazione toscana*, vol. IV, 405–06.
- 50 Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori*, vol. V, 575.
- 51 Lodovico Dolce, *Dialogo dei colori*, 24.
- 52 Robert Dallington, *A Survey of the Great Dukes State of Tuscany, 1596* (London: Edward Blount, 1605), 63.
- 53 Harrison, *The Description of England*, 148.
- 54 Pastoureaux, *Black: the History of a Color*, 96.
- 55 Jean Courtois, *Le Blason de Couleurs* (Paris: Pierre Sergent, 1535), 35.
- 56 Jones and Rosenthal, *The Clothing of the Renaissance World*, 168.
- 57 This has been discussed by many scholars, including Michel Pastoureaux, who notes however that John the Fearless had himself already demonstrated a preference for black, Pastoureaux, *Black: The History of a Color*, 102.
- 58 Quondam, *Tutti i colori del nero*, 119–37, McCall, *Brilliant Bodies*, 481–88. Rosita Levi Pizetsky, *Storia del Costume in Italia*, vol. III (Milan: Istituto Editoriale Italiano, 1966), 220 notes that Matthäus Schwarz referred to "Venetian black."
- 59 Scipione Ammirato, *Orazione fatta nella morte di Don Francesco de' Medici* (Florence: Giunti, 1587), 9 and 13.
- 60 Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, Book I, Ch. 26, 32–33.
- 61 Daniel Javitch, "Il Cortegiano and the Constraints of Despotism," in *Castiglione: The Ideal and the Real in Renaissance Culture*, eds Robert W. Hanning and David Rosand (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983), 25–26.

- 62 Jennifer Richards, "A Wanton Trade of Living? Rhetoric, Effeminacy, and the Early Modern Courtier," *Criticism* 42, no. 2 (Spring, 2000): 185–206.
- 63 Stefano Guazzo, *La civil conversazione*, ed. Amedeo Quondam, vol. I (Ferrara: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1993), 140.
- 64 Wayne A. Rebhorn, *Courtly Performances, Masking and Festivity in Castiglione's Book of the Courtier* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1978), 14.
- 65 Franco Angiolini, "Luigi Capponi," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. XIX (Rome: Treccani, 1976), 65–67.
- 66 De' Ricci, *Cronaca 1532–1606*, 152.
- 67 Caterina Caneva, *I Volti del Potere: La ritrattistica di corte nella Firenze Grand ducale* (Florence: Giunti, 2002), 13.

Chapter 6

- 1 The Magalotti's presence in Florence can be traced back to 1020. Guelph supporters, they contributed actively to the government of the republic and three of their members were elected *gonfalonieri*, see Giulia Camerani Marri, "L'archivio Magalotti," *Rassegna degli Archivi di Stato* XXX (1970): 257–59.
- 2 The family records contain a payment to Santi di Tito, manager of the workshop where his son Tiberio worked, although it is thought on stylistic grounds to be the work of the latter, see Simona Lecchini Giovannoni, "Tiberio Titi," in *Il Seicento Fiorentino: arte a Firenze da Ferdinando I a Cosimo III. Biografie* (Florence: Cantini, 1986), 176.
- 3 Now in a private collection, the portrait appears in the exhibition catalogue, *Il Seicento Fiorentino: arte a Firenze da Ferdinando I a Cosimo III. Pittura*, 139–40. It is also illustrated in Daniela Degl'Innocenti, "Le produzioni seriche fiorentine: tipologie e iconografia," in *La Grande Storia dell'Artigianato: il Seicento e Settecento*, ed. Riccardo Spinelli, vol. V (Florence: Giunti, 2002), 192.
- 4 See Kirsten Aschengreen Piacenti, ed. *I Principi Bambini* (Florence: Centro di, 1985), 26–27.
- 5 Turkish influences on Italian dress during this period are explored in the exhibition catalogue *L'abito per il corpo, il corpo per l'abito*, 1998.
- 6 Grazietta Butazzi, "Indicazioni sull'abbigliamento infantile dalle liste della Guardaroba Grand ducale tra la fine del secolo XVI e il secolo XVII," in *I Principi Bambini*, ed. Kirsten Aschengreen Piacenti (Florence: Centro di, 1985), 26–27.
- 7 Quoted in Aschengreen Piacenti, *I Principi Bambini*, 40.
- 8 Anne Buck, *Clothes and the Child: A Handbook of Children's Dress from 1500–1900* (Carlton: Ruth Bean, 1996), 149–53.
- 9 See Degl'Innocenti, "Le produzioni seriche fiorentine: tipologie e iconografia," 192–93.
- 10 ASE, Venturi Ginori Lisci 341, 179r.
- 11 ASE, Magalotti 11, purchases recorded in a group of unnumbered receipts dating July to September 1605.
- 12 Hughes, "Sumptuary Law and Social Relations," 87–88 and Frick, *Dressing Renaissance Florence*, 175–76.

- 90 Cipolla, "The Decline of Italy: The Case of a Fully Matured Economy," 183, fn. 4.
- 91 Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, Book II, Ch. 11, 75.
- 92 Inge Werner, "The Heritage of the *Umidì*: Performative Poetry in the Early *Accademia Fiorentina*," in *The Reach of the Republic of Letters: Literary and Learned Societies in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds Arjan van Dixhoorn and Susie Speakman Sutch, vol. II (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 270.
- 93 Guido Guerzoni, "Playing Great Games: The *Gioco* in Sixteenth-Century Italian Courts," *Italian History and Culture* (Florence: Ville Le Balze, 1995), 58–61.
- 94 Girolamo Bargagli, *Il Dialogo de' giuochi che nelle vegghe sanesi si usano di fare (Siena, 1572)*, 241. Quoted in Guerzoni, "Playing Great Games," 58.
- 95 Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, Book II, Ch. 11, 75.
- 96 See, for example, the steps called *continenze*, Fabrizio Caroso, *Courtly Dance of the Renaissance*, 101–02.
- 97 Sutton, *Early Modern Dutch Prints of Africa*, 100.
- 98 John Forrest, *The History of Morris Dancing, 1458-1750* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 91.
- 99 Benedetto Magnoli, known as il Magnolino, was supposed to have gone out in winter in the rain in a cloak, hood, and clogs, to walk the very muddy road from Florence to Pisa. When asked why he did it, he replied "per piacere." The origins of the anecdote are unclear but it was referred to by Florentine poets in the sixteenth century, see the related entry in the *Vocabolario della Crusca*.
- 100 Francesco Berni, *Opere Burlesche*, vol. II (Usecht: J. Broedelet, 1726), 127–31.
*Volsi dire un piacer non conosciuto,
 Un passatempo assai piu' che divino.
 Quest'e' uno sfogamento di cervello,
 Questa e' la vera trasfigurazione,
 E d'ogni fantasia vero modello*

Conclusion

- 1 From *The Nobility and Excellence of Women and the Defects and Vices of Men*, quoted in Paulicelli, *Writing Fashion in Early Modern Italy*, 143.
- 2 Sean Nixon, *Hard Looks: Masculinities, Spectatorship and Contemporary Consumption* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1996).
- 3 Buonarroti, *Descrizione delle felicissime nozze*, 10r.
- 4 On the importance of uncovering "gendered logics" to explain male behavior in the past see John Tosh, "The History of Masculinity: an Outdated Concept?," in *What Is Masculinity?* eds J. H. Arnold and S. Brady (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 22.
- 5 Rebhorn, *Courtly Performances*, 14.
- 6 Van Orden, *Music, Discipline and Arms in Early Modern France*, 7.

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