

Aufsätze

„Space, Privacy and Gender in the Roman Baroque Palace“

von Sandra Cavallo

1. Gender, Public Space, Domestic Space

In recent years early modern historians of gender have paid considerable attention to space. In Foucauldian fashion scholars initially embraced the idea that space is constructed to reflect the politics of power – in this case the gender order – and to separate what is considered ‘the other’ from ‘the same’.¹ Hence, women were seen to be excluded from many outdoor public spaces, especially those devoted to the exercise of government and trade, and to be quintessentially associated with the private sphere of the home. Historians of early modern Italy have focused in particular on urban living and traced the areas of the city accessible or denied to women. In his study of renaissance Venice Dennis Romano argued that women were excluded from S.Marco, the area of politics and civic life, and that gentlewomen were also banned from Rialto, where commercial transaction and business took place, due to its association with street violence and prostitution.² Only in the familiar territory of the neighbourhood upper class women moved more freely. Even mixed public gatherings were gendered: Natalie Tomas shows that gender segregation affected church going in fifteenth-century Florence, since the women’s side of the church was separated from the male one by a curtain, and Sharon Strocchia that funerary practices took markedly public forms in the case of dead men, while dead women were commemorated more privately.³

This sharp distinction between masculine and feminine spaces was then softened by consideration of class: lower-class women, who often worked in workshops, were to be found in allegedly male spaces much more frequently.⁴ Age and marital status also alter this spatial pattern since it has been noted that women, even if from the upper classes, enjoyed more freedom of movement when widowed or old, also due to their involvement in the management of property and financial matters that were normally

1 See Michel Foucault’s famous 1967 lecture ‘Of Other Spaces’, in: *Diacritics* 16 (1986) H. 1, 22–27.

2 *Dennis Romano*, Gender and the Urban Geography of Renaissance Venice, *Journal of Social History* 23 (1989) H. 2, 339–353.

3 *Sharon Strocchia*, Funerals and the Politics of Gender in Early Renaissance Florence, in: *Marilyn Migiel/Juliana Schiesari* (Hg.), *Refiguring Women. Perspectives on Gender and the Italian Renaissance*, Ithaca 1991; *Natalie Tomas*, Did Women Have a Space?, in: *Roger Crum/John Paoletti* (Hg.), *Renaissance Florence. A Social History*, Cambridge 2006.

4 *Monica Chojnacka*, *Working Women of Early Modern Venice*, Baltimore 2001.

of exclusive male competence.⁵ Recently, therefore, the view of public space as quintessentially male has been questioned: women's presence in streets, markets and public buildings is seen as much less exceptional than previously believed.⁶

Gender division within domestic space has received much less attention. Gender concerns have been marginal to the first wave of studies on the home. These have prioritised a narrative of growing spatial specialisation, whereby a set of multifunctional living spaces acquire increasing stability, and also a more precise nomenclature, becoming associated with discrete activities and with permanent objects.⁷ In Italian elite palaces, examples of this process can be observed already at the turn of the 16th century, when the *camera* acquires a separate identity by comparison with the *sala* (hall), which is increasingly characterised as a site for the entertainment of large parties, while the *saletta* or *salotto* (a small *sala*) are newly dedicated spaces for smaller and less formal gatherings. The *camera* becomes instead a place for sleeping and caring for the sick, while prior to this it was also used for entertaining, for devotion, for storage, for holding political and business meetings, and for eating simple meals.⁸ This transfer of social activities from the *camera* to the *sala* was effectively captured by Francesco Doni in a dialogue dated 1552. He warns that 'bedrooms are for sleeping in, and not for walking around and feasting, nor for dancing in ...' and then goes on to describe more in detail the new role of the *sala*, a versatile space for all sorts of entertainment, from dining to playing games, performing theatrical plays, making music and dancing, as well as a site where the women of the household congregate during the day to perform needlework and embroidering.⁹

This gradual specialisation of domestic space is usually attributed to a quest for increasing privacy. Desire for privacy is presented as an aspiration to separate private from public space in the domestic realm and create secluded places in the home, sheltered from outside interference, where the family and the couple may enjoy interpersonal intimacy and the individual might savour moments of undisturbed solitude. It is implied that until domestic space did not differentiate and acquire distinct functions, its gender characterisation was also uncertain, not clearly defined. The sole exception was represented by the humanist study, characterised since its emergence as a distinctively masculine space. Celebrated also in a specific pictorial genre, the depiction of Saint Jerome, the study worked, already in the 15th century, as the locus of male intellectual pursuit and the showcase of a man's learning, where collections of ancient artefacts, rare books and manuscripts could be displayed and admired by other learned men.¹⁰

5 See Megan Moran's fine study of the case of Maddalena Ricasoli. *Megan Moran*, From the Palazzo to the Streets. Women's Agency and Networks of Exchange, in: William Caferro (Hg.), *The Routledge History of the Renaissance*, London 2017.

6 See in particular the critical remarks in *Elizabeth Cohen*, To Pray, To Work, To Hear, To Speak. Women in Roman Streets c. 1600, in: *Journal of Early Modern History* 12 (2008) H. 3.

7 This narrative, already at the core of many studies carried out in the 1980s (such as the multivolume *History of Private Life*), has long remained influential and informs for example the first systematic study of the Italian domestic interior, the collected volume by *Marta Ajmar/Flora Dennis* (Hg.), *At Home in Renaissance Italy*, London 2006.

8 *Ibid.*, 44, 59.

9 *A. F. Doni*, *I Marmi*, Venice 1552.

10 Among the many studies on this space see *Maria Ruvoldt*, Sacred and Secular, East and West. The Renaissance Study and Strategies of Display, in: *Renaissance Studies* 20 (2006) H. 5, 640–657;

Later on, however, discrete spaces for the use of male and female householders were created as part of the ongoing process of separation of private and public functions of the home. Indeed, as summarised by McKeon, the search for domestic privacy is seen to have taken a variety of forms: ‘the family sought privacy from domestic servants; males and females were increasingly thought to require segregation from each others; children had to be separable from adults; personal privacy was required for reading, writing, contemplation and evacuations, and the household sought privacy from the outside world of uninvited visitors [my emphasis]’.¹¹ A strong link is established therefore at conceptual level between the search for privacy and the growing gender segregation within the domestic environment. These related processes are evident in the developments that affect palatial architecture in 17th-century Italy.

2. The re-organization of space in the Baroque Palace

Recent interpretations have provided an image of the Italian baroque palace as rigidly split into public and private areas. In the 17th century the growth of the ceremonial and display functions of the palace and the development of a rigid etiquette for the reception of visitors stimulated the proliferation of spaces not intended for residence but for greeting guests of different status and impressing them in their itinerary to be admitted to the presence of the master or mistress of the house. Hence the single antechamber of the 16th century was replaced by the *enfilade* of splendidly decorated, aligned rooms and galleries, which performed a purely representational function.¹² But representational spaces grew in the 17th Century also as a reflection of the new fashion for collecting artworks that transformed the palace into a home museum open to the public. Dedicated rooms, and even entire apartments were created for the specific purpose of displaying the collection to crowds of anonymous visitors guided in their tour by the palace doormen.¹³

In parallel with this expansion of the public sections of the palace another process was taking place, which has attracted much less attention: the re-organisation of the private quarters of the palace along gender lines. This entailed the creation of separate dwellings for male and female members of the household. Instances of spouses sleeping in separate rooms already existed in the previous period in households of rank;¹⁴

Leah R. Clark, *Collecting, Exchange and Sociability in the Renaissance Studiolo*, in: *Journal of the History of Collections* 25 (2013) H. 2, 171–184.

11 Michael McKeon, *The Secret History of Domesticity. Public, Private and the Division of Knowledge*, Baltimore 2005.

12 A modest example of *enfilade* is visible in Figure 2, showing the *enfilade* constituted by rooms 1–4 in Palazzo Spada, all aligned with the entrance from the landing of the monumental staircase. The *enfilade* was complemented here by the sequences of rooms 5–6 and 7–10, also part of the representational circuit.

13 See Gail Feigenbaum, *Introduction. Art and Display in Principle and in Practice*, in: *ibid.* (Hg.), *Display of Art in the Roman Palace 1550–1750*, Los Angeles 2014, 1–24; and Patricia Waddy, *Architecture for Display*, in: Feigenbaum, *Display of Art*, 31–40.

14 Brenda Preyer, *The “Wife’s Room” in Florentine Palaces of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, in: Katherine A. McIver/Cynthia Stollhans (Hg.), *Patronage, Gender and the Arts in Early Modern Italy. Essays in Honor of Carolyn Valone*, New York 2015, 1–20.

however, it is in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, as Patricia Waddy, Katherine McIver and Marisa Tabarrini have shown for Rome, Parma and Piacenza, that separate, and allegedly symmetrical apartments for the master and mistress of the house become the norm.¹⁵ This picture of a growing divide between public and private, female and male areas of the palace is however problematic. These dichotomies reflect the purposes attributed to these spaces in etiquette manuals and by those who designed the building, not what was going on within it. Architectural historians have meticulously reconstructed the changes introduced in the layout of the Baroque residential palace but the assumption that spatial practice was entirely defined by architectural transformations is debatable; these studies tend to attribute total agency to bricks and mortar neglecting that multiple logics presided to the way in which space was created. Henry Lefebvre for example has proposed to consider the relationship between the professional production of space (the 'space conceived' by planners or architects), its symbolic understanding ('space lived', i.e. imagined through cultural associations) and its practical everyday use ('space perceived').¹⁶ This tripartite distinction is very helpful in the context of our discussion and in this essay I propose to build on this tripartite view to explore how these different understandings of palatial space interacted with each other. Certainly, due consideration must be given to the palace physical features ('space conceived') and their impact on the way in which social and gender relations were played out within it; buildings have agency, they interfere with human action.¹⁷ But we also need to pay greater attention to the actual use of domestic space ('space perceived') and how day to day life unfolded in it.¹⁸ Indeed, if we turn to sources that capture minute details of habitual spatial practice in the palace – such as family letters- the picture of a fixed, unique identity of space, defined by the intentions of architectural design and furnishings, does not stand up to scrutiny. Some spaces adopted different meanings at different times of the day, in different seasons or weathers. Hence public spaces could double as private when outsiders were absent. Picture galleries for example, officially devoted to the display of treasured paintings, sculptures and antiquities, could turn into a venue for family activities when there were no external visitors: this elongated and unfurnished room was the ideal space where young children could experiment with walking and running under the supervision of the mother and her maids.¹⁹ Galleries were also used by adults to 'exercise' when the weather did not allow them to do it outdoors, or to restore the master's emotional balance through the private contemplation of artworks.²⁰

15 Patricia Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces. Use and the Art of the Plan*, Cambridge Mass. 1990; Katherine A. McIver, *Women, Art, and Architecture in Northern Italy, 1520–1580. Negotiating Power*, Aldershot 2006; Marisa Tabarrini, *Borromini e gli Spada*, Rome 2008.

16 Henri Lefebvre, *La production de l'espace*, Paris 1974.

17 Thomas Gieryn, 'What Buildings Do', in: *Theory and Society* 31 (2002) H. 1, 35–74.

18 On the 'practice turn', i.e. the emphasis on doings rather than on design in recent architectural studies see Alison Blunt/Eleanor John, 'Domestic Practice in the Past. Historical Sources and Methods', in: *Home Cultures. The Journal of Architecture, Design and Domestic Space* 11 (2014) H. 3, 269–274.

19 Archivio di Stato di Roma (henceforth ASR), Fondo Spada Veralli (henceforth FSV), Vol. 1115, 31.07.1658.

20 Frances Gage, 'Exercise for Mind and Body', in: Giulio Mancini, *Collecting and the Beholding of Landscape Painting in the Seventeenth Century*, in: *Renaissance Quarterly* 61 (2008), 1167–1207.

In spite of their increased specialisation, domestic spaces, like many objects, maintained a significant degree of versatility; they were not, however, entirely fluid, as another recent interpretive trend has suggested. Indeed the emphasis on agency and contexts in recent studies may lead to conclude that no recurring gender patterns of spatial practice can be identified in the early modern home, it was actors that gave meaning to space and its use was entirely circumstantial.²¹ This suggestion does not seem to apply to the noble palace, where, as we will see, gendered uses of domestic space are visible, although these were not those envisaged by architects. Physical realities did influence spatial practice but the latter was also profoundly affected by the working of the intrinsically hierarchical assumptions about genders (‘space lived’ in Lefebvre’s words), the involuntary symbolic associations which defined certain spaces as male or female and attributed different levels of permeability to them, creating invisible barriers and openings which interacted and altered the patterns of separation and communication encouraged by architectural structures.

The case of the Spada palace in Rome (Fig. 1) offers the opportunity to explore these dynamics from different angles: the documentation about the physical transformations underwent by the palace in the 17th century can in fact be contrasted with the declared motivations that underpinned these architectural initiatives, and with the evidence about the actual uses of internal space drawn from the correspondence between members of the Spada household when apart. This unusual combination of sources may reveal how far was everyday conduct shaped by architectural form.

3. The Spada palace and its inhabitants

The palace in question was purchased by cardinal Bernardino Spada when he permanently settled in Rome, in 1632, having served for a number of years in various papal offices in other Italian and foreign localities. It was then heavily renovated in the following decades. The Spadas were a recently ennobled family, and their palace was much more modest than the residences of the great Roman aristocracy to which architectural historians have directed their attention.²² The history of these renovations offer therefore the opportunity to verify how widespread and powerful was the imperative to comply with the aesthetic and spatial paradigms of the time.

Like many other noble families in the 17th century, the Spadas were new to Rome. They originated in Romagna, in the Papal States, and more precisely in the small town of Brisighella, in the Faenza region. Bernardino’s father, Paolo, had been the architect of the family’s fortune. His father was already in the Pope’s service as governor of the town of Brisighella when Paolo, a coal merchant, was nominated treasurer of Pope Clement VIII for the Romagna region. As often the case with this kind of office, Paolo amassed enormous wealth thanks to his role as tax farmer, and gathered in the mean-

²¹ See the discussion in *Amanda Flather*, *Place and Gender. The Sexual and Spatial Division of Labour in the Early Modern Household*, in: *History and Theory* 52 (2013) H. 3, 344–360, esp. 344–48.

²² In her book on Seventeenth Century Roman Palaces for example, Waddy concentrates on the Barberini’s, Borghese’s and Chigi’s palaces.



Fig. 1. View of Palazzo Spada (front, facing the square, and West side onto Vicolo del Polverone).

time powerful protectors in Rome. These influential relationships played a key role in supporting his ambition to gain a place at the Papal Curia for two of his sons, Bernardino and Virgilio. The two boys received an academic education at Jesuit colleges in Rome and then undertook religious careers, while the family's landed properties went to their elderly brothers, Francesco and Giacomo Filippo, who remained in Romagna. Bernardino was made a cardinal in 1626, while Virgilio, an Oratorian priest since 1622, served as secret almoner under two different popes. In Rome they cultivated broad scholarly interests and adopted the lifestyle proper of the urban aristocracy to shake off the marks of their modest origins. The purchase (1632) and radical transformation of the palace known as Capodiferro was an aspect of this strategy. Famed architects of the calibre of Maruscelli, Borromini and Bernini were employed in the renovation of the building, and distinguished artists contributed to its adornment and enriched the collection of sculptures and paintings built by the cardinal.

Here the Spada brothers initially settled with two of their nephews. Indeed Bernardino had for sometimes taken over the role of head of the wider family and was promoting its social ascent in various ways.²³ One aspect of this strategy entailed ensuring that the young generations were raised as refined gentlemen and gentlewomen. To this end, he had taken responsibility for the education of his brothers' children from an early age and went as far as virtually adopting two of the boys: Orazio and Gregorio, aged 9 and 11. They accompanied him to Paris in 1624, where Bernardino was papal nuncio for three years, then to Bologna where he was apostolic legate, and finally to Rome.

In 1636, after the death of one of his brothers, Giacomo Filippo, Bernardino was made legal guardian of another two of the latter's sons, Nicola and Sigismondo, aged

²³ On these wider strategies see C. Casanova, *Le donne come "risorsa". Le politiche matrimoniali della famiglia Spada*, in: *Memoria. Rivista di storia delle donne* 21 (1987), 56–78.

10 and 14 respectively, who also moved to Rome. Like their brother Gregorio and cousin Orazio they received an academic education, as well as training in the range of activities that defined a gentleman at the time: equitation and fencing, drawing and dancing.²⁴ As it was often the case in cardinals' families, the Spada household had therefore a lateral configuration rather than a vertical, patrilineal one.²⁵

Previously constituted only by two uncles and their four nephews, the household expanded once the boys reached adult age, following the marriage of Orazio to the Roman heiress Maria Veralli in 1636. The couple settled in the palace in the same year and never left it. They were very prolific: as it was customary among the aristocracy Maria was pregnant every year and gave birth to 13 living children in 21 years, while another nine pregnancies resulted in miscarriages or the premature death of the baby.

From 1636 therefore, Palazzo Spada was home to: Cardinal Bernardino, the older nephew Orazio, the latter's wife Maria and their numerous children. The sickly and crippled Giulia Veralli, Maria's only sibling, also moved in with her sister and lived with the Spadas until her death in 1643.²⁶ Then a number of people constituted an intermittent presence in the palace. Once they reached adult age, the younger nephews, Nicola and Sigismondo, both prelates and hence celibate, continued to hold separate apartments in the Spada palace throughout their lives, but occupied them discontinuously, since their offices often took them outside Rome for long periods.²⁷ Likewise, Virgilio, Bernardino's brother, divided his time between the hospital of S. Spirito, of which he was governor, and the palace, which he finally left in 1660.²⁸ Only Gregorio seized entirely his ties with the palace: in 1637 he married into a prestigious senatorial family from Bologna and left Rome for good to settle in that city. Orazio and Maria's children were also passing guests in the palace: the males left in their teens to serve as pages in foreign courts or to start an ecclesiastical career, while the girls joined a convent in adolescence or got married a few years later. Only the elderly son of the couple, also named Bernardino, remained in the palace in adulthood: he married in 1666 and stayed in the Spada residence with his wife and later with his children. A number of long-term visitors who were not members of the family, often scholars protected by Bernardino, also spent long and sojourned in the rooms on the wardrobe floor. As Maria lamented in 1661, 'we have lost count of how long they have been here, even though they were supposed to stay only months or days'.²⁹

Like the household, the palace was therefore by necessity a living organism, capable

24 Uncle Bernardino had lists set up in the courtyard of their palace so that the nephews could practise jousting skills and be able to participate in public tournaments like other young Roman nobles in their teens. *Lionello Neppi*, Palazzo Spada, Rome 1975, 137.

25 See *Renata Ago*, *Carriere e Clientele nella Roman Barocca*, Bari 1990. Also among the artisan classes it was common that the most fortunate uncles took in the children of the poorer brothers. See *Sandra Cavallo*, *Artisans of the Body. Families, Identities, Masculinities*, Manchester 2007.

26 She occupied three rooms on the first floor of the house on the other side of vicolo del Polverone, over which a bridge was built to ease communication between the two sisters' apartments.

27 Sigismondo was *referendario di signature*, then apostolic protonotary and, in the 1650s governor of Fano and then Spoleto before becoming canon of the Vatican Basilica. Nicola was first page and then *cameriere* of the Grand Duke of Tuscany and eventually knight of the military order of S. Spirito and *Bali di Romagna*.

28 See the inventory of goods moved to the hospital, dated August 1660, ASR, FSV, Vol. 481.

29 *Ibid.*, vol. 619, 30.06.1661. On the living-in domestic servants see below note 44.

of adjusting to repeated comings and goings, temporary stays and the frequent addition of new members to the household. It is impossible to document all the subsequent temporary solutions adopted to accomodate newcomers or impermanent household members but certainly living arrangements were fluid. To cope with these movements much elasticity in the attribution of space to individuals and couples was needed and this defied any grand plan to permanently divide public and private, and male and female spaces. When Orazio and Maria got married for example, the shortage of living space made it necessary to assign to the newly-wed couple two rooms on the *piano nobile* (first floor) that were meant to be part of the representational circuit still in the making: the Sala delle Stagioni and the Sala del Baldacchino (Fig. 2, rooms 2, 3).³⁰ We do not know for how long did this odd living arrangement last but it is clear that the lack of more appropriate alternatives was not a sufficient reason for delaying the wedding. The pressure on living space was exacerbated by the building works that were carried out incessantly for 30 years since the acquisition of the palace in 1632. Extensions and renovations did in fact took place while the palace was inhabited, creating additional forced relocations, sharing and spatial promiscuity between classes, ages and genders. The disruption was partly reduced by the habit of moving to the family suburban villa during the hot weather -a practice pursued by cardinal Bernardino in late spring and by Maria and the children during the long summer.³¹ Once back in Rome however, improvised makeshift arrangements that were far from ideal and decorous were often necessary. When, in late October 1659, Maria was planning to return from Tivoli with the children and some servants, she was disappointed in hearing that the works in the wing of the palace she inhabited were still behind: the rooms destined to the children and her *donne* (maids) on the second 'noble floor' still lacked doors and window frames and this obliged mother, children and servants to shrink in just one room.³² The problem presented again the year after: in late July the builders were urged to complete at least the small rooms on the floor of the wardrobe, as temporary accommodation for the *donne*, since otherwise they 'would not know where to sleep on their return from Tivoli', having been deprived of their old rooms.³³

Examples like these show how misleading architectural plans that rigidly associate each room of the palace to a specific person or function are and how unrealistic is the picture of home life emerging from this source. Even in a period of growing specialisation of home space, room destination changed frequently. The transformation of the palace proceeded piecemeal, as it would have been impractical for those living in to have building works going on at the same time in different parts of the palace. A scale of priorities was therefore adopted and, as we will see, conflicting logics often presided to the choice of where to intervene first. It is interesting therefore to explore which necessities were considered more relevant than others and what place did the ideal of segregating genders occupy among these different imperatives.

³⁰ Cited in *Neppi*, Palazzo Spada, 144.

³¹ The villa in Tivoli had been purchased in the 1640s. Orazio also spent regular periods in Castelviscardi, to manage the feud land brought to the family by Maria, as part of her dowry. Sometimes other members of the family joined him.

³² ASR, FSV, Vol. 619, 22. 10. 1659.

³³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 569, 23.07. 1660.

To study these dynamics I will rely on various testimonies preserved in the Spada archives, in particular on the numerous letters exchanged between the three most stable inhabitants of the palace: Maria Spada (ne Veralli), her husband Orazio, and cardinal Bernardino, her husband’s uncle, during the frequent periods in which one of them was away from Rome. I will also occasionally draw on Maria’s correspondence with her daughter Eugenia, married in Viterbo and her son, Cardinal Fabrizio. The letters contain vivid everyday life sketches that offer insightful information on the ways in which the palace was inhabited.

4. Male and female quarters

To some extent the Spada case confirms the picture drawn by historians of architecture who have dealt with the rise of separate living spaces in the residential palace and with the Spada building in particular.³⁴ Like in other Roman palaces, around mid 17th century the spouses occupied two distinct apartments on the *piano nobile* (the first, high-ceiling floor) of the building (Fig. 2): Maria’s quarter was in

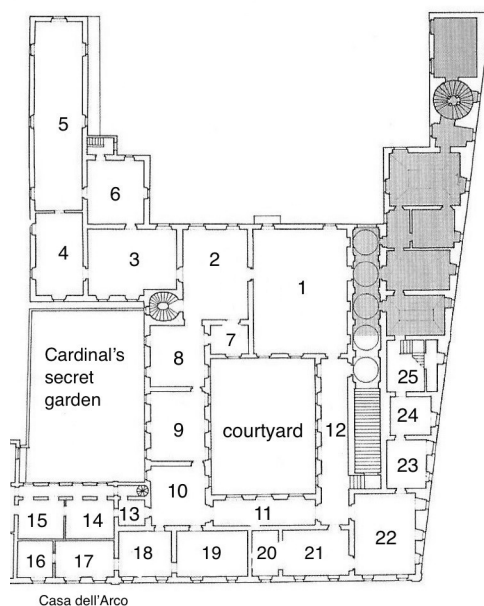


Fig. 2. Plan of the first floor (*piano nobile*) of Palazzo Spada, highlighting the extension of the West wing³⁵

³⁴ See Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces*; McIver, *Women, Art, and Architecture*. On the Spada palace in particular Neppi, *Palazzo Spada*; Tabarrini, *Borromini e gli Spada*.

³⁵ The plans in Figures 2–5 are re-elaborations of those published in Neppi, *Palazzo Spada*.

the West wing of the palace, overlooking the narrow *vicolo del Polverone* (visible in Fig. 1) and until 1657, when the extension of the West began, consisted only of three small rooms (23–25 on Fig. 2); Orazio's apartment overlooked the square and also occupied one room on the corner of the West wing (rooms 20–22). A third apartment, partly facing the square and partly overlooking the secluded space of the secret garden, was occupied by the real head of the family, cardinal Bernardino (rooms 13–19).

But how did this gendered spatial distribution work in practice? Was life in the palace shaped by this separation of space by gender?

Male and female apartments are usually presented as specular. Patricia Waddy, in particular, author of the most accomplished study of male and female quarters in the Roman palace, portrays them as entirely symmetrical. Indeed, the lord, the lady and the cardinal each settled on the *piano nobile* of one of the palace wings, while their personal same-sex servants were lodged, at easy reach, on the mezzanine and second floor above, creating distinct vertical sections occupied by one resident and its personnel.

These vertical sections, however, were not equivalent, even only because the women's wing was incorporated in the service areas of the palace, to which the lady and her *donne* presided. Service rooms concentrated in the underground, basement and on the ground floor of the West, female wing (Fig. 3). They included: the main kitchen,

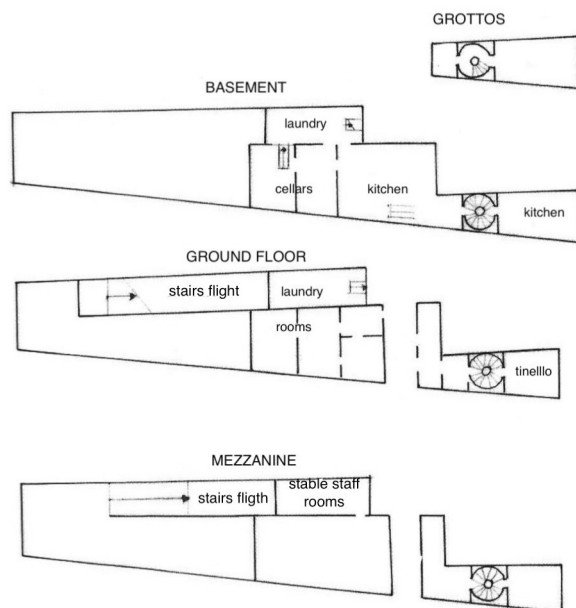


Fig. 3. Plan of the underground, basement, ground floor and above mezzanine in the West extension

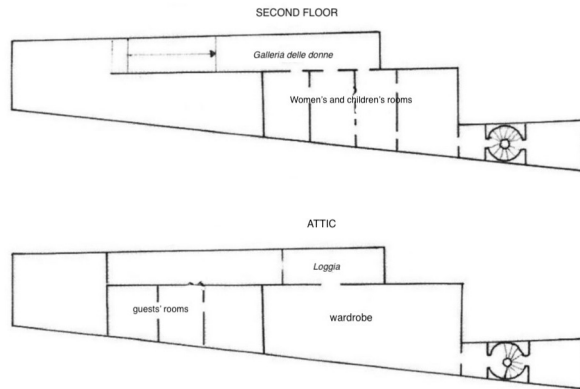


Fig. 4. Plan of the second floor and attic in the West wing extension

laundry rooms, cellars and grottos, food storerooms and some of the servants' bedrooms.³⁶

The cardinal did have his own secret kitchen, pantry and wood supply in the basement of the East wing; however, all the other members of the household, including his servants, were catered for by the communal kitchen in the West wing. The staff also took their meals in this sections of the palace, and precisely in the *tinello* (Fig. 3) located on the ground floor.

At first sight the symmetry between male and female apartments also seems to be confirmed by the presence of two separate wardrobes on the floors above the living areas, one overlooking the south-east garden, for the garments and church vestments of the cardinal, the other one, located in the attic in the West wing, for service of the rest of the family (Fig. 4).

However, the maintenance of all the clothing was carried out by Maria's *donne*, who aired and brushed them in the covered rooftop loggia (visible in Fig. 1), placed on top of the West wing, and then attended to them, mending them, removing stains and pressing linen in the *galleria delle donne* below (Fig. 4).³⁷ This was a wide working area, measuring 65 palms (c. 15 mt.) in length, lightened by a large glass window overlooking the courtyard, located on the second floor.³⁸

Most activities related to the basic running of the household and the upkeep of its members were carried out therefore in this part of the palace, by female servants under the lady's supervision. They also produced house and personal linen for the family,

³⁶ *Tabarrini*, Borromini e gli Spada, 58–9. These spaces, and their contents, are also mentioned in cardinal Bernardino's post-mortem inventory: ASR, Notai AC, vol. 5933, 'Inventario bonorum Cardinal Bernardino Spada', 23. 11. 1661.

³⁷ Mentions of these activities are found for example in ASR, FSV, Vol. 607, 05.04.1659, 11.05.1660, 16. 11. 1664; Vol. 619, 30.06.1661; Vol. 618, 02.03.1678; Vol. 410, 02.10.1680.

³⁸ *Tabarrini*, Borromini e gli Spada, 60.

sewing and embroidering handkerchiefs, undergarments and bedsheets with the flax that the lady had had spun, combed and woven by peasant women in her feuds.³⁹ The *donne's* involvement in cooking is less clearly documented, although highly likely. They certainly made doughnuts and other sweets.⁴⁰ And the presence in the Spada recipe book of two letters addressed to Cinzia Rocci (related to Maria Spada through her maternal uncle) and containing recipes for ravioli and for a 'cherry wine', suggests that even noblewomen engaged in cooking – often presented as a skill they acquired only much later.⁴¹

The women's service role in the noble household is usually obscured by the emphasis on the male personnel which, starting in the second half of the sixteenth century, increased in numbers and acquired specialised functions in the palace. Influenced by the dedicated literature known as handbooks for the *Maestro di Casa*, which were a publishing success at the time and described the structure of male service to be adopted in cardinal's and noble palaces in minute details, scholars have sometimes offered a picture of the working of the high rank household as entirely run by its male staff, independent of any involvement of the lord and lady of the house and of female personnel.⁴² Undoubtedly, the Spadas, like other noble families, employed a large number of male staff, with apparently well-defined functions, as the labels with which these servants were defined suggest.⁴³ At the death of cardinal Bernardino, in 1661, 14 male domestics were living in the palace while the footmen, coachman and the stable boys lived outside.⁴⁴ The letters reveal however that the adult Spadas participated constantly in the decisions concerning the running of the household. Remarkable is in particular the role of the lady, Maria Spada Veralli. While the cardinal and her husband Orazio were frequently away on business, as the most stable presence in Rome, she was involved in any issues concerning the works going on in the palace, the food supplies, and the overall management of the household and palace. While it is assumed that these functions were normally carried out by the *Maestro di Casa*, we see that the latter often accompanied the cardinal or Orazio in their trips and was away for months. In these periods Maria replaced him entirely in his responsibilities but even when he was pre-

39 ASR, FSV, Vol. 491, 09.09.1642; Vol. 410, 24.09.1656 and 10.12.1656; Vol. 607, 08.03.1659 and 15.03.1659.

40 On *ciambelle* and *mostaccioli* Ibid., Vol. 607, 20.11.1664; 15.03.1659.

41 Ibid., Vol. 449, unnumbered. One letter dated 17.06.1674, the other undated. On received views about gentlewomen and cooking see *Raffaella Sarti*, *Cucinare. La preparazione del cibo in prospettiva di genere Europa Occidentale*, secc. XVI–XIX, in: *Genesis XVI* (2017) H. 1, 17–41.

42 *Waddy*, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces*, chapter 4. On the *Maestro di Casa* literature see the enlightening *Laurie Nussdorfer*, *Masculine Hierarchies in Roman Ecclesiastical Households*, in: *European Review of History. Revue Européenne d'Histoire* 22 (2015) H. 4, 620–642.

43 In reality their roles appear more blurred in the letters and sometimes, as in the case of the *Maestro di Casa* and *Maestro di Camera*, seem to overlap.

44 Those living-in encompassed the *Maestro di Casa*, the supreme authority among household servants, the accountant (*auditor* or *computista*), the butler (*credenziere*), in charge of the silverware, the secret cleaner (*scopatore segreto*, who served in the cardinal's private rooms) and the communal cleaner (*scopatore comune*), who served the rest of his apartment, the secret cook and the communal cook, each with a boy (*aiutante*), a dispenser (*dispensiere*, in charge of the food store-room) and the wardrobe master (*maestro di Guardaroba*). Each adult male member of the household also had a chamber attendant (*maestro di Camera* or *cameriere*). ASR, Notai AC, Vol. 5933, 'Inventario bonorum Cardinal Bernardino Spada', 23.11.1661.

sent she had a voice in any decision that was taken. Just to give a few examples, Maria Spada, tasted samples of wine and ordered barrels of it, paid bills, gathered expert opinions and quotes about getting the cellar emptied after it was flooded, she oversaw the builders who were working in different parts of the palace, recruited new domestic servants and decided how to divide the gratuities among the male staff.⁴⁵

Moreover, as already noted, she supervised the work of the *donne* in the West wing. At any time she had four or five *donne* working with her and looking after the children; to these one needs to add Signora Lorenza, a governess treated with particular respect, as the title ‘signora’ denotes, who stayed with the Spadas until she died in old age. And when there were suckling babies in the household, a wet-nurse was also in residence. Unlike male servants the ‘*donne*’ are presented as an indistinct category in the literature on the palace, and little is known of their activities. Patricia Waddy defines them as ‘companions’ or ‘attendants’ to the lady, words that suggests they engaged in mere service to the person and exclude that labour was a significant component of their activities. In reality Maria and her *donne* worked hard for the community all day long. The West wing was, as we saw, a hive of activities from basement to the rooftop loggia and recommendations not to exceed with *lavoro* (work) abound in the letters that both Orazio and uncle Bernardino sent to Maria. Even while in *villeggiatura* in Tivoli, she did not spare herself. As her worrying husband remarked: ‘If the days were a whole week they would seem short to Your Ladyship since she likes to do in a day what takes a whole week and if she does not take a little exercise in the morning and the evening Your Ladyship will not feel the benefit of this air [...] But if she goes for a walk in the morning before settling down to work [...] everything will go well with her’.⁴⁶

The association between female spaces and service areas in the West Wing betrays a hierarchical element, severely undermining the idea of a substantial equivalence between male and female apartments common in the literature. To say that this spatial arrangement simply enabled separate activities to be carried out, in parallel, and without reciprocal interference, is a misleading and aseptic assessment of these spatial arrangements. In reality, the female areas were associated with messy household activities: first with the smells and fumes of the kitchen that ascended to the women’s rooms just above; second, with the dirt of kitchen cloths, linen and garments that the *donne* gathered in the attic waiting for the periodical laundry to be carried out; third, with the noise of vehicles coming into the backyard (from the gate in *vicolo del Polverone*), just underneath the women’s windows and with the clamour produced by the operations of unloading and storing provisions, preparing food, washing dishes and laundering on the floors below.

Last but not least the female apartments were constantly exposed to the shouting and crying of the numerous children. Indeed, another element that made the women’s quarters distinctive and certainly not symmetrical to the male apartment is the presence of the numerous children. Curiously, this is never considered by architectural historians of the palace but young children lived and slept with the *donne*, in rooms adjacent or

45 See among the many examples: ASR, FSV, Vol. 619, 27.09.1642; Vol. 607, 06.05.1658; Id, 01.03.1659; Id. 20.11.1664; Vol. 618, 04.05.1678.

46 Ibid., Vol. 607, 24.07.1661.

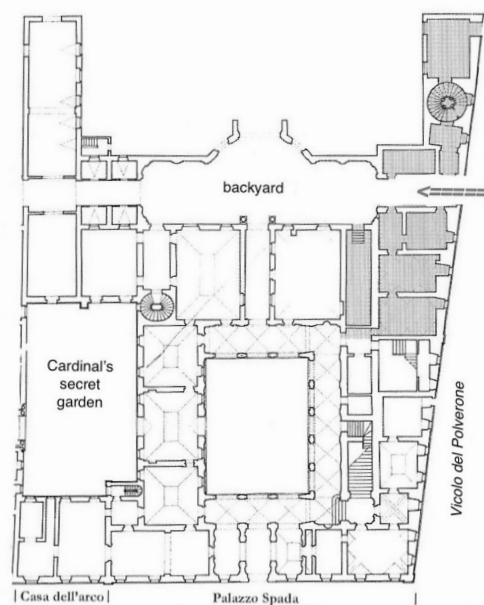


Fig. 5. Plan of ground floor showing the backyard and entrance for carriages from Vicolo del Polverone

located just half a storey away from those of the children's mother; so their sleeping quarters constituted an integral part of the lady's apartment.

We get a sense of this contiguity and what it meant in practice from the correspondence between cardinal Bernardino and Maria at a time when she was already mother of 5 children aged 1 to 5. On 4 September 1642, Cardinal Bernardino, writing from San Casciano, offered Maria his bedroom, so that she could recover from her illness by moving away from her own room, which he thought was polluted and unhealthy: 'I have never entered you ladyship's bedchamber and the others nearby without having my head offended by the foul odour (*tanfo*) deriving both from the small size of the room and from so many infants, their natural needs and those looking after them, and I believe that this must not be beneficial to you either'. Indeed the women's quarters were dramatically cramped, especially in the period prior to the works on *vicolo del Polverone*, which, starting in 1657, extended the West wing, adding three rooms to each floor. The situation must have been particularly critical then, but even later the proximity between living and service space in this wing meant that women were in constant contact with the foul, loud and messy aspects of domestic and maternal life, while men were spared this experience. Although the principal official motivation for the creation of separate women's apartments was the protection of female modesty from indiscreet eyes, it would seem equally, if not more plausible, that these spaces were to be secluded and hidden from the public because regarded as undignified and debase.

5. Privacy for women?

The lack of significant boundaries and sound barriers between the living and sleeping space of children and mothers also meant that the lady would be regularly aware of the crying of babies and any disruption in the mezzanine above. Moreover, women’s medical expertise – and Maria’s knowledge of these matters was unquestioned – meant that they were constantly on call, day and night, in case of health problems in the wider household. This made the bedroom of noblewomen hardly an intimate place where they could withdraw for peace and quiet and a good night’s sleep. Even when the problem of the over-populated women’s quarters was finally taken in hand, the works on *vicolo del Polverone* expanded the surface at their disposal but did not provide greater isolation from the busy service area. This occurred at a time when the male apartment was becoming increasingly secluded and separated from the rest of the house by a suite of small adjoining rooms that acted, practically and symbolically, as a kind of buffer. Bernardino’s most private space, for example (Fig. 2), concentrated at the extreme left corner of the palace, diametrically opposed to the noisy female/service wing. His bedroom constituted a complex with his archive, study and library (room 14–17), and such group of rooms was protected by a small anti-chamber, described in his inventory as ‘the *camerino* that leads to the study’ (room 13) and by the *sala dei Feudi* (room 18).

Spatial practice confirms that the male head’s private rooms were in fact perceived as impenetrable. The letters attest to a sort of reverential attitude towards the master bedroom: even when a close relative who was visiting fell seriously ill during the night, and not just the doctor but the confessor were summoned, the cardinal was not disturbed until early morning: ‘although everybody was waken up nobody dared mentioning it to me if not one hour after dawn’.⁴⁷ Moreover, we learn that Bernardino used to take the key to the rooms where his *scritture* were kept, with him when away from Rome.⁴⁸ The use of locks and keys to the male apartment underscores that this was conceived as off-limits territory.

Gender segregation meant privacy for men, distancing them from the increasingly complex operations of running the household and tending to young children. While male rooms were effectively becoming more secluded, the women’s space remained open and porous. The impression that female space was not regarded as private is confirmed by many episodes. For example, we learn that Orazio, arriving in Viterbo from Rome, could walk unannounced into his daughter’s room, giving her and her maid a scare, ‘to surprise her’.⁴⁹ No similar surprise visits are recorded to the male head of household in his chamber. He also visited his daughter-in-law while she tended to her baby in the children’s room, or while she was styling her hair in her *camerino*.⁵⁰ We also learn it was normal for Bernardino to enter Maria’s and her maids’ sleeping quar-

47 Ibid., Vol. 491, 03.07.1638.

48 Bernardino, in Frascati, informs Maria that he had left his missal in Rome and to this effect she should send ‘the keys to his room’. Ibid., Vol. 491, 20.10.1638. See also Vol. 491, 02.06.1655.

49 Ibid., Vol. 1115, 22 or 23.10.1663.

50 Ibid., Vol. 607, 04.08.1661 and 17.2.1662.

ters to visit his grand-nephews, so that during his last illness 'he surprised the family by going only rarely, contrary to his habit, to the rooms of the marchioness and the children'.⁵¹

We begin to see how the reorganisation of palatial space served the needs for withdrawal and privacy of one gender rather than the other. The notion of 'privacy' did not apply to all householders in the same degree, male members of the family felt authorised to enter women's space at any time. In the case of women, their aspirations to privacy were easily sacrificed to other logics. In spite of Maria's repeated complaints about the cramped situation of the female quarters, and although their extension was planned already in 1647, the works in this section of the palace only started ten years later. Indeed priority was given to the renovation and expansion of the apartments of the cardinal and of the representational sections of the palace. The prime effort was to increase the dignity of the Spada residence accessible to visitors, while at the same time separating more neatly the space open to the public and the living space of the high prelate.

The remodelling of the palace started, a year after purchase, with the transformation of the atrium and of the back entrance on via Giulia. Then it turned to the garden, which was re-designed and enriched with fountains and statues, to a first renovation of the monumental staircase from where the ceremonial itinerary started, and later to the internal decoration of the existing representative rooms.⁵² For long time building works concentrated on the East side: the acquisition of the side alley known as *vicolo dell'Arco* made it possible to build a new forepart of the palace, on the left hand side of the facade, which hosted the impressive picture gallery (future Spada Gallery III, Fig. 2, room 5), completed already in 1637, a large adjacent room (future Spada Gallery II, room 4) and a group of smaller rooms (later Spada Gallery I, room 3), facing a large terrace, to be used as winter private accommodation by the Cardinal. Then, in 1646, the *vicolo's* remaining surface was occupied by the cardinal's secret garden.⁵³ In the 1640s the rooms at the ground floor of this side of the palace were also renovated and the cardinal's service area was restructured.

Yet a clear division between personal and public space emerged only after 1648, when Bernardino was able to purchase the adjacent Casa dell'Arco (Fig. 2) and concentrate his private apartments -previously awkwardly split between the small rooms constituting the winter apartment (then transformed into the Sala dei Papi or Spada Gallery I, Room 3) and the rooms overlooking the square (rooms 18, 19)- in just one group of connected rooms (rooms 13-19), removed from what was to become the processional pathway followed by official visitors (rooms 1-12).⁵⁴ Only in the 1650s, once the ideal of a complete seclusion of the Cardinal's private sphere from the more ritualised, public use of the palace was finally fulfilled, the attention turned to the West side of the palace and the women's quarters.

51 Ibid., 'Vita di Bernardino', written by his brother Virgilio, Vol. 463, 1662.

52 Neppi, Palazzo Spada, 133-36.

53 Ibid. 137-39.

54 Ibid. 165.

6. The instability of gender segregation

If the project to divide open spaces from more personal ones took twenty years to be completed, the implementation of the principle of gender segregation in the Spada palace was even less straightforward. Yet, this was another feature regarded as a must in earlymodern architectural theory.⁵⁵ Although, as we have seen, Maria and her *donne* had their own separate apartments on the piano *nobile* of the West wing and on the above mezzanine and second floor, it was seen as unsuitable, inappropriate (*sconveniente*) that their apartments communicated with the other floors and the outside of the palace through a door opening directly on to the *scalone d'onore* (monumental staircase) (Fig. 6).



Fig. 6. View of the monumental staircase
(Photo Mario De Matteis)

⁵⁵ See the quotations in Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces*, 29.

Given that the service area was also located in this wing, as we saw, Maria and her *donne* would have been obliged to access the kitchen and laundry below, and the wardrobe and loggia above, via the *scalone d'onore* also used by distinguished visitors, and likewise go in and out the palace via the same route, since they lacked a system of internal stairs.

The need to create an alternative route for the coming and going of women engaged in domestic tasks, or leaving the palace, was seen as urgent by the architects employed by the Spadas, on the ground of preserving the decorum of the family and the modesty of its women.⁵⁶ Interestingly, Maria Spada's letters in favour of these works take a different perspective and invoke instead the practical advantages of facilitating the women's vertical movement to carry out their domestic activities more efficiently.⁵⁷ In 1657, therefore, plans began to be made for the construction of a large spiral staircase, originally meant to be of oval form, which would cut across the West wing vertically, allowing a direct communication between the lady's and women's rooms, the service spaces on the ground floor and basement and those on the second floor and attic (the staircase is visible in Figures 2–5, at the end of the extended West wing). Moreover, the opening of a door on to the side street –*vicolo del Polverone*– (Fig. 7), in correspondence with the arrival of the spiral staircase at the ground floor, would allow women to go in and out the palace on domestic businesses 'inconspicuously', as architect Bernini remarked.

The completion of the spiral service stairs, however, was delayed by uncertainties about its design, as well as by the fact that, for three times, the monumental staircase had its design altered and had to be re-built following the capricious changes of mind of the cardinal.⁵⁸ In spite of the preoccupations expressed by the architects, the plan to implement in the Spada residence what Patricia Waddy calls 'the scrupulous separation of the sexes' typical of the baroque palace was easily sacrificed to these aesthetic vagaries and reached completion only in 1661, when Orazio and Maria had been married 25 years!⁵⁹ Before then gender segregation in the Spada residence seems to have been much more partial and patchy.

Moreover, the new setting was jeopardised, just a year after the completion of the works, when, following cardinal Bernardino's death in 1661, and that of his brother and heir (father Virgilio) a year later, Maria was required, by the terms of Virgilio's will, to leave the new apartment in *vicolo del Polverone*, now destined to the sons of his elderly brother, Sigismondo and Nicola, and relocate with her husband Orazio at the front of the palace towards the East side, in the apartment previously occupied by the cardinal. How could gender segregation be maintained in this new setting, which interrupted the close communication between the marchioness' quarter and the service areas in

56 See Bernini's opinion ASR, FSV, Vol. 264, c. 356.

57 See for example the letters in which she intervenes on the ideal measurement of the spiral service stairs, on which rooms should be decorated first and on the type of partition to be used to separate the rooms in her *donne*'s apartment, Ibid., Vol. 619, 17. 10. 1659 and 22. 10. 1659, and other not fully dated: ? . 10. 1659.

58 Ibid., vol. 463, 'Vita di Bernardino'. cap. XXII. In the end the plan for the service stairs was also changed and made less ambitious, for reasons unknown the size of the stairs was reduced and the shape was no longer oval but round. *Tabarrini, Borromini e gli Spada*, 35–36, 52–53.

59 *Waddy, Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces*, 26.



Fig. 7. Side entrance to the vestibule of the spiral staircase.

the West wing, is not clear, but evidently criteria of seniority and rank had prevailed over those of modesty and decorum in inspiring Virgilio's provisions: Sigismondo and Nicola were superior in status to their cousin Orazio since their father had been the oldest of the Spada brothers and one of them was an ecclesiastic. Hence, at the death of the more senior member of the family, they could aspire to a more prestigious and larger accommodation than the one so far reserved to them at the ground floor of the palace. The move was accepted by the couple, who relocated to the, presumably, more prestigious rooms at the front of the palace, but a legal dispute broke out on the attribution of the mezzanines above Maria's former rooms, which the marchioness wished to retain. Interestingly, the discussion that unfolded did not touch on gender and modesty issues, the winning argument was again a practical one: the spiral staircase cutting through the West wing was said to be too narrow to allow moving the extant furniture out of the mezzanine floors and moving in the goods of the new comers. In the end the mezzanines remained in use to Maria, further complicating the relationship between her living space, that of her *donne* and the service area. The spatial distribution in the palace was re-defined once more, confirming the instability of the arrangements foreseen by architectural plans. The moral issues prominent in the architects' discourse seem to have been of little relevance in determining the movement and settlement of people in the palace.

7. Conclusions

In the central decades of the 17th Century both private space and men's and women's apartments within it came to be better demarcated in the Spada palace (as in other contemporary palaces), apparently offering its inhabitants new opportunities for retreat, shielded from the gaze of visitors and outsiders but also from the attention of other members of the family. It is normally assumed that in their quarters men and women enjoyed the same level of privacy and contemporary theoreticians of the separate female apartment portray it as a secluded, peaceful, and entirely private space. In reality, this is not the impression we get if we consider the palace at work. The evidence from letters is precious in this respect. The use of space emerging from these first-hand testimonies reveals that female inhabitants of the palace could aspire to very little privacy by comparison with their male counterparts. This was due to the tasks that women performed in the household economy and to their maternal roles (usually entirely overlooked in the literature on the palace) but also to ingrained cultural attitudes, by which male members of the family felt authorised to enter women's space at any time without the need to ask for permission. Gender segregation worked for men not for women. Although spatial practice was indeed fluid, access to different spaces was regulated by implicit rules. Movement between male and female quarters was not entirely unstructured, nor bidirectional; consistent patterns can be identified: the female space was far more open to intrusion than the male one. In spite of the preoccupations for sexual honour and modesty that pervaded the architects' discourse about the ideal palace, in actual practice women's space was paradoxically perceived as more porous than male space. Not surprisingly, while the strict separation between public and private at the core of the ideal model of Baroque palace was eventually implemented, the separation of the female areas from those accessible also by men and by outsiders remained an abstract utopia.

This different perception of male and female spaces did not mean women were powerless and lacked influence. On the contrary they were vital to the management of both the household and the palace, and this gave them considerable authority. It also implied regular contacts with the external world, not just with their social peers but with artisans and workers, architects and suppliers. The picture of inactivity, seclusion and exclusion from the affairs of the husband, the family and the world emerging both from the prescriptive literature about noblewomen's conduct and from the architect discourse is an idealised construction of a much more complex reality. Even if Maria did spend long periods at home, as the practice of visiting was still uncommon among women of her generation, this did not correspond to detachment from the affairs of the city and beyond. On the contrary Maria was the principal source of news in the family; through her servants, unleashed on purpose to gather rumours, and through her daily attendance of the church, she was regularly informed of any potential changes in the demography and fortunes of any family of rank in the city. Then through her daily letters she kept her husband, her elderly sons and even the cardinal posted on who was marrying whom, who was in poor health or had died, and on any other vicissitudes affecting close or distant acquaintances or unknown public figures. Maria was also let in on any decisions concerning the finances of the family, the management of

their properties and the strategies for advancement they pursued, and involved in any choices regarding the education, careers and marriages of the children.⁶⁰ One may argue that her position as heiress of both her father's and uncle's estates placed her in a particularly favourable position. Yet, as we have seen, she had to fight to obtain a better accommodation for herself, her *donne* and her children in the palace, and this was never entirely satisfactory. For years her quarters were cramped and unhealthy, facing a narrow alley and she worked like a donkey to satisfy the needs of a huge family and an even larger household, being pregnant most of the time. Choices about the attribution of space in the palace and the calendar of renovations highlight that the women's quarters were always the last problem to be addressed. Both the organisation of space and spatial practice were therefore highly gendered and this involved a strong hierarchical element. Far from being equivalent to the male ones, female apartments were systematically of a poorer quality and entirely permeable to outside and family interference.

‘Space, Privacy and Gender in the Roman Baroque Palace’

Two major architectural developments are said to characterise the residential palace in Baroque Italy: the separation of public from private areas of the building and the creation of separate, and allegedly symmetrical apartments for its male and female inhabitants within the latter. It is normally assumed that spatial practice was shaped by these divisions and that men and women enjoyed equal levels of seclusion and privacy in their quarters. Yet, if we turn to sources that reveal minute details of everyday domestic life, such as family letters, a much more complex picture emerges. Focusing on the Spada residence in Rome in the mid decades of the 17th century, this paper suggests that female inhabitants of the palace could aspire to very little privacy by comparison with their male counterparts. This was due to the tasks that women performed in service of the household and to their maternal roles but also to intrinsically hierarchical assumptions about genders which made female space much more open to intrusion than male one. In spite of the concerns for sexual honour and modesty that pervades the architects' discourse, in actual facts gender segregation worked for men, not for women. The calendar of renovation works that transformed the look and design of the palace also shows that women's pleas for a better quality space were repeatedly ignored in favour of other logics so that, far from being equivalent, female apartments were systematically more cramped, noisy, darker and unhealthy than male ones.

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⁶⁰ Maria's full involvement in the affairs of the family is also documented by *Renata Ago*, Maria Spada Veralli, la buona moglie, in: Giulia Calvi (Hg.), *Barocco al Femminile*, Bari 1992, 51–70.