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Tapestry-Making in Renaissance Florence (1545-1600)

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History of Art, Ph.D.
The University of Edinburgh
2022
Declaration The thesis has been composed by myself and the work within it is entirely my own.

Carlo Scapecchi

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Abstract

The thesis aims to offer a new perspective on tapestry production in sixteenth-century Florence from its establishment in 1545 to the end of the sixteenth century (1600). So far, scholarly literature has mainly investigated tapestries woven in sixteenth-century Florence as finished products in relation to cartoons, their iconographies and patronage. My research seeks to go beyond the traditional framework of studies and analyse tapestries in their making from economic, entrepreneurial and technical perspectives. Tapestries are not just a cartoon, a painter's product; they embody the collective effort of weavers, merchants, investors, dyers and other artisans and professionals. In the thesis, tapestries are reassessed in their making as a product of a complex economic enterprise. By doing this, the thesis combines the traditional art-historical framework with principles of material culture and economic history.

This methodological shift has led to some relevant archival findings, which are contained in the appendix of the thesis. Thereby, the research shows the potential to move away from the dominant perspective in tapestry studies.
Writing a Ph.D. dissertation amidst the COVID-19 pandemic has not been the easiest task. Nevertheless, the pandemic has changed forever the course of my research. The restrictions led me to spend more time in my hometown, Florence, between 2020 and 2022, enriching and diversifying my research on primary sources well beyond the original plan. In empty libraries and archives, I have discovered new themes, people, and archival evidence. By saying this, I do not want to undermine the pivotal contribution to my research that my staying in Edinburgh (Autumn 2018- Spring 2020) has offered me. My experience in Edinburgh, before the pandemic, has been life-changing and enriching for my professional development.

There are many people that accompanied me during these years. Perhaps, not as many as I would meet in a “pre-pandemic” time. First of all, I must thank my supervisors Prof. Jill Burke and Prof. Carol Richardson who carefully guided me throughout this intense and unique learning process. Without their feedback and continuous support, this research would not exist. A special mention goes to the Pasold Research Fund, which contributed to funding my doctoral research.

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During the last two years, it has been difficult to access public archives and it has been even more complicated to consult private archives. Therefore, I am deeply grateful to the Soprintendenza Archivistica e Bibliografica della Toscana, Count Dr. Ranieri Adorni...
Braccesi, Dr. Mario Coda, who guided me into the archive of the Congregazione dei Buonuomini di San Martino in Florence and Prof. Lorenzo Bartolini Salimbeni, who opened to me his family archive in Vicchio del Mugello.

Among other scholars, I should mention and thank Dr. Alessio Assonitis and Dr. Sheila Barker of the Medici Archive Project (MAP), Dr. Lucinda Byatt, The University of Edinburgh, Prof. Sonia Cavicchioli, Alma Mater Studiorum-Università di Bologna, Prof. Cristiano Giometti, Università degli Studi di Firenze, Prof. Jane Malcolm-Davies, Københavns Universitet (Denmark), Prof. Andre Verhecken, Universiteit Antwerpen (Belgium), Dr. Samantha Hughes-Johnson, art historian and confraternity scholar, Helen Wyld, senior curator of historical textiles at the National Museum of Scotland (NMS) and the textile historians of Euroweb Cost Action. Among my colleagues in Edinburgh, I would like to thank Thom Pritchard, Julia Smith and all committee members of the Edinburgh Early Modern Network (EENM). Also, a special thank goes to Paulina Caro Troncoso, Federica Cologna, Fiabola Fiocco, Natassa Philimonos, Pigi Sakellaropolou and all friends and colleagues at the Edinburgh College of Art (ECA).

On a personal note, I would like to thank my parents, Piero and Cristina, and all my friends in Florence, Edinburgh and all across the globe.

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Introduction
A Revised Approach to Tapestry-Making in Sixteenth-Century Florence

On the 19 September 1545, Duke Cosimo I de' Medici (1519-1574) responded to his ambassador at the Imperial Court in Brussels, Don Francisco de Toledo, about his suggestion that the duke purchase Netherlandish tapestries:

I would like to thank you for the news about these beautiful tapestries there. However, I need to tell you that I have already employed many excellent masters and workers in tapestry-weaving and I have ordered them to weave tapestries here. I have established many looms to set up the enterprise and I hope that the art will succeed quickly in Florence and it will not be necessary for the people of the Duchy and neighbouring countries to come to Flanders to purchase tapestries.¹

This letter announced the domestication of tapestry-making and the foundation of the Arazzeria Medicea (Medici tapestry workshop) in sixteenth-century Florence, thanks to the arrival of the Flemish tapestry master Jan Rost and his collaborators from Ferrara at the end of August 1545. This reply by Cosimo highlighted the material, technical and mercantile importance of importing tapestry-weaving to Florence.

By bringing together approaches from various academic disciplines, such as material culture studies and economic history, this dissertation seeks to reassess the making of tapestries and the economic, entrepreneurial, material and technical sides of its production in sixteenth-century Florence. To this end, I seek to challenge and extend the current

understanding of tapestries within the Arazzeria Medicea and beyond. To date, scholarship on Florentine tapestries has tended to focus on design/cartoon-driven or patron-driven narratives. Instead, this dissertation unveils the hidden layers of entrepreneurship in the workshop, considering manufacturing patterns, supply networks and experimentation, to show the astonishing innovation and resources invested in every aspect of tapestry-making in Granducal Florence.

1. Defining Tapestry

Tapestries are textiles, generally made of wool, silk and metallic threads, composed of rows of thick threads of warp intertwined with thinner threads of the weft. By combining and alternating coloured weft threads, which progressively conceal the warp threads, figures and compositions are created. This is the main feature of tapestry-making and differentiates tapestries from embroideries which are crafted by sewing coloured stitches onto ready-woven fabrics.

The compositions of figurative tapestries are woven by following a drawing generally provided by artists in the initial production phase. First of all, they created sketches. Then, painters or cartoonists (painters specialised in cartoon-making) created coloured cartoons, “a full-scale painting”, made of cloth either paper, which guided weavers in their task. Unfortunately, no cartoons for Florentine tapestry-making in the sixteenth century survive, but contemporaries Giorgio Vasari and Giovan Battista Armenini described the procedure of cartoon-making. As Vasari noted, cartoons were made by “mixing (a squared) sheet with

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3 Soroka, *Tapestry*, 5.


5 Giovan Battista Armenini, *De veri precetti della pittura*, in Paola Barocchi, *Trattati d’arte del Cinquecento*, vol. I (Roma, Laterza, 1960), 36-37; Giorgio Vasari, *Vite dei più eccellenti pittori, scultori,
flour glue and boiled water”. Such cartoons reproduce the intended scale of paintings or tapestries as coloured compositions, like Raphael’s cartoons for the Acts of Apostles’ cycle (fig.0.1), or Fructus Belli by Giulio Romano (fig.0.2). They were hung behind high-warp looms or underneath low-warp looms and then progressively translated into threads by tapestry-weavers, who “built-up areas of colour with knotted coloured woollen and silk threads”.

Tapestry-making is a collaborative and collective production, demanding the involvement of a variety of professionals, skills and materials. Tapestries have been woven in Europe since antiquity. The Overhogdal tapestries from Central Sweden, for example, dated between the eighth and eleventh century, are among the oldest surviving examples of European tapestries. Tapestry production flourished in the Low Countries since the fourteenth century, becoming a famed producer of large figurative textiles for both indigenous and wider European markets. The Italian word for tapestries, “panni d’arazzo” is derived from the city of Arras in Artois (today Northern France), a major centre of production, revealing the Northern origin and Italian perception of these textiles.

In his seminal Tapestry in the Renaissance (2002), Thomas P. Campbell identified three main themes for the academic discipline of tapestry history:


6 Vasari, Vite (1568), vol I, 36: “impastansi i fogli con colla di farina e acqua cotta al fuoco - fogli, dico, che siano squadrati”.


8 Cleland, “Tapestries”, 110.


10 Campbell, Tapestry, 13-39.

[1] the extent to which the tapestry medium reflected the personal tastes and aspirations of the patrons and the role tapestry played in the daily and ceremonial life of the time; [2] the contribution made by key artists of the day to the stylistic development of high-quality tapestry design in the Netherlands, Italy and France; [3] and the financial and physical circumstances that enabled the production of these enormous and costly works of art.  

Guy Delmarcel defined alternative themes for tapestry studies, based on the components and players involved in tapestry production. He argued that the study of tapestries should be:

a balanced account of the four main components: [1] the surviving sets of tapestries and their extremely varied iconography and subject matter, [2] the workshops where they were woven, [3] the artists who supplied the models to the weavers and [4] the customers and patrons, who often decide the programs to be illustrated and who in their interior decoration gave a special function to series of tapestries.

Together, Campbell and Delmarcel summarise the key elements of tapestry research, opening out the whole process of tapestry-making from finance and ideas, to manufacture and display, and set the boundaries of this academic field. But Campbell’s “physical circumstances” and Delmarcel’s “workshops where they were woven” gloss over important aspects of technical experimentation that signal concerns encompassing sustainability and national pride. Because, by its nature, not all innovation bears fruit, much of the history of tapestries is invisible if the focus is confined to extant works - artefacts that were both completed and still survive to this day.

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2. The Primacy of Designs and Patrons

Tapestry-making, as identified by Campbell and Delmarcel, is defined by the complexity of making tapestries and all the actors involved in the process. The many aspects of production, complementary and interconnected as they are, have received uneven attention in the scholarly literature ever since tapestries began to be systematically studied in the nineteenth century. The primary focus of these studies has been on the patrons who commissioned them and on the artists who designed them. As a result, art historians traditionally tend to approach tapestries as if they are woven paintings and analyse them in the same way as painting and drawing. In this section, I will briefly retrace the roots of this traditional framework for tapestry studies, with a particular focus on the theme of my research, namely sixteenth-century Florence. I do this to show that the values usually imposed on tapestries, though important, obscure other factors that demand attention and allow a more complete picture of the cultural, economic and social significance of this unique art form to emerge.

This emphasis on cartoons and patrons derived from the legacy of artistic studies of Renaissance arts, primarily focussed on painting, sculpture and architecture, which traced back to sixteenth-century centres such as Florence. Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574) in dialogue with contemporary artists, writers and theorists, defined the hierarchy of arts, by elevating the Arti del Disegno (Arts of Design), painting, sculpture and architecture. In the

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15 Campbell, Tapestry, 10.
16 Campbell, Tapestry, 9-10.
17 Campbell, Tapestry, 9-10.
Introduction of the second edition of the *Lives* (1568), he defined the centrality of *disegno*, by noting: “Seeing that design (*disegno*), the parents of our three arts, architecture, sculpture and painting, having its origin in the intellect, draws out from many single things a general judgement, it is like a form or idea of the objects in nature”.\(^{19}\)

The value of tapestry as an art form can be located at the intersection of two distinct activities: the intellectual effort of *disegno*, embodied by cartoons, and manual work of weaving. In fact, the Dominican Saint Antoninus, Bishop of Florence (1389-1459) included weaving among the seven mechanical arts.\(^{20}\) This discrepancy between the perception of designing and weaving led to the prioritisation of cartoons over the intermediary processes involved in translating the design into woven form and therefore to their appreciation as “woven painting”.\(^{21}\) In his *Ragionamenti*, Vasari highlights the artistic predominance of cartoons in tapestry-making. In the Vasarian dialogue, Francesco de’Medici says:

> He [Cosimo] could have done better than this; because this [tapestry-making] did not, and still does not have equal in the embroideries and the goldwork [...] only in this city [Florence], and accordingly to me, this could not have been better placed than Florence since there are here many excellent painters and draughtsman that are creating cartoons for this art.\(^{22}\)

The intellectual labour of painting and designing, as defined by Vasari, derives from the classical tradition of Horace and his phrase “ut pictura poesis” in *ars poetica*, which

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22 Giorgio Vasari, *Ragionamenti del signore Giorgio Vasari sopra le invenzioni da lui dipinte in Firenze nel Palazzo Vecchio con Francesco medici, allora Principe di Firenze* (Pisa, Capurro, 1823), 50: “Anzi non poteva fare meglio; perchè questa di ricami d’ago, e di tessere cose d’oro [...] non ha avuto, ne ha pari, e solo questa, e non si poteva secondo me collocare in migliore luogo che in Fiorenza, sendo qui tanti pittori e disegnatori eccellenti, che fanno i cartoni per questo mestiero”.
defined the inventive imagination of painters and poets, in recreating and ultimately perfecting nature.\textsuperscript{23} Francesco Petrarca (Petrarch, 1304-1374) promoted \textit{disegno} as the foundation of arts, understood as the intersection between intellectual effort and manual practice: \textit{disegno} was therefore the common origin of painting and sculpture, establishing the early foundation for humanistic debate, which led directly to the sixteenth century theorisation.\textsuperscript{24} A few decades after Petrarch’s death, in his \textit{Libro dell’Arte} (late fourteenth century), Cennino Cennini asserted that: “the foundation of the art and all the works created by hands is design and colour”.\textsuperscript{25} Cennini mainly understood design in its practical meaning (drawing), but he also envisaged intellectual labour and interpretation of nature.\textsuperscript{26} This explains Cennini’s comment that the expert painter “is capable of drawing out of his head”.\textsuperscript{27}

Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472), the most influential art theorist of the fifteenth century, continued the trend, promoting the practice of \textit{disegno} as intellectual labour and its three arts to the status of liberal arts.\textsuperscript{28} For instance, in his treatise, \textit{De Re Aedificatoria} (1450) Alberti wrote: “Design will be a delineated and constant assignment [\textit{perscriptio}]

\begin{footnotes}
\item[26] Cennini, \textit{Arte}, 6-7.
\end{footnotes}
conceived in the mind [animo], made by lines, angles and guided by the mind and good intelligence”.  

Significantly for my topic, there was a flurry of art theory related activity in 1540s Florence. In 1540, the first edition of Alberti’s De Pictura was printed in Basel. In 1550, the first edition of Vasari’s Lives was published in Florence, a collaboration with the Flemish printer Lorenzo Torrentino. In 1549, Benedetto Varchi (1503-1565) published the Due Lezizioni, his two lectures delivered in Santa Maria Novella under the auspices of the Accademia Fiorentina in 1547. In particular, the second lezione analysed the dispute of the hierarchy of arts, paragone delle arti. Varchi proposed the common origin of painting, architecture and sculpture in design, the “source, origin and mother” of these arts. Overall, Varchi elevated these three arts to intellectual activities, giving them a prominent and special status among all the arts.

The foundation of the Florentine Accademia e Compagnia delle Arti del Disegno in 1563 sealed this hierarchy, leading to the primacy of what we now call the “fine arts”. The

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31 Rosand, Acts, 54.

32 On the first edition, see Pozzi and Mattioda, Vasari, 1-7.


35 Varchi, Lezizioni, 103: “l’origine, la fonte e la madre”.

Accademia was promoted by the sculptor Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli and Giorgio Vasari under the auspices of Cosimo I de’ Medici, “father of the men of Design”.\(^{37}\) Vasari in his “Life of Montorsoli” (1568), describes the foundation of the academy which was “created to teach those who wished to learn and to improve the skilled masters by an honourable and praiseworthy competition”.\(^{38}\) The 1563 statutes created an internal hierarchy among arts and artists. To quote the statues themselves: “all the men of Design, namely architects, sculptors and painters” can access the Accademia.\(^{39}\) The other artists and craftsmen could be accepted into the larger Compagnia del Disegno, as it is stated in the statutes, “as long as they [other artists] have respect for the value of Design and Judgement, they may enter in this group”.\(^{40}\) Other artistic academies were to follow Florence’s lead – notably the establishment of the Accademia di San Luca in 1593 in Rome, promoted by Federico Zuccari (1539-1609), who previously participated in the constitution of the Florentine Accademia.\(^{41}\) Zuccari and the secretary to the Accademia Romano Alberti in their writings celebrated disegno as the basis of the artistic production.\(^{42}\)

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40 BNCF, Fondo Nazionale, II.I, 399, fol.2v, in Adorni and Zangheri, *Statuti*, 7: “purché sien degni per il valore del Disegno e del Giuditio, possino entrare in questo numero”.


In addition to the central role of design, the relevance of art patronage studies in art history have contributed to prioritise one aspect of the production, the commission, over the complexity of tapestry-making, and, I argue, has prevented scholars from conducting a balanced and holistic analysis of these objects. Several publications document tapestry patronage in Early Modern Europe (c. 1400 to c. 1700), and have decisively contributed to the progress of tapestry studies, particularly in revealing important information about the consumption and function of this art form.\textsuperscript{43} In this context, tapestries are mainly reassessed within the political and cultural context of patrons and analysed for the political and cultural messages they conveyed.

In particular, art patronage in Renaissance Florence (fifteenth and sixteenth-century) has been frequently addressed.\textsuperscript{44} As I discuss in the next sections, tapestries have been

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
mainly considered as instruments for Medici patronage. The legacy of the celebratory emphasis on the patronage of Cosimo I and the Medici dynasty fostered this approach.\textsuperscript{45} The writings of Giorgio Vasari were influential in establishing this vision and perpetuated the


focus on Medici patronage and connoisseurship of the arts since the Renaissance itself.\textsuperscript{46} It is telling that the dedication of the first edition of the \textit{Lives to Cosimo I de’ Medici} (1550) reads:

"Nearly all the protagonists [of arts’ rebirth] were Tuscans and for the most part your own Florentines. Many of these were protected, encouraged and rewarded by your most illustrious ancestors. It can well be said that the arts were reborn in your state, nay in your own most happily favoured house. Thus it is to the members of your house that the world owes the benefit of these arts restored, embellished, and ennobled as they are in our present day."\textsuperscript{47}

3. The Development of Tapestry Studies

The historical investigation of Early Modern tapestries can be traced back to the last quarter of the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{48} These earliest publications deployed archival evidence to identify and establish the cultural role of tapestry production.\textsuperscript{49} Influenced by the

\textsuperscript{46} Hollingworth, \textit{ Patronage}, 258-259.

\textsuperscript{47} Translation by Edward L. Goldberg, \textit{After Vasari, History, Life and Patronage in the Late Medici Florence} (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1988), 5; Giorgio Vasari, \textit{Le vite dei più eccellenti architetti, pittori et scultori} (1550), edited by Luciano Bellosi and Aldo Rossi (Turin, Einaudi, 1986), 1: “questi tali sono stati quasi tutti Toscani e la la più parte Fiorentini. e molti di essi da gli Illustriissimi antichi suoi con ogni sorte di premij et di onori incitati et aiutati a mettere in opera; si può dire che nel suo stato anzi nella sua felicissima casa siano rinate: et per benefizio dei suoi medesimi abbia il mondo queste bellissime arti ricuperate et per essa nobilitato et rimbellito si sia”.


\textsuperscript{49} Campbell, \textit{ Tapestry}, 6-7; Cleland, “Unbiased Eye”, 123-134.
Vasarian structure of the fine arts, noted in the previous section, cartoons and patrons held a central role, aligning with rather than challenging the primacy of painting, sculpture and architecture in artistic investigation.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, national differences in tapestry research in Europe began to emerge. In Italy, the influence of the Vasarian legacy continued to dominate. Mercedes Viale, between 1953 and 1966, mainly conceptualised tapestries as woven paintings, focussing her attention on the intellectual effort of disegno. She highlighted the centrality of cartoons and cartoonists, noting they specifically contributed to elevating the quality of weaving. She noted: “the incredible perfection of weaving is [...] a means to translate the ingenious effort of the cartoon and the exceptional singularity of the composition and the refinement of the meanings, depicted in the cartoons.”

This cartoon-led approach to tapestries was reinforced by the formalism of Roberto Longhi (1890-1970), one of the most influential art historians and critics of twentieth-century Italy. For Longhi and his disciples, being an art historian meant being able to

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51 Viale, *Arazzi*, 82-83.

52 Viale, *Arazzi*, 82: “L’incredibile perfezione della tessitura [...] è invece un mezzo necessario a tradurre l’ingegnosa sottigliezza dei disegni, la singolarità dei pensieri compositivi e la ricercatezza dei significati proposti dai modelli [cartoons].”

visually analyse an artwork. Art historical research depends on proper training in looking and investigating the forms of an art object.\textsuperscript{54} Art historians are connoisseurs as they should be able to identify stylistic traits and attribute paintings, sculptures and other artworks to a specific creator.\textsuperscript{55} As the formal analysis of artworks is always the starting point for any historical investigation in Longhi’s model, the entrepreneurial innovation and collaborative effort that underpins tapestry-making is a secondary concern.

The role of Vasari was not universally accepted and adopted across Europe, however. The English craftsman William Morris (1834-1896) promoted the interest in tapestries in Britain, defining the characteristics of his initial historical enquiry in Anglo-Saxon and Medieval tapestry studies. Morris dismissed the Italian emphasis on sixteenth-century designs, which, he argued, obscured the original linear and decorative aspects of earlier tapestries.\textsuperscript{56} Notably, Aby Warburg (1866-1924) also looked more to the linear and decorative tapestries produced in Europe in the fifteenth century. In 1907 and 1913, he investigated important examples of Netherlandish tapestries, the \textit{Stories of Alexander} and \textit{Woodcarvers of Chancellor Rolin}, woven in Tournai (Wallonia) in the fifteenth century.\textsuperscript{57} He identified what he characterised as Northern European realism in these textiles, which, he argued, was replaced in the High Renaissance by the revival of the antique style.\textsuperscript{58} He compared tapestries to printing, due to the reproducibility of the cartoons, describing them as “mobile images”.\textsuperscript{59} Tapestry-weavers remained “anonymous mediators of design” and

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\textsuperscript{54} Longhi, \textit{Proposta}, 5-19.

\textsuperscript{55} Ragghianti, \textit{Profilo}, 77-78.

\textsuperscript{56}Campbell, \textit{Tapestry}, 10.

\textsuperscript{57} Aby Warburg, \textit{La rinascita del paganesimo antico}, translated from German by Emma Cantimori (Florence, La Nuova Italia, 1980), 203-210. 275-282.

\textsuperscript{58} Warburg, \textit{Rinascita}, 210. 275.

\textsuperscript{59} Warburg, \textit{Rinascita}, 203.
tapestries themselves were valued in relation to patrons and the iconographical meaning tapestries conveyed.\textsuperscript{60}

In the Netherlands and Belgium, on the other hand, the scholarly debate surrounding the socio-economic and entrepreneurial aspects has long been significant. The Belgian scholar Sophie Schneebalg-Perelman published between 1960 and 1982 several important contributions to the economic and technical aspects of tapestry-making in sixteenth-century.\textsuperscript{61} In addition, the catalogue of Flemish tapestry by Roger D’Hulst (1967) tackled production from the perspective of weavers and analysed the demand for tapestries.\textsuperscript{62} Nevertheless, apart from these notable exceptions, in the twentieth century, Early Modern tapestry studies were predominantly based on the methodologies of “fine arts”, such as painting, sculpture and architecture, and the production phase of tapestries were of lesser concern.\textsuperscript{63} This approach has significantly affected the studies on the Florentine Arazzeria.

4. Research On The Arazzeria Until the Beginning of the Twenty-First Century

Scholarly literature on the Florentine Arazzeria has long reflected the traditional methodological trends of Italian tapestry studies. Particularly, in the studies of Florentine art that incorporate tapestries, the Vasarian model of the arts has remained remarkably persistent. Therefore, scholars have tended to privilege patronage and cartoons.

In the seventeenth century, Filippo Baldinucci (1624-1696) in his Vocabulario Toscano dell’Arte del Disegno (1681) still subordinated all artistic techniques to the

\textsuperscript{60} Warburg, Rinascita, 203. 280: “il tessitore, anonimo mediatore di disegni”.


\textsuperscript{63} Campbell used the term “fine arts”; Campbell, Tapestry, 9.
intellectual effort of *disegno*. Tapestry-weaving was considered inferior to painting, sculpture and architecture. In the eighteenth century, Abbot Luigi Lanzi (1732-1810), a prominent archaeologist and art historian, carried on the traditional design-driven approach to tapestry-making. In the 1780s, Lanzi oversaw the reorganisation of the Uffizi art collections, alongside the director Giuseppe Bencivenni Pelli (1729-1808), which privileged paintings and sculptures. Lanzi in his *Storia pittorica d’Italia* (1795-1796), examined the history of painting in Italy. He divided painting by regional schools and described artistic formal development. With regards to tapestries, Lanzi considered them as “woven painting” and described them as another means of praising the qualities of painters, such as

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Bacchiacca, Bronzino, Stradano, Raphael, Vasari, the Dossi brothers or il Pordenone. A telling example is in regards to the patronage of Pope Pius VI (1775-1799). Lanzi notes: “he not only incentivised painting but also all the arts, subjected to it, which were not well practised here [in Rome], such as miniature, mosaics, tapestry-weaving and encaustic painting”.

Finally, in 1875, the painter and restorer Cosimo Conti (1825-1896) published the first scholarly study exclusively dedicated to the history of tapestry production in Renaissance Florence. Conti, for the first time, engaged with archival documents related to the Florentine tapestry workshops in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as the contracts of the Flemish weavers (1546) and extracts from workshops’ archival documentation. He embarked on the history of the Arazzeria during a wider program of reorganisation and cataloguing of the Florentine artistic collections, after the proclamation of the Kingdom of Italy (1861). The collections were studied and opened to the public; for instance, Conti oversaw the first specialist exhibition of the Medici tapestries, held in the Pazzi Chapel in Santa Croce in 1881. Conti did seek to connect the production of the workshop with local textile industries, but although he was aware of the economic and

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68 Lanzi, Storia, 60; 62; 66; 336; 448.
69 Lanzi, Storia, 196: “Non vi è genere non solo la pittura, ma pressoché delle arte che a lei soggiacciono, che non si eserciti quivi lodevolmente: la miniatura, il musaico, la tessitura degli arazzi, l’encausto”.
70 The first edition was firstly published in 1875. Cosimo Conti, Ricerche storiche sull’arte degli arazzi in Firenze (Florence, Sansoni, 1875), 11-118. The edition has been republished in the 1985. Cosimo Conti, Ricerche storiche sull’arte degli arazzi in Firenze (Florence, Sansoni, 1985), 1-118.
71 Conti, Ricerche, 11-20. In regards to the sixteenth century tapestry production, Conti only published Jan Rost’s contract (1546) and some transcriptions from ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 116, fols. 60; 76; 90, in Conti, Ricerche, 97-105, doc.2-5.
72 See for instance the catalogues and guides, published in the same period and in the second half of the nineteenth century, by Igino Benvenuto Supino, the first director of the Museo del Bargello. Igino Benvenuto Supino, Catalogo del Real museo nazionale di Firenze (Rome, Tipografia dell’unione cooperativa, 1898), 1-486; Igino Benvenuto Supino, Il medagliere mediceo nel Regio museo nazionale di Firenze (Rome, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 1899), 1-26.
technical value of these textiles, he decided to “stick within the limits assigned by art history and study primarily the subjects [of tapestries]”.  

Over the last forty years, scholars such as Candace Adelson, Lucia Meoni, Angelica Frezza and Nello Forti Grazzini, have published work that has shaped the historical understanding of tapestries woven in sixteenth-century Florence. In recent scholarly literature, the contribution of the American scholar, Candace Adelson, is undoubtedly the most significant and her publications have considerably moved forward the study of the Arazzeria. She has published a vast array of primary sources and retraced the negotiations which stood behind the foundation of the Medici tapestry workshop in 1545. However, her research is chronologically limited to the foundation of the workshops and the early years (1545-1553), when the Flemish weavers, Jan Rost and Nicholas Karcher, managed the Arazzeria. Moreover, as the title of her seminal Ph.D. dissertation (“The Tapestry Patronage of Cosimo I de’ Medici, 1545-1553”) testifies, she has approached the tapestry workshop from a patron-based perspective. She considers the Arazzeria mainly for its programmatic and political value within the establishment of Cosimo’s Duchy and her framework centres on patronage. In the introduction to her thesis, she notes:

In Medieval and Renaissance Europe, it was a sign of prestige and wealth to own and display rich wall hangings. Tapestries, whose weaving was time-consuming and

74 Conti, Ricerche, 9: “mi rinchioda nei limiti che mi vengono assegnati dalla storia dell’arte e scenda a trattare il soggetto”.


76 Adelson, “Patronage”, 13-43.
costly, were with certain elaborately embroidered ensembles, the most prized, and were passed down from generation to generation.77

Here, Adelson defines the primary aim of her research, namely, positioning Cosimo’s tapestry patronage within the aesthetic appreciation for tapestries in sixteenth-century Europe, a continental phenomenon boosted by commissions from important European potentates such as popes and the Habsburg emperors.78 The core contribution of Adelson’s research situates the political value of the foundation of the Arazzeria and the Florentine-woven tapestries within the world of Ducal art patronage. It is in this context that she studies the iconographies and political messages conveyed in the tapestries.79

The research of Lucia Meoni and Angelica Frezza is equally significant for the study of the Arazzeria, cataloguing tapestries in Florentine public collections. In 1980, Frezza catalogued a selection of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century tapestries for an exhibition on Medici patronage in Palazzo Vecchio.80 From the 1990s, Meoni extended Frezza’s research and published a comprehensive catalogue of all sixteenth- and seventeenth-century tapestries in Florentine public collections over several volumes.81 Antonio Paolucci, the

77 Adelson, “Patronage”, 2.

78 Adelson, “Patronage”, 3-5.

79 Adelson, “Patronage”, 88-327.

80 Angelica Frezza, Scritti di storia dell’arazzeria medicea (Isola di Liri, Pisani, 1992), 9-70.

former director of the Uffizi Galleries, identified Meoni’s project to “catalogue all tapestries, stored in [public] Florentine museums and galleries and put in order the richest and least studied textile deposit in Europe”. While Adelson only dealt with the management of the Flemish masters (1545-1553), Meoni’s chronological span is much longer, covering the production of the Arazzeria until 1672. However, like Adelson, Meoni’s investigation privileges a Medici and design-led perspective. Tapestries are mainly considered as courtly artefacts and investigated as conveyors of political messages.

Even if the Arazzeria did not represent his main academic interest, Nello Forti Grazzini also participated in this dominant formalistic and cartoon-led narrative in regards to the Florentine tapestries. The contribution of Forti Grazzini to the study of tapestries in sixteenth-century Italy is undoubtedly significant and groundbreaking, especially for the production in Ferrara and Northern Italy. His studies and catalogues are essential for mapping the production in Italy and reveal the patronage and interest of rulers in tapestries.

Overall, all these contributions are significant and in some cases groundbreaking, but they do not consider the production of tapestries in the round. In order to unveil the complexity of Florentine tapestry-making, a supplementary approach is needed.

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82 Antonio Paolucci, “Presentazione”, in Meoni, Arazzi, 11: “Schedare tutti gli arazzi conservati nei depositi dei Musei e delle Gallerie fiorentine, mettere ordine nel giacimento tessile forse più ricco e meno studiato in Europa”.

83 Lucia Meoni, Gli arazzi nei musei fiorentini, vol.II (Livorno, Sillabe, 2007), 14-39; Lucia Meoni, Gli arazzi nei musei fiorentini, vol.III (Livorno, Sillabe, 2018), 14-93. In the following footnotes, if it is not stated otherwise, the reference will consider only vol.I of Meoni’s catalogue.


5. Recent Calls for A Supplementary Approach

In 2013 Koenraad Brosens identified three types of publications concerning tapestry studies in Early Modern Europe. The first type is the “catalogues of both major or minor American and European tapestry collections, which are descriptive rather than analytical”. The second trend is represented by the tapestry patronage studies, like Candace Adelson’s doctoral dissertation. The third type is cartoon-led or artist-based. Raphael’s cartoons for the tapestries for the Sistine chapel have played a central role in these studies.

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88 Brosens, “Tapestry”, 43. See previous section.

These types of publications—catalogues of collections, patronage studies and artist-based research—are essential for the study of tapestries and deepen our understanding of their cartoons, commissions and consumption, but they also leave much out regarding processes of production. To fill this gap, a new framework has been progressively established that emancipates tapestries from the perspective of “woven paintings”. As Elizabeth Cleland argues, scholarly literature over the last forty years has stepped away from the traditional approach, based on Vasarian perception of arts, in order to reassess tapestry-making and balancing all its aspects.

As Guy Delmarcel argues, “every type of artwork has different research needs. [...] the art of tapestries contains specific aspects that led to employ its own method of research”. In this case scholars need a supplementary approach, a definition coined by Brosens, beyond the traditional framework of art history, particularly for studying the production phase and the materiality of tapestries. Studying tapestry in this way is fruitful for several reasons. First of all, it holistically reveals the production, retracing all the processes and people involved. Moreover, it unveils the entrepreneurial and economic meanings associated with tapestry-making, inserting it into wider social, political and economic patterns.

_Raphael’s Cartoon in the collection of Her Majesty the Queen and the Tapestries for the Sistine Chapel_ (Oxford, Phaidon, 1972), 21-164.

90 Koenraad Brosens, _A Contextual Study of Brussel tapestry: 1670-1770_ (Brussels, Paleis der Academien, 2004), 15.


93 Brosens, “Tapestry Research”, 43.
An example of the new interdisciplinary trend in tapestry studies is the approach of Koenraad Brosens to the study of Baroque tapestry production in Brussels.⁹⁴ To overcome the established narrative of tapestry studies, in 2016, Brosens established the Cornelia Project at the Katholieke Universiteit (KU) Leuven, to investigate tapestry-making and painting in Baroque Brussels from a socio-economic approach with the support of digital media.⁹⁵ The approach of the Cornelia Project, even if it is developed on the indigenous production of tapestry-making in the Low Countries, is particularly promising for the future of tapestry studies as it establishes an interdisciplinary framework which embodies the complexity of this production and the different agents involved.

In order to go beyond the Vasarian legacy I have traced above, this dissertation applies the new interdisciplinary approach of northern European tapestry studies to Florentine tapestry-making. My intention is to retrace the production phase of the Arazzeria, its entrepreneurship, the people involved and the supply networks. This investigation will contribute to reassessing the tapestry workshop as a living enterprise. I argue that the Arazzeria was, above all, a complex and multi-layered economic venture, inserted and to the same extent dependent on the local manufacturing context. Given the focus of previous scholarly literature on patronage and design, tapestries in the thesis will be mainly reassessed as physical commodities, as artefacts of a trading network, in which different professions coexisted and collaborated to create a finished product.

In particular, I employ approaches derived from economic history and material culture studies. These two disciplines contribute to reveal the complexity of the production, the entrepreneurial organisation and the materiality of tapestries. This perspective does not

undermine the artistic value of tapestry designs, or the courtly consumption of these artefacts, but seeks to enrich our understanding.

The field of material culture has been developed over the last forty years in North American and British scholarship. The first academic journal dedicated to this subject, *The Journal of Material Culture*, was established in 1996. Material culture seeks to investigate the past, via the analysis of materials and artefacts. Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello highlight the “material turn” in historical investigation and argue that this approach can lead to new questions and the creation of new research areas, such as the study of fashion. Peta Motture and Michelle O’Malley also point out the benefits of an “object-based approach [that] has often helped to revolutionise our thinking about individual pieces and our understanding of the culture for which they were created”. Questioning the materiality of artefacts, sculptures, paintings and textiles contributes to reassessing the role

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and boundaries of art historical research. By applying the principles of material culture studies, art historians can open new perspectives on the studies of artworks, ranging across their objecthood, production, consumption and afterlife.  

Material culture studies have much to offer to the study of tapestries. A recent example is an article by Sylvia Houghteling where she analyses the materials and their production chains in the Conquest of Tunis (1546) tapestry series commissioned by Charles V, which gloriously celebrated the Emperor as defensor fidei. By analysing the materiality of sets, Houghteling reveals the complexity of production, which does not fit into the iconography of Charles as defensor of Christianity, as the metallic threads came from the New World and Muslims forcibly converted merchants in Granada supplied silks. There are several publications where this “material turn” can be seen in the study of Renaissance Florence, but to date, this does not include Florentine tapestry-making. I have found the material-led approach to tapestry-making particularly useful in the last two chapters of this

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102 Sylvia Houghteling, “Tapestry as Tainted Medium: Charles V’s Conquest of Tunis”, in Lauren Jacobi and Daniel Zolli, eds, Contamination and Purity in Early Modern Art and Architecture (Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2021), 183-205. The research by Houghteling is based on archival evidence, mainly the contract of the Pannemaker family for this set, also analysed by D’Hulst, ed, Tapestry, 224-225, n.25.


In addition to the material culture studies, it is worthwhile to mention the contributions by Suzanne Butters. Her approach has been influential for my aims of the dissertation. In fact, Butters aims to look at the process of making objects and artworks. For instance, in her book, The Triumph of Vulcan, the scholar investigates the sculptor Francesco del Tadda (1497-1585) and reassesses the process of porphyry-carving.\textsuperscript{104} By focusing on the process of making the porphyry sculptures rather than the final product, Butters reveals new meanings for this specific production and its intersections between politics, scientific knowledge and art.\textsuperscript{105} Also, she deployed the same method in the study of the making of Pratolino Villa, commissioned by Granduke Francesco de’Medici, and the nearby artificial lake of La Magia at Fontanella, unveiling through the analysis of people involved in the construction, a discrepancy between the Medici imagery of good government and the social reality of pressed workers, employed in the building.\textsuperscript{106}

The principles of economic history can be fruitful for the study of the production phase and the entrepreneurial organisation of tapestry-making. The Italian historian Carlo M. Cipolla effectively defined the discipline as he noted “the history of economic facts and events from an individual, entrepreneurial and collective level. Therefore, this discipline differentiates from the history of economic thought [...]”.\textsuperscript{107} Economic historians approached textiles as commodities and their production and selling contributed to identifying economic trends. Moreover, they retrace the production chain and study the living and working conditions of people involved in the manufacturing system.

\begin{footnotes}
\item[105] Butters, Vulcan, 241-280.
\item[106] Suzanne B. Butters, “Pressed Labor and Pratolino, Social Imagery and Social Reality At a Medici Garden”, in Mirka Benes and Dianne Harris, eds, Villas ans Gardens in Early Modern Italy and France (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001), 61-77.
\item[107] Carlo M. Cipolla, Introduzione allo studio della storia economica (Bologna, Il Mulino, 1988), 13: “La disciplina chiamata storia economica [...] è la storia dei fatti e delle vicende economiche a livello individuale o aziendale o collettivo”. On the function and methodologies of economic history research, see Cipolla, Storia, 13-35.
\end{footnotes}
Carlo M. Cipolla, Raymond De Roover, Furio Diaz, Florence Edler De Roover, Hidetoshi Hoshino, Paolo Malanima, Federigo Melis, Armando Sapori firstly investigated (1920s-1980s) the civic economy of Renaissance Florence. More recently, Francesco Ammannati, Patrick Chorley, Franco Franceschi, Richard Goldthwaite, Marco Spallanzani and

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Sergio Tognetti, decisively contributed to this area.\textsuperscript{109} The core of their economic research has been the textile industries, in particular, wool and silk.\textsuperscript{110}

Notably, economic historians have barely touched upon the production of the Medici tapestry workshop. There are only some scattered references to the workshop by Richard Goldthwaite.\textsuperscript{111} This omission by economic historians may be due to the dominant approach in regards to tapestries. Tapestry-making has been considered the realm of artistic investigation. It is my contention here that this lack of communication between art history and economic history left unexplored a major portion of the original meaning of importing tapestry-making in sixteenth-century Florence.


\textsuperscript{110} Goldthwaite, Economy, 265-340.

\textsuperscript{111} Goldthwaite, Economy, 394-395.
6. Primary Sources and New Archival Findings

Incorporating methodologies from material culture and economic history has led to a re-evaluation of the type of primary sources that are relevant for the history of the Arazzeria. Subsequently, this thesis incorporates much unpublished archival evidence, which sheds light on previously overlooked aspects of the Florentine tapestry-making. A selection of unpublished archival documents is included in the appendix.\(^{112}\)

Archives and libraries in Florence and Tuscany conserve extensive and detailed documentation for this period. Unfortunately, the documentation for the Flemish masters, who were instrumental in establishing the Medici Arazzeria in 1545, has not survived. This loss undermines the study of the organisation of the Flemish masters’ workshops from 1545-1553. Despite this documentary loss, other archival sources produced by the Medici bureaucracy and notaries, provide valuable evidence for this period. Three series of the Archivio di Stato di Firenze (ASF), such as the Scrittoio delle Fortezze e Fabbriche, Mediceo del Principato and Notarile Antecosimiano, already studied by scholars such as Candace Adelson and Lucia Meoni, partially document the production of the Flemish masters’ workshops.\(^{113}\) These published documents will be reconsidered in the light of the aims of the dissertation, alongside unpublished documents and letters related to the Arazzeria, from the Mediceo del Principato and the Miscellanea Medicea, seeking to expand our understanding of this Medici workshop during the Flemish masters’ management.

In regards to the Flemish masters’ successors, the Creati Fiorentini (1554-1589) and Guasparri Papini (1589-1621), the most important piece of evidence is the Guardaroba Medicea in the Archivio di Stato di Firenze (ASF). The sub-series of the Arazzeria in the Guardaroba series contains the account books, receipts book and ledgers of the workshop from 1554 onwards.\(^{114}\) While scholars have considered the Guardaroba for tapestry sets or

\(^{112}\) Some published documents, such as Saliti’s letters (1545), the contracts of the Flemish masters or a letter by Jan Rost, are included in the appendix. These documents are pivotal for the aims of the dissertation and widely discussed in this research.

\(^{113}\) See chapters 3-4-5-6.

cartoons, the archival series offers detailed insights into the workshops lead by the Creati Fiorentini and Papini from the supply of materials to the final textiles. The analysis of the suppliers and networks of the Arazzeria emerging from the Mediceo del Principato, Guardaroba Medicea and Miscelleanea Medicea, led me to consider other unpublished sources. The study of Bernardo Saliti, the Florentine silk merchant who started the negotiations for establishing the workshop in 1545, led me to previously unknown documents in the Este Archive, today at the Archivio di Stato di Modena (hereafter, ASMo) and in the private archive of the Bartolini Salimbeni family in Vicchio del Mugello (Florence). Among the people involved in the Arazzeria, I have examined the private documents of Bongianni di Jacopo Gianfigliazzi and the ledgers of Ridolfo Sirigatti’s fondaco in the Archivio della Congregazione dei Buonuomini di San Martino (Firenze), the libri segreti of Bernardo Rinieri in the Corporazioni religiose soppresse dal governo francese (hereafter, Corporazioni religiose) of the Archivio di Stato di Firenze (ASF), the libri segreti of Giovambattista Cini’s goldbeating workshop in the Grifoni series (ASF), the account books of the Sernigi family in the Carte Strozziane series (ASF), the account book of Tanai de’Medici in the Manoscritti series (ASF) and his family’s documents in the Gianfigliazzi series at the Archivio della Congregazione dei Buonuomini di San Martino, as well as the account books and ledgers of Averardo and Antonio Salviati at the Scuola Normale Superiore (hereafter, SNS) in Pisa. In the context of the Creati’s workshop, a few codices of Carlo di Bernardo de’ Medici, today at the Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia), also proved important. Carlo was the owner of premises rented by the Medici court from 1554 for one of the Creati’s workshop in via del Cocomero.

In addition to the documentary traces of people involved in trading networks and workshops, this dissertation considers an array of unpublished documents related to contemporary merchants and textile workshops, which underpins my analysis of production phase of tapestries. For instance, I bring together evidence about merchants, workshops and artisans from several series of the ASF, such as the Cerchi, Libri di Commercio e Famiglia, Mercanzia, Ginori Conti (Serie Pitti Rinuccini), Strozzi Sacratì, and the sub-series of the Estranei of the Hospital series (Fondo Ospedale) in the Archivio dell’Istituto degli

115 Vaccari, Guardaroba, 261-273
116 See chapter 4, section 2.
Innocenti (hereafter, AIOF), which contains contemporary documents of merchants, workshops and artisans. I also consulted the Libri di Commercio Capponi and the Fondo Tordi at Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze (hereafter, BNCF). The institutional context of the textile industries is reassessed through original documents from the series of the ASF, such as Arte della Lana, Arte di Mercatanti, Arte del Cambio, Decima Granducale, Pratica Segreta, Università dei Fabbricanti, Università dei Linaioli or Università di Por San Piero and through the Granducaal notices (bandi) series at the BNCF. Genealogical evidence on mercantile and patrician families involved in the production are traced in Raccolta Ceramelli-Papiani, Raccolta Sebregondi (ASF) and the Collezione Passerini (BNCF).

Lastly, Chapter 6 is specifically based on the inventories of the Guardaroba Medicea, the manuscript by Ulivieri Ventura Vicenti (Florence, Biblioteca Moreniana, Bigazzi, ms 168), which is partially transcribed in the appendix, the account books and other unpublished archival documentation in the Fondo Ospedale of the Archivio dell’Istituto degli Innocenti (AIOF). Reassessing archival materials is pivotal to the aims of my research and historical investigation. These detailed original sources document the complexity of tapestry production, and has allowed me to investigate its political, economic, entrepreneurial and material ramifications.

7. The Structure of the Thesis

The dissertation is divided into six chapters. Chapter 1, “The Domestication of Tapestry-Making in Sixteenth-Century Florence”, establishes the context for my project, presenting the technical and socio-economic understanding of tapestry-making in sixteenth-century Florence. Here I locate the foundation of the Arazzeria in the history of the civic textile industries, the political transformation and the management of the technological innovation in Ducal Florence, retracing new and overlooked archival evidence and contributing the study of a series of broader political, economic and institutional themes concerning Ducal Florence. The first tapestry woven in the Arazzeria, the Allegory of Abundance (Dovizia), will be analysed as a case study to illustrate the mercantile, entrepreneurial and technical meaning of the domestication of tapestry-making.

Chapter 2 “The Entrepreneurship of the Arazzeria Medicea (1545-1553)”, investigates the internal organisation of the workshops and the role of its investors. Here I
explore new archival evidence, related to Bernardo Saliti, his mercantile networks and the Rinieri family to identify the mercantile and entrepreneurial perception of tapestry-making. The research enriches the study of mercantile trades, the importation of techniques, technical innovation and the economic system in sixteenth-century Florence.

Whilst Chapter 2 mainly deals with investors and merchants who were active in the workshops, Chapter 3, “The Heterodoxy of Flemish Masters and Tapestry-Weavers (1545-1553)”, investigates the establishment of tapestry-making from the perspective of the makers. This chapter identifies various legal and manufacturing differences in relation to local textile industries and investigates how they are related to Netherlandish customs and modes of production. The research assesses new archival evidence and contributes to the study of the social context, the manufacturing system and the importation of skills in sixteenth-century Florence and Early Modern Europe.

In 1554, the Flemish masters were replaced by local masters, called the Creati Fiorentini. Chapter 4, “After the Flemish masters: the Creati Fiorentini and Guasparri Papini”, examined the apprenticeship of young boys to tapestry-making (1545-1553) and how the entrepreneurship and the mode of production of the Arazzeria were organised after the establishment of a Florentine-led management (1554-1600). The chapter deals with an array of unpublished archival documents concerning Jan Rost, the superintendent Tanai de' Medici, and several suppliers of the workshops, such as the patrician Salviati family and the merchant and playwright Giovambattista Cini. The chapter is instrumental for the study of state building processes, the polarisation of power, the mercantile trade networks, the welfare policies and the mode of production within the Florentine textile industries.

Chapter 5, “The Materials of the Arazzeria Medicea (1545-1600)”, investigates the production chain of the four main components of Florentine-woven tapestries – wool, silk, metallic threads, and twisted linen threads (refi). Here, I reassess their physical characteristics, their trading supply, their economic role and their preparation for textile production. This chapter aims to insert the Arazzeria in the context of local textile industries and reconsider the production as a collaborative effort and contributes to the study of the manufacturing processes and social and economic context of the city.

Lastly, Chapter 6, “Experimenting with Tapestry-Weaving in Sixteenth-Century Florence”, investigates different experiments conducted on the newly-imported technique of tapestry-weaving, focussing on the flat-woven carpets in the Arazzeria and the workshop
of Ulivieri Ventura Vicenti in the Hospital of Innocenti (1581-1594). These carpets, based on Anatolian and Mamluk models, brought together a Netherlandish weaving technique with an Eastern Mediterranean textile type. The chapter also studies the attempts to weave tapestries with Tuscan goat hair in the carpet workshop in the Spedale degli Innocenti. The Hospital held a Granducal patent for goat hair tapestries, displaying an experimental curiosity for this textile type and the relentless pursuit of new knowledge, skills and materials. The research illustrates the cultural exchange, the experimental curiosity, the precarious development of technical innovation, the welfare policies and the transmission of skills in sixteenth-century Florence.

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Overall, this dissertation seeks to apply the definitions of tapestry studies by Guy Delmarcel and Thomas Campbell to Florentine tapestry-making and holistically interrogate these luxurious artefacts, going beyond the formal appraisal of cartoons’ disegno and the courtly consumption of these objects, which have been prevalent in the literature.

In the dissertation, entrepreneurship, production and materiality of tapestries will be fully included in the historical investigation on the Florentine-woven tapestries, leading to unearthing unpublished archival evidence. Rather as an art, the research reassesses tapestry-making as socio-economic and political phenomenon by studying the materiality and production of these tapestries. Traditional art historical methodologies, based on the formal study of the artwork or its commission, cannot reveal these central aspects and limit our overall understanding of art objects and their production. Therefore, as noted in the introduction, I need to borrow methodological tools from other disciplines, such as economic history or material culture studies.

As analysed in the thesis, by applying this methodological perspective to tapestry-making in sixteenth-century Florence, the research is instrumental for revealing a series of new themes, identifying new archival evidence and enriching our understanding of the production and the overall political, economic, manufacturing and social context.
Chapter 1
The Domestication of Tapestry-Making in Sixteenth-Century Florence

On 1 April 1545, the Ferrara-based Florentine silk merchant, Bernardo Saliti, advocated importing tapestry-making in Ducal Florence to Bongianni di Jacopo Gianfigliazzi noting that: “quickly [...] this art [tapestry-making] will bring great benefit to the city” (doc.1). Saliti envisaged the economic advantages that the foundation of the Arazzeria would bring to Florence in terms of increasing internal production, exportation and employment. Duke Cosimo I and his court were well aware of these beneficial ramifications for the Florentine economy and manufacturing industries.

This chapter seeks to restore the original economic and technical significance of the beginnings of Florentine tapestry-making, envisaged by Saliti and the Medici court. I will reassess tapestry-making as an *ars mechanica* within civic economic history and the establishment of the workshops within the history of domestication and transmission of skills. Going beyond the consideration of tapestries as artworks or woven paintings, I will approach them as complex productions of a workshop.

Moreover, this chapter analyses the establishment of the tapestry workshop in light of the political and economic transition to the Medici principality and its drive towards absolutism. In many ways the Arazzeria epitomises the reform of the Arti and the new hierarchical stratification of Florentine society. The foundation of the Arazzeria happened amidst a profound transformation of Republican institutions and guild organisations during the early years of the principality. Cosimo in his state-building project reformed and subjugated the guilds, which historically were in charge of overseeing technical innovations and the labour market, by importing a Northern weaving technique to Florence.²

The establishment of the Arazzeria has not previously been linked to the Medici reform of the guilds and the control of the citizen economy. Scholars, like Arnaldo D’Addario, Furio Diaz and Richard Goldthwaite, have already studied guilds in the sixteenth

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² See section 1 and 2.
century in relationship with economic and political events. Also, scholars studied the history of specific guilds, respectively the Arte della Lana, Arte dei Medici e degli Speziali and the Maestri di Pietra e Legname. Tapestry scholars, like Lucia Meoni and Angelica Frezza, have pointed out that the tapestry workshop broke guild regulations, but they did not consider the relationship between the Arazzeria and the Medici reform of Arti in any depth. By looking at unpublished evidence, this chapter reconsiders the establishment of the workshop within the whole process of Ducal subordination of the guilds, offering a new perspective on the crisis of the Florentine Arti and the establishment of the Medici principality.

The economic and technical approach to tapestry-making is also fruitful in the reassessment of the iconography of tapestries and the messages conveyed in these textiles. In this chapter, I will consider as a case study the first tapestry woven in Florence, The Allegory of Abundance (Dovizia) (fig.1.1). Unlike previous scholars, I will examine the Dovizia as a manifesto of the political and economic intentions embedded in the foundation of Arazzeria and as an example of technical domestication of tapestry-weaving to the Florentine context.

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1. Tapestry-making and The Domestication of Skills and Techniques

The foundation of the Arazzeria involved, first of all, the importation of a foreign weaving technique to Ducal Florence, and tapestry weaving should be inserted into the history of the transmission of skills and professional immigration. Contemporary documents testify that this manufacturing and economic perspective was present, and even prevalent, in the minds of the people involved in founding the Arazzeria. Bernardo Saliti first highlighted this perspective in his letters of 1545 (doc. 1-2-3). Saliti presented tapestry-making as a weaving technique and outlined the potential benefits for the Florentine civic economy, writing to Bongianni Gianfigliazzi that “[tapestry-making] will be profitable for the city” and that its benefits would overcome the costs. He went on:

that city [Florence] is full of ingenious people, so tapestry-making can rapidly expand. Thus, clients from Rome or the Kingdom of Naples will buy tapestries in Florence, not because tapestries would cost less than in Flanders, but due to the excellence of designs.

In a similar vein, in following years, Saliti proposed to Cosimo the importation of fustian-making and Levantine-style rug-weaving, and again highlighted the economic value of domesticating these techniques.

However, it was not just Saliti who had this technical and economic approach to tapestry-making. The duke also envisaged its economic advantages. For instance, Cosimo considered the potential revenue from local and Italian demand for tapestries so that “the citizens of this state [Florence] and their nearby territories” will buy tapestries in Tuscany

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7 On Bernardo Saliti, see chapter 2, section 1.
8 ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1170a, fol.31r, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 500, doc. 17: “et sarà di grandissimo beneficio a la città”.
9 ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1170a, insert II, busta 10, fol.31v, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 501, doc. 17: “cotesta citta capacissima di begli ingegni potria molto bene che in breve tempo la si dilatasse tanto che roma e tutto il regno di napoli si fornirebbono di chosti perche non chosteranno piu di quelle in Fiandra ma saranno di tanta piu perfezione di disegni che ogni omo le piglera piu volenteri”.
10 See chapter 2, section 1.
“instead of acquiring them in Flanders”. The first contracts echoed the Ducal commercial ambition of exporting Florentine tapestries abroad. The agreement stated: “It will be permissible for master Giovanni [Jan Rost] to weave any types of tapestry or clothes for any amount he will agree with Florentine, Tuscan or foreign clients”, by paying the customs’ taxes. As I will examine in chapters 2 and 3, to foster production and unleash potential economic benefits, Cosimo funded the workshop generously, giving many tax exemptions and high wages to the Flemish weavers.

To firmly embed tapestry production in Florence, the duke and his functionaries also agreed that the Flemish weavers should educate local apprentices to consolidate these new skills in the Florentine social fabric. Cosimo, via Saliti, considered tapestry-making a long-lasting and economically profitable technical accomplishment, with potential to go beyond a Florentine consumer base. Saliti in an unpublished letter of 1561 to an unknown Ducal secretary confirmed this entrepreneurial perspective and thanked the generous aid of Cosimo for the introduction of tapestry-making in Florence (doc.4). He noted:

I have brought to Florence master Nicholas Karcher to introduce the art of tapestry-making and His Excellency [Cosimo] accepted this proposal with much favour, providing to us high stipends, comfortable houses and looms and payments for tapestries so that we could not ask for more.

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11 ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1170a, insert II, busta 10, fol.31v, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 501, doc. 17: “non sarà più necessario alli sudditi di questo stato e alli circumvicini ancora di venire a fornirsi in Fiandra di tapezzerie”. Letter of Cosimo I to his ambassador Don Francisco de Toledo at the Imperial court, dated 19th September 1545.
12 ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 9330, ser Giovan Battista Giordani, 1546-1547, fol. 133r, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 531, doc.65: “è lecito al prefato mastro Giovanni lavorar d’ogni sorte arazzerie et tapezzerie et ogni somma che vorra et ai fiorentini et altrj del Dominio”.
14 ASF, Miscellanea Medicea, 27/III, fol.1029r.
Overall, it seems that, in the domestication of tapestry-making, Cosimo followed the entrepreneurial strategy employed by the Florentine Republic and guilds for textile production since the Communal period, and this trend was widespread all across Italy: import new techniques, promote professional immigration and foster this newly-domesticated production.\textsuperscript{16} The Florentine economy depended on the manufacturing industries, particularly wool and silk textile production, which was regulated by two guilds, the Arte della Lana and the Arte di Por Santa Maria (or della Seta).\textsuperscript{17} These two textile industries constituted the leading sectors of the Florentine economy, “like two beautiful eyes in front of the head”.\textsuperscript{18} Wool and silk production went well beyond internal consumption. Florentine textiles reached European and Mediterranean cities through international trading networks, decisively contributing to the prosperity of the city and the employment of its population.\textsuperscript{19} In the mid-sixteenth-century, it seems that 50% of the Florentine population was employed in these two industries.\textsuperscript{20} However, the flourishing of the Florentine economy was based on an evident paradox. Historically, the city and its territories did not produce sufficient raw materials to sustain the manufacturing industries. Tuscan wool was woven only in rural areas for producing low-quality textiles for internal consumption.\textsuperscript{21} Similarly, local silk had never been enough for the needs of the industry.\textsuperscript{22} This structural weakness became a strength as the city mainly became a major centre for trading, processing raw materials and weaving high-quality textiles. Florence established itself as a manufacturing district, a capital for transmission of skills and a crossroads for

\textsuperscript{16} Luca Molà, “States and Crafts: Relocating Technical Skills in Renaissance Italy”, in O’Malley and Welch, eds, \textit{Renaissance}, 133-134.
\textsuperscript{17} On the guilds see section 2.
\textsuperscript{18} ASF, Miscellanea Medicea, 27, fol.1090r, in Roberta Morelli, \textit{La seta fiorentina nel Cinquecento} (Milan, Giuffrè, 1976), 1: “L’Arte della Lana e l’Arte della Seta a guisa di due begli occhi stanno in fronte al capo”.
\textsuperscript{19} There was a third textile industry in Florence: linen. The production was regulated by the Arte dei Linaioli e Rigattieri and it was mainly used internally; Goldthwaite, \textit{Economy}, 296-298. On linen-weaving, see chapter 5, section 4.
\textsuperscript{20} Malanima, \textit{Decadenza}, 76-80.
\textsuperscript{21} Malanima, \textit{Decadenza}, 89-90.
\textsuperscript{22} Malanima, \textit{Decadenza}, 108-109.
trading and merchants. The city, well before tapestry-making, attracted new techniques and the professional immigration of weavers.

Woollen manufacturing was the first of the textile industries to prosper. From the fourteenth century, wool-weaving became the leading sector in terms of employment and production. Mostly, the Florentines focussed on high-quality fabric. The flourishing of the Florentine luxurious wool production started around 1320, following the crisis of the dominant Flemish-Brabantian manufacture, caused by the Hundred Year’s War (1337-1443), and the increasing supply of fine English wool.

The first half of the fourteenth century moment was a turning point for the history of European manufacturing history. The Florentines substituted the Flemish cities in production and trade, establishing a monopoly in woollen textiles in Italy and the Mediterranean sea, producing 70,000-100,000 pieces (panni lana) annually in the first decades of the fourteenth century. In the same period, thanks to an increasing importation of English high-quality wool into the city, Florentine weavers imitated the weaving technique and textile typologies of Flemish and Brabantian cities, such as Douai, Mechelen, Ypres or Brussels. Florentines wove high-quality tintillani textiles, based on the Brabantian melle, or replicated the Flemish kermis dyeing process with the precious red-coloured textiles, panni scarlatti. In addition to this technical imitation, there was professional immigration of German and Netherlandish weavers to Florence. The immigration of Northern European weavers took place from the fourteenth century and reached its peak in the mid-fifteenth century when German and Netherlandish weavers outnumbered Italians. These luxurious textiles were generally called panni alla francesca

23 Hoshino, Lana, 175-179.
24 Ammannati, Cinquecento, 6; Franceschi, Tumulto, 4-5; Hoshino, Lana, 138-144. On wool see chapter 5, section 1.
25 Hoshino, Lana, 139.
26 Ammannati, Cinquecento, 7; Franceschi, Tumulto, 6; Goldthwaite, Economy, 278; Hoshino, Lana, 194-200.
27 Hoshino, Lana, 140.
28 Franceschi, Tumulto, 5.
29 Hoshino, Lana, 144.
30 On professional immigration of wool-weavers in Florence see Franceschi, Tumulto, 119-135.
(French-style cloth). These Netherlandish-style fabrics were appreciated internationally and traded abroad, becoming the most expensive textiles on the European and Mediterranean markets.

Wool textile production was seriously curtailed in the fifteenth century, due to the reduction of population caused by the Black Death. In addition to a scarcity of labour force, there was a diminution of high-quality English wool. To counter these problems, diversify and boost internal production, the Arte della Lana started to import wool from Abruzzo and new skills and weavers from England and France. In the second half of the fifteenth century the Arte della Lana imported and imitated foreign weaving-techniques and produced new medium-quality textiles, such as panni perpignani, suantoni, saie, bianchetti d’Inghilterra or Lombard panni. For instance, the Florentine weavers, alongside French immigrants, began to produce panni perpignani, a lightweight cloth, made of medium-quality Mediterranean wool, named after the city of Perpignan in Roussillon. Similarly, panni suantoni, a coarse cloth, were woven with English wool, traded from the port of Southampton. In 1483 the Arte obliged each Florentine weaver to produce two such cloths for every fifty textiles woven.

In the sixteenth century, Florence imported techniques and weavers to solve an economic crisis and boost internal production. The story of rascie epitomises how this entrepreneurial strategy of the importation of foreign techniques and the diversification of commodities continued. The rascie fiorentine were a cloth serge, mainly coloured black, made of garbo wools, in particular Spanish Merino. This typology probably came from Eastern Europe or the Balkans, as the word is similar to the historical region of Raska, today

31 Hoshino, *Lana*, 140.
32 On the exportation’s markets see Hoshino, *Lana*, 178-186.
35 ASF, Arte della Lana, 50, fols. 124r-125v, in Hoshino, *Lana*, 233
38 Hoshino, *Lana*, 236.
in Serbia.\textsuperscript{41} \textit{Rascia} was unsuccessfully introduced in 1488-1489 by the Arte della Lana.\textsuperscript{42} Then, a revival of this textile typology took place in the 1550s, initially for internal demand and then for international trade.\textsuperscript{43} About 18,000 \textit{rascie} were woven annually in the 1570s, contributing to the prosperity of the wool-weaving industry, but it was short-lived and declined in the 1580s.\textsuperscript{44}

The second key textile product was silk-weaving. In the fifteenth century, this textile industry strongly emerged as a driving force of the Florentine economy. The first establishment of the silk industry in Florence was based on the professional immigration of Lucchese silk-weavers.\textsuperscript{45} In 1314, when Uguccione della Faggiola conquered Lucca, the major centre of silk in Central Italy, many local silk-weavers fled to Florence.\textsuperscript{46} Here, the Signoria granted them exceptional tax exemptions and corporate privileges to establish the industry.\textsuperscript{47} The Lucchese contribution improved weaving techniques and diversified textile types in Florence. The Lucchese weavers introduced new and high-quality silk textiles, such as velvet, taffeta and satin to the city.\textsuperscript{48} Also, the Lucchese weavers imported auroseric and silk-weaving techniques for creating high-quality artefacts, such as the \textit{camuccia}, based on the Lucchese \textit{diaspri}, an Eastern Mediterranean-style textile with floral designs, decorated with golden threads.\textsuperscript{49} However, when in the 1340s the silk-weavers returned to Lucca, the Florentine industry declined.\textsuperscript{50}

\textsuperscript{41} Hoshino, \textit{Lana}, 236-237.
\textsuperscript{43} On exports of \textit{rascia} see Chorley, “Rascie”, 497-501.
\textsuperscript{44} Chorley, “Rascie”, 502-504.
\textsuperscript{46} Edler De Roover, \textit{Seta}, 4.
\textsuperscript{47} Franceschi, “Forestieri”, 406-407.
\textsuperscript{48} Franceschi, “Forestieri”, 405.
\textsuperscript{49} Franceschi, “Forestieri”, 409.
\textsuperscript{50} Edler De Roover, \textit{Seta}, 4.
The lasting establishment of this industry took place in the fifteenth century, when silk-weavers emerged as the dominant category in the heterogenous Arte di Por Santa Maria, then called Arte della Seta.\textsuperscript{51} The number of silk-weavers tripled in 20 years from 1378 to 1404.\textsuperscript{52} In the first decades of the century, production boomed reaching over 2,100 textiles woven annually.\textsuperscript{53} The widespread crisis of the wool-industry favoured the establishment of silk-weaving.\textsuperscript{54} Raw silk was generally imported from the Caspian Sea, Bursa in the Eastern Mediterranean or Modigliana in the Apennines.\textsuperscript{55} There was some Tuscan internal production in Valdinievole.\textsuperscript{56} Florentine silk and auroseric textiles, such as damasks, brocades, satins and \textit{telette} were high-quality goods, sold internationally in Europe and the Mediterranean Sea.\textsuperscript{57}

In the 1420s, subsequent professional immigration took place from Genoa and Venice: artisans specialised in producing golden and metallic threads (goldbeating), inserted in precious silk textiles.\textsuperscript{58} The Signoria actively promoted this immigration to Florence to increase the production of high-quality silk textiles with metallic threads.\textsuperscript{59} The presence of foreign silk-weavers remained into the sixteenth century. For instance, a community of Bergamasque weavers lived and operated in mid-sixteenth-century Florence. These Lombard weavers, called \textit{velettai}, specialised in making \textit{vellette}, a Bolognese typology of lightweight silk cloth, first introduced to Florence in 1476.\textsuperscript{60}

Analysing and linking these historical examples from the medieval \textit{panni alla francesca} to the sixteenth century \textit{vellette} suggests a new framework for approaching the

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{}\textsuperscript{51} See section 2.
\bibitem{}\textsuperscript{52} Franceschi, “Forestieri”, 403.
\bibitem{}\textsuperscript{53} Franceschi, “Forestieri”, 403
\bibitem{}\textsuperscript{54} Tognetti, \textit{Industria}, 15-16.
\bibitem{}\textsuperscript{56} See chapter 5, section 2.
\bibitem{}\textsuperscript{57} On silk textiles’ trade see: Edler Roover, \textit{Seta}, 99-120; Sergio Tognetti, \textit{Industria} 107-159. On these textiles, see Aniello Gentile, \textit{Dizionario etimologico dell’arte tessile} (Napoli, Società Editoriale Napoletana, 1981), 37, 55, 109, 124.
\bibitem{}\textsuperscript{58} Franceschi, “Forestieri”, 410-412. Goldbeating will be analysed in chapter 5, section 3.
\bibitem{}\textsuperscript{59} ASF, Dogana Antica e Campioni, 371, fol.136v, in Franceschi, “Forestieri”, 410.
\bibitem{}\textsuperscript{60} On the \textit{vellette} see Franceschi, “Forestieri”, 412-414; Morelli, \textit{Seta}, 9.
\end{thebibliography}
domestication of tapestry-weaving. The fortune of Florentine manufacturing industries and the citizen economy was based on the continuous importation, imitation, and diversification of weaving techniques through professional immigration, historically promoted by the Florentine state and guilds. Tapestries should be included in this context. However, this importation had some peculiar traits, as analysed in next section.

2. Tapestry-making and The New Hierarchy of The Florentine State

Unlike previous importations of manufacturing techniques, the Signoria and guilds did not instigate the domestication of tapestry-making. Instead, it was the first Medici duke, Cosimo I, who approved the introduction of Netherlandish weaving technique in Florence and, therefore, substituted the traditional role of the Republic and guilds in regulating the importations of skills.

The twenty-one citizen guilds or Arti were associations of workers, established in the twelfth century, which effectively held a monopoly over Florentine labour and production. In Republican Florence, guild membership was an essential requirement for participating in public life and being elected to public offices. For instance, in 1434 the seven Arti Maggiori elected seven of the nine members of the Signoria, while fourteen Arti Minori elected the two remaining magistrates. Overall, the Arti were the base of the Republican political system. Still, as Raymond De Roover and Richard Goldthwaite highlighted, the guilds did not control civic politics or the economy, being limited and counterbalanced by other Republican institutions. The Medici family emerged from the Republican system of Arti. Vieri de’ Medici in the fourteenth century was matriculated to the Arte del Cambio (guild of

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61 On protectionism see section 3.
62 On Arti in the Middle Ages see Luciano Artusi, Le arti e i mestieri di Firenze (Roma, Newton and Compton, 2005), 13-29; Alfred Doren, Le arti fiorentine (Florence, Le Monnier, 1939), 4-67; Goldthwaite, Economy, 168-170; 343-349.
63 Goldthwaite, Economy, 346-347.
65 De Roover, Banco, 29; Goldthwaite, Economy, 4-67. 168-170.
moneylenders). Cosimo il Vecchio was a member of the same guild and then was enrolled in the Arte di Por Santa Maria. In the fifteenth century the family gathered civic power in their hands, but the Arti remained in place as autonomous entities and the foundation of Republican institutions and Florentine public life.

In 1532, Alessandro de’ Medici became the first Duke of the Republic of Florence, marking the institutionalisation of this new form of government. Within an autocratic reform of the Florentine State, the duke started to diminish the relevance of guilds, removing the exclusivity of guild members to access public offices. In 1534, Alessandro reduced the number of guilds, incorporating the Arti Minori into four larger Università (Por San Piero, Linaioli, Maestri dei Cuoi e Fabbricanti). For instance, as the statutes of 1534 stated, the Arte dei Fornai (bakers), Arte dei Beccai (butchers, fishers and tavernkeepers) and Arte degli Oliandoli e Pizzicagnoli (oil and food sellers) formed the Università di Por San Piero.

Cosimo followed Alessandro’s strategy, reforming the guilds and subordinating them to the newly-established principality. The statutes of the Università dei Linaioli of 12th December 1549, that gathered together the former guilds of linen-weavers, second-hand clothes sellers, wine-makers and sellers and hoteliers, illustrated how Cosimo acted to subordinate the guilds to Ducal power. The duke validated and controlled the regulations, the ballots of the guilds and the appointment of magistrates. Furthermore, the statutes themselves were only ratified after the confirmation of Cosimo: “the statute-writers consider that the regulations [...] could not have been approved without giving notice and permission of the Prince of the city who was in that time His Excellency Cosimo de’ Medici,
the second Duke of Florence”.74 Also, as the 1552 statutes of the Università dei Fabbricanti, which gathered blacksmiths, bricklayers, construction builders, carpenters, locksmiths and sword-makers, testified, “anyone against the Prince and the city” cannot be a member of the guild or be appointed as a magistrate.75 The statutes of guilds written after the establishment of the Duchy, like the Arte del Cambio (1552), Università dei Fabbricanti (1552) or Linaioli (1549), were similarly subordinated to the authority of Cosimo.76 The powerful Arte dei Mercatanti (Calimala), of which a key member was the Medici courtier Bongianni di Jacopo Gianfigliazzi, always asked permission from Cosimo for any interventions in the city.77 Also, as Francesco Ciuti has noted, another example of the Ducal subordination of guilds can be traced in the reforms of the Arte dei Medici e degli Speziali (guild of physicians and apothecaries).78

This analysis of the Arti’s regulations testifies that new social stratifications and institutional assets were established in Florence, based on the primacy and princely status of Cosimo and the subordination of guilds and Republican institutions. Florentine intellectuals, like Antonio Brucioli or Benedetto Varchi, echoed and justified this key transformation, commenting that artisans and merchants of guilds, elected in the Republican offices, were unfit to govern the city.79 For instance, Varchi remarked that the ancient Republic “was ordered badly”, because “merchants and artisans”, who were appointed to the Signoria and other institutions, “should not have any public roles”.80

74 ASF, Università dei Linaioli, 1, fol 1r-v: “I quali huomini [statute-writers] considerando di tale importantia fusse quello [unclear] ordinato [...] giudicarono tal cosa non poterli ne doversi fare senza la notizia et consenso del principe della citta il quale era in quel tempo lo Ill[ustrissi]mo et Ecc[ellentissi]mo [sign]or Cosimo de’ Medici, duca secondo di Firenze”.

75 ASF, Università dei Fabbricanti, 1, fol.2r: “chi fussi contra la città e il Principe”.

76 ASF, Arte del Cambio, 5, fol. 206v; Università dei Fabbricanti, 1, fol.1r; Università dei Linaioli, 1, fol.1r-v. On the Fabbricanti, see Goldthwaite, Costruzione, 372-375.

77 See for instance, ASF, Arte dei Mercatanti (Calimala), 33, fol. 8r-v; 111r. His figure will be analysed in chapter 2, section 2.


80 Mancini, “Principe”, 29: “sempre stata male ordinata in tutte le cose”; “non dovrebbe poter avere magistrato alcuno”.
According to this perception, the artisans and merchants were doing “material” and mechanical jobs, which are incompatible with good government. This theorisation justified the Duchy. Cosimo was ideologically placed above merchants and artisans and reflected a new polarised social stratification.

The ceiling tondo, *The Apotheosis of Cosimo* (fig. 1.2), placed at the centre of the Sala Grande (Salone dei Cinquecento) in Palazzo Vecchio, epitomises the new social hierarchy of Ducal Florence. At the centre, Cosimo is crowned with oak leaves by the allegory of Florence. On the edge are depicted the badges of the twenty-one citizen guilds, topped by a lively crowd of putti. The symbols of the Arti are divided into eight distinct units. Seven units contain a symbol of the seven Arti Maggiori. Each of these badges of Arti Maggiori is flanked by two smaller coats of arms of the fourteen Arti Minori. The eighth unit, positioned beneath Cosimo’s feet, was formed by the badges of the city of Florence and the Republic. Vasari explained the iconography in his *Ragionamenti*:

I depicted Duke Cosimo triumphant and glorious, crowned by Florence with oak leaves. Being this city [Florence] the main one of [Ducal] territories, and being it [Florence] fostered by the twenty-one Arti Maggiori and Minori, which controlled Florence itself and its dominion, I considered adorning the duke with putti holding the coats of arms of the guilds, the city and community of Florence.

Even though the guilds’ prominence had been reduced from the first version of the Vasarian program, the tondo visually represented the authority of Cosimo, *Il Dux Republicae*, head of the Republic, was based and legitimized by his continuity with Republican pre-existing

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83 Vasari, *Ragionamenti*, 184: “ho figurato il signore Duca Cosimo trionfante e glorioso, coronato da una Firenze con corona di querzia: ed essendo questa città la principale e metropoli di tutti i suoi stati, e reggendosi essa con le ventuna arti maggiori e minori […] mi è parso attorniarlo con quelli putti, ciascheduno de’ quali tiene l’insegna di queste arti e l’armi della città e comunita di Firenze”.
institutions and the citizen Arti. As Henk Van Veen points out, the model for the Vasarian tondo could have been the ceiling fresco of the headquarters of Arte dei Giudici e Notai (Guild of Lawyers and Notaries) in via del Pronconsolo (fig.1.3), the oldest and most honoured of the guilds. This fresco represented the Florentine cosmos and citizen social hierarchy with the four quarters of the city and the twenty-one guilds.

By openly quoting the fresco of the Arte dei Giudici e Notai in The Apotheosis of Cosimo, Vasari highlighted the continuity between Cosimo’s rule and the Republic. As he stressed in his description, the centuries-old guilds were still perceived as the basis of the civic social-economic fabric and the ruling power over Florence and its territories. However, the Vasarian tondo illustrates a profound institutional modification. The Duke, the central figure, is visually towering over the guilds, raised up by them as the new head of the Republic and state. The power of the duke was achieved by a series of reforms and the subordinations of pre-existing institutions, leading to the establishment of an autocratic principality.

The Loggia del Mercato Nuovo (fig.1.4), and the Uffizi (fig.1.5), illustrate the establishment of these new hierarchies. The building of the Loggia was approved in 1546 under the supervision of the Ducal architect Giovan Battista Del Tasso, made “for the benefit of the city [...] and Florentine and foreign merchants” (doc.5) and ratified by an assembly of the Calimala as Cosimo sought to reshape the area of Florence around the

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86 Vasari, Ragionamenti, 184.
87 D’Addario, Stato, 228-229.
Palazzo Vecchio. As overlooked documents prove, the duke instructed five magistrates, members of the guilds, to collect money (1058 *scudi* 6 *soldi* 8 *denari*) through a new tax, to cover the building expenses among the artisans of the Arti and individuals. The Ducal construction exemplifies how Cosimo exerted his power, as the new head of Florence, over the guilds, projecting new buildings and making the guilds pay for them.

The Uffizi (fig. 5) replicated the same building strategy as the Loggia. Following the demolitions between Palazzo Vecchio and the Arno, in 1559-1560, the duke approved the construction of the new building to host the thirteen offices of the state magistrates and guilds. The Uffizi communicated the reform of the bureaucracy and displayed the stability of Medici rule. Notably, the Ducal court motivated the decision to build the new *fabbrica de’ 13 magistrati* to provide new and comfortable headquarters for the magistratures and guilds. The guilds needed “to contribute to the expenses and to employ the same number of masters [masons]” to perfect Giorgio Vasari’s building plans. Despite this, some guilds, such the Università dei Fabbricanti, could not cover their expenses.

Within the Ducal process of ideological and physical subordination of guilds, the Duke, as head of the Florentine state and the Arti, also became in charge of importing technical innovations and promoting professional immigration. He substituted the functions of Arti, as associations of workers, and the Republican institutions in overlooking these aspects. To this end, from 1543, the court first revitalised a centuries-old institution:

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89 ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 629, fol.1v, in Pagnini, “Mercato”, 64: “di detta citta utilita [...] delli cittadini e mercanti fiorentini et forestieri”.


91 ASF, Nove Magistrati, 3710, fol.1v, in Claudia Conforti and Francesca Funis, eds, *Deliberazioni di partiti della fabbrica de’ 13 magistrati* (Roma, Gangemi, 2007), 16.


93 ASF, Nove Magistrati, 3710, fol.3r, in Conforti and Funis, *Deliberazioni*, 18: “deti Magistrati et Arti debba concorrere alla spesa et mettere il numero de’maestri equale per la parte sua”. On requests of payment to guilds see ASF, Nove Magistrati, 3710, fols. 9r; 36r; 37r; 40v, in Conforti and Funis, *Deliberazioni*, 26; 66; 67; 73.

94 ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 659a, fol.7v, in Goldthwaite, *Costruzione*, 366.
patents. Patents had been used since the fifteenth century in Venice and Florence to regulate the transmission of foreign techniques or innovations, giving individuals the exclusivity for locally employing them. After evaluating the economic benefit, the duke granted a privilege (privilegio) to the proposer, guaranteeing the monopoly of a technique or skill in Tuscany. In the Pratica Segreta’s series of the State Archive of Florence, notices of patents are recorded. Among the first ones granted is a recipe for a sunflower soap (1548), technical innovations for mills (1550) and refining sugar (1565). Weaving techniques were also regulated by patents. In 1552, Biagio Bertinelli, a Florentine merchant, was granted a 10-year exclusivity for weaving light “twills, as they did in the city of Hondschoote in Flanders” (doc. 6). As Luca Molà analyses, the patents were often followed by protective measures against foreign competition, which allowed the newly-established industry to succeed in the local market. Indeed, the privilege to Bertinelli for making Hondschoote twills was later followed in 1562 by banning Flemish-made twills of Hondschoote to foster the internal production of this imported technique (doc. 7). Cosimo inaugurated a system of control for weaving techniques, which remained in place until the seventeenth century.

While patents and privileges were granted to private investors, this system was not in place for Ducal initiatives. Conversely, the Medici ventures were regulated by private

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95 Goldthwaite, Economy, 491-493.
96 Luca Molà, “Artigiani e brevetti nella Firenze del Cinquecento”, in Franceschi and Fossi, eds, Artigianato, 57.
97 The characteristics of privileges are analysed by Molà, “Relocating”, 136-137.
98 ASF, Pratica Segreta, 186, fols. 11r; 79r; 139r; 187, fol. 76r-v.
99 ASF, Pratica Segreta, 186, fol.105r: “certas telas [...] que componunt in terra Onoschot Flandriae regionis, et quos ibi, et ubique vulgus appellare consuevit saias”. On Hondschoote twills see Malanima, Decadenza, 72; Molà, “Artigiani”, 59. Biagio di Mariotto Bertinelli owned in 1562 in via del Giglio (Santa Maria Novella), a “house, deposit and farrier workshop” (“casa, magazzino e bottega di maniscalco”). On Bertinelli’s proprieties see ASF, Decima Granducale, 3782, fol.48r.
100 Molà, “Relocating”, 136.
101 ASF, Arte della Lana, 16, fol.312r-v. On twills (saie), see Gentile, Dizionario, 113.
102 See for instance, the new weaving techniques in Florence domesticated between 1615 and 1626, recorded in ASF, Arte della Lana, 16, fols. 273r-276v.
contracts, drawn up by a notary. As a direct Duca investment, the Arazzeria itself did not hold a patent for production in Tuscany, but the enterprise and its production were managed through a notarial contract, ratified by Ser Giovan Battista Giordani in 1546 (doc.8-9-10-11).

There is plenty of evidence of this Medici practice of drawing up private contracts with individual professionals or merchants. The most important example of the practice, alongside the Flemish masters, is certainly the contract of Brabantian printer Lorenzo Torrentino (Laurens van de Bleck) (1499-1563).\(^{103}\) Torrentino’s contract was stipulated by the same notary, Giovan Battista Giordani, in 1547 between a member of the Medici court, Lelio Torelli, and the master himself.

However, the court did not simply regulate professional migration with notary acts, but also drew up agreements with private merchants. This is the case of the merchant of armours and weaponry, Pietro Gandini da Brescia, who provided corselets to the Florentine army in 1547 and 1549.\(^{104}\) As a letter by Pierfrancesco Riccio illustrates, the agreement was reached after some discussions with Gandini.\(^{105}\) The corselets were shipped from Florence to Brescia and Cosimo in 1547 asked Ercole II d’Este for the free passage of these goods through the Duchy of Ferrara.\(^{106}\) Moreover, notary contracts were stipulated between Tuscan investors and Cosimo. This happened for the setting up of the Magona (iron foundry)


\(^{104}\) ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 9330, ser Giovan Battista Giordani, 1546-1547, fols. 399r-400r; 9332, fols.217r-219r.

\(^{105}\) ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 613, insert 3, fol.1r-v.

\(^{106}\) ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 187, fol.8r.
in Elba. Lastly, contracts were drawn up between the court and local communities, such as Campiglia Marittima, to incentivise local production.

Overall, Cosimo, incorporating the functions of the Arti and Republic, as the new head of the state, imported new techniques to incentivise citizen production and economy. The duke controlled and regulated the establishment of foreign techniques in Florence for the benefits and the prestige of his Duchy. This institutional organisation motivated the importation of tapestry-weaving and its modalities, but this new Medici economic course also influenced the technical domestication of tapestry-making.

3. The Arazzeria and The New Medici Economic Policy

When Cosimo came to power in 1537, he inherited a weakened economic situation from his predecessors. First, historical events and political instability in Florence and Tuscany from 1494 to the 1530s, the Italian wars, and the plague of 1526, dented the prosperity of the Florentine economy. Other causes, common to the Italian economy, especially increasing foreign competition in the European networks and new geographical discoveries, decentralised Mediterranean trade routes. Overall, Cosimo’s economic policies applied two key trends to restore the economy: protectionism and state intervention. While Cosimo as the Dux Republicae substituted the functions of Republican institutions, the duke implemented traditional Florentine economic policies for his own political purposes: establishing the Duchy and building a territorial state.

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107 ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 9330, ser Giovan Battista Giordani, 1546-1547, fols. 137r-142r; 165r-166v; 219r-220v; 296r-302r; 313r-315r; 317r-319r; 321r-323r; 343r-345r. 9332, fols. 9r-10v; 15r-18r; 235r-236v.
108 ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 9332, ser Giovan Battista Giordani, 1549-1550, fols. 261r-264r.
109 Diaz, Toscana, 127-128.
Protectionism and state interventionism were deeply rooted from the period of the Florentine commune of the thirteenth-fourteenth century. This economic strategy involved undertaking numerous measures to increase internal production and discourage foreign competition. To this end, the state could directly intervene in the economy, fostering the supply of materials, projecting infrastructures or land reclamation, diversifying manufacturing production or banning and taxing imports. The Florentine textile industries are a striking example of this economic trend. Their fortune is also based on banning foreign textiles, while weaving techniques were replicated internally, fostering local production and employment. Still in 1535, apart from the fairs, the Arte della Lana forbade the importation of foreign textiles, made up with the same techniques employed in Florence and Tuscany. Similarly, the export of Tuscan raw materials was prohibited and local weavers were exhorted not to relocate elsewhere to prevent weavers from leaving the Duchy.

Cosimo reiterated these old economic policies, adjusting them to his context. He inaugurated an interventionist policy to tighten and legitimise his power in Tuscany and build a territorial and autocratic state, by reinforcing territorial cohesion. The Prince-merchant undertook several entrepreneurial initiatives. The duke directly intervened in internal production, investing, for instance, in coral extraction in Livorno and production of saltpetre or sugar and granting patents for imported technical innovations. In regards to the textile industries, the duke intervened to increase the internal production of raw materials and artefacts. For instance, he instructed the Arte della Lana to internally produce

112 Malanima, Economia, 168-170.
113 Pini, Medioevo italiano, 156-157.
114 Ammannati, Cinquecento, 28-31; Malanima, Decadenza, 180-183.
115 ASF, Arte della Lana, 525, insert 5. fols. 1-2, in Malanima, Decadenza, 182.
116 ASF, Arte della Lana, 16, fol. 280, in Cipolla, Storia, 222 and in Malanima, Decadenza, 184.
117 Goldthwaite, Economy, 535-536.
alum, a substance employed as a mordant in wool-dyeing. In the deliberation of the guild, dated 23rd April 1550, it is reported:

His Excellency the Duke of Florence desired that the city [Florence] and all the state would be abundant of alum. [...] He judged that it would be easier and safer to extract it in the mine of Montaione [near Empoli] and he instructed a magistrate of the provveditori of Arte della Lana to overlook it.

Moreover, the duke fostered sericulture, increasing the internal production of silk from 10% to 35% of the Tuscan silk industry’s needs, also creating a trade hub in Pisa. Moreover, he reformed the management of agriculture and food supply, centralising in his hand and rationalising the functions of Magistrato dell’Abbondanza or Grascia.

Overall, as a consequence of this new hierarchical stratification of Florentine society, the duke became responsible for the economy of the Duchy and the wellbeing of his people. Through his government, he sought to foster the Tuscan and Florentine economy, by investing and importing technical innovations and new skills. As is reported in Abbate Guzman’s patent, granted for innovations in underwater interventions and mills, the duke domesticated in Tuscany and invested in “all the techniques and business from which we can get universal benefits, utility, emolument and comfort”. This statement echoed Niccolò Machiavelli’s advice in Chapter 21 of the Prince. He remarked that: “the Prince has to be interested in virtues, giving hospitality to ingenious men and honouring the excellent

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120 ASF, Arte della Lana, 63, fol. 25r: “Desiderando lo Illustri ss[i]mo ecc.ellentissi[mo S]ignor Duca di Fioren za che la citta e tutto lo stato suo stia abundante di allumi [...] ha giudicato non ci esser modo piu facile ne piu sicuro che fare lavorar la lumiera di Montaione e preporr a questa un magistrato dei sei provveditori del arte della Lana”.
123 On the ducal control of the economy see Stefano Calonaci, “Taking over the economy: Cosimo I de’Medici and the management of the State”, in Assonitis and Van Veen, eds, *Companion*, 320-341.
124 ASF, Pratica Segreta, 186, fol. 79r-v: “nelle loro opere et imprese delle quali si possa trarne utile et emolumento, benefitio et comodita universale”.
men in their arts. He should incentivise every citizen to exert his profession peacefully [...] to increase the city and the state”. 125

We need to situate the foundation of the Medici tapestry workshop within these Ducal economic policies. As illustrated above, the duke was well aware of the economic advantages of tapestry in terms of increasing trade, production, employment and ultimately political prestige. 126 Similar to other technical imports and in accordance with the contemporary economic policies, the Ducal court domesticated tapestry-weaving as an act of economic protectionism and state interventionism.

4. The Allegory of Dovizia From A New Perspective

Reassessing the original economic and technical value of the importation of tapestry production in Florence in 1545 also allows a reconsideration of the iconography and the production phase of the first tapestry woven in Florence: The Allegory of Abundance (Dovizia). 127 This door hanging or portiera can be interpreted as a manifesto for the envisaged economic benefit of the establishment of the tapestry workshop, the benevolent government of Cosimo and the domestication and the technical adjustment of tapestry-making to the Florentine context.

The identification of the subject is based on an inventory that provides a complete account of tapestry commissions between 1545 and 1553. 128 The portiera is described as a “gold and silver tapestry with a Dovizia and a landscape”. 129 The tapestry was kept in the wardrobe (armadio) of the Guardaroba segreta and was not publicly displayed. We can

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125 Niccolò Machiavelli, Tutte le opere (Florence, Sansoni, 1971), 292: “Debbe ancora uno principe mostrarsi amatore delle virtù dando recapito alli uomini virtuosi, e onorare gli eccellenti in una arte. Appresso deve animare i suoi cittadini di poter quietamente esercitare gli esercizi loro e nella mercanzia [...] di ampliare la sua città o il suo Stato”.

126 See section 1.

127 Meoni, Arazzi, 158-161, n.19.


129 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 28, fol.38r, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 664, doc.259: “Arazzo d’oro argento con una dovitia a paesi”.
identify the door hanging in another document, also dated 1553, described as “a gold and silk portiera with a landscape and a woman”.

In Florence, there was a prestigious visual tradition for the allegory of Abundance and specifically for the Dovizia, which was identified as an active form of economic benevolence. In the mid-sixteenth-century the Allegory of Dovizia by Donatello stood on top of a column in the Mercato Vecchio. The marble statue represented an eminent antecedent and possibly a model for the portiera. The statue is today lost and replaced by an eighteenth-century version by Giovan Battista Foggini (fig.1.6). The original Dovizia appears in a fifteenth-century view of an ideal city (fig.1.7) and in a seventeenth-century painting (fig.1.8). Stradano represents the Mercato Vecchio and the statue in the room of Gualdrada, Eleonora’s apartment, Palazzo Vecchio (1561-1562) (fig.1.9).

Donatello’s Allegory of Dovizia acquired a specific function of civic virtue. The word “dovizia”, from Latin divitia, wealth, indicates the opposite of paupertas (poverty). The figure was considered as a positive virtus. Leonardo Bruni, Chancellor of the Florentine Republic in 1430, justified the subject of the sculpture arguing that only in the case of wealth and abundance is it possible to exercise the virtue of caritas, the most important Christian Virtus. Consequently, Dovizia becomes the active form of abundance. Bruni’s

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130 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 27, fol.66v, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 658, doc.258: “Una portiera d’oro e seta a paesi con una femmina”.


132 Currently, on the column of the Piazza della Repubblica, formerly Mercato Vecchio, there is a copy of Foggini’s statue. Wilkins, “Lost Dovizia”, 403-404.

133 The statue by Foggini (fig.1.6), is today at the Palazzo della Cassa di Risparmio in Florence. A copy is on top of the column.

134 Rosenauer, Donatello, 93.

135 Bennett and Wilkins, Donatello, 71-72; Rosenauer, Donatello, 93-95.

humanistic interpretation constituted also a justification for the free trade which was pivotal in a commercial city such as Republican Florence. The location of the statue in the centre of the Mercato Vecchio was appropriate. In this humanistic context, classical forms are inserted in a Christian moral framework, even if the classical nature of the sculpture remains evident. Indeed, the Dovizia was placed on top of a column, emulating the example of ancient Roman statues.\(^\text{137}\) In Roman Florentia, there was a similar example, a statue of Mars, protector of the city, on the top of a tall column.\(^\text{138}\) Donatello represented Dovizia with her attributes, holding a fruit basket on her head and a Cornucopia in her right hand.\(^\text{139}\) The dynamic contrapposto reinforced the classical nature of the artwork.\(^\text{140}\) The standing figure expresses a movement of her left leg. The sculptor represents the motion through the drapery; the cloth in the left leg and the right breast seems to be be moving.\(^\text{141}\) There are some stylistic similarities between Donatello’s model and the tapestry, even though the Cornucopia is absent in the latter. The tapestry’s allegorical figure reproduces the stance of Donatello’s statue. The drapery of the right leg of the Dovizia in the portiera is posed similarly to the left leg of Mercato Vecchio’s sculpture.

Several pieces of evidence testify to the artistic popularity of Donatello’s sculpture within sixteenth-century Florence. The production small little terracotta statuettes boosted the civic diffusion and perception of the Dovizia as a positive virtue.\(^\text{142}\) The Della Robbia workshop produced many different variations of the Mercato Vecchio Allegory (fig. 1.10-1.11-1.12).\(^\text{143}\) The statuettes were destined to be displayed in the home of patrician Florentine families, having a function similar to the Lares of Ancient Rome as tutelary


\(^\text{139}\) On all the visual representation of Dovizia see Blake Wilk, “Dovizia”, 10-11; Pope-Hennessy, Donatello, 143-144; Rosenauer, Donatello, 93-95; Wilkins, “Lost Dovizia”, 403-408.

\(^\text{140}\) Bennett and Wilkins, Donatello, 71.

\(^\text{141}\) Rosenauer, Donatello, 93-95.


\(^\text{143}\) Wilkins, “Lost Dovizia”, 408-410.
household deities (fig.1.10-1.12). The production covers a long period from the mid-fifteenth century to the mid-sixteenth-century. The features of the allegorical figure are not always the same. Indeed, Della Robbia’s representations tend to change. The statuettes at the Casa Buonarroti, created by Mattia Della Robbia (1520 ca.) (fig.1.11), and at the Cleveland Museum of Art, attributed to Giovanni Baglioni or Giovanni Della Robbia (fig.1.10), present an apparent modification from the original model. In fact, the Dovizia is depicted only with a fruit basket omitting the Cornucopia, as in the door hanging. Donatello’s Dovizia can be considered as the model for the famous maidservant, painted by Domenico del Ghirlandaio in the Birth of St. John Baptist of the Tornabuoni Chapel (fig.1.13), interpreted by Aby Warburg as a representation of the “Ninfa Fiorentina”. Sandro Botticelli draws his version of the Dovizia, universally identified as The Allegory of Abundance (1480-1485) (fig.1.14).

In relation to the door hanging, most scholars, apart from Lia Markey, rarely considered how the Dovizia was perceived and employed in Cosimo’s Duchy. The allegory

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146 Giancarlo Gentilini, I Della Robbia, La Scultura invetriata nel Rinascimento (Florence, Cantini, 2001), 375-376; 400.


149 Lia Markey, Imagining the Americas in Medici Florence (University Park, Penn State University Press, 2016), 24.
of Dovizia, based on the model of Donatello, remains central to Cosimo’s propaganda as revealed by a sculpture of this subject by Pierino da Vinci, carved in the same years as the portiera (1547-1550) (fig.1.15). Vasari describes the statue, and the aims of its commission:

Duke Cosimo was then intent upon adorning the city of Pisa and had already rebuilt the Piazza del Mercato with numerous shops [of the market] and a column ten braccia high in the middle which he proposed to set up a statue of Plenty [“Dovizia”] by Luca [Martini]’s design. The allegorical statue was similar to Donatello’s, displayed on top of column in the centre of the marketplace, which Cosimo had restructured. Luca Martini, provveditore di Pisa, commissioned Pierino da Vinci to execute the sculpture. The Dovizia of Pierino (fig.1.15), resembles Donatello’s model, even though the fruit basket on her head is not included. It displays the same contrapposto as Florence’s model - the right leg of the figure even presents the same drapery movement as Donatello’s version. However, in Pierino’s version, the forward action is attenuated by the elegance of the figure’s shapes. Notably, by representing the Dovizia in Pisa, the duke asserted that his rule and economic policies, discussed above, extended to wealth and wellbeing throughout his territory.


Pierino’s sculpture testifies that the Medici court subverted the original Republican meaning of the Dovizia, reflecting the new institutional hierarchy of Florentine state.\textsuperscript{154}

The representation of the abundance and richness established in his Duchy constitutes one of the main concepts of Cosimo’s visual propaganda.\textsuperscript{155} The allegory of Dovizia is widely represented in the Vasarian decorations of the Palazzo Vecchio apartments.\textsuperscript{156} Unlike Pierino’s statue, the Vasarian depictions of the allegory presented distinct iconographical modifications from the Republican model and a complete assimilation to Ducal visual propaganda. Once again, here the allegory embodied the economic benefits of Cosimo’s government. In the Room of Elements, in the fresco, \textit{The first fruits offered to Saturn} (1555-1557) (fig.1.16), the Dovizia, assimilated to Abundance, is personified by Ceres, goddess of grain crops.\textsuperscript{157} Vasari depicts the allegory on the foreground with the Cornucopia and grain spikes and, as the author explained, it is the protagonist of the fresco: “This is, my Lord, the abundance of the Earth”.\textsuperscript{158} In the fresco, Cosimo, represented by Saturn, brought Abundance to Tuscany as a consequence of his good government.\textsuperscript{159} In this context, Vasari uses the word “Dovizia” as a synonym of Abundance. Indeed, Abundance acquires a dynamic nature, as the painter explained in his description of the Room of Ceres.\textsuperscript{160} He explains in the \textit{Ragionamenti} that the Duke, due to his beneficial actions, “converted to fertile and abundant areas which prior were thorny, wood-filled and wild”.\textsuperscript{161} Vasari mentioned drainings, deforestation and other interventions on the Tuscan landscape which improved agricultural production and people’s wealth.

\textsuperscript{154} See section 2.

\textsuperscript{155} Markey, \textit{Imagining}, 24-26.


\textsuperscript{158} Vasari, \textit{Ragionamenti}, 25: “Questa, mio Signore, e fatta per la Terra abbondante”.

\textsuperscript{159} Vasari, \textit{Ragionamenti}, 26-27.

\textsuperscript{160} On the Room of Ceres see Muccini and Cecchi, \textit{Stanze}, 63-65; Vasari, \textit{Ragionamenti}, 54-58.

\textsuperscript{161} Vasari, \textit{Ragionamenti}, 56-57: “facendo fertili et abbondanti i luoghi, che prima erano spinosi, macchiosi e salvatici”.
Cosimo, as Ceres does as the goddess of Agriculture and fertility, brings prosperity to his country and people. In the *Ragionamenti*, the artist reintroduced the idea of an active form of Abundance, similar to the Dovizia, transfigured into the Ducal imagery. Indeed, the virtues, the actions and the government of Cosimo allow the flourishing of Abundance.

Moreover, Vasari used the word *Dovizia* in relation to the seasons, depicted around the central oval in the same room, dedicated to Ops. Summer and Autumn have the Cornucopia. Doceno painted Summer as Ceres (fig.1.17) “with the Cornucopia full of spikes”. Autumn, a young Bacco, does not have Cornucopia. However, Cosimo Bartoli originally envisaged the season as “a young woman with a cornucopia [...] full of all the fruits of the Earth”. Overall, in Ducal imagery, Abundance and Dovizia shared the same meaning: illustrating the benefits of the Medici rule.

The *Dovizia* tapestry should be read in this context. Notably, the door hanging depicts some American elements, such as a turkey in the foreground, which reinforced the display of wealth in Medici Florence. Reading the primary sources, we can recognise the presence in Florence of so-called “galline d’India” or “pulcini d’India”, identifiable as turkeys.

In a letter of 1548, the secretary Riccio is also informed by Jacopo da Portico, the factor of Poggio a Caiano Villa that the “anatrini d’Indie” were sick and he could not find medicine for them. The turkey, due to its position, can be associated with the allegory of Dovizia. The bird became a symbol of the vastness of trade and its associated wealth. Significantly, Alessandro Allori, a disciple of Bronzino, proposed the same association between the allegory and a turkey in a fresco in Villa Medicea of Poggio a Caiano (1582) (fig.1.18).

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162 Vasari, *Ragionamenti*, 43-44.
163 Vasari, *Ragionamenti*, 43-44.
164 Vasari, *Ragionamenti*, 44: “con il corno di Dovizia, pieno di spighe”.
165 Vasari, *Ragionamenti*, 44: “una giovane bella, con un corno di dovitia [...] pieno di tucti i frutti della terra”.
166 Markey, “New World”, 81-82: “American chickens” and “American chicks”.
167 ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1174, fol.237r.
168 Alessandro Allori in 1582 painted the additions of the Villa Medicea of Poggio a Caiano frescoes. In the Andrea Del Sarto’s *The Tribute of Caesar*, Allori painted a turkey with a child beneath the
Among all the Florentine symbols and American insertions, the *portiera* presents an unusual and peculiar Netherlandish element: the presence of a courtyard view with open architecture. The courtyard was characteristic of the contemporary Northern tapestry production, as in the *Vertumnus and Pomona* set (fig.1.19), designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst in the same period as *Dovizia* (1544-1545).\(^{169}\) This element appeared unrelated to the Florentine repertoire. Bronzino might have found his model in the painted open garden view, depicted in the early 1530s by Girolamo Genga, the Dossi brothers and the Florentine artist himself for Villa Imperiale in Pesaro.\(^{170}\) However, this figurative element could be interpreted as a deliberate Flemish insertion. A similar architectural representation can be found in the *Metamorphoses*, designed by the Dossi brothers and woven by Jan Karcher’s workshop in Ferrara (fig.1.20).\(^{171}\) Notably, Jan Rost or his collaborators from Brussels could have seen this architectural model in the *Vertumnus and Pomona* set (fig.1.19), when they visited the Brabantian city in early 1545.\(^{172}\)

To unfold the implications of the garden view of the *Dovizia*, we need to consider how tapestry-making and the division of labour were organised in the Low Countries. First of all, cartoons did not enjoy the same status as the origin of the artworks as in Florence and Italy.\(^{173}\) This perception was mainly motivated by a different internal organisation of tapestry workshops. The Netherlandish workshops were autonomous entities run by a weaver-entrepreneur or a family of weavers, such as Pieter van Eeghen (alias van Aelst), Dormeyen or the De Pannemaker family, who generally invested in the production and

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\(^{170}\) Adelson, “Patronage”, 89-92.

\(^{171}\) On the series see Forti Grazzini, *Ferrara*, 66-68.

\(^{172}\) The relationship between the *Dovizia* and *Vertumnus and Pomona* has been highlighted by Adelson, “Patronage”, 96-97.

\(^{173}\) See the Introduction.
directly managed the sales. The sets were not commissioned by a patron, except in rare cases such as the *Apocalypse of Angers* or the exceptional Leonine series for the Sistine Chapel, but more regularly they were sold to clients either directly from workshops or in fairs or collective salerooms, such as the Tapissierspand, the tapestry-makers hall, in Antwerp. Consequently, in the Low Countries, painters or patrons were not the leading figures in the production. This leading role was taken by weavers and the master as the head of the workshop. Ultimately, tapestries, rather than cartoons, were regarded as artistic ends in themselves.

Due to this workshop organisation, designs and cartoons were primarily considered in terms of their practical use. Indeed, cartoons were considered as intermediary steps to the final product: tapestries. Cartoons were practical objects and the property of workshops, not considered as independent artworks as in Italy. For instance, Pieter van Aelst marked his workshop’s propriety of designs, created by an artist of the circle of Jan van de Roome or Bernaert van Orley, by putting the workshop’s mark on the cartoon.

Moreover, it was common in the Low Countries to outsource cartoons and designs to other workshops opatrons, as in the case of van Aelst, who in 1511 sent cartoons to be woven in Germany for Emperor Maximilian I. Moreover, they were usually woven for several editions, even in over an extended time frame. In this context, the authorship and relevance of the design are highly diminished and the creators are often unknown. Furthermore, cartoons were created by “run-of-the-mill painters, who adapted themselves

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177 Pieter van Aelst signed the compositions of the several sets of *Passion of Christ*, 1510 ca, today in Trent, Amsterdam and Madrid. For instance see in the *Bearing of the Cross* the name of Aelst can be read on the robe of Simon of Cyrene; Delmarcel, *Honores*, 14.


179 Delmarcel, *Tapestry*, 16.
to the style then dominant, and worked in the manner [...] of more prominent masters.”  

Painters sought inspirations and models from prints and other arts. Moreover, as shown by the dispute between painters and tapestry-weavers in Brussels (1476), tapestry-weavers could intervene in the composition, altering the original cartoon, during the weaving process.  

The figure of the cartoonist and designer of tapestries started to emerge in sixteenth-century production in Brussels. The presence of Raphael’s cartoons in Brussels contributed to isolating the function of cartoons from the dynamics of the workshop and reinforcing the position of cartoonists. In the mid-sixteenth-century, Brussels and Flanders operated some famous specialists, such as the Flemish Bernaert van Orley, who was also appointed as court painter to Margaret of Austria in 1518, or Michiel Coxcie, the author of designs for the Jagiellonian tapestries, or Pieter Coecke van Aelst, who designed the Seven Deadly Sins set, purchased by Mary of Hungary in 1544. However, cartoons and disegno in the Low Countries did not reach the same level of theorisation and the status of artworks as in Renaissance Italy.

Therefore, perhaps the depiction of a distinct Flemish element, an open garden view in Dovizia, attributed to a Northern model, illustrates that during this early production phase in Florence, there was a reiteration of a Flemish mode of production. Although the cartoon and preparatory sketches of the Dovizia are today lost, as the courtyard suggests, it seems likely that the weavers intervened in the composition. In a letter of 8th December 1545, the secretary to Duke Cosimo and Maggiordomo, Pierfrancesco Riccio, discussed this tapestry with the Ducal secretary, Cristiano Pagni, who was in Pisa with the court. Riccio noted: “I am sending there [Pisa] a casket which contains the portiera, woven by these

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180 Delmarcel, Tapestry, 14.
182 Campbell, Tapestry, 142-146.
tapestry-weavers. The master Jan Rost will come there to show His Excellency [Cosimo] [...] Inside [the casket], there is the cartoon by Bronzino and, therefore, the imitation can be assessed”.\textsuperscript{184} However, Riccio added that “the master [Rost] is not really satisfied with his work [imitation of the cartoon]”.\textsuperscript{185} Notably, this letter suggests a clear articulation of the functional, rather than creative role of tapestry-makers in Renaissance Florence: tapestries need to closely replicate the design of the cartoons. Moreover, the secretary suggested that in the \textit{portiera} there were technical issues, such as the wide employment of golden threads.\textsuperscript{186}

The contract with the Flemish weavers Jan Rost and Nicolas Karcher, signed in October 1546, had already confirmed the priority given to cartoons over weaving in Florentine tapestry-making, as suggested by the \textit{Dovizia}.\textsuperscript{187} In the notes added in the margin to the last paragraph of the contract, we can read the pledge of Nicolas Karcher to employ only workers who had an understanding of \textit{disegno}:

Nicolas Karcher commits himself to Pierfrancesco Riccio \textit{Maggiordomo} [the person who signed the contract on behalf of the court] [...] to practise continuously in the city of Florence the art of weaving tapestry with good weavers and masters who

\textsuperscript{184} ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 375, fol.58r, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 517, doc.40: “Jo mando in mano di V[ostra] S[ignoria] [Pagni] una cassetta inella quale e dentro un portiere lavorato da questi tappezzieri et uerra costi il principale M[aestr]o Janni rosth per mostrarlo A S.[ua] Ex[cellenti]a [Cosimo] [...] ui si trouerrà dentro anchora il cartone del bronzino adcio si possa riscontrar’ l’im[m]itatione”. Pierfrancesco Riccio (1501-1564) was the personal secretary of Cosimo and he also, as the \textit{Maggiordomo Ducale}, supervised the remuneration of the personnel. On Riccio see Alessandro Cecchi, “Il maggiordomo ducale Pierfrancesco Riccio e gli artisti della corte medicea”, \textit{Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz}, vol.42, No.1 (1998), 115-143.

\textsuperscript{185} ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 375, fol.58r: “il m[aestr]o med[iesim]o no[n] ne resta molto sodisfacto”.

\textsuperscript{186}ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 375, fol.58r.

\textsuperscript{187} On contract see section 2.
have a good understand of disegno and with 24 looms at least for the time of this contract.\textsuperscript{188}

Jan Rost, in his contract of 1546 was asked to accomplish the same task.\textsuperscript{189} The regulation of the 1546 contract was then reiterated in the second contract signed in 1549-1550.\textsuperscript{190}

In fact, the two portiere, \textit{Justice Liberating Innocence} (fig. 1.21) and \textit{Spring} (fig. 1.22), woven in 1546, immediately after the Dovizia, better expressed the supremacy of the Florentine disegno without any foreign insertions.\textsuperscript{191} In particular, the design of \textit{Justice Liberating Innocence} could be related to Florentine sources, such as Pontormo, and a possible exchange of ideas with Francesco Salviati.\textsuperscript{192} All three hangings share a similar message: the beneficial and active role of the Medici power for the benefit of Tuscany.\textsuperscript{193}

The Dovizia embodied the political transformation, the creation of a Medici Duchy, which led to the importation of tapestry-making. Since the 1540s, the Medici court overtook the control of the economy and the introduction of new weaving techniques. The introduction of tapestry-making was interpreted by the Medici court as a valuable addition to local production, suggesting the workshop was instituted for mercantile and entrepreneurial reasons rather than just for artistic benefit. Overall, the iconography of the door hanging announced the subordination of the Republic to the new Medici principality, the new hierarchy of the Florentine state, the benefits of Cosimo’s economic policies and


\textsuperscript{189} See ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 9330, ser Giovan Battista Giordani, 1546-1547, fol. 131r-v, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 534, doc.65.

\textsuperscript{190} ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 9332, ser Giovan Battista Giordani, 1549-1550, fols. 71v. 366v, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 582-583, doc. 147. 601, doc.178.

\textsuperscript{191} Adelson, “Patronage”, 116-119; Meoni, \textit{Arazzi}, 162-165, n.20; 166-167, n.21; Meoni, \textit{Nascita}, 49-51, n.2

\textsuperscript{192} Adelson, “Patronage”, 113-114; Janet Cox-Rearick, “Friendly rivals: Bronzino and Salviati at the Medici court, 1543-1548”, \textit{Master Drawings}, vol.43, No.3 (Fall 2005), 301-306.

\textsuperscript{193} Meoni, \textit{Arazzi}, 162-167, n.21-22.
tapestry-making’s importation, as the duke, the court and Bernardo Saliti envisaged. Moreover, thanks to the insertion of the open garden courtyard, the door hanging examplifies the technical understanding of tapestry-making in Florence and introduces the theme of the production phase, which will be investigated in the following chapters.

* Going beyond the traditional patron-driven and cartoon-driven narrative of scholarly literature, which I have analysed in the introduction to the thesis, the chapter shifted the approach to tapestry-making in sixteenth-century Florence and, more broadly, aimed to contribute to the emancipation of tapestry studies from fine arts.

By reassessing published documents and unearthing new archival evidence, the chapter re-established the overlooked and original economic, technical and entrepreneurial understanding of the foundation of the Arazzeria. As emerges from primary sources from the Mediceo del Principato, Miscellanea Medicea and Notarile Antecosimiano at the State Archive in Florence (ASF), such as letters by Bernardo Saliti and the contracts of the master-weavers (1546), the entrepreneurial and economic perspective was present and to some extent prevalent in the mindsets of the people involved in the importation.

As the primary sources demonstrate, the merchant Bernardo Saliti and duke Cosimo envisaged benefits due to tapestry-making for the civic economy in terms of supply of materials, production, employment and imports. However, these aspects need to be fully reassessed to investigate the meaning of importing foreign weaving techniques, tapestry-making, in this specific context. To this end, the research posited tapestry-making within the centuries-old policy of weaving techniques’ importation. As analysed in section 1, the Arti and the Republic of Florence, since the 13th century, invested in the diversification of manufacturing processes of silk and woollen textile, importing foreign techniques, incentivising internal production, employment and international trade. This strategy led to establishing the city as a major manufacturing district in the Mediterranean basin. Therefore, the research contributes to studying textile industries and economic trends in sixteenth-century Florence.

194 See section 2 and 3.
Moreover, by shifting the theoretical approach and looking at the textile industries, the research situates the foundation of the Arazzeria within the Medici state-building processes, contributing to its study. As analysed in section 2, the introduction of tapestry-making took place in a period of a profound institutional transformation which led to the establishment of the Duchy. Cosimo de’Medici was in the process of substituting the Republican offices and creating a new hierarchical order of the Florentine state. Within this process, the duke took the control of economy and re-organised the importations of weaving techniques and technical innovation through patents and notarial acts. The Arazzeria needs to be included in the Medici policies of controlling the economy and state-building. The research demonstrates how technical innovation was instrumental in political and economic matters in the Early Modern Period.\textsuperscript{195}

The research contributes to the study of the court’s creation in Ducal Florence. As been demonstrated in the \textit{Libri dei Salariti} in the series of Depositeria Generale (State Archive of Florence) and studied by Elena Fumagalli, the Medici in the same period was putting together a new and vast organisation of painters, sculptors, engineers and architects.\textsuperscript{196} They were dealing with the construction, renovation and decoration of public spaces and seats of power under the auspices of duke Cosimo. Therefore, the establishment of the Arazzeria is posited within these wider Medici state-building processes and the broader employments of artists and artisans who decorated the spaces of power and the newly-founded Ducal court.

Like in mid-sixteenth century Florence, there are similar examples of the political meaning of tapestry workshops’ foundation in the processes of state-building and display of power in Early Modern Italy and Europe, such as Mantua during the Duchy of Federico II (1539), the Este family in Ferrara or Fontainebleau with King Francis I of France in 1540s.\textsuperscript{197}

The new research perspective led to reassessing the manufacturing processes and even the iconographies of tapestries. Sylvia Houghteling used the same methodology to study of the \textit{Conquest of Tunis}’ series.\textsuperscript{198} In section 4, the chapter analyses the first tapestry

\textsuperscript{195} Molà, “Relocating”, 141-145.
\textsuperscript{197} Campbell, \textit{Tapestry}, 465-492.
\textsuperscript{198} Houghteling, “Conquest”, 183-205.
woven in Florence, *Dovizia* (1545). Through the study of archival evidence, the tapestry exemplifies the manufacturing and weaving processes, which have been overlooked in the scholarly literature. In addition, the iconography displays the political, propagandistic and economic values envisaged by the Medici court.

In the next chapter, I will continue the analysis of the material, economic and technical understanding of tapestry-making by focusing on the entrepreneurship of the workshops (1545-1553).
Chapter 2
The Entrepreneurship of The Arazzeria Medicea (1545-1553)

As discussed in chapter 1, tapestries and their production need to be understood in the context of the economic, political and social history of sixteenth-century Florence. While the previous chapter looked at the workshop in the broader context of the civic economy and its Ducal transformation, this chapter turns to its internal dynamics, assessing the tapestry workshop as a complex commercial enterprise.

Tapestry scholars have scarcely investigated the involvement of Bernardo Saliti in the foundation of the Arazzeria or his subsequent entrepreneurship in the workshop, but I argue here that this figure is pivotal for the domestication of Florentine tapestry-making and deserves more attention. As Saliti was the merchant central to the negotiations that established the Arazzeria, the first two sections of this chapter consider his role and assess how he managed to enter Medici networks through his mercantile milieu. While economic historians have explored Saliti’s early trade activities in Nuremberg (1510s-1520s) only Richard Goldthwaite mentions the role of Saliti as a textile merchant in the Arazzeria, but he does not expand on this theme. By unearthing new evidence from the Archivio di Stato di Modena, Archivio Bartolini Salimbini in Vicchio del Mugello and Archivio di Stato di Firenze (ASF), I have been able to retrace Saliti’s career, his trading projects, his mercantile mindset and networks, all fundamental to the foundation of the Arazzeria in Florence.

1 Adelson, “Patronage”, 24-43; Meoni, Arazzi, 35-36; Meoni, Nascita, 12.
This research on Bernardo Saliti and his mercantile networks contributes to a reassessment of the profession of the textile merchant and how it developed in the sixteenth century. As I discuss below, Bernardo Saliti was a sixteenth-century Florentine merchant who dealt with economic interventionism, the consequence of the new hierarchical structure of Florentine society and, particularly, the establishment of the Medici Principato. Scholars have not addressed tapestry studies from this perspective, only touching on a few related areas. Amedeo Belluzzi analyses how the public and private spaces of merchants and markets changed in sixteenth-century Florence, particularly following the project of the Mercato Nuovo and the establishment of a mercantile aristocracy that built new sumptuous palaces. Richard Goldthwaite has also analysed the economic and social value of the Florentine palaces, commissioned by merchants (fifteenth and sixteenth-century). Marco Spallanzani and Francesco Guidi Bruscoli investigated through the case studies of Bartolomeo Marchionni and Giovanni da Empoli, how geographical discoveries and new commercial routes opened new opportunities for Florentine merchants.

The analysis of the Arazzeria from Saliti’s perspective in the first half of this chapter lead to a reconsideration of the subsequent entrepreneurship and internal management of the workshop, in which the merchant initially played a central role. As emerges from the research, the Arazzeria was organised as a company in the form of state-owned accomandita (limited partnership society). As analysed below, the accomandita was the rising form of business in sixteenth-century Florence, substituting the Medieval compagnia. Scholars have studied limited partnership societies in textile and tannery industries and

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4 Richard A. Goldthwaite, Banks, Palaces and Entrepreneurs in Renaissance Florence (Aldershot, Ashgate, 1995), 1-10; 977-1012.

5 Francesco Guidi Bruscoli, Bartolomeo Marchionni (Florence, Olschki, 2014), 89-139; Marco Spallanzani, Giovanni da Empoli (Florence, SPES, 1984), 24-81.
their increasing success in Ducal Florence. However, their analysis has never touched upon the tapestry workshop. My research seeks to offer a new perspective on the entrepreneurship of the Arazzeria and the establishment of the accomandita in the sixteenth century as the new prominent business organisation. The structure of the accomandita implied the division of workshops between investors, Cosimo, and managers, the Flemish tapestry-weavers.

As this chapter shows, Cosimo was not the sole investor in the workshop. The Arazzeria was also funded by merchant-courtiers, such as Bernardo Saliti and Cristofano Rinieri, who acted as private associates of the workshop masters. This research on merchant-courtiers, mainly based on unpublished archival evidence from the Archivio di Stato di Firenze, testifies to the complexity of the Arazzeria as a commercial entreprise and its relationship to the creation of a elite group of prominent bureaucrats, who mixed together private business and public office within the context of the Medici state-building.

1. The Entrepreneurial Strategy of Bernardo Saliti and the Foundation of The Arazzeria Medicea

Bernardo Saliti was a Florentine silk merchant, based in Ferrara. The commercial and trading activities of Bernardo and his family are fortunately well-documented as these sources are essential to reassess his role and understand his background, business strategy, professional milieu and the original goals of Florentine tapestry-making.

Bernardo was born in Florence on the 21st July 1494, the eldest son of the textile merchant Zanobi di Francesco Saliti. The Saliti family (fig.2.1) was active in the trade of linen and second-hand clothes (rigattiere) from the fourteenth century and matriculated to the Arte dei Linaioli e Rigattieri (the guild of linen-merchants and second-hand clothes dealers). Bernardo’s father Zanobi traded wool and silk textiles and raw materials from and

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6 Malanima, Decadenza, 130-137; Federigo Melis, Economia, 46-54; Sergio Tognetti, “Industria Conciaria”, 74-76.
7 Spallanzani, “Saliti”, 617. His death date is not known.
8 ASF, Raccolta Ceramelli-Papiani, 4177, unnumbered; ASF, Raccolta Sebregondi, 4676, unnumbered; Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana (hereafter Riccardiana), ms 2024, 581; Francesco Saliti, Linaiolo and
to Florence. He owned several companies in Florence, Germany and Milan. In 1512, Bernardo started his career thanks to his father, obtaining 400 fiorini in accomandita (limited partnerships) to trade Florentine textiles in Nuremberg. In 1515 or even earlier, Bernardo established himself independently, founding a company in accomandita with his associate Bernardo Acciaiuoli, to trade silk and luxurious auroseric textiles in Nuremberg, named Bernardo Acciaiuoli e Bernardo Saliti e compagni. Nuremberg was a major commercial hub in sixteenth-century Europe for trading commodities and luxurious objects, such as silk textiles, furs, knives, jewellery and spices. The Franconian city, “the centre of Europe and Germany”, was a strategic crossroads between East and West Europe, and the middle point between several mercantile paths which led to other major continental commercial centres, such as Venice, Krakow, Antwerp and Lyon.

The commercial hub of Nuremberg was appealing for Lucchese, Venetian and also Florentine merchant families, such as the Torrigiani, Acciaiuoli, Olivieri or Saliti, who started trading in Franconia mainly from the beginning of the sixteenth century. The company of Saliti and Acciaioli was quite successful and was renewed three years later in 1518 with a rigattiere of the Gonfalone Drago, S.Spirito, was matriculated to the Arte in 1381. Ildefonso di San Luigi, Delizie degli eruditi toscani (Florence, Gaetano Cambiagi, 1783), Tomo XVI, 143-144. BNCF, Poligrafo Gargani, 1780, fol.33-34. The genealogy of the Saliti family from “Gonfalone del Leon d’Oro” (Quarter of San Giovanni) is annotated by Gargano Gargani in the nineteenth century; BNCF, Poligrafo Gargani, 1780, fol.44.

10 ASF, Compagnie religiose, 2036, insert with no number, fol.4v, in Spallanzani, “Saliti”, 618.
14 Rita Mazzei, Itinera, 55-56: “centrum Europae simul atque Germaniae”.
15 Mazzei, Itinera, 59-71.
share capital of 6,500 fiorini.\textsuperscript{16} In the documentation, it appears that the Florentine merchants managed a considerable variety of textiles, such as damask cloths, brocades, satins and even sable furs.\textsuperscript{17} Predominantly, as an inventory (11th May 1519) testifies, Saliti and Acciaiuoli traded Florentine medium and high-quality silk (267 drappi) and precious auroseric (77 drappi) textile pieces in Nuremberg.\textsuperscript{18} In Florence, Saliti and Acciaiuoli traded silk textiles and materials from a network of local producers and dealers, such as Giovanni Corsi, Francesco Fiaschi, Rinaldo Corsini or Bernardo Sermicheli.\textsuperscript{19} The Franconian company was closely involved with Zanobi Saliti’s business. Before 1st July 1518, Zanobi accumulated the debt of fiorini 9290.14.20 with Bernardo and Acciaioli and 5995.15.1 fiorini with his son.\textsuperscript{20} In 1519, Acciaioli disappeared from the documentation and he probably dropped out of the company for unknown reasons.\textsuperscript{21}

In the 1520s, back in Italy, Bernardo organised his family business from Florence. In February 1527, after the death of Zanobi, Bernardo and his brothers created a new company, named Redi di Zanobi Saliti (heirs of Zanobi Saliti), divided into two branches in Florence and Nuremberg with a shared capital of over 20,000 fiorini.\textsuperscript{22} Bernardo, who owned the highest share in the company, 3,000 fiorini, alongside his brother Francesco, directed the Florentine branch, while Piero organised the family trade in Germany.\textsuperscript{23} While the contracts were supposed to last 2 years and 8 months for the Florentine branch and 5


\textsuperscript{17} ASF, Compagnie religiose, 2058, insert 1, fols.13r-22r, in Spallanzani, “Tessuti”, 1008-1016.

\textsuperscript{18} Spallanzani, “Tessuti”, 997.

\textsuperscript{19} Spallanzani, “Tessuti”, 1003.

\textsuperscript{20} The debts with his son and Acciaioli (15.285. 60. 21 fiorini) constituted around 37% of all Zanobi’s debts (40695.18.5 fiorini); Archivio Bartolini Salimbeni, 44, insert 2, fols. 100v-105r.

\textsuperscript{21} Spallanzani, “Tessuti”, 996.


\textsuperscript{23} Spallanzani, “Saliti”, 605.
years for the Franconian branch, the *compagnia* was dismissed in 1528.\(^{24}\) From Florence and Nuremberg, the Saliti family led a flourishing business in importing-exporting luxurious silk textiles. From 1528, it seems that Bernardo Saliti was no longer involved in the Nuremberg company, which was led by Pietro Saliti. Pietro Saliti continued the trade between Germany and Florence. In the 1530s, he expanded his mercantile interests to Vienna, depositing clothes and textiles in stores.\(^{25}\) Notably, he became a frequent supplier of silk textiles, such as *drappi* or *telette*, for Austrian and Germanic nobles and the Empress Anne of Bohemia and Hungary (1503-1547), the wife of Emperor Ferdinand I Habsburg (1503-1564).\(^{26}\)

Unfortunately, the mercantile trajectory of Bernardo Saliti is scarcely mentioned in the documentary record for the 1530s. In the 1540s, by leading and supporting the relocation of specialised foreign artisans, Saliti started importing in Italy new weaving techniques, not locally mastered. In 1543, Saliti signed a contract with Ercole II d’Este (1508-1559), Duke of Ferrara, for importing to Ferrara the production of fustian and cotton textiles (doc.12).\(^{27}\) At the court of Ercole II d’Este, Saliti imported fustian-making thanks to the arrival of German weavers.\(^{28}\) Fustian is a resistant and hard-wearing fabric, made of linen and cotton or wool, mainly used for clothes, socks or bedding.\(^{29}\) The technique, originally developed in Egypt, had been known in Europe since the Middle Ages. German weavers

\(^{24}\) ASF, Compagnia religiose, 2038, fol.8r-v, in Spallanzani, “Saliti”, 607. Payments and credit notes of Bernardo Saliti within the company of the heirs of Zanobi are recorded in Archivio Bartolini Salimbeni, 47, fols. 29 left-right; 70 right. 109 left.

\(^{25}\) Archivio Bartolini Salimbeni, 52, fol.1r.

\(^{26}\) See Archivio Bartolini Salimbeni, 52, fols. 4 left-right; 8 right; 14 left; 17 left; 24 left; 65 left; 90 right; 53, fols. 17 left-right; 93 left-right.

\(^{27}\) The notarial deed is recorded in ASMo, Notai Camerali Ferraresi, Registro LXII/C, fols., 103v-104r. The contract is also recorded in Archivio di Stato di Ferrara (ASFe), Notarile, b.28. This document is currently inaccessible. The Ferrarese contract is mentioned in Rita Mazzei, “La Ferrara di Ercole II (1534-1559). A proposito di un recente studio degli ebrei a Ferrara”, Archivio Storico Italiano, vol.169, No.3 (629) (2011), 581.

\(^{28}\) Mazzei, “Ferrara”, 581.

dominated European fustian production and trade and we can hypothesise that Saliti knew fustian merchants and weavers in Nuremberg. Conversely, in Ferrara and in Italy this production was not well-established. There were few Italian fustian industries, including Chieri (Piedmont), where the fustian weavers established their own guild in 1482, Piacenza, Genoa, where it was also employed for processional apparatus (fig.2.2), Milan and Naples.

The Ferrarese project constituted a paradigmatic antecedent to the foundation of tapestry workshops in Florence and illustrates the entrepreneurial mentality of Saliti that led to the foundation of the Arazzeria. Firstly, he identified a manufacturing gap and a potential market. Then through his professional know-how and personal networks, Saliti organised the importation of new weaving techniques.

The merchant applied this same entrepreneurial method in Tuscany in two failed projects proposed to Cosimo and his successor Francesco de’ Medici after the foundation of the Arazzeria. In 1547 Saliti advocated to Cosimo the same Ferrarese business of domesticating the production of fustian in Pisa. The merchant wrote (doc 13):

The business of fustian in Pisa has been already organised. Your Excellency [Cosimo] only needs to pay 200 golden scudi to bring the families [of weavers] and 500 scudi monthly which I will give account for as I am obliged to.

Similarly, in 1561 and 1567, Saliti proposed in two unpublished letters to the Medici court the domestication and “westernisation” of oriental rug-weaving in Pisa (doc.4-14-15). The project was not realised, probably due to the subsequent death of Bongianni di

32 On *accomandita* see section 4.
33 See chapter 2, section 1.
34 ASF, Mediceo del Principato,.613, Insert 2, fol.18: “El negotio de’fustani da lavorarsi in Pisa e ridotto al termine che solo V[ostra] Ex[cellen]tia [Cosimo] sborsi li duecento scudi d’oro per condurre le famiglie e li cinquecento scudi d’oro el mese de’quali scudi darò la sicurta mese per mese come sono obligato […]”.
35 The first letter (1560); ASF, Miscellanea Medicea, 27/III, fol. 1029r. The second letter: ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 529a, fols. 855r-856r.
Jacopo Gianfigliazzi in 1568, who appeared in the 1567 letter involved in the project as Saliti’s middleman. However, these pieces of evidence once again illustrated Saliti’s entrepreneurial strategy. Saliti wrote:

   with an [unknown] associate, we have found a way to produce rugs according to the Oriental technique. However, we will weave the rugs with grotesques and beautiful coats of arms and we will spend little and earn a lot as there will be many who will buy them. This production will be profitable as Your Excellency [Cosimo] aims to increase the population and business in Pisa.  

Overall, it appears that the domestication of tapestry-weaving in Florence was part of a wider mercantile strategy for Bernardo Saliti. He was a skilled and ingenious merchant who adjusted his trade in accordance with market needs and economic protectionism in Ducal Florence, Italy and beyond. However, as the domestication of tapestry-making testified, he did not operate by himself, but relied on a Florentine and Medici mercantile network.

2. Niccolò Boni, Bongianni Gianfigliazzi and the Mercantile Milieu of Bernardo Saliti

   To realise his entrepreneurial strategy, Saliti needed a network of trusted people and textile operators in Florence, who put him in contact with potential investors, Cosimo and the court. Saliti advocated the project of domesticating tapestry-making in at least three letters, written between January and June 1545, sent to Bongianni di Jacopo Gianfigliazzi and Niccolò. Scholars have studied these documents because of the involvement of “my Flemish friends, excellent masters in the art of tapestry-making”, Jan Rost and Nicholas

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36 On protectionism see chapter 1, section 3.


38 See chapter 1, section 3.

39 ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1170a, insert 2, fol.30r-v. 32r-v. Insert 10, fol.31r-v.
However, this correspondence tells us much more about Saliti than “his Flemish friends,” indicating his mentality of Saliti and mercantile milieu.

The first letter was sent to Niccolò di Piero Boni (1490-1566) on 31st January 1545. The tone of the letter is informal and we can infer that Boni and Saliti were old and close friends. Bernardo fondly greeted Boni noting to him that “I [Bernardo] received [in Ferrara] your letter, which I have appreciated, from the hands of Antonio merciaio”. Niccolò di Pietro (or Piero) Boni (1490-1566) is a well-documented figure in sixteenth-century Florence. He was a member of the Tuscan patrician family, Boni of the branch della Catena, and a relatively wealthy man as he inherited, alongside his brothers Roberto and Ambrogio, several houses in Florence from his family in Santa Croce, via della Scala and lands in the countryside. The Boni family also owned some wool workshops in the San Martino district and Niccolò could well have been a textile merchant, even if specific documentation is today lost. In 1527, Boni appeared as a wool-merchant in Saliti’s account books, supplying from Florence camlets (ciambellotti) to the company of the heirs of Zanobi Saliti (doc.16).

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40 ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1170a, insert 2, fol.30r-v, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 498, doc. 16: “Io ho lettere da alcuni mia amicj fiaminghi maestri excellenti di panno darazzo”.
41 Appendix, doc. 2: “p[er] mano d[ì] antonio merciaio a m[è] gratissima”.
42 BNCF, Fondo Nazionale, II.I, 120, fol. 199r. Saliti defined Antonio merciaio “apprentice of Agnolo dello Strologo”. Antonio can be identified in “Antonio dello Strologo merciaio” in the 1551’s census, living by himself with a servant in via del Parione.
44 Mozzati, Rustici, 340. See also, ASF, Raccolta Ceramelli-Papiani, 848, unnumbered; Raccolta Sebregondi, 895, unnumbered; BNCF, Collezione Passerini, 189 (Boni), n.38, fols.8-10.
45 His father Pietro and Niccolò sold two wool workshops in San Martino (1523-1525); BNCF, Poligrafo Gargani, 336, n.245; 247.
46 Archivio Bartolini Salimbeni, 47, fol.90 left-right. On camlets, see chapter 6, section 2.
Boni was a “really close friend” of the sculptor Giovanfrancesco Rustici (1475-1566).\(^{47}\) He may even have been an apprentice of the sculptor, although his artworks are not known.\(^{48}\) As a member of the *Compagnia del Paiuolo* (Company of the Cauldron), founded and led by Rustici himself, Boni was one of “a brigade of [12] gentlemen who gathered in the rooms of the Sapienza [the former university]”.\(^{49}\) Among the members, there were painters, sculptors and artists, such as Andrea del Sarto, Aristotile da Sangallo, or Domenico Puligo, and other wood carvers.\(^{50}\) When the sculptor moved to France in 1527, he left the administration of his possessions to Boni.\(^{51}\) To mark this occasion and demonstrate his affection for his bookkeeper, Rustici crafted a bronze medal with Niccolò’s portrait (fig.2.3).\(^{52}\)

Boni’s friendship with Rustici is relevant to research on Saliti’s mercantile networks because a document relating to the sculptor reveals that Boni knew Bernardo Saliti well before 1545. On 21st January 1524, Rustici received the arrears from his client, the Arte della Calimala, for his bronze group of *The Preaching of St. John the Baptist* (fig.2.4) on the Northern Door of the Baptistery of Florence.\(^{53}\) In the legal act, which sealed the payment, Saliti and Boni appeared together. The document reported “Bernardo di Zanobi [Saliti], Florentine citizen and silk merchant” as a witness of the payment, and “Niccolò di Pietro


\(^{48}\) Sénéchal, *Rustici*, 123.


\(^{50}\) Vasari, *Vite* (1568), vol. V, 482.

\(^{51}\) Vasari, *Vite* (1568), vol. V, 480.


[Boni], the agent of Giovan Francesco [Rustici]” (doc.17). This evidence shows that Saliti knew Boni for at least 20 years and this long friendship explains why Saliti sent two letters Boni in regards to the domestication of tapestry-making on 1545.

Overall, it seems that Boni served Saliti as a personal connection and as a middleman to reach the potential investor, Cosimo I, and on his behalf his secretary Pierfrancesco Riccio. Two letters (31st January and 23rd June) sent to Boni, contained references to other requests and practical matters. For instance, Saliti asked Boni to give two soldi to the cimatore Marco Falcucci, and mentioned other unspecified business to discuss with the merchants Giovanni Bonsi and Giuliano Ginori. Saliti regarded Boni as an associate. Indeed, as noted below, Boni signed, alongside Saliti, the 1546 contracts of weavers as the guarantors (mallevadori) of these legal acts, confirming their strong personal and professional relationship.

While Boni was the personal contact or middleman for Saliti, Bongianni di Jacopo Gianfigliazzi (1500-1568) was his key contact in the Medici court. We know of only one letter from Saliti to Bongianni, but we can affirm that he played a pivotal role in the project. Already, in the first letter written to Boni, Saliti mentioned that Bongianni had been informed of their enterprise, as he was inquiring about spaces for the weavers: “Bongianni Gianfigliazzi is asking about this and I am sure he will do it perfectly”.

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54 ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 9787, Giovanni Battista Terranuova, fol.255r, in Sénéchal, Rustici, 280-281, n.27: “[... ] presentibus Bernardo Zanobii de setiris civi et mercatori florentino”. The patronymic and the word “Setiris”, silk, a vulgarisation of the latin word sericum, contributes to identify Saliti in the documents’ witness.


56 This theme will be covered in section 4. ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 9330, ser Giovan Battista Giordani, fol. 129r, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 536, doc. 66.

57 ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1170a, insert 2, busta 10, fol.31r-v.

58 Appendix, doc. 1: “Bongianni Gianfigliazzi sarà buono da informarsi del tutto et so che per amor mio lo farò volentieri”.
Bongianni, a descendent of the patrician family of Gianfigliazzi, was a bureaucrat and a member of the Ducal court. The Gianfigliazzi was an ancient Guelph lineage, operating as merchant-bankers in Florence and France from the thirteenth century. Jacopo, father of Bongianni (1470-1549), worked as the administrator of Castiglion Fiorentino and diplomat for Pope Leo X and Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino, and Duke Alessandro. In the 1520s and 1530s, Jacopo was a wool-merchant and ran a company of garbo textiles under his name.

His son Bongianni served Alessandro and Cosimo, holding countless offices in the Ducal bureaucracy during his career. Bongianni was in charge of the administration of the Medici possessions in Tuscany, as the podestà of Castiglion Fiorentino (1532), capitano of Fivizzano (1540) and Volterra (1544-1545), and commissar of Arezzo (1554-1555). He was involved in the Florentine administration, as a member of Otto di Balia e Guardia, Consiglio dei Duecento and senator (from 1549). Moreover, he served Cosimo in diplomatic missions. For instance, he negotiated the acquisition of Castiglione della Pescaia and Giglio from the Piccolomini family in 1559 and served in Roma at the court of Paolo IV Carafa

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60 Arrighi and Klein, “Gianfigliazzi”, 53-54.


62 Archivio della Congregazione dei Buonomini di San Martino, Fondo Gianfigliazzi, 1.4.0.1., insert 7, unnumbered.


64 Arrighi, “Bongianni di Iacopo”, 347.
Overall, Gianfigliazzi was a highly trusted person at court and because of that a key member of the Pratica Segreta, the Ducal private council. Besides his public career, Gianfigliazzi was directly involved in the Florentine textile trade, and this is presumably why Saliti identified him as a promising middleman for his tapestry venture. Gianfigliazzi heavily invested in the production of luxurious silk textiles. From 1538, he acted as the investor in the accomandita company of goldbeating (battilori), producing golden threads used in auroseric textiles, such as taffeta or brocades, with a capital share of 3,000 fiorini. He renewed this activity several times, as in 1540 (doc.18), and traded until 1566 when he sold his company to Gino and Lodovico Capponi. Then, as emerges from his account books, Gianfigliazzi regularly sold his high-medium quality silk textiles with golden insertions at the Florentine Easter fair from the beginning of the 1540s. For instance, in the 1548 fair he sold a great variety of silk pieces, such as “gilt-wrapped red brocade”, “large brocade woven with red silk”, gilt-wrapped damasks, red-

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67 The account of his personal matters are recorded in ASF, Manoscritti, 101, fols. 10 left; 32 left; 33 left; 37 left; 40 left; 43 left; 52 left; 64 left; 66 left; 69 left; 83 left; 89 left; 98 left; 113 left; 123 left; 125 left; 130 left; 142 left.
68 On Bongianni’s textile business see: ASF, Manoscritti, 101, fol. 3 left-right; Archivio della Congregazione dei Buonuomini di San Martino, Fondo Gianfigliazzi, 2.3.1.1., loose sheets. 1.4.0.1., busta 6, loose sheets. busta 9, loose sheets.
69 Archivio della Congregazione dei Buonuomini di San Martino, Fondo Famiglia Gianfigliazzi, 1.4.0.1, busta 9, fols.1-14.
70 Archivio della Congregazione dei Buonuomini di San Martino, Fondo Gianfigliazzi, 1.4.0.1, busta 9, loose sheets.
71 Archivio della Congregazione dei Buonuomini di San Martino, Fondo Gianfigliazzi, Conti della Mercatura di Bongianni Gianfigliazzi, 2.3.1.1., loose sheets.
coloured velvet and red-coloured silk drapes.\textsuperscript{72} The same variety and luxury of textiles reappeared in subsequent accounts, for instance in 1550 or 1551.\textsuperscript{73}

Because of his involvement in textile production and his prominent position in the court, Gianfigliazzi was the right figure to understand the potential of Saliti’s project and advocate for it to Cosimo. The tone of Saliti’s letter is formal: “Honorable and Dearest Bongianni, I have received your letter on the 21st [March]”.\textsuperscript{74} As clear from this phrase, the correspondence between Saliti and Gianfigliazzi might have been more abundant than Boni’s. In fact, it emerges that Gianfigliazzi already acted for Saliti within the court well before the first known letter: "I [Bernardo Saliti] have understood you [Bongianni] have operated on my behalf showing my requests to Riccio about leading Flemish tapestry masters".\textsuperscript{75} The letters to Bongianni are more detailed than Boni’s letter as they contained Saliti’s overall project and the weavers’ practical and economic requests, confirming the official nature of these documents.

3. **The Entrepreneurship of The Arazzeria as a Ducal Accomandita (1545-1553)**

The contract of 1546, signed between functionaries at the Medici court and the two Flemish masters, defined the entrepreneurship of the workshops. The contracts identified the distinct responsibilities of the merchants-investors, namely Duke Cosimo, and the manager of the workshops, Jan Rost and Nicholas Karcher. The Arazzeria was established as a form of a limited responsibility company, or *acomandita*, fitting into an emerging trend in contemporary entrepreneurship: the transition from the medieval *compagnia* to the early

\textsuperscript{72} Archivio della Congregazione dei Buonuomini di San Martino, Fondo Gianfigliazzi, 2.3.1.1., loose sheets.

\textsuperscript{73} Archivio della Congregazione dei Buonuomini di San Martino, Fondo Gianfigliazzi, 2.3.1.1, loose sheets; 1.4.0.1, busta 6, loose sheets.

\textsuperscript{74} ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1170a, insert II, busta 10, fol.30r, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 499, doc. 17: “Honorando e Carissimo Bongianni ho ricevuto la vostra del XXI passato”.

\textsuperscript{75} Appendix, doc.2: “Io inteso quanto havete operato per me in mostrare la mia lettera a m. Pierfrancesco circa el condurre li maestri di panni darazi”.
modern *accomandita* (sixteenth and seventeenth century) or as it was called in Tuscany *compagnia in via di accomandita*.

A sign of state-led protectionism and the creation of the merchant-courtier elite, the success of the limited partnership company also illustrates the social and political modifications of the economy of Ducal Florence. The limited partnership company is a form of business that divides the responsibilities of its associates into two major distinct categories: the investor and the manager. An investor, called *socio accomandante*, such as Rinieri or Saliti, paid for setting up the enterprise and covered its expenses. He generally did not intervene in the company or the production and only received interest on his investments. The other associate, called *socio accomandatario* or *complementario*, who was generally an artisan, such as the Flemish weavers, ran the enterprise as the manager of the company, dealing with production. The *socio accomandatario* could also contribute to the capital share. In the medieval Tuscan *compagnia*, the manager and the investor were usually the same people. The *compagnia* in this form was a commercial company of unlimited partnership as the entrepreneurs were entirely responsible for the capital invested and liable for all debts and economic losses. Because of this clustered structure, in *compagnie* the members were usually relatives. Conversely, *accomandita* divided the commercial responsibilities and investments among unrelated associates. This form of company sought to soften potential risks, insolvencies or bad luck and avoid bankruptcy,

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79 Malanima, *Decadenza*, 132.


dividing responsibilities and capital share among several people. This fundamental difference from compagnia characterised accomandita as a limited partnership company.

The accomandita was well known in Tuscany before the sixteenth century. In Florence, the Republic regulated limited partnership companies in 1408 and again in 1495. In the fifteenth century, the companies and associates of accomandita could join their capital shares, but they conserved the internal organisation of the compagnia without clearly distinguishing between investors and managers. The new form of limited partnership company clearly emerged in the first half of the sixteenth century, reaching its complete development in the seventeenth, when the demarcation between the socio accomandatario and socio accomandante was clearly established. The Statuto della Mercanzia (1577-1585) codified the characteristics of the new limited partnership company.

Social and economic causes motivated this transformation of the accomandita and its success in the sixteenth century: the creation of a territorial aristocracy and increasing polarisation of capital alongside the social stratification within Florentine society. The patrician families, members of the court, stopped being productive forces and became merchant-courtiers. They invested in the manufacturing industries without intervening in production, living off the interest and building lavishly decorated palaces or villas. This social and economic trend, embodied by the accomandita, testified to the polarisation of wealth, the increasing distance between the capital, labour force and the low classes’ impoverishment and the crisis of the Florentine economy as it testified to a scarcity of capital and a need to circumscribe risks and insolvencies. It is worthwhile mentioning some examples of accomandita companies in Ducal Florence between 1530 and 1560. The

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83 Malanima, Decadenza, 134; Melis, Economia, 52.
84 Melis, Economia, 52-53.
85 Malanima, Decadenza, 132; Malanima, Economia, 52.
86 Melis, Economia, 52.
88 Malanima, Decadenza, 133.
89 On the accomandite legally founded in ducal Florence (1532-1572), see ASF, Mercanzia, 10832, fols. 1r-280v.
Capponi family in the 1560s invested as the *soci accomandatari* in tannery industries, founding in 1565 an *accomandita* company signing a contract with the Ghettini, a family of leather-makers, which were appointed as the managers of the workshop.\(^90\) Also, as Sergio Tognetti reports, the Salviati, a patrician family particularly bound to Cosimo, from 1540 also invested in tannery production, signing contracts of *accomandita* in Pisa and Florence with experts from this sector.\(^91\) Particularly, the companies were only permitted to use “local leather”, confirming the protectionist trends of Ducal Florence.\(^92\)

Notably, Bongianni Gianfigliazzi was engaged with this form of business. For instance, he invested in *accomandita* for the goldbeaters’ workshops.\(^93\) In the archival documentation of the Gianfigliazzi family, there are several contracts signed by Bongianni, as the *socio accomandante*, to found *accomandita* companies from 1538 to 1566. For example on the 20th May 1538, goldbeating company was created in a contract between Bongianni Gianfigliazzi and Martino Giuliani, the manager of the workshop, with the business name of Bongianni Gianfigliazzi and associates. The company has a capital share of 3,000 *fiorini*. Bongianni invested 2,900 *fiorini*, Martino 100.\(^94\) The agreement lasted 3 years.\(^95\) The contract mentioned that Gianfigliazzi borrowed half of his capital share from his father-in-law, Francesco di Giambattista Corbinelli, listing Gianfigliazzi’s obligations to him and the division of the interest.\(^96\) The company was renewed three years later in 1540 (doc.18), with an increased capital share of 5,000 *fiorini*, divided into 2,100 from

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\(^{90}\) Tognetti, “Industria Conciaria”, 71-72.

\(^{91}\) Tognetti, “Industria Conciaria”, 74. On protectionism see chapter 1, section 3.

\(^{92}\) ASF, Mercanzia, 10832, fols.35r-v; 96v, in Tognetti, “Industria Conciaria”, 74: “quoia nostrali”.

\(^{93}\) See Archivio della Congregazione dei Buonomini di San Martino, Fondo Gianfigliazzi, 1.4.0.1, busta 9, loose sheets.

\(^{94}\) Archivio della Congregazione dei Buonomini di San Martino, Fondo Gianfigliazzi, 1.4.0.1, busta 9, loose sheets: “si creassi una compagnia di battiloro fra Bongianni di Iaco[po] Gianfigliazzi e Martino Giuliano contato n detto Bongianni Gianfigliazzi et Com[pag]ni. Il corpo tutto e tremila, sotto il nome di Bongianni duemila novecento e cento detto Martino e dura anni tre”.

\(^{95}\) Archivio della Congregazione dei Buonomini di San Martino, Fondo Gianfigliazzi, 1.4.0.1, busta 9, loose sheets

\(^{96}\) Archivio della Congregazione dei Buonomini di San Martino, Fondo Gianfigliazzi, 1.4.0.1, busta 9, loose sheets
Gianfigliazzi, 2.100 from Corbinelli and 800 from the accomandatario Martino Giuliani. The agreement was re-established several times up to 1566. In that year, Bongianni sold the company and business name to Lodovico and Gino Capponi. As the legal contract states: “Gino and Lodovico Capponi agree with the Magnificent Messer Bongianni to use his name” and the terms of payment of 4.600 golden scudi to Gianfigliazzi through “exchange letters and coupons”, issued by Bolognese merchant Lodovico Della Ratta and Antonmaria Scappi. Other Gianfigliazzi family members employed the accomandita, such as Gherardo Gianfigliazzi in 1510, when he invested in the creation of a wool workshop with the wool-weavers Agnolo di Lorenzo Carducci and other associates.

The contracts of accomandita stipulated in Florence were recorded from 1532 in the Tribunale della Mercanzia, the office in charge of registering business ventures and the arbitration of controversies between merchants. In these records, we can find agreements between artisans and patrician merchants, such as the Capponi family, Francesco Corbinelli, Strozzi family or Napoleone Cambi, and more regular investors, such as the Mercer Spatiano di Marco del Castelluccio, who in 1534 invested in a hat shop in Pisa. Overall, there are some similarities between the weavers’ contracts and accomandite. For instance, they both limited the responsibilities of each associate and established the obligations, the rights of all parties and the penalties in case of violations. Also like the contracts of a private accomandita, the legal agreements of weavers establish the duration of the enterprise and its capital share.

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97 Archivio della Congregazione dei Buonomini di San Martino, Fondo Gianfigliazzi, 1.4.0.1, insert 9, loose sheets.
98 On the renewals of contracts see Archivio della Congregazione dei Buonomini di San Martino, Fondo Gianfigliazzi, 1.4.0.1, insert 9, loose sheets.
100 Archivio della Congregazione dei Buonomini di San Martino, Fondo Gianfigliazzi, 1.4.0.1, insert 8, loose sheets.
101 See for instance the companies of Corbinelli, Strozzi, Rinieri and Cambi: ASF, Mercanzia, 10832, fols. 19v. 23v-24r, 55r-56v. 206v. On Spatiano’s company, ASF, Mercanzia, 10832, fol.9v.
102 Viale Ferrero, Arazzi 23.
However, the Arazzeria was not identical to a Florentine private *accomandita* as one of the parties involved was the Duke of Florence, Cosimo I de’ Medici. His function is clearly defined in the contracts of the weavers signed by the Ducal secretary Riccio, on behalf of Cosimo, and the master-weavers themselves. As emerges from the contracts, Cosimo was not the owner of the workshops, which remained private entities run by the masters. Instead, the duke was an investor. Cosimo was obliged to pay for the tapestries he commissioned from the workshop and gave the Flemish masters annual compensation for material and production expenses. Moreover, he owned the looms and paid for the accommodation of weavers.\textsuperscript{103}

The presence of the duke greatly affected the nature and aims of the enterprise. Unlike most private investors, as Angelica Frezza has noted, Cosimo was not primarily interested in earning money from the enterprise.\textsuperscript{104} The duke, combining private and public purposes, sought to foster the prosperity of the Tuscan economy and enhance the prestige of his government. Him aim was to have luxurious artefacts crafted locally, embellish the seats of his power, as listed in the contracts, and stimulate the internal production.\textsuperscript{105}

Overall, however, this Ducal investment mirrored the economic trends which led to the popularity of the limited partnership company, and was almost certainly affected by these wider developments in business practices. Nevertheless, the Arazzeria obeyed different political and economic principles and because of these peculiarities, it should be defined as a Ducal *accomandita*.

The Arazzeria was not an isolated example of this Ducal business model. As discussed in chapter 1, there are several examples of this practice, contracts drawn up by a notary, that conjoined public interests and private investment in the form of a Ducal *accomandita*.\textsuperscript{106} One example is the company established by Cosimo and two *soci accomandatari*, Lionardo Malipieri and Bartolomeo Claudio, for the production of saltpetre.

\textsuperscript{103} Meoni, *Arazzi*, 35.

\textsuperscript{104} Frezza, *Scritti*, 96-97.

\textsuperscript{105} On the artworks mentioned in weavers’ contracts see ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 9330, ser. Giovan Battista Giordani, 1546-1547, fols.127v; 128r; 131v, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 529, doc. 65; 534, doc.66

\textsuperscript{106} See chapter 1, section 2.
(potassium nitrate). This substance was used in a military context as an explosive and ammunition, as Cosimo himself noted in a letter about the supplies for the fortress of Portoferraio in 1551.\textsuperscript{107} In this document (doc.19), signed on 3rd April 1557, we read:

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Lionardo Malipieri, Venetian Messer, and the philosopher Bartolomeo Claudio Romano have offered and proposed to His Excellence Cosimo Medici, Duke of Florence, that they found a company for the production of good and real saltpetre, employing common salt. The business will operate thanks to the work, industriousness and virtue of Messer Bartolomeo.\textsuperscript{108}
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The contract, valid for twenty-five years, stated the obligations and rights of the investor Cosimo and two managers.\textsuperscript{109} The duke agreed “to cover all the needed expenses for buying common salt, instruments and furnishings to produce potassium nitrate. Also, Cosimo will provide the rooms, wood and anything needed for the production.”\textsuperscript{110}

Moreover, the duke paid a salary to Lionardo and Bartolomeo of seventy ducati.\textsuperscript{111} Lastly, Cosimo agreed to rent for his managers a “honourable house in Florence”, refurbishing the living room, bedrooms and kitchen.\textsuperscript{112}

Such legal conditions, signed by Bartolomeo Claudio and Lionardo Malipieri, are paralleled in the Medici agreements with the Flemish masters.\textsuperscript{113} Similar to Malipieri and Claudio, the Flemings and their associates administered the workshop, while Cosimo largely

\textsuperscript{107} ASF, Miscellanea Medicea, 24, insert 7, fols. 1r-5v. The contract is mentioned by Calonaci, “Economy”, 313 and Diaz, Toscana, 145. On the use of saltpetre in the Tuscan army, see ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 343, fols.122r; 561r; 410, fols.216r-218r; 454r; 619, fol.83r.


\textsuperscript{109} Appendix, doc.19.

\textsuperscript{110} Appendix, doc.19.

\textsuperscript{111} Appendix, doc. 19.

\textsuperscript{112} Appendix, doc.19: “una casa honorata nella citta di Fiorenza”.

\textsuperscript{113} ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 9330, ser Giovan Battista Giordani, 1546-1547, fols.131r-133v, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 528-532, doc. 65.
covered the expenses. In return for his investment, Cosimo agreed to “get half of the earnings that the saltpetre would bring” and buy “for the needs of his state five hundred thousand [Florentine] pounds every five years” for thirty ducati each thousand.\textsuperscript{114}\ As for the tapestry workshop, while he was deputising the management to other associates, his \textit{complimentari}, the duke invested in a company for his and public interest. He sought to increase internal production, employment and wealth within the State and, ultimately, the prestige of his government. However, Cosimo was not the sole investor in the workshops, as analysed in next section.

4. Bernardo Saliti and Cristofano Rinieri as Associates and Suppliers of The Arazzeria

Within the entrepreneurship of the Arazzeria, there was another category of investors beside Cosimo: the associates and the suppliers of the Flemish masters, namely, Bernardo Saliti and Cristofano Rinieri. Saliti was the associate of Nicholas Karcher and Rinieri acted as the partner of Jan Rost. In this section, I will analyse their role in the workshops.

So far, I have investigated the entrepreneurial strategy and aims of Bernardo Saliti to import tapestry-making in Florence. However, I have not touched upon the personal and economic advantages Saliti envisaged by venturing into this enterprise. His letter to Gianfigliazzi, revealed the economic and mercantile advantages Saliti initially sought.\textsuperscript{115} First of all, the merchant requested several tax exemptions for himself, his family and the Flemings to favour the entrance of materials in Tuscany. He asked for the reduction of duties on “spun and oiled wool [...] subtracting the weight of oil”.\textsuperscript{116} Cosimo, who commented on the same sheet, agreed with Saliti.\textsuperscript{117} Also, the merchant requested tax

\textsuperscript{114} ASF, Miscellanea Medicea, 24, insert 7, fol.3v-4r: “partecipar per metà di tutto l’utile e il guadagno si tratta da detti salnitri”. “sia obligato a pigliare dalla compagnia di detta fabrica per i bisogni dello stato suo, cinquecento migliaia di detti salnitri in termine di anni cinque”.

\textsuperscript{115} ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1170a, insert II, busta 10, fol.31r-v, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 499-500, doc.17.

\textsuperscript{116} ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1170a, insert II, busta 10, fol.31v, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 500, doc.17: “lane filate et unte [...] havendo il peso difalco overo tara del lolio”.

\textsuperscript{117} Appendix, doc.1.
exemptions for the Florentine tapestries exported abroad.\footnote{Appendix, doc.1.} Lastly, he asked for duty privileges to trade materials for himself and his brothers. Cosimo partially agreed on that, as it possibly was not relevant to him.\footnote{Appendix, doc.1.}

The mercantile and economic advantages sought in the letter are not limited to tax exemptions. Notably, Saliti and Boni legally acted as guarantors in the contract of Nicholas Karcher.\footnote{ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 9330, ser Giovan Battista Giordani, 1546-1547, fol.127r, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 536, doc. 66.} In the note, we read: “Niccolò Boni and Bernardo di Zanobi Saliti were the guarantors and they were obliged to the Reverend Lord Maggiordomo [Pierfrancesco Riccio] for the master Nicola [Karcher]”\footnote{ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 9330, ser Giovan Battista Giordani, 1546-1547, fol.129r, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 536, doc. 66: “Niccolo Boni e Bernardo di Zanobi Saliti cittadini fiorentini stettono mallevadori et obbligati apresso il decto R[evere]ndo S[ign]or Maiordomo per il detto M[aestr]o Nicola”}. Moreover:

\begin{quote}
Nicolò Boni and Bernardo di Zanobi Saliti, even though they were not obliged by this solemn declaration [Karcher’s contract], spontaneously they obliged themselves and their heirs at the presence of the Reverend Lord Maggiordomo [Riccio] to be in charge of the expromission [of Karcher’s insolencies] in the best way”.
\end{quote}

In the contract, by pledging to cover the workshop’s debts, Saliti and Boni acted as associates of Karcher.\footnote{Appendix, doc.8: “Niccolo Boni e Bernardo Saliti sappiendo non esser tenuti per solenne decleratione, spontaneamente, et per se te loro heredi, et in loro nomi et come expromissori e principali principalmente et in tutto obligandosi et in ogni miglior modo”}. Indeed, despite the loss of the Flemish masters’ private documentation, it seems that Saliti actively collaborated with Karcher. Therefore, the workshop was effectively a sort of limited company, established by associates with different tasks in the business. While Karcher was responsible for the production, Saliti funded and invested in the workshop. In a long unpublished letter, dated 2nd February 1550 (doc. 20), which openly denounced “the calumnies of master Nicholas Karcher”, Saliti explained his

\begin{enumerate}
\item On materials’ trade see chapter 5, section 1-2-3-4.
\item On materials’ trade see chapter 5, section 1-2-3-4.
\end{enumerate}
role in the workshop as an associate of the master-weaver and supplier. In this evidence, Saliti declared that he was forming “a company” alongside Karcher and the court. He defined the different tasks of the associates of the workshop. Karcher dealt with the production phase, being “in charge of dyeing and all the other works”. Saliti acted as the supplier to Karcher, providing materials such as silk. By doing this, Saliti generated revenue for his family business as in the letter he asked for reimbursement for a quantity of silk he had supplied to Karcher. He was also the associate of Karcher as he covered the expenses of the workshop, which were later repaid by Cosimo, in accordance with the terms of the contract. As Karcher’s associate, it appeared that Saliti shared earnings, and also debts, with the Flemish masters.

Nevertheless, as this new evidence testified, the business with Karcher was not entirely successful as Saliti claimed he was burdened by debts and on bad terms with the Flemish master. Saliti did not appear in Karcher’s contract renewal as it seems that he was substituted by another investor, Bernardo Martelli de Bettini. From 1550, the figure of Saliti disappeared from the documents of the tapestry workshops. In a letter of 1561, already referenced in chapter 1, Saliti recalled that he brought Karcher to Florence, stressing his role as the Flemish master’s first associate. In the same document, Saliti regretted he could not earn much from this venture, due to professional disagreements, possibly with Karcher himself.

Like Nicholas Karcher, Jan Rost also had a prominent associate and supplier from 1546. On 5th November of that year, Rost presented three guarantors for his contracts with the Medici court: Bartolomeo di Lorenzo Gualterotti, Raffaello di Leonardo Nasi and

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124 ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1175, fol.713r: “maestro Nicholo Charchera mi dette calumnia che io havevo grossamente in mano delle sustantie della compagnia [Arazzeria].”

125 Appendix, doc.20: “compagnia”.

126 Appendix, doc.20: “atendendo lui al tignere et alli lavori”.

127 Appendix, doc.20.

128 Appendix, doc.20.

129 Appendix, doc.20.

130 ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 9932, fol.373v.

131 ASF, Miscellanea Medicea, 27/II, fol.1029r.

132 Appendix, doc.4.
Bernardo di Cristofano Rinieri. This legal act displayed within his workshop, as in the case of Karcher’s with Saliti and Boni, the presence of intermediate figures between the duke and the master, who participated as guarantors, investors and associates in the enterprise. As emerges from the following documentation, Jan Rost’s most important associate was the Rinieri family, and in particular, Cristofano (or Cristoforo) di Bernardo Rinieri (1479-1554). Cristofano Rinieri was a member of the elite of merchant-courtiers. After the establishment of the Duchy (1532), this mercantile elite became integrated into the new state bureaucracy, guaranteeing favour and the alliance with the ruler and the prosperity of their private businesses.

The life and activities of Cristofano Rinieri are well documented by the scholarly literature, even if his involvement in tapestry-making has been overlooked. The Rinieri family is first recorded in the thirteenth century in the Arte del Cambio (guild of moneylenders and bankers). Their membership in this guild continued until the sixteenth century. In the fourteenth century, Piero di Neri Rinieri actively participated in Bardi companies in England. In the fifteenth century, the Banco Rinieri was one of the most established Florentine banks. Bernardo di Stoldo (1427-1508) wrote a detailed Ricordanza (record book) (1457-1486), recording mercantile and personal matters. Bernardo invested in wool and silk, also in the form of family companies. In particular, he became a prominent

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133 ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 9330, ser Giovan Battista Giordani, 1546-1547, fol.153r-v, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 538-540, doc.70.


135 Battista, Ricordanze, 13. On Rinieri family, ASF, Ceramelli Papiani, 4023, fols. 1-15; BNCF, Collezione Passerini, 191 (Rinieri), n. 14, fols. 1r-3v.


137 Battista, Ricordanze, 18; De Roover, Banco, 133.

138 ASF, Corporazioni religiose, serie 95, San Francesco di Firenze, 212, fols. 1 right; 150 left-right, in Battista, Ricordanze, 71-144.
setaiolo grosso (silk-merchant), the major investor in a silk and auroseric textile company and a lanaiolo di garbo (merchant of garbo wool).\textsuperscript{139} From 1480, the mercantile companies and the Rinieri family bank suffered from a severe economic and financial crisis. Between 1480 and 1490, Bernardo Rinieri was declared bankrupt.\textsuperscript{140}

Bernardo’s youngest child, Cristofano, was destined to re-establish the fortune of the family, being also involved in the importation of tapestry-making. From a young age, Cristofano was involved in the family business: the bank and the mercantile companies of wool and silk.\textsuperscript{141} From 1517, he began his public career as an administrator and magistrate of the Republic and the Arte del Cambio and in the 1520s, he invested in several silk companies in the form of accomandita.\textsuperscript{142} In 1528, he founded a company under his name for trading silk and silk textiles.\textsuperscript{143} He purchased raw silk all across the Mediterranean basin and Italy. In Florence, the raw material was then manufactured into precious textiles, such as taffeta, brocades, velvet and other auroseric textiles. The finished products were shipped abroad for international trade in major mercantile centres in Europe, such as Lyon or Antwerp, and the Eastern Mediterranean basin.\textsuperscript{144} Also, Cristofano and his son Dietisalvi in 1545 established in Antwerp a mercantile company and bank, expanding the commercial networks of the Rinieri family. Cristofano funded the company in the form of an accomandita in 1545 with a starting capital of 4000 golden ducati, while Dietisalvi moved to Antwerp, acting as the manager.\textsuperscript{145} Dietisalvi’s documentation is partially existing (1547-1551).\textsuperscript{146} Cristofano frequently sent to his son finished or semi-finished silk textiles, such as

\textsuperscript{139} Battista, Ricordanze, 20.
\textsuperscript{140} ASF, Mercanzia, 88, fol.420r, in Battista, Ricordanze, 27.
\textsuperscript{141} Battista, Ricordanze, 29-30.
\textsuperscript{142} Battista, Ricordanze, 29.
\textsuperscript{143} Battista, Ricordanze, 30-32.
\textsuperscript{144} Battista, Ricordanze, 32.
\textsuperscript{145} ASF, Mercanzia, 10832, fol. 55v
\textsuperscript{146} ASF, Libri di Commercio e Famiglia, 4416, fols. 1r-222v; 4417, fols. 1r-287r.
taffeta, telette or drapes, for selling.\textsuperscript{147} Meanwhile, Cristofano in return received the profits of textile sales in Antwerp and raw materials, such as flax.\textsuperscript{148}

In civic public life, Cristofano was a key member of the newly-established Medici Duchy.\textsuperscript{149} His alliance with the Medici vastly benefitted from his personal relationship with Maria Salviati, the mother of Cosimo. Cristofano served Maria as her secretary and later he became one of the closest collaborators of the young Cosimo.\textsuperscript{150} As Giorgio Vasari notes, Cristofano was Cosimo's most trusted ally at court, as the merchant owned “the ears of the duke”, alongside the Ducal secretary Pierfrancesco Riccio.\textsuperscript{151} During the Duchy, he was appointed to a variety of institutional and administrative offices, such as magistrate of the Dodici Buonomini di San Martino (1542-1547), Procuratore (1543), personal advisor to Cosimo (1544), member of the Otto di Pratica (1546; 1550; 1552), Captain of the Parte Guelfa (1545), secretary of the Mercanzia (1551) and administrator of the Palazzo (Procuratore del Palazzo) (1551) and head of the Ducal mint (1555).\textsuperscript{152}

Cristofano was also involved in artistic matters, determining the success of artists and architects in Ducal Florence. Already, in the 1520s, he commissioned several unidentified paintings from Giuliano Bugiardini (1476-1555).\textsuperscript{153} In the same decade, he purchased the painting of Abduction of Dinah (fig.2.5) left unfinished by Fra Bartolomeo and coloured by Bugiardini.\textsuperscript{154} Notably, the architect and sculptor Tribolo was closely linked to Cristofano. As Vasari writes, the banker encouraged Tribolo to return to Florence from

\textsuperscript{147} Copies of letters with inventories of textiles sent to Antwerp from Cristofano are recorded in ASF, Libri di Commercio e Famiglia, 4417, fols. 33r-34r, 61v-62r; 83v-84r; 96r-v; 97v; 121v-122v.
\textsuperscript{148} ASF, Libri di Commercio e Famiglia, 4416, fols. 28r; 61r; 120v; 130v.
\textsuperscript{149} Battista, \textit{Ricordanze}, 34.
\textsuperscript{150} Pegazzano, “Rinieri”, 34.
\textsuperscript{151} Vasari, \textit{Vite} (1568), vol.V, 520: “Cristofano Rinieri, che aveva gli orecchi del Duca”.
\textsuperscript{152} See Battista, \textit{Ricordanze}, 38.
\textsuperscript{154} Vasari, \textit{Vite} (1568), vol.IV, 102.
Bologna in 1537 (doc.67). Rinieri recommended Tribolo to Cosimo for the redecoration of the Medici villa of Castello. He also commissioned Tribolo for the reconstruction of his family’s villa and a fountain, today lost, in Covacchia (1534 ca.) and a statue of a *Fluvial God* for Rinieri’s villa in Castello (1540s).

Like Tribolo, the painter Francesco Salviati (1510-1563) took advantage of Rinieri’s protection and patronage. The banker commissioned from Salviati a copy of the *Allegory of Charity* (fig.2.6), for the seat of the Ufficio Della Decima (magistrate in charge of collecting taxes). Notably, Cristofano also suggested the painter for the decoration of the Sala delle

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156 On Tribolo see Alessandra Giannotti, “Niccolò Pericolo, detto il Tribolo”, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol.82 (2015), 379-386.


159 Salviati painted a series of *Allegory of Charity* in the 1540s. Vasari mentioned two versions. Rinieri’s *Charity* is generally identified in the copy of Uffizi; however, it can be identified in the panel of Palazzo Corsini (Florence). Mortari, *Salviati*, 113, n.16; 114, n.18. On Salviati’s versions of *Allegory of Charity* see Monbieg Goguel, *Salviati*, 190-191, n.62; Mortari, *Salviati*, 113-114, n.16-19.
Udienze in the Palazzo Vecchio.\textsuperscript{160} In 1543, Salviati obtained the commission for the Sala from Cosimo and he painted \textit{The Stories of Furius Camillus} (fig.2.7).\textsuperscript{161}

The arrival of the Flemish masters in 1545 in Florence represented the perfect occasion for Cristofano as a banker, merchant of textiles, courtier and patron of artists. He openly supported the importation of foreign weaving techniques since the arrival of Jan Rost in late August 1545. On 16th September, Pierfrancesco Riccio, the secretary of Cosimo, recorded that Rinieri talked with the duke, on behalf of Rost, about the accommodation and beds for the Flemish weavers, revealing his active role in the importation of tapestry-making and his close connection with the new incomers.\textsuperscript{162} He was not merely acting as courtier in this matter but as a setaiolo, merchant and banker. In fact, despite the partial loss of the documentation, it appears that Cristofano established his company (\textit{Cristofano Rinieri et compagni}) as a supplier for raw materials to the tapestry workshop.\textsuperscript{163}

More importantly, it seems that Cristofano, alongside his son Bernardo, was the personal financial agent and associate of Jan Rost and his workshop, partially funding the Flemish master through his family mercantile company. Seemingly, as Saliti did for Karcher, Rinieri provided for Rost the starting investment, anticipated the expenses which were repaid by Cosimo and covered costs of the workshop, excluded from the contract. We can trace records of Rinieri’s supply of materials to the Arazzeria in the Ducal account books of the Guardaroba Medicea and the Scrittoio delle fortezze e fabbriche.\textsuperscript{164} The tight relationship between the Rinieri family and Rost is recorded in the private receipt books of Bernardo Rinieri, which are still unpublished (doc. 21).\textsuperscript{165} Their partnership lasted until 1564,

\textsuperscript{160} Vasari, \textit{Vite} (1568), vol.V, 520-521.


\textsuperscript{162} ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 613, insert 14, fol.25v, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 508, doc.25

\textsuperscript{163} For instance, ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 101, insert 1545, fol.8v; ASF, Scrittoio delle Fortezze e Fabbriche, Serie Fabbriche Medicee, 1, fol.173 left-right. Payment to Rinieri’s company appears in Medici documentation. See chapter 5, sections 1-2.

\textsuperscript{164} See the previous note.

\textsuperscript{165} ASF, Corporazioni religiose, serie 95, San Francesco di Firenze, 221, fol.9r.
when, as a new piece of evidence illustrates, Giovanni Rost, son of Jan Rost, and the heirs of Cristofano quarrelled over some insolvencies (865.5.16.6 scudi) (doc. 22).\textsuperscript{166}

The new archival documents suggest that Cristofano Rinieri and his family, as prominent members of the Ducal court, took advantage of a Medici project of domesticating tapestry-making for their private mercantile and banking activities. Firstly, by subsidising the workshop, Cristofano Rinieri favoured the importation of a new weaving technique and strengthened his alliance with Cosimo and his position in the court. Moreover, as Rost’s supplier of materials, repaid by Cosimo, he generated revenues for his family’s mercantile company.

Cristofano’s son Bernardo was particularly involved in the financial agency of Jan Rost. Bernardo acted as a guarantor for Rost in his two contracts of 1546 and 1551. Therefore, as Riccio noted in a letter to Cosimo (18th February 1552), Bernardo and his family “presided over” the workshop of Jan Rost “handing 50 scudi weekly for its management”.\textsuperscript{167} As Riccio warned Cosimo, without the financial help of the Rinieri family, the existence of the workshop could be jeopardised.\textsuperscript{168}

Jan Rost was not the only one benefitting from the agency of Cristofano Rinieri in regards to tapestry-making. Francesco Salviati, who previously created cartoons for the Farnese family, was involved in a commission of a tapestry set, \textit{Tarquinius and Lavinia}, today lost, privately commissioned by Rinieri and Rost himself.\textsuperscript{169} The set propagated this newly imported weaving technique and “advertised” Salviati as a cartoonist. The painter, thanks to this set, was included by Cosimo in the team of painters, who designed the

\textsuperscript{166} ASF, Miscellanea Medicea, 516, insert 36, fols.28 right-32 left.
\textsuperscript{167} ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 613, insert 21, fol.6v: “governare”; “Bernardo porgeva ogni sabbato 50 scudi”.
\textsuperscript{168} ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 613, insert 21, 6v-7r.
\textsuperscript{169} Monbeig Goguel, \textit{Salviati}, 297-299, n.120. There are two preparatory sketches, in Louvre and Nationalmuseum of Stockholm, attributed to Salviati, for this tapestry set. Catherine Monbeig Goguel, \textit{Inventaire General Dessins Italiens} (Paris, Musees Nationaux, 1972), 120-121, n.143; Monbeig Goguel, \textit{Salviati}, 298, n.120.
cartoons for the *Stories of Joseph*. He provided the cartoon for *Pharaoh’s Dream* (fig. 2.8).

The chapter continues the investigation started in chapter 1 and analyses the economic and entrepreneurial perspective of tapestry-making during the first phase of the production, managed by the Flemish masters (1545-1553). In accordance with the aims and the methodological approach of the thesis, the research contributes to holistically reconsidering the production, going beyond the traditional narrative, and enriching the study of this historical context, economic trends, political modifications, the Medici state-building, mercantile networks and the figure of the merchant Bernardo Saliti.

The workshops were established as commercial enterprises thanks to Bernardo Saliti and his mercantile network. However, his mercantile career has been partially reconstructed and his involvement in the Arazzeria has not been thoroughly studied. The chapter unearthed new archival evidence from the State Archives of Florence and Modena and the private archive of the Bartolini Salimbeni family in Vicchio del Mugello on Saliti and his family and their mercantile activities in Nuremberg and Ferrara. The new evidence and the analysis unveil the entrepreneurial strategy of Saliti which motivated the introduction of tapestry-making in sixteenth-century Florence. Section 2 investigates how Saliti put into practise his strategy by interacting with the potential investors, the Medici family, and the functioning of the networks of intermediaries and associates, namely Bongianni di Jacopo Gianfigliazzi and Niccolo di Pietro Boni. Also, in this case, the analysis has considered new archival evidence related to the Gianfigliazzi family from the private archive of the Congregazione dei Buonomini di San Martino (Florence). The research on Saliti and his mercantile networks contributes to the study of the foundation of the Arazzeria and the role of merchants in Ducal Florence.

The study of Saliti restored the economic and mercantile perspective on the introduction of tapestry-making in sixteenth-century Florence and led to assessing the entrepreneurship of the workshops. From the analysis conducted in the chapter, it emerges that the tapestry workshops of the Flemish masters were complex financial companies and

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171 Monbeig Goguel, *Salviati*, 297-299, n.120; 290, n.4.
enterprises divided into different categories of investors. The role of the duke is surely central. As regulated in the Flemish masters’ contracts, Cosimo acted as the leading investor. He vastly invested in production, covering manufacturing costs and renting the houses of weavers. However, he did not own the workshops, which remained independent and autonomous companies. The research unveils that the workshops were organised as an *accomandita*, limited partnership companies, in which operated different categories. The duke was the investor and the masters acted as the managers of the workshops. The research on the *accomandita* contribute to reconstruct wider economic trends.

The typology of the *accomandita* was becoming increasingly popular in sixteenth-century Florence, due to the consolidation of the Duchy and economic causes, and the research posited the entrepreneurship of the Arazzeria within these trends. By doing it, the chapter considers new archival evidence from the Tribunale della Mercanzia and the Miscellanea Medicea (ASF).

The entrepreneurial structure of the Arazzeria also unveils the new class of merchant-courtiers, who descended from the city’s patrician families. After the formation of the Duchy, the most prominent families of the city entered the Medici bureaucracy, collaborating with the functioning of the state. Meanwhile, they continued their private mercantile activities. The Arazzeria and other Ducal initiatives were entangled with the economic and mercantile interests of prominent merchants and courtiers, like Cristofano Rinieri, his son Bernardo Rinieri and Bernardo Saliti. As new archival evidence from the Miscellanea Medicea and Corporazioni religiose sopresse (ASF) shows, the Rinieri family and Bernardo Saliti acted as private investors, suppliers and associates of the masters and managers of the workshops. The research contributes to studying the Medici state-building policies, bureaucracy and the mercantile interests of elite classes.

In the next chapter, I will continue the research on the entrepreneurship of the workshops, turning my attention to the Flemish masters and their mode of production.
Chapter 3
The Heterodoxy of Flemish Masters and Tapestry Weavers (1545-1553)

On 24th June 1545, in the letter that sealed the agreement between the court and
Jan Rost and Nicolas Karcher, Bernardo Saliti remarked on the benefits of the arrival of the
Flemish weavers in Florence.¹ He noted that the establishment of the Arazzeria, “an
honourable endeavour”:

will bring inestimable benefit to the city because my friends [Rost and Karcher] have
resolute intentions to become Florentines and put all the perfection of which they
are capable into practice. I hope since His Excellency [Cosimo] is doing it with good
intention, this endeavour will flourish in a few years as it has never done before in
any other lands.²

If in chapter 2, I reassessed the workshops from the perspective of the Flemish
masters’ associates and investors – Duke Cosimo de’ Medici, Bernardo Saliti and Cristofano
Rinieri – this chapter seeks to examine the domestication of tapestry-making in Ducal
Florence from the perspective of the Flemish masters themselves - Nicolas Karcher, Jan
Rost, and all their weavers. I reassess the organisation of the workshops and their modes of
production as well as considering how and if the Flemings adapted their textile production
to the local manufacturing context, and integrated themselves within the Florentine social
fabric. The perspective of the Flemish masters and their living and working conditions, has
been scarcely considered. The chapter seeks to fully restore the presence of Flemish
weavers in the literature, highlighting the organisation of the workshops, their remarkable
entrepreneurial capabilities, their exorbitant wages and their distinct individuality and
national identities.

¹ ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1170a, insert II, busta 10, folio 32r-v, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 504-505, doc.21.
² Appendix, doc.2: “honorevole impresa”; “et farà a la città un beneficio inestimabile perche questi
amici mia vengono con l’animo resoluto di divenire fiorentini et di mettere lo exercitio in citta in
tutta quella perfezione che sia possibile et certo che spero andandoci sua Excellentia di buone
ghambe che non passerà molti anni che la farà piu florido in quella citta [Florence] che in altra terra
dove la sia”. 
A key element of this chapter is a consideration of the encounter between the Florentine manufacturing system and the Netherlandish model of tapestry-making. Indeed, the settlement of weavers in Tuscany brought together two cultures, with different social conventions and business models. This analysis introduces the theme of non-local communities of workers in Florence and more generally in Renaissance Italy. There is not a comprehensive study of the role of foreign communities in Italy in the scholarly literature, besides some brief overviews such as Joseph Bryne’s.\(^3\) In fact, scholars have mainly investigated this theme locally by cities and by nationalities. For instance, in regards to Rome, Margaret Harvey has analysed the English community (1362-1420) or Clifford Mass, the German incomers.\(^4\) Interestingly, Matteo Sanfilippo has studied the theme by professional category, investigating the immigration of foreign artists and artisans to Renaissance Rome.\(^5\) Donatella Calabi and Paola Lanaro had investigated this subject thematically by analysing the spaces and architectures of foreign communities in Rome and the Veneto.\(^6\) Samuel Cohn has investigated foreign workers in Florence, mainly during the fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries.\(^7\) Veronica Vestri looked at how Germanic soldiers, the Lanzi, settled in Florence from 1541 onwards.\(^8\) However, there is as yet no comprehensive study on the foreign workers’ communities, such as wool and linen weavers, hatmakers or soldiers, in Ducal Florence.\(^9\) As noted in chapter 1, the immigration of

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\(^6\) Donatella Calabi and Paola Lanaro, *La città italiana e i luoghi degli stranieri* (Rome, Laterza, 1998), VII-XVII.


\(^9\) See section 5.
foreigners to Florence during Cosimo’s reign was effectively an importation of specific professions for the benefit and prosperity of the Duchy. This chapter seeks to enrich our knowledge of non-local communities in Ducal Florence by analysing the arrival of the Flemish tapestry-weavers and their settlement in the city in this context.

1. Jan Rost and Nicholas Karcher as Merchant-Weavers

As highlighted in chapter 2, the Arazzeria was structured as a complex commercial entreprise in the form of a Ducal accomandita. This interpretation might suggest that the masters acted solely as the managers of the workshop, but analysis of the documentation suggests they have a more complex role. As Saliti’s letters suggests, the Flemish weavers started negotiations at the end of January 1545. Notably, the weavers themselves appointed Saliti as their agent and later as associate, denoting an activism and independence rather unusual to the role of accomandita managers.

The first contracts (20th October 1546) between the Flemish masters and the court regulated the role of the weavers and their collaborators in Florence in the Ducal company-accomandita. Overall, within the paradigm of the Florentine accomandita, we would expect that the Flemish masters acted solely as the managers of their respective workshops. These legal documents are similar to the partnership contracts of Florentine textile industries listing the responsibilities and duties of the managers. Like the Florentine managers, the Flemish masters could only work in the company and were subjected to the policy decisions of the investing partners, dictated by Cosimo, Saliti and Rinieri. Indeed, the role of the investing partner, Cosimo I, appeared dominant in these documents. For

10 See chapter 1, section 2.
11 ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 9330, ser Giovan Battista Giordani, 1546-1547, fols 127r-129v; 131r-133v, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 528-532, doc.65; 532-537; doc. 66; 582-587, doc.147; 600-605; doc.147.
12 Goldthwaite, Economy, 318.
13 Goldthwaite, Economy, 318.
instance, the weavers were obliged to supply the tapestries required by the duke as a priority.\textsuperscript{14}

However, as emerges from the contracts, the masters were not merely managers. Unlike other managers of Florentine textile workshops, the contracts left a considerable degree of entrepreneurial independence to the Flemish weavers and freedom of action in their primary market: “it is permissible for Giovanni [Jan Rost] to produce all types of tapestries, and for any sum, in Florence, its dominion and foreign countries”.\textsuperscript{15} In return, the Flemish masters pledged to keep running continuously “at least 12 looms”.\textsuperscript{16}

Overall, the Flemings superceded the role of managers, instead acting, to some extent, in the role of merchants for their products. This feature is a peculiarity of the Arazzeria. As noted, there was typically a stark division of functions between workers, such as the weavers, as managers of workshops, and the capitalist investor-merchants (\textit{setaioli} or \textit{lanaioi}). Merchants organised the production through the putting-out system, subcontracting single steps to homeworking artisans.\textsuperscript{17} Merchants owned materials and textiles and were in charge of trading the final products. Conversely, weavers or other artisans involved in the putting-out system did not own or trade the textiles they produced. There were some exceptions of merchant-weavers, such as the silk weaver Iacopo del Tedesco (first half of the sixteenth century).\textsuperscript{18} Occasionally managers could rise to the role of merchants, as the case of the goldbeater Francesco Stagi, discussed in chapter 5, demonstrates. In the main, however, the entrepreneurial freedom granted to the Flemish masters did reflect the Florentine manufacturing mode of production. It seems instead that

\textsuperscript{14} Meoni, \textit{Arazzi}, 38.
\textsuperscript{16} ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 9330, se Giovan Battista Giordani, 1546-1547, fols. 127v. 131v, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 529, doc.65. 534, doc.66: “almeno di continuo con xii [12] [telaia]”.
\textsuperscript{17} Goldthwaite, \textit{Economy}, 318-322.
\textsuperscript{18} On Jacopo del Tedesco, Goldthwaite, “Silk Weaver”, 69-126. Other cases of artisan-entrepreneurs are discussed in Goldthwaite, \textit{Economy}, 357-363.
they essentially reiterated the Netherlandish business system of merchant-weavers, though limited by the terms of the contracts.

The figure of the merchant-weaver is a characteristic of Netherlandish tapestry manufacture and especially of Brussels in the first half of the sixteenth century.\(^1\) Rost and Karcher, who were educated and trained in Brussels in the 1510s-1520s, would have been familiar with this model.\(^2\) The most famous examples of merchant-weavers included Pasquier Grenier, a protagonist of the tapestry industry in fifteenth-century Tournai, or the sixteenth century Brussels-based Pieter van Aelst, the merchant-weaver of Raphael’s tapestries for Leo X. Others include Willem and Jan Dermoyen, Willem de Kempeneer and the Pannemaker family.\(^3\) These merchant-weavers managed their workshops, performing a plurality of activities. They invested in the supply of materials and organised the different stages of production, assisted by skilled weavers. Moreover, they were in charge of selling their wares to private clients or in the free market.\(^4\) Guy Delmarcel compares the function of these merchant-weavers to contemporary film producers.\(^5\) These Flemish masters, consequently, due to their entrepreneurial independence, gained considerable self-awareness and social status.\(^6\)

A letter by Rost to Cosimo, not previously thoroughly analysed in the scholarship, illustrates how the master took on the mantle of the merchant-weaver in charge of his workshop’s needs.\(^7\) In the letter, dated 17th November 1545, Rost wrote:

> I hope that His Excellence [Cosimo] will put other painters to work on the cartoons of the tapestries that we have to compose. Bronzino alone cannot cope with creating all the designs [cartoons] we need. I have more than fifteen workers here who want

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\(^{4}\) On the definition of merchant-weavers’ activities in Flemish tapestry production, see Delmarcel, “La Tapisserie ancienne”, 33-35.

\(^{5}\) Company and Puig, *Arte*, 34.


\(^{7}\) The document is transcripted by Adelson, “Patronage”, 516, doc.38 and mentioned by Meoni, *Arazzi*, 42.
to earn money working, besides having to eat and drink. Alternatively, they can be paid for not working, but they need some donations that make them happy until they will work again”.26

The same mercantile and entrepreneurial independence appears in a long petition, recorded in the Medici documentation and still unpublished (doc.23).27 In the petition, written after the renewal of contracts in 1549, Rost listed a series of requests to the Medici court.28 First of all, he asked to modify terms for the management of personnel. He wrote: “if I can not keep 300 workers in the Arazzeria, I will host 50 children of the city and the State”.29 Moreover, he openly required more money (6000 scudi) for the company, which the Flemish masters pledged to pay back in six years.30 Rost also requested the purchase of “four borders of tapestries, woven in the first year [1545] without any commission”.31 Therefore, as this document testifies, Rost acted as the head of his workshop, who interacted directly with his investor, namely Cosimo. The petition is a remarkable piece of evidence of the entrepreneurial independence of Rost and his mercantile mentality.32 It shows that the Flemish masters were not simply managers, but they were effectively merchants, following the Netherlandish tradition of merchant-weavers.

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26 ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 613, insert 14, fol. 30r, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 516, doc.38: “noi desidereremo che la Excellentia vostra facessi mettere altro che un pittore a lavorare li cartoni de panni che habbiamo da fare. Perche el Bronzino solo non potra resistere a darci quelli disegni habbiamo di bisogno. Et noi ci troviamo addosso circa 15 lavoranti et el continuo ne viene che oltre al mangiare e el bere vogliono guadagnare l’opera lavorando o essere pagati ancora che non lavorino. Pero e necessario dare loro da lavorare o che V[ostra] S[ignoria] faccia loro qualche donativo che si contentino fino non lavorano”.

27 ASF, Miscellanea Medicea, 516, insert 36, fols.27 right; 28 left; 32 right.

28 Appendix, doc.23.

29 ASF, Miscellanea Medicea, 516, insert 36, fol.27 right: “no[n] si potessi mant[ene]re detti 300 lavoranti, ma in quel cambio dice terrebbe 50 putti del suo stato o della città”.

30 ASF, Miscellanea Medicea, 516, insert 36, fol.28 left.

31 ASF, Miscellanea Medicea, 516, insert 36, fol.27 right: “quattro fregi grandi, che senza ordine d’alcuno volse a lavorare il primo anno”.

32 ASF, Miscellanea Medicea, 516, insert 36, fols. 27 right; 28 left; 32 right.
It appears that the same weavers had previously exported this Netherlandish model for tapestry workshops to Ferrara from 1535. The master of the Arazzeria Estense, Jan (Johannes) Karcher, elder brother of Nicholas, received several commissions from Ercole II d’Este. However, he could also act freely in the market. For instance, in 1550 he accepted commissions from the Cathedral of Ferrara, *Stories of St. George and Maurelio* (fig. 3.1). Overall, Karcher’s workshop absorbed the vast majority of Este and private commissions, leaving other weavers and masters of the workshop, like Rost, in a subordinate position.

Jan Rost was registered as a master, namely head of workshops, in Brussels, as his monogram on *Rest after the Hunt*, woven before 1535, testifies. His brother, Nicolas, was also a master as in 1539 he established his independent workshop in Mantua at the court of Federico II Gonzaga. It is likely that Jan Rost and Nicolas Karcher could not tolerate their subordinate position under Jan Karcher at the court of Ercole II. It seems likely that Rost and Karcher, who returned to Ferrara in 1541, sought to emancipate themselves as merchant-weavers by relocating to Florence. Another letter from Florence by Rost to Ercole II d’Este of 1551, (doc. 249, previously overlooked by scholars, clearly testifies to his wish to become an independent merchant-weaver. Rost writes in order “to recall to His Excellency the conversation that we had about some tapestries I could produce”, possibly referring to a meeting years earlier in Ferrara. The weaver proudly informs Ercole that he could produce the tapestries because “now I have many looms and men and any other things I need”. The cartoons can be created by “the very best painters in Italy”. Rost suggests sending him

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33 Forti Grazzini, *Ferrara*, 72-76.
35 On *Rest after the Hunt* see Adelson, *Minneapolis*, 391.
38 Appendix, doc. 24: “havendo adesso et huomini et telaia, et ogni altra cosa in ordine”.
39 Appendix, doc. 24: “delli piu valenti pittori che sieno in Italia”.
“some little designs of the ideas that you [Ercole] liked”.\textsuperscript{40} In 1553, following a new letter from the master, Ercole agreed to send some designs for two unidentified tapestries, to be woven in Florence by Rost’s workshop.\textsuperscript{41}

Overall, the role of the Flemish masters within the entrepreneurship of the Arazzeria appears to be relevant and autonomous and extraneous to the local manufacturing system. This prominent role of masters led to a series of legal and manufacturing heterodoxies, which I will examine in the next two sections.

2. The Legal Heterodoxy of The Arazzeria

The reiteration of a Netherlandish organisational model, based on the figure of the merchant-weaver, motivated the legal heterodoxy of the workshops within the Florentine textile industry. The original contracts and their renewals legally marked this alterity of the Arazzeria from the Florentine context. It is significant that these agreements, privately stipulated between two parties, were signed outside the jurisdiction of guilds of the Arte della Lana (Wool Guild) and Arte di Por Santa Maria (or Arte della Seta) (Silk Guild) and the Tribunale della Mercanzia, the office in charge of registering business ventures.

As analysed in chapter 2, these guilds normally managed the Florentine textile industries, regulating production, the wages of weavers and the trade of textiles and materials since the thirteenth century.\textsuperscript{42} Signing a contract outside their remit created a legal precedent that set the Flemish weavers outside of the local context. The Flemish masters enjoyed significant fiscal and legal privileges compared to their Florentine counterparts. In the 1540s, tax increases contributed to the crisis of the wool sector in Florence and the impoverishment of weavers.\textsuperscript{43} Unlike the Flemish tapestry-weavers, the

\textsuperscript{40} Appendix, doc.24: “havendo pero qualche disegnetto piccolo della fantasia che sia piaciuta a quella [Ercole II]”.

\textsuperscript{41} Forti Grazzini, \textit{Ferrara}, 80.

\textsuperscript{42} See chapter 2, section 1.

\textsuperscript{43} Malanima, \textit{Decadenza}, 126.
Florentines were subjected to these taxes on food and basic necessities. Conversely, Saliti requested ample tax reliefs on various products, including “wine, wheat and other foods”.\textsuperscript{44}

These tax exemptions had a socio-economic value aimed, essentially, to help the establishment of tapestry-making in Florence. Fiscal benefits were commonly used to boost technical innovation in Renaissance Italy.\textsuperscript{45} Moreover, these privileges were frequently granted to Flemish tapestry masters elsewhere in Europe. For instance, the kings of England, Edward III (1327-1377), Henry VIII (1509-1547) and James I (1603-1625) granted tax exemptions to Flemish weavers.\textsuperscript{46} In the fifteenth century, the Republic of Florence adopted the same measure for the itinerant weaver Livinio Gigli (Lieven Gillis) of Bruges, who wove the gigantic \textit{Arazzo della Ringhiera}, which was hung on the basement of the Palazzo della Signoria (Palazzo Vecchio) during official celebrations.\textsuperscript{47} In his letter of recommendation of 1457, the magistrates of the Republic invited Gigli’s potential employers to grant the same benefits “allowing him the right of free movement within and across borders with his goods and possessions without having to pay toll or taxes, as a special indulgence of our city”.\textsuperscript{48} Notably, mid-sixteenth-century Italian patrons adopted these same measures. As Nello Forti Grazzini reports, Ercole II d’Este probably granted financial exemptions to his weavers.\textsuperscript{49} This interpretation cannot be confirmed due to the loss of the archival documentation. There is extant evidence, however, that Federico II Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua (1500-1540) granted tax privileges to Nicolas Karcher and his eleven collaborators at their arrival in Lombardy in 1539.\textsuperscript{50} Federico wrote in an official document (9th November 1539), that he “grants

\textsuperscript{44}ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1170a, insert II, busta 10, folio 31r-v, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 500, doc.17: “poter condurre in Firenze lane filate, unte et purgate”; “esser franchi di datio di vino et frumento et cose mangiative”.

\textsuperscript{45}Molà, “Relocating”, 136-137.

\textsuperscript{46}Campbell, \textit{Henry VIII}, 5-7; Campbell, \textit{Tapestry}, 264-267.

\textsuperscript{47}Meoni, \textit{Arazzi}, 20.

\textsuperscript{48}Richardson, Woods and Franklin, eds, \textit{Reconsidered}, 203-204. The original text in Latin has been transcribed by Conti, \textit{Ricerche}, 96, doc.1: “concedentes transitum moram et iter liberum cum rebus et bonis suis sine solutione pedagii vel gabelle in nostram nostri comunis complacentiam singularem”.

\textsuperscript{49}Forti Grazzini, \textit{Ferrara}, 61.

\textsuperscript{50}Campbell, \textit{Tapestry}, 511.
exemptions from all the duties to him [Karcher] and the eleven people. I am doing that to let him have some workers, so they can work more comfortably”. 51

The Flemish masters in Florence went beyond their request for tax exemptions. They imported a Netherlandish legal document for tapestry-making into Florence: the *Capitoli di Flandra*, the statutes of Flanders. The application of this Netherlandish legislation was firstly mentioned in the contracts of the Flemish masters of 1546. In the first contract, it is stated:

[Master Giovanni Rost or Nicolas, as in Karcher’s contract] to follow the contents of the previous sections. Moreover, he promises, without any fraud or malice concerning punishments and detriments to proceed on the basis that the statutes ratified by His Imperial Majesty [Charles V] had prescribed [...]. If he [Rost or Karcher] is guilty of infringing one of these rules, he must give back the value of one-year’s stipend. 52

The *Capitoli di Flandra* refer to the Imperial edict that regulates Netherlandish tapestry production, promulgated by Charles V on 16th May 1544. 53 Rost and other weavers were probably in Brussels in the first half of 1545 a few months after the promulgation of the edict. 54 Jan Rost himself or his weavers could have contributed to importing the legislation to Florence. This edict supervised all aspects of tapestry production from the supply and treatment of the material to the sizes of the products. 55 These measures aimed to preserve the authenticity of the merchandise and to prevent abuses and

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51 Archivio di Stato di Mantova (hereafter ASMa), Decreti 1538-1542, fol. 46, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 494, doc.6: “[Federico II] Volemo che abbia l’essentione da tutti i datii per lui [Karcher] e tutti quell chel pigliara a lavorare seco che saranno in tutto undici bocche acio che facilmente el possa avere degli operai et lavorare con maggiore commodita”.


54 Adelson, “Patronage”, 97.

The edict obliged masters to include the standardised town’s symbol on their goods, proving their authenticity and showing their provenance. The woven city symbol substitutes the wax seals applied on tapestries since the 15th century. Measures from the 1544 legislation had been previously adopted in Enghien (Hainault) in 1513 and Brussel in 1528.

The statutes are also mentioned in the contract renewals of 1549 and 1550:

In this manner, it is agreed to respect for all these matters the statutes of Flanders, which were written and signed concerning this practice and this work [producing tapestries]. That legislation, confirmed in Florence by His Excellence [Cosimo], is held by the officer of the Arte della Lana.

This suggests a significant change: the involvement of the Arte della Lana. The participation of the Arte in keeping the Capitoli di Fiandra on the surface brought the Arazzeria into the fold of the traditional Florentine system of manufacturing, reestablishing the consolidated dominance and control of the guild over local textile production. Conversely, this measure could be seen to reinforce the otherness of Arazzeria from the Florentine context. The officer of the Arte is not an active actor in this process. The Arte just received and kept the Capitoli, foreign legislation which falls outside the guild’s jurisdiction. The imposition of the Capitoli on the Arte illustrates the dominant position of the court over the Florentine guilds. Consequently, the application of the Capitoli created a parallel legal system. In Pierfrancesco Riccio’s personal notes, dated 25th February 1547, it records that the Capitoli were applied

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57 See the statutes of the tapestry-makers’ guild of Brussels (1450-1451); Richardson, Woods and Franklin, eds, *Reconsidered*, 203.


59 ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 9932, ser Giovan Battista Giordani, 1549-1550, fols. 74r; 368r, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 584, doc. 147; 603, doc.178: “Item convengono che al tutto sieno fatti osservare i capitoli di Fiandra fatti ed fermati circa tale esercitio et mestieri quali si trovano in mano dell’officiale dell’Arte de la Lana et confermati qui in Firenze per sua Ecc[ellen]za”.
in a controversy between Rost and one of his weavers, Pieter Rahus (doc. 83). Rahus, even though paid by Rost, refused to fulfil his tasks.

The introduction of the Habsburg edict led to another significant aspect: the creation of a Brussels-based city mark for Florentine-woven tapestries. In the Dovizia, the first tapestry woven by the Arazzeria Medicea, Jan Rost’s workshop inserted the inscription Fatte in Fiorenzen (made in Florence), alongside his atelier’s mark, a rooster on a spit, today lost. The same personal mark of Rost appeared in the second portiera, Justice Liberating Innocence (1546), on the bottom left. The small coat of arms of the Medici and De Toledo on the right edge of the textile substitutes the Northern inscription. Nicolas Karcher in the Resurrection, designed by Francesco Salviati (fig.3.2), signed the provenance by weaving on the lower galloon the word Fierenza, a misspelt form of the word Fiorenza, Florence.

After the workshop’s institutionalisation in 1546, the Florentine city symbol became uniform, a crowned giglio flanked by two red Fs, which stand for Factum in Fiorenza (made in Florence). The mark appeared, for instance, in Joseph Selling Grains to his Brothers from the Stories of Joseph (fig.3.3) and it is also present in private commissions, such as the Meeting of Dante and Virgil (fig.3.4) designed by Francesco Salviati and woven by Rost’s workshop. The mark is once again based on a Flemish prototype: the double Bs (Brussels and Brabant) on a red shield, since 1528 woven on tapestries from Brussels, such as Jan Rost’s Rest after the Hunt.

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60 ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 613, insert 2, fol.17r, in Adelson, ”Patronage”, 542, doc.75.
61 Adelson, “Patronage”, 542, doc.75-76; Mario Battistini, La confrerie de Sainte-Barbe des Flamands a Florence, documents relatifs aux tisserands et aux tapisseries (Brussels, Commission Royale d’Histoire, 1931), 34.
62 On the Dovizia see chapter 1, section 4.
63 Campbell, Tapestry, 518-520; Meoni, Arazzi, 162-165, n.20.
64 Adelson, “Patronage”, 52-55; Meoni, Arazzi, 152-154, n.16.
66 Meoni, Arazzi, 134, n.5.
67 Adelson, Minneapolis, 391; Campbell, Tapestry, 282-285; Delmarcel, Tapestry, 21-22. On the introduction of the mark see Duvenger, “History”, XX.
By this woven a city mark, Rost and Karcher replicated another common feature of Flemish masters who had emigrated to Italy. Flemish tapestry-weavers in Italy had woven a mark on their products since the fifteenth century. For example, marks and inscriptions were woven into Jan Karcher’s tapestries made in Ferrara. He signed his tapestries, such as the Pergolino or The Fall of Phaeton from the Metamorphoses series by weaving his monogram and the inscription factum Ferrarae (made in Ferrara). The inscriptions also celebrated his patron Ercole II D’Este. In The Fall of Phaeton, from set of Metamorphosis, we can read Her II Dux III (Ercole II, third duke).\footnote{See previous chapter.}\footnote{Campbell, \textit{Tapestry}, 486-487.} In the Pergolina a putto holds a cartouche which states, \textit{Her II Fer Mut Eg IIII R Dux I} (fourth Duke of Ferrara, Modena and Reggio Emilia and first Duke of Chartres).\footnote{Hoshino, \textit{Lana}, 197.}

The design of a specific city symbol for tapestries marks the Arazzeria’s outsider status to the Florentine textile industries. In fact, on finished textiles and fabrics produced in Florence, since 1361, the Arte della Lana imposed on merchants the obligation to use the civic mark (\textit{marchiatura or marcatura}), which was generally the symbol of the guild, \textit{Agnus Dei}, or the inscription \textit{Fiorenzo}.\footnote{ASF, Arte della Lana, 16, fols.153r. 216r, in Ammannati, \textit{Cinquecento}, 27. 206. The obligation of marking textiles is also mentioned in a contemporary deliberation from the wool guild (1545). \textit{BNFC, Magl. 15.3.124/28. Delibarazione fatta per li spettabili signori conservadores dell’Arte della Lana. Sotto il primo di marzo 1545.} (Florence, Giunti, 1545); Gustavo Bertoli, \textit{Leggi e bandi del periodo Mediceo posseduti dalla Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze} (Florence, Titullius, 1992), 8-9, n.19} The Florentine mark aimed to certify the originality and quality of Florentine textiles, prevent forgeries and evaluate the quantity of local production.

In the sixteenth century, among several methods to exert control over production, such as measuring textiles or calibration of raw wool, the Arte della Lana still required the imposition of the civic mark on locally-produced and imported textiles and warps.\footnote{Ammannati, \textit{Cinquecento}, 19-20.} The guild appointed six officers, \textit{marchiatori}, to oversee the marking process.\footnote{Ammannati, \textit{Cinquecento}, 19-20.} Alongside the Medieval \textit{Agnus Dei}, there were other marks that could have been applied in accordance
with the textile type, such as “the inscription Garbo, gold, crown or any other typical signs of the guild”. Since the fourteenth century, wool merchants needed to cover the expenses of marking textiles for the guild. For instance, between 1556 and 1559, the merchant Andrea Busini paid 73.2 fiorini for marking his textiles (0.93% of the production costs). The Arte della Seta also requested manufacturers to impress a citizen mark and to pay a tax on locally produced silk textiles and fabrics.

Overall, the Florentine *marchiatura* and the *Capitoli di Fiandra* share the same aims: certifying the authenticity of the products. However, the crowned *giglio* flanked by two Fs, based on the Brussels’ mark, proved once again the legal alterity of the Arazzeria from the local textile industries. The heterodoxy of the tapestry workshops also included the mode of production.

### 3. The Manufacturing Heterodoxy of a Centralised Workshop

Besides legal peculiarities, the mode of production within the Arazzeria represented some major manufacturing differences with the local textile industries. The main manufacturing deviation of the tapestry workshops from the local textile industries is the establishment of a semi-centralised organisation, differentiating themselves from the local domestic or putting-out system. In the textile industries in the sixteenth century, there was generally a centralised shop in which the production phase was carried out. In Renaissance Florence, the investor-merchant organised production by sending out or putting out the materials and products in the manufacturing steps, like spinning, shearing,

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73 Ammannati, *Cinquecento*, 27: “marchio della pecora, inscritione di Garbo, oro, corona et altri segni pubblici che di presente usa et lungho tempo ha usato detta Arte di lana di Fiorenza”. The regulations of marking in wool industry between 1495 and 1605 are recorded in ASF, Arte della Lana, 16, fols. 193r-201v.


75 Ammannati, *Cinquecento*, 283.

76 See for instance, the deliberation of Arte della Lana, dated 20th November 1556; Lorenzo Cantini, *Legislazione toscana*, vol.1 (Florence, Stamperia Albizziniana, 1802), 123-124.

77 See the previous section.
carding or weaving to artisans who worked in their private houses. The mode of production was undisputably dominant in Florence, as Richard Goldthwaite noted, “Florentine capitalist investors in the textile industries seem to have not organised production in any other way than through the putting-out system.”

Conversely, it appears, despite the loss of the private accountability of Rost and Karcher, the Flemish masters tended to centralise their production in one workshop. Overall, they purchased from local and international suppliers, spun stame (combed wool), silk and filaticcio (spun wasted silk) and then, they conducted the major manufacturing steps, such as weaving or dyeing, under their control in a centralised workshop. This centralising trend is rather unusual in the Florentine manufacturing system. This heterodoxy could have been motivated by a series of reasons. Firstly, Jan Rost and Nicholas Karcher arrived in Florence with around 30 weavers in total. These Flemish and Brabantian weavers were specialised in tapestry-making and Jan Rost and Nicholas Karcher did not need to outsource their textile production to Florentine weavers who had not mastered the newly-imported weaving technique. Moreover, they may have preferred to oversee these operations to replicate the methods or dyeing procedures of Netherlandish tapestry-making, unknown to the local textile industries.

In particular, the relevance of dyeing as an operation internal to the workshops can be traced in the 1549 contracts, which recorded that Rost and Karcher pledged to “accept and continuously keep in their workshops local children” and “teach them for free the art of tapestry-making and dyeing”. The goal of the apprenticeship is recalled: “all the secrets of tapestry-making and dyeing should be learnt and firmly acquired in Florence. Thus, these

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80 The fibre preparation might be conducted in the workshop, as suggested by the documentation of Squilli and Sconditi, the successors of the Flemish masters. However, the loss of the private accountability of Rost and Karcher can not confirm it. On the mode of production in the workshops of Squilli and Sconditi see chapter 4, section 4.
skills can be performed without any foreigners. Florentine and Tuscan apprentices will perfectly exercise this art [tapestry-making] and dyeing”. In the same contract, Jan Rost (1549), requested “a dyeing room (tintoria), with a boiler and all its supply, where master Jan, at his expenses, will dye all the colours he will need”. The expenses for the tintoria, and for a wardrobe, were estimated about 200 scudi by the court.

Dyeing wool and silk was an everyday activity in Florence, carried out by specialised workshops. Historically, since the Middle Ages, wool and silk dyers needed to be respectively matriculated to the Arte della Lana or the Arte di Por San Maria to exercise their profession. Following the Ciompi revolt in 1378, dyers attempted to form an autonomous guild (Arte dei Tintori), which lasted briefly. However, despite being skilled workers, in sixteenth-century Florence dyers were still subjected to the the economic and jurisdictional power of lanaioli and setaioli.

Wool and silk dyeing differed in their processes. Wool dyers, up until the sixteenth century, were divided into three categories: Arte Maggiore, which dyers could employ a vast array of colours and dyestuff, Picciol Tinta, which could employ just madder and Arte del

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84 ASF, Miscellanea Medicea, 516, insert 36, fol.39 left.

85 There are several references of this activity within the Hospital in the account book of woad dyer Francesco del Cittadino (1553-1570). AIoF, 13386, fols.1r-46r.

86 Piero Guarducci, Tintori e Tinture nella Firenze medievale (secc.XIII-XV) (Florence, Polistampa, 2005), 18.

87 Franceschi, Tumulto, 82-84; Guarducci, Tintori, 16-20.
Guado, which only employed woad for azure hues. While silk was predominantly dyed in threads or skeins, there were three different moments (flock, spun threads or finished textile) in which dyeing could take place in the wool industry. In tapestry-making, threads were dyed before weaving. There is some existing documentation of mid-sixteenth-century dyers, which illustrates how dyeing was carried out. For instance, the woad dyers, Roberto di Francesco Ferrati (documented 1540-1544) (doc. 25), and Francesco di Bertino Del Cittadino (documented 1554-1570), filled large boilers (vagelli or caldaie), with hot water and the selected dyestuff, woad, extracted from the plant *Isatis Tinctoria*. In the boilers, they prevalently immersed wool textiles, such as twills, *perpignani* or *rascie*.

Silk dyeing was slightly different from wool dyeing. In Florence, silk dyers did not just dye threads, but they performed various processes. Notably, they first removed the impurities and sericin (*sgommatura*) from the threads by boiling them with lard and soap. The *sgommatura* removed up to 25% of the weight of the raw silk (*seta greggia*). Then, they bleached the silk with sulfur. Finally, they dyed the silk with vegetal or animal dyestuff, like orchil, madder, kermes, grain or brazilwood and used alum as a mordant. Notably, it appears that the Flemish masters did not dye silk or wasted silk (*filaticcio*), possibly because they did not know how to perform the *sgommatura* on the raw silk that was delivered to the workshop. For instance, in 1546, two payments could be linked to the tapestry workshop in the account book to “the heirs of Battista di Cino, silk dyers, lire 14 and

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90 AIOF, 13371, fols.1 right-27 left; 13386, fols.1r-56v.
91 AIOF, 13371, fols. 2 left-27 left.
92 Edler De Roover, *Seta*, 43.
93 Edler De Roover, *Seta*, 43.
94 Edler De Roover, *Seta*, 44.
95 Edler De Roover, *Seta*, 43-44.
13 soldi piccoli” and “lire 4 and 15 soldi piccoli for dyeing silk brown”. This evidence illustrates that Rost did not dye all the threads employed in tapestry-making. However, we cannot have a better understanding of this practice, as dyeing in the Flemish masters’ workshop is scarcely recorded in the existing Medici documentation.

In addition to the establishment of the semi-centralised workshop, the Flemish weavers introduced to Florence a new type of loom: the low-warp loom (basso liccio). Using this loom, warp threads are stretched and lay horizontally. Therefore, tapestry-weavers bend over the loom to weave. This instrument was typical for Netherlandish tapestry production, once again demonstrating the alterity of Flemish weavers. Possibly, due to the looms’ Northern derivation, the weavers employed Flemish units of measurements, misura fiamminga (Flemish measure), alla quadrata (squared) or bastone quadrato (squared stick), instead of the Florentine unit, the braccio fiorentino (Florentine arm).

4. The High Costs of Tapestries and The Exorbitant Wages of the Flemish Tapestry Weavers

Generally, the guilds established the price of internal textile production. The contracts of the Flemish masters openly infringed the Arti’s rules on the negotiation of...
prices for Florentine-woven textiles. Instead, the court pledged to pay for “all the clothes and tapestries made for His Excellence [Cosimo].” The parties involved in the agreement, Cosimo, the guarantors and the Flemish masters drew up a scale of prices per Flemish ell (alla) in accordance with the materials employed in the textiles. We can read: “textiles with gold, first-choice silk and fine wool, like the Stories of Joseph, [will be paid] 12 scudi per alla”. The Flemish weavers of high-quality tapestries were entitled to a better or lower remuneration in accordance with the quality of materials. In addition to this more expensive production, the contract ratified the cost per ell (2 ½ scudi) for lower-quality textiles, made of wasted silk wool (filaticcio), such as donkey cloths and door hangings or bedclothes. These items considerably augmented the workshops’ revenue. Vasari, for instance, reported that the cycle of Stories of Joseph (fig. 3.5-3.6-3.7) which was composed of twenty tapestries, cost the huge amount of 60 thousand scudi. The enormous expenses of this set have been compared to the costs of constructing a good-sized church.

Overall, it appeared that the workshops were extremely profitable enterprises. As noted in chapter 2, they were subsidised by merchant-courtiers, such Cristofano Rinieri, Bernardo Saliti or Bernardo Martelli, who invested in the materials and production costs. In addition, Cosimo paid rent for houses and workshops and contributed to cover the production and living costs with a substantial annual provision, paid by monthly installments. On top of that, as noted here, the Flemish masters and tapestry-weavers were paid for manufacturing their products per ell.

An unpublished letter (doc. 26), from Michele di Zanobi Ruberti, the Ducal treasurer, to Pierfrancesco Riccio, dated 23rd January 1550, written amidst the negotiations to renew Karcher’s contract, highlights Florentine incomprehension and dissatisfaction with the costs

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101 Appendix, doc.9: “tutti quei panni e arazzerie che fara e per sua Excellentia”.
102 Vasari, Vite (1568), vol.IV, 330.
104 See chapter 2, section 4.
of the Arazzeria.\textsuperscript{105} This new evidence signals how the tapestry workshop was perceived as alien in the Florentine context. Ruberti reported how many \textit{scudi} annually some unnamed weavers of the Arazzeria earned in bonuses. In the first lines of the letter, the treasurer openly complained about the excessive costs of the workshop asking Riccio to “end the expenses for master Niccolo [Karcher]”.\textsuperscript{106} In fact, as Ruberti reports, the court had to pay “1200 \textit{scudi}” of regular fees to weavers annually, as reported in the “first contracts”.\textsuperscript{107}

Moreover, Ruberti found the high costs for the tapestries, “which give honour and cost an eye of the head”, and the high bonuses granted to weavers unacceptable, and he proposed cutting both.\textsuperscript{108} Ruberti wrote that some weavers “overall earned [as a bonus] more 180 golden \textit{scudi} or 140, others 120 or 100 golden \textit{scudi} each year. They do not even know what this currency is”.\textsuperscript{109} He explained that “we [the court] are paying this amount of money to serve them well”.\textsuperscript{110} At least, according to the Flemings’ justifications, the results reflected the expenses, “the weavers say that in Flanders there has never been produced anything of such quality for any clients as here in Florence”.\textsuperscript{111} In conclusion, Ruberti repeats his suggestion to Riccio: “[I] ask that His Lordship [Riccio] will end the account of Master Nicolas [Karcher]” or reduce the bonuses to the weavers.\textsuperscript{112}

Overall, this document confirms the exceptional status of the workshops in the local social context. No Florentine weavers could gain these considerable annual wages plus

\textsuperscript{105} Besides his role of treasurer, Michele Ruberti might have translated the \textit{Gospel of St. John} for Eleonora di Toledo. Daniele D’Aguanno, “La traduzione del Vangelo secondo Giovanni per Eleonora di Toledo. Un confronto con le traduzioni a stampa del Nuovo Testamento nel Cinquecento”, \textit{Lingua e Stile}, vol.54 (2019), 205-229.

\textsuperscript{106} ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1176, fol. 60r: “Priego vostra signoria [Riccio] si degni di dar fine ai conti di Niccolo”.

\textsuperscript{107} Appendix, doc.26: “1200 scudi”; “ragione vecchia”.

\textsuperscript{108} Appendix doc. 26 ”per havere honore che le costa un mondo”.

\textsuperscript{109} Appendix, doc.26: “tale lavorante ch’e tocco a guadagno piu che scudi 180 d’oro l’anno, et tale scudi 140, et altri scudi 120, il manco scudi 100 tutti d’oro, che non sanno cosa sia moneta”.

\textsuperscript{110} Appendix, doc.26: “Et il tutto per servire bene”.

\textsuperscript{111} Appendix, doc.26: “et dicono quelli lavoranti non si e mai fatto lavori di tale fineza per qual si voglia signore”.

\textsuperscript{112} Appendix, doc.26: “Priego vostra signoria i degni di dar fine a´ conti del mastro Niccolo [Karcher]”.
bonuses. Florentines earned a few scudi or lire for each piece of textile, such as rascie, perpignani, panni larghi or sale, as stated in the Arte della Lana’s deliberation of 1545. Unlike Florentine weavers, the income of the Arazzeria craftsmen was equivalent to the salaries of contemporary painters and artists. Without taking the bonus into account, in 1547 Bronzino earned the same monthly salary (22 scudi) as a weaver of the Arazzeria, such as Pieter de Elias de Witte in 1558.

 Practical reasons, such as the different techniques employed, size, degree of finish, costs of materials and metallic threads, could have surely motivated this remarkable difference in costs between tapestries and mass-produced textiles. However, there might have been other reasons to justify the exorbitant stipends of the Flemish weavers. One illuminating case is that of Francesco di Pacino, a Florentine weaver who wove an Allegorical Portiera (fig.3.8), designed by Benedetto Pagni, in 1551. Francesco was generally regarded as the premier Florentine tapestry-weaver. However, in the documentation, he is constantly described as a drapes weaver (“tessitore di drappi”), even alongside the tapestry-weaver (“arazziere” or “tappezziere”) Nicholas Karcher (docs 27-28).

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113 Malanima, Decadenza, 124-126; Francesco Ammannati in Franco Amatori and Andrea Colli, eds, Imprenditorialità e sviluppo economico, il caso italiano (Milan, Egea, 2009), 247-255.
114 BNCF, Magl. 15.3.124/28. Deliberatione Lana.
117 On costs of tapestry-weaving see Belozerskaya, Luxury, 121-125; Campbell, Tapestry, 5-22; Delmarcel, Tapestry, 11-12;
119 Adelson, “Patronage”, 127; Meoni, Arazzi, 168, n.22
120 ASF, Scrittoio delle Fortezze e delle Fabbriche, Serie Fabbriche Medicee, 1, fol.17 left-right, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 567-568, doc.125.
definition of “drapes weavers” in Florence indicated a silk-weaver. Francesco can be identified as a weaver in the census of the Gonfalone of Leon Bianco in Santa Maria Novella (1551), so it appears that he was not a tapestry-weaver, but a silk-weaver.

As appeared in the documents, in 1551 he wove a portiera by himself and at his expense, confirming his separateness from the Arazzeria, and also collaborated with Karcher for a part of the exact same replica. The two Allegorical Portiere presented a peculiarity: wide employment of first-choice silk (seta). Especially, the weft threads are mainly made of silk with some traces of wool. The usage of silk in warp is a unique trait in the Flemish masters’ production. Only the Months’ set woven by Jan Rost's workshop presented the same use of silk. Possibly, the Flemish masters did not have many silk specialists in the 1550s, as testified by the employment of Pieter Elias de Witte, who was an experienced tapestry-weaver in silk-weaving and decoration. Therefore it seems likely that Francesco have collaborated with Karcher’s workshop because of his expertise with silk. In the Medici account book of the Scrittoio delle Fortezze e delle Fabbriche (1552), there is a payment to “Francesco di Pacino, drapes weaver, 193 ducati 2 lire and 5 soldi piccioli, for 1 and one-third door hanging for a total 13 alle and nine/tenths”. The ducato equalled the fiorino (7

121 Drappo identified silk textiles in Florence, see Gentile, Dizionario, 57; Vocabolario dell’Accademia della Crusca (Venice, Giovanni Alberti, 1612), 307. See also the account book of Borgianni family (1586-1595), for silk drapes; ASF, Strozzi Sacral, filza 558, unnumbered. The pages are unnumbered. Drapes weavers (tessitori di drappi) also wove wool textiles, as the word drappi also indicated woollen textiles. For instance, drapes weaver Amedeo di Lorenzo (1567), collaborated with the lanaiolo di garbo Giuliano Del Riccio for weaving woollen fabrics; ASF, Ginori Conti, Serie Pitti Rinuccini, Parte A, 185, fol.122 left-right. 131 left-right.
122 ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 654, fol.45v.
123 ASF, Scrittoio delle Fortezze e delle Fabbriche, Serie Fabbriche Medicee, 1, fol.17 left-right, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 567-568, doc.125.
124 Meoni, Arazzi, 168, n.22.
125 Meoni, Arazzi, 142-147, n.11-14.
126 Pilliod, Geneology, 17-20.
127 ASF, Scrittoio delle Fortezze e delle Fabbriche, Serie Fabbriche Medicee, 1, fol.254 left-right, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 644-645, doc.244. See also, ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 27, fol.68r, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 665, doc.256.
lire each) and was less valuable than the golden scudo (7 lire and 10 soldi each) employed for the payments to Flemings. Moreover, Francesco di Pacino needed to cover the cost of materials and production by himself, which appeared particularly high, given that the tapestry was “woven with silk, gold and silver”.

Therefore, as the letter by Ruberti suggested and the case of Francesco di Pacino confirmed, the wages and labour costs of Flemish tapestry-weavers were markedly higher than their Florentine counterparts, even for the same textile type. This happened for material and manufacturing reasons, as the Northern incomers were introducing a new technique to Florence. However, this could be also motivated by social causes, as Ruberti repeatedly underlined in his letter, the tapestry-weavers “were served well” for the technical innovation and social self-awareness as merchant-weavers they brought to Florence.

5. Daily Life of The Flemish Weavers

The contracts of 1546 are, once again, revealing for our understanding of the daily life of the Flemish weavers. These documents state that the weavers pledged to live in the designated “locations and how His Excellence [Cosimo] will order at least for the time that this contract will last [3 years]”. The search for living quarters for the weavers became a priority at the end of summer 1545 when Jan Rost and his workshop arrived in Florence. The Flemish masters requested some “comfortable rooms” via Bernardo Saliti, while they were discussing the conditions for their arrival in Florence. As discussed in chapter 1, Rost’s

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129 ASF, Scrittoio delle Fortezze e delle Fabbriche, Serie Fabbriche Medicee, 1, fol.254 left-right, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 644-645, doc.244.
130 ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 9330, ser Giovan Battista Giordani, 1546-1547, fol.131v, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 532, doc.66.
131 ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1170a, insert II, busta 10, fol. 31r-v, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 501, doc.17: “stanze bisognerebe le fussero capace”;
workshop was located in the area of San Marco. In September 1545, the secretary Pierfrancesco Riccio and Cristofano Rinieri set up weavers' accommodation nearby. They were firstly accommodated in the convent of San Marco and from 1546 in three houses of the Congregazione e Ospedale dei Preti di San Salvatore (Congregation and hospital of the priest of San Salvatore), managed by the Compagnia dei Preti, in via Sangallo, at the back of the garden of San Marco.¹³²

Riccio rented three houses of the Congregazione and one room of the Ospedale, designated as the “women’s room”, paying the Compagnia monthly for hosting the weavers and their families.¹³³ In Rost’s contract of 1546, the Maggiordomo pledged to pay and “provide the workshop and accommodations” for the Flemish weavers.¹³⁴ In the account books of the Compagnia, there is evidence of these payments issued by the Medici court. On 12th October 1547, for instance, the Congregazione reported the payment “from Pierfrancesco Riccio, the Maggiordomo of His Excellency, of 280 florins for the rent for six months of our three houses for 24 florins each one and 8 for the women’s room”.¹³⁵

The use of this women’s room is not specified in the documents. The omission of this information might suggest that these women were involved in tapestry production. However, in the Flemish masters’ workshops, there is no evidence of women employed in tapestry-making. Consequently, it is likely that this room was a space dedicated to wives and families of Rost’s weavers. Many Flemish weavers moved to Florence with their families. Jan Rost moved to Tuscany with his family and his adult son Giovanni, who later took over the

¹³² Campbell, Tapestry, 497; Meoni, Arazzi, 39;
¹³⁴ ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 9330, ser Giovan Battista Giordani, 1546-1547, fol. 133r, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 531, doc.65: “provvedergli a quelle botteghe e di stanze da lavorare”.
¹³⁵ ASF, Compagnie Religiose, 877, n.127, fols, 167v; 180v, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 548-549, doc.89. The same six-months-rent payment is reported earlier in the account book of the Compagnia as in May 1547; ASF, Compagnie Religiose, 877, numero 127, fols. 118v; 164r, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 543-544, doc.78.
workshop.\textsuperscript{136} The 1552 census shows that Karcher lived with his wife.\textsuperscript{137} Other weavers did the same, such as Karcher’s weaver Giovanni Livinius Stinchile (Jean Stichil). In 1548, due to disagreements with his master, Stinchile moved with his family to a house in via Mozza, rented from a \textit{chartaio}, Giovanni di Biagio Tucci, and paid by Riccio for the Medici court.\textsuperscript{138} After 1545, weavers continued to move to Florence with their relatives. For instance, Jan Rost’s weaver Pieter de Elias de Witte arrived in Tuscany in 1558 from Bruges, living near the church of San Michele Visdomini with his wife and numerous family members (10 male and 3 female).\textsuperscript{139} Pieter’s sons Elias de Witte and Pieter de Witte (Pietro Candido) became well-known artists.\textsuperscript{140}

Overall, what clearly emerges from Compagnia dei Preti’s account books are the consistent number of weavers in Rost’s workshop. The exact number is not known. Bernardo Saliti wrote in his letters that Rost and Karcher, “could take 50 or 60 men to work there in Florence immediately”.\textsuperscript{141} Rost himself reported in a letter to Cosimo “about fifteen workers” plus his “young apprentices”.\textsuperscript{142} A few years later, after 1549, in a petition to the

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\textsuperscript{136} Adelson, “Patronage”, 85; Adelson, \textit{Minneapolis}, 391, n.24.
\textsuperscript{138} The payments of Via Mozza’s house were reported by Tanai de’ Medici in his account book (1549-1553) of workshops’ expenses. ASF, Scrittorio delle Fortezze e delle Fabbriche, Serie Fabbriche Medicee, 1, fol. 37 right-left; Adelson, “Patronage”, 568, doc.126; Battistini, \textit{Confrérie}, 39.
\textsuperscript{139} The arrival of de Witte in March 1558 is announced in a letter of his step-brother Adrian, the chaplain of “Guarda tedesca” in Florence; ASF, Depositeria Generale, parte antica, 955, n.13, in Cecchi in Cecchi and Burresi, \textit{De Witte}, 17.
\textsuperscript{140} Pietro Candido (1540-1628) was a painter who worked with Vasari in Florence and later in Munich. Elias de Witte, whose life and work are less documented, was a sculptor. He worked for Francesco in the Studiolo carving the bronze statuette of \textit{Boreas}. Cecchi and Burresi, \textit{de Witte}, 18-25. Robert La France, “\textit{Boreas}” in Manfred Sellinck, ed, \textit{Stradanus (1523-1603), Court Artist of Medici} (Turnhout, Brepols, 2012), 356-358, n.145.
\textsuperscript{141} ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1170a, insert II, busta 10, fols.30r-v, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 498: “venire subito con cinquanta o sessanta homini”.
\textsuperscript{142} ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 613, insert 14, fol. 30r, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 516, doc.38: “ci troviamo addosso circa 15 lavoranti et in continuo ne viene; “garzoni”.
\end{flushleft}
court, Rost recorded over 300 Flemish workers in his workshop.\textsuperscript{143} However, this number appeared to be out of scale and there are no other evidence of a massive presence of Flemish workers in the Arazzeria.

On 26th October 1545, Riccio wrote to Cosimo that “the new master has arrived from Mantua to work here like the other [Jan Rost]”.\textsuperscript{144} Riccio adds that he was looking for new accommodation for Karcher “I am searching for houses to put the looms and all the other materials”.\textsuperscript{145} The court designated two houses in via dei Cimatori for Karcher and his weavers.\textsuperscript{146} Meoni claims that this decision reflects an internal hierarchy among the Arazzeria. Jan Rost, “the most important Fleming [German in the document] of tapestries”, deserved the most representative and iconic spot, the gardens of San Marco.\textsuperscript{147} On the contrary, I read the evidence as suggesting that in 1545-1546 there was certain equality between the Flemish masters, as demonstrated by the same terms in the first contracts. The designed locations were, instead, dictated by practical circumstances. Karcher arrived two months later than Rost and he was the more established master having worked independently for Federico II Gonzaga in Mantua.\textsuperscript{148} The initial requests of the Flemish masters confirmed they were motivated by practical reasons; they needed a large and spacious room for the production of tapestries. Saliti’s letter of 1st of April 1545, reads: “we request that these houses should be spacious and, if you can use the Sala del Papa, it would be very convenient to us”.\textsuperscript{149} The Sala del Papa (Room of the Pope) is an ample room in the convent of Santa Maria Novella, employed by artists and artisans for large scale cartoons,

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\item \textsuperscript{143} ASF, Miscellanea Medicea, 516, insert 36, fol.27 right.
\item \textsuperscript{144} ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 613, Insert 1, fol.50r, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 512, doc.32: “E venuto l’altro tappezziere [Karcher] da Mantova per servire come l’altro”.
\item \textsuperscript{145} ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 613, Insert 1, fol.50r, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 512, doc.32: “cercasi di stanze per accomodarsi, dove si bisognerà far le telaia, et l’altre circumstantie”.
\item \textsuperscript{146} Meoni, Nascita, 15.
\item \textsuperscript{147} Meoni, Nascita, 15: “il tedesco principale maestro di tale Arazzerie”.
\item \textsuperscript{148} Campbell, Tapestry, 489-490.
\item \textsuperscript{149} ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1170a, insert II, busta 10, fol. 31r-v, in Meoni, Arazzi, 40-41; “quanto alle stanze bisognerebbe le fossino capace e se si potesse havere quelle della sala del papa sarebbe molto al proposito”.
\end{itemize}
such as Leonardo da Vinci for his cartoon of the *Battle of Anghiari* (1504-1505). The court rented Karcher’s house and workshop, “between the *cimatori*” from Bernardo di Filippo di Garbo “for 50 *ducati* annually”. As reported in the census of 1551-1552, Karcher had two neighbouring houses; one was used as a workshop. In one house, there were “one man, four women and four servants”; in the latter, there were “two men, one woman and nine servants”. In 1551, the workshop of Karcher appears to be smaller than Rost’s; however, it should be noted that some weavers had found accommodation elsewhere.

Karcher’s workers and houses were located in an area densely populated by wool workers. Notably, the 1551 census and the name of the street itself suggest the presence of *cimatori*. These wool workers were employed to polish (*cimare* in Italian) impurities and imperfections of wool from the final products. Apparently, we can recognise here an affinity of the Arazzeria with the Florentine social fabric and domestic “putting-out” system of local workshops. However, once again this apparent closeness highlights the difference of Flemish weavers. Due to Medicean funding, the Northern weavers’ living conditions were more comfortable and privileged in comparison to their neighbours.

This separation between the Flemish tapestry weavers and the local context can be clearly seen in the affiliation of the Arazzeria’s Flemish weavers to local confraternities, and especially to the Flemish Confraternità di Santa Barbara. Founded in the fifteenth century, the confraternity brought together the community of Oltremontani, mainly Flemish and

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150 Vasari, *Vite* (1568), vol.IV, 32.
151 ASF, Scrittorio delle Fortezze e delle Fabbriche, Serie Fabbriche Medicee 1, fol.37 right-left, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 568-569, doc.126: “fra i cimatori”; “a ragione di duc.[ati] 50 lanno di pigione”.
156 On the foundation of the Confraternity see Battistini, *Confriere*, 5-14.
German artisans and workers, living in Florence. The affiliates obtained in 1452 the patronage of a chapel in Santissima Annunziata, decorated by an altarpiece by Cosimo Rosselli (fig. 3.9). The 1445 list of members shows a high percentage of Flemish linen and wool weavers. This number reflects the presence of Flemish and German workers recorded in the Florentine industry between the fifteenth and early sixteenth-century. In this timeframe, some Northern wool weavers, living in the area of San Barnaba, joined the potenza kingdom of Biliemme playing a pivotal role in the monumental commission of the Tabernacle of the Fonticine of 1522 (fig. 3.10). The community of Flemish and German weavers in Florence was in stark decline already in 1522 and over the next decades (1530-1550), two ultramontane confraternities in San Lorenzo and in Oltrarno, both dedicated to Santa Caterina, were closed.

In contrast with this trend, the Confraternità di Santa Barbara after 1545 registered a good number of new inscriptions. Many new members were from Aachen, Hasselt in Limburg and “from Flanders”. Only in a few cases, their professions, such as wool-weaver or hatmaker, are reported. However, in the lists, there are no evidence of Jan Rost or Nicolas Karcher, any tappezzieri or arazzieri or citizens of Brabant or Brussels. Several weavers of the Arazzeria were named from their places of origin in this way, such as Jan


158 Battistini, *Confriere*, 103-147, doc.11.


Rost “from Brabant and city of Brussels”, Penneus “from Brussels” or Petrus Rool “from the city of Brussels in Brabant”.

Despite the omission of their profession in the lists of Santa Barbara, it is possible that some of Arazzeria’s weavers joined the confraternity immediately after 1545. However, it seems that the absence of the weavers from the confraternity’s lists confirms the Arazzeria’s alienation from the local social context. This likely happened for two reasons. Firstly, because of the high social self-awareness of masters and weavers of the workshop, which kept them apart from wool weavers. Secondly, there were already national, linguistic and often familiar, bonds within the workshop, which created a microcosm of solid relationships, comradeship and also disputes. This inner dynamics could have substituted the belonging to the Flemish confraternity and motivated this apparent distance of Arazzeria’s weavers even from the Flemish community in Florence.

The death of Jean Haan, known as Gallo, illustrates this internal sense of community and mutual bond within the workshop, as his funeral was paid by the chaplain of the Guardia tedesca Adrian de Witte, on behalf of the master Jan Rost and his colleagues. At the same time, another weaver Nicholas Thas requested from Rost the 10 scudi Gallo owed him. It seems that the weavers did start to join the Flemish confraternity in the following decades, especially the tapestry-weavers who arrived after the establishment of the workshops. The first weavers recorded in the lists of the Confraternità di Santa Barbara are dated from the 1560s, like Pieter de Witte, who was also nominated camerlengo (1564-1565) and capitano (1565-1568), or the Italian master Benedetto Squilli from 1563, who I will discuss in the next chapter.

165 Battistini, Confrérie, 42: “Brabantinus from civitas Bruxellarum”; “de Bruxelles”; “de civitate Bruxellensis de Brabantia”.
166 Battistini, Confrérie, 34.
167 See section 1.
168 On Adrian de Witte, Battistini, Confrérie, 42; Cecchi and Burresi, ed, Candido, 17.
169 Battistini, Confrérie, 42..
170 Cecchi and Burresi, ed, Candido, 17.
This chapter assesses the foundation of the Arazzeria from the perspective of the Flemish masters and analyses the mode of production within the tapestry workshop. The research aligns with the aims of the thesis, assessing the production and the entrepreneurship of tapestry-making, which have been omitted from the traditional research framework.

Notably, by assessing previously unknown archival evidence, the chapter reconstructs the difficult cultural encounter between the Florentine society and textile industries and the Flemish traditional mode of production. As a result, the chapter enriches our understanding of tapestry-making in sixteenth-century Florence. By doing this, the research also contributes to the study of the manufacturing industries, putting-out system, dyeing processes, the conditions, the wages and the social life of workers.

Overall, the chapter establishes the overall heterodoxy of Arazzeria, based on Flemish practices and customs, from the Florentine context. As analysed in section 1, they imported their mode of production to Florence, replicating the Netherlandish model of merchant-weaver. As demonstrated by the contracts of the Flemish masters and overlooked archival evidence, such as a petition of Rost to the Medici court from the Miscellanea Medicea (ASF), Nicholas Karcher and Jan Rost maintained a degree of entrepreneurial independence, which was unusual for the vast majority of workshops’ managers in the Italian hierarchal putting-out system.

As examined in section 2, the Flemish tapestry weavers’ legal framework determines their heterodoxy from the local context of the Florentine textile industries. The heterodoxy and legal privileges of the Flemish masters from the local context were a common trait in Early Modern Period and the research contributes to the study of this theme.¹⁷¹

Their heterodoxy also reflected the way they produced tapestries. Overall, the Flemish masters did not participate in the local mode of production (putting-out system). Conversely, they tended to centralise the production within the workshop, which was relatively uncommon for the local manufacturing system. They replicated the Netherlandish mode of production and controlled a series of steps within the workshop, like dyeing and weaving. The research contributes to examining the manufacturing processes in sixteenth-

century Florence, and in particular, dyeing, by consulting the archival documentation of Florentine dyers.

Another aspect which connoted the extraneousness of the weavers is their wages. The analysis is based on the figure of Francesco di Pacino, a drapes weaver who wove a tapestry for the court and an unpublished letter by the Ducal treasurer Michele di Zanobi Ruberti from the series of the Mediceo del Principato in the State Archive of Florence. The analysis shows that the tapestry weavers were paid more than the Florentine weavers. This discrepancy shows the high status of tapestry-weavers, the consideration of the Medici court for this project and illustrates the overall exorbitant expenses for this production, which showed the magnificence and the political predominance of the Medici family in the civic context. Particularly, the letter by Michele Ruberti reveals the understanding and perception of tapestry-making and the high valuation of the production within the Medici court. This letter is useful to the study of technical innovation in Early Modern Europe as it explains the perception and the meaning from within a court. The research on wages contributes to the study of tapestry-making, but it also gave a better glimpse of the social conditions and wages of the Florentine workers in mid-sixteenth-century Florence.

Section 5 investigates the living conditions of the weavers and their families, as emerges from the remaining archival documentation. As shown in the section, at least until the 1550s, the Flemish weavers resisted the assimilation to the communities of foreigners, mainly living within their working community. Beside the study of tapestry-making itself, through the case study of the Flemish masters, the section is fruitful for the literature on foreign artisans in Renaissance Italy, which I have presented in the introduction of the chapter.

In the next chapter, I will investigate how tapestry-making evolved in Florence under the management of the successors of Flemish masters, the Creati Fiorentini and Guasparre Papini (1554-1600).
Chapter 4

After The Flemish masters: The Creati Fiorentini and Guasparri Papini

The domestication of tapestry-weaving in Florence has been defined as a wide economic and entrepreneurial project. This chapter investigates how the Medici court organised the long-term establishment of tapestry-making in Florence through the transmission of skills and how the entrepreneurship of the workshops changed following the end of the Flemish masters’ direction in 1554. To this end, the chapter analyses the apprenticeship of young Florentine weavers under the supervision of the Flemish masters (1545-1553), and considers how tapestry-making was organised until 1600, while dealing also with the workshops of the Creati Fiorentini (1554-1588) and the early years of the management of Guasparri Papini (1588-1600). The research demonstrates how the workshops were linked to socio-economic and political transformations that took place in the second half of the sixteenth century in Florence.

Scholars have tended to overlook how the apprenticeship of young tapestry-weavers was carried out in the Flemish masters’ workshops and how the production phase and entrepreneurship of the Arazzeria changed after 1554. Existing research framework on tapestry-making overlooks the investigation of Creati’s and Papini’s workshops from entrepreneurial, material and technical perspectives.\(^1\) Candace Adelson recalled the terms of the apprenticeship of Florentine weavers, but the management of the Creati Fiorentini did not fit in her research on the Flemish masters and the establishment of the Arazzeria Medicea (1545-1553).\(^2\) Lucia Meoni’s research represents the only comprehensive study of the Arazzeria after 1554 and the necessary starting point for this chapter. Meoni’s main focus was in artistic research, leaving unexplored the production phase and the entrepreneurship of the workshops.\(^3\) She studied the Creati within the context of the

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\(^1\) See the Introduction to the thesis.

\(^2\) Adelson, “Patronage”, 683-684, doc.274.

\(^3\) Meoni, Arazzi, 63-91; Meoni, Nascita, 28-40; Lucia Meoni, “The Medici Tapestry Workshops and Johannes Stradanus as Cartoonist”, in Manfred Sellinck, ed, Stradanus, 31-54.
patronage of Cosimo and the new decoration of Palazzo Vecchio and other possessions, such as the Villa in Poggio a Caiano.⁴

The continuation of tapestry-making after the departure of the Flemish masters in 1554 was based on the transmission of skills and the apprenticeship of local children to teach them the new technique. There are few general overviews regarding craft apprenticeships in the scholarly literature on Renaissance Italy.⁵ In regards to Florence, several scholars have analysed the role of apprentices in local textile industries, though without considering the Arazzeria in this context.⁶ Luciano Artusi and Alfred Doren have examined apprenticeship in Florentine guilds, but their research is focussed on the fourteenth and fifteenth century.⁷ This chapter initially seeks to extend their studies and offers a perspective on apprenticeship in Ducal Florence, through the case of the children of the Arazzeria. Subsequently, I investigate how the entrepreneurship and production sides of the workshops were organised.⁸ By reassessing the records of the workshops from the sub-series of the Arazzeria in the Guardaroba Medicea (ASF), the documents of merchants and functionaries involved in the entrepreneurship and supplying of materials, such as Tanai de’ Medici (ASF, Manoscritti and Archivio della Congregazione dei Buonuomini di San Martino), Giovambattista Cini (ASF, Grifoni and Carte Strozziane), and Averardo and Antonio Salviati (SNS, Archivio Salviati), I will examine how the Creati Fiorentini and Guasparri Papini produced their tapestries from fibre preparation to finished product.⁹ It emerges that tapestry-making in Florence from 1554 onwards partially modified the Flemish model. As argued below, the new organisation reflects economic and political trends, especially the establishment of Medici absolutism, in the second half of the sixteenth century.

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⁴ Meoni, Arazzi, 61-85.
⁵ Fanfani, Lavoro, 101-106.
⁷ Doren, Arti, 121-126.
⁸ ASF, Manoscritti, 106, fols.1r-96v.
⁹ See the Introduction to the thesis.
1. Apprenticeship to Tapestry-Making (1545-1553)

The first written reference to educating young apprentices about tapestry-weaving can be traced to the initial requests of the Flemish weavers. Bernardo Saliti in 1545, suggested that “they [the Flemish masters] can take in their houses some local children educating them in their art [tapestry-weaving]. I am certain that this art will flourish soon there [in Florence] as it has never done anywhere else”. As appears from other failed ventures proposed by Saliti to the Medici court, such as rug-making in Pisa, teaching the new technique to local children was a key element of the motivation behind the enterprise. Within Saliti’s mercantile mindset, the introduction of a new technique and teaching it to local people are complementary steps, as he noted in 1561 in regards to rug-making: “I have found a way to introduce to Pisa the art of making rugs like in the East and teach [this skill] to the citizens [Tuscan people]”. Therefore, first of all, the request lies within the entrepreneurial mentality of Saliti as it highlights the economic value of this importation, which I described in previous chapters.

The Flemish masters agreed with the requests for the education of the apprentices, as emerges from Saliti’s letter of 1545. Therefore, it seems likely that once again the Northern incomers played an active role in the enterprise. They probably imported this practice from the Low Countries, where apprenticeship was a responsibility of the masters and the local guilds of tapestry weavers regulated its jurisdiction. The Flemish practice is relevant as there are similarities, such as length of the education (three to five years),

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10 ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1170a, insert II, busta 10, fol. 31r-v, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 500, doc. 17: “piglieranno dei putti del luogo dove staran et li amastreranno di modo che io tengo certissimo in breve tempo tale arte habia a fiorire chosti che in luogo dove la sia”.

11 ASF, Miscellanea Medicea, 27/III, fol.1029r.

12 ASF, Miscellanea Medicea, 27/III, fol.1029r: “havendo ora il modo da introdurre in pisa lo exercitio di fare li tappeti levantini di ogni sorta et farla insegnare alij suditi sua”.

13 On apprenticeship in the Low Countries, Campbell, Tapesty, 38-39; Sophie Schneebalg-Perelman, Tapisseries bruxelloises de la pré-Renaissance (Brussels, Musées royaux d’art et histoire, 1976), 164-169.
between Northern rules for educating local children and the terms of the apprenticeship in the Arazzeria.\textsuperscript{14} Nevertheless, the request of Flemish weavers could have been motivated by practical reasons, like many other conditions listed in Saliti’s letters described in chapters 2 and 3. For example, they could have been afraid of not having enough men to cope with the Ducal commissions, even though they declared through Saliti that they had fifty or sixty workers available.\textsuperscript{15} As Rost’s petition proves, the Flemish masters asked to replace workers with 50 local apprentices.\textsuperscript{16} Presumably maintaining local apprentices would cost less than experienced workers. Therefore, children represented a source of low-cost labour to exploit.

Overall, we can argue that, by teaching their art, the Flemish masters and Saliti could have sought to please their potential employees, making their offer more appealing. The practice of training local apprentices in tapestry-making was already established in Italy. For instance, Federico Sforza, Duke of Milan (1401-1466), required his tapestry-weavers to train young Milanese children.\textsuperscript{17} At the same time, there is no evidence of similar institutionalised training in Ferrara or Mantua, the oldest and most prestigious tapestry workshops in Italy, established in the fifteenth century.\textsuperscript{18} In Ferrara, production stopped around 1480 during the Duchy of Ercole I d’Este (1471-1505) when there were no Northern weavers.\textsuperscript{19} In Mantua in 1539 Federico II Gonzaga established tapestry-making in Mantua by employing Nicolas Karcher.\textsuperscript{20} However, when the Flemish master left the Mantuan court at the end of his contract in 1541, local output stopped again, as Karcher did not leave a local school behind him. Similarly, regional production was interrupted quite extensively all across Italy during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The Northern masters were mainly

\textsuperscript{14} Campbell, \textit{Tapestry}, 38.
\textsuperscript{15} ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1170a, insert II, busta 10, fols.30r-v, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 498.
\textsuperscript{16} ASF, Miscellanea Medicea, 516, insert 36, fol. 27 right.
\textsuperscript{17} Belozerskaya, “Mass”, 166.
\textsuperscript{19} Forti Grazzini, \textit{Ferrara}, 29-43.
\textsuperscript{20} Campbell, \textit{Tapestry}, 483-493.
itinerant and seldom left a home-grown school of tapestry-weaving behind them in Italian courts.\textsuperscript{21} Cosimo agreed with Saliti’s offer. From a Medici point of view, the apprenticeship had political and economic reasons. As analysed in chapter 1, the establishment of the Arazzeria needs to be inserted in the Medici state-building, leading to centralising previously dispersed power within the transition of the Florentine state to the \textit{Principato}. In the contracts of 1546, the master pledges to teach tapestry-weaving to young children “with all his diligence and attention so they [the apprentices] will learn as best they can”.\textsuperscript{22} The terms of this agreement were implemented and slightly diversified between Rost and Karcher in the contract renewal of 1549. In Rost’s renewal for ten years, the master agreed to host any Florentine and Tuscan children who wanted to learn the art of tapestry-making and dyeing in his workshop for free.\textsuperscript{23} The apprenticeship lasted three years. The Medici court provided a special fund for the poor children to attend the apprenticeship.\textsuperscript{24} Moreover, the contract ratified that “the master Giovanni was obliged to pay the board of those students who are going to stay within the workshop up to six years teaching them the art for free”.\textsuperscript{25} In Karcher’s renewal for three years, the terms are slightly different. The Flemish master was still obliged to “teach the art of making tapestries and dyeing” up to the end of his contract (1554), but there are some differences in economic conditions of students from

\textsuperscript{21} Smit, “Weavers”, 113-130.

\textsuperscript{22} ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 9330, ser Giovan Battista Giordani, 1546-1547, fols. 132r-132v, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 530, doc. 65. The same is reported in Karcher’s contract. ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 9330, ser Giovan Battista Giordani, fol.128r, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 535, doc. 66: “dj quella anzi porre ogni sua cura, studio et diligenza ch[e] e l’imparino p[er] qua[n]to gli sarà possibile”.

\textsuperscript{23} ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 9332, ser Giovan Battista Giordani, 1549-1550, fols 72v-73r, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 585, doc. 147.

\textsuperscript{24} Appendix, doc.10.

\textsuperscript{25} ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 9332, ser Giovan Battista Giordani, 1549-1550, fol.73r, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 584, doc.147: “E tutti quelli che si acconcieranno seco per insino a sei anni sia tenuto maestro Giovanni ad insegnare loro gratis et alimentarli a tutte sue spese di vitto per tutto detto tempo”.
Rost’s agreement. Likewise, for the new students, the master needed to provide room and board. The other learners, who were already at Karcher’s workshop, continued to pay for their food themselves. At the same time, the court gave 200 golden scudi annually for covering the expenses of learners if they could not pay themselves.

Overall, education in a profession aims to perpetuate and reinforce the production of a good or a service contributing to the prosperity of the citizen economy. Besides the economic value, the apprenticeship was a sort of rite of passage in the life of boys, who left their families to enter the labour market. The period of learning led children to learn a profession and eventually, but not necessarily, to obtain the enrolment to the guild’s lists and position of master. Notably, for textile industries, there was no fixed legislation on the terms of apprenticeship of children and the duration of their education. The apprenticeship was regulated informally. It was not disciplined and remained fluid and less documented. Due to the absence of clear legislation, apprentices were identified with a variety of terms, such as errand boys (garzoni or fattore), worker (lavorante), disciple (discepolo) or simply young person (giovane). Also, the tasks of the young apprentices were not clearly identifiable and they performed a variety of activities in the workshops from weaving to manual activities. It seems that the employment of children in Florence was not always aimed to transfer skills. Instead, it rather constituted a way of managing production, reducing the costs by employing cheap labour. Therefore, the professional path of young children in the textile industries did not necessarily lead them to become masters or skilful weavers. However, if a child had a relative in the guilds, the membership

26 ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 9332, ser Giovan Battista Giordani, 1549-1550, fols. 367v, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 602, doc.178: “insegnare e far insegnare detto mestiere di fare Arazzerie e tintura tignere ogni sorte di colore opportuno”.

27 Appendix, doc.11.


29 Ammannati, Cinquecento, 35-36.


31 Ammannati, Cinquecento, 35.

32 Ammannati, Cinquecento, 36; Goldthwaite, Economy, 372-373.

33 Ammannati, Cinquecento, 36.
(matricola) to the guilds was automatically granted by inheritance rights. After getting the matricola, there was no further vigilance of the guilds on the technical qualities of the young members. In the period before Cosimo’s Duchy (1471-1530), the Arte della Lana matriculated around 89% of the new members due to family bonds.

While for the local apprentices there were no fixed rules for entering the labour market, the situation for foreign incomers was different. Indeed, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the written contracts for the apprentices, called obligationes discipulorum, were usually stipulated only for newcomers and foreigners. Overall, each weaver or merchant regulated the contracts with their foreign apprentices differently for a duration of up to five years. Unfortunately, the loss of the Flemish masters’ private records and accounts impedes analysing which tasks the apprentices performed and being able to compare their working conditions and wages with local practice. From the existing documents, we can conclude that apprenticeship to tapestry-making was unique within the context of Florentine textile industries.

As noted, the overall aim of the apprenticeship was to establish northern European weaving techniques in the city. Unlike apprentices in Florentine textile industries, the terms of the apprenticeship within the tapestry workshop were clearly codified. Overall, the apprentices of the tapestry workshops enjoyed favourable economic conditions. First of all, they were funded by the Medici court. In the masters’ contracts, poor children are actively incentivised to pursue tapestry-making. The apprenticeship to tapestry-making should be therefore included in the political program of the Medici social policies and “welfare”, which once again shows how the establishment of tapestry should be seen as part of a wider reform of the Florentine state. Moreover, the favourable terms of the contracts suggest that it could be one of the measures taken by the duke in order to improve the living conditions of the lower classes.

34 Doren, _Arti_, 141-142.
35 Ammannati, _Cinquecento_, 36.
36 Malanima, _Decadenza_, 81.
37 Malanima, _Decadenza_, 81.
From the 1540s, the duke launched a new course for poor relief in Florence, which led to tightening his control over the civic institutions. Medici social policies were particularly concerned with the reorganisation of charity organisations and orphanages.\(^39\) The duke put them under his control by reforming and centralising their functions. This Ducal policy in favour of parentless children peaked in 1542 with the institution of the Buonomini del Bigallo, a Ducal reformed office composed of five magistrates, resulting from a merger of the Compagnia dei Buonomini di San Martino and Compagnia del Bigallo.\(^40\) This central Ducal office oversaw the management of charity organisations in the city. Cosimo also controlled several hospitals across the city that cared for young parentless children. Many of these institutions were founded and funded by guilds, such as Spedale degli Innocenti funded by the Arte della Seta, or Santissima Trinita by the Arte dei Calzaioi or Sant’Onofrio dei Tintori by the dyers’ guild.\(^41\) Cosimo subordinated these institutions to the duchy by nominating his loyal magistrates to run them. The duke and the Buonomini del Bigallo reformed and controlled pre-existing entities. For instance, the medieval Ospedale dei Broccardi, owned by the Arte di Calimala, became the Ospedale degli Abbandonati, a place destined to nurse abandoned children or orphans, managed by Buonomini di Sangallo.\(^42\)


\(^42\) Terpstra, “Competing”, 1327-1328.
Renewed social welfare legislation took into consideration the professional education of poor children.\(^{43}\) Cosimo and his magistrates, such as Vincenzo Borghini, *spedalingo* (Prior) of the Innocenti sought to teach children various skills according to their abilities.\(^ {44}\) Borghini was a historian, philologist and the artistic advisor and iconographer of the Medici court and in 1552, he was nominated Prior of the Spedale degli Innocenti, a charitable institution that took care of foundlings.\(^ {45}\)

Technical innovation, including tapestry-making, should be understood as an important aspect of Ducal policies of poor relief and state-building. Children of the Hospitals were encouraged to learn new techniques imported to Tuscany. In official patents between 1552 and 1600, the Grandukes specified that merchants should teach parentless children a variety of new techniques, such as how to craft *agore* (metal or wooden cases) (doc. 29).\(^ {46}\) This is the context in which existing documentation of the Arazzeria records the presence of children of the Spedale degli Innocenti as workers and apprentices. In the workshops of the Creati, a “Chimenti delli Innocenti” is recorded as a worker (doc. 30).\(^ {47}\) In the 1590s, Papini employed some boys from the Innocenti to cope with the increasing workload (doc. 31-

\(^{43}\) D’Addario, “Buonomini”, 719.


\(^{46}\) On *agore* see: ASF, Pratica Segreta, 189, fols. 16r; 17v; 18r; 30r-v; 36r-v.

\(^{47}\) ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 48, fol.68r.
Apprenticeship to tapestry-making represents a plurality of meanings for the different player involved in the entreprise, whether Saliti, the Flemish masters and the court. Undoubtedly, the apprenticeship of young children to the new technique is the basis for the continuation of tapestry-making in Florence and the foundation of the Arazzeria as a state industry.

2. *The Arazzeria As a State Industry (1554-1600)*

The aim of teaching young Florentine children in various aspects of tapestry making is clearly highlighted in the renewal of Rost’s 1549 contract:

At the end of this contract the art and profession of tapestry-weaver, alongside all their secrets for dyeing, will be learnt and firmly acquired by the city of Florence. There will be no need anymore for teaching from foreign people. These local children will perfectly exercise this art in the city of Florence. This goal was fulfilled a few years later. In 1554, the young local weavers educated by the Flemish masters, called the Creati Fiorentini, established two workshops, entirely owned by the Medici court. The new workshops opened between 1554 and 1556 in Via dei Servi and Via del Cocomero (today Via Ricasoli). The workshops were rented from two private owners, Carlo di Bernardo de’ Medici for Via del Cocomero and Ludovico di Guido del Palagio for Via...
dei Servi (doc. 33-34).\textsuperscript{50} Carlo de’ Medici recorded the rent of the Via del Cocomero workshop, as noted in his ledger (doc. 35), today at the Lea Library (Philadelphia).\textsuperscript{51}

The Creati effectively replaced Rost and Karcher. In January 1554 Karcher left Florence and returned to Mantua to the court of Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga (1550-1587).\textsuperscript{52} In 1556, Guglielmo granted Karcher and his eleven weavers tax and food exemptions.\textsuperscript{53} The master mainly worked for the Gonzaga court providing tapestries, today lost.\textsuperscript{54} Overall, Karcher lived quite comfortably in Mantua with his family also acquiring, through the dowry of his son’s wife, a villa in Sermide.\textsuperscript{55} He died in Mantua in 1564.\textsuperscript{56}

Jan Rost stayed in Florence after 1554, still running his workshop in San Marco. Even though Rost was funded in the form of a Ducal accomondita, from 1554 he did not receive any Medici commissions.\textsuperscript{57} The master mainly dealt with foreign commissions conserving and extending his independence as a “merchant-weaver”. In February 1553, a few months before the institution of the Creati, Jan Rost travelled to Northern Italy, as noted in an unpublished letter by Lelio Torelli to Cosimo (doc. 36).\textsuperscript{58} In the letter, the Ducal secretary Torelli wrote that “the master Rost had left Florence for a few weeks to go to Venice and Milan to expand his network and advocate for his products and art [...]”.\textsuperscript{59} It seems that the

\textsuperscript{50} ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 32, fols. 8r-v. 48r-v.

\textsuperscript{51} Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Lea Library, codex 1283, fol.205v. Carlo di Bernardo de’ Medici (1503-1573), a descendent of a cadet branch of the Medici family, was a senator and a wool merchant in garbo. On Carlo, see for instance, Lea Library, codex 1274, fols.1r-240v; codex 1275, fols. 1r-112v; codex 1283, fols. 1r-207v; codex, 1289, fols.1r-96v; codex 1290, fols. 1r-67v; codex 1294, fols. 1r-240v; codex 1346, fols. 1r-116v; codex 1364, fol.1r-96r.

\textsuperscript{52} Meoni, Arazzi, 28.

\textsuperscript{53} ASMn, Libri dei Decreti, 44, fol.220, in Brown, Delmarcel and Lorenzoni, Gonzaga, 105, doc.34.

\textsuperscript{54} Brown, Delmarcel and Lorenzoni, Gonzaga, 107, doc.41.

\textsuperscript{55} Brown, Delmarcel and Lorenzoni, Gonzaga, 105-106. doc.35.

\textsuperscript{56} Brown, Delmarcel and Lorenzoni, Gonzaga, 116, doc. 47.

\textsuperscript{57} Adelson, Minneapolis, 389; Meoni, Arazzi, 71-72.

\textsuperscript{58} ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1170a, fol. 204r.

\textsuperscript{59} Appendix, doc.36: “Essendo mastro Giovanni di Rosto araziere alcune settimane sono partito da Fiorenza per Vinetia e Milano et altrui per ampliare et divulgare la mercanzia del’arte soa et anchora per riscuotere certi crediti sol”.
master was fully in charge of his workshop and the management of his personnel, employing newcomer skilled weavers, like Pieter de Witte from Bruges. In 1558, Rost tried to relocate his workshop to Rome at the court of Paul IV Carafa (1555-1559), but the project was unsuccessful due to the subsequent death of the Pope in August 1559. Jan Rost returned to Florence where he continued his activity, now working alongside his son, Giovanni. The latter bought wool for tapestry-making from the Creati in 1560 (doc. 37). Jan Rost died in 1562. In 1564, Cosimo paid back to Giovanni some arrears owed to his father.

While the Flemish masters followed their professional path, in the first two years of the Creati (1554-1556), Tanai de’ Medici, the superintendent of the Arazzeria, led the adjustment of the rented spaces and the creation of the workshops. Nevertheless, it seems that the Creati employed the same looms the Flemish weavers left in Via dei Cimatori and even San Marco. In Via dei Servi, the first master was Giovanni di Marchionne da Fivizzano and from 1558, Benedetto di Michele Squilli took the leading position. Their family origin remains so far undocumented. The workshop in via del Cocomero was firstly managed by Filippo di Jacopo “dipintore”, who led the weaving of the first tapestry of the Creati, Apollo and Marsyas, for a Metamorphosis set, designed by Agnolo Bronzino. However, from 1557, a new weaver, Giovanni di Bastiano Sconditi, emerged as the master

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60 Meoni, Arazzi, 71. The figure of Pieter de Witte was analysed in chapter 3, section 4.
61 Adelson, Minneapolis, 389.
62 ASF, Guardaroba medicea, 38, fol. 20 left.
63 Adelson, Minneapolis, 389.
64 ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 220, fol. 30r.
65 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 32, fols. 10v-14v.
66 Campbell, Tapestry, 501; Meoni, Arazzi, 64-65.
67 Meoni, Arazzi, 65.
68 Meoni, Nascita, 28.
of the workshop of Via del Cocomero. The origin of this master too, is undocumented, but he might be a relative of the mercer Domenico di Piero Sconditi.

In this way, just like the Flemish Arazzeria, the Ducal workshop was initially divided into two distinct workshops. It seems likely that this division was applied to incentivise competition and production. For instance, the two workshops collaborated to weave pieces of the same set, such as the erudite *The Life of Man* tapestry (fig. 4.1). In 1571, three years after Sconditi’s death, the workshops merged and were relocated to San Marco, under the direction of Squilli.

The transition from the autonomous Arazzeria Medicea of the Flemish masters to the Arazzeria Ducale of the Creati Fiorentini in 1554 marked a new phase of tapestry-making in Florence. It became a state-owned industry, entirely funded by the Medici family. In this way, the new workshop should be linked to the political transformations of the 1550s. In particular, between 1545 and 1555, Cosimo had consolidated his position as an absolute and independent ruler in the city, in Tuscany and the Empire, reforming pre-existing institutions, organising a trustworthy and efficient bureaucracy and centralising power in his hands. The workshops reflected the establishment of the Ducal authority and power within the Florentine institutions.

The Creati were established outside the guilds’ or pre-existing institutions’ jurisdiction and were only faithful to the court and directly subjected to the Guardaroba

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69 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 32, fol.36v.

70 An account book of the mercer Domenico di Piero Sconditi (documented 1524-1554) is still existing. Several members of the family are mentioned in the book as Domenico’s brother Bartolomeo or the mercer Jacopo di Pagolo Sconditi. ASF, Fanciulle di Santa Caterina, 24, fols. 4 left; 208 left-right; 209, left-right. Giovanni might be a descendent of this family, but his name is never recorded.


Generale, an office that managed the properties of the duke. As analysed in section 3, the trusted bureaucrat Tanai de’ Medici (1522-1584), already “the scribe of the tapestries” (scrittore delle tappezzerie) since 1545, was nominated as the superintendent of the workshop (provveditore). The masters and weavers were Ducal employees and worked exclusively for Cosimo and his commissions dedicated “to the comfort of the duke” in the Palazzo Vecchio and other Medici possessions.

The Creati mainly wove sets for the Palazzo Vecchio’s Ducal stanze and for the Villa at Poggio a Caiano. Overall, this decoration glorified the history of the Medici and the institution of the Principato. For instance, the Stories of Hercules (fig.4.2), decorated the homonymous room echoing the virtues of the duke through the example of the hero. Similarly, the set of Clement VII, Lorenzo Il Magnifico (fig. 4.3) or Cosimo il Vecchio adorned the homonymous rooms, whilst the Florentine Histories (fig. 4.4-4.5) were displayed in the Sala di Gualdrada, a room dedicated to the history of the city. Meanwhile the Poggio a Caiano sets, such as Hunttings (fig. 4.6-4.7) or Stories of Leto (fig.4.8) illustrated courtly pleasures and pastimes.

It was only from 1566, after the partial abdication of Cosimo (1564), and especially after the death of Jan Rost (1562), who previously absorbed private clientele, that the Creati opened to private clients, and thus inherited the functions of the Flemish workshop. There are several documents that prove this new business for the Arazzeria, but the production, mainly heraldic or verdure, is today lost. The clients were predominantly Tuscan, such as the Arte dei Mercatanti (Calimala), the banker Alessandro di Giuliano Capponi, the Franciscan friars of Santa Croce, the city of Pistoia or the Spanish courtier, Fabio Arazzola.

74 Meoni, Nascita, 28-29. On the Guardaroba see Vaccari, Guardaroba, 373-375.
75 Adelson, “Patronage”, 56; Meoni, Arazzi, 38; Meoni, Nascita, 28.
77 Meoni, Arazzi, 64-68.
78 Meoni, Nascita, 62-65, n.5; Vasari, Ragionamenti, 83-86.
79 Meoni, Arazzi, 244-247, n.67-68. 232-237, n.59-63; 238-243, n.64-66; 204, n.42-44.
80 Meoni, Arazzi, 210-231, 46-58. 248-251, n.69-70; Meoni, Nascita, 76-82, n.11-12. 88-91, n.15.
81 Meoni, Arazzi, 74.
Aragona, Marquis of Mondragone. In the 1580s the Creati worked for private clients, as testified by the Marian sets of the Basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore in Bergamo. The middleman of this set, commissioned by the Confraternità della Misericordia di Bergamo, was the Bergamasque Girolamo Biffi, a banker and a silk merchant who invested in veil-making (velette). The opening of the Creati to external commissions did not signify the reiteration of the Flemish business model, since the owner, Francesco, needed to approve the commissions loaning the equipment of the workshops and his artisans for external work.

The Creati introduced the model of state-owned industries to Florence, implemented in the workshop of Guasparri Papini (1588-1621). In October 1587, Ferdinando de’ Medici (1549-1609), became Granduke. A few months later (March 1588), Squilli was dismissed and Papini took over the management of the workshop in San Marco (doc. 38). This substitution of Squilli was part of a wider “clearance”, carried out by Ferdinando, who nominated his trusted functionaries to strategic positions. The new granduke continued his father Cosimo’s economic course and political centralisation. Notably, Ferdinando profoundly reformed and extended the state-owned workshops, which served the court. In 1588, he established the Ducal workshop of the Opificio delle Pietre Dure. The new stone-

82 Meoni, Arazzi, 74-76; Meoni, “Stradanus”, 54. On Capponi, see section 3.
83 Conti, Ricerche, 56; Lecchini Giovanni, Allori, 263-264, n.98.
84 On veil-making see chapter 1, section 1. Biffi is recorded in the Arazzeria’s documentation for lending money to the workshop. ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 116, fol.5r.
85 Meoni, Arazzi, 77.
86 Meoni, Arazzi, 93. See also, ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 116, fol.10r; 121, fol.34 left-right.
carving workshop responded to the needs of the court providing decorations for decorating the *Cappelle Medicee*, the family mausoleum, in Basilica San Lorenzo.\(^89\)

The complex of these state industries was called the “Galleria dei Lavori” and it was instituted with a Granducal patent (*lettera patente*) on 3rd September 1588.\(^90\) The Galleria was situated in the Galleria degli Uffizi. The Roman musician, Emilio de Cavalieri (1550-1602), directed the Galleria.\(^91\) The Arazzeria was subordinated to the Galleria but conserved some traits of its original heterodoxy. Firstly, the workshop was not moved to the Uffizi, but stayed in San Marco. Moreover, the superintendent, De’ Cavalieri, did not intervene in the Arazzeria.\(^92\) The role of superintendent, previously held by Tanai, was divided into two figures. The superintendent (*provveditore*) of the Arazzeria, Girolamo Seriacopi (1588-1598), dealt with the accountability and the supply of the workshop, while Michele Caccini was responsible for writing the account books.\(^93\)

The workshop of Papini in the 1590s provided tapestries for the court, such as the *Stories of Centaurs* (1586-1590), *Stories of St. John the Baptist* (1586-1594), which had been begun by Squilli, and the majestic and precious seven-piece set of the *Passion of Christ* (1589/1591-1616) (fig. 4.9-4.10-4.11-4.12), or the *Liturgical Drapes* or the *Stories of Pope Clement VIII* (1592-1605).\(^94\) The Arazzeria was also open to receiving external commissions for earning profit.\(^95\) However, Papini was not in charge of finding commissions, like the merchant-weavers Rost and Karcher. Conversely, Ferdinando and his court took over this task, establishing a network of agents and middlemen, such as the Florentine banker Clemente Rucellai, the Ducal arquebusier Antonio Maria Bianchi and the merchant Giulio Girardo, who lived in Venice.\(^96\) Overall, after 1554, it appears that tapestry-making in

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\(^{89}\) De Mucci, “Pietre”, 337-338.


\(^{92}\) Meoni, *Arazzi*, 94.


\(^{95}\) Goldthwaite, *Economy*, 395.

\(^{96}\) ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 116, fol. 47r; 121, fols. 100 left-right; 117 right; 138 left-right; Meoni, *Arazzi*, 100-103.
Florence became a state-owned industry, closely linked with the rise of the Medici absolutism. As analysed in the following section, this modification affected the entrepreneurship of the Arazzeria and the role of merchant-courtiers.

3. The New Role of Merchant-Courtiers in The State-Owned Workshops

The transition of the Arazzeria into a state-owned industry from 1554 onwards motivated some profound changes in the entrepreneurship of the workshops in comparison with the previous management of the Flemish masters (1545-1553). Despite the loss of the Creati’s contracts, it seems that the form of the accomandita was still in place, as the grandukes acted as the sole investors and the Creati as managers. The intermediate figures of masters’ associates and suppliers, like Rinieri or Saliti, disappeared. From 1554 the new generation of merchant-courtiers simply served as suppliers.97

The most important merchant-courtier and supplier in the Arazzeria for thirty years (1554-1584) was the superintendent of the workshop Tanai de’ Medici. As studied in the scholarly literature, Tanai di Nicola de’ Medici was a key bureaucrats in the management of the Arazzeria, who dedicated nearly 40 years to the functioning of the workshops (1545-1584).98 However, by reading the private documentation of his family, Medici del Chiarissimo, a rather different figure emerges.99 It seems that Tanai was not simply a bureaucrat, but was also a key supplier to the Arazzeria. Therefore, as new evidence demonstrates, Tanai dominated and directed the entrepreneurship of the workshop, combining bureaucratic tasks with personal and family mercantile interests.

97 See chapter 2, section 4.
98 Meoni, Arazzi, 38; 56-57; 65-67.
99 On Tanai see: ASF, Manoscritti, 106, fol.1-96 right; Archivio della Congregazione dei Buonomini di San Martino, Fondo Gianfigliazzi, 4.5.1.0.1, insert 1-3, loose sheets. Further documents on this cadet branch of the Medici family are related to Vieri di Nicola (o Niccolò) de’ Medici (1527-1600), a younger brother of Tanai and superintendent of non-military constructions (Provveditore Generale delle Fabbriche) (1566-1600), and Francesco di Tanai de’ Medici (1581-1664), a son of Tanai and a Florentine senator and merchant. On Vieri see ASF, Libri di Commercio e Famiglia, 4317, fols. 16r-100v. On Francesco see Archivio della Congregazione dei Buonomini di San Martino, Fondo Gianfigliazzi, 4.5.1.0.1, insert 4-12; 4.5.1.0.2, insert 1-12, unnumbered.
Tanai de’ Medici (1522-1584), was descended from a cadet branch of the Medici family, the Medici del Chiarissimo.\textsuperscript{100} He was the first-born son of Nicola (Niccolò) de’ Medici and Antonia di Francesco Alfieri Strinati. This cadet branch had its origin in the late thirteenth century from Chiarissimo di Filippo de’ Medici. Chiarissimo was the younger brother of Averardo di Filippo de’ Medici, whose descendants formed the major branches of the family, the Cafaggiolo and the Granducal (Popolano) branches.\textsuperscript{101} Prior to 1545, Tanai worked for the Ducal accountant, Tommaso di Jacopo de’ Medici.\textsuperscript{102} The secretary to the duke, Pierfrancesco Riccio, in October 1545, appointed Tanai as the administrative supervisor for the workshops (\textit{scrivano delle muraglie e delle tappezziere}).\textsuperscript{103} From late 1545, he was in charge of the accounting of the Arazzeria on behalf of the Ducal court.\textsuperscript{104}

Tanai carefully oversaw the management of the Flemish masters’ workshops (1545-1553). He was the person in charge on behalf of the court for reimbursing the production costs to the Flemish masters.\textsuperscript{105} Tanai was also in charge of payments to the Congregazione dei Preti di San Salvatore for the rent of Jan Rost’s and his weavers’ accommodation in San Gallo.\textsuperscript{106} He was the trusted officer of the investor Cosimo within the private workshops, owned by the Flemish masters. In 1554, Tanai was nominated the superintendent (\textit{provveditore}) of the workshops and he dealt with the accountability of the Creati, compiling the account books of the Arazzeria.\textsuperscript{107} Therefore, as described in the previous section, he

\begin{enumerate}
\item On the branch’s genealogy see ASF, Raccolta Ceramelli Papiani, 3130, unnumbered; BNCF, Fondo Passerini, 8 (Medici), n.159.
\item BNCF, Fondo Passerini, 8 (Medici), n.159.
\item ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 613, insert 1, fol.50r. On Tommaso see, BNCF, Tordi, 13, fols. 23 left-right; 24 right; 34 left-right.
\item ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 613, insert 1, fol.50r.
\item Meoni, \textit{Arazzi}, 38.
\item There are payments by Tanai to the masters see ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 101, insert 1545, fols.5r; 11r-v, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 520, doc.45-46. ASF, Compagnie religiose, 877, n.127, fols.167v; 180v, in Adelson, “Patronage”; 548-549, doc.89.
\item See for instance, ASF, Compagnie religiose, 878, G III, n.128, fols.10v; 15v; 24v; 133r; 135v; 140r in Adelson, “Patronage”; 554; 559; 577-578, doc.98; 111; 138. Also see, ASF, Compagnie religiose, 879, n.37, fol.22v, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 645, doc.245.
\item Meoni, \textit{Arazzi}, 56-57.
\end{enumerate}
oversaw the preparation and mounting of the new workshops in Via dei Servi and Via del Cocomero.\textsuperscript{108}

Details of the Arazzeria’s management can be found in Tanai’s private documents. There are several references to the Creati’s business carried out by Tanai (doc. 39-40-41-42-43).\textsuperscript{109} Moreover, he directly entertained trades with the Creati, Giovanni Sconditi and Benedetto Squilli. In particular, in 1562, Tanai sold some litres of “vinegar”, used as a mordant in dyeing, to Sconditi.\textsuperscript{110} Therefore, these references in the private book of Tanai might suggest the combination of an official function and personal interests, leading to reassessing his real role and the overall entrepreneurship within the Creati’s Arazzeria.

Interestingly, in the documentation of the Arazzeria, since the 1560s, a company, named \textit{Cipriano Sernigi et compagni lanaioi li in garbo} (Cipriano Sernigi and associates in \textit{garbo} wools) emerges as one of the main suppliers of the workshops.\textsuperscript{111} Cipriano di Andrea Sernigi was a \textit{lanaiole}, who descended from a prominent family of merchants.\textsuperscript{112} He served as \textit{podestà} in Certaldo in 1561.\textsuperscript{113} Notably, Cipriano Sernigi was also Tanai’s father-in-law.\textsuperscript{114} In 1563 Tanai married Alessandra Sernigi (doc. 44-45), one of Cipriano’s daughters.\textsuperscript{115} Unfortunately, the documentation of this company is today mainly lost. Only a few mercantile and private books of the Sernigi family from the second half of the sixteenth century survive. These documents are related to Andrea di Rinieri, a nephew of Cipriano di

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{108} See section 2.

\textsuperscript{109} ASF, Manoscritti, 106, fols. 18 right; 47 left-right; 58 right; 72 left-right.

\textsuperscript{110} ASF, Manoscritti, 106, fol. 18 left.

\textsuperscript{111} See chapter 5, section 1.

\textsuperscript{112} On the family see ASF, Raccolta Ceramelli Papiani, 4363, unnumbered; ASF, Raccolta Sebregondi, 4894, unnumbered; ASF, Carte Bardi, Serie 3, 92, n.83. BNCF, Collezione Passerini, 191 (Sernigi), loose sheets.

\textsuperscript{113} ASF, Raccolta Ceramelli Papiani, 4363, unnumbered.

\textsuperscript{114} ASF, Manoscritti, 106, fols. 25 right. 40 left.

\textsuperscript{115} ASF, Manoscritti, 106, fols. 25 left-right. genealogy of the family is in BNCF, Collezione Passerini, 191 (Sernigi), n.159, but it appears incomplete. We can identify the associate of Tanai in Cipriano di Andrea, a grandson of Cipriano di Chimenti, and a son of Andrea and Caterina Biliotti. Cipriano di Andrea married Caterina di Raffaele Giugni in 1576. His daughter, Alessandra is not recorded in the genealogy.
\end{flushleft}
The father of Andrea was Rinieri di Andrea Sernigi, a brother of Cipriano, who died before 1563 when his son established a garbo wool company, named Rede di Rinieri Sernigi (heir of Rinieri Sernigi). In another private book, it also appears that Cipriano and Rinieri owned some farms in the village of Morrocco, near Tavarnelle Val di Pesa.

From 1563, Tanai entered the network of the Sernigi family, sharing their spaces and joining the private life and entertainments of his wife’s family, such as celebrations, dinners or dance shows. Moreover, this personal tie led to a professional partnership. A note in Tanai’s personal book (1564), illustrates that the company named Cipriano Sernigi et compagni lanaiuoli in garbo was funded by Tanai de’ Medici himself, as he was an associate, alongside his father-in-law Cipriano Sernigi and directed by Benedetto Rigogli (doc. 46). The company lasted after the death of Alessandra in 1566, providing textiles, such as rascie, for her funeral. Alessandra was also commemorated by Tanai with jewels in 1566. In 1567, another investor entered the company of Tanai and Sernigi, Smeraldo Strozzi (doc. 47). This company was actively employed for the needs of Tanai’s family. In the account book, there are several references to goods and wool textiles, provided to Tanai and Alessandra. For instance, the company provided precious fabrics for sewing a

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117 ASF, Carte Strozianne, Serie V, 1757, fol. 9 right.

118 The name of Cipriano is recorded on an expenditure book of Andrea di Rinieri (1563-1570). ASF, Carte Strozianne, Serie V, 1758, fols.1 left-right; 9 left-right.

119 ASF, Manoscritti, 106, fol.27 right.

120 ASF, Manoscritti, 106, fol.40 left.

121 ASF, Manoscritti, 106, fol.47 left.

122 ASF, Manoscritti, 106, fol.48 left.

123 ASF, Manoscritti, 106, fol.66 left-right.

124 ASF, Manoscritti, 106, fols. 27 right; 28 left-right; 30 left-right; 31 right; 41 right; 82 left; 96 right.
Turkish-style dressing gown for Alessandra.\textsuperscript{125} In addition to that, the company became a lead wool supplier for the Arazziera. Therefore, it appears that Tanai took advantage of his public role as the superintendent to direct the supply of wool into his company, generating private revenues for his family. In 1568, Tanai married his second wife, Virginia Segni. She was the descendent of another family of merchants and the daughter of the historian Bernardo Segni (1504-1558).\textsuperscript{126} Virginia’s brother, Giovambattista, became a collaborator of Tanai in the management of the workshops.\textsuperscript{127}

Other operators of the Arazzeria seem to be closely linked to Tanai’s personal and public networks: the Alessandrini family, Ridolfo di Niccolò Sirigatti and notably the Salviati family. The Alessandrini were mercers (\textit{lanciai}) and linen-merchants, who simultaneously supplied \textit{refi} to the Arazzeria and linen to Tanai.\textsuperscript{128} Tanai’s relationship with Ridolfo Sirigatti (1549-1608) appears to be professional and personal. Sirigatti, who descended from a family of wool merchants, is mainly known for his artistic career as he was an sculptor.\textsuperscript{129} In 1577, Sirigatti and his \textit{fondaco} supplied the Arazzeria with Provencal wool.\textsuperscript{130} In 1586, Sirigatti married one of Tanai’s daughters, Antonia.\textsuperscript{131}

\textsuperscript{125} ASF, Manoscritti, 106, fol.27 right; 30 right.
\textsuperscript{127} Giovambattista regularly appeared in Arazzeria’s documentation since the 1570s, performing activities for Tanai. For instance, ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 72, fols. 60v.64r. On Giovambattista see, Riccardiana, 1882, fol. 283r-v. Pisa, Scuola Normale Superiore (hereafter, SNS), Archivio Salviati, Serie I, Libri di Commercio, 1244, fol.93r. Giovambattista acted as the executor of Tanai’s will. Archivio della Congregazione dei Buonuomini di San Martino, Fondo Gianfigliazzi, 4.5.1.0.1, loose sheets.
\textsuperscript{128} ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 47, fol.5 left. On \textit{refi}, see chapter 5, section 4.
\textsuperscript{129} Donatella Pegazzano, “Ridolfo Sirigatti”, \textit{Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani}, vol.92 (2018), 826-828. A few mercantile account books of the Sirigatti’s \textit{fondaco} are still existing (1568-1583). Archivio della Congregazione dei Buonuomini di San Martino, Fondo Minerbetti-Sirigatti, 5.3.3.1, fols. 1 left-220 left; 5.3.3.2, fols. 1 left-118 left.
\textsuperscript{130} ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 72, fol. 57v.
\textsuperscript{131} Pegazzano, “Sirigatti”, 828. BNCF, Collezione Passerini, 161 (Sirigatti), n.69, unnumbered.
In 1578, the merchant-bankers and brothers Averardo di Filippo (1542-1595) and Antonio di Filippo Salviati (1554-1619) provided Provencal wool to the Arazzeria (doc.48) and this supply seems to be closely associated with Tanai.\(^{132}\) Averardo and Antonio were prominent merchant-bankers, based in Florence and Pisa, and close allies of the Medici family.\(^{133}\) In the 1580s, they commissioned the Cappella Salviati in San Marco in Florence.\(^{134}\) Among various businesses, the Salviati traded wool and wool textiles in Italy and across the Mediterranean and even England.\(^{135}\) The Salviati brothers regularly purchased commodities such as wool, sheepskin, leather and almonds, from Avignon which were shipped to Pisa or Livorno via Marseille.\(^{136}\)

Therefore, their wide trade with Provence could explain the supply of wool to the Arazzeria. However, a professional connection between Tanai and the Salviati, which took

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\(^{132}\) ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 72, fol.140r.


\(^{134}\) Hurtubise, *Salviati*, 312-314; Karwacka Codini and Sbrilli, *Quaderno*, V-XXV

\(^{135}\) The wool trade of Averardo’s and Antonio’s company is vast and well documented (1560-1611) in the Archivio Salviati. On purchases and sellings of wool and textile in the Mediterranean basin and England, see for instance, SNS, Archivio Salviati, Libri di Commercio, I, 1244, fol. 85 right. 1536, fols. 14 left-right; 124 left-right; 232 left-right; 237 left-right; 1540, fols. 71 left-73 left; 1541, fols. 1 left-6 right.

\(^{136}\) See for instance, the trades (1585-1590), SNS, Archivio Salviati, Serie I, Libri di Commercio, 1489, fols. 271 right; 280 left-right; 281 left-right; 315 left-right; 323 right; 324 left; 364 left; 1492, fols. 30 right; 66 left; 180 left; 1493, fols. 228 left-right; 237 left-right; 258 left-right; 258 right; 276 left-right; 290 left-right.
place in 1577-1578, seemed to motivate this supply. In 1577 Tanai was appointed Sea Consul (console del Mare) in Pisa, where the Salviati operated. The Sea Consul, appointed for one year, was a juridical magistracy that dealt with the maritime customs. Between January and May 1578, Tanai and the company of Cipriano Sernigi sold Provencal and Spanish wool to the Salviati (doc. 49). In June 1578, at the end of Tanai’s office, the Salviati ricompensed Tanai by sending a bale of Provencal wool from Avignon to the Arazzeria. As emerges from the documentation of the Archivio Salviati, Bartolomeo Pesciolini, a local shopkeeper, who later became a key supplier for Papini’s workshop in the 1590s, may have organised the arrival of the wool bale in Pisa. In July 1578, Averardo and Antonio in Pisa paid Tanai a stipend for this role (doc. 50-51). Tanai’s relationship with Averardo and Antonio Salviati also concerns the rent of some lands in Pisa. From 1434 Tanai’s family had owned land near the Basilica di San Piero a Gradi. Two months after the supply of Provencal wool, in September 1578, Tanai rented some of his properties in San Piero in Gradi (fig.4.13), to the Salviati in exchange for wheat and cheese (doc. 52). Therefore, it seems that Tanai once again combined personal matters with his public function.

Tanai died in 1584. After his death, a series of supplications, by Virginia Segni and Tanai’s brother, Vieri di Nicola de’ Medici, were sent to the Medici court asking for

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137 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 72, fol.64r.
139 SNS, Archivio Salviati, Serie I, Libri di Commercio, 1536, fols. 175 left-right; 197 left-right.
140 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 72, fol.140r.
141 SNS, Archivio Salviati, Serie I, Libri di Commercio, 1466, fol.33v. On Pesciolini, see chapter 5, section 1.
142 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 72, fol.64r; SNS, Archivio Salviati, Serie I, Libri di Commercio, 1466, fol.34v.
143 In 1434, the Archbishop of Pisa, Filippo de’ Medici granted these lands near San Pietro in Gradi to Tanai’s ancestor, Guido di Vieri, see Archivio della Congregazione dei Buonuomini di San Martino, Fondo Gianfigliazzi, Famiglia Medici, 4.5.1.0.1, loose sheets.
144 The lease continued until 1633. Archivio della Congregazione dei Buonuomini di San Martino, Fondo Gianfigliazzi, Famiglia Medici, 4.5.1.0.1, loose sheets.
compensation of 1500 *libbre* of Provencal *stame* stored in Tanai’s house and other arrears (doc. 53-54-55). In 1585, the court paid the arrears to Tanai’s heirs. Overall, as all these unpublished documents illustrate, Tanai dominated the entrepreneurship of the Arazzeria, including his family and his business networks in the workshop.

In 1588, a new course began for tapestry-making in Florence. The workshop of Guasparri Papini was dominated by the direct involvement of Granduke Ferdinando through state bureaucracy. As I note in chapter 5, Ferdinando particularly directed the supply of wool from Provence to Pisa. The interventionism of Ferdinando testified to the progressive insertion of the Arazzeria of Papini in the state bureaucracy, as noted in section 2 of this chapter. Nevertheless, some merchant-courtiers and prominent companies still operated as suppliers for the Arazzeria, such as the Capponi or the goldbeating company of Giovan Battista Cini. The Capponi, a major mercantile family, participated in supplying silk. Their allegiance with the Medici had been always faltering in the fifteenth and sixteenth century. However, after the establishment of the Duchy, the Capponi joined the Medici bureaucracy. Giuliano di Piero Capponi (1476-1565) became one of Cosimo’s closest advisors. Giuliano was a merchant-banker and owned a bank, wool, silk and goldbeating companies. Giuliano’s sons, Luigi and Alessandro, carried on the paternal business.

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145 Archivio della Congregazione dei Buonuomini di San Martino, Fondo Gianfigliazzi, Famiglia Medici, 4.5.1.0.1, loose sheets.
146 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 121, fols. 4 left-right. 17 left-right.
147 See chapter 5, section 1.
150 On Giuliano (1476-1565), see BNCF, Collezione Passerini, 48 (Capponi), 212-214; Goldthwaite, *Wealth*, 214-232
151 BNCF, Collezione Passerini, 48 (Capponi), 214-232.
Luigi (1505-1584), was a prominent figure in the court.\(^{153}\) Alessandro (1512-1587) was a wool merchant, having strong ties with Spanish and Portuguese families.\(^{154}\) This relationship with the Iberian nobility firstly drove Alessandro and Luigi into the Arazzeria in the 1570s. In 1572, there are several references to carriage covers with the coat of arms of the Viceroy of Sardinia, Juan Colomna y Cardona (1522-1586), designed by Stradano and commissioned and paid for by the bank of Alessandro and Luigi Capponi (doc. 56-57-58).\(^{155}\)

The Capponi family reappeared in the 1590s in the Arazzeria as suppliers. The two companies of Niccolò di Filippo and Luigi di Giuliano and Alessandro di Giuliano and his heirs were the suppliers of silk from Southern Italy and metallic threads to the Arazzeria (doc. 59-60-61-62) between 1591 and 1595.\(^{156}\) The supply of goods from the Capponi family to the Arazzeria was also motivated by technical reasons and an increase in the production’s quality in Papini’s workshops.\(^{157}\)

Giovan Battista Cini’s goldbeating company appeared as a regular supplier to Papini’s tapestry workshop for nine years, 1589 to 1598.\(^{158}\) Cini (1528-1584) has solely been studied for his artistic career and scholars, so far, have ignored his flourishing mercantile career.\(^{159}\) Giovan Battista (or Giovambattista) di Francesco Cini was born in Pisa in 1528 to a family of wool merchants. In 1540, following a disagreement among his family for inheritance rights, by the order of Cosimo, Giovan Battista was hosted in the Florentine residence of Cristofano


\(^{154}\) Anna Maria Pult Quaglia, “Alessandro Capponi”, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 19 (1976), 9-10.

\(^{155}\) ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 72. fols. 123v. 124v. 125r. 128r. Meoni, *Arazzi*, 76.

\(^{156}\) On the supply see ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 116, fols. 34r; 55r; 63v. 121, fols.73 left-right. 122 left-right. See also chapter 5, section 2. Niccolo (1555-1594), was the elder son of Filippo di Niccolo and he did not participate in public life. BNCF, Collezione Passerini, 48 (Capponi), 225-227.

\(^{157}\) See chapter 5, section 3.

\(^{158}\) See chapter 5, section 3.

Rinieri. In Florence, while he became a courtier and playwright, Cini also undertook a mercantile career. Already in 1550, he owned with some associates a warehouse (fondaco). He traded a variety of goods, such as silk, textiles, sugar and pepper in Europe and Italy. He seemed to be closely associated with Andrea Rinieri in Lyon and the Salviati family in Pisa. Cini’s goldbeating company was active at least from 1556 and it had the business name of *Giovan Battista Cini et battilori*. The first evidence of a contract of the company (1564), which appears as a renewal, is recorded in an account book by Andrea di Rinieri Sernigi (doc. 63-64). Cini provided around 57% of the starting capital. The first existing statement of the company is dated 1564. Another contract is dated on the 27th November 1567 and it was signed by the investors, Giovan Battista Martelli, Alberto Altoviti and Giovanni da Casavecchia and Giovan Battista Cini. Andrea Sernigi recorded another two contracts of the company in 1573 and 1577.

In 1586, following the death of Giovan Battista Cini, the company was named *Redi di Giovan Battista Cini* (heirs of Giovan Battista Cini) (doc. 65), and run by the sons of Cini, Cosimo and Francesco, and other private investors from patrician families, such Altoviti,

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161 The trades of Cini’s fondaco are documented in his ledgers from 1550 to 1580. ASF, Grifoni, 405, fol.1left; 96 left; 407, fols. 1left-114 right; 231 left-253 right.

162 See for instance, ASF, Grifoni, 405, fols. 16 left-right; 33 left-right; 44 left-right; 50 left-right; 63 left-right; 65 left-left; 66 left-right; 68 left-right; 77 left-right; 87 left-right; 407, fols. 6 left-right; 95 left-right.

163 ASF, Grifoni, 405, fols. 11 left-right; 57 left-right; 93 left-right; 407, fols. 5 left-right; 48 left-right; 64 left-right.

164 The first mention is recorded in ASF, Grifoni, 407, fol. 43 right.

165 ASF, Carte Stroziane, Serie V, 1757, fol.21 left.

166 ASF, Carte Stroziane, Serie V, 1757, fol.21 left.

167 ASF, Grifoni, 408, fols. 21v-22v. See chapter 6, section 3.


169 ASF, Carte Stroziane, Serie V, 1757, fols. 37 right; 39 left-right.
Martelli, Casavecchia and others.\textsuperscript{170} Unfortunately, there is no existing evidence of any other contracts of the company after 1577 and it is difficult to assess how the company was organised. Nevertheless, the company was well integrated within a network of courtiers. Indeed, from 1589 the company of Cini was recorded as the main supplier for the Arazzeria and for the Salviati chapel in San Marco.\textsuperscript{171}

Overall, from 1550s onwards it appears that an elite of merchant-courtiers and prominent mercantile families participated in the supply of materials, revealing once again the primary economic function of tapestry-making in Florence. However, as the workshops were entirely funded by the grandukes, the new generations of merchant-courtiers did not act like associates of the masters, like Saliti and Rinieri before 1554, but simply as suppliers. The creation of a state-owned industry and the progressive assimilation of the workshop motivated this entrepreneurial modification.

4. Tapestry-Making Between Assimilation and Heterodoxy

The institution of the Ducal Arazzeria, a state-owned workshop, modified the mode of production for tapestry-making and the role of the masters. Firstly, the Flemish model of merchant-weavers was ended. At the same time, we can recognise a reiteration of some Northern manufacturing traits, such as a centralised mode of production, which did not fit in the Florentine putting-out system. The new Florentine masters did not enjoy any commercial independence. They were solely the managers of their workshops and they did not have the same entrepreneurial agency as Jan Rost and Nicholas Karcher. Benedetto Squilli, Giovanni Sconditi and Guasparri Papini only had relative autonomy in managing the internal organisation of the workplace. It appears that the Creati stipulated a contract with

\textsuperscript{170} ASF, Grifoni, 408, fol.42 right.

Cosimo, but the terms are not known or documented today. Overall, like the Flemish masters, it appears the Creati and Papini did not entirely replicate the Florentine putting-out system. Conversely, they established a semi-centralised mode of production.

The Creati followed a hierarchical structure. The masters led the workshop, dealing with internal accountability, the relationship with the superintendent, the organisation of work and the treatment of materials. In the account books, Squilli or Sconditi are often paid for a series of operations: dyeing, twisting yarns, manufacturing and weaving. For instance, in 1571, Squilli was paid for “dyeing, twisting, weaving with low-warp looms and manufacturing” the *Histories of Clement VII* (fig.4.14). In the 1580s and 1590s, Squilli and Papini were also regularly paid for the “sulfation of wool”, an operation which whitened the fabric. Therefore, three essential steps, fibre preparation, dyeing and weaving, were managed under the direction of the masters, in and outside the workshops.

The first step, fibre preparation, was sometimes conducted internally as the presence of spinning wheels (*filatoi*) in 1562 suggests (doc. 66). A *filatoio* is also recorded in Papini’s workshop. However, it appears that these preparatory steps were more regularly outsourced to local workers. As I discuss in the next chapter, the workshops bought raw materials from suppliers. Materials came into the workshops in different forms, such as skeins or dishevelled yarns, and qualities, such as oiled or purged (doc. 67-68). Wool and silk could arrived in the workshops untwisted and sometimes uncombed. Therefore, the Creati employed local artisans for preparing the yarns in order to weave. There are several records of payments to throwsters (*torcitori*), *cimatori* and combers

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174 ASF, Guardaroba Mediceo, 72, fol.129v: “tintura, torcitura, licci e manifattura”.

175 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 116, fols.4r; 14v; 22r; 26r; 32r; 45v; 54r; 61v; 62r-v; 65r; 68r; 121, fols. 6 left-right; 20 left-right; 53 left-right; 117 left-right: “inzolfatura”. On sulfation, Gentile, *Dizionario*, 149.

176 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 48, fol.37r.

177 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 116, fol. 82 left-right.

178 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 32, fols.56v; 62r.
from 1554 onwards (doc. 69). It emerges that the masters autonomously appointed local workers for these operations, asking for reimbursement from the court. Women, mainly wives of tapestry-weavers or workers of the Arazzeria, were also employed in fibre preparation. These women were regularly paid for rearranging and knotting dishevelled yarns of combed wool (doc. 70-71-72).

Dyeing was partially performed in the workshop by the same tapestry-weavers. In 1554-1556, while the workshops in Via del Cocomero and Via dei Servi were under construction, the Creati relied completely on dyers for silk and wool. We can read, for instance, the copy of the receipt sent by the silk dyer Jacopo del Rosso on 4th May 1556 for dyeing filaticci or wool in various colours, by using orchil and brazilwood and alum as the mordant (doc. 73).

In October 1556, even before setting up the looms, four boilers were installed in Via del Cocomero and Via dei Servi (doc. 74). In the following years, it seems that the Creati followed their Flemish teachers and either dyed threads in the workshop or outsourced dyeing to Florentine suppliers. When the workshops were moved to San Marco in 1568, Squilli might have inherited the dyeing room of Jan Rost. The inventory of 1585 illustrates that the Creati regularly dyed their threads in the workshop. The Arazzeria bought the dyeing materials and mordants from Florentine dyers. For instance, on 21st October 1563, the dyer Vettorio del Rosso provided “various materials” for dyeing in the workshop. Similarly, on the 3rd September 1583, the dyer Francesco di Tommaso Fantini provided

179 See for instance: ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 32, fol. 1v; 38, fol.10 right; 31 left; 48, fols. 33r; 55v; 76v; 47, fols. 81 right; 91 left-right; 118 left-right; 130 left-right; 131 right; 142 right; 146 right; 148 right; 169 left-right. 48, fols. 45r; 75r.

180 See ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 80, fol.1r-51r. This book contained receipts of payments to external workers in the 1570s.

181 For instance see: ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 38, fol. 11 left. 72, fols. 29r; 34v; 54v; 58v.

182 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 32, fol.19v.

183 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 32, fols. 20r; 27r; 28v.

184 See chapter 4, section 3.

185 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 103, fol.109r-v. The inventory is transcribed in chapter 6, section 4.

186 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 48, fol.53r:“robe avute da lui p[er] tignere”.
“kermes and alum” to Squilli “for dyeing in the workshop”. The documents do not tell us much about the dyeing techniques or which dyestuffs were used in the Arazzeria. The purchase of kermes from Fantini in 1583 suggests that the Creati dyed threads red in the workshop. However, like Jan Rost, the Creati and Papini did not dye all threads employed in tapestry-weaving.

Moreover, in many cases, the Creati purchased coloured threads of combed wool and refi from mercers or wool-merchants or relied on Florentine dyers. From the early 1560s, the main supplier was the silk dyer Francesco di Tommaso Fantini. It seems that the Florentine tapestry-weavers did not dye some colours in their workshop, such as green, blue or brown, which were purchased instead. Notably, like the Flemish masters, it appears that the Creati and Papini did not dye silk or filaticcio, possibly because they did not know how to perform the sgommatura on raw silk. They relied on silk dyers, such as Fantini, or mercers, like Bastiano Santini, for the supply of coloured filaticci.

Weaving was entirely conducted in the workshops. The Creati and Papini were paid, like their Northern predecessors, by the amount of ells woven. Later, the Medici court paid Squilli and Sconditi solely 15 lire per ell (around 2 scudi), but their compensation

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187 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 103, fol. 41v: “a franc[esc]o di tomaso Fantini tintore per cermisi et allume di feccia per tingiere in bottega come peritia di detto Benedetto”. There are other generic references of dyestuffs, provided by Fantini in ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 48, fols.44v; 56r; 69r.

188 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 103, fol. 41v.

189 See chapter 5, sections 1 and 4.

190 Fantini is recorded in 1561 as “silk dyer”, who worked in Piazza d’Arno (Piazza Mentana) in ASF, Decima Granducale, 3782, fol.83v. On the supplies of coloured threads in the tapestry workshop see: ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 48, fols.32v; 44r-v; 53r; 56r; 57r; 62v; 66r; 73r. There are other dyers recorded as Paperino di Raffaello (1563), ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 48, fol.51r.

191 On Rost see: ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 101, insert 1545, fol. 6r; 33v, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 521, doc.47. 522, doc.50. On Creati: ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 48, fols. 44v; 47r; 48r; 55r; 56r; 57r; 62v; 66r; 69r; 73r. Also, Paperino di Raffaello supplied “10 libbre and half of azure and green wools” (“lib[bre] 10 e 1/2 di lane verdi e turchine”), in ASF,Guardaroba Medicea, 48, fol.51r.

192 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 116, fol.21r.

193 For instance, ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 32, fols. 23r; 37r.
included production expenses, such as dyeing and fibre preparation (doc. 75). Therefore, the masters distributed this compensation among the weavers. The court paid Papini in the same way as the Creati, by ells woven, also including in the compensations the reimbursements for labour and production costs, such as manufacturing yarns, dyeing and weaving (doc. 76-77-78-79). Overall, the Creati and Papini were paid less than their Flemish predecessors.

Despite the loss of the entrepreneurial independence of the workshops, the centralised organisation of tapestry-weaving testifies to the endurance of the Northern mode of production. Flemish weavers were always present in the workshops and even the Florentine master Benedetto Squilli was socially connected to the Flemish community as he was a member of the Confraternity of Santa Barbara. Nevertheless, by the end of the century, as a list of Papini’s workers demonstrates, the majority of tapestry weavers and workers were Florentine. The prevalence of the Florentine workers in the Arazzeria illustrates the success of the original project of domestication of tapestry-weaving in sixteenth-century Florence, as Saliti suggested in his letters of 1545.

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The chapter reconstructs tapestry-making in sixteenth-century Florence from 1554 to 1600 thanks to extensive archival research, which unearthed unpublished documents related to this period in public and private archives and libraries, such as the series of the Guardaroba Medicea in the State Archive of Florence, Archivio della Congregazione dei Buonuomini di San Martino (Florence), Scuola Normale Superiore, Archivio Salviati (Pisa) and Lea Library (Philadelphia).

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194 For instance, ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 38, fol.43 left.
195 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 116, fol. 12r. Meoni, Arazzi, 115. See also, ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 116, fols. 2v; 3v; 4r; 5v; 14v; 22r; 26r; 35v; 37r; 38r; 45v; 55v; 61v; 62r; 65r; 68r; 121, fols. 20 left-right; 53 left-right; 65 left-right; 73 left-right; 68 left; 73 left-right; 75 left-right; 78 right; 84 right; 99 left-right; 126 right; 135 right; 145 right.
196 Meoni, Nascita, 28.
197 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 116, fol.57r, in Conti, Ricerche, 59
The research looks at the long-term perspective of the production, starting from the apprenticeship of young local children. As noted in section 1, the Medici court and Bernardo Saliti envisaged the consolidation of the technique in Florence well beyond the management of the Flemish masters (1545-1553). In the contracts of Jan Rost and Nicholas Karcher (1546; 1549), the masters agreed to keep apprentices in the workshop and teach them how to weave tapestries. The study of apprenticeship is not just instrumental for the research on tapestry-making. However, it also assesses and reconstructs the Medici state-building, the reform of pre-existing institutions and the welfare of lower classes.

Apprenticeship led to the constitution of the new Florentine-led two workshops of the Creati Fiorentini (1554-1589), managed by Benedetto Squilli (1554-1589) and Giovanni Sconditi (1554-1569). The chapter assessed the early years of Guasparri Papini’s management (1589-1600) under the Granduke Ferdinando I de’ Medici (1588-1609). The research unveils the internal organisation, thanks to the account books (ASF, Guardaroba Medicea) and new archival evidence, such as the private account books of Tanai de’Medici and Giovambattista Cini at the State Archive in Florence, documents of the Archivio della Congregrazione dei Buonuomini di San Martino and Archivio Salviati and Fondo Libri Contabili Capponi at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence (BNCF). As emerges from this analysis, the main development in the organisation from the previous period (1545-1553) is the creation of a state industry, entirely owned by the Duke, which solely restreamed their production to the courtly needs. Therefore, the workshops demonstrate the consolidation of the Medici absolutism and the creation of the bureaucracy within the new regime. This new structure of the Arazzeria as a state-owned industry anticipates the courtly manufactures and tapestry workshops of the seventeenth-century Europe, such as Arazzeria Barberini in Rome, Mortlake workshops in England, the Gobelins workshops and the Royal manufacture of Beauvais in France.  

As analysed in sections 3 and 4, the creation of state-owned tapestry workshops led to some significant alternations in the entrepreneurship and the mode of production, which once again displays the consolidation of Medici absolutism and contributes to the study of the manufacturing system of the city and mercantile networks. Given that the Ducal court entirely funded the workshops, the role of merchants and weavers was drastically reduced. Merchants, as demonstrated by Tanai de’Medici, Giovambattista Cini or the Capponi family, did not act as associates of the enterprise, but simply as suppliers. The masters of the workshops, even from the 1560s, could receive external commissions, did not act as merchants, like Jan Rost and Nicholas Karcher, simply being the managers of the workshops. As analysed in section 4, despite the assimilation to the state organisation, the workshops conserved some heterodoxies in the mode of production, which remained centralised and clustered. The analysis particularly contributes to the study of the manufacturing and textile industries in sixteenth-century Florence, presenting, like in chapter 3, an heterodox example of a centralised workshop within a widespread putting-out system.

The next chapter will continue the investigation of the production and the mode of production of tapestries and assess whether the workshops fully participated in the local manufacturing trends through the analysis of the supply and treatment of materials from 1545 to 1600.
Chapter 5

The Materials of The Arazzeria Medicea (1545-1600)

By reading the account books, ledgers, receipt books and various documents of the Medici tapestry workshop from the Guardaroba Medicea series at the Archivio di Stato di Firenze (ASF), this chapter seeks to holistically restore the study of the materials involved in tapestry production in sixteenth-century Florence. My approach roughly follows one of the themes of tapestry studies identified by Thomas Campbell, “the financial and physical circumstances that enabled the production of these enormous and costly works of art,” and the research approach of Sylvia Houghteling in analysing the materials of the Conquest of Tunis (1546), commissioned by the Hapsburg Emperor, Charles V. The analysis of the totality of the production chain enables us to situate Florentine tapestry-making within contemporary textile industries, and deepens our understanding of Arazzeria and manufacturing trends of the second half of the sixteenth century. Equally this chapter underlines the collaborative effort of tapestry-making, which emerges as a collective production of Florentine economy and society.

Approaching tapestry-making from the perspective of all the workers and merchants involved in the Arazzeria and beyond, the chapter reconsiders the four main materials used – wool, silk, metallic threads and flax – and their production chain within the wider local manufacturing industries, enriching our understanding of these luxurious courtly artefacts. Scholarly debate has given uneven attention to these four materials. Several scholars have studied the silk and wool industries in sixteenth-century Florence. However, as noted, the supply of wool or silk to the tapestry workshop has not been considered. This chapter shows three emerging trends in the second half of the sixteenth century: the employment of

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Mediterranean wools in Florentine high-quality textile production, the increasing supply of Tuscan or Italian silk in Florence and the standardisation and simplification of silk textiles.³ Conversely, goldbeating and linen-weaving in sixteenth-century Florence have been largely overlooked. Scholars have mainly dealt with goldbeating in the fifteenth century.⁴ Richard Goldthwaite cited some sixteenth-century goldbeating companies (battilori), but his interest mainly lies in wool and silk textile production.⁵ Similarly, there are no in-depth or monographic studies on linen-weaving in Renaissance Florence. There are some scattered references to linen-weaving in economic studies, mainly in the fifteenth century.⁶ This chapter will therefore expand the existing literature on goldbeating and linen-weaving in the sixteenth century, illustrating how these industries interacted with tapestry-making.

1. The Ennoblement of Garbo Wools: Stame Provenzale in the Arazzeria

Wool constituted the main component of tapestries as it was employed in the weft and the warp. As noted in chapter 1, there was insufficient internal production of wool to satisfy the needs of the wool industry in Tuscany.⁷ Therefore, since the fourteenth century, ³ See sections 1 and 2.
⁶ On linen-weaving in Florence see Edler De Roover, Seta, 84-85; Goldthwaite, Economy, 296-298; Tognetti, Cambini, 25-40. On linen in Middle and Renaissance Italy, Amedeo Feniello, “Per la storia del commercio medievale del lino, il caso napoletano (X-XV secoli)”, Archivio Storico Italiano, vol.171, No.1 (2013), 3-34; Luciana Frangioni, “Sui modi di produzione e sul commercio dei fustagni milanesi alla fine del Trecento”, Nuova rivista storica, vol.61 (1977), 493-554. On linen industry in Early Modern Europe see also, Brenda Collins and Philip Ollerenshaw, eds, The European Linen Industry in Historical Perspective (New York, Oxford University Press, 2003), 1-334. However, this publication does not consider the Southern Europe or Italy.
⁷ See chapter 2, section 1.
the wool industry was essentially based on importing foreign raw or semi-finished materials. From the fifteenth century, wool production was organised by area, the city was divided into four distinct quartiers called conventi. In 1408, the convento of San Martino, named after the small church of San Martino al Vescovo and located between Palazzo Vecchio and the Cathedral, established its monopoly in weaving the finest English wool. English wool was imported from the West Midlands, Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and Winchester. The wool from these regions was not uniform, but overall this raw material had short and curly fibres. English wool was employed for weaving the most expensive and luxurious Florentine textiles, such as the tintillani or panni alla francesca.

Alongside the finest English wool of San Martino, there were the low to medium quality garbo wools. The word garbo, which initially indicated a region of North Africa, today Morocco, designated low to medium quality fleeces, imported from the Western Mediterranean Sea basin, from the Iberian Peninsula to Provence, and Italian wools, mainly imported from Abruzzo. Garbo wools were woven in the other three Florentine conventi of San Pier Scheraggio, Oltrarno and San Pancrazi. This distinction between San Martino and garbo wools was progressively eroded from the second half of the fifteenth century as the

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8 See chapter 1, section 1.
9 Ammannati, Cinquecento, 8; Goldthwaite, Economy, 273; Hoshino, Lana, 206-211.
10 Franceschi, Tumulto, 38-42; Goldthwaite, Economy, 273-274.
12 Munro, “Merino”, 448; Oldland, Woollen, 58-59.
13 Franceschi, Tumulto, 5; see also chapter 1, section 1.
14 See chapter 1, section 1.
15 Ammannati, Cinquecento, 8; Goldthwaite, Economy, 273; Hoshino, Lana, 206-211.
supply of English wool started diminishing.\textsuperscript{16} The arrival of English wool ceased in the 1570s and San Martino was assimilated to the other three \textit{conventi of garbo}.\textsuperscript{17}

Therefore, the second half of the sixteenth century marked the triumph of \textit{garbo} wools, which were elevated to the top of Florentine wool production. In particular, Spanish Merino wool became prevalent in Florence.\textsuperscript{18} Merino started to be imported in the late fourteenth century, substituting the Medieval Iberian San Mateo wool.\textsuperscript{19} Merino quality, which was characterised by short and fine woollen fibres, originated in the fourteenth century from the crossbreeding of Berber with Iberian flocks.\textsuperscript{20} From the 1540s, the finest Merino was employed in weaving \textit{rascie}, which constituted the most expensive wool textile in late sixteenth-century Florence.\textsuperscript{21} The \textit{rascie}, a serge textile used for men’s clothing and hosiery, were particularly appreciated in the international market.\textsuperscript{22} These textiles were traded in Spain directly or via Genoa, in exchange for Merino wool.\textsuperscript{23}

Tapestry-weaving in Granducal Florence (1545-1598) followed the overall trajectory of the Florentine wool industry and the process of the ennoblement of \textit{garbo}. Luxurious Florentine tapestries were woven by employing \textit{garbo} wools. The Arazzeria did not use the expensive Merino, which had short fibres, unfit for the large dimension of tapestries, but a different type of \textit{garbo} wool: the Provencal combed wool, \textit{stame provenzale}. The \textit{stame} was

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{16} Hoshino, \textit{Lana}, 231-244.
\item \textsuperscript{17} The exact date is not known. Paolo Malanima considered 1553 the end of the English wool supply in Florence. Francesco Ammannati suggests the 1570s. Ammannati, \textit{Cinquecento}, 86; Malanima, \textit{Decadenza}, 92.
\item \textsuperscript{18} Ammannati, \textit{Cinquecento}, 71-84; Malanima, \textit{Decadenza}, 92-93.
\item \textsuperscript{20} Munro, “Merino”, 438-439.
\item \textsuperscript{21} Patrick Chorley, “Rascie”, 493-505. On \textit{rascie} see chapter 1, section 1.
\item \textsuperscript{22} Chorley, “Rascie”, 520-522. On \textit{rascie}, see also chapter 1, section 1.
\item \textsuperscript{23} Ammannati, \textit{Cinquecento}, 71-76; Malanima, \textit{Decadenza}, 92-93.
\end{itemize}
the most resistant and thinner part of the flock (fiocco di lana).²⁴ It was obtained from combing wool, dividing the long fibres that constituted the stame, from the softer and shorter ones (palmelle di lana).²⁵ The stame was spun (filato di stame), dyed and then woven.²⁶ In Florence, from the fourteenth century, the stame was woven into low-quality textiles, such as the popular stamette, usually made of combed Spanish or Mediterranean wool.²⁷ The threads of stame were particularly suitable for tapestry-making, due to their length and resistance.²⁸

Provencal raw or combed wool was imported into the Tuscan port of Talamone from Marseille and Arles from the fourteenth century.²⁹ In the fifteenth century, Provencal wool was included among the garbo wools.³⁰ In the sixteenth century, Provencal wool was still used in Florence, but its percentage was rather limited and it was less expensive compared to Merino wool. The lanaiolo Cristofano di Tommaso Brandolini (1580-1597) bought only 285 libbre of Provencal raw wool for 12 fiorini each libbra, whereas he purchased 1590 libbre of Spanish wool (24 fiorini each libbra).³¹ In the sixteenth century, Provencal wool was employed particularly for weaving perpignani, a low-quality wool textile.³² The panno perpignano, whose weft was carded and warp was combed, was a French wool textile type, imported to Florence and imitated by garbo weavers since the fifteenth century.³³ In fact,

²⁴ Ammannati, Cinquecento, 50-51; Francesco Ammannati, “Gli opifici lanieri di Francesco di Marco Datini”, in Giampiero Nigro, Francesco di Marco Datini, l’Uomo e il Mercante (Florence, Florence University Press, 2010), 507; Franceschi, Tumulto, 34-35; Gentile, Dizionario, 121.
²⁵ Ammannati, Cinquecento, 50-51. On the division between palmelle and stame by combing wool, see for instance a fifteenth century treatise on wool-weaving, Riccardiana, ms 2580, fol.130 left-right; Franceschi, Tumulto, 34; Gentile, Dizionario, 99.
²⁶ Franceschi, Tumulto, 34-35.
²⁷ Franceschi, Tumulto, 5.
²⁸ Soroka, Tapestry, 61.
³⁰ Hoshino, Lana, 206-211.
³¹ Ammannati, Cinquecento, 83.
³² Ammannati, Cinquecento, 173; 201-202.
³³ See chapter 1, section 1.
the stame, purchased by the Arazzeria from local suppliers, was also called in the account books, “combed wool thread of perpignano” (doc. 80).\(^{34}\) This evidence shows the technical and physical similarity of luxurious tapestries to local wool textiles and, in particular, to low-quality panni perpignani.

The 1546 contracts of the Flemish masters suggest the systematic use of stame, for high quality and lower quality tapestries and textiles.\(^{35}\) For instance, the sets of the Stories of Joseph and the Months were woven, either in warp or in wefts, with Provencal combed wool, with some insertion of silk and metallic threads.\(^{36}\) The Allegorical Portiera is one of few tapestries woven by the Arazzeria in which the weft was exclusively made of first-choice silk.\(^{37}\)

How wool was supplied to the Flemish tapestry-weavers (1545-1553) is not documented systematically. Overall, it appears that they generally purchased Provencal stame from Florentine suppliers. For instance, in 1545, Rost purchased “stame, silver, gold and silk several times for a total of 713.14.20 lire” from the company of Cristofano Rinieri, associate and supplier of the Flemish master.\(^{38}\) Furthermore, there are two references to Karcher’s purchases of 14 libbre in total of “Provencal stame for 50 soldi piccoli each libbra” from a local trader “Agnolo di Bastiano Ragnolo, worker of the widow Maria, in via San Giovanni”.\(^{39}\)

\(^{34}\) ASF, Guardaroba Mediceo, 38, fols. 10 right; 11 left; 47, fol. 124r: “filo di stame da perpignani”.

\(^{35}\) ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 9330, ser Giovan Battista Giordani, 1545-1546, fol.132r, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 529, doc. 65.

\(^{36}\) Meoni, Arazzi, 124-147, n.1-14.

\(^{37}\) ASF, Scrittoio delle Fortezze e delle Fabbriche, Serie Fabbriche Medicee, 1, fol.17r-v, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 568, doc. 125.


Despite the purchase of wool from local suppliers, it seems likely that the Flemish tapestry-weavers also expected to import wool from abroad, possibly the Low Countries, without relying on the networks of the local manufacturing industry. Saliti, on 1 April 1545, wrote to Gianfigliazzi that the Flemish masters requested to “be permitted to bring to Florence any spun, oiled or purged wool they will need” with reduced importation taxes. The importation of wool and silk from the Low Countries was a common practice in the Estense tapestry workshop, run by Jan Karcher. We can suppose that, once in Florence, Rost and Karcher changed their initial intention and began to rely on the local wool industry.

The supply of wool is better documented during the management of the Creati (1554-1589). As noted in chapter 4, the Creati predominantly wove sets made only of wool, such as the Huntings (fig. 4.6-4.7). The Creati regularly purchased the stame from two types of Florentine suppliers: wool-merchants (lanaioli) and mercers (merciai or lanciai). Cipriano di Andrea Sernigi (whom I have widely analysed in chapter 4), and Galeotto di Agostino Banchi, are the two main wool-merchants who supplied the Provencal stame to the workshop. Documentation relating to these companies is today lost and we do not know where they purchased the wool and if the wool was combed in Provence or Tuscany. Nevertheless, Galeotto di Agostino Banchi, who descended from a famous family of elementary teachers, Banchi dell’Abbaco, seems to have specialised in the importation of Provencal wool. For instance, in the 1570s, he supplied the wool company of Averardo and

\[
\text{av[er]e p[er] lib[bre]} \ 7 \ di \ stame \ di \ lana \ p[er] \ ouenzale \ p[er] \ s[oldi] \ 50 \ p[iccioli] \ la \ lib[bra] \ mo[n]ta \ l[ij][bra] \ 17.10 \ \text{Consegna.to detto stame a m[aestr]o} \ \text{n[ic][h]}olo \ C[h]ar[c][h]era \ \text{tappezziere}” \ (15th February 1546). The same payment is repeated on the 20th February 1546; see ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 101, insert 1545, fol. 35r, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 524, doc. 53.
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\[40 \ 
\text{ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1170a, insert II, busta 10, fol. 31r, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 500, doc.17: “poter condurre in firenze lane filate unte o purgate come aloro sar{a} necessario”.
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\[41 \ 
\text{For instance see the reimbursements to Jan Karcher (1554) for the importation of silk and wool from the Low Countries. ASMo, Archivio Estense, Camera Ducale, Amministrazione della Casa, Busta Unica, loose sheet, in Nello Forti Grazzini, Ferrara, 90.}
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\[42 \ 
\text{Meoni, Arazzi, 210-230, n.46-58; Meoni, Nascita, 32; 76-81, n.11-12.}
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\[43 \ 
\text{For instance, see ASF, Guardaroba Mediceo, 48, fols.32v; 43v; 61v; 63r; 69r; 72, fols.25r; 26r; 27r; 29v; 30r; 32r; 33v; 34v; 35v; 44r; 45v; 55r.}
\]
Antonio Salviati with this Provencal stame. The Arazzeria also relied on fondachi, warehouses, which sold a variety of commodities, such as Ridolfo Sirigatti’s fondaco in 1577 (doc. 81). Comparisons with the existing account book of contemporary lanaioli, like Tommaso Brandolini or Averardo and Antonio Salviati, would suggest that the Florentines imported the raw material, which was combed in Tuscany. Also, as payments to local wool-combers (pettinagnoli) testify, Provencal wool, employed by the Arazzeria, was combed in Florence.

The second category of suppliers were the merciai (mercers or haberdashers). Mercers were merchants, associated with the Arte dei Medici e degli Speziali, who sold and bought a wide variety of objects, herbs and other goods. They also purchased textiles or threads from lanaioli or setaioli and then resold these goods in the internal market. The mercer Giovan Francesco Rabatti is the most regular supplier of stami and refi, which was used for warp and repairstments, alongside the lanaioli.

The supply of Provencal stame drastically changed under the management of Guasparre Papini (1587-1621). Combed wool was still purchased from Florentine mercers, such as Bastiano di Niccolò Santini, or lanaioli, such as Francesco Albertini. More regularly, wool for the Arazzeria was also directly imported from Provence via Pisa. The first direct

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45 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 72, fol.57v.
46 On Brandolini see Ammannati, Cinquecento, 83. In the 1570s, the wool company of Averardo and Antonio Salviati purchased “Provencal thick wool” (“lana grossa di Provenza”). See, SNS, Archivio Salviati, Serie I, Libri di Commercio, 1536, fol. 144 left-right.
47 ASF, Guardaroba Mediceo, 48, fol.44r.
48 Goldthwaite, Economy, 360; 395.
49 On mercers’ activities see the account book of Filippini’s company (1589-1595), which mainly purchased and sold wool textiles. ASF, Libri di famiglia e di commercio, 2241, fols.2 right-113 right.
50 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 47, fols.25v; 33r; 35v; 39r; 46r. On refi see section 4.
51 On the internal suppliers see ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 116, fols. 21r; 22v; 23r; 29r.
shipment of stame (199 ounces) from Provence, carried by the merchant Giandometto di Pietro of Toulon, took place in 1573.\textsuperscript{52} In 1578, as noted in chapter 4, Averardo and Antonio Salviati sent 270 libbre of stame from Avignon.\textsuperscript{53} During the Grand Duchy of Ferdinando, the purchases from Provence via Pisa began to become a regular pattern for the Arazzeria. In January 1592, the provveditore (administrator) of Pisa, Vincenzo Buongirolami, on behalf of Ferdinando, paid 2239 lire to a Provencal merchant, Vettorio Bernardi from Marseille, for 995 libbre of Provencal stame, supplied to the tapestry workshop (doc. 82).\textsuperscript{54} The following shipments from 1594 that arrived in Pisa were managed by two Pisan brothers, Leonardo and Bartolomeo Pesciolini (doc. 83-84-85).\textsuperscript{55} There are probably political and economic reasons behind the direct supply from Marseille. First of all, after the 1570s, wool textile production and the Tuscan economy progressively declined. This decline was motivated by a series of reasons: the decrease of the importation of Spanish Merino wool, the imitation of the rascie in England and France and the interruption of Florentine exportations to the Ottoman Empire.\textsuperscript{56}

Ferdinando attempted to revitalise the Tuscan economy through an interventionist policy, which led to important investments in state-owned industries and mercantile infrastructures, such as the foundation of the Opificio delle Pietre Dure and the port of Livorno.\textsuperscript{57} The direct importations of stame from Marseille can be situated in Ferdinando’s interventionist policies amidst a period of economic crisis. In addition to Florentine interventionism, the King of France, Henry IV Bourbon (1589-1610), banned the international sales of French raw wool, only allowing the exportation of semi-finished fibre, like combed wool (stame).\textsuperscript{58} This new legislation contributed to the establishment of the

\textsuperscript{52} ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 72, fol. 36v.
\textsuperscript{53} ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 72, fol.140r. On Salviati see chapter 4, section 3.
\textsuperscript{54} ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 116, fol.33r.
\textsuperscript{55} ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 116, fols.45v; 48r; 12, fols. 103r-v; 104r-v.
\textsuperscript{56} Ammannati, Cinquecento, 96-109.
\textsuperscript{57} See chapter 4, section 2.
new trade route Marseille-Tuscany, specifically tailored for tapestry-making, for purchasing the stame. Moreover, this route illustrates the interventionism of Ferdinando in the Arazzeria and the progressive assimilation of tapestry-making to the Medici bureaucracy as a state-led industry.\(^{59}\)

2. First-choice Silk (Seta) and Wasted Silk (Filaticcio) in Florentine Tapestry-Weaving

The second component of tapestries after wool was silk, used in wefts, alongside wool and metallic threads. As the first contract of Flemish masters of 1546 testifies, there were two silk varieties employed in tapestry-weaving: first-choice silk (seta) and wasted silk (filaticcio). The contract reports “tapestries woven with gold, stame and silk, like in the Stories of Joseph [...] will pay 12 scudi per each alla”.\(^{60}\) Continuous silk threads were obtained from spinning the boiled cocoons of silkworms (Bombyx Mori). In sixteenth-century tapestry-making, the Flemish weavers (1545-1553) and Guasparri Papini (1589-1621) mainly employed first-choice silk. The first choice silk was woven in high-quality and official donkey cloths, carpets or tapestries, such as the first three door hangings, the Allegorical Portiera, Months’ set or Stories of Joseph.\(^{61}\)

As reported in the first contracts (1546), tapestry-weavers employed a second variety of silk: filaticcio. The contracts states: “donkey cloths, door hangings and bed clothing in wool and filaticcio will be paid golden scudi 2 and 1/2 each alla”.\(^{62}\) Filaticcio was the most common variety of silk in Florentine tapestry-weaving, especially during the management of the Creati (1554-1589). The term filaticcio (or filugello) in Tuscany referred to the combed threads of wasted or second-choice silk, made of shredded, pierced or

\(^{59}\) See chapter 4, section 2.


damaged cocoons. The thread of *filaticcio* was physically different from first-choice silk. The thread was discontinuous or shredded and it was spun and combed as wool, linen or cotton. The discontinuous thread of *filaticcio* was more resistant and coarser than first-choice silk. There were two categories of wasted silk (*filaticcio*): “raw, reused from rags [“stracci”]” and “white and thin”, which identified the second-choice silk.

The silk textile industry was established in Florence in the first half of the fourteenth century. Silk merchants and entrepreneurs (*setaioli*) were first mentioned in the registers of Arte di Por Santa Maria in 1328. The international success of Florentine silk textiles took place in the fifteenth century. In this period, Tuscan internal production of silk was generally low and the fortunes of this textile production were founded on the importations of foreign raw material. Florentine *setaioli* mainly bought silk from the Persian cities of Talich, Astrabad and Lahidjan. Smaller quantities were imported from Spain and Chios (an island in the Aegean governed by the Republic of Genoa). Italian silk, produced in Calabria, Sicily, Abruzzo, Marche, Modigliana (Romagna Toscana) and Val di Nievo (Pistoia) was rather limited, amounting to only around 16% of the raw material purchased by Serristori family in the late fifteenth century.

This trend was drastically reversed in the sixteenth century when an increasing supply of Italian and Tuscan silk was evident in Florentine manufacturing. In one century (1500-1600), the production of Italian silk increased 240%. Protectionist trends and an increase in mulberry cultivation brought about a drastic growth in Italian sericulture. In particular, in Tuscany, the Medici grandukes fostered the cultivation of mulberry, a “useful

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63 Gentile, *Dizionario*, 63.
64 Molà, *Silk*, 164.
65 Molà, *Silk*, 165.
66 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 72, fol.31r: “filaticcio crudi di stracci”; “filaticcio bianchi sottili”.
68 See chapter 1, section 1.
73 Goldthwaite, “Aziende”, 298.
plant [...] for universal benefit”, especially in Valdelsa, and also prohibited or discouraged with high taxes the exportation of Tuscan first-choice silk, cocoons or wasted silk. Cosimo invested in Tuscan sericulture by extending the cultivation of mulberry and establishing silk-weaving in Pisa. By the end of the sixteenth century, the Grand Duchy included several sericulture and silk-weaving centres, such as Modigliana, Val di Nievole, Maremma, Castiglion Fiorentino, Lunigiana, Pisa and Pietrasanta.

The increasing production of Italian first-choice silk also affected Florentine tapestry-weaving. The Flemish masters used Tuscan silk from Modigliana (Romagna Toscana). In February 1546, it was recorded in the Medici account books that the following was purchased for the workshops: “packs of Modigliana doppi silk threads, 24 libbre and 5 ounces, paid [...] 9 piccioli each libbra”. Modigliana silk (8 libbre and 8 ounces) was traded by the company of Bernardo Pandolfini in 1546. However, the main supplier of silk, at least for Jan Rost, was the workshop’s associate Cristofano Rinieri, who was a prominent setaiolo grosso and owned a company. Unfortunately, the Medici account books did not report the exact quantities or the provenance of silk provided by Rinieri. Moreover, in the account books of Rinieri, the provenance of silk is scarcely recorded. In the fifteenth century his father, Bernardo, mainly purchased it from Andalusia. Conversely, it appeared that, alongside foreign silk, Cristofano bought quantities of Italian raw material that came from Val di Nievole, Sulmona or Messina. By the second half of the sixteenth century, Messina

74 BNCF, Magl.15.3.144/26, Bando del dover piantare gelsi (Florence, Marescotti, 1576): “pianta fruttuosa [...] per il comodo universale”.
75 Morelli, Seta, 11-14.
76 Morelli, Seta, 23.
78 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 101, insert 1545, fol. 50r, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 521, doc.48.
79 See chapter 2, section 4.
80 Battista, Ricordanze, 15-18.
81 ASF, Corporazioni religiose, serie 95, San Francesco di Firenze, 220, fols.43r. 65r, in Battista, Ricordanze, 217. 254.
and Calabria had become the most important silk suppliers for Florentine merchants. The Arazzeria of Guasparri Papini also employed Italian silk (Calabria and Marche) for tapestry-weaving. As noted in chapter 4, among the main silk suppliers of Papini, there was Niccolò Capponi (doc. 86). As his account book (1585-1596) illustrates, raw silk was mainly imported from Reggio Calabria, Sinopoli (Calabria) and Marche. Smaller quantities of silk were purchased in Seville.

While first-choice silk was employed only in the most expensive tapestries, filaticcio, also woven in wefts, represented the most common type of silk in Florentine tapestry-weaving. The supply and usage of filaticcio unveiled another major manufacturing trend: the standardisation and simplification of silk products. Before the sixteenth century, the wide usage of wasted silk had been regularly forbidden in the statutes of the Arte di Por Santa Maria. For instance, in 1335 and 1416, the guild ordered the employment of “only silk” in order to preserve the high quality of Florentine textiles. In the fifteenth century, filaticcio was not appreciated by the silk industry and it was solely used in weaving resistant belts and strings.

The legislation regarding weaving filaticcio became more permissive in the sixteenth century in Italy and Florence. This modification was primarily motivated by the increase in Italian silk production, which led to a “democratisation” of production, while in the fifteenth century the setaioli grossi were a restricted elite of merchants, who solely traded their luxurious products abroad. From the mid-sixteenth-century, there was an increase of small-scale producers, which directed their textile production to low-medium quality for international and internal consumption, adjusting to a more frugal aesthetic texture of the

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83 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 121, fols.73r; 122r-v. See chapter 4, section 3.
84 BNCF, Libri di Commercio Capponi, 83, fols. 16r; 17r; 90r; 98r-v; 109v; 110r-v; 111r; 149r.
85 BNCF, Libri di Commercio Capponi, 83, fol. 90r.
86 Umberto Dorini, *Gli Statuti dell’Arte di Por Santa Maria* (Florence, Olschki, 1934), 443 and Molà, *Silk*, 179: “de sirico tantum”.
87 On Italian legislation on wasted silk see Molà, *Silk*, 162-180.
88 Edler De Roover and Corti, “Banchi”, 900; 923.
89 See chapter 1, section 2.
late sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{90} Therefore, the Florentine silk industry redirected their production to low-medium quality and simpler textiles, such as grosgrain, sarcenet (ermesino), satin or taffeta.\textsuperscript{91}

Consequent to the standardisation of silk-weaving, in 1508, the guild allowed merchants and weavers to weave filaticci in the warps of silk textiles.\textsuperscript{92} For instance, Florentine satins and damasks with filaticcio were sold in Nuremberg in 1531 by the Torregiani family.\textsuperscript{93} This emerging trend led to a new demand for wasted silk. In the mid-sixteenth century, Florentines began to import filaticcio, mainly from Northern Italy.\textsuperscript{94} Moreover, the Medici grandukes, for example in 1577, hampered or even banned the exportation of wasted silk (regaglie).\textsuperscript{95} In 1528, in Florence, wasted silk was suggested for weaving, generically, unspecified “hangings to adorn churches”, possibly brocatels (brocatelli).\textsuperscript{96} This last indication is particularly relevant for tapestry-making, due to the similarity between hangings and tapestries. As for religious hangings, the threads for tapestry-weaving needed to be rather resistant. Therefore, the filaticcio, due to its physical characteristics, appeared more suitable than first-choice silk.

While the expense of first-choice silk meant it was limited to high quality sets, the threads of filaticcio were also widely employed in weaving tapestries, carpets or donkey cloths by the Flemish masters.\textsuperscript{97} For instance, they wove “2 tapestries in wool and

\textsuperscript{90} Elizabeth Currie, “Clothing and a Florentine style 1550-1620”, \textit{Renaissance Studies}, vol.23, No.1 (2009), 50-52; Goldthwaite, “Aziende”, 299-300.

\textsuperscript{91} Goldthwaite, “Aziende”, 301-303.

\textsuperscript{92} Dorini, \textit{Statuti}, 723; Molà, \textit{Silk}, 180.

\textsuperscript{93} ASF, Galli Tassi, 1950, fol. 353v, in Francesco Guidi Bruscoli, “Drappi di sete e tele di lino tra Norimberga e Firenze nella prima del Cinquecento”, \textit{Archivio Storico Italiano}, vol. 159, No.2 (588) (2001), 390.

\textsuperscript{94} Morelli, \textit{Seta}, 39-40.

\textsuperscript{95} BNCF, Magl.15.3.144/7.56, \textit{Bando che per un anno non si possa estrarre dal dominio stracci di seta, bozzoli, ne altre regaglie} (Florence, Marescotti, 1577), in Morelli, \textit{Seta}, 26.

\textsuperscript{96} Molà, \textit{Silk}, 180.

\textsuperscript{97} See for instance on donkey clothes (“coperte da soma”) or carriage covers (“coperte da carriaggio”), woven by the Arazzeria (1546-1552): ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 15, fol.21r-v. 21, fol.
The employment of filaticcio in tapestry-weaving was not a new practise for Rost and Karcher. As Giorgio Vasari reported in the life of Il Pordenone, the Flemish tapestry-weavers, employed in the 1530s by Ercole II d’Este in Ferrara and led by Nicholas’s brother Jan, used either silk and filaticcio in their production. Also, as Vasari reported, Raphael’s “tapestries are richly-woven in gold and filaticcio”.

The employment of filaticcio in tapestry-weaving peaked under the Creati Fiorentini (1554-1589) and the supply is well-documented, differently from the Flemish masters. The Creati, whose sets were “coarser” than the Flemish masters’ or Papini’s, widely employed filaticcio. For instance, it was woven in the wefts of Stories of Hercules, the Cosimo il Vecchio set, the Lorenzo il Magnifico set and the Lato set. Benedetto Squilli and Giovanni Sconditi had two types of internal suppliers: mercers and stracciaiuoli (ragmen). The mercer Giovan Francesco Rabatti regularly provided filaticci and first-choice silk to Squilli and Sconditi in the 1560s and 1570s. In addition to mercers, Giovanni di Piero Corsini, “straccivendolo [ragman] of Piazza della Madonna” is recorded as a regular supplier of filaticci. For instance, on the 9th November 1573, Corsini supplied to the tapestry workshop “8 libbre of rags’ filaticci” for 44 scudi. Stracciaiuoli were specialised in textile trade, buying and selling threads, rags and second-hand clothes.

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98 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 30, fol.165 left, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 553-554, doc.98. 580, doc.141; 592, doc.160; 593, doc.165; 660, doc.257.
99 Vasari, Vite (1568), vol. IV, 435.
100 See chapter 5, section 4.
101 For instance see, ASF, Guardaroba Mediceo, 72, fols. 31r; 35v; 39r; 46r.
102 For instance see ASF, Guardaroba Mediceo, 38, fol.6v. 47, fols. 6v; 27r-v; 34r; 95r-v; 96r-v; 48, fols.27v; 44v; 52r; 72, fols. 44v; 48r; 53r; 80, fols. 29r; 34v:”stracciaiuolo di Piazza della Madonna”.
103 ASF, Guardaroba Mediceo, 72, fol.44v.
104 Apparently, in the Florentine archives, there is only one existing account book of a stracciaiuolo (Fabrizio Buoni in Pistoia, 1609-1633), which reported the purchase and selling of various textiles, wool threads and filaticcio (1611); ASF, Libri di commercio e famiglia, 873, fols 1r-13r.
Wool and silk, the main components of tapestries, demonstrated the integration of
tapestry-making to the Florentine manufacturing trends, the ennoblement of
Mediterranean wools and the democratisation of silk production. In the next two sections, I
will investigate the other two secondary, and still pivotal, components of tapestries, metallic
threads and linen refi.


The importance of metallic threads in Florentine tapestries was notable in the
production from its very beginning. In regards to the first tapestry woven in Florence, the
Dovizia (fig. 1.1), Pierfrancesco Riccio in 1545 wrote: “in the portiera, it seems to be too
much gold, and it is something that does not last long, and quickly it becomes black [...]”.

Goldbeaters (battilori) crafted metallic threads. Goldbeating consists in reducing
golden and silver sticks or rods by hammering them into thin leaves. These leaves were
used in jewellery, painting or book illumination. For weaving, the leaves were cut into
threads and intertwined with yellow or white silk. Goldbeating had been practised in
Florence since the fourteenth century, when battilori, associated with the Arte dei Medici e
degli Speziali, mainly worked for painters, book illuminators or jewellers. Cennino
Cennini’s Libro dell’Arte analysed goldbeating in painting. In the fifteenth century,
following an economic boom of the silk industry, goldbeating became associated with silk-
weaving and the Arte di Por Santa Maria. Metallic threads had already been used in silk
and linen weaving in the fourteenth century. However, from the fifteenth, golden and silver
threads widely adorned precious Florentine silk textiles, such as brocades, telette, taffeta,

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107 ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 375, fol. 58 r-v, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 517: “in detta portiera mi
pare troppo oro, et e una cosa che dura poco e in breve si fa nero”.
111 Cennini, Libro, 92.
damasks, velvets or satins, which were traded in Europe and across the Mediterranean Sea.\textsuperscript{113}

In 1457, there were six goldbeating workshops in Florence.\textsuperscript{114} In the second half of the fifteenth century, to cope with the increasing demands of the silk textile industry, the Arte di Por Santa Maria and the Republic favoured the professional immigration of foreign battilori, mainly from Genoa and Venice.\textsuperscript{115} Silk-weaving flourished in the first half of the sixteenth century. In the first decades of the sixteenth century, there were around twenty goldbeating workshops in Florence and they were mainly associated with prominent silk merchant-entrepreneurs (setaioli grossi).\textsuperscript{116} Patrician families, such as the Gondi or Strozzi, invested in goldbeating companies for adorning the silk textiles they produced in their companies with metallic threads.\textsuperscript{117} The Saliti family (1534) and Bongianni di Jacopo Gianfigliazzi (1537) both established goldbeating companies.\textsuperscript{118} In this period luxurious Florentine textiles were traded abroad. For instance, in the 1520s, Bernardo Saliti traded Florentine-woven auroseric textiles in Nuremberg.\textsuperscript{119}

During the Duchy of Cosimo I, goldbeating, like all other economic and manufacturing activities, was put under the scrutiny of the Medici court and its protectionist and interventionist policies. Cosimo and Francesco regulated and fostered the internal production of metallic threads. For instance, in 1545 and 1578 Cosimo and Francesco sought to increase production by forcing Florentine goldbeaters abroad to come back to the city.\textsuperscript{120}

\textsuperscript{113} Edler De Roover, \textit{Seta}, 88. On these textile, Gentile, \textit{Dizionario}, 37; 109; 123; 124; 131.

\textsuperscript{114} Edler De Roover, \textit{Seta}, 87.

\textsuperscript{115} Franceschi, “Forestieri”, 410-412. See chapter 1, section 1.

\textsuperscript{116} Edler Roover reported the existing account books of goldbeaters (fifteenth-first half of sixteenth century). Edler De Roover, \textit{Seta}, 90-94.


\textsuperscript{118} See chapter 2, section 2.

\textsuperscript{119} See chapter 2, section 1.

\textsuperscript{120} BNCF, Magl. 15.3.124/37, \textit{Bando sopra i tiralori e i battilori} (Florence, Marescotti, 1576), in Bertoli, \textit{Bandi}, 8, n.16; BNCF, Magl. 15.3.124/29, \textit{Bando sopra i tiralori e i battilori} (Florence, Marescotti, 1576), in Bertoli, \textit{Bandi}, 9, n.20. BNCF, Magl.15.3.131/78, \textit{Bando per conto dei tiralori},
In addition to favoring the return of the Florentine goldbeating artisans, Cosimo also invested in importing new workers.\textsuperscript{121}

Metallic thread and gold and silver leaf were highly appreciated in the Medici court and they were used for textiles, paintings and sculptures. In the Ducal account books, for instance, in April 1549, three goldbeating companies, respectively directed or owned by Bongianni Gianfigliazzi, Francesco Altoni and Antonio Miniati, are mentioned as providing metallic thread and leaf to the court.\textsuperscript{122} The court paid 105 \textit{scudi} to Gianfigliazzi, 32 to Altoni and 47.2.11.4 \textit{scudi} to Miniati.\textsuperscript{123} Gianfigliazzi and Altoni continued to supply metallic threads and gold leaf in 1552.\textsuperscript{124} This is frequently recorded in the account books as a “painter of the House” Mariotto di Francesco specialised in gilding.\textsuperscript{125}

The courtly appreciation for gold and silver is also reflected in the precious tapestries woven by Jan Rost and Nicholas Karcher for Duke Cosimo. In the wefts of tapestries, woven within the Arazzeria (1545-1553), there is vast employment of metallic thread made of gold and gilded silver. As reported in the documents, the \textit{Allegorical Portiera} was “filled with [wefts of] silk, gold and silver”.\textsuperscript{126} In some cases, Flemish masters applied sophisticated weaving techniques for highlighting the metallic thread. For instance, in the case of the armour of Justice in the \textit{Justice Liberating Innocence}, Rost employed the \textit{crapautage} battilori, tessitori d’oro e altri artieri sottoposti all’Arte di Por Santa Maria, che fossero andati o andassero in futuro a lavorare fuori dello stato e dominio fiorentino (Florence, Marescotti, 1578), in Bertoli, \textit{Bandi}, 150, n.421.

\textsuperscript{121} For instance, in 1550, Cosimo employed the venetian \textit{battiloro} and gold worker Giovanni Guerrini. ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 613, insert 6, fols. 32r-v; 72r.

\textsuperscript{122} ASF, Scrittoio delle Fortezze e delle Fabbriche. Serie Fabbriche Medicee, 1, fol. 6 right. An account book of the Altoni’s company (1569) is still existing. ASF, Libri di Commercio e di Famiglia, 91, fols. 1 left-18 right.

\textsuperscript{123} ASF, Scrittoio delle Fortezze e delle Fabbriche, Serie Fabbriche Medicee, fol. 6 right.

\textsuperscript{124} ASF, Scrittoio delle Fortezze e delle Fabbriche, Serie Fabbriche Medicee, 1, fol.26 left-right.

\textsuperscript{125} ASF, Scrittoio delle Fortezze e delle Fabbriche. Serie Fabbriche Medicee, 1, fol. 113 left; 122 left; 165 left- right: “Mariotto, pittore di casa”; Mariotto also appeared in ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 632, fols. 130 left; 636, 178 left.

\textsuperscript{126} ASF, Scrittoio delle Fortezze e Fabbriche, Serie Fabbriche Medicee, 1, fol.17 left, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 568, doc.125: “ripiene di seta oro et arg[en]to”.

contrarie, a weaving practise, which consists in passing a weft thread over more than one warp thread, to let the metallic thread stand out.\textsuperscript{127}

As in the study of wool, silk or dyestuffs, we do not have precise information about the supply of metallic thread for the Flemish weavers. However, it seems likely that they got them from local providers. For instance, in 1546, the associate of Rost’s workshop and silk-merchant (setaiolo grosso), Cristofano Rinieri supplied “gold and silver [...] several times” to Rost.\textsuperscript{128} The company of Rinieri produced auroseric textiles, such as telette, and therefore, it was necessary to frequently purchase silver and golden thread.\textsuperscript{129} For instance, in 1530, the company of Rinieri bought “16 libbre of golden thread”.\textsuperscript{130} Thus, also in the case of metallic threads, the Flemish masters relied on the networks of the courtier-merchants.\textsuperscript{131}

The Creati Fiorentini did not insert metallic thread into tapestries. Nevertheless, goldbeating workshops continued to flourish in the second half of the sixteenth century. As noted in chapter 1, in 1560, Cosimo requested the guilds to cover the expenses for the building of the Uffizi. Among the professional categories of Arte di Por Santa Maria, the duke also mentioned the battilori (doc. 87).\textsuperscript{132} He requested that “the workshops of the goldbeaters will pay one scudo and half”.\textsuperscript{133} The goldbeaters were listed in the guild’s response to the Ducal inquiry. The document of the guild reported that in 1560, “there were 18 workshops of goldbeaters in Florence” (doc. 88).\textsuperscript{134} Overall, goldbeating seems to have been a profitable business and the number of workshops, around 20, roughly remained

\textsuperscript{127} Meoni, Arazzi, 162, n.20.
\textsuperscript{128} ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 101, insert 1545, fol.8v, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 519, doc. 43: “oro argiento [...] auto da loro in piu vote”. On Rinieri and the tapestry workshop see chapter 2, section 4.
\textsuperscript{129} Battista, Ricordanze, 28-29.
\textsuperscript{130} ASF, Corporazionti religiose, serie 95, San Francesco di Firenze, 220, fol.58r, in Battista, Ricordanze, 241: “xvj libre 16 d’oro filato”.
\textsuperscript{131} On courtiers-merchants see chapter 2, section 4.
\textsuperscript{132} ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 659a, fol.120r.
\textsuperscript{133} ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 659a, fol.120v: “Et le botteghe del battiloro ciascuna sia tenuta a paghare come di sopra scudi uno ½ di moneta d’oro”.
\textsuperscript{134} ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 659a, fol.177r: “Per conto dei battilori che sono in tutto 18 botteghe”.
static from 1500 to 1560. This stability in goldbeating companies seemingly contradicted the
quality reduction of silk textiles woven in Florence in the late sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{135}

An appreciation for metallic thread restarted during the Grand Duchy of Ferdinando. Ferdinando commissioned high-quality tapestry sets for solemn public displays from Papini's Arazzeria.\textsuperscript{136} Even in the first two sets he commissioned, \textit{Stories of St John the Baptist} and \textit{The Passion of Christ} (figs. 69-70-71-72), started in 1590-1591, metallic threads are widely inserted in the weft. As noted in chapter 4, the main supplier for Papini's Arazzeria was the workshop of the \textit{Heredi di Giovanni Battista Cini}, situated in Piazza dei Pitti.\textsuperscript{137} In the account books of the workshop, there are several detailed “inventories of delivery” (doc. 89-90) sent from the \textit{Compagnia} of Cini from 1588 onwards.\textsuperscript{138}

The goldbeating company had been active since the 1560s with the business name of \textit{Giovan Battista Cini et battilori} and from 1584, after Cini’s death, with the name of \textit{Heredi di Giovanni Battista Cini}.\textsuperscript{139} Unfortunately, the documentation of the company is today incomplete. Solely the \textit{libri segreti} (1565-1628), (doc. 91), which contain short notes about investors and the statements of the company, still exist, but account books, ledgers and manufacturers’ books are lost.\textsuperscript{140} Nevertheless, other sources gave us an insight into the production of this goldbeating company. For instance, from 1589 the company of Cini appeared in the account book for the building of the Salviati Chapel in the Basilica of San Marco in Florence.\textsuperscript{141} For instance, a document reported that the Salviati received “woven

\textsuperscript{135} See section 2.

\textsuperscript{136} Meoni, \textit{Arazzi}, 95-98. See chapter 4, section 2.

\textsuperscript{137} ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 116, fol.89v: “inventario della consegna”.

\textsuperscript{138} ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 116, fols.89v; 90v; 91r; 92r-v; 93r-v; 95v; 96r; 97r.

\textsuperscript{139} ASF, Grifoni, 408, fols. 1r.-20v. On Cini, see also chapter 4, section 3.

\textsuperscript{140} ASF, Grifoni, 408, insert 1, fols.21v-22r.

golden and silver threads” by “Lena [nun] in San Felicita, the nuns of San Paolino [Pagolo], Monte Domini, Candeli and the embroiderer Cosimo”.142

To fully understand how metallic threads were crafted in late sixteenth-century Florence, alongside the evidence from the Cini company and Salviati’s quaderno, I will analyse archival documents, such as account books and manufacturers’ books, of two contemporary goldbeating workshops, owned by Luigi di Tommaso Pieri (1565-1574) and Francesco Stagi (1574-1589).143 These workshops seem to have been closely linked as Stagi “carried on this account book [previously used by Pieri from 1568] from 1571, for a new business”. Luigi di Tommaso Pieri was a member of a family of merchants and bankers.144

We can assume that Pieri was the investor (socio accomandante) of his workshop, as he was called “our principal” and was not directly involved in the production.145 Meanwhile, Francesco, who was employed in Pieri’s workshop, could have taken over the management of the business in 1574.146 Francesco’s relatives, Marco Stagi, maestro di foglia, and Bastiano di Piero Stagi also appeared in the account books as workers.147 Francesco Stagi was not from Florence as in 1572 he, alongside Marco and Bartolomeo, requested and obtained Florentine citizenship.148

Salviati’s quaderno and the documents of Pieri and Stagi reveal that goldbeating was a collective effort, promoted and directed by a merchant-entrepreneur through the putting-out system. The production started in a specialised workshop and continued externally

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142 SNS, Archivio Salviati, Libri in proprio dei Salviati di Firenze, II, 113, fol. 101v, in Krawacka Codini and Sbrilli, Quaderno, 121: “Lena in s[ant]a Filicita et alle monache di s[an]to Pagolo e di Monte Domini e di Candel e a Cosimo ricamatore”.
143 The documentation related to Cini’s workshop (ASF, Grifoni, 408, 426) is incomplete as only the libri segreti are still existing. The documentation of Pieri’s and Stagi’s is more complete, Libro dei Manifattori (books of workers), Libro dei Debitori e Creditori (account books), Campioni and Quaderni di Cassa. On Pieri’s workshop: AIOF, 13288; 13289; 13290; 13291; 13292; 13293; 13294; 13295. On Stagi’s workshop; AIOF, 13432; 13433; 13434; 13435; 13436.
144 On the genealogical tree of the family see AIOF, 6257, fols.378-379.
145 For instance, AIOF, 13290, fol. 2r: “Luigi di Tommaso Pieri, nostro magiore”.
146 AIOF, 13292, fols. 1r-9v.
147 AIOF, 13432, fol.4v-5r; 13433, fol.1-36.
148 Riccardiana, ms 2427, fol.239v.
throughout the city in the Florentine nunneries and beyond. The first step was the supply of metals. In the fifteenth century, the Florentine goldbeaters generally melted foreign gold coins for obtaining the rods to beat. Silver was usually purchased already in the form of sticks. The employment of foreign coins continued into the sixteenth century. The Medici authorities commonly banned foreign coins which were sent to the citizen mint (Zecca) for melting. For instance, in Stagi’s workshop, in 1577, unidentified foreign coins were still melted for goldbeating.

The supply of gold and silver was much more copious in the sixteenth century than previously and the vast majority of gold and silver was not recycled from coins. Newly discovered American mines led to a much greater abundance of gold and silver in Europe, and particularly in Florence. It has been calculated that in the 1530s and 1540s, respectively, 5% and 11% of all American gold that went to Europe via Spain ended up in Florence. From 1558, silver became dominant in Florence, thanks to the arrival of over 10 tons in 20 years (1570-1590). This quantity constituted between 3% and 5% of the silver extracted in America that arrived in Europe via Seville. This quantity rivalled the American silver used by London’s mint, which covered the entire mintage for the Kingdom of England. As Carlo Cipolla noted, in only one year, 1562, Florentine bankers, such as the Carnesecchi, Strozzi,
Giovan Battista Servi and Niccolò and Francesco Capponi and Federigo di Ruberto de’ Ricci brought 3.710 kg of Spanish silver coins (*reales*). These Spanish coins were traded abroad in exchange for Florentine commodities, especially wool fabrics, such as *rascie*, in Spain, Lyon or Genoa. The presence of *reales* in the Florentine banks is confirmed by a Servi bank account book (1583-1590).

This mass of American silver and gold, coined into Spanish *reales*, also entered the workshops of Florentine goldbeaters. It appears that banks directly provided metals to these workshops. For instance, in 1568, the banks of Ricci, Capponi and De’ Servi supplied “gilded silver” and “white silver” to the workshop of Pieri in “rods”, “grains” and “pieces”. The same happened with the Cini workshop. For instance, from 1564 onwards, bankers, such as Napoleone Cambi, Gino and Ludovico Capponi or Federigo de’ Ricci or Giovambattista de’ Servi acted as suppliers of these precious metals. References to this exchange between bankers and goldbeaters are also recorded in the account books of the de’ Servi bank (1583-1590). In particular, Federigo de’ Ricci appeared to have been the biggest supplier of metals to Cini, Pieri and Stagi (doc. 92). Ricci was the most prominent banker in Ducal Florence. The banker built his financial dominance through a close alliance with Cosimo, also covering the expenses for the war in Siena (1552-1559).

Once in the workshops, metals were melted to give them a uniform rod shape. Then the rods were firstly hammered by a semi-unskilled worker (*stenditore*). In the 1564

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159 Cipolla, *Moneta*, 103-108. On the trade with Spain see chapter 5, section 1. On *rascie* see chapter 1, section 1 and chapter 5, section 1.

160 ASF, Libro di famiglia e commercio, 4740, fol.34r.

161 AIOF, 13290, fols.1v; 5r; 11r; 13r; 14r; 16v; 38r: “Argento bianco”; “Argento dorato”; “in verga”; “in pezzi”; “granaglie”.

162 ASF, Grifoni, 408, fols. 21v; 22r; 33 right; 34 left. 426, insert 1, fols. 12 left-13 left.

163 See ASF, Libro di famiglia e commercio, 4740, fols. 65r; 70v; 79r; 82r; 83r; 84v; 85r; 86r; 87r; 88r; 90v.

164 AIOF, 13290, fols. 1r; 4v; 5r.

165 Cipolla, *Moneta*, 111.

166 Cipolla, *Moneta*, 111.
statement of the Cini workshop, 11 stenditori are recorded with an annual wage that varied from 1 lira to 24 lire, probably in accordance with the hours they worked for the company.\textsuperscript{167} After this, the metals were hammered into thin leaves by the leaf master, \textit{maestro di foglia}. In Cini’s workshop (1564), there was one \textit{maestro}, Lorenzo di Domenico, whose annual wage was 128.3.2 lire.\textsuperscript{168} The leaves were then finally cut into threads. The scissor masters (\textit{forbiciar}), 3 in total in the 1564 statement of Cini’s workshop, were responsible for this final step.\textsuperscript{169}

Production continued outside the workshop, following a putting-out model. As the Salviati’s \textit{quaderno} and the manufacturers’ books of Stagi and Pieri testify, Florentine nuns completed the production process. Goldbeating workshops had outsourced this final step in the Florentine convents from the fifteenth century.\textsuperscript{170} The goldbeater-merchant, such as Pieri and Stagi, sent a few ounces of metallic threads and a few ounces of yellow silk for golden threads, or white silk, for silver threads to these external workers, \textit{maestre d’oro}, who were laywomen or nuns in Florentine convents, such as the Candelì, Convertite, Portico, S.Giorgio, Sant’Orsola, the Murate, Santa Monaca or Angelo Raffaello.\textsuperscript{171} This silk was purchased unboiled, boiled, spun or dyed yellow or white by goldbeaters or provided by the silk merchants (\textit{setaioli}) to the workshop.\textsuperscript{172} In the case of the Cini company, the workshop purchased the silk.

Silk constituted a considerable cost for goldbeaters. In 1591, Cini’s heirs spent 7896.4.4 fiorini for white and gilded silver, 2473.5.11 fiorini for silk and only 169.9.1 fiorini for weaving the metallic thread.\textsuperscript{173} In the next stage in the process, the goldbeaters allocated small quantities of silk and metallic thread to nuns and laywomen (doc. 93-94),

\textsuperscript{167} ASF, Grifoni, 426, insert 1, fols. 12 right-13 right.
\textsuperscript{168} ASF, Grifoni, 426, insert 1, fol.13 left.
\textsuperscript{169} ASF, Grifoni, 426, insert 1, fol.13 right.
\textsuperscript{170} Sharon Strocchia, \textit{Nuns and Nunneries in Renaissance Florence} (Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 2009), 121-125.
\textsuperscript{171} See for instance, AlOF, 13432, fols. 80 left-120 right; 13292, fols. 1 left-120 right; 13294, fols. 55 left-220 right. Cini’s documentation does not report all the expenses for weaving metallic threads.
\textsuperscript{172} Strocchia, \textit{Nuns}, 121.
\textsuperscript{173} ASF, Grifoni, 426, insert 2, fol.36 right-left.
who were paid for piecework.\textsuperscript{174} For instance, on the 29th July 1577, Cecilia of the monastery of Sant’Orsola received from Stagi’s workshop 11.19 ounces of golden and silver thread and 5.3 ounces of yellow silk.\textsuperscript{175} She was paid 6.14.1 lire for weaving the metallic thread.\textsuperscript{176} This metallic thread, intertwined with silk, were the final product sold to silk operators and the Arazzeria.

As suggested by Pieri’s documents (1568-1574), goldbeaters sold their final products to a variety of professionals, such as wool, silk and linen merchants and weavers, velettaï (veil-weavers), shoemakers, jewellers, perfumers and mercers.\textsuperscript{177} The Cini heirs (1591) sold their threads to veil-weavers, such as Giovan Antonio Locatelli (341.19.11 fiorini), mercers, such as Bastiano Santini (49.46.13 fiorini) as well as “the Arazzeria of His Excellency” (83.2.10 fiorini).\textsuperscript{178} In the existing documentation of Cini’s heirs, the workshop seems to stop supplying metallic threads to the tapestry-weavers (116.10.5 fiorini) in 1595.\textsuperscript{179} However, in the Guardaroba records there is evidence that Cini’s goldbeating workshop continued supplying threads until 1598, enriching and decorating the precious tapestry sets woven in the Medici tapestry workshop of Guasparri Papini.\textsuperscript{180}


As appears from the Medici account books, tapestry-weavers since the 1560s employed small quantities of linen (lino), around 10-20 libbre fiorentine per year, in their textile production. These vegetable fibres constituted the refi. The refe is a resistant thread,
obtained by “twisting together two or more yarns [accia] of linen or hemp, mainly used for sewing”. The loss of the private documentation of the Flemish masters (1545-1553). The loss of the private documentation of the Flemish masters could explain this apparent omission.

As reported in the Creati’s account books, tapestry-weavers inserted the coloured refi to sew tapestries. This operation took place in the final stages of weaving within the textile finishing processes. To finish their textiles, tapestry-weavers sewed refi to their tapestries to reduce gaps between threads, which can appear between different colour zones, or mend any accidental tears. The refe sewed together two or more weft yarns, strengthening their cohesion.

Tapestry-weavers purchased the coloured refi from local mercers. In the 1560s Benedetto di Giovanni della Balestra and Benedetto di Jacopo Belforti supplied the refi to the Arazzeria. It is unclear whether the libbre of “yarn and hemp [...] employed in the looms”, provided by a lanciaio, Leonardo di Giovanni Alessandrini, were used for sewing tapestries as the refi. In the 1570s, the mercer Giovan Francesco Rabatti established himself as the exclusive supplier of refi to the workshop of Benedetto Squilli. In the 1580s, Squilli also relied on other mercers, such as the heirs of Pierfrancesco Severini. Guasparri also used refi in tapestry-making. His suppliers were the mercer Bastiano Santini and Giovanni Cappellini.

The documentation of these mercers is today lost. Seemingly, there is only one existing archival unit in the Florentine archives which exclusively illustrates how the refi were made in Renaissance Florence (fifteenth and sixteenth century): the “book of refi

181 Vocabolario (1612), 691: “accia ritorta insieme in più doppi, per lo più, per uso di cucire”.
182 See for instance, ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 47, fol.34 left.
183 Soroka, Tapestry, 4; 49-50.
184 Soroka, Tapestry, 50.
185 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 47, fols.34 left-right; 69 left; 144 left.
186 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 47, fol.5 left.
187 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 80, fols.3r; 12r; 15r; 20r; 24v; 29r; 45r; 72, fols. 25v; 28r; 35v; 39r; 46r; 57v; 102, fols. 5r; 6r; 27r; 50r; 60v.
188 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 121, fols.9 left; 28 left.
189 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 121, fols. 9 left; 28 left; 122 left; 130 right; 139 left.
manufacturers B” (“Libro delle Maestre di Refi B”) (1476-1501), recorded by the mercer and silk-merchant in the Calimala guild Tommaso di Chimenti. Nevertheless, there are other references to the production of refi in mercers’ manufacturers’ books (libri dei manifattori). For instance, the mercer “Ugo di Girolamo Gentili and his associates in the Canto dei Pecori, near the Insegna della Palla [d’oro]” (documented 1528-1534) invested in the production and the trade of textile accessories and threads, such as silk yarns, filaticci ribbons and linen refi.

These manufacturers’ journals (Libri dei Manifattori) shows the mercers did not simply act as dealers of textiles and yarns, but also operated as entrepreneurs. Mercers, like Tommaso di Chimenti or Ugo Gentili, organised their production relying on the local putting-out system. Firstly, mercers purchased raw local (lino nostrale), Northern Italian (lino ferrarese) or foreign linen (lino alessandrino) from Florentine linaioli. Then, they employed local women (maestre) for processing the raw material and manufacturing the final products. Generally, mercers gave to their maestre a small quantity of linen for spinning and intertwining yarns of refi. Tommaso usually provided “2 libbre and 2 ounces of linen for spinning refi” to each woman, paying them by piecework.

The production cycle of refi is better documented in Ugo Gentili’s documentation. After purchasing the raw material, the mercer put out the materials, silk and linen, to his networks of spinners. Gentili’s maestre, paid for piecework, created the final products, such as orsoi or organzini (twisted silk threads), filaticci ribbons or wool yarns or linen refi. The linen refi and other products were returned to the mercer. Then, Gentili sent the products

190 AIOF, 12883, fols. 2r-287v.
192 See chapter 5, section 1-3. On the putting system and the Arazzeria see chapter 3, section 3.
193 There are several references of imported and local flax in AIOF, 13344, fols.131r-149r. Also, Averardo and Antonio Salviati regularly imported flax from Alexandria (1570s-1580s); see for instance, SNS, Archivio Salviati, Serie I, Libri di Commercio, 1468, fol. 100r; 1493, fol. 275 left-right.
194 AIOF, 12883, fol.2r: “[l]ibbre] 2 o[ncie] 2 di lino per filare refi”.
195 On the production (1528-1534), see AIOF, 13344, fols.131r-173v.
to dye in various colours. His most trusted dyer was “Zanobi di Giovanfrancesco, dyer of refe, in the piazza of San Frediano”. 196

When the product was finished, mercers sold the refe. There are some categories of clients for this product. First of all, refe was sold to other mercers or tailors or ragmen for reselling.197 Gentili himself purchased refe from mercers, such as Leonardo di Benedetto Marocci, for reselling them.198 More regularly, from the documents of mercers Giovambattista Vangelisti and Antonio Filippini (1599-1604), it appears that refe were sold in small quantities for 5 soldi to private individuals, men or women, for embroidering or sewing.199 Notably, in many cases, refe were possibly employed for sewing on buttons as these two accessories were sometimes purchased together.200

Refe were made by doubling and intertwining linen yarns. Linen was a vegetable fibre, extracted from flax (Linum usitatissimum), an indigenous agricultural crop in Tuscany, which was widely cultivated in the rural areas around Florence for weaving.201 The establishment of the local guild of linen manufacturers testifies to the early production of linen cloths in Florence. The first statutes of the guild were ratified in 1318.202 A few years later, in 1324, the linaioli (linen-merchants) merged with the rigattieri (second-hand clothes sellers) and formed the lesser guild (Arte Minore) of Arte dei Linaioli e Rigattieri.203 Alessandro de’Medici reformed the guild in 1534. The duke established the Università dei Linaioli, which was formed by Arte dei Linaioli e Rigattieri, Arte dei Vinattieri and Arte degli Albergatori.204

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196 AIOF; 13344, fols. 161v; 162v; 167v; 171v; 173v: “Zanobi di Giovanfranc[esc]o, nostro tintore di refe in piazza di san frediano”.
197 ASF, Libri di Commercio e Famiglia, 2315, fols. 54 right; 82 right; 100 right.
198 AIOF, 13344, fols.39v; 69r.
199 ASF, Libri di Commercio e Famiglia, 2315, fols. 43 right; 44 right; 45 left; 46 left-right; 47 left; 54 right; 54 right; 62 right; 63 right; 70 right.
200 ASF, Libri di Commercio e di Famiglia, 2315, fols.62 right; 63 right.
201 Goldthwaite, Economy, 296.
202 The first statute (1318) has been transcribed and published in 1958 by Ferdinando Sartini, Statuti dell’Arte dei Rigattieri e linaioli di Firenze (1296-1340) (Florence, Le Monnier, 1958), 137-181.
203 Sartini, Statuti, 183-251.
204 See chapter 1, section 2.
The production chain of linen emerges from existing documentation. As illustrated in the documentation of the Ospedale del Innocenti’s farm in Empoli (1554-1562) and an anonymous notebook from Montevarchi (1588), the first transformation of flax into linen yarn happened in the Tuscan rural areas where the plants were cultivated. First of all, the flax bunches (mazzi di lino) were polished from the seeds and left to macerate in water. Then, the softer part of the plant was separated (scapecchiare) from the woody capecchio, the coarser and external fibres of flax. The coarse capecchio was purchased and then sold on by linen-merchants, such as the Gaburri and Buonmattei company in Florence (1587-1592), to mattress-makers for padding mattresses. The softer lino scapecchiato was combed like wool or wasted silk (filaticcio). The combed linen was divided into stoppa (wasted and rough linen), which was also used for padding mattresses and for weaving cloths, and linen (lino), the thinner and softer part, mainly employed in weaving textiles.

At the stage, after combing, the linen was sent to Florence where local linen merchants purchased it and started to oversee production. They, like lanaioi or setaioli, were merchant-entrepreneurs and oversaw spinning and weaving, relying on the local putting-out system. Apparently, from the fifteenth century, Tuscan production was not sufficient for the needs of the industry and Florentine linen-merchants also imported linen from Northern Europe, Northern Italy and Eastern Mediterranean.

In Florence, the combed linen was firstly spun then woven. The linaiolo distributed small quantities of linen to spin to a network of female spinners, paying these women for piecework. As appears from an anonymous notebook at the Biblioteca Nazionale of Florence

205 AIOF, 3712, fol.125v. ASF, Cerchi, 627, fols.1r-28r.
206 AIOF, 3712, fol. 125v.
207 ASF, Cerchi, 627, fols. 1r-5v. On capecchio, Gentile, Dizionario, 45.
208 On the trade of capecchi in the company Gaburri-Buonmattei see: ASF, Libri di Commercio e Famiglia 897, fols. 250r; 251r; 251v; 252r; 267r. On sellings of capecchi see also: AIOF, 5354, fol.34 right; ASF, Cerchi, 627, fol.13r.
209 ASF, Cerchi, 627, fol.6r.
210 AIOF, 3712, fol.125v. ASF, Cerchi, 627, fols. 22v-23r. On stoppa, Gentile, Dizionario, 121.
211 Goldthwaite, Economy, 296.
(1571-1574), spinning linen took place in Florence in domestic environments and it was mainly carried out by women.212

After spinning, the linen was finally ready for weaving. As appears from the account book of the Gaburri-Buonmattei company, the linaioli employed independent weavers for piecework.213 The most common use of linen was for undergarments, bedclothes, table covers, towels, linings and pillowcases.214 These linen textiles were mainly sold in retail shops in Florence for home consumption, entering the daily life of Florentine people. For instance, Tanai de’ Medici recorded in a private account book several purchases of linens, bedclothes and pillowcases for his household (1550-1560).215

The most complete lists of linen clothing in sixteenth-century Florence were recorded by Antonio Spigliati in 1529, by Tommaso Fiaschi, linaiolo in Orsammichele, in 1550 and 1563, and by the Università dei Linaioli in 1571.216 Fiaschi’s shop inventory, particularly, illustrated that the linen-merchants sold foreign products in Florence and dealt with a variety of cotton (cotone) and cotton wool (bambagia) and wool products, such as the tele bottane or saie or rascie.217

* Going beyond the traditional approach of tapestry studies and Arazzeria’s scholarly literature, this chapter has holistically analysed the four materials of tapestries woven in sixteenth-century Florence. The research simultaneously restores the economic and social significance of the production and contributes to a deeper understanding of these textiles. The chapter, which is mainly based on the account books of the Arazzeria (ASF, Guardaroba Medicea), situated the workshops within the global and civic manufacturing and economic trends, contributing to their reconstruction and encouraging further investigation.

212 BNCF, Tordi, 527 (11), fols. 1v-7v.
213 For instance, they contracted the external weaver Matteo di Giovanni da Radda for weaving pillowcases; ASF, Libri di Commercio e di Famiglia, 897, fol.251r.
214 Goldthwaite, Economy, 297.
215 ASF, Manoscritti, 106, fols.31 left-right; 38 left.
216 AIOF, 13340, fols. 62 left-63 left; ASF, Libri di Commercio e di Famiglia, 2197, fols.1r-26v; ASF, Università dei Linaioli, 1, fols.11 right-12 right.
217 ASF, Libri di Commercio e di Famiglia, 2197, fols. 1r-2r.
The constant employment of Provencal *stame* demonstrates the wide diffusion of Mediterranean wools and their usage in high-quality textiles in the second half of the sixteenth century in Florence. The study of silk is fruitful in two different aspects. The provenance of silk, mainly from Tuscany, illustrates the development of local production, fostered by Medici protectionist measures. Also, the wide use of lower-quality *filaticcio* (waste silk) shows the democratisation and simplification of the silk industry in sixteenth-century Florence. The provenance of metals, which mainly came from American mines through Spain, connects the city to transcontinental networks, which demonstrates the movement of goods and the interconnectedness of American and European trades. Lastly, the research on linen illustrates the local networks, production and consumption.

This “total” history considers the entire chain of production for materials, but also the people involved in it. From this research, Florentine-woven tapestries emerge as a collective production and social enterprise of a large sector of the local economy and society, which involved from daily workers, spinners, combers, ragman, weavers, merchants and mercers. All these networks and professionals benefitted from the newly established weaving technique, which boosted their occupations, their incomes and overall, the entire Florentine economy. This research reconstructed local networks of skilled and unskilled workers and it is fruitful for studying labour in sixteenth-century Florence and Early Modern Europe.

Notably, this material-driven research unveils the complexity of tapestry-making. It demonstrates the collaborative effort behind its production beyond the cartoons of painters or the patronage which are themes already addressed in the literature. Therefore, by reassessing the entire production, as I have done from chapter 1, we can recognise that the painter-cartoonists were not the sole creators of tapestry. This production also relied on mercantile dynamics, a complex manufacturing system and the skills of tapestry-weavers, as analysed in chapters 2, 3 and 4. This complexity of production needs to be included in the tapestry studies. In particular in chapter 5, the research reveals that the Arazzeria was well integrated to the local manufacturing industries, defining it as a Florentine textile workshop. In the next chapter, I will complete the research by analysing the experimental uses of tapestry-weaving in sixteenth-century Florence.
Chapter 6
Experimenting with Tapestry-Weaving in Sixteenth-Century Florence

As I have discussed in the thesis so far, the domestication of tapestry-weaving in sixteenth-century Florence involved both the importation of a weaving technique and the organisation of new economic enterprises and modes of production.¹ The practice of tapestry-weaving in Florence also led to technical experiments, combining Netherlandish technique and know-how with new and unusual textile types, local materials and local weavers. Grandukes Cosimo and, in particular, Francesco from the 1580s guided these technical experiments with tapestry-making, fostering its different technical, material and social applications, well beyond figurative tapestries, and ultimately contributing to the adjustment and assimilation of the technique within the local context. So far, figurative wall tapestries (panni d’arazzo) have been isolated from the wider textile production of the Arazzeria, due to the intellectual effort of drawing cartoons.² Conversely, by investigating different experimental projects, this chapter seeks to restore the original meaning of tapestry-weaving perceived as a weaving technique, inserted in the Florentine socio-economic and manufacturing context.

The Flemish masters from the very beginning of their stay in Florence, employed tapestry-weaving for a variety of textiles, such as carpets or carriage covers, commissioned by the Medici court.³ Particularly, among these various textiles, in section 1 I will focus on carpets (tappeti or carpita) and carpet-weaving. These textiles were made in the Arazzeria with the same technique as tapestries. Tapestry-woven carpets constituted an experimental hybridisation of weaving techniques and textile types. Though this side production of

¹ See chapter 2, 3, 4 and 5.
² See the Introduction to the thesis.
³ ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 9330, ser Giovan Battista Giordani, 1546-1547, fol.131r, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 529, doc.65. Tappezzerie are generally defined as “vestments for the rooms” (“paramenti per stanze”) by the Crusca, Vocabolario, 1612, 873.
Arazzeria is referenced in the literature, scholars have never approached these carpets from an “experimental” or production perspective of tapestry-weaving.⁴

In the following three sections, the chapter will examine Ulivieri Ventura Vicenti and the carpet and textile workshop of the Hospital of the Innocenti (1581-1594).⁵ In the 1580s, Ulivieri wrote a short treatise (5 folios) (doc. 95), regarding “the new invention on how to weave [textiles] with goat-wool” (“Nova Inventione di mettere in opera il pelo di capra”).⁶ Here, Ulivieri listed several textiles, such as carpets (tappeti), bed covers or tablecloths (celoni) or combed clothes (stamigne) that could have been made with this material.⁷ Notably, Ulivieri also dwells on the possibility of weaving tapestries employing Tuscan goat hair, displaying an experimental curiosity in this weaving technique and this newly-imported textile type.⁸ This treatise by Ulivieri is collated together with the “Libro degli Arazzi e


⁶ Firenze, Biblioteca Moreniana, Bigazzi, ms 168, “Libro degli Arazzi et Tappeti”, fols. 1r-48 left; “La nova inventione di metter in opera il pelo di capra”. fol. 1r-5v. The enumeration of folio started from 1 either for the “Libro dei tappeti et arazzi” and “La nova inventione di metter in opera il pelo di capra”, even if these two sections are collated in the same manuscript. In this dissertation, I will indicate whether I am referring to “Libro” or “Nova”.

⁷ Celone can indicate either tablecloths or bed covers. Vocabolario dell’Accademia della Crusca (Venice, Bastiano de Rossi, 1623), 168; Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca, vol. 2 (Florence, Accademia della Crusca, 1691), 312.

⁸ Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, “Nova”, fol.3v.
The “Libro” reports all the expenses, some notes on textile production, mainly carpets and rintornaletti (carpets for bedrooms), and updates about the workshop, run by Ulivieri himself within the Spedale and promoted by Granduke Francesco de’ Medici (1541-1587). The workshop will be situated within the experimental atmosphere of Francesco’s Granduchy, which has been widely studied elsewhere.

The Innocenti workshop has been studied within different research frames. Marco Spallanzani analysed carpet-weaving at the Innocenti within his studies on this textile typology in fifteenth and sixteenth-century Florence. Although he discussed the patent granted to Ulivieri (1583), Spallanzani nevertheless did not consider his treatise. Conversely, Philip Gavitt positioned the workshop within Florentine economic policies and politics and linked it to Medici artistic patronage. He also considered Ulivieri’s treatise and engaged with the Innocenti’s archival documentation. However, the Innocenti workshop has not been considered in the context of tapestry-making and this chapter will correct this omission which, as will be seen, shifts the emphasis of existing research.

The Innocenti workshop highlights a new “experimental” function of tapestry-weaving in sixteenth-century Florence: its socio-didactic value. In fact, tapestry-weaving at the Innocenti was carried out by female foundlings. Several scholars have already examined the female community in sixteenth-century hospitals and other Florentine charitable institutions. The research in section 3 aims to contribute to this field by reassessing the

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11 Spallanzani, Carpet, 109-125.

12 Spallanzani, Carpet, 109-125.


14 Gavitt, “Culture”, 204-219

role of tapestry-weaving within the social policies and didactical activities designed for the female foundlings in Renaissance Florence.

Section 4 examines how the Arazzeria interacted with local manufacturing industry, displaying a distinct experimental curiosity and interaction between Netherlandish knowledge and skills and the Florentine context. Indeed, Ulivieri was in contact with the tapestry workshop of Benedetto Squilli. Ulivieri twice asked Squilli to dye goat hair employing the Netherlandish dyeing technique, *follegram*.\(^\text{16}\) This dyeing technique has not been considered in scholarly literature in relation to the Italian Renaissance.\(^\text{17}\) There are just some Dutch and Flemish studies on this technique.\(^\text{18}\) As noted in chapters 3 and 4, dyeing in the tapestry workshop is scarcely referenced in the existing documentation and this technique has fully been identified within the Arazzeria.\(^\text{19}\) My research will offer a new study of dyeing in the Arazzeria and dyeing overall in sixteenth century Florence.

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\(^{16}\) Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, “Libro”, fols.5 right; 26 left-right.
\(^{19}\) See chapter 4, section 3.
1. Weaving Tapestry-Woven Carpets in the Arazzeria Medicea

The Arazzeria did not weave just figurative tapestries, but the workshop produced a variety of textiles for the Medici court, using the same weaving technique. According to the 1546 contract, Jan Rost and Nicholas Karcher wove both high-quality tapestries and lower-quality textiles, namely carriage covers, door hangings and bed hangings. In the Medici inventories, figurative tapestries, carriage covers, door hangings and bed curtains are all recorded under the category of tapestries. This evidence highlights the common weaving technique employed for all these textiles and how they were appreciated and categorised for their technical qualities, beyond the disegno. Carpets are also recorded among the textiles woven by the Arazzeria.

Before the Arazzeria started this production, carpets were not locally woven, but were regularly imported from the Levant, especially from Egypt and Anatolia (Turkey). Carpets made in the Eastern Mediterranean, were traded all around the Mediterranean and arrived in Florence via Pisa, Venice and Ancona. The main technical characteristic of

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20 On the weaving technique see the Introduction.
21 ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 9330, ser Giovan Battista Giordani, 1546-1547, fols. 127v; 131v, in Adelson, Patronage", 529, doc. 65; 533, doc.66.
22 See for instance, ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 30, fols. 165 left-170 right; 31, fols. 111 right; 117 right-118 right; 44, fols. 71r-74r; 45, 28r; 34r-36v; 46, fols. 48 left-52 left.
23 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 27, fol.68r; 28, fol. 31v; 30, fol.164 left; 46, fol. 52 left; 200 right, in Meoni, Arazzi, 186, n.34.
25 Spallanzani, Rugs, 11-19.
carpets, which were made of silk, wool or cotton, is that they were pile-woven. In this production, similar to velvet-weaving, extra weft threads were knotted around the warp. Then, weavers cut the knots. The cut knot constituted the pile and gave the fabric softness and durability. There were some typologies of flat-woven carpets, weaving without the insertion of piles, such as kilim, verneh, sileh and soumak rugs, produced in Anatolia, Persia and the Caucasus.

These textiles held a variety of functions in Renaissance Florence. Larger carpets could have been placed on the floor. Particularly, the Florentines laid carpets, called rintornaletti, around bed chambers. Large or small carpets were usually positioned to cover furniture, benches, chests, coffers, strongboxes or writing desks (da tavola) or even windows during festive occasions. Eastern Mediterranean carpets richly adorned the private residences of patrician Florentine families. The Medici family also started to buy

31 Rintornaletti should not be confused with tornaletti, a textile band wrapped around the band. *Vocabolario dell’Accademia della Crusca*, vol. 5 (Florence, Manni, 1729-1738), 103. Tornaletti, made of different materials, are often recorded in the Medici inventories. See for instance in 1560, ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 65, fols. 98 left-105 right.
32 Spallanzani, *Rugs*, 50
33 For instance see the carpets owned by the Salviati, Strozzi and Capponi in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, as studied by Marco Spallanzani: SNS, Archivio Salviati, Serie I, Libri di Commercio, 363, fol.75v; ASF, Carte Strozziane, V, 89, unnumbered; 118, fol. 8r; 1470, fol. 115r-v; BNCF, Libri di
these textiles from the early fifteenth century, under Giovanni di Bicci (1417-1418), but these purchases intensified in the second half of the fifteenth century, especially, thanks to Lorenzo il Magnifico, who owned 70 carpets. In public spaces, carpets were exposed in celebrations and even in workplaces. In 1471, there were 38 Eastern Mediterranean rugs registered in the Palazzo Vecchio. Ecclesiastical institutions, such as the Badia Fiorentina, Chiesa di San Romolo, Basilica di Santa Trinita, also displayed carpets in masses, funerals and celebrations.

Duke Cosimo I de’ Medici collected these textiles for his residences and court. In 1545, the duke directly commissioned carpets with his coat of arms from Egypt, sending his agent, Jacopo Capponi, there. In 1547, Capponi sent other Mamluk carpets to Cosimo. In the 1550s, still during Cosimo’s Duchy, there are other references to carpets, traded purchases from Egypt and via Venice. In 1553, there were 96 carpets in the Guardaroba.

Like his father Cosimo, Francesco regularly purchased carpets from the Levant. The granduke and his first wife, Joanna of Austria (1547-1578), sent expeditions to the Levant in the 1570s for acquiring precious stones, such as emeralds or rubies, and buying Anatolian

Commercio Capponi, 9, fol. 164 left, in Spallanzani, Rugs, 35; 116; 126; 133; 138-139; doc.98; 111; 120b; 125; 135.

34 Spallanzani, Rugs, 51-52. On Lorenzo’s proprieties see Marco Spallanzani and Giovanna Gaeta Bertela, Libro d’Inventario dei beni di Lorenzo il Magnifico (Florence, SPES, 1992), 1-248.

35 ASF, Camera del Comune, Signoria, 5, fol.7v, in Spallanzani, Rugs, 36-38.

36 Spallanzani, Rugs, 39-40.

37 See for instance, ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 28, fol. 34 left; 65 left; 31, fols.127 right-128 right; 44, fols. 78 right-79 right; 65, fols. 98 left-105 right; 124 left-126 left; 70, fols. 96 left-right. Also, see, Spallanzani, Rugs, 33.


40 ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 479, fol. 173r; 5922b, fol. 17v and ASF, Guardaroba Medicea 37, fol.8r, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 296 and in Spallanzani, Rugs, 33-34.

41 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 30, fol.176r, in Spallanzani, Rugs, 142, doc.141.
and Egyptian carpets. In 1570, they sent another agent, Iacopo Benci, to Egypt for purchasing rintornaletti. In 1571, Benci returned to Florence and reported the list of his purchases. Private merchants, such as Averardo and Antonio Salviati, also purchased Eastern Mediterranean carpets and goat hair-woven fabrics, such as baracani.

At Francesco’s death in 1587 there were 155 Eastern Mediterranean carpets in the Medici collections. In the second half of the sixteenth century, Florentines began to replicate Eastern Mediterranean rug-making, emulating the practice of imitating and domesticating foreign weaving techniques. In two unpublished letters of the 1560s, Bernardo Saliti twice proposed to Francesco the establishment of a carpet-weaving workshop in Pisa, adapting decorative motifs to the Italian market (doc. 39-55). In his letters, Saliti remarked that the weavers in Pisa could produce carpets of any kind, probably pile-woven and flat-woven.

While Saliti’s commercial project failed, the Arazzeria was already weaving carpets in Florence for the court. In 1553-1554, Karcher’s workshop wove a Carpita alla moresca, a precious table cover carpet, entirely made of silk, imitating the Eastern Mediterranean decoration patterns. The Flemings used the same technique of tapestry-weaving, composing flat-woven carpets and only employing warp and weft threads. Therefore, the Arazzeria adjusted tapestry-weaving to this textile typology. Carpets were woven like

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42 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea 69, fols. 26r-v. 56v. 57r, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 297.
43 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 69, fol.25, in Spallanzani, Carpet, 86.
44 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 70, fol.95v.
45 SNS, Archivio Salviati, Serie I, Libri di Commercio, 1492, fols. 142 right-143 right. On baracane, a North African rough fabric woven with goat or camel hair, see Gentile, Dizionario (1729-1739), vol.1, 382.
46 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 132, fols. 209v-210v, in Spallanzani, Rugs, 88.
47 See chapter 2, section 1.
48 ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 529a, fol.855r-856r; ASF, Miscellanea Medicea, 27/III, fol. 1029r. See chapter 3, section 1.
49 ASF, Miscellanea Medicea, 27/III, fol.1029r.
50 Adelson and Landini, “Carpet”, 53-67; Adelson, “Patronage”, 298-314; Meoni, Arazzi, 186-187, n.34.
51 On tapestry-weaving technique, see the Introduction.
tapestries by inserting multi-coloured weft threads through plain. What distinguished carpets and tapestries were their functions, sizes, and figurative motives. Carpets, which were mainly decorated with geometrical patterns, were used for adorning tables, furniture or floors. Conversely, larger tapestries were hung on walls and they were figurative. Therefore, the Carpita (fig. 6.1), enables us to reassess tapestry-weaving as a weaving technique. Made in the early 1550s, the Carpita highlights the versatility of tapestry-weaving, the hybridisation of textile types and the transmission of skills in Renaissance Florence.

As the account books recorded, the Creati still continued to produce carpets for the court, probably flat-woven.\(^{52}\) For instance, in 1575, Benedetto Squilli’s workshop wove a small carpet, with grotesques for Francesco (doc. 96).\(^{53}\) In 1574-1575, the same workshop wove a series of still existing bedroom cortinaggi for Francesco, decorated with grotesque motifs, designed by Alessandro Allori and Giovanni Ponsi (fig. 6.2).\(^{54}\) However, as discussed in the next section, from the 1580s Francesco aimed to diversify carpet production in Florence.

2. Francesco de’ Medici and The Project of Weaving Tapestries in the Spedale degli Innocenti (1581-1592)

Alongside the Arazzeria, the foundlings of the Hospital of the Innocenti had woven carpets for the Medici since the Priorship of Vincenzo Borghini (1552-1580).\(^{55}\) In 1569-1570, Cosimo employed in the Innocenti a Spanish weaver, Antonio de Lima, for producing carpets for his court with the boys of the hospital.\(^{56}\) In 1574, Borghini presented to the court a

\(^{52}\) For instance, ASF, Guardaroba Mediceo, 32, fol. 63v.

\(^{53}\) ASF, Guardaroba Mediceo, 72, fol.133v.

\(^{54}\) ASF, Guardaroba Mediceo, 72, fols. 135v; 136v, in Meoni, Arazzi, 279-287, n.84-101 and in Meoni, Nascita, 84-87, n. 14.

\(^{55}\) On Borghini, see chapter 1, section 5.

\(^{56}\) Gavitt, “Culture”, 213; Spallanzani, Carpets, 109. References of Lima’s production are in ALIOF, 5354, fols. 145 left; 148 left.
carpet woven in the Spedale. However, Lima appeared indolent and Borghini and his collaborators repeatedly complained to the court about him (doc. 97-98-99). The Hospital accused Lima of embezzlement of the institution’s wool. During training, one of the apprentices was even kidnapped (doc. 100). Lima eventually left the hospital in January 1580. After his dismissal, the production briefly continued under the supervision of Benedetto, a weaver of the hospital. In this period, carpet-weavers wore azure-coloured aprons, made of hemp.

It appeared the carpet workshop of the hospital (1569-1581) used Provencal *stame* and hemp in production and probably imitated pile-weaving. Indeed, in May 1581, Ulivieri described six carpets that were woven in the Hospital by the previous management. Two of the carpets were pile-woven, called *cairini* in Florence, as “they were woven with one and a half knots as done at Gran Cairo from where they take their name”.

In May 1581, the new Prior, Niccolò Mazzi da Cortona, and Ulivieri took over the management of the workshop, placing it within the female community of the hospital. On

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59 AIOF, 6211, fol.174r in Borghini, *Carteggio*, 131-132, n. LXXII

60 AIOF, 6211, fol.53r, in Gavitt, “Culture”, 214.

61 AIOF, 5354, fol.88 left.

62 AIOF, 5354, fol. 160 left-right.

63 AIOF, 5355, fol.4 left-right.

64 AIOF, 5354, fol. 174 left; 5355, fols.4 left-right; 41 left.


the first folio of the Moreniana manuscript, Ulivieri declared that from May 1581, he would record the expenses for the workshop of carpets and textiles, woven by the girls of the hospital.\(^{68}\) Granduke Francesco was identified as the “patron” of the workshop.\(^{69}\)

Before delving into the history of this workshop, it is worthwhile introducing the figure of Ulivieri to frame this context and his involvement in the tapestry-making project. Ulivieri’s biography is profoundly influenced by the history of the Innocenti and by its Prior Vincenzo Borghini. In 1563, Borghini was appointed as the *luogotenente* (lieutenant) of the Accademia delle Arti del Disegno.\(^{70}\) He acted as a superintendent and manager of the institution, closely linked to the Medici court.\(^{71}\) Notably, Borghini sought to bring together his two institutional roles in the Innocenti and Accademia by fostering the education of young and poor children in the Arti del Disegno. He actively pursued this intention within the hospital. A 1565 letter from Borghini to Giorgio Vasari testifies that the Innocenti’s foundlings were taught to draw. Borghini wrote:

> I am giving the children practice in exercising their caprice a little so that when they draw an outside figure they have free reign to put in a little embellishment. I have them do little partitions, frames, columns, pilasters, and so on. I have them do such drawings in abundance, as might decorate a nice book.\(^{72}\)

Among Borghini’s protégés, trained in the Innocenti’s painting workshop, two prominent artists of the late sixteenth-century emerged, Giovanni Battista Naldini (1535-1591), and

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\(^{68}\) Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, fol.1r.

\(^{69}\) Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, fol.1r: “padrone”.


\(^{71}\) Scorza, “Ruolo”, 38.

\(^{72}\) The letter has been transcribed by Philip Gavitt, “Culture”, 207-208.
Francesco Morandini, Il Poppi (1544-1597). Notably, alongside Naldini and Poppi, there was the young painter Ulivieri Ventura Vicenti. Ulivieri in 1581 defined himself as “painter, tapestry-weaver and carpet-weaver and pupil of the Spedale degli Innocenti”. Ulivieri’s family origin and life are rather undocumented. Marco Spallanzani related him to the vice-Prior Antonio Vicenti (mid-sixteenth-century). Notably, in the Innocenti, in the 1580s and 1590s there was another Ulivieri Ventura, a wool-weaver (tessitore di panni lani) from Prato, but we cannot so far ascertain whether he was related to the painter. In the Florentine baptismal records there are several “Ulivieri delli Innocenti” baptised between 1545 and 1555, but it is complicated to securely identify him without any further archival evidence.

Ulivieri started his artistic training in the hospital, and from the mid-1560s he became assistant to Poppi. He was closely linked to Borghini, acting as his “assistant” in

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75 Marco Spallanzani, Carpet Studies 1300-1600, translated from Italian by Anne Moore Valeri (Genoa, Sagep, 2016), 110.
76 AIOF, 5358, fols. 31 left-right. The wool weaver Ulivieri Ventura da Prato can not be identified as the painter. Ulivieri Ventura Vicenti in the contemporary documentation is called “our painter” (“nostro pittore”) or Ulivieri Vincenti or Vicenti. See AIOF, 5357, fols. 7 right; 116 right; 187 left; 206 right; 5358, fols.102 left; 155 left-right; 169 left; 201 left.
77 Florence, Archivio dell’Opera del Duomo, Registri Battesimali, 12, fols. 303r-316v.
78 Ferdinando Leopoldo Del Migliore, Firenze città nobilissima (Florence, Stamperia della Stella, 1684), 311; Luciano Bellosi, Museo dello Spedale degli Innocenti (Florence, Electa, 1977), 241, n.86; Giovannetti, Poppi, 110-111; Giuseppe Richa, Notizie istoriche delle chiese Fiorentine, vol.8 (Florence, Viviani, 1755), 128.
running personal matters.\textsuperscript{79} Borghini included Ulivieri among his closest collaborators, offering them tips.\textsuperscript{80} Giorgio Vasari knew the young painter and often greeted Vicenti in his letters to Borghini.\textsuperscript{81} In 1565, Ulivieri probably collaborated with a young team of artists on the \textit{Apparati} for Francesco’s wedding.\textsuperscript{82} In 1567-1568, he worked alongside Morandini, painting a predella, today lost, for an altarpiece, \textit{The Adoration of Shepherds} (fig. 6.3), commissioned by Borghini for the Abbazia di San Salvatore a Spugna in Colle Val d’Elsa (Siena).\textsuperscript{83} After the death of Borghini (1580), Ulivieri inherited a part of Prior’s collection of drawings and paintings.\textsuperscript{84} In 1581, Ulivieri lent some of his copies, paintings and drawings to the new prior Niccolò Mazzi.\textsuperscript{85} As all the archival documentation highlights, Ulivieri was first of all “a painter of the Innocenti”, as he called himself, trained within the Spedale of Vincenzo Borghini.\textsuperscript{86} Being the Innocenti painter, in the 1580s, Ulivieri painted two important religious panels for the Hospital’s Church, the \textit{Deposition} (fig.6.4), for the Cappella Lenzi, and the \textit{Crucifixion} (fig.6.5), alongside Poppi.\textsuperscript{87} Overall, Ulivieri’s biography as a hospital employee might motivate his appointment as the head of the carpet workshop. In fact, as described in the next section, the Hospital was suffering a difficult economic situation and was not able to employ external artisans or weavers.

In May 1581, a different raw material was added to local carpet-weaving: goat hair.\textsuperscript{88} Francesco himself asked Ulivieri to add goat hair to textile and carpet production in order to replicate the technical qualities of Eastern Mediterranean carpets. In the “Novæ Inventione”,

\textsuperscript{79} AIOF, 5353, fols. 21 left; 54 left; 57 left; 5354, fols. 25 left; 118 right; 125 right.
\textsuperscript{80} AIOF, 5353, fol. 4 left; 5354, fol.120 left.
\textsuperscript{81} Ulivieri was called “Livo” or “Livio”, as noted by Rick A. Scorza, “Vincenzo Borghini’s Collection of Paintings, Drawings and Wax Models: New Evidence From Manuscript Sources”, \textit{Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes}, vol.66 (2003), 67.
\textsuperscript{82} BNCF, Magliabechiano, II.X. 100, fols. 66v-67v, in Scorza, “Apparato”, 66: “Ulivo degli Innocenti”.
\textsuperscript{83} Giovannetti, \textit{Poppi}, 101-102, n.42.
\textsuperscript{84} ASF, Notarile Moderno, 638, fols. 38v-39r, in Scorza, “Collection”, 120.
\textsuperscript{85} AOIF, 6213, fol.345r. An exact copy is reported AIOF, 6213, fol.346r, in Scorza, “Collection”, 121-122.
\textsuperscript{86} Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, “Libro”, fol. 1r.
\textsuperscript{88} See section 4.
Ulivieri reported that “His Excellence [Francesco] thought that carpets made of [sheep] wool (lana and stame) were not that dense, like the ones woven in the East [...] he asked me [Ulivieri] to try Tuscan goat hair for weaving”.  

Eastern models motivated Francesco’s request. Anatolian Karakecili and Egyptian Mamluk carpets were woven with goat hair. Notably, these textiles were well known in Florence. In the 1569-1572 inventory of the Guardaroba Medicea, is registered “a carpet with a silk warp and weft of goat hair from the Levant”. Still in the 1572 inventory, there was recorded a small carpet, woven with goat hair and decorated with figures and animals (doc. 101).

By suggesting the use of goat hair in carpet-weaving, Francesco demonstrated a distinct appreciation of these textiles and an acute understanding of materials. He was notoriously interested in experimenting with new techniques and processing new materials. From his youth, Francesco ran and invested in experiments within the Fonderia of the Uffizi. In 1572, he moved these scientific and technical laboratories to the Casino of San Marco. There, under the direction of Bernardo Buontalenti, artisans, chemists, goldsmiths and glassworkers operated on materials, creating new skills and techniques. Notably, Medici porcelains were crafted in the Casino. In the 1570s, the Studiolo of Francesco (fig. 6.6), a private space, also dedicated to the scientific curiosity of the Prince,

90 Fritzsche and Jourdan, Tappeti, 89; Pagnano, Tappeto, 15.
91 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 70, fol.95v, in Spallanzani, Rugs, 86: “tappeto ordito di seta, ripieno di pelo di capra di Levante”.
92 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 79, fol.96 left.
94 Berti, Principe, 47-54; Goldthwaite, Economy, 392.
95 Berti, Principe, 54-59.
was built in Palazzo Vecchio and decorated under the initial direction of Giorgio Vasari and Vincenzo Borghini.  

Therefore, it seems that these experimental interests motivated Francesco’s request to weave with goat hair. Ulivieri replicated the traits of this curious proto-scientific research. He investigated the physical characteristics of materials to create new techniques. Whilst doing so, he also tricked Francesco. In July 1581 Ulivieri reported:

Today the 25th July we had shaved a dog at the Tree Farm [Podere degli Alberi]. This dog had very long, beautiful and refined hair, and we decided to see how it would come out as a finished product. So I had a rug woven and we gave it to the granduke without telling him what it was made of. He thought it was delightful and beautiful.

Following Francesco’s suggestion of using goat hair, in June 1581, Carlo Pitti, a prominent courtier, who also oversaw the creation of the civic Jewish ghetto, and was one of the Hospital’s magistrates (Nove Deputati), gave Ulivieri the first samples of goat hair.

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99 Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, “Libro”, fol. 2 left; “Nova”, fol. 2v. On Carlo Pitti (1522-1586), see Ippolita Morgese, *Nessuno sa di lui* (Florence, Le Lettere, 2018), 1-151. Morgese recorded Pitti’s personal documents at the Archivio di Stato di Firenze; Morgese, *Nessuno*, 51-53. She also recalled his involvement in the Innocenti, Morgese, *Nessuno*, 19. In addition to Morgese’s studies, we can highlight here that Pitti invested in *garbo* wool workshops, deputasing the management to Giuliano Del Riccio (1561-1572) and Giovanni Lapini (1583-1594); See, ASF, Ginori Conti, Serie Pitti Rinuccini, Parte A, 184, fols. 1 left-131 right; 185, fols. 46 left; 188, fol. 1 left-120 right. Also, he organised for Bianca Cappello in the buliding of her residence in Florence (1570s). ASF, Ginori Conti, Serie Pitti Rinuccini, Parte A, 180, fols. 1 left-124 right; 181, fols. 1 left-88 left. On the residence, see Emanuela
From 1581 to 1587, when the supply stopped, Ulivieri received 71 kg of goat hair. Ulivieri had two main suppliers for this material: the Medici stables and Tuscan farmers and tanners. Farmers and tanners supplied only Tuscan hair. Goats were indigenous in Tuscany and were bred for food and leather. As a letter by Mazzi demonstrates, it appears that the Innocenti had an agreement with the Magistrato della Grascia, the office which oversaw the market for food and groceries in Tuscany, for the local supply of goat hair (doc. 102). Nevertheless, Mazzi noted that the material was difficult to find and he requested the Grascia to provide it more regularly to the Innocenti. The diminution of sheep and goats, registered in the 1570s-1580s in Tuscany, might explain the scarce supply to the Innocenti. Moreover, this difficulty may have occurred as goat hair was not regularly used in the textile industries. Ulivieri recorded that it was not customary for farmers to shear goats in Tuscany. Consequently, the Innocenti mainly received the hair of dead animals from the tanning industry. This goat hair was used in weaving, but it was stringy and coarse and Ulivieri needed to remove impurities and mortar by washing it. Ulivieri noted hair sheared from livestock was preferable for weaving as the material was firmer and thinner.


100 Spallanzani, Carpet, 115.
101 Spallanzani, Carpet, 114-115.
102 Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, “Libro”, fols. 26 right; 28 left; 29 left; 32 left-right; 38 right; 39 right; 40 right.
103 On goats in the Medici Florence, for instance, ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1169, fol.284r; ASF, Ufficiali poi Magistrato della Grascia, 158, insert 168, unnumbered.
104 AIOF, 6227, fol. 37r. On the Magistrato, see Pult Quaglia, Provvedere, 48-73.
105 AIOF, 6227, fol. 37r.
106 Pult Quaglia, Provvedere, 194-195. The diminution motivated the ban of exportation of goat leather (1595): BNCF, Magl. 15.3.133/99, Bando che il cuoiame peloso macellato nel dominio fiorentino non si possa esportare (Florence, Marescotti, 1595).
108 Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, “Nova”, fols. 4v-5r.
The Medici stables also provided Ulivieri with different kinds of goat hair, such as Sardinian, sheared from living goats. Sardinian goat hair appeared to be thinner than the Tuscan goat hair. Ulivieri compared the Sardinian material to the goat hair used in camlets, originally an Eastern Mediterranean textile made of camel hair or Angora goat wool (mohair). In sixteenth-century Florence, goat hair-woven camlets or other fabrics, such as baracane, were also imported to Florence from the Levant. These fabrics had also been woven in Europe since the thirteenth century with goat hair or wool. Camlets of sheep wool were produced in Florence. They were mainly used for mozzette, an ecclesiastic short cape, cloaks, dressing gowns (sottane) or trousers and socks.

The Flemish ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq (1522-1592), described this goat hair textile production in Anatolia, and noted that the Anatolian Angora goat hair (mohair) appeared glossy, lustrous and silky. Therefore, Tuscan goat hair seemed similar to Angora and Sardinian goat hair, as Ulivieri wrote that it was also silky and

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113 Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, “Libro”, fol.17 left; SNS, Archivio Salviati, Serie I, Libri di Commercio, 1492, fol.143 left-right.
114 Gentile, Dizionario, 43.
115 See for instance, Archivio Bartolini Salimbeni, 47, fol.90 left-right.
116 ASF, Arte della Lana, 398, fols. 298r-299r; ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 86, fol. 6 left; 156, fol.50 left-right.
lustrous. However, he noted that local goat hair was wilder and rougher than the Sardinian or Angora equivalent, highlighting its physical diversity.

Despite the deliveries of goat hair, in the first nine months (May 1581 - February 1582), Ulivieri and his workshop only produced ten carpets made of sheep wool (*lana* and *stame*). In the “Libro”, Ulivieri recorded this production, reporting the measurements, the weight, the people involved, clients and buyers. Warps were made of combed wool, which was resistant and long, and the weft was softer *lana*. Ulivieri does not mention piles, so we can suppose these carpets were all flat-woven.

The long hiatus between the supply of goat hair (June 1581) and the first textiles woven with that material (late 1582) suggests that Ulivieri or his weavers were not accustomed to processing this material and needed over a year to learn how to manufacture it. The Moreniana “Libro”, illustrates step-by-step the birth, the improvement and the sudden demise of this technical experiment (1581-1594).

Between 1581 and 1582, Ulivieri ran several trials to figure out how to process goat hair. The first obstacle was spinning. He described this struggle in the “Nova Inventione”. Ulivieri firstly tried to comb the hair, like linen, but the threads did not stick together. Therefore, he asked a wool worker of the hospital to card goat hair, like sheep wool. By carding it, the hair was freed of impurities and became more flexible and stuck together to form a thread, which were then wounded onto bobbins. After dyeing the threads, thanks to external operators, the next step conducted within the workshop was to weave. On 9th

120 Spallanzani, *Carpet*, 119-123. On *lana* and *stame*, see chapter 5, section 1.
121 Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, “Libro”, fols. 1r-47 left.
122 See for instance, the carpet wove on the 28th December 1581; see Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, “Libro”, fol.13 left.
124 Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, “Nova”, fols. 2v-3r.
125 Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, “Nova”, fol. 3r
126 On bobbins, see Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, “Libro”, fol. 11 right.
127 On dyeing in the workshop, see section 4.
December 1581, Ulivieri asked his weavers to weave the spun hair. They wove two unspecified samples of cloth, but Ulivieri was not fully satisfied “these came up quite well, but we can improve the perfection of this technique and we have understood thanks to this trial how to master this production”.

Ulivieri employed goat hair in the wefts of combed cloths (stamigna). Stamigna was made of durable combed wool (stame) and was open-weave. Stamigne were generally used in food production as a sieves, in English this textile is called cheesecloth, and for sails and flags. However, Ulivieri envisaged using this typology for weaving ferraioli (shorter men’s cloaks) and brocatels, wall hangings, mainly used in church decoration. Ulivieri’s aim to employ goat hair for these two textiles was to enhance their durability and waterproof qualities.

Ulivieri substituted the combed wool of the stamigne warp with spago di garzuolo. Hemp was a coarse and durable natural fibre, commonly used in Florence for...
producing ropes, horse tethers, sacks and sails. It was locally sourced from mercers and from the city’s surrounding areas, such as Capaccio or Fiorenzuola. From 1583, hemp constituted the warp of seven rintornaletti. These experiments with goat hair and stamigne characterised the year 1582 and for about ten months the workshop did not complete any carpets (February-December 1582). Only on 10th December 1582 was goat hair tested for other textile types, tablecloths (celoni) and carpets (rintornaletti). Ulivieri, noted that the “women in the room of carpet and Pagolino, celsonaio of the Hospital, wove a celone to see how it came up. The cloth was good enough, given this hard and coarse material [goat hair]”. A few weeks later, on the 28th December 1582, the first rintornaletto, which measured 6.12 square metres (8 ½ braccia quadre), was completed. On the same folio, Ulivieri draws a Medici coat of arms.

Therefore, it seems that from late 1582, Ulivieri started to master Tuscan goat hair. The hospital would have been well aware of the relevance of this technical innovation. In fact, they presented on the 3rd March 1583 a petition to Francesco to grant them a 20 year patent for weaving with goat hair in Florence in the Granduchy of Tuscany (doc. 103). A week later, on 10th March 1583, Francesco de’ Medici sealed the significance of this


136 Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, “Libro”, fols. 15 left; 32 right; 38 left; 39 left; 41 left; 42 left. On mercers, see chapter 5, section 4.

137 Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, fols. 25 left; 31 left; 33 left; 37 left; 39 left; 46 left.


139 Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, fol. 19 right: “Addi del sopradetto diciembre se tessuto dalle donne nella stanza de tappeti un cielone di pelo di capra nostrale per mano di Pagolino nostro dello spedale il quale e tornato ragionevole p[er] il primo et massimo duna materia tanta rustica et villana”.


141 AIOF, 6238, fol.36r, in Spallanzani, *Carpet*, 110 and in Gavitt, “Culture”, 212.
technical innovation by granting a 10-year patent to Ulivieri and the Spedale for producing textiles with goat hair (doc. 104). During this period, Ulivieri probably wrote the “Nova Inventione”, probably to present this technical innovation and its procedure.

Ultimately, Ulivieri and Spedale were granted a 10-year privilege (1583-1593) to weave carpets, stamigne, albagi, rintornaletti and notably tapestries employing goat hair (doc. 104). It seems that this inclusion of tapestries was motivated by technical reasons. As in the Arazzeria, tapestries and carpets share the same flat-weaving technique. Ulivieri envisaged weaving figurative tapestries. In his “Nova Inventione”, he describes this production:

likewise, [goat hair] can be used to weave tapestries, which can be capricious [“capriccioso”] and beautiful things. The most excellent [tapestries] would be where satyrs and fauns are depicted. These figures appear real because their fleeces are made up of natural goat hair.

Therefore, in the Innocenti workshop we can find remarkable evidence of the contemporary understanding of tapestry-weaving as a technique. Moreover, Ulivieri’s workshop recorded an attempted response of Florentines to the original Northern European weaving technique as the Innocenti sought to innovate the technique, integrating it with an unusual and local material.

Despite the absence of tapestries woven in the Innocenti, the “Nova Inventione” by Ulivieri and the patent of 1583 illustrate the assimilation of tapestries to wider Florentine

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142 ASF, Diplomatico, Spedale degli Innocenti, 10 marzo 1582. The patent has been partially transcribed by Bruscoli, _Spedale_, 76-77.

143 ASF, Diplomatico, Spedale degli Innocenti, 10 Marzo 1582 (stile comune 1583).

144 Moreniana, Bigazzi, _168_, 2. “et medemesimante se ne pol fare arazzi che sarebbero cosa capricciosa e bella massimo dove fussi satiri o fauni che parrebbero veri per conto di quelli velli che fa il detto pelo naturalmente”. English translation by Gavitt, “Culture”, 218 On the word capriccio, which was understood as an imaginative idea or personal invention of the artist, in Renaissance Italy see _Vocabolario_ (1612), 156; Baldinucci, _Vocabolario_, 28; Micheal Bury, “Gilio on Painters of Sacred Images”, in Michael Bury, Lucynda Byatt and Carol M. Richardson, eds, _Dialogue on the Errors and Abuses of Painters_ (Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, 2018), 5-26.
textile production as a product appealing to the internal market.\textsuperscript{145} This evidence enables us to reassess how tapestry-weaving was assessed and perceived by Florentines as a weaving technique. However, despite the \textit{privilegio}, the treatise and the technical similarity with carpet-weaving, there is no evidence of figurative tapestries in the Moreniana manuscript or the Innocenti’s archive. So, why did Ulivieri not weave these tapestries? Several reasons might explain this absence.

First of all, Ulivieri focused on different textile typologies. In the “Libro” during 1583 Ulivieri recorded several attempts to weave \textit{stamigne}, mixing Tuscan and Sardinian goat hair.\textsuperscript{146} The workshops also trialed new textiles with goat hair, such as ribbons and socks.\textsuperscript{147} In summer 1584, there is recorded the first attempt to produce an \textit{albagio}, a coarse woollen cloth, mainly used for sailors’ vests and sails.\textsuperscript{148} The Florentines regularly imported \textit{albagi}, also called \textit{erbagi} in Tuscany, from foreign lands, such as Calabria, but in July 1570, the Medici banned the importation and sought to support local production, like in the Hospital of the Innocenti.\textsuperscript{149} Ulivieri wanted to use goat hair in this textile typology, due to the resistance and waterproofness of the weaving material.\textsuperscript{150} Ulivieri held the \textit{privilegio} for weaving \textit{albagi} with goat hair.\textsuperscript{151} However, this trial remained isolated as the workshop in 1583-1584 mainly produced carpets.

This focus on carpets for the Medici court might have precluded any attempt to make figurative tapestries in the Innocenti. Notably, in May 1583, Ulivieri’s workshops finished an enormous carpet (728 x 378cm), the biggest one woven in the Innocenti, with

\textsuperscript{145} Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, “Nova”, fol. 2 left. \textit{Rintornaletti} and carpets were also sold to a local merchant and weaver (\textit{celonaio}), Filippo Bellini, for internal consumption. Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, “Libro”, fols. 6 left; 7 left; 9 left; 10 left,

\textsuperscript{146} Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, fols. 22 left; 23 right.

\textsuperscript{147} Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, fols. 22 left; 23 right; 26 right.

\textsuperscript{148} Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, “Libro”, fol. 34 right. \textit{Albagi} were worn by Tuscan sailors and used in Medici galleys, already in the 1550s, see ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 410, fols. 320r; 882r; 421, fol. 75r.

\textsuperscript{149} BNCF, Magl. 15.3.144/19, \textit{Provvisione sopra la proibizione degli abrenuntii, stamignoni, ferrandine ed erbagi} (Florence, Giunti, 1572-1573), in Bertoli, \textit{Bandi}, 109, n.296.

\textsuperscript{150} Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, “Nova”, fol. 4r.

\textsuperscript{151} Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, “Libro”, fol. 34 right.
warp in hemp yarns and wefts in goat hair, for the apartment gallery of the Granduchess Bianca Cappello in Palazzo Pitti. In the next four years, Ulivieri wove only eight *rintornaletti* and one carpet for the grandukes and the Cardinal Ferdinando.

However, from late 1584, the quantity of raw material and experiments started to slow down. This decrease led to the progressive decline of the workshop. The death of the patrons of the workshop, Francesco and Bianca Cappello in October 1587, sealed an irreversible crisis. The new Granduke Ferdinando (1549-1609), who had previously commissioned carpets from the workshop (doc. 105), ended the experiments with goat hair. Between 1587 and 1589 he commissioned only a silk carpet. The last recorded commission (19th February 1592) is a *rintornaletto* for Cardinal Del Monte.

After 11 years of activity, on 6th April 1592 Ferdinando and the new *spedalingo* Giovan Battista Totti ceased production and in 1594 asked Ulivieri to return the equipment, raw materials and unfinished carpets. Among the unfinished textiles by Ulivieri, there was an unfinished octagonal carpet, woven with goat hair and commissioned by Ferdinando for the Tribuna in the Uffizi. In 1595, Totti paid all the arrears owing to Ulivieri.

Lastly, there is another factor to consider within the absence of figurative tapestries in the Innocenti workshop. As I will discuss in the next section, the workshop was a small “experimental” enterprise, run by a painter, Ulivieri, and a team of female foundlings, and it could not compete with the complexity and the investments of the Arazzeria.

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153 Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, “Libro”, fol.25 left; 31 left; 33 left; 37 left; 40 left, in Spallanzani, *Carpet*, 121-122.
156 AIOF, 6227, fol. 35r.
157 Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, “Libro”, fol. 45 left; AIOF, 6227, fol. 35r.
158 Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, “Libro”, fol. 46 left. In 1593, Del Monte commissioned a *portiera* to the Arazzeria. ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 121, fol. 96 left.
159 Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, “Libro”, fols. 47 right; 48 left.
161 AIOF, 5396, fol. 54 right.
162 On investments in the Arazzeria see chapter 3, sections 3 and 4.
3. Female Weavers in the Innocenti Workshop and the Socio-Economic Values of Tapestry-Weaving

As noted in section 2, from 1581 Ulivieri was the head of the workshop and led a team of weavers. Maria spetiala, the apothecary of the Hospital, assisted Ulivieri in keeping workshop’s accounts. Ulivieri’s weavers were formed by two categories: male and female experienced weavers and the young female apprentices of the Hospital. Ulivieri repeatedly gave credit to these older weavers, such as Geppo, Dorotea, Faustina, Maria, Maddalena and Giovanna, highlighting their guidance role for the young girls. For instance, we can 29 January 1582 Ulivieri recorded that “this carpet has been woven by Giovanna with the girls”. These older weavers had possibly been taught weaving in the Spedale. Overall, these experienced weavers guided young female apprentices who wove at least thirteen of twenty-four carpets and rintornaletti from 1581 to 1592. The census of the Innocenti’s women (Nota di ufizi e arte di donne di casa) in 1581 reported seventeen women employed as carpet-weavers, tappezzerie, in the Hospital, probably employed in Ulivieri’s workshop (doc. 106). In fact, from December 1581, the workshop was located in the women’s area of the Hospital, marking the association between the female community and this production. The potential involvement of women in tapestry-making in Florence could have constituted a novelty, whereas it was not unusual for the Low Countries. As noted in

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163 Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, “Libro”, fols.15 right; 30 right.
164 See Spallanzani, Carpet, 120-123.
166 Ulivieri mentioned 14 times the weavers who composed carpets and rintornaletti. The first carpet was woven solely by boys of the Hospital. Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, “Libro”, fol. 5 left. For 10 textiles, mainly rintornaletti, the weavers are not recorded. Spallanzani, Carpet, 120-123.
167 AIOF, 4496, fol. 8v.
168 In December 1581 the Hospital paid Antonio Landini fornaciaio 640 soldi for a new partition wall to create a “carpets room” (“stanza dei tappeti”) near the women’s court; AIOF, 5355, fol. 59 left.
169 See chapter 4, section 5 and chapter 5, section 4.
chapters 3 and 4, tapestry-making in the Arazzeria was a male occupation in Florence, while women were only employed in fibre preparation.\textsuperscript{170}

Didactic and socio-economic causes motivated the dominant presence of women in this carpet workshop. The Spedale was a charitable institution that had taken care of abandoned children in Florence since the fifteenth century.\textsuperscript{171} This institution took in parentless children and sought to help and foster them by teaching them a trade.\textsuperscript{172} In the sixteenth century, there were several workshops in the hospital for shoemaking, painting, wool, silk and linen weaving.\textsuperscript{173} Boys had a broader choice of apprenticeship from woodcarving, swordmaking, weaving or shoemaking and many others, as an undated document (1580s) listing the male apprentices in the Hospital illustrates (doc. 107).\textsuperscript{174} Notably, since the Priorship of Borghini, boys were trained in the Arti del Disegno.\textsuperscript{175} Conversely, girls in the Innocenti had less choice. They were employed as wet nurses, cooks and servants, and the majority trained in manual work such as spinning, warping and weaving. The 1581 census recorded 586 working women in the Hospital.\textsuperscript{176} Among them, 484 women were employed in weaving and textile production.\textsuperscript{177} There were 97 female weavers, 170 women who wined yarn, 90 silk warpers, 47 wool spinners, 130 linen spinners and 17 carpet-weavers.\textsuperscript{178} Similarly to the Innocenti, in other Florentine orphanages for parentless girls, such as Santa Maria Vergine, Conservatorio della Pietà and

\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{170}] See chapter 4, section 5 and chapter 5, section 4.
\item[\textsuperscript{171}] Gavitt, \textit{Charity}, 33-105.
\item[\textsuperscript{172}] See chapter 4, section 1.
\item[\textsuperscript{173}] Expenses for these workshops, shoemaking and wool weaving, are reported in the account books (1578-1586). See, for instance, AIOF, 5354, fol. 167 left; 5355, fols. 3 left; 20 left; 5356, fols. 20 left; 25 left; 134 left; 183 left. There was also a woodcarving workshop. AIOF, 5356, fol.210 left.
\item[\textsuperscript{174}] AIOF, 6211, fol.117r-v. The document is undated, but Ottavio and Taliano are mentioned by Ulivieri in 1587 and 1589 as painters. The document should have been recorded before 1587 as they appeared here as apprentices. The presence of male carpet-makers might be related to the document to the late 1570s or 1580, right before Ulivieri’s workshop.
\item[\textsuperscript{175}] Gavitt, “Culture”, 209.
\item[\textsuperscript{176}] AIOF, 4496, fols. 4v-10r.
\item[\textsuperscript{177}] Gavitt, \textit{Gender}, 169.
\item[\textsuperscript{178}] AIOF, 4496, fol.10r.
\end{itemize}
San Niccolò, which Cosimo founded in the 1550s, girls were taught how to weave and spin wool or silk and make embroideries or metallic threads.\textsuperscript{179} This prevalence occurred because in Florence as a whole women in the textile industries were mainly involved in spinning, warping and weaving.\textsuperscript{180} The widespread domestic putting-out system motivated the importance of women’s apprenticeship to weaving.\textsuperscript{181} Many of these specialists, especially spinners, warpers and also weavers, were women or nuns, who were paid by piecework.\textsuperscript{182}

Didactic reasons, historically pursued by the Innocenti, were mixed in Ulivieri’s workshop with urgent economic matters. Indeed, since Borghini’s administration (1552-1580), the Innocenti had suffered a profound economic crisis and could not cope with the “increasing costs and necessities of the Hospital and the increasing number of children which multiplied every day”.\textsuperscript{183} Particularly, Borghini found the number of girls concerning.\textsuperscript{184} In 1562, 1048 females and 552 males were registered in the hospital.\textsuperscript{185} In 1579, of 1220 people living in the Hospital, 968 were women or girls.\textsuperscript{186} Naturally, these elevated numbers led to a consequent augmentation of costs. The spedalingo in the 1570s wrote a petition to the Medici court to highlight the difficulty of settling the girls of the hospital.\textsuperscript{187} The Innocenti adopted several ways to cope with this economic distress. First of all, the institution sold several properties and workshops in Florence and its surroundings.\textsuperscript{188}

\textsuperscript{179} Goldthwaite, \textit{Economy}, 375-376.
\textsuperscript{182} Goldthwaite, \textit{Economy}, 367-376.
\textsuperscript{183} AIOF, 6213, fol. 19r: “alle spese, bisogni et necessità che vanno continuosamente crescendo, come si moltiplicano ogni giorno le creature che sono sotto la cura di santa casa nostra”.
\textsuperscript{184} AIOF, 6213, fol. 110v.
\textsuperscript{185} ASF, Miscellanea Medicea, 224, fol.120r, in Silvia Meloni Trkulja, \textit{I Fiorentini nel 1562} (Florence, Bruschi, 1991), 120.
\textsuperscript{186} Gavitt, “Borghini”, 241.
\textsuperscript{187} AIOF, 6213, fol. 39r-45v. The text is published by Bruscoli, \textit{Considerationi}, 29-36.
\textsuperscript{188} See for instance, AIOF, 6213, fol.20r-22v.
Nevertheless, the best strategy for easing the financial situation was to reduce the number of foundlings. To this end, the Hospital sought to teach them a skill or profession that might contribute to the incomes of the institution, and eventually helped them to conduct an independent life. The spedalingo remarked the pivotal importance of teaching women and girls a profession that would offer them protection enabling them to avoid poverty and prostitution. He wrote: “given the dangers of life are more from females than males, it has been a custom and a command of this House [the Hospital] to foster them and teach in their childhood all the arts”. Despite Borghini’s efforts, in 1579 the institution could not repay their debts, which topped 100 thousand scudi. Therefore, Pope Gregory XIII (1572-1585) declared the hospital bankrupt. Amidst these difficulties, on the 16th August 1580, Vincenzio Borghini died.

In March 1581, Francesco appointed the Franciscan Niccolò Mazzi da Cortona, as the new spedalingo. Following the bankruptcy, Francesco established a commission of Nine Magistrates (Nove Deputati) to oversee the economic reorganisation of the institution. Mazzi, alongside the Nine Magistrates, immediately began tackling all the economic issues of the Hospital. The commission decided to implement some drastic measures to reduce the number of foundlings and the hospital’s expenses. First of all, the hospital dismissed the boys (aged twelve to sixteen), sending them to serve on the Tuscan galleys in Livorno. Then, Mazzi sent women over thirty-six years old to the widows’ Hospital of Orbatello, giving them each

189 Gavitt, Gender, 47.
190 Gavitt, Gender, 164.
191 AIOF, 6213, fol. 19r: “e quanto ai pericoli non sono nel sesso maschile così spessi ne così grandi come al femminile, l’ordine et l’uso di questa casa e stato di allevargli e insegnar loro nella fanciulezza tutte quelle l’arti”.
192 ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 724, fol. 307r-v, in Bruscoli, Spedale, 72; 268 and in Gavitt, “Borghini”, 264.
194 AIOF, 5354, fol.146 right.
195 AIOF, 5354, fol.147 left.
197 Gavitt, Gender, 65; Morgese, Nessuno, 19.
Younger women could become nuns or get married through the provision of a dowry. Moreover, they could be hosted as servants by patrician families. Alternatively, they could remain in the hospital, where they were taught: “every sort of manual labour useful and suitable for the sustenance of human life [...]”.

Among these manual labours, the commission suggested teaching young girls new textile skills, such as weaving Perpignan clothes, rascie or embroidery. Notably, the Nine Magistrates mentioned the carpet workshop in their report and suggested closing it: “carpet-weaving we find to have created no little harm, given that around ten mouths to feed are employed in this work, five men and five boys. The utility derived from it is very little”. Francesco disagreed with this proposal, noting that “carpet-weaving [...] can be useful to the Hospital”. In the end its production was adjusted to the socio-economic needs of the Hospital: educating girls and easing the economic burden. Instead of men and boys, “within four months at longest, carpet-weaving will be conducted only by women within the institution”. Thus, Ulivieri’s workshop was established in May 1581 due to socio-economic reasons. The women and girls of this workshop may well have been the first female tapestry weavers in Florence. Although this project did not succeed, the carpet workshop in the Hospital illustrates the socio-economic and didactic role of tapestry-weaving in Renaissance Florence.

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199 AIOF, 6213, fols. 111r-113v.
200 AIOF, 6213, fol. 113v.
201 AIOF, 6861, fol.564r-v, in Gavitt, “Borghini”, 268: “ogni sorte di esercitio et mestiere manuale, utile et atto al sostentamento del vivere umano.”
202 AIOF, 6213, fol.397r-v, in Gavitt, Charity, 167. On Perpignan clothes and rascie, see chapter 5, section 1.
204 AIOF, 6861, fol.563r: “li tappeti si consideri meglio [...] sarà d’utile allo spedale”.
205 AIOF, 6213, fol. 397r: “l’arte dei tappeti colla quale si accomodano molto bene e fra 4 mesi al piu lungo si ridurrà tutta l’arte fra le donne”.
4. Recycling Wool Shearings in The Arazzeria

On 14th of June 1584, Ulivieri noted in the “Libro”, that “Benedetto Squilli, the master of tapestries, dyed goat wool in yarns and fleeces in the red colour that the Germans [Flemings] called *fole brame*. The wool was so well dyed that I showed it to His Excellence”. What was this Northern European dyeing technique, *fole brame*, practised in the Arazzeria and mentioned by Ulivieri? I propose that *folle brame* is a misspelling of the Dutch word *follegram* or *follegram soppe* or *volle grejin*. This is a Dutch term, mainly used in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Low Countries, which indicated a particular dyeing process, used for red hues in textiles. It consisted of recycling red-coloured wool shearings for dyeing purposes. This dyeing recipe and its procedure are mainly described in Dutch and Flemish seventeenth-century sources. In the Early Modern wool industry, after weaving the textiles, the products were sent to cloth-shearers for finishing them. Cloth-shearers, by teaselling the textiles, aimed to free them from impurities and short and loosed fibres on the surface. Shearing made the surfaces of the wool textiles smooth and even. The wool shearings constituted around 10% to 15% of the woven textile. Given the high price of red dyestuff, such as madder and kermes, which could be up to 20% of the

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206 AIOF, 6213, fol. 397r: “A di 14 del sopradetto giugno [1584] ma tinto Benedetto Squilli m[aestr]o delli arazzi del pelo di capra del filato e in vello nella loro tinta rossa che il tedeschi la chiamano fole brame che tornorno così bene che li vidde sua A[ltezza] S[erenissima] [Francesco]”.

207 Hofenk de Graff, *Colourful*, 347-348; I would like to thank prof. Verhecken, University of Antwerp, for suggesting this source and his support in this research on *follegram*.

208 The etymology is unclear, but it could mean “of purple colour”. On the etymology see Hofenk de Graff, *Colourful*, 345-348; Verhecken, “Conste”, 61-62.


211 Hofenk de Graff, *Colourful*, 345.

212 Hofenk de Graff, *Colourful*, 345.

213 Hofenk de Graff, *Colourful*, 348-349.
actual price of the product, shearings were not wasted but were recycled. They were boiled in a pot with lye, human urine, orpiment and gum, and slowly dissolved, leaving a red or orange dyeing solution, which was then recycled in textile production.

Although the sources about this technique are mainly from the seventeenth century, follegram is recorded in the Imperial edict of 1544, promulgated by Charles V, that regulated tapestry-making in the Low Countries. In the French version of the edict, the word is translated into couleur de foulle graine: “the tapestry-weaver who composes and polishes these textiles can not apply any painting, colour or lightweight cloth on tapestries, apart from ink and follegram”. This paragraph dealt with the retouchages. From the sixteenth century in the Low Countries, applying dye or paint on woven tapestries rather than weaving coloured threads became a widespread practice. This procedure, called retouchage, reduced the costs of tapestry-making, by removing dyeing costs for the production process. However, this practice decreased the quality of the textiles, as the retouchage could easily fade away. In 1539, the authorities confiscated in the North Sea a vessel full of Oudenaarde tapestries. These tapestries presented a wide use of retouchage and their sales were banned by authorities. After the Oudenaarde incident, Charles V


215 Hofenk de Graaff, Colourful, 346.


217 Anna van den Steene, Tweeden druck vander eerste bouck der ordannancien, statuten, edicten, ende placcaerten van Vlaendren (Gent, Anne van den Steene, weduwe van Michiel du Laury, 1639), 617: “Que l’ouvrier appoinctant and donnant lustre a alcune tapisseries, on faisant son ouvrage et lustrissement no pourra user d’aulcune painture, couleur et estoffe fresque sur quelque tapisserie que ce foit; hors mise l’encre et la couleur de foulle graine”. On Dutch version see Vanwelden, Oudenaarde, 189; Verhecken, “Conste”, 61-62.

218 Campbell, Tapestry, 282.


220 Campbell, Tapestry, 283.
decided to ratify the Imperial edict aiming to reduce and regulated retouchage in the Netherlandish tapestry-making.\textsuperscript{221}

It seems likely that Jan Rost and Nicholas Karcher imported this foreign dyeing technique to Florence in 1545. Notably, the 1544 Imperial edict was transcribed to the Arte della Lana in 1546 and it was called \textit{Capitoli di Fiandra}, the statutes of Flanders, as noted in chapter 3.\textsuperscript{222} Moreover, the masters taught weaving and the art of dyeing to local children.\textsuperscript{223} As noted in chapter 3, the Flemish weavers dyed threads for the tapestry sets within their workshops without always employing external suppliers.\textsuperscript{224} It seems likely that \textit{follegram} could have been one of these Northern skills transmitted to the apprentices, who in 1554 took over the management of tapestry-making.\textsuperscript{225} The loss of the accounts of the Flemish masters prevent us from firmly confirming this interpretation.

Following the death of Giovanni Sconditi in 1568, the Ducal workshops of Via del Cocomero and Via dei Servi were unified and moved to San Marco.\textsuperscript{226} Benedetto Squilli was appointed as the master of Arazzeria, and threads were dyed within the workshop.\textsuperscript{227} For instance, a 1585 inventory of instruments revealed that there was a “dyeing room” (\textit{stanzino delle tinte}).\textsuperscript{228} The inventory was redacted on 8th May 1585 for the benefit of the new superintendent, Giovanni Seriacopi.\textsuperscript{229} The objects are divided according to their location (mezzanine, workshop and dyeing room).\textsuperscript{230} In the \textit{stanzino}, we can find seven copper boilers of various sizes, one large wardrobe, one ladle and one bronze pot (doc. 108), instruments that are compatible with the process of \textit{follegram}.\textsuperscript{231} There, Squilli and his collaborators dyed threads, as Rost and Karcher did nearly 40 years before. In the

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\textsuperscript{221} Venwelden, \textit{Oudenaarde}, 189.

\textsuperscript{222} See chapter 4, section 3.

\textsuperscript{223} See chapter 4, section 1.

\textsuperscript{224} See chapter 5, section 1.

\textsuperscript{225} See chapter 4, section 2.

\textsuperscript{226} Meoni, \textit{Nascita}, 28.

\textsuperscript{227} See chapter 4, section 4.

\textsuperscript{228} ASF, Guardaroba Mediceo, 103, fol. 109r-v.

\textsuperscript{229} ASF, Guardaroba Mediceo, 103, fol. 109r.

\textsuperscript{230} ASF, Guardaroba Mediceo, 103, fol. 109r-v.

\textsuperscript{231} ASF, Guardaroba Mediceo, 103, fol. 109v. One \textit{braccio} was 0,58m.
documentation, there is another inventory of the Arazzeria in 1588, when Papini substituted Squilli. In the inventory of Papini’s dyeing room, among several boilers, a pot is mentioned, which could have been used for *follegram*. Another revealing piece of evidence that suggests the making of *follegram* in the Arazzeria, is the shipment of 147 *libbre* of red shearings for dyeing in the workshop, organised by the heirs of Tanai de’ Medici in 1589 (doc.109).

Ulivieri would have been aware of the *stanzino* within the San Marco workshop and its Flemish-derived recipes. He asked Benedetto Squilli twice to dye samples of goat hair. Already in July 1581, a few weeks later the beginning of production, Ulivieri asked Squilli and the tapestry-weavers to dye “samples of local goat hair in various colours and particularly in that red they [Flemings] called *follegram* [*fole brame* in the original text]. This colour came back so well. I requested it to see if this technique works on goat hair as this material did not get coloured easily. I must say that everything was perfect.” It seems that the novelty of goat-wool in textile production could have motivated the request to Squilli. Ulivieri was still figuring out what to do and how to obtain the best result from the Tuscan goat hair Carlo Pitti just brought to him.

The usage of *follegram* in the Innocenti’s workshop seemed to stop after these first samples. As noted earlier in this section, three years after the first attempt, in 1584 Ulivieri tried again for *follegram*, showing the result to Francesco. This time, Ulivieri underlined that goat hair was spun and in fleeces. The abundance of raw materials in summer 1584 could have motivated this second interaction between Squilli and the workshop. Also, the

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232 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 116, fols. 82 left-86 right.
233 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 116, fols. 82 right-83 left.
234 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 116, fol.24r; 121, fol.17 left-right.
235 Moreniana, Bigazzi, “Libro”, 168, fol. 5 right: “Addì 24 luglio [1581] m’ha tinto Benedetto Squilli alcuni saggi di pelo di capra nostrale in varj colori et in particolare in quel rosso, che loro chiamano fole brame, che e si bello, e tutto questo ho voluto vedere per conto della difficulta di pigliare il colore il detto pelo; del che riuscirono tutti benissimo”.
236 Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, “Libro”, fol. 4 right.
material delivered in this period revealed some technical incompatibilities with textile weaving. Therefore, Ulivieri could have used it for running tests. For instance, on the 24th June 1584, he recorded that he was constrained to “give to master Francesco, wool-weaver of the Spedale, two and a half *libbre* of wool yellow-dyed, because the hair is so thick we can put it into carpets”. On the 7th July 1584, Ulivieri found that the dyed goat hair was too short and he gave 329 *libbre* of this material to the mattress-makers at the Spedale.

The use of *follegram* did not catch on in the workshop and remained an unfinished experiment. Possibly, the difficulty of replicating *follegram* without the supervision of tapestry-weavers could explain this failure. The Creati kept the Netherlandish recipe in the *stanzino delle tinte* and follegreyn remained largely unknown to the Florentine manufacturing industry and untracked in scholarly literature. While *follegram* did not catch on because of its regional secrecy, in the same years a new American material, cochineal, started to revolutionise how to dye textiles red in Florence and Europe.

Instead of employing the Netherlandish technique, from 1582 Ulivieri regularly sent goat hair to dyers, who used traditional techniques and dyestuffs. Particularly, to dye red hues in textiles, Florentine suppliers used madder, orchil or kermes.

On 29th January 1582, Ulivieri recorded that:

Nicolaio del Rosso dyed 42 *libbra* of local goat hair, spun and twisted. The hair was dyed in various colours, 10 *soldi* each pound, as Carlo Pitti instructed us. The hair will

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240 Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, fol. 26 left: “Addi detto se dato [...] lib[bre] 2 ½ di lana tinta in dore ma grossa che per fare li tappeti non ne buona la quale se dato a m[aestr]o Franc[esc]o tessitori di panni lani per lo spedale”.

241 Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, fol. 36 left.


be used for a carpet made for His Excellency [Francesco] [...] This is the first time [local] dyers worked with us.\textsuperscript{245}

Ulivieri carefully reported how all the expenses of dyeing, like shearing or washing, were outsourced to external operators. In seven years (1581-1588), Ulivieri recorded 409.4 kg of various raw materials and eight local dyers supplied this service.\textsuperscript{246} Goat hair also appeared to be dyed by local dyers. For instance, “on 27th June 1582, Niccolaio del Rosso dyed 11 \textit{libbre}”.\textsuperscript{247} In October 1586, Fiorindo dyed goat hair blue.\textsuperscript{248} Finally, in February 1588, Lorenzo di Biagio dyed the same material black.\textsuperscript{249} On average, Ulivieri paid ten \textit{soldi} for one \textit{libbra} of dyed goat hair. Dyeing this raw material cost more than the regular wool which cost eight \textit{soldi} each \textit{libbra}.\textsuperscript{250} Probably, the difficulty of dyeing Tuscan goat hair, which Ulivieri himself recorded, motivated this higher expense.\textsuperscript{251}

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By unearthing and assessing previously overlooked and unknown archival sources, notably such as the manuscript and the treatise by Ulivieri Ventura Vicenti (Florence, Biblioteca Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168), this chapter has illustrated the diverse experimental uses of tapestry-weaving in sixteenth-century Florence and also posited the introduction of technique within the Early Modern culture of experimentation.

As analysed in section 1, the first experimental use occurred within the Medici court and the \textit{Arazzeria Medicea} immediately after the introduction of tapestry-making in the city. Therefore, from the 1540s, the \textit{Arazzeria} produced carpets by using the technique of

\textsuperscript{245} Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, “Libro”, fol. 13 right: “Niccolaio del Rosso ma tinto 42 l[ibbre] di pelo di capra filato e torto nostrale in vari colori a scudi 10 la lib[bra] che cosi daccordo con m. Carlo Pitti per il detto pelo a da servire per un rintornaletto che si vole si faccino per sua A[ltezza] S[erenissim]a [...] questo e il primo pelo che ci abbia tinto li tintori”.


\textsuperscript{248} Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, “Libro”, fol. 43 left.

\textsuperscript{249} Spallanzani, \textit{Carpet}, 117.

\textsuperscript{250} Spallanzani, \textit{Carpet}, 117.

\textsuperscript{251} Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, “Libro”, fol.4 right.
tapestry-weaving. The Medici commissions started to bring together the original Netherlandish know-how of tapestry-making with an Eastern Mediterranean textile type, carpets. The constitution of a sophisticated courtly life, a consequence of the re-organisation of the state and the consolidation of the Medici absolutism, ignited the attention of carpets in mid-sixteenth-century Florence. Indeed, as tapestries, carpets held a celebratory, functional and political meaning. These textiles were used to publicly decorate floors of seats of power and privately the internal spaces of the Medici family. The example of the Carpita alla Moresca, today stored in the Villa Medicea of Poggio a Caiano (Prato), shaped on Mamluk figurative models, and other archival evidence, identified in the account books of the Guardaroba Medicea (ASF), shows a cross-pollination between techniques and forms and posits the introduction of tapestry-making in sixteenth-century within the experimental history and curiosity of Early Modern period. Also, as new archival evidence presented in the chapter, such as the letters of Bernardo Saliti to the Ducal court (1561; 1567), carpet-making was also seen as a potential investment and consumption in wider sectors of the society. This political, dynastic and economic interest for carpets led to the specific hybridisation of know-how and forms within the Arazzeria.

The second example shows even more clearly the experimental interest surrounding tapestry-making. Through wide research on primary sources, such as the remarkable evidence of Ulivieri Ventura Vicenti’s manuscript and treatise and the archival documents of the Archivio dell’Istituto degli Innocenti, the chapter investigated the experimental uses of materials, weaving and dyeing techniques and new forms with didactical, economic and political matters in the Spedale degli Innocenti. As investigated in sections 2, 3 and 4, in 1581, the Granduke Francesco re-organised a production of carpets, started by his father Cosimo in the 1560s, testifying once again the interest for this textile type in the sixteenth century. Francesco appointed Ulivieri Ventura Vicenti, the Spedale’s painter, to oversee the production and sought to replicate the physical characteristics of Eastern Mediterranean carpets. To this end, the Granduke and Ulivieri employed an unusual material in the production, Tuscan goat hair. As documented by Ulivieri’s manuscript and treatise, this insertion demonstrates the proto-scientific experimental curiosity during Francesco’s Granduchy, which has already been studied. Furthermore, the manuscript of Ulivieri testified to several experiments and attempts in production. In this context, Ulivieri and Francesco envisaged weaving tapestries with goat hair, demonstrating a hybridisation
between the Netherlandish know-how and new local materials. The project was not successful due to the death of Francesco (1587), illustrating the precarious life and the stop-start nature of innovation, which is often profoundly related to individuals and political aspects.\footnote{Molà, “Relocating”, 141-145.}

Section 3 analyses the social implications of tapestry-making fostering the employment of the female community within the Spedale degli Innocenti. By unearthing new archival evidence from the Archivio dell’Istituto degli Innocenti, such as the census of female carpet-weavers, the research contributes to the study of social life, gendered labour, charity institutions and welfare policies in the Spedale degli Innocenti and more widely Granducal Florence.

The research on the dyeing technique of \textit{follegram} in section 4 shows the same curiosity and the cross-pollination between Netherlandish techniques, the local curiosity driven by Francesco de’Medici and the precarious life of innovation. This research is also fruitful in the study of the Arazzeria, dyeing techniques, dyestuffs, recycling practices and the transmission of skills in the Early Modern Period.

Therefore, this chapter aims to relocate the introduction of tapestry-making, thanks to its experimental uses, into a broader civic and continental context of proto-scientific investigation and analyse it from a technical perspective. Moreover, this research contributes to the study of carpet-weaving, textile production, transmission of skills, political and dynastic uses of textiles, welfare of lower classes and gendered labour in sixteenth-century Florence.
Conclusions

This dissertation expands our understanding of the Arazzeria Medicea and more broadly tapestry-making in sixteenth-century Florence (1545-1600). The dissertation achieves that by stepping out of the well-established cartoon-driven and patron-driven narrative of tapestry studies in sixteenth-century Florence, which tended to overlook the making of the textiles and did not investigate the production in its wholeness. Therefore, the research reconstructs the economic and political aims, the entrepreneurship, the mode of production, the supply of materials and the experimental uses of tapestry-making. By researching these themes, the dissertation presented numerous new pieces of archival evidence, partially transcribed in the appendix.

In addition to tapestry-making, the research contributes to the wider study of the historical context and major themes in the sixteenth-century Florence and beyond. The dissertation contributes to enriching the understanding of the textile industries and broader economic, cultural and political trends, such as the Medici state-building, the consolidation of the courtly life and bureaucracy, local and international commerce, working and mercantile networks, the contemporary putting-out system, cultural exchange, movement of goods in Early Modern Period, technical innovation, consumption of luxury goods and social enterprise. The conclusions will analyse the contribution and the significance of the research by looking at the methodology, archival findings, the reconstruction of the historical context, the contributions to broader scholarly literature and potential developments in the research.

Methodological Study of The Arazzeria Medicea

The starting point for the dissertation is shifting the traditional cartoon-led and patron-led approach to tapestry studies. As analysed in the introduction, this research framework of art history has been instrumental in understanding tapestries in terms of their courtly consumption, iconographies and the painters involved in cartoon-making. On the other hand, this framework has narrowly defined the studies of these artefacts primarily to cartoons and commissions and left unexplored other relevant aspects of tapestry-making,
such as the entrepreneurship of the workshops, the supply of materials, the preparative operation of fibres, the weaving and the role of masters and weavers in the production, which I have discussed here in the dissertation. To unveil the complexity of tapestries in their processes of creation, as identified by recent definitions of tapestry studies by Thomas Campbell and Guy Delmarcel, I have aimed to apply these emerging perspectives, which seek to emancipate tapestry studies from fine arts, to the Florentine context.¹

Therefore, this thesis proposes a revised interdisciplinary approach to the Arazzeria and tapestries in sixteenth-century Florence. By studying tapestries in their making, rather than as a final product, this approach reveals new meanings, perspectives and unknown relationships in the tapestry workshops and beyond. The dissertation offers a new perspective on this theme and suggests the potential of a revised and combined approach to tapestry studies in Early Modern Europe beyond the traditional narrative. The research is a case study of researching materiality and the actual process of making artworks and objects in sixteenth century, which led to unveiling new meanings and values to them. Suzanne Butters, Sylvia Houghteling, Michelle O’Malley and others have already highlighted the benefits and the ramifications of looking at the process of making objects, tapestries and artworks in the same historical context of sixteenth-century Florence and, more generally, Europe.² As analysed in the next section, by applying this research approach, the thesis assesses how tapestries were made in sixteenth-century Florence.

**Tapestry-Making in Sixteenth-Century Florence**

By shifting the traditional research methodology, the thesis retraces the overlooked aspects of tapestry production in sixteenth-century Florence. In particular, the research restores the original economic, entrepreneurial and mercantile meaning of the introduction of tapestry production in Florence.

In chapters 1 and 2, the thesis illustrates how the people, like duke Cosimo, Jan Rost, Nicholas Karcher, Bernardo Saliti and Bongianni di Jacopo Gianfigliazzi, involved in the establishment of the production, were aware of the economic and mercantile potential of the importation. Also, as analysed in the next section, the research studied how the duke introduced tapestry-making within the wider policies to establish the principality in Florence.

Notably, rather than analysing the iconographies and the Medici patronage, the research reconstructs the production within the Arazzeria in sixteenth-century Florence. Tapestry-making can be divided into two entrepreneurial distinct periods, the Flemish masters’ management (1545-1553), and the state industry of the Creati Fiorentini (1554-1588) and Guasparri Papini (1588-1621), which conserved some similarities and presented some evident differentiations.

During the first management of Jan Rost and Nicholas Karcher, the Arazzeria was formed by two independent workshops in the form of accomandita, limited partnership societies. The duke invested in the company in the forms presented in the contracts (1546; 1549), and the masters, on the contrary, managed their workshops independently. Also, as demonstrated by new archival evidence, the masters were funded by private associates, the Rinieri family and Bernardo Saliti, which benefited from the profits and supplied the materials. This entrepreneurial organisation led to the mercantile independence of Flemish masters, which did not fit within the local putting-out system. It conserved the internal and centralised organisation of the Netherlandish tapestry workshops. Also, as analysed in chapter 4, the workshops obtained some relevant tax and legal privileges and exorbitant wages granted by the Medici court to establish the production in Florence, reinforcing the heterodoxy of the workshops and weavers from the social and manufacturing context of the city.

From 1554, the Arazzeria became a state industry, completely funded and owned by the Medici family, run by local weavers, called the Creati Fiorentini, and inserted in the Ducal administration. This modification should be related to the consolidation of Medici bureaucracy, the institution of the Granduchy and the new courtly ceremonial life. Indeed, the new Arazzeria of the Creati Fiorentini mainly worked for the needs of the court and rarely received private commissions. Moreover, the entrepreneurship of the new Arazzeria was not complex as the Flemish masters’. The Medici family overlooked the management by
nominating a superintendent and managing the supply of materials, as demonstrated in the archival series of the Guardaroba Medicea. However, as illustrated in chapter 4, there were still some networks of suppliers who were parts of the Medici court and patrician families, such as Tanai de’Medici, Giovambattista Cini, the Capponi family and the Salviati family. Despite the overall assimilation to the local context, there were some remaining traces of the original Netherlandish organisation. The Creati Fiorentini and later Guasparri Papini tended to concentrate the manufacturing steps within the workshop, such as weaving and dyeing, remaining rather extraneous from the widespread putting-out system.

Chapter 5 unveils the manufacturing system of all the four materials involved in tapestry-making, namely, wool, silk, linen and metallic threads. Two of these materials, linen and metallic threads, were particularly overlooked by scholarly literature. The research illustrates all the processes from fibre preparation to weaving and considers all the people involved in the production in the wider Florentine textile industries. The research analyses the mode of production of wool, silk and linen industries and goldbeating. The research deconstructs the production of tapestries in sixteenth-century Florence and inserts it within the contemporary textile industries and social fabric of the city.

Chapter 6 assesses the overlooked experimental curiosity on tapestry-making in sixteenth-century Florence. The chapter investigates the production of carpets in the Arazzeria, which were created by using tapestry-weaving techniques. Carpets were produced for the court and displayed on public occasions. These textiles replicated Eastern Mediterranean geometrical motifs, showing the cross-pollination and hybridisation of known-how and technical innovation in sixteenth-century Florence and broader Early Modern Mediterranean basin.

The second example of experimental curiosity in tapestry-making took place in the Spedale degli Innocenti in the textile workshop of Ulivieri Ventura Vicenti. The workshop shows proto-scientific experimentation on textiles and materials. As described by Ulivieri Ventura Vicenti himself in his account book, the workshop projected to weave tapestries with an unusual local material, goat hair, showing the hybridisation of materials and techniques. Ulivieri’s manuscript also illustrates the transmission of Netherlandish skills, such as the follegram dyestuff recipe. Lastly, by analysing the female community of the Spedale degli Innocenti, this case study presents the educational and social meaning of tapestry-making in sixteenth-century Florence.
The research unveils and reconstructs tapestry-making in sixteenth-century Florence. Still, it also contributes to wider investigations on Florence, Europe and transcontinental trade in the Early Modern Period.

**Contributions to Wider Research**

Besides reconstructing tapestry-making itself, the research is fruitful for various aspects and themes in the context of Renaissance Florence, Early Modern Europe and even global history. In this section, I will consider the contributions of the thesis to the wider research and scholarly debate and the study of the political, economic and social aspects.

The introduction and the production of tapestry-making bear significant political meanings. The importation should be posited within the creation of the Medici Duchy and the wider re-organisation and reform of the pre-existing institutions and magistratures. From a political perspective, Cosimo agreed with the establishment of tapestry-making for a series of political and dynastic reasons. First, he sought to demonstrate the new princely status and the magnificence of the Medici family as the city’s ruling dynasty. Moreover, the workshops would have contributed to the ceremonial decoration of the seats of power and private spaces as status-markers. Therefore, the research can be beneficial for studying the display of power, magnificence and ceremonial life in Early Modern Europe.

Moreover, the research enriches the study of the Medici state-building, the jurisdiction and the functioning of bureaucracy, the reform of pre-existing institutions and, more broadly, the analysis of the polarisation of power and the institutionalisation of princely authority in sixteenth-century Italy and Europe. Also, given that the establishment of the tapestry-making was signed outside the jurisdiction of the *Arti*, the research assesses the decline of guilds in Early Modern Europe, being fruitful from the civic and continental analysis of the theme.

Within the civic context, the research illustrates and contributes to the study of economic and manufacturing trends. First, the research shows how the creation of the Medici Duchy led to the transformation of the economy in Florence. The Medici family took the control of the economy within the context of reforming and controlling the Florentine state and society. By substituting the role of the guilds and the function of Republican institutions, the dukes directed the economy by applying protectionist and state-led
policies. The introduction of tapestry-making needs to be included in these economic transformations. Particularly, in order to control economic development, the dukes controlled the technical innovation through a system of patents and notarial acts. Therefore, the research analyses the technical innovation and enriches the investigation of how it was managed in Early Modern Europe.

Moreover, still looking at the findings of the dissertation from an economic perspective in the local, continental and global contexts, the research contributes to the study of protectionism, polarisation of power, and notably, transcontinental trade of goods and mobility of commodities in the Early Modern Period. By controlling the economy, the duke impressed a protectionistic turn to the Florentine economy. This policy, following the direction of the Republic, aimed to tighten the political and territorial cohesion, assert the newly-established institutional system and boost internal production. As emerges from the analysis of archival evidence, the Arazzeria fits into this protectionist trend. Particularly, the study of the silk supply demonstrates the increase in local production in Tuscany. The study of protectionist and mercantilist trends in Tuscany, through the case study of the Arazzeria, enriches the investigation concerning these economic policies in Early Modern Europe.

The entrepreneurial organisation of Arazzeria demonstrates the popularity of the limited partnership company and the polarisation of wealth in sixteenth-century Florence. Initially, during the management of the Flemish masters, (1545-1553), the duke acted as the main investor in an accomandita form of company. The rise of the accomandita is significantly important in the first half of the sixteenth-century Florence, as analysed in chapter 3, demonstrates the polarisation of wealth in patrician families. This finding can be fruitful for the study of economic trends and private wealth in the Early Modern Europe. In the context of the Arazzeria in Ducal Florence, the accomandita form in the tapestry workshops (1545-1553) also illustrates the creation of a elite class of merchant-courtiers, like the Rinieri family, descendants of the patrician families of the city, who combined their roles in the newly-established Medici bureaucracy with their traditional mercantile activities. This research on merchant-courtiers is useful for the study of Medici state-building, the economic trends and private wealth in Florence and Early Modern Europe.

The following organisation of the Arazzeria Medicea during the Creati Fiorentini and Guasparri Papini (1554-1600), as a state industry, should be related to the creation of similar workshops in Early Modern Period in Italy and all across Europe. As analysed in chapter 4,
the Arazzeria fitted in a continental and Italian courtly interest for tapestry-making, boosted by Habsburg commissions, and anticipated the main national and princely tapestry workshops from seventeenth-century Europe, such as the Gobelins, Beauvais, Mortlake and the Arazzeria Barberini. This research contributes to the study of contemporary and later courtly workshops, as a case study that illustrates their entrepreneurship and their mode of production.

The study of golden and silver threads used to enrich tapestries reveals a significant and transcontinental connection and trade, collaborating with the study of global mobility of goods. In fact, the metals used for crafting these threads originally came from American mines and throughout a series of mercantile and banking trades in Europe and Florence, these materials ended in the tapestry workshop as metallic threads. This investigation on metallic threads is instrumental for a series of economic reasons and themes. It explores the transcontinental trade, the mercantile and trading routes, the banking system in Florence and the functioning of the local mint.

Lastly, the research in chapters 3, 4 and 5 considers the functioning of the putting-out system, the manufacturing processes and the production chains of materials. Particularly, chapter 5 deals with the four components of tapestry-making, reconstructing their production chain and manufacturing processes. The research has been instrumental in further investigating the economy of wool and silk, goldbeating and linen. These last two industries, linen and goldbeating, have never been fully investigated. This research calls for additional study, which can potentially lead to a wider investigation of economy, manufacturing and social history in sixteenth-century Florence and, more broadly, in Early Modern Europe.

In addition to the political and economic aspects, the research deals with the social history and manufacturing processes in sixteenth-century Florence. Tapestry-making was, first of all, a manual work which required a network of skilled and semi-skilled workers within and outside the Arazzeria, enriching the study of the living condition of tapestry-weavers. Therefore, the study of tapestry production cannot exclude these people from the investigation. On the contrary, it emerges that tapestry-making was a collective effort and a form of social enterprise. The dissertation assesses a variety of themes concerning the social life of the city, such as manufacturing networks, foreign communities, welfare policies,
charity institutions’ management and educational activities and gendered labour, contributing to the wider study of these themes.

The first focus has been the social life of tapestry-weavers and the educational meaning of tapestry-making within the Arazzeria. In chapter 3, the research has considered the social life of the Flemish weavers, reassessing their condition, self-awareness and assimilation to the local context. In chapter 4, even compromised by the absence of documents, the investigation assessed the social value of tapestry-making within the contemporary Medici welfare policies, the origin and the working and living conditions of the Creati Fiorentini (1554-1588). In chapter 6, as noted later here, the investigation reveals the social meaning of the production in the context of the Spedale degli Innocenti.

This research is also fruitful for the study of wider social and manufacturing networks outside the Arazzeria. The manufacturing networks of workers have been mainly studied in relation to the materials in chapter 5. As studied in chapter 5, many professional figures were involved in the preparation of materials used in the production, combed wool, silk, waste silk (*filaticcio*), metallic threads and linen yarns (*refi*). This analysis studies all the people involved from the fibre preparation to the actual weaving. The research considers all the workers and the manufacturing steps, reconstructing their functions and contributions in tapestry-making. The research is therefore beneficial for the wider investigation of the working conditions and social life of lower classes in sixteenth-century Florence.

Chapter 6 introduces new themes and contributes to the wider scholarly literature. The chapter deals with the proto-scientific experimental curiosity, transnational trade, transmissions of skills, didactical function of weaving techniques, the gendered labour and dyestuff practices of sixteenth-century Florence. The manuscript of Ulivieri demonstrates a distinct awareness of materiality, manufacturing processes and shows how the experimental curiosity on materials, techniques and textile types, such as carpets, *rintornaletti*, *stamigne*, tapestries and other typologies, was daily unfolded within the workshop of the Spedale. In addition, as analysed in chapter 6, Innocenti’s case study demonstrates the stop-start nature of innovation. Innovations were the precarious products of convergent political, economic and manufacturing elements. Granduke Francesco stimulated the experiments, but his death (1587) led to the progressive demise of the workshop and the end of this experimental curiosity. Also, the research illustrates the transnational trade of carpets, the function and celebrational connotation of these textiles.
Similarly, by analysing the female community of the Spedale, the research examines the social and didactical function and meaning of weaving techniques and the gendered labour in sixteenth-century Florence and contributes to the overall study of the theme in Early Modern Europe. Lastly, in section 4 of chapter 6, the thesis reconsidered the dyestuff practices and the transmission of skills in the civic and transnational context.

As this section has highlighted, given the interdisciplinary context of the research, the thesis bears contributions for a series of academic disciples and themes related to sixteenth-century Florence, Early Modern Europe and even global history. This interdisciplinary research also led reassesses new and overlooked archival evidence.

**New Archival Findings**

The methodological shift and these research questions are the base for the new analysis of the Arazzeria and tapestry-making in sixteenth-century Florence. The reconstruction of the historical context has largely profited from new archival findings, unearthed in Tuscan and Emilia Romagna archives and libraries. These findings are the result of a long consultation on inventories and a progressive refinement of palaeographical and research skills.

The research has unearthed several unpublished documents related to the Arazzeria or tapestry-making. The most significant archival findings are selected and included in the appendix. These include documents related to the foundation of the Arazzeria, the networks and the mercantile strategy of Bernardo Saliti, discovered either in the state archive in Florence and Archivio Estense (ASMo) in Modena. Also, there are new evidence related to the management of the Flemish masters (1545-1553), such as letters or petitions by Jan Rost, letters by Saliti, Lelio Torelli and the Dukal treasurer Michele Ruberti (ASF, Guardaroba Medicea). Chapter 4 presented new evidence from Florentine private, public archives and Lea Library in Philadelphia on the organisation and production phase of the Creati’s and Papini’s workshops (1554-1600), and the suppliers and investors, such as the Rinieri family, the Sernigi family, Tanai de’Medici, Giovambattista Cini, the Capponi and the Salviati family. Chapter 5 reassesses a vast array of account books and receipts books from the series of the Guardaroba Medicea. This research considers evidence of the contemporary workshops and merchants to corroborate the investigation into local textile industries, such as the dyer
Roberto Ferrati, goldbeaters Luigi di Tommaso Pieri and Francesco Stagi, linen-merchants, such as the Spigliati family and Tommaso Fiaschi. Chapter 6 vastly analyses the manuscript of Ulivieri Ventura Vicenti, which contains information on the production of carpets in the Spedale degli Innocenti (1581-1594) and a short treatise on how to weave with goat hair. The manuscript moved the entire investigation, which unearthed new documents from the Archivio dell’Istituto degli Innocenti on the production and its social aspects.

Unfortunately, the materials of two archives, the Archivio di Stato di Ferrara and the Archivio di Stato di Pisa, have not been fully assessed in this research. The Ferrarese archive is partially inaccessible and some series of the Archivio Estense, such as the Archivio Notarile, are not available for consultation. The Archivio di Stato di Pisa is dramatically understaffed and mainly closed to the public and researchers.

Overall, all the archival findings contribute to the study of tapestry-making in sixteenth-century Florence illustrate the functioning of the Arazzeria and also corroborates the study of the overall historical context.

**Future Developments**

In conclusion, I should mention the potential developments of the research I envisage in the future. The research can be re-elaborated for a monograph on tapestry-making in sixteenth-century Florence. Also, in the sight of future individual publications, there are some themes which deserved to be extended and singled out. For instance, there are several examples of archival findings or new interpretations, which can contribute to the study of different fields, such as the research on Bernardo Saliti, the mercantile network of courtiers-merchants, Tanai de’ Medici as a wool merchant, the goldbeating company of the Medici courtier and playwright Giovambattista Cini, linen-weaving, dyeing and goldbeating in sixteenth-century Florence and goat hair weaving within the Spedale degli Innocenti (1581-1592). The study of the account books of the Arazzeria could be integrated and implemented with the support of a digital humanities framework for quantitative analysis. Lastly, the goat hair weaving technique, crafted within the Spedale degli Innocenti and accurately described by Ulivieri Ventura Vicenti in his treatise at the Biblioteca Moreniana, could be replicated today and analysed for academic purposes.
On a final personal note, I would like to highlight that during the research, I was able to identify the probably etymology of my surname, which derives from the verb *scapecchiare* and the workers *scapecchiatori*, daily labourers in charge of removing the wooden parts of flax.³

³ See chapter 5, section 4.
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Appendix A: Documents

Unless stated, all documents in the appendix are unpublished.

Measurements:

Currencies:
Before 1538, 1 (golden) fiorino (ducato)=7 lire di denaro piccioli
7 lire di denaro piccioli=1680 denari piccioli
1 fiorino=20 soldi
1 soldo=12 denari
From 1538, in Florence, the scudo d’oro substituted the fiorino as the golden currency
1 (golden) scudo d’oro=7 lire soldi 10 di piccioli
7 lire soldi 10 piccioli=1800 denari piccioli
1 scudi d’oro=20 soldi
1 soldi=12 denari
From 1556,
1 scudo d’oro=7 lire soldi 12 di piccioli

Weight:
1 libbra=12 once=0,339 litri [litres]
1 oncia=0,028 litri [litres]

Length:
1 canna mercantile=4 braccia=2.33 metri [metres]
1 braccio=0,58 metri [metre]
1 alla fiamminga (eel)=0.695 metri [metre]
Florentine calendar (*stile fiorentino*)

The Florentine year started on the 25th March (Feast of the Annunciation), (*stile fiorentino*). All archival sources follow the *stile fiorentino*.


[1 aprile 1545]

mangiatiue et hauere stanze com[m]ode da lauorare et habi
tare et poter condurre in firenze lane filate unte o purgate come aloro sar[n]o necessario [sic] pag[an]do el datio nel metterle
dentro come pagono le lane sod[e] hauendo nel peso d[i] falco ouero tara d[e] lollo ui sara
fiandra. et p[er] poter lauorare esser[e] seruizi d[i] sc[udi] quattromila per cinque an[n]i
quali piglero io et daro sicura della restitutione in bologna o chosti o in altro luogo ch[e] sua
ex[cellen]tia [Cosimo] si co[n]tentera. et io in partichulare uorrei gratia che delli beni io
comprassi in fraditto tempo no[n] fuss[i] tenuto a pagarne gabella et che ne a me ne mia
q[uest]o si potra fare ne balzelli ma solo fussimo sotto post[i] a le decime ordinarie p[er]
tanto come p[er] ma hauete il co[m]odo uedrete di parlarne co[n] sua ex[cellentia]
[Cosimo] et risoluere quello piace a ex[cellent]tia [Cosimo] sua si faccia con quella piu
presteza si puo ricordando a sua extia che in bersellj sono circha quindicimila hominij che
lauorono
di questo exercitio ch[e] p[er] ess[er]e cotesta citta capacissima di begli ingegni potria molto
bene ch[e] in breue tempo la si dilatass[e] tanto che roma e tutto il regno di napoli si
tanta piu perfezione d[i] disegni che ogni homo le piglera piu uolentieri. Quanto a le stanze
bisognerebe le fussino capace et se si potess[e] hauere quelle della sala del papa sarebe
molto al proposito. no[n] enterro in dirne altro se no[n] che mi rac[coman]do a uoi et
aspetto risposta dio ui g[ua]rdi di male, da ferrara adi primo di aprile 1545 a natuiitate
Bernardo Saliti

Doc. 2 ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1170a, insert II, busta 10, fol. 30r-v, in Adelson,
“Patronage”, 498-499, doc. 16

[31 gennaio]

Nico[li] mio car[is]mo etc.


Bernardo Saliti

**Doc.3** ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1170a, insert II, busta 10, fol. 32r-v, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 504-505, doc.21

[23/25 giugno 1545]
Carissimo Nicolo

bologna sia mandata p[er] fante a posta. hebj da poi la l[ette]ra che deste al tolomeo et
altro no[n] mi occorre d[i] nuouo dicendos[i] di sopra a lungho tutto quello fa d[i] bix[ogn]o
aspetto u[ost]ra risposta et v[ost]ro sono d[i]o ui g[uar]di da ferrara adi xxv di g[i]ugno
1545

Bernardo Saliti

D[omi]no Nicolo Boni In f[i]renze da orsanmichele a Bottega di marcho Falchuccj Cimatore
di porto dua soldi

Doc.4  ASF, Miscellanea Medicea, 27/III, fol. 1029r

[7 gennaio 1561]

Molto R[everen]do S[ign]or mio oss[equentissi]mo [unknown recipient]

Jo condussi a firenze m[aest]ro Niccolo charchera p[er] conto ci far larte de pan[n]i daraz[z]o
et Sua ecc[ellen]za [Cosimo] accietto quella arte co[n]tanto favore di provisione
com[m]odita di casa et di telari et pagame[n]ti di manifatture ch[e] da noi stessi
no[n] haressimo domandare piu, et se io no[n] ne cavai utile, no[n] manco dalla benignità
sua ma dalla invidia di alcuni malvolj verso di me, et havendo ora il modo da introdurre in
pisa lo exercitio di fare li tappeti levantini di ogni sorta et farla insegnare allj suditi sua,
notero qui a pie quello ch[e] p[er] tale offtio mi occorrerebe di aiuto et favore accio ch[e] lej
possa scriverne a sua ecc[ellen]za [Cosimo] offerendomi parassimo a fare sempre quello gli
sia grato come fedelissimo servitore ch[e] io gli sono, et circa al benefhtio ch[e] potra
risultare allj sua sudditi mediante tale arte essendo sua ecc[ellen]za [Cosimo] di quello
perfetto indittio ch[e] ella mi achade solo dire ch[e] se in ce[n]to persone si trova dua ch[e]
usino pan[n]i di araz[z]o se ne trovera piu ci so ch[e] adoperano tappeti donde si puo
conoscere ch[e] incominciando larte inpisa si riempira in brevissimo tempo di molti
habitazione
Sua ecc[ellen]za [Cosimo] si degnera dare habitatione allj maestri lavoranti et ministri si
condurran[n]o et ch[e] li tappeti lavoreran[n]o et faranno p[er] tutto el dominio suo et p[er]
fuori d[e]l dominio pagato ch[e] haran[n]o nel trarlj di pisa mezo s[cu]do doro la som[m]a di
libre cinquece[n]to non sieno tenuti a altri datij o ghabelle


**Doc.5** ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 623, fol.1v

Die xxiiij mensis novembris M D XLVJ

Copia del partito delli Uffiziali rogati p.[er] Tommaso Bernj lor cancelliere

delli cittadini et mercantanti fiorentini et forestieri insieme nell’udienza publica della arte et universita dei mercantanti in sofficiente numero ragunatosi [...] p[er] virtu dj qualunque loro autorita deliberorno et deliberando dichiararonle le tasse et partite [...] in tutto s[cudi] 1085.6.8 [...]
Doc.6 ASF, Pratica Segreta, 186. fol.105r

Cosmus Med Det Gra floren Dux II

Diletto ciui nostro flor.enti no Biagio Bertinello gratia nostram et bonu clementie
n[ost]r[a] circusespecta benignitas desideria vista petentiu, congru favore, prosequit et vobis
illor qui a rationis tramite non delirant absidue se propitia exhibet, pariter, et liberalem
proxinis decursis diebus, fuit nobis humiliet expositu pro parte tua te arte faciendi certa
telas didicisse ad instar illaru[m] que componunt in terra onoschot Flandrie regionis et quas
ibi et ubique vulgus appellare convenit saias comuni [...] ipsam artem exercere per decem
aut XV annos continuos prox decursuro et qu[u] nullus ibi tales telas aut aliqua de
prenarratis telis per deum tempum conficere possit aut ia inceptas perficere, nisi id fecerit
de permissione, sut de expressa licentia tua [...]
che di già alcuni i quali hanno in ciò ottenuto privilegio si son volti a questo exercitio, et
hanno impiegato loro danari in Maestri, Manifattori, et Tessitori, et lavoratori molte pezze,
et continuamente con molte telaia ne lavorano et s’ingegnano con ogni diligentia di
p[er]fetione all’impresa imperò Lor Sig[nori] [...] da queste et altre degne cagioni, fanno
pubblicamente bandire et espressamente comandare a qualunche p[er]sona di qualsivoglia
stato, grado, o conditione si sia, et tanto suddita di S[ua] E[xcellentissima] S[erenissima]
[Cosimo] quanto forestiera
Che in l’advenire non ardisca, nè presume ne alcun’modo condurre ne far’ condurre nella
citta, contado et dominio fiorentino

saie d’Anescot di Fiandra, ne da altre Princie, nè in pezze scempie, nè in pezze doppe senza
p[er] ogni pezza di d[ett]e saie, [...]

Doc.8 ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, ser Giovanni Battista Giordani, 1546-1547, 9330, fols.
127r-129r, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 532-537, doc.66

Jn dei nomine amen Anno D[omi]nj n[ost]rj yhu [in the margin here a sketch of a shield with
me[n]sis octob[r]is Actu[m] Flor[enti]e In Palatio Ducalj [marginal insert:] /In l[o]co d[icto]
Cechis ciue Volaterrano et Hier[oni]mo Pacis stephani d[e] Prato et ciue flor[enti]no Cunctis
p[res]entis Instrumentum visuris pariter et avdituris publice pateat et sit notum quiter
Ducis Flor[enti]e [Cosimo] et[cetera]. Intueriens tapezziere ac Infrascripta omnia et
singula faciens ut mandatarius et pro Vice et Nomine Prelitate sue Ex[cellentia] [Cosimo]
et[cetera] ex parte una et Nicolaus charchera d[e] Flandria Magister Auleorum siue ut uulgo dicitur d’Arazzerie et tapezzerie suo nomine proprio et pro omnj suo Jure et Interesse et per se suosq[ue] heredes et successores et omnj meliorj modo et[cetera] ex parte alia venerunt ad Jnfrascriptam conventione[m] et pacta infrascripta stipulatione firmata ut infra uulgari sermone per capitula exprimitur v[idelicet]


fol.127v


fol.128r

promette al soprascritto m[aestr]o Niccola [Karcher] presente et come di sopra riceuente et
acctetante dargli di prouisione ogni anno p[er] quel tempo ch[e] durera la presente
conuentione scudj seicento d[or]o et ogni mese la rata et di pagargli oltre a detta prouisione
uttj guei pannj et arazzerie ch[e] e far p[er] sua Ecc[ellenz]a [Cosimo] a i prezzj soprascrittj
et secondo che egli ha promesso et s’e, obligado dj fargli Jn oltre promette dj p[ro]uuedergli
q[ue]lle botteghe et stanze da lauorare a spese di sua S[ignor]ia Jll[usstri]ma [Cosimo] ch[e]
sar di bisogno p[er] l’arte et exercitio soprascritto et p[er] le xxiiij telaia ch[e] egli e obligato
tenere le qualj xxiiij telaia sua s[ignor]ia R[everenda] [Riccio] in detto nome promette dj
proudedere ch[e] sj possino exercitare a spese d[e]lla prefata sua Ecc.za et di piu gli promette
et termine per quattro, o, sej dj dette telaia et p[er] piu se di piu gli uerra bene. Et, e,
contenta et uole et cosj dichiara expressamente sua S[ignor]ia R[everenda] a [Riccio] che e sia
lecito al prefato m[aestr]o Niccola [Karcher] lauorare d’ogni sorte arazzerie et tapezzerie et
ogni somma ch[e] e uorra et a fiore[n]tinj et altrj q[u] d[e]l D[omi]nio et a i forestierj et a chj
gli uerra bene et uenderle et contrattarle et mandarle fuorj a quej pregi et i[n] quel modo et
forma et come e co[n]uerra et sara daccordo co[n] chj ne uorra da luj pur ch[e] e no[n]
manchj a sua ecc.[ellen]za [Cosimo] di quanto di sopra sj dice, et che dj quelle ch[e]
mandera fuorj sia tenuto a pagare le gabelle p[er] passo secondo gli ordinj d[e]ll la citta

Piu dichiarano et conuengono le dette parti che tutte le differenze ch[e] nasceranno
[marginal insert:] /fra d[e]c[t]e parti p[er] co[n]to di lana /o/ seta et oro, et argento/ si
habbino a cognoscere et terminar1 p[er] dui de Consolj dellarte d[e]lla lana ch[e] p[er] i
tempi saranno et duj dj Por s[an]c[t]a maria [marginal insert:] /rispettiiuam[en]te/ [further
addition:] /et le differen[t]ie fra d[e]c[t]j maestri /o/ maest j sic] et garzoni /o/ garzoni et
garzoni habbino a esser cog [no]sciute et termjnate dal/ Jnsieme col Judice dj detta arte
della lana, o, altro Judice a beneplacito dj sua Ecc[ellen]za [Cosimo] Dando da hora a i dettj
piena auctorita e[t]c[etera] Et uolsono ch[e] la presente co[n]uentione durj p[er] tempo et
termine dj tre annj p[ro]x[im]e futurj da hoggi et p[er] q[ue]l maggior tempo che dette partj

Doc.9 ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 3990, ser Giovan Battista Giordani, 1546-1547, fols. 131r-133v, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 528-532, doc.65; Cosimo Conti, Ricerche, 97-101, doc.2.

fol. 131r


fol. 131v

Eccellenza [Cosimo] si contenti che esso gliene faccia Hiệp doro l’alla et dj quello stoffo /o/ piu fine

fol.132r

che sono li due pannj /come e il panno il quale esso ha in telaio di presente ch[e] sono [above:] /e/ quasi finitjo d[e]l [inserted above:] /p[rim]o/ disegno [inserted:] /fatto/ dal bro[n]zino

fol.132v


fraude alcuna sotto q[ue]lle pene et p[re]judicij et come si dispone p[er] i capitoli ordinati
i[n] fiandra da Sua Ma[es]ta Ces[area] [Charles V] et darne fideiussori vno o piu ch[e]
co[m]metta nelle p[re]dette cose fraude alcuna.

Et il prefato R[everen]do S[ign]or Maiordomo [Riccio] In d[e]c[t]o nome e conuerso
riceuente et acceta[n]te: dargli di prouisione ogni anno p[er] quel tempo ch[e] durerà la

fol.133r

s[opra]scritj et s[e]c[on]do ch[e] egli ha p[ro]messo et s' e/ obligato dj fargli

In oltre p[ro]mette dj p[ro]uedergli q[ue]lle botteghe et sta[n]ze lauorar' a spese di sua
s.ria Illjna Ch[e] sarà di bisogno p[er] l'arte et exercitio s[oprascri]ttu et p[er] le xxiiij telaia
ch[e] egli /e/.obligato tenere le qualj xxiiij. telaia sua s[ua] R[eeveren]da [Riccio] In d[e]c[t]o
s[ign]ria [Riccio] In d[e]c[t]o tempo et termine p[er] quattro /o/ sei dj dette telaia' et p[er]
piu se dj piu gli uersi bene. Et e/ co[n]tenta et uuole et cosi dichiara expressamente sua
lauorar' d'ogni sorte arazzerie et tapezzerie et ogni somma ch[e] e uorra et a fiorentinj et
altrj q[ui] d[e]ll D[omi]nio et a i forestierj et a chj gli uerra bene et uenderle et co[n]trattarle
et mandarle fuori a quej pregi et i[n] q[ue]ll mo[do] et forma et come e conuerra et sarei
qua[n]to di s[opra] si dice, Et ch[e] di quelle ch[e] ma[n]derà fuori sia tenuto a pagare le
partij che

fol.133v


**Doc.10** ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, ser Giovan Battista Giordani, 1549-1550, 9332, fols. 71r-75r. Published by Adelson, “Patronage”, 582-587, doc. 147

fol. 71r


fol.72r


fol.72v

oro argento sete et altre materie et lavori di d[e]l c[t]a sua arte e bottega


Giovanni [Rost] a mantenere et conservare di suo et alia fine della condotta a rilasciare ogni cosa liberamente al detto signor Maiordomo [Riccio]


fol.73r

A quali putti /o/ giuovi maestro Giovanni [Rost] si obliga ad Insegnare et fare i[n]segnare detto mestiero di fare arazzerie et Tintura et tingere diogni sorte colore opportuno et necess[a]rio a tale arte et diogni sorte lauoro et tintura et ogni altra cosa et segreto a tale mestiero

fol.73v


fol.74r


fol.74v

Do c.11 ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, ser Giovan Battista Giordani, 1549-1550, 9932, fols. 366r-369r, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 600-605, doc.178


fol.366v

Prima (salve le cose infrascritte) per uigore del presente contratto prorogiamo la soprascritta uccchia conuenzione di che di sopra per anni tre prossimi Con questo che la prouisione annua de li scudi seicento dere s'intenda idetta [addition from the margin:] /doro, di che in detta condotta uccchia s'intenda ridotta, et cosí p[er] torrfej uia ogni scrupolo Et differentia s'intendino d(oro) di m(one)ta/ et cosí da hora di co[m]mune concordia riducono a scudi dugoento [...] da pagarsi al detto M[aestr]o Niccola [Karcher] ne modi et tempi di che in detto contratto uccchio si dice in tutto et per tutto. [end of crossed-out passage]


Jtem si obliga detto M[aestr]o Niccola [Karcher] a dare uendere et concedere a Sua Ecc[ellen]za Jll[usstri]ma [Cosimo] le Arazzerie et ogni altro lauoro per i pregi che ne conuerranno alia giornata et ne saranno

fol.368r
o daccordo la prefata Sua Ecc[ellen]za [Cosimo] /o/ suoi agenti et Ministri et detto Maestro [Karcher].


fol.368v


fol.369r

Die 21 Febrarivs [1543]


Doc.14 ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 529a, fol.855r


Doc.15 ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 529a, fol.856v


ho ricevuto la di V[ostra] s[ignoria] con la suplica gli mandai p[er] il negotio de tappeti et in toto la difficulta consisteva ne dua capitolii l’ho rigatta et corretto li detti dua capitli et gliela mando sotto questa accì che la possa ragionarla in quel modo giudica esser al proposito
quanto prima si può che gli resterò molto obligato et ne aspetto con desiderio la spedizione 
et p[er] ora no se non raccomandarmegli 
Dio la conservi felice, di ferrara addi ... di luglio 1567, 
tutto a sua servitii Bernardo Saliti

**Doc.16** Vicchio del Mugello, Archivio Bartolini Salimbeni, 47, fol. 90 left-right

fol.90 left       MDXXVIII

Nicolo di pierso boni di contro dedare addi primo diluglio f[iorini] centocinquantaquattro 
3[soldi] vi d[enari] x di m[oneta] sono per la monta di p[ezz]e xxx di ciambellotti fatti 
consegnare in firenzen daccordo p[er] detti pezzi, le quali serano havute dallui p[er] n[umer]o 
insieme cons[egnati] n[umer]o xxx [...] et ci avessi a rifare dette spese fatte loro con 
mendarle come in altro come appare l[ibro] 43 ciambellotti havere [...] 

fol.90 right

Nicolo di pierso boni da havere addi xiiii di dicembre f[iorini] centocinquantaquattro s[oldi] vj 
d[enari] x p[er] tempo di mese xv e di poi ogni mese sono per la monta di p. [ezz] e xl di 
ciambellotti comperati dallui p[er] f[iorini] 4 s[oldi] xii [...] la p.[ezz] e consegnatoci modo 
6.10 [...] 

**Doc.17** ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 9787, Giovanni Battista Terranuova, fol.255, in Philippe 
Sénéchal, *Giovan Francesco Rustici, 1475-1554*, (Paris, Arthena, 2007), 281, n.27

Eisdum anno [1523 st. fl.], indictione et die XXIII mensis ianurii. Actum Florentiae manse 
aromathariorum, presentibus Bernardo Zenobii de Seteris et mercatori florentino et Piero 
Dominici Landi famulo de artis aromathariorum testibus 
[...]


Ioanfranciscus olim Bartolomei de Rusticis civis Florentinus non revocando ex meliori modo fecit vel constituit suum universalem et legitimum procuratorem Nicholaum Petri Bernardi de Bonis civem florentinum presentem [...]

**Doc.18** Archivio della Congregazione dei Buonuomini di San Martino, Fondo Gianfigliazzi, 1.4.0.1, busta 9, loose sheets

yhs addi p[rim]o di Marzo 1540
Havendo il Magnifico Messer Lionardo Malipieri gentilhuomo venetiano et lo Eccellente filosofo Messer Bartolomeo Claudio Romano proposto et offerto all’Illustre Signor Cosimo Medici Duca di Fiorenza di far con Sua Eccellenza Illustre una compagnia d’una fabrica di salnitri buonj et reali, con sali comuni, mediante l’opera et virtù di detto Messer Bartolomeo et essendo accettata tal’offerta da Sua Eccellenza Illustri ma [Cosimo] per metterla in esecuzione,

Per il presente scritto firmato dalle mani di entrambi dambe le parti, si chiarisce che la detta compagnia, con il nome del nostro Signor yhu Christo et della sua glorissima madre, Santa Maria, cominci et cominciare debba questo giorno infrascritto, et durare per tempo et termine d’anni venticinque prossimi, et quel piu che dette parti o loro heredi et successori saranno daccordo insieme, con le convenzioni obblighationi pacti et capitolli infrascritti cioe che per detto termine d’anni venticinque prossimi [unclear] altra persona di qualsivoglia stato grado o conditione excepto detti Messer Lionardo et Messer Bartolomeo et loro heredi et successori con altri che da loro havesse nome et mandato possa et sia licio in modo alcuno, o sotto alcuno quesito [sic: questo] colore, lavorare o far lavorare in alcun luogo dello stato o del dominio di Sua Eccellenza Illustri ma [Cosimo] nel nuovo modo trovato da Messer Bartolomeo, o qualsivogli altro, da esso dependente, alcuna quantità di salnitri, sotto la pena di perder tutti e salnitri et i suoi instrumenti et masseritie, et d’esser condemnato nel doppio piu della valuta di essi salnitri, Della qual’ pena, la terza parte habbia a esser applicata alla camera fiscale di Sua Eccellenza Illustri ma [Cosimo], un’altra terza parti all’accusatore, al quale habbia a esser tenuta secreta l’accusa, et il restante a detti

fol.3v

Messer Lionardo et Messer Bartolomeo et loro heredi et successori, et che Sua Eccellenza [Cosimo] n’habbia a far un Privilegio a detti Messer Lionardo et Messer Bartolomeo et loro heredi et successori in forma autentica, con la sua sottoscrittione et con il suo suggello.

Item Sua Eccellenza [Cosimo] sia obbligata in principio della compagnia di detti salnitri, far di suo proprio tutte le spese necessarie, tante per comprare sali comuni per fabricare
detti salnitri, et li instrumenti, et masseritie necessarie quanto per proveder case et stanze
per detta fabbrica, legna et ogni altra cosa et di più sia obligata a pagare o fare pagare ogni
mese a detti M[esser] Lionardo et M[esser] Bartolomeo per manttenimento et vitto loro et
dei suoi servitori et famiglie la soma di scudi sessanta d’oro in oro d’italia con condizione
però che S[ua] Ecc[ellenza] III[ustrissima] [Cosimo] habbi a esser rimborsato dj tutto quello
che pagherà o pagar farà per tutto intertermimento [sic] et similmente della metade di
tutte le spese predette della rata et portione spettanti a detti M[esser] Lionardo et M[esser]
Bartolomeo delli utili et guadagni di tutti i salnitrj, quando si comincerà a riceverli, sia ancora
obligata S[ua] Ecc[ellenza] [Cosimo] a provedere o far provedere a detti M[esser] Lionardo
et M[esser] Bartolomeo per habitatione loro et delle loro famiglie una casa honorata nella
città di fiorenza, et di suo far abbligare honoramente la sala, due camere et uno scrittoio
delle parti di sopra di detta casa, con lecta, cortinaggi, paramentj, tappetj, mense, lenzuole,
casse et altrj legnamj necessarij et per fornimento della cucina, et tante botte buone, che
siano capaci, di barili cento settanta di vino, et tutto habbi da consegnare loro per
Inventario
Item che S[ua] Ecc[ellenza] [Cosimo] habbi da participare per metà di tutto l’utile et
guadagno, che si trarrà per i salnitrj, di tratti le spesse predette, et l’altra metà per M[esser]
Lionardo et M[esser] Bartolomeo, o loro heredi et successori

fol.4r

Item che S[ua] Ecc[ellenza] [Cosimo] sia obligato a piglar dalla compagnia di detta fabrica
per i bisogni dello stato suo, cinquanta migliaia di salnitrj, in termine di anni cinque dal di
che saranno fabricati, cioè ogni anno la quinta parti, et per pagare la rata et portione di
detta quantità, specialmente tutti M[esser] Lionardo et M[esser] Bartolomeo, a ragione di
ducati trenta il migliaio, dichiarando, che habbino da esser dUCati di giulii dieci et mezzo
l’uno, che sono lire sette di moneta fiorentina, et che ogni’altra quantità di detti salnitrj
habb di restare comuni tra le dette parti, et sia albitrio et facultà di S[ua] Ecc[ellenza]a
[Cosimo] di vendere o fargli vendere a chi parrà et piacerà, per quel maggior prezzo che si
potrà a benefizio comune della compagnia, del qual prezzo, ciascuna di esser parti, habbi a
participar per la metade,
Item che sia in arbitrio et facoltà di S[ua] Ecc[ellenza]a [Cosimo] di eleggere et deputare cassierj, scrivanj et altrj ministri necessari ne affarij et opportunj, per tenere librj et scritture et conti di detta compagnia et ricevere et pagare e denari di essa accio che e denari si ricevino et spendino realmente et utilmente et con e suoj riscontrj
Item che tutte le cose soprascritte s’habbino da intender sempre, a puro et sano intelletto, senza alcuna cavilazione o terguersatione,

fol.4v

Io Lionardo Malipieri prometto quanto di sopra si contiene
Io Bartolomeo Claudio p[ro]metto quanto di sopra si contiene

Doc.20 ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1175, fol.713r

maestro Nicolo Charchera mi dette calumnia che io havevo grossamente in mano delle sunstantia della compagnia et che mi giustifichai et di piu feci compromesso con lui. Et demo autorità agli albitri et al terzo che fu messer Lelio [Torelli] che potessino finire et dividere la compagnia nostra, quando e vedessino fosse necessario. Et dubitando io che tale suo movimento non venisse da sua eccellenza [Cosimo] o da vostra signoria [Riccio] dissi a messer Lelio et alla signoria vostra [Riccio] che, sendo in mente di sua eccelenza [Cosimo] o di vostra signoria [Riccio], che io non dovessi piu permanere nella compagnia, mi basta ogni
minimo cenno et ero presto a ubidire. Ma quando e non fusi di lor’mente, pregavo mi faessino osservare la compagnia. Et mi rispose vostra signoria [Riccio] che, su fusse così sua volunta, che melo sapresti dire senza respetto. Et essendo stato in compromesso alcune settimane, finalmente maestro Nicolo mi venne a trovare et dissemne, “compare, io voglio essere quel medesimo che io sono stato al passato, et fra noi sia finito ogni lité, et restamo di buono achordo et di compagnia. Venimo a trovare vostra signoria [Riccio] et gli referimo l’achordo nostro”. Pregandola si degnasse ogni settimana farci dare 25 scudi et farci credito per dua o trecento per sete et altro che ci bisognava. Vostra signoria [Riccio] mostro haverne contento et promese li 25 scudi et del credito non ci dette ferma speranza. Et stando seguittando alcune settimane et vedendo io che il credito non si poteva havere, mi risolve di piglare un compagno conferendo tutto a maestro Nicolò [Karcher]. Et lo presi et fece seco la convintione senza alterare la participatione di maestro Nicolò [Karcher]. Et da poi dua giorni vostra signoria fede el protesto riducendoci a memoria el contratto della conventione et che fra 15 giorni si dovesse osservare per il che havendo fatto vedere quello conteneva, dissì a maestro Nicolò [Karcher] che dove havamo pieno X telaia, bisognava empiere el resto et vedere [unclear] con vostra signoria et suplicarla che lasciassè seguire la impresa, al che lui disse che voleva vederne el fine afermando volersene ire da Firenze. Ma per quello publicamente si dice et che si vede, atendendo lui al tignere et alli lavori con più sollecitudine che mai, et tutto il contrario volermi lui cavare della compagnia. Et per seguire tale suo intento, ha impresso nella mente di ogni persona, che se io non fusi e farebe cose grande et da me e venuto ogni disordine, tale che io non ho rimedio alcune, se la benignita vostra non pigla la protezione mia, defendomi da tanta maligna fortuna. Però suplicandola humilmente, la prego che non mi lasci soffocare da maestro Nicolò [Karcher] in questa maniera, quando la verità sta che lui pigni questo modo per voler finir la mia compagnia et rifar’ con vostra signoria nuovo contratto in nome suo o d’altri sotto qualche quisitio colore che lui resti in buono aviamento et io, con tante fatiche che io ho durate, et essendomi indebitato grossamente per ridurre sì nobile arte in questa città et a lui dare honorevole indirizo, rimangha del tutto rovinato et da lui satisfatto con tanta inagratitudine ma se p[er] ordine di sua ecc[ellen]za [Cosimo] non ha da seguir piu la provisione et che tutto quello che [unclear] deba restare cosi imperfetto io posso a sua ecc[ellen]za [Cosimo] pregando la s.[ignoria] v[ostra] [Riccio] in qual modo si sia che habia riguardo al terminar tutto in modo ch[e] io no ci resti rovinato per sempre et se possibile et si dogni non havendo a seguir piu la
Servitor di v[ostra] sig[noria] [Riccio]

Doc.21 ASF, Corporazione religiose soppresse dal governo francese, serie 95, 221, fol.9r


F[iorini] 1000

Doc.22 ASF, Miscellanea Medicea, 516, insert 36, fols. 28 right-29 left

fol.28 right

1564 10 Dicembre Mallevadoria prestata da Ciro Alidosi per Gio[yanni] Rost fiandrese tapezzerie [son of Jan Rost], ad effetto che questo potesse conseguire da Cosimo I la sua provvisione ascendente alla somma di Scudi 865.5.16.6 che li veniva contrastati dagli Eredi di Cristofano Rinieri

fol.29 left

Vorrebbe [Rost] da qui in anzi esser pagato ogni settimana
Vorrebbe [Rost] che si gli si facessino di prese[n]te almeno 24 telaia p[er] li fiorentini, che lui piglieria, et per li Fiam[m]inghi che verran[n]o di Fiandra

fol.32 [fols. 28 right -32 left contains another document, see doc.22]
che io ho potuto acquistar in questo tempo, che la faccia principalmente che l’un et l’altro maestro Tappezzeria sia libero di poter pigliar lavorj di drento, et di fuora liberamente concedendo all’uno, et l’altro pari privilegi, [...] lasciando aperto /ancora/ che ogn’altro maestro et lavoratore di Tappezzeria possa venir in questa sua città et stato liberamente a Lavorare, sotto la legge per et statuti che contiene dett’arte di Tappezzeria [...]


Ill[ustrissi]mo et Ex[cellentissi]mo s[igno]r Duca [Ercole II Este]


**Doc.25** AIOF, 13371, fol.2r
YHS MDXXXI

Domenica iixx di marzo ponemmo in nome di dio qui al p[ez]zo a uno s[oldo]

Il vagello ponemmo addi detto p[er] lib[bre] 400 di guado de rubino [...]
Il vagello ponemmo addi 21 detto de guado simile p[er] lib[bre] 400
Il vagello ponemmo addi 18 detto de guado simile p[er] lib[bre] 400
3
4
7
addi xxvi d. m[arzo]

Giovanni di barnaba taddei
addi 26 di marzo 1541
[...]

Domenica iixx di marzo 1541

Il vagello ponemmo addi detto p[er] lib[bre] 400 di guado de rubino todoli
Il vagello ponemmo addi 29 detto p[er] lib[bre] 400 de guado simile
Il vagello ponemmo addi 30 detto p[er] lib[bre] 400 de guado de rubino e di lodosco boffi
Il vagello ponemmo addi 31 detto p[er] lib[bre] 400 de guado simile
[...]

s.60
Giovanni e Sandro Tadei [...]
2 rasciuole ii. fatte in t[utto] di.3.2 lib[bre] di lana l[ire] 32

Alesandro Biliotti addi detto

[...]

Doc.26 ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 1176, fol.60r

23 gen[nai]o 1550
R[everen]do S[ignor] maiordomo [Riccio] Bartolomeo Benvenuti è stato qui da me [n
n] con il bilancio del libro del an[n]o pas[sa]to che egli ha levato di nuovo et habbiamo
giudicato essere approposito il mandarlo vi cosi come p[er] V[ostra] S[ignoria] [Riccio] vi
porra mostrare a s[ua] ex[cellen]tia [Cosimo] et degnera pregarla p[er] mia parte che si
degni farmi saldere tutti i costi che io ho maneggiati in sino a oggi p[er]che nel vero e no[n]
ne stan[n]o benefenza saldarsi et io non potro havere nuova migliore
Priego v[ostra] s[ignoria] [Riccio] si degni di dar fine a’ conti di mae[st]ro Niccolò [Karcher] al
che altro no[n] manca che lo stabilimento de’pregi, perchè fatto questo è fatto il tutto, che le
misure sono tutte in nota. Ho veduto l’essere della ragione vecchia secondo i pregi che
vostra signoria mi mostrò per mandarli a s[ua] ex[cellen]tia [Cosimo] et truvo che ella ha di
voto scudi 1200, el che viene da pregi perchè io truvo che gl’hanno pagato tanto le
manufacture per havere honore che le costano un mondo perchè vi è tale lavorante che
gl’hanno pagato tanto le manufacture per havere honore che le costano un mondo perchè vi
è tale lavorante che gl’è tocco a guadagnare più s[cudi] 180 d’oro l’an[n]o, et tale s[cudi]
140, et altri s[cudi] 120, il manco s[cudi] 100 et tutto d’oro, che non sanno che cosa sia
moneta. Et tutto per servire bene et dicono quei lavoranti che in Fiandra non s’è mai fatto
lavori di tale fineza per qual si vogla signore. Hor v[ostra] s[ignoria] [Riccio] so che è giusta et
non vorrà del loro neanche vorrò havermi messo in luogo dove habbi a essere la rovina mia.
Di gratia terminatela o voi mi date licentia che io me ne esca et lascisi andare mastro Niccolò
[Karcher] che senza me non può stare ho dico et mi raccomando di più

adi di XXIII di gen[nai]o 1549

Michele Ruberti
17 left


17 right

254 duc[ati] 193 l[ire] 2.10

Doc.28 ASF, Scrittoio delle Fortezze e delle Fabbriche, serie Fabbriche Medicee, 1, fol. 254 left-right, in Adelson, “Patronage”, 644-645, doc. 244

fol. 254 left

sopradetto Giovan Agostino possa per spazio d’anni dieci da hoggi in poi in detta Terra di Livorno, una, o più Botteghe, et inquelle far fabbricare l’agora alla domaschina Con obligho et condizione pero che debba con diligenza insegnare tal Arte et Mestiero ai fanciulli degli’Innocenti Livornesi, o Pisani, et a quelli massime che haranno qualche introdutione di quel Arti che gli saranno proposti. Ne qualunque altro, sia di qualsivoglia Stato grado, o, condizione sanza espressa licentia et consenso di detto Giovanni Agostino presumma, o, ardisca in alcunmodo duranti il detto termine di dieci anni far tali agora nella Terra di Livorno, o, alintorno a dieci miglia sotto peina di scudi cento a chi contro fara et della perdita di esse agora per ciascuno et ciascuna volta applicata per un quarto al Accusatore un quarto al detto Giovanni Agostino, un quarto a chi condannera, et il resto alla Camera nostra Ducale et inoltre et per evirare ogni fraude si ordina che nessuno durante il tempo di anni dieci possa condurre, vendere, o, contrattare in essa Terra di Livornone presso alle mura di essa dieci miglia alintorno altri agora che fabricati in Livorno da detto Giovan Agostino sottopena di scudi dieci et la perdita delle agora applicata come di sopra. [...] firmato di nostra mano, con l’apprensione del solito sigillo in Pratolino il di 18 di Maggio l’Anno della salvifica incarnationedel Sig[no]re 1584 Del nostro Granduca di Toscana et delli altri nostri Ducati

Doc.30 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 48, fol.68r

[...] [dicembre 1576]


Doc.31 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 121, fol.84 right
posta nela via del chochomero a canto ala sua abitazione ch una chasetta et unchasolare chontiguie a detta bottegha per anni cinque chominciati addi primi di novembre 1555 e da finirsi chome segue per lire centoventisei per lanno co[n]o lire 80 per pigione di detta bottegha per lire 28 per la chasetta et lire xviii per il chasolare enon discendo luna delle dette parte alaltra si intenda /vanno inanzi/ rialocata per altri cinque annj et chosi si abi a seguire di lochazione in lochazione [...]
Segue la scritta di la
di S[ua] E[cellenza] Ill[ustrissima] Cosimo per anni cinque ossimi dadvenire Cominciati
pagarli in qu[est]o modo s[cudi] dodici simili lanno in conti ogni III mesi la teza parte et
il restante ch[e] sono s[cudi] xxiii simili sino alla somma di s[cudi] 36 s’habbino ad fallare
ogni anni de s[cudi] dugentoventi sop[r]a scritti ch[e] detti s[cudi] 220 sono s[cudi] dugento
per spesa di murare e s[cudi] 20 pagari in co[n]tanti p[er] detto Lodovico [...]

Al Maiordomo [Riccio] Lelio T[orelli] 18 febbraio 52

**Doc.37** ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 38, fol. 20 left

YHS MDLX


Doc.38 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 116, fol.10r

[...] 

[21 di marzo 1587 sf]


Doc.39 ASF, Manoscritti, 106, fol.18 right

1562


Doc.40 ASF, Manoscritti, 106, fol.47 left

1566

E addi 29 di giennaio l[ire] trentanove p[er] co[n]to di lib[br]e xJ di Stame dato a giovanni sconditi a Sua altezza in t[u]t[t]o delle botteghe scudi 5 lire 4 [... ]
**Doc.41** ASF, Manoscritti, 106, fol.47 right

1566


**Doc.42** ASF, Manoscritti, 106, fol.58 right


Doc.43 ASF, Manoscritti, 106, fol.72 left-right

fol.72 left

1568

fol.72 right

1568

Doc.44 ASF, Manoscritti, 106, fol.25 left

1563
Cip[r]iano S[er]nigi mio suociero dico [...] de dare addi 12 dagosto 1563 scudi
dumilacinquento doro di m[one]ta mi fa buoni p[er] la dota guadagniata ap[resso] di della
lessandra sua figl[io]la et mia donna come p[er] la scrita del parentado fatta p[er] m[esser]
pas[sa]to scudi 2500

[...]

Et deono ave[re] addi 23 di diciembre 1563 scudi centocinquanta doro di m[one]ta mi fanno
150

[...]

E addi 9 di diciembre 1564 scudi cento di m[one]ta mi fanno buoni p[er] lui Cip[r]iano
S[er]nigi e comp[agni] lanaiuoli da dare in quaderno 37 scudi 100
E addi detto scudi ottantaquattro di m[one]ta mi fanno buoni p[er] lui Cip[r]iano S[er]nigi e
comp[agni] lanaiuoli da dare in quaderno 37 scudi 84

Doc.45 ASF, Manoscritti, 106, fol.25 right

1563

Cip[r]iano di ..... Sernigi mio suocero deave addi 20 di luglio 1563 scudi dugento di
m[one]ta mi fa buoni p[er] lui Federigo dericci e comp[agni] di banco da dare in quaderno
24 scudi 200
E addi 11 dagosto 1563 scudi dugento doro di m[one]ta mi fanno buoni p[er] lui Cip[r]iano
S[er]nigi e comp[agni] lanaiuoli da dare in quaderno 28 scudi 200
E addi 11 di Sett[embre] scudi dugento di m[one]ta mi fanno buoni p[er] lui Cip[r]iano
S[er]nigi e comp[agni] lanaiuoli da dare in quaderno 37 scudi 200

**Doc.46** ASF, Manoscritti, 106, fol. 40 left-right


Nota ch[e] di detti scudi 1150 l.3.8 ne a dare il d[et]to cip[r]iano scudi dugientocinquanta di m[one]ta alla morte dj m[adam]a marietta dandr[e]a s[er]nigi sorella del d[et]to cip[r]iano e donna gia dj girol[a]mo carnesecchi secondo la scritta del parentado sanza alluno emolm[en]to


fol.40 right

1564


Doc.47 ASF, Manoscritti, 106, fol.66 left-right

Smeraldo di Carlo Strozzi di contro de avere addi primo di marzo scudi ciento di moneta consegnatolo per debitо al mio libro debitori e creditori corregge de SuA A[altezza] [Guardaroba] [...] 

Doc.48 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 72, fol.140r

γhs MDLXXVIIJ

Addj 26 dj giungnio 1578


p[er] p[rimo conto da Avignione [...] scudi 82.7.2
p[er] provione della tratta in fir[enze] scudi 5.8
p[er] sicurta [...] scudi 4
p[er] nolo sino a livorno scudi 16
p[er] spese in livorno scudi 5
p[er] porto da livorno a pisa scudi 2
p[er] facchinj alla dogana scaricare e spacciare [...] p[er] firenze scudi 1
p[er] gabella di pisa peso lb.r 260 paga il 3/0 a f[jorini] 2.8.9 c.[on]to scudi 5.8
p[er] p[ovixione scudi 2

Come si vede mon[ta il co[n]to e spese dj detta balla scudi 90.2.6

[...]

fol.66 right
**Doc.49** Pisa, Scuola Normale Superiore, (hereafter SNS), Archivio Salviati, serie I, Libri di Commercio, 1536, fol. 175 left-right

fol.175 left

[1577]

Tanai di Niccola de Medici di contro de dare addi xviiii di genn[a]io s[cudi] sessanta di m[one[ta sono p[er] m[on]ta di 6 lib[bre]di filo di stame p[r]ovenz[a]le p[er] [damaged as the page is ripped] [...]

fol. 175 right

[1577]

Tanai di Niccola de Medici de havere addi iii di genn[a]io s[cudi] sessanta di m[one]ta p[er] lui da Ricci di banco da dare in q[unadern]o [damaged as the page is ripped] [...] s[cudi] 60

**Doc.50** ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 72, fol. 64r

[luglio 1578]

[...]

mercoledì addj 16 di Luglio

Quali pagano per Tanaj de Medicj n[ost]ro al co[n]to di suo salario del Consolato di mare s[cudi] 90-17-6

**Doc.51** SNS, Archivio Salviati, Serie I, Libri di Commercio, 1466, fol.24v

 [...] mercoledì adi xvi di Luglio


**Doc.52** Archivio della Congregazione dei Buonomini di San Martino, Fondo Gianfigliazzi, 4.5.1.0.1, loose sheets

Ser[enissi]mo Gran Duca,


Affezionatissima

Servitrice [Virginia Segni]

**Doc.54** Archivio della Congregazione dei Buonomini di San Martino, Fondo Gianfigliazzi, Famiglia Medici, 4.5.1.0.1, loose sheets

Ser[enissi]mo Gran Duca


**Doc.55** Archivio della Congregazione dei Buonomini di San Martino, Fondo Gianfigliazzi, 4.5.1.0.1, loose sheets

Ser[enissi]mo Gran D[u]ca

[...]

**Doc.56** ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 72, fol.123v

[...] [21 Giugno 1572]


**Doc.57** ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 72, fol. 124v

[30 Agosto 1572]

Doc.58 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 72, fol.125r

[30 Agosto 1572]


Doc.59 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 72, fol.128r

[...] [ luglio 1573]

Doc.60 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 116, fol.34r

[...]

Addi 21 dj Marzo 1591


Doc.61 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 116, fol.55r

Addi 2 di Giennaio 1595


366
Doc.62 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 116, fol.63v

Adi 30 di giannéio 97

far debitore oro e seta in mano a Guasparri papini arazziere e Creditore Luigi Capponi et Setaioli di lire quattrocento trenta cinque pagati per valuta di lire venti a pagamento di seta crude da ttt[a] trama di messima a lire 21.15 la libbra pe danarj contanti mezzano francesc[o] papi sensale di guardaroba consegna a detto Guasparri p d’oro e seta come p loro conto [ ] havuta sotto di 24 di 9bre [novembre] 97 libbre 20 [ ]

Doc.63 ASF, Carte Strozziane, Serie V, 1757, fol. 21 left

[ ]


Addi 16 di febbraio 1563


Doc.64 ASF, Carte Strozziane, Serie V, 1757, fol.37 right
M. D. L. X.X.III [1573]


addi 30 di luglio 1573


Doc.65  ASF, Grifoni, 408, fol.42 right

Jo Fran[c]co di Gio[van] bat[tis]ta Cini uno degli heredi sono contento a quanto di sopra e per fede ho scritto questo di mia propria mano questo di 6 d’ottob[re] 1586

Jo Lamione di Tommaso Martelli Jn nome mio e di vin[cenzo]o mio fratello mi obbligo a questo di sop[r]a [...]

Jo Albe[r]to Altoviti son contento a quanto di sop[r]a Addi 10 di nov[embre] 1586

Jo Giul[ian]o Parigi sono contento di quanto sop[r]a si scrive [...]

Doc.66 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 48, fol.37r

[...] [novembre 1562]


Doc.67 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 32, fol.56v

1558


stame in matasse di piu colori lib[br]e 56
stame in tremj in piu colorj lib[br]e 25
stame schompigliato di piu colorj lib[br]e 51
stame purgato lib[br]e 9 ½
stame p[r]ovenzal in 4 pezzi dordito lib[br]e 82
stame nostrale unto lib[br]e 88
filaticcj di piu colori surrocchetti lib[br]e 5
Doc.68 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 32, fol.62r

1559

Addj 15 di nove[m]bre

Nota dello stame ch[e] ci troviamo q[u]i di detto nella n[ost]ra bottega della via de Servi

rivisione il co[n]to dilige[n]temente e p[rima]

stame tinto in matasse di piu colorj  lib[br]e 23 ½
stame in matasse tinto nero  lib[br]e 27 ½
stame in tremj di piu colorj  lib[br]e 31
stame biancho purgato  lib[br]e 14
stame di piu colorj anodato in matasse  lib[br]e 26
stame biancho in ordito p[er] tre lavori  lib[br]e 62 ½
stame schompigliato p[er] anodare di piu colori  lib[br]e 12

lib[br]e 192 ½

filaticcj crudi  lib[br]e xiij tornorno chotti  lib[br]e 10

lib[br]e 206 ½

Doc.69 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 38, fol. 31 left

MDLXII [1562]

Sabato addi 9 di Maggio 1562

[...]

**Doc.70** ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 38, fol.11 left

 [...] 


[...] 

**Doc.71** ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 72, fol.29r


**Doc.72** ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 72, fol.34r

Benedetto Squilli sopradetto che sono anodato et raniato e 44 di lane di varj colorj et penerate dordj a soldi 5 la com[e] p[er] ric[evu]ta al quadernuncio 15 [...]

**Doc.73** ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 32, fol.19v

1556

Copia di uno conto di Jacopo del Rosso tintore di seta di tintorie datoci dal 3 agosto 1555 all di 4 maggio 1556 come apresso e p[er] me

filaticci di piu colori // lana rossa // lana e balle nera e cenere

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<th>libbre</th>
<th>15 soldi</th>
<th>libbre</th>
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Allume di roccia erba bualda 3.2=

libbre 28.8 a soldi x la libbre

| libbre | | libbre | | libbre |
|--------|---|--------|---|
| 6      | 6 | 6       | 2 |
| 6      | 10 | 5      |   |
| 4=     | 6 | 2       |   |
| 22     | 15 | 3       |   |

Doc.75 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 38, fol.43 left


**Doc.76** ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 121, fol. 57 right


**Doc.77** ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 121, fol.68 left

[...] MDLXXXX [1590]


**Doc.78** ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 121, fol.135 right

[...] MDLXXXXVII [1597]

Spese di piu sorte p[er] far panni darazzi deon havere tanti poste dare p[er] resto daltro conto in q[uaderno] 128 l[ire] 2641.32.17


Doc.79 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 121, fol.145 right

[...] MDLXXXXVII [1598]

Doc.80 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 38, fol 10 left-right


fol.11 left


Doc.81 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 72, fol.57v

Mercoledì addi 8 detto [aprile 1577]
provenza in nove balle mandatoci dal detto di Pisa e dal Lionardo Pesciolini suo fratello di Marsilia da di 9 ottobre 1593 addì 23 di luglio 1594 che se ricevuto in Firenze e consegnato a Guasparri Papini p[er] servizio de panni darazzi [...]

**Doc.85** ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 116, fol.48v

Addì 19 giennaio 1594


**Doc.86** ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 121, fol.73r

MDLXXXXI


**Doc.87** ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 659a, fol.120r

L’Illustrissimo et Eccellentissimo Signore il Signor Duca di Fiorenza et Siena [Cosimo] et per Sua Eccellenza Illustrissima li Magnifici Signori Luogotenente et Consiglieri, volendo dare assegnamento et provisione di danari al Magistrato dell’Arte et Università di Por Santa Maria et aiutare in qualche parte et supplire alla fabbrica della lor nuova residentia [...] Che in l’advenire per tempo danni 3 proem futuri, il Camerlengo non paghi più alli 20 sensali di detta arte et università le solite distributioni et donativi che ogni 4 mesi si paghavono loro, ma tutta quella somma si paghi ogni quattro mesi durante detto tempo, et più presto et /più tarde/, sendo che sarà necessario a la fabbrica della lor residenzia per poliza del Proveditore

Doc.88 ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 659a, fol.117r


Addi 11 di Marzo lappie robe porto d[etto] Guasparri come sop[r]a


<1589>


Addi 7 di luglio lappie doro da tessere reco d[etto] Guasparri consegnati come sop[r]a
Oro da ricamo o[nce] dua lib[bre]-- o[nce] 23
Oro da tessere o[nce] una lib[bre]--- o[nce] 13
[...]

Doc.90 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 116, fols.90v-91r

oro filato da tessere o[nce] tre lib[bre]-- o[nce] 33
oro filato da ricamo o[nce] tre lib[bre]-- o[nce] 33
oro filato da ricamo /tessere/ o[nce] due lib[bre]-- o[nce] 23
Addi 2 di giennaio lappie reco d[etto] guasparri come sopra
Addi 15 di Marzo lappie reco d[etto]o Guasparri come sop[r]a
oro da ricamo o[nce] sei lib[bre]--- o[nce] 63
oro da tessere o[nce] sei lib[bre]--- o[nce] 63
<1591>
Addi 10 di Maggio lappie reco d[etto] Guasparri come sop[r]a
oro da ricamo o[nce] sei lib[bre]-- o[nce] 63
oro da tessere o[nce] sei lib[bre]--- o[nce] 63
segue di contro lib[bre] 4 o[nce] 3

fol.91r
Rede di Gio[van] Battista Cini et battilori deono avere per altro conto in q[uaderno]o
lib[bre] 90 o[nce] 4

Addi 31 maggio 1591 lappie oro filato reco Guasparri Papini arazziere pe[r] panni di seta e
doro
Oro da ricamo o[nce] sei lib[bre]--- o[nce] 6
Oro da tessere o[nce] sei lib[bre]--- o[nce] 6
Argiento da ricamo o[nce] sei lib[bre]--- o[nce] 2

Addi 5 di luglio lappie oro filato recato d[ett]o Guasparri
Oro da ricamo o[nce] sei lib[bre]--- o[nce] 6
Oro da tessere o[nce] sei lib[bre]--- o[nce] 6

Somma in t[ut]to lib[bre]6 o[nce] 2

sono l[ire] 76.3.15 l[ire] 76.3.15
fatto creditore de[tt]o rede in q[uaderno] 30

Doc.91 ASF, Grifoni, 408, insert 1, fols. 21v-22r

YHS MDLXIII
fol.21v
Chopia del bilancio del libro rosso seg[re]to di Giovambat[ista] Cini et battilori levato
questo di 29 novembre 1564
Giovambatt[ista] Cini 6 f[iorini] 554. s[oldi]11.4
Masseritie di bottegha 22 f[iorini] 75. s[oldi] 1.11
Limosine 22. f[iorini] 62. s[oldi] 3.9
Lorenzo Cionacci e Niccolo Panciatichi 35. f[iorini] 476. s[oldi] 3.9
Bartolomeo del Tovaglia et batt[iloro] 45. f[iorini] 52. s[oldi] 16.5
Tomaso Martelli 55. f[iorini] 15. s[oldi] 15.5
Chalando et Salandi et. 77. f[iorini] 15. s[oldi] 16.5
Anthonio Magalotti et. 78. s[oldi] 4.1
Berto di Francesco stenditore 84. f[iorini] 15. s[oldi] 10.2
Simone e Giovanni Corsi et. 94. f[iorini] 497. s[oldi] 1.6
Francesco Cerretani 101. f[iorini] 11. s[oldi] 16.4
Cav.[alie]re Lionardo de Nobili sopra Giovambattista Cini 102. f[iorini] 17. s[oldi] 14
Gismondo di Guido n[ost]ro m[aest]ro di foglia 104. s[oldi] 17.14
Jacopo Mazzinghi 114.34. s[oldi] 4
Bartolomeo di Michele n[ost]ro maestro di foglia 116. f[iorini] 13 s[oldi] 16
Bernardo Fantoni n[ost]ro stenditore 116. f[iorini] 54. s[oldi] 11.4
Giovanni della foresta e lionardo mancini 118 f[iorini] 112. s[oldi] 15
Raffaello di Gi[rola]mo Martelli 119 f[iorini] 2.1. s[oldi] 6.2
Giovanni Bartelli et c.[ompagni] 128 f[iorini] 201. s[oldi] 5.6
Andrea Martelli di Vinezia 129 f[iorini] 699. s[oldi] 11.8
Iachopo Giacomini 129 f[iorini] 44. s[oldi] 12
Spazzatura di n[ost]re bottega 134. s[oldi] 78
Bartolomeo e thomaso martelli 137 f[iorini] 1435. s[oldi] 3.6
Niccolo Berardi 139 f[iorini] 1474. s[oldi] 10
Raffaello borghini 140.s.392. s[oldi] 8.1
Napoleone Cambi e Giovanni Particini 140 f[iorini] 307. s[oldi] 16.10
Filippo Machiavelli 140 f[iorini] 371. s[oldi] 10.10
Bacco da Filicaia et. c.[ompagni] 141 f[iorini] 253. s[oldi] 13.4
Luigi da Casavecchia et battil[ori] 141 f[iorini] 67. s[oldi] 17.2
Giovambattista Gondi 141 f[iorini] 10. s[oldi] 15.2
Iachopo Marmorai et co.[mpagni] 142 f[iorini] 316 s[oldi] 18.8
Rede di Giovanni Pandolfini et batt[ilori] 2. f[iorini] -- s[oldi] 9.1
Redi di Marcho forbiciaio 67. f[iorini] -- 18 s[oldi] 8.7
Andrea Martelli et di Vinezia 89. f[iorini] 19 s[oldi] 18.4
Piero Frescobaldi 93. s[oldi] 4.2
Redi di m. Raffaello de Medici 94. f[iorini] 10. s[oldi] 5.7
Federigo de Ricci et 147. f[iorini] 1381. s[oldi] 5.7
Ori et argienti filati di nostra ragione 150. f[iorini] 1305. s[oldi] 1.8
filature di foglie er manifatt[ura] 152. 4 s[oldi] 5
piu creditori allo segreto f[iorini] 15236 s[oldi] 10.11

Doc.92 AIOF, 13290, fols.1r; 4v; 5r

Argenti di n[ost]ro conto argiento bianco avuto da federigo et dal banco [...] di m[one]ta lib[bre]del popolino reco franc[esc]o stagi

Federigo de Ricci et dal b[anco] questo argento dorato dalloro pesato al sagio [...]
**Doc.93** AIOF, 13432, fol.4v

YHS MDLXXIII [1574]

A ss[ur]a Ipolita nelle Convertite o[nce] 8 f[ili] doro addi 8 luglio 1574
4 o[nce] 2.14 3.16 calia o[nce] 1.10
l[ire] 4.12.9 o[nce] 1117 seta o[nce] 1

A s[ur]a Maria franc[esca] nelle convertite o[nce] 6.14 f[ili] 3 doro addi 9 luglio 1574
 [...] 3.o[nce] 2 10.11
calia o[nce] 2.2
seta o[nce] 9
o[nce] 10.8
l[ire] 3.1.3

A m[adonna] Lena vedova o[nce] 6.3 f.[ili] 3 doro addi 28 giugno
seta gialla M. o[nce] 3.9 o[nce] 9.1 o[nce] 2 o[nce] 7.1
calia o[nce] 1.18
seta o[nce] 9
l[ire] 2.iii.6

[...]

**Doc.94** AIOF, 13432, fol.52r

YHS MDLXXIII

Foglia bianca rimondata di n[umero] 11 riavuta [...] da Marco Stagi n[ost]ro maestro di foglia
l[i]b[bre] 9.9.18
La nuova inventione del mettere in opera il pelo di capra nostrale e di sua A[ltessa] Ser [enissima] [Francesco] e di poi condotto per industria e harte a sua perfetione da hulivieri alievo della casa delli innocenti di fiorenza. Pittore, arazere et tappezzere particolare di sua A[ltez]za [Francesco] et il modo di condurre il detto pelo a sua perfezione si questo alla prima vera si facci tosare il detto pelo delle Capre p[erche] alora e in migliore essere che e sia in tutto lanno e tanto sia per quello che si vede <per esperienza> dalle stesse capre. le quali cominciano in detta stagione a giettarlo fuori da p[er] loro. Poi che in questa parte non ci e tale husanza di tosarlle come in di molti altri paesi sui et questo non si puo prosuporre che <in sino qui> gli abbia ritenuti il non nessersi saputo valere del detto pelo per la dubitanza del no[n] danegiare <le> le stesse Capre p[er] che come e detto di sopra ogni volta che si vede che la natura stessa fa <loro> giettare il detto pelo. Questo viene ad essere manifesto sengno che il tosarle farebbe loro hassai utile e indisbitatamente; et tanto piu che verrebbe a rimettere loro il detto pelo piu sottile e piu gientile di pr[i]ma
in somma come abiamo detto alla prima vera e il meglio di tutto l’anno affare tosare dalle capre il detto pelo co[n] avertire di torre il piu sottile e Morbido che si puole et quello che non di questa qualitae p[er] al ma[n]cho avertire che sia piu lungho che si puole p[er]che quando e corto no[n] si puol filare ne cavare frutto alcuno et peroe se nel detto ve ne fussi di questo corto io avertischo al no[n] filarlo p[er]che e fastidioso e piglia assai tempo inoltre che si rompe spesso p[er] essere così fragile et debile et il frutto che si potrebbe /cavare/ circa a quest o pelo corto si sarebbe il farlo cardare riempirne materasse che la state sarebbono ottime et quello che sara lungho e sottile come e sarae toso dalle capre fa di bisogno il quocierlo con sapone perche e viene morbido et sottile et si riducie al termine che lo huommo lo vuole et fatto questo cardarlo co[n] cardi da seta ma senza lolio perche sarebbe piu dispiacevole al filarlo co[n] detto olio

Et il filo si cava piu sottile e mancho sottile secondo la qualitae del pelo il quale filato il meglio e quello che si fa a rocha p[er] che viene filo sodo e buono il quale è buono a fare /se ne fae/ stamingne arazzi et cieloni et il piu grosso puol servire per tappeti e per hornamenti da briglia in varie cose et ancora si fila il detto pelo con i filatoi che adoperano i tedeschi che viene filo molto dolcie e a proposito p[er] stamingne p[er]che si viene a costare in sieme senza difficultae che importa assa[i] in tal modo di di tessere come e questo delle stamingne et p[er] diri in prima circha i tappeti che si sono fatti in sino a qui di lana e stame e per che pareva a dalcuni come a sua A[ltezza] Ser[enissima] [Francesco] che i detti tappeti non fussino di quella sodezza che sono quelli di levante et p[er] questo no[n] considerando questi tali che che la materia non sono le medesime come io dissi a sua A[ltezza] [Francesco] proprio con dir che il modo del tesser gli era il medesimo

fol.3r

che si trove a vedere tutte le sopra dette novitae per potere riferire a A[ltezza] S[erenissima] [Francesco] quando io vidi che queste cose provate e hordinarie non conduscievano il detto pelo a perfetione alcuna da poterlo filare si come era il nostro in tento io mi risolvei il farlo cardare a u[n] lanino qui nello spedale con i medesimi cardi con che sono soliti cardare la lana. del che no[n] fu indarno perché il detto pelo si venne a dirompere e perdere in parte di quella sua vilanita che gli e da natura e mediante questa cardatura il detto pelo ai vine a unire piu in sieme essere piu facile al poterlo filare e per dire una piacevolezza cher fu vera il medesimo maestro che me lo cardoe che huommo di 70 anni non vi si voleva acomodare con pensando che io lo volessi uciellare con dirmi che in tutta la sua etae non ha ne visto ne inteso che il detto pelo si cardi ne mancho inteso che sia mai stato buono a nulla e per questo il detto maestro non vi si voleva acomodare

fol.3v

Del detto pelo se ne fa tappeti che sono molto sodi e durabili inoltre che vengano lustri che e sembrano come se fussino de seta et similmente se ne fae cieloni che quanto piu e sadoperano tanto piu belli e piu lustri divengano inoltre che sono sodi e da durare assai
come et medesimamente se ne pol fare arazi che sarebbero closa capricciosa e bella e
massimo dove fusse satiri o fauni che parrebero veri p[er] conto di quelli velli che fa il detto
pelo naturalmente et p[er] portiere et copertine da coprire cariaggi ottime p[er] quando
sentano laqua si vae ristrignendo e si asoda piue: et p[er] hornamenti da briglia in varie cose
massimo p[er] nappe p[er]che sarebbero molto lustre inoltre che la polvere non vi si
ataccha o pocho p[er]che no[n] viene a incorporalla come fa la lane e laltre cose

fol. 4r

Et similmente se ne fa stamigne di piu sorte che per ferraioli sono ottime p[er]che vengano
a schifare laqua e riserrrasi e diventare piu sode e similmente se ne pol fare brocatielli di 3
colori per[che] di pelo il ripieno che viene lavoro molto sodo bello e durante che p[er]
parame[n]ti da chiesa e da cambere et in particolare per coprire chochi p[er] conto della
pioggia sarebbe ottimo per e legieri p[er]che non solo il detto drappo viene a schifare laqua
ma al ritenerla in tutto et per tutto mediante le sere così bene serrata e condensata
insieme et tutte novitiae di detto pelo di capra nostrale variate capriciose et belle sono
apresso di me et di piu avendo io visto a un cierto tessuto che chiameno
ferrandina ma piu
grosso cordigioche lordito e di seta et il ripieno e di lana che si pu[o]l dire che e sia cosa
buona e bella ma non bisogna far pensiero del poterlo sfocinarlo p[er]che diventa una
porche<ria> mediane il vedere quella di sunio

fol. 4v

che fa la lana con detta seta p[er]che quando si riofiocina la seta o ciambiellotto per esere di
loro natura lustri e bielli tuttavia acquistano che questo no[n] aviene alla lana p[er] da
diventano sudicie e brutte et peroe no[n] ne maraviglia se il detto drappo non la sua intera
p[er]fetione et p[er] questo no[n] manchato farne un po di mostra con riemperlo del nostro
pelo di capra in iscambio di detta lana p[er]che non solo il detto drappo viene piu sodo e
durabile ma si puolo sfocinarle in che viene lustro come se fussi tucto di seta il che viene
ave re dato la intera p[er]fetione al sopradetto drappo et il quale modello overo mostra e a
presso di me come tutte le altre sopradette Ancora quello pelo di capra che si cava delle
conce sebbene non ce di quella sodezza che il crudo con tutto questo in ogni modo e buono
a tutte le sopradette materie. et fa di bisogno husare queste diligentie che quando e si cava delle calcine farlo lavare benissimo in acqua chiara e corsiva tanto che tutta la calcina nesca di detto pelo e di poi farlo distendere et allargare p[er]che e si rascugi p[er]che quando e si cava dalle dette conce senza queste

fol.5r

considerazione et diligentia il detto pelo sarebbe a perdere di questo effetto perche il molto stare con la calcina e molle alcuni giorni cosi a montato come usino il detto pelo viene a marcire e perdere il nerbo p[er]che la detta calcina se lo rode quando lo seghi lassa scolare a dosso. E che tutte queste considerazioni fanno di bisogno anche se ma[n]tenergli il suo nerbo et per potersene valere per tutti i sopra detti lavori.

Et di piu qua[n]do se husato tutte queste diligentie che il detto pelo e rasuto si puole siarlo come si fa la [unclear] commettere il sottile da parte p[er] quocere secondo che huommo le vole che il detto pelo lo comporta p[er]che se si cuociessi tutto insieme qua[n]do il grosso fussi cotto a bastanza e il sottile verebbe a essere disfatto cosi che bisogna tirare le cose a sua p[er]fetione et usare queste diligentie.

Doc.96 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 72, fol.133v

[...] Addj 7 dj giennaio 1574

Doc.97 ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 662, fol.355r, in Vincenzo Maria Borghini, Carteggio artistico inedito (Florence, Seeber, 1912), 97-98, n. Li
R[everen]do M[esser] Cos[tantino Antinori]


D[on] Vinc[enz]o B[orghini]

Doc.98 AIOF, 6211, fol. 55r


S[ervito]re Affett[uossi]mo
Suplica co[n]tro allo spagnuolo [Lima] che faceva tappeti

		Ser[enissi]mo Gran Duca [Francesco]

Piu d’una volta et a bocca et con memoriali, ho significato a V[ostra] A[ltessa] S[erenissima] [Francesco] che lo spagnuolo [Lima] che ella havea fato p[er] insegnare fare i Tappeti a quelli fanciulli da un pezzo in qua non ne faceva piu nulla, et in somma si vedeva a che fine se lo facesse, che non voleva insegnare loro l’arte perché ci veniva di radissimo, vendeva la lana che per ordine di V[ostra] A[ltessa] [Francesco] gli veniva in mano et s’era gittato a fare celoni et altri panni donde ne seguiva che questi fanciulli disperati vedendosi crescere et non imparare q[ue]sta arte et perdere l’occasione d’imparare dell’altrre, continuame[n]te mi importunavano et finalme[n]te se ne fuggivano con mio gradissimo dispiacer et se non fusse che q[ue]sta arte e pure agevole et che nel principio mi attese un poco, non si sarenne profitato nulla et di tutto questo credo che V[ostr]a S[ignoria] [Francesco] si possa molto ben ricordare Hora sapendo io il desiderio che questa arte ci s’appcasse vendendo la impresa andare cosi male, che da giungno in qua non si e messo in telaio se non un tappeto ch ancora gia p[er] tanti mesi mi resta imperfetto et che qui fanciulli si stavano essendo per sorte tornato da Marsilia un di que primi fanciulli che si partirono gli ho fatto condurre un tappeto da se p[er] vedere che si poteva et si sapeva fare et veggo che con la gratia di Dio et con un p[o]co di diligentia ci riuscira di fermarci q[ue]sta arte, voglio, o, non voglia questo spagnuolo, et cosi ho animo di segutare. Ma havendo inteso che se ne duole con V[ostra] A[ltessa] [Francesco] mi e passo significargli come sta a punto il caso et che egli ha tutti i torti et non si e mai pagato d un vero ne e giovato ricordi o ripensiontione fattegli da me, o, per mio ordine da miei Ministri.
S[ua] A[ltezza] [Francesco] ma[n]do lo spagnuolo perché introducesse l’arte in cotesti luoghi et egli ha macato di debito suo e a lei piace molto piu che i fanciulli habbino imparato et sappino tanto ch[e] possino far senza altro indirizzo allo spagnuolo

Gio[van] bat[tista] co[ncini] [Francesco’s secretary] disse

Jac[op]o Danj

Doc.100 AIOF, 6211, fol.53r

[...]


Il prior dell’innocenti [Borghini]

Scrivasi a Pisa et a Livorno, che sieno presi subito il Maiorchino e il fa[n]ciullo ce ne diano aviso

Gio[van] b[attista] Con[cini] [Francesco’s secretary] 28 7mbr[e] [settembre] 79

Doc.101 ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 70, fol. 96 left

[1572] [...]
Tappetj del cairo n. dua di b[rac]a 3 ½ luno et largi 2 ½ dj seta n.2
Tappetj piccolj di lana di b[rac]a tre lungi et largj b[rac]a dua Jncirca n.2
Tappetj uno del cairo lungo b[rac]a 6 Jncirca largo b[rac]a 3 ½ n.1
Sacca n. nove di Canavaccio nuove b[rac]a ventiuno et vie grano della magnia o come si chiama n.9
Tappetino ordito di seta ripieno dj pelo dj Capra di Levante Lungo b[rac]a xj ¼ largo b[rac]a 5 %
Jncirca lavorato a figure et animalj n.1
Un Tappeto dj lana b[rac]a venti Jncirca largo b[rac]a a 7 ¼ n.1
Un tappeto simile lungo b[rac]a undicj Jncirca largo b[rac]a 5 ¾ n.1
Un tappeto tondo una braccia del Cairo n.1

[...]

Doc.102 AIOF, 6227, fol. 37r

Serenis[s]imo Gran Duca [Francesco]

non si fare quando, e tagliato, e p[er] questo la pelle no[n] vengono dannegiate ne
patiscono in cosa alcuna, ne importa l’essere messe in concia co[n] pelo, o tose, et a questo
esercitio e di maggior importanza il pelo, come si leva dalla pelle che qual si voglia altra cosa
co[n] pagarlo però a padronj di dette pelle, a uno prezzo fermo come parra a V[ostra]

Doc.103 AIOF, 6227, fol. 36r

Copia

Ser[erenissi]mo Gran Duca

Fra Nicolo da Cortona Priore dello Spedale dell[ Innocenti et Ulivieri allevato di detto
ogni humilta li espongono come havendo da lei havuto lume di mettere in opera il pelo di
capra nostrale p[er] fare tappeti et p[er] opera di detto Ulivieri doppo di molte difficulta
ridottolo a perfettione di poterne far non solo Tappeti ma Arazzi, Celoni, Stamigne et
p[er] il mezzo in pereo et facendo vivo questo che hoggi non si adorpera et anch[e] beneficio
al detto spedale sendo detto negotio dove farea semprpre impiegato di queste donne co[n]
cercergli gratia et privilegio tanto al detto Spedale, quanto al detto al detto Ulivieri et p[er]
xx anni, o, qua[n]to parra allei, possino, quanto in ogni altro esercitio, et quelli smaltire p[er]
i sua felicissimi statj, et p[er]che a altri no[n] sia questo tale impresa li piaccia prohibire, a
tutti li sua sudditi, et durante detto Privilegio nessino possa porre in opera tale sorte di pelo
sotto le pele, et pregiuditii, che allei piacerà, ricenvento tutto in dono singulare pregando
n[ost]ro signore iddio p.[er] ogni suo maggior contento.

Concedesi il privileglio et tanti tanto nello spedale qua[n]to nel detto Ulivieri supplicante et
[...] Jacopo Dani lo distenta

Questo di 6 marzo 1582
Francesciscus Medices
Dei Gratia Magnus Dux Etruriae II Florentiae et Senarum Dux III portus ferrarij et Igilii insulae Domini ecc[ellentiae] Sacrae Militiae Sancti Stephani Magnus Magister et.

L'Ill[ustrissimo]mo et R[everendissimo]m[o] Ca[r]d[ina]l[le] [Ferdinando] de Medici, hoggi Gran Duca
di Toscana deve dare adi xxvij 9bre [novembre] 1583 s[cu]di settantadua di m[one]ta p[er]
c[on]to allo spedale dell'Innocenti ch[e] tanti sono p[er] la valuta di dua Rintornaletti di
Pelo di Capra fatti a tutte spese del nostro spedale consegnati da fra Niccol[olo] da Cortona
all'hora Piore al Poggio a Caiano alla presentia di Gio[van] Batt[ist]a Capponi [secretary to
Ferdinando] che farno di br[accia] quadre 36 ambi duoi porti Dom[eni]co nostro
vetturale s[cudi] 72

Et deve dare a di xxiiii d 8bre [ottobre] 1584 s[cu]di settantasei di m[one]ta che tanti sono
p[er] un tappeto ch[e] servi p[er] il Pavim[en]to d’uno scrittoio insieme con un Rintornaletto
pure di pelo fatti a posta p[er] a Roma secondo le Misure dateci dal detto Capponi che furno
br[accia] quadre 38 et tutto a spese del n[ost]ro spedale consegnati a M[esser] Parugio
Grandonati nel Palazzo di Via Larga porto Pagolino dello spedale n[ost]ro celonaio s[cudi] 76

Jo fede come al Giornale seg[re]to c[arta] 243 si trovano ai nocenti di Firenze essere fatti
creditorj di dua panni di tappetj colorati che uno p[er] il pavimento dello scrittoio di Roma
appie d’uno letto et di tanto Jo fede q[uesto] 26 Agosto 1589 Jn Firenze

Parugio Giandonati sop[ra]d[ett]o

Doc.106 AIOF, 4496, fol.8v

Tappezziere
Augustina della Cat[erin]a
Agnola della Sandrina
Balsamina della Sandrina
Catherina della Portia
Cat[erin]a della Bottuccia
Dianora della Sandra
Giovanna di Madonna Domina
Jacomnia della Madalena
Laura della Maria
Marietta della Bettina
Magdalena della Lucia
Madonna Maria maestra delle Tappezzerie
Piera della Francesca
Smeralda della Magdalen
Sandra della lorenza
Verdiana della Caterina
Fiammetta di Madonna Martina
n. 17

**Doc.107** AIOF, 6211, fol. 117r

Lista di fanciulli che imparano le arti [in pencil, a latter inscription]

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<th>Calzolai</th>
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<th>Michele Orafo</th>
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Clemente Girolamo Frangiaio
Andrea

**Doc.108** ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 103, fol.109r-v

fol.109r

YHS M.D.XXXV [1585]


Masseritie in su palchi

Uno armadio dalbero usato con dua sportelli e inserrature lungo b[racchi]a 4 largo b[racchi]a 1, ¾ alto bra[ccia] 1, ¼ n.1

Un desco dabeto con sua spagliera lungo b[racchi]a dua incirca largo br[accio] uno alto br[accio] 1 ¾ con sua pancha n, 1

Uno tavolino dalbero con dua trespoli lungo br[accio] tre incirca n.1

Uno palchetto con dua pezzi dasse in su lultimo palcho lungo br.[accia] otto incirca largo ¾ con tre piane n.1

Una scaleetta a cassetta di cinque scaglioni n. 1

Uno orditoio di legno alto braccia tre lungo br[accia] sei n.1

Uno armadio dalbero con tre serrami lungo br[accia] 12 largo br[accia] uno alto braccia uno e mezzo n.1

Uno armadio dalbero alto br[accia] tre e mezzo largo braccia 3 ½ grosso braccia uno con dua sportelli e dodici cassette dentro n. 1
dua filatoi piccoli da fare cannelli n. 3

Dua piedi da archolai n.2
Un cappellinaio a uso di rastrello con dieci piruoli n.1
Un rastrello da piegare le tele con denti di ferro lungo ba otto e un quarto n.1
Una targha con arme di palle e di casa toledo n.1

In bottegha

Un armadio dalbero lungo ba 4 largho ba uno alto ba 1 ¾ con dua sportelli et un serrame n.1
Un legnio con dua caviglie ferrate nel muro n.1
Una tavola dalbero lunga ba 4 larga b[racci]a 1 ¾ con dua trespoli n.1
Una scala dabeto a piuuli di 14 scaglioni n.1
Otto telai da arazzi con sedici subbi grossi ½ braccio lunghi lunghi ba XI incirca con nove piane da reggere licci fra buone e cattive n.8
Trentasette cerchi di ferro per detti subbi n.37
Ventiquattro rampini di ferro lunghi ½ di braccio incircha n.24
Sei chiavarde di ferro lunghe 273 di br[acci]o incircha n.6
Ventinove biette di ferro lunghes 174 di br[acci]o incircha n.29
Dua campanelle di ferro con dua piastrel da tirare subbi n.2
Tre pali di ferro che dua lunghi b[racci]a 2 et uno lungo ba 1 172 tondi da voltare subbi di la n.3

Segue le masseritie consegnate sotto di VII di maggio 1585
Un paio di stadera a oncini che pesano dal grosso di libbre 4 n.1
Quatro regholonj datachare panni con loro fune e carucole n.4
Nove tende da cuoprire subbi lunghi ba8 luna larghi b[racci]a 1 ¾ n.9
Uno cassone dalbero lungo ba cinque largo b[racci]a 1 1/2, alto b[racci]a 1/4 con due serrami n.1
Uno panchone dolmo buchato che serve per le coscie di più telai lungo braccia 12 n.1
Ciencinquanta calcole dabeto lunghe br[acci]a tre luna incircha n.150
Quatro manoveloni da voltare subbi n.4
Due pezzi di canapa vecchi di b[rac]c[a] X luno in circha

Nello stanzino delle tinte

Una caldaia di rame murata alta b[rac]c[a] uno largha in bocha ba 1 ¼
Una caldaia di rame murata alta ⅓ di b[rac]c[a] larga in bocha ⅓ di braccio
Una caldaia di rame murata alta ¼ du b[rac]c[a] lungha in bochi uno
Una caldaia di rame murata alta ⅔ di b[rac]c[a] larga in bocca br[acc]a 1 ⅓
Una caldaia di rame murata alta ⅓ di b[rac]c[a] larga in bocha b[rac]a 1 ⅓
Una caldaia di rame murata alta ⅝ di b[rac]c[a] larga in bocha b[rac]a 1 ⅜
Una caldaia di rame murata alta ⅝ di b[rac]c[a] larga in bocha b[rac]a 1 ⅜
Una caldaia di rame murata alta ⅞ di b[rac]c[a] larga in bocha b[rac]a 1 ⅞
Una caldaia di rame murata alta ¾ di b[rac]c[a] largha in bocha b[rac]a 1 ⅝
Una pentola di bronzo alta ⅘ larga in bocha ¾ di b[rac]c[o] con due manichi e tre zampe
Un ramaiolo di rame da tinte
Uno armadio dalbero apichato al muro lungi br[acc] a 1 ¼ grosso ¾ di br[acc]a
Le impannate a tre archi della bottega
piu cartoni in pezzi nel sop[ra]detto cassone a dua serrami che e quasi pieno

Queste masseritie consegnate come nella faccia di la e di sopra sono descritte al libro
S[egre]tto A legato in carta pecora bianca con correggie di quoio giallodi Giovanni di
Franc[esc]o Ser Jacvopi nuovo proveditore dele arazzerie sotto di vii di maggio a carte 77 e
78 come qui si veda.

**Doc.109** ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, 116, fol.24r

 [...]
Appendix B: Glossary


accia: raw linen or hemp yarn. See hemp, linen, refe and yarn.

accomandita: a type of commercial company in which there are two categories of associates: investors and managers. Investors provide the capital share and cover costs, but they do not intervene in the production. Managers are generally of the production phase. It was established in the Middle Ages and reached its success in the sixteenth century and seventeenth centuries.

albagio: waterproof rough wool or goat textile, mainly used for sails and sailors’ vests; it is similar to the Sardinian orbace.

alloy (allume): a metallic compound (potassium alum) used as mordant in dyeing. See Mordant.

angora goat: breed of goat, originally from Anatolia. The hair (mohair) is lustrous, silky and smooth and was used for weaving clothing and carpets.

arazzeria: tapestry workshop. See tapestry.

arazzo: See tapestry.

arte del guado: dyers in Florence specialised in woad (guado), a blue-coloured dyestuff. See dyers, dyestuff and guado.
**arte maggiore**: dyers in Florence who employed a variety of dyestuff. See dyers and dyestuff.

**auroseric**: an adjective which indicates silk textiles with insertion of golden threads. See metallic threads.

**bambagia**: soft wasted cotton, obtained from spinning. Used in clothing. See cotton and *tele bottane*.

**baracane**: northern african goat hair fabric, used for clothing.

**battiloro**: the word indicated either the process of goldbeating or the merchant (goldbeater) who organised the production of metallic threads. See metallic threads.

**bobbin**: A wooden cylinder used for holding the yarn while weaving. See weaving.

**brazilwood**: red-coloured dyestuff extracted from the plant *Paubrasilia*. See dyestuff.

**brocade** (*broccato*): a heavy and luxurious silk fabric, embossed with figures, decorative pattern.

**broccatello**: mixed fabric (silk, cotton and linen) with two warps, used in hanging ecclesiastical decoration or upholstery. The decorative ornament is created on the warp.

**cairini**: The Italian word indicates the pile-woven carpets like in Cairo and in the Eastern Mediterranean. See carpet.

**caldaia**: a boiler used in dyeing. See dyeing.

**calderario**: artisan specialised in crafting dyeing boilers, iron and copper items and containers. See *caldaia*.

**camlet** (*ciambellotto*): originally, an Eastern Mediterranean fabric, woven with goat hair or camel hair. In some cases, after weaving, camlets were watered to make the surface more lustrous (watered camlet). It has also been produced in Europe since the Middle Ages with
sheep wool was used for clothing and ecclesiastical clothes, such as ferraioli or mozzette. See ferraioli or mozzette.

camuccia: Medieval Lucchese imitation of the silk diaspri. See diaspri.

capacechia: coarse and wooded lint obtained from the first combing hemp and linen, sold by linaioli (linen-merchants) and used for padding mattresses. See linen, linaioli and scapecchiare.

cardatore: worker specialised in carding wool. See carding.

carding: a process for preparing the fibres (wool) to spin. The fibres, wet or oiled, are brushed up with teasels or cards in order to make them more uniform and parallel. See cardatore.

carpet (rug): an Eastern Mediterranean geometrically decorated fabric, woven with silk, goat or sheep wool, linen or hemp. Carpets were either flat-woven or pile-woven. It was used for covering floors, caskets, furniture or tables. See cairini, kilim, rintornaletti, sileh and soumak.

carriage covers (coperte da carriaggi): Tapestry-woven covers used to decorate the carriages.

cartoons: figurative model designed by painters and followed by tapestry-weavers in weaving. See tapestry.

celonaio: a weaver specialised in producing celoni. See celone.

celone: a fabric, woven “a vergato” with coloured stripes (verghe), made of wool, used for tablecloths and covers. The word derives from the city of Chalons-sur-Marne (Northern France) indicates the French origin of the fabric.

cimatori: workers specialised in finishing processes of woolen textiles. See finish.

cochineal: red dyestuff obtained from the insect Dactylopius coccus. See dyestuff.
cocoon: a filamentous case produced by silkworms in their pupal stage. The filaments of the cocoon constituted the raw material for silk. See silk.

combing: a process for preparing the spun fibres (wool, linen and wasted silk) for spinning. The operation makes fibres parallel, removes impurities and separates long fibres, which remain on the comb, and shorter fibres, which fell on the ground. See carding and pettinagnolo.

conventi: In Florence, the term indicated from 1408 the four civic manufacturing districts for woollen textile production. Three conventi (San Pier Scheraggio, San Pancrazi and Oltrarno) wove Mediterranean low-medium quality wool and the convento di San Martino held the monopoly for English wool. See garbo and San Martino.

corsalet: a light armor designed to protect the trunk.

cortinaggio: canopy bed tapestry-woven decoration. It was composed of a cielo, which covers the ceiling of the canopy bed, tornaletto, and cortine (curtains). See tornaletto.

cotton: a soft fibre extracted from the seed pod of the cotton plant, originally from India. Cotton was employed in low-quality textiles, often mixed with linen. See linen and tela bottana.

crapautage: sophisticated weaving practise, used in tapestry-making, which consists in letting passing a weft thread over more than one warp thread. Particularly, crapautage was employed for the insertion of metallic threads, allowing these threads to stand out and enlighten the tapestry.

crapautage contrarie: A particular use of crapautage in tapestry-making. In crapautage contrarie, the process of skipping warp threads was limited to some parts of the tapestry, letting that area to stand out. See crapautage.

damask: A silk or linen figured fabric, often with the insertion of metallic threads, originally made in Asia Minor and Damascus. Used for interior decoration or clothing.
**diaspro:** An Eastern Mediterranean-style textile with floral designs, decorated with golden threads. See **camuccia**.

**donkeycloth (coperte da mulo or da soma):** Tapestry-woven tacks donkeys or pack animals that pulled or accompanied carriages.

**doppi di Modigliana:** Modigliana silk threads, made by intertwining two silk yarns. See Modigliana.

**drappo:** a generic term for wool and silk cloth.

dyeing: a process of colouring spun fibres or fabrics. See dyer.

dyer (**tintore**): a professional figure in charge of dyeing fibres or fabrics. dyer owned an independent workshop.

dyestuff: materials or solution used for colouring flocks, spun or fabrics. Dyestuff can be obtained from animals, plants, or minerals. See brazilwood, cochineal, madder or woad.

**embroidery:** process of decorating fabrics or textiles with figures, geometric patterns sewn or patched onto the materials.

**English wool:** soft, short and high-quality variety of wool imported to Florence from the fourteenth century until mid-sixteenth century. See San Martino and wool.

**erbagio:** Tuscan variant of the word **albagio**. See **albagio**.

**ferraiolo:** originally a male cape, often worn with the sleeves hanging free, woven in fine silk, sheep wool or goat hair.

**ferrandina:** a mixed fabric (wool and silk), originally produced in Flanders.

**fiber:** an individual strand of a material.

**filament:** an individual strand of continuous silk.
filaticcio (filugello): in Tuscany the word indicated threads of wasted or pierced cocoons (bozzoli sfarfallati). The wasted silk was combed, and it was more resistant than the first-choice silk. See first-choice silk and silk.

filatoio (spinning wheel): a wooded item used for spinning threads. See spinning.

finish: treatments to fabric to give it the desired surface or remove any impurities. See cimatori.

fiocco di lana: small mass of woollen fibre. The word indicates woollen mass ahead of the fibre preparation processes, such as carding or combing. See wool.

first-choice silk: Silk threads obtained from boiling intact silkworms’ cocoons. First-choice silk yarns were continuous, and it was spinning. See silk.

flax: The plant, Linum usitatissimum, used for producing linen fibres. See linen.

fleece: heavy wool coat of wool-bearing animals, such as goats or sheep.

follegram: A direct Netherlandish dyeing process in which red-coloured wool shearings were boiled to recycle the red dyestuff.

forbiciaio: In goldbeating, a worker specialised in cutting the golden leaves into threads. See battiloro, goldbeating and maestro di foglia.

fustian: A strong and resistant fabric, made of linen and cotton, originally from Egypt and widely produced in Early Modern Germany. Used for resistant men clothing or processional banners.

garbo: The word initially indicates a region in Northern Africa, nowadays Morocco. From the fourteenth century, Garbo defined the Mediterranean low-medium quality wool and three conventi (San Pier Scheraggio, San Pancrazio and Oltrarno), in which the material was woven. See conventi.
garzuolo: yarn of thin hemp, used for warps, strings or ropes. See hemp.

goldbeating: see *battiloro*.

grosgrain: a plain-woven silk fabric with thick weft threads, used for clothing.

guado (woad): blue-coloured dyestuff extracted from the plant *Isatis tinctoria*. In Florence, dyers of woad were called *arte del guado*. See *arte del guado*, dyestuff.

hemp: a resistant vegetable fibre, indigenous in Europe. Used for ropes, twines or rugs.

high-warp loom: a loom in which warp threads are hung vertically, also used for tapestry-weaving. See loom.

kermes: scarlet dyestuff obtained from the oak tree insect, *Quercus coccifera*. See dyestuff.


lanaioli: entrepreneur-merchants in charge of woollen production. See putting-out system and wool.

lanaioli di garbo: entrepreneur-merchant in charge of *garbo* woollen production. See *garbo* and putting-out system.

lanciai: a merchant of various commodities. Originally, the *lanciai* sold spears, but in the sixteenth century they sold textiles and other items, like mercers. See merciaio.

linaioli: Entrepreneur-merchants in charge of linen production. See Linen and Putting-Out System.

linen: Resistant yarn, made of flax fibres. Used for low-quality clothes, bedding clothes, *refi* or tapestries. See *refe*.

loom: The wood machine used for weaving. See high-warp loom and low-warp loom
low-warp loom (*telaio a basso liccio*): loom in which warp threads are positioned horizontally and mainly employes in tapestry-making. See tapestry-making.

*lucco*: long men’s cloak, popular in Florence in the first half of the sixteenth century.

madder (*robbia*): a red dyestuff obtained from the Asiatic plant *Rubia tinctorum*. See dyestuff and *picciol arte*.

*maestro di foglia*: specialised worker in goldbeating. The *maestro di foglia* oversaw hammering rods, already beaten by *stenditori*, in thin leaves. See *battiloro* and *stenditori*.

*magona*: an iron foundry.

*melle*: red-coloured Brabantian wollen fabric. See *tintillani*.

*merciaio*: a merchant of fabrics, threads and items for sewing and weaving.

Merino: Spanish breed of sheep. Merino wool, which was soft and short, became particularly popular in sixteenth-century Europe. See wool.

metallic threads: gilt-wrap or silver-wrap silk threads, produced by goldbeating workshops (*battiloro*), used in textiles, embroiders, needlework or tapestry. See *battiloro*.

Modigliana: a town in Romagna Toscana, which in the sixteenth century was an important centre of sericulture. See *doppi di Modigliana* and sericulture.

Mohair: See Angora goat.

mordant: a substance, like alloy, which fixes dyestuff in a fibre or textile. See alloy and dyestuff.

*mozzetta*: a short ecclesiastical cape, made of silk, sheep or goat hair.

mulberry: a flowering plant which leaves constitute the feeding of silkworms. See silk.

orchil: a red-coloured dyestuff extracted from lichens. See dyestuff.
organzino (orsoio): twisted silk threads. See silk.

panni lani: a generic term for woolen fabrics.

panni alla francesca: the imitation of Brabantian and Flemish woolen fabric in Medieval Florence.

panni d’arazzo: See tapestry.


panni Perpignani: French low-quality woollen textile, produced in Florence in the fifteenth and sixteenth century and made of Mediterranean wool. Warp threads were combed, and weft threads were carded.

panni suantoni: a fifteenth-century coarse woolen fabric, made of English wool, and named after the city of Southampton.

pettinagnolo: artisan specialised in combing wool. See combing.

picciol arte: dyers in Florence specialised in madder. See dyers, dyestuff and madder.

pile weave: weaving technique in which an extra set of yarns floats on the surface, forming a pile. Carpets and velvet were pile-woven.

portiera (door hanging): tapestry posited to cover entrances as doors (porte). The textile follows the pattern of the door and its vertical development. Luxurious portiere were made of silk, wool and metallic threads and lower quality door hangings with wasted silk (filaticcio). See tapestry.
putting-out system (verlagssystem): dominant mode of production in Early Modern Europe. A merchant, such as a linaiolo, setaiolo, lanaiolo or battiloro, subcontracted the phases of production, such as the fibre preparation process, spinning and weaving, to homeworkers.

rascia (rash): Rough woollen cloth, originally made in the Balkans and produced in Florence in the fifteenth century. In the sixteenth century, rascie, woven with Merino wool, became a popular production in Florence and was used for men’s clothing and hosiery. See Merino.

refi: a linen (accia) or hemp yarn, obtained from twisting together two fibres of flax. Used for sewing and in tapestry-weaving. See accia.

regaglie: threads of wasted silk. See filaticcio.

retouchage: a Netherlandish practise of applying dye or painting on woven tapestries rather than using employing coloured threads.

ribbon: thin and narrow strip of fabric, in Renaissance Florence, made of filaticcio or silk. See filaticcio and silk.

rigattiere: dealer of second-hand fabrics and goods.

rintornaletto: a carpet used around the bed or in bedrooms. See carpet.

salnitro (saltpeter): a mineral compound (Potassium nitrate) used for producing explosives.

San Martino: A Florentine convento, located between the Cathedral and Palazzo Vecchio, which held the monopoly for weaving high-quality English wool. See conventi and panni di San Martino.

San Mateo: Iberian low-medium quality garbo wool, named after the homonymous mercantile city, near Valencia, in the Kingdom of Aragon. This wool was mainly imported to Florence in the Middle Ages and in the fifteenth century. See garbo.
sarcenet (ermesino): Persian lightweight silk fabric used for clothing. The Italian word, ermesino, derives from the city of Hormuz.

satin (raso): a smooth, lustrous light silk fabric, used for clothing and upholstery.

scapecchiatura: the operation of removing the capecchio from linen. See capecchio.

serge: strong and resistant worsted woolen cloth. rascia is a serge textile. See rascia.

sericulture: the production of raw silk by cultivating silkworms. See silk.

setaioli: entrepreneur-merchant who organised the production of silk textiles. See putting-out system.

setaioli grossi: the most prominent silk-merchants in Florence. See setaioli.

sgommmatura: operation of removing the external layer of sericin from silk cocoons by washing them with soaped hot water. See silk.

shearing: the operation of leveling the surface of woolen and worsted fabrics. See finish.

silk (seta): the filament obtained from cocoons of silk moths (Bombyx mori), used for textile production. See filaticcio and first-choice silk.

sottana: a long undergown worn by men and women.

spalliera: a horizontal tapestry, originally used for covering benches. In the sixteenth century, the word indicates horizontal tapestries positioned in the lower part of the wall. See tapestry.

spinning: a process of twisting together two or more fibres to obtain a yarn for weaving.

stame: combed wool. The threads of stame are particularly resistant and long.

stametta: a Florentine woollen fabric, made of stame.
**stamigna**: open-weave textile, made of wool or goat hair, used for sieve, clothing, draping or flag buntings.

**stenditore**: In goldbeating, a semi-skilled worker in charge of the first roughing of golden or silver rods. See **battiloro**.

**stoppa**: lint obtained from combing linen, used for padding and weaving. See linen.

**stracciaiuolo**: seller of silk and wasted silk, obtained from ripping off second-hand or worn silk fabrics.

**straccio**: generic term which indicates a second-hand or worn fabric.

**soumak**: a weaving technique, like kilim-weaving, used for tapestry-woven rugs. See carpet and kilim.

**taffeta**: a smooth and plain-weave silk fabric, originally from Eastern Mediterranean and Persia.

**tapestry (panni d’arazzo)**: An ornamental woven figurative fabric, generally hung on walls. Made of wool, silk, linen and metallic threads, adorned the residences of kings and nobles in their residences and villas. This production was particularly flourishing in the Low Countries. In Italian, Spanish and Polish, this fabric is named after the city of Arras in Artois, a major centre of tapestry-making.

**tapestry-making**: the process of making tapestries from the raw materials to the finished fabric.

**teasels**: a plant, *Dispacus fullonum*, which used dried as a tool for carding wool. See carding.

**tele bottane**: sturdy, plain-woven cotton and linen fabric, used for veils. See linen.

**tele**: plain woven linen or wool fabric.
telette: small plan woven wool, silk or linen fabric.

tessitore: weaver

thread: strand or yarn used for sewing, weaving or embroidering.

tintillani: Florentine high-quality woollen, popular in the fourteenth century.

tiraloro: worker specialised in manufacturing golden threads.

torcitore (throwster): worker specialised in twisting two or more yarns to obtain a thread. See twisting.

tornoletto: a part of the cortinaggio; a textile band wrapped around the bed. See cortinaggio.

twills: woolen cloths that show a twill-weaving or diagonal pattern. A twill-weaving construction entails the weft threads passing over or under two or more warp threads.

twisting: the operation of twisting together two or more yarns to obtain a thread. See threads, torcitore and yarn.

vagelli: See caldaie.

velette (veil): lightweight and plain silk fabric, originally from Northern Italy, used for bridal veils and produced in Florence by velettai.

velvet: a pile-woven linen or silk fabric. Velvet is smooth and soft and used for clothing and upholstery.

verdure: decorative tapestries featuring landscapes, animals or vegetation

verneh: a type of tapestry-woven carpet, produced in Caucasus. See carpet.

warp: long and thick threads stretch on the loom and constitute the structure of fabric.
weave: forming a cloth or fabric by intertwining warp and weft threads.

weft: filling threads pass sideways warp threads, forming the fabric.

wool (*lana*): soft coat of mammal animals, such as sheep or goat, used for manufacturing fabric.

worsted: rough and lightweight cloths made of long wool threads.

yarn: spun threads variously used for weaving or sewing.
Fig. 0.1 Raphael (Raffaello Sanzio), (design), Pieter van Aelst’s workshop, (weaving), *The Miraculous Draught of Fish*, 1515-1519, 360x400 cm, wool, silk and metallic threads, Pinacoteca Vaticana, Vatican City
Fig. 0.2 Giulio Romano, (design), tapestry-weaving in Brussels, (weaving), *The meal of the General*, 1532, from the series of Fructus Belli, Musée National de la Renaissance, Écouen (France)
Fig.1.1 Agnolo Bronzino, (design), and Jan Rost’s workshop, (weaving), *The Allegory of Abundance (Dovizia)*, 1545, 234x146cm, wool, silk, and glitch-metal wrapped threads, Galleria del Costume, Deposito degli Arazzi, Palazzo Pitti, Florence
Fig. 1.2 Giorgio Vasari and his workshop, *The Apothesis of Cosimo*, 1563-1565, oil on panel, Salone dei Cinquecento, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence
Fig. 1.3 Anonymous, *Florentine Cosmos*, 1366, fresco, Palazzo dell’Arte dei Giudici e Notai, Florence
Fig. 1.4 Giovan Battista del Tasso, *Loggia del Mercato Nuovo*, 1547-1550, Florence
Fig. 1.5 Giorgio Vasari and Bernardo Buontalenti, *Uffizi*, 1560-1572, Florence
Fig. 1.6 Giovan Battista Foggini, *Dovizia*, 1721, marble, Palazzo della Cassa di Risparmio, Florence
Fig. 1.7 Anonymous Florentine Painter (Fra Carnevale, attr.), *Ideal City View*, (detail), 1480-1484, 77.4x220 cm, oil and tempera on panel, Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore
Fig. 1.8 Circle of Filippo Napoletano, *View of Mercato Vecchio*, end of seventeenth Century, oil on canvas Collezione Bertini, Calenzano
Fig. 1.9 Giovanni Stradano, *Mercato Vecchio’s view*, 1561-1562, fresco, Palazzo Vecchio, Eleonor’s apartment, Room of Gualdrada, Florence
Fig. 1.10 Giovanni Della Robbia, *Dovizia*, 1520 ca., 69x37x21 cm, glazed terracotta, Minneapolis Institute of Art, Minneapolis
Fig. 1.11 Mattia Della Robbia, *Dovizia*, 1520 ca., 82x30 cm, glazed terracotta, Casa Buonarroti, Florence
Fig. 1.12 Giovanni Della Robbia, *Dovizia*, 1520-1529, overall 110.2 cm, glazed terracotta, Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland
Fig. 1.13 Domenico del Ghirlandaio, *Birth of St. John Baptist*, 1485-1490, width 450 cm, fresco, Basilica di Santa Maria Novella, Cappella Tornabuoni, Florence
Fig. 1.14 Sandro Botticelli, *Allegory of Abundance*, 1480-1485, 31x25cm, pen, brown ink, brown wash over black chalk and pink tinted paper, British Museum, London
Fig. 1.15 Pierino da Vinci, *Dovizia*, 1547-1550, marble, Piazza del Mercato (today Piazza Cairoli), Pisa
Fig. 1.16 Giorgio Vasari and Cristofano Gherardi, called Doceno, *The first fruits from Earth offered to Saturn*, (detail), 1555-1557, 678x285 cm, fresco, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence
Fig. 1.17 Vasari and workshop, *Summer as Ceres*, 1555-1558, oil on wood, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence
Fig. 1.18 Andrea del Sarto and Alessandro Allori, *The Tribute of Caesar*, 1520ca.; 1582. fresco, 502x537cm, Villa Medicea, Poggio a Caiano
Fig. 1.19 Pieter Coecke, (design), Pannemaker’s workshop, (weaving), *Vertumnus as a Herdsman*, 1545ca, wool, silk and gold, Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid
Fig. 1.20 Battista Dossi, (design), Jan Karcher’s workshop, (weaving), *The Fall of Phaeton*, from the *Metamorphosis*’ series, 1545, 495x475cm, wool and silk, Musée du Louvre, Paris
Fig. 1.21 Agnolo Bronzino, (design), Rost’s workshop, (weaving), *Justice liberating the Innocence*, 1545-1546, 242x172 cm, wool, silk, gold and golden silver, Galleria del Costume, Deposito degli Arazzi, Palazzo Pitti, Florence
Fig. 2.1 Coat of Arms of Saliti family, Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, mss. 2024, 581, n.694
(Copyright, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ministero della Cultura)
Fig. 2.2 Genoese painter, attributed to Giovanni Cambiaso or Teramo Piaggio, (design), *The Entombment of Christ*, from the *Cycle of Passion*, mid-16th century, linen, fustian, white lead (*biacca*) and indigo, Museo Diocesano, Genova
Fig. 2.3 Giovan Francesco Rustici, *Medal of Niccolo di Pietro Boni*, 1528, diameter 6.3 cm, brass copper alloy, Wallace Collection, London
Fig. 2.4 Giovan Francesco Rustici, *The Preaching of St. John the Baptist*, 1506-1511, height 265cm, bronze, Museo dell’Opera del Duomo, Florence
Fig.2.5 Fra’ Bartolomeo and Giuliano Bugiardini, *Abduction of Dinah*, 1476/1555, 158.5x183cm, oil on canvas, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien
Fig. 2.6 Francesco Salviati, *Allegory of Charity*, 1543-1545, 156x122cm, oil on canvas, Galeria degli Uffizi, Florence
Fig. 2.7, Francesco Salviati, *Stories of Furius Camillus*, 1543, fresco, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence
Fig. 2.8, Francesco Salviati, (design), Nicolas Karcher’s workshop, (weaving), *Pharaoh’s Dream*, 1548, 570x446cm, wool, silk and metallic threads, Galleria del Costume, Deposito degli Arazzi, Palazzo Pitti, Florence
Fig. 3.1 Camillo Filippi, (design), Jan (Johannes) Karcher’s workshop, (weaving), *The Agony of St George*, 1552, 412x450cm, wool, silk and hemp, Cathedral, Ferrara
Fig. 3.2 Francesco Salviati, (design), Nicolas Karcher’s workshop, (weaving), *Resurrection*, 1549, 228x223cm, wool, silk, gold and silver threads, Galleria del Costume, Deposito degli Arazzi, Palazzo Pitti, Florence
Fig. 3.3 Agnolo Bronzino, (design), Jan Rost’s workshop, (weaving), *Joseph selling grains to his brothers*, 1549-1553, 562x430cm, wool, silk, golden and silver threads, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence
Fig. 3.4 Francesco Salviati and Giovanni Stradano, (design), Jan Rost’s workshop, (weaving), *The Meeting of Dante and Virgil*, 1546-1549, 527x469cm, wool and silk, Minneapolis Institute of Art, Minneapolis
Fig. 3.5 Agnolo Bronzino, (design), Nicholas Karcher’s workshop (weaving), *Joseph in Prison*, 1548-1549, 570x275cm, wool, silk and metallic threads, Galleria del Costume, Deposito Arazzi, Palazzo Pitti, Palazzo Pitti, Florence
Fig. 3.6 Agnolo Bronzino, (design), Nicholas Karcher’s workshop, (weaving), *The Banquet of Joseph and his brothers*, 1550-1553, 240x170 cm, wool, silk and metallic threads, Palazzo del Quirinale, Rome
Fig. 3.7 Agnolo Bronzino, (design), Nicholas Karcher’s workshop (weaving), *Joseph Recognised by his brothers*, 1550-1553, 556x450cm, wool, silk and metallic threads, Galleria del Costume, Deposito degli Arazzi, Palazzo Pitti, Florence
Fig.3.8 Benedetto Pagni da Pescia, (design), Francesco di Pacino, (weaving), Allegorical Portiera with the Medici and De Toledo Coat of Arms, 1549, wool, silk and glitch-metal wrapped threads, Galleria del Costume, Deposito degli Arazzi, Palazzo Pitti, Florence
Fig. 3.9 Cosimo Rosselli, *Altarpiece of St Barbara*, 1468-1469, 207x204cm, tempera on wood, Galleria dell’Accademia, Florence
Fig. 3.10 Giovanni della Robbia, *Tabernacle of the Fonticine*, 1522, glazed terracotta, via Nazionale, Florence
Fig. 4.1 Giovanni Stradano, (design), Benedetto di Michele Squilli’s workshop, (weaving), *Manhood*, from *The Life of a Man* set, 1565, wool and silk, Victoria and Albert Museum, London
Fig. 4.2 Girolamo Macchietti, (design), Giovanni Sconditi’s workshop, (weaving), Hercules defeats Centaurs at the wedding of Ippodamia, from Hercules set, 1557-1558, 385x383cm, wool and silk, Galleria del Costume, Deposito degli Arazzi, Palazzo Pitti, Florence
Fig. 4.3 Giovanni Stradano, (design), Benedetto di Michele Squilli, (weaving), *Lorenzo de’ Medici in the garden of San Marco*, from *Lorenzo il Magnifico* set, 1571, 425x455 cm, wool and silk, Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa
Fig. 4.4 Lamberto Sustris, (design), Benedetto di Michele Squilli, (weaving), *The consecration of the Baptistery of Florence*, from the *Stories of Florence* set, 1564, 435x676cm, wool and silk, Galleria del Costume, Deposito degli Arazzi, Palazzo Pitti, Florence
Fig. 4.5 Federigo di Lamberto Sustris, (design), Benedetto di Michele Squilli’s workshop, (weaving), *The Alliance between Florence and Fiesole*, from the *Florentine Stories*’ set, 1563-1564, 415x615cm, wool, silk, Galleria del Costume, Deposito degli Arazzi, Palazzo Pitti, Florence
Fig. 4.6 Giovanni Stradano, (design), Giovanni di Bastiano Sconditi’s workshop, (weaving), *Boar Hunting with arquebus*, from the *Huntings* set, 1566, 400x518cm, wool, Galleria del Costume, Deposito degli Arazzi, Palazzo Pitti, Florence
Fig. 4.7 Giovanni Stradano, (design), Giovanni di Bastiano Sconditi’s workshop, (weaving), *Boar Hunting with traps*, 1566-1567, wool, Galleria del Costume, Deposito degli Arazzi, Palazzo Pitti, Florence
Fig. 4.8 Alessandro Allori, (design), Benedetto di Michele Squilli, (weaving), *Leto gives birth to Apollo and Diana*, from *Stories of Leto’s set*, 1579, 438x437 cm, wool, Galleria del Costume, Deposito degli Arazzi, Palazzo Pitti, Florence
Fig. 4.9 Alessandro Allori, (design), Guasparri Papini’s workshop, (weaving), *Jesus Christ in the Gethsemane*, 1592, 366x364cm, wool, silk and metallic threads, Galleria del Costume, Deposito degli Arazzi, Palazzo Pitti, Florence
Fig. 4.10 Alessandro Allori, (design), Guasparri Papini’s workshop, (weaving), *The Last Supper*, 1595, 364x361cm, Galleria del Costume, Deposito degli Arazzi, Palazzo Pitti, Florence
Fig. 4.11 Alessandro Allori, (design), Guasparri Papini’s workshop, (weaving), *Washing of feet*, 1599-1600, 372x365cm, wool, silk and metallic threads, Galleria del Costume, Deposito degli Arazzi, Palazzo Pitti, Florence
Fig. 4.12 Ludovico Cardi called il Cigoli, (design), Guasparri Papini’s workshop, (weaving), *Jesus Christ taken to Herodes*, 1600, 371x373cm, wool, silk and metallic threads, Galleria del Costume, Deposito degli Arazzi, Palazzo Pitti, Florence
Fig. 4.13 Florence, Archivio della Congregazione dei Buonuomini di San Martino, Fondo Gianfigliazzi, Carte Medici Del Chiarissimo, 4.5.1.0.1, loose sheet, map of Tanai’s proprieties in San Pietro in Grado, Pisa (1570s). (Courtesy of the Congregazione dei Buonuomini di San Martino, Florence)
Fig. 4.14 Giovanni Stradano, (design), Benedetto di Michele Squilli’s workshop, (weaving), *Minerva enchained by the Allegory of Time*, 1574/1575, 450x325cm, wool, Galleria del Costume, Deposito degli Arazzi, Palazzo Pitti, Florence
Fig. 6.1 Agnolo Bronzino (design), Nicholas Karcher’s workshop, (weaving), Carpet (*Carpita Alla Moresca*), 1550-1553, 248x554cm, silk and metallic threads, Villa Medicea, Poggio a Caiano
Fig.6.2 Alessandro Allori and Giovanni Ponsi, (design), Benedetto di Michele Squilli, (weaving), Bedroom Cortinaggi, 1575, various measures, wool, silk, Galleria del Costume, Deposito degli Arazzi, Palazzo Pitti, Florence
Fig. 6.3 Francesco Morandini da Poppi and Ulivieri Vicenti, *Adoration of Shepherds*, 1567, 391x217cm, oil on panel, Concattedrale dei Santi Alberto e Marziale, Colle Val d’Elsa
Fig. 6.4 Ulivieri Ventura Vicenti, *Deposition*, 1580s, 208x196cm, oil on panel, Museo dell’Istituto degli Innocenti, Florence
Fig.6.5 Francesco Morandini da Poppi and Ulivieri Ventura Vicenti, *Crucifixion*, 1580s, 232x171cm, oil on panel, Museo dell’Istituto degli Innocenti, Florence
Fig. 6.6 Giorgio Vasari et al. *Studiolo di Francesco*, 1570s, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence