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Manager of the Court Meal: The *Scalco* in the Court of Florence

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In the early modern European court, the “meal” was a kind of ceremony. In the Italian court, the meal was carried in a procession by chamberlains (*cameriere*), valets (*scudiere*) and pages (*paggio*) from the kitchen situated far from the lord’s chamber due to the risk of fire. Although there was a dining-room called *tinello* for courtiers working in the court, there was no dining-room for the Prince and his family. Since the location of the meal would change according to the weather and whims of the Prince, a table and furniture were carried and set for each meal.

Many courtiers served the meal to the Prince and his family. Chamberlains, valets and pages carried food, but not drink. The *bottigliere* would bring bottles of wine from the cellar and pour the wine into a decanter. The *coppiere* (cupbearer) poured the wine or water into the Prince’s glass. Other members of the staff called *trinciante* would carve meat at the table. Carving was a kind of performance and entertainment at the table.

For a banquet, the work became more complicated. The sitting arrangements had to be carefully determined and a high-ranking courtier had to serve high-ranking guests. The table setting had to become more elaborate, and a small table called *credenza* was decorated with precious plates and silverware and used to prepare cold dishes such as salads. The dishes were also expected to be spectacular. After a pig or sheep was barbecued, it was covered by its skin again and carried to the table positioned as if it were still alive.

In early modern Europe, meals were served in a completely differ-

ent way from a contemporary course dinner in France or Italy. Many kinds of dishes, such as meat, fish and soup, were served simultaneously. A guest could not eat dishes placed out of his reach unless he asked someone to pass them to him. After the dishes were eaten to some extent they were all taken away and replaced with another set of dishes. During a banquet, this service would be repeated seven or eight times.

Such a complicated serving system would be managed by the *scalco*. The *scalco* prepared all the meals for the Prince, oversaw every member of staff connected to the meals such as the *bottigliere*, *coppiere*, pages, and cooks. He decided when the dishes would be served and take away. What kind of person would assume the post of *scalco* and be sole responsibility for the gastronomic culture of the court? The purpose of this article is to answer this question.

Research on court life has made great advances in recent years. First, *The Court Society* by Norbert Elias, published in 1969¹, discussed the court in early modern Europe which became popular historical theme in European countries especially after the 1980s. Other subjects, such as the royal palaces, the courtiers, the court ritual and the relation between the court and the city, have also been discussed in detail. Marcello Fantoni was the first to publish a monograph on the Florentine court, and his *La Corte del Granduca* published in 1994 was the impetus for research on the Florentine court. *La Corte di Toscana dai Medici ai Lorena* and *Vivere a Pitti* were published in 2002 and 2003². As a result, far more information about the Florentine court is available today than twenty years ago and it has become possible to study the court from many different viewpoints. However, many areas of court life still remain unclear since such detailed study of the Florentine court only began about fifteen years ago. In particular, the gastronomic culture of the Florentine court has hardly been studied.

Earnest study of the gastronomic culture in historical science only recently began. Famine has already been studied before World War II, and led to the study on the relationship between famine and the economy, and between population and agricultural production³. After the

1960's, research on the scarcity of food, the imbalance in distribution of food and ordinary life nutrition could be seen, but study on the myth and culture of food, and the relationship between food and the social structure, was passed to folklorists. Such an approach has finally begun by historians in the late 1970's. Prior to this, food was merely a medley of "*l'histoire légendaire des aliments et de la gastronomie*"⁴.

Study on gastronomic culture has continued in various fields for the past thirty years. Massimo Montanari and Alberto Capatti published a general history of Italian food⁵. The gastronomic culture of the court also was studied in greater detail following this trend. For example, we now find different themes arising from the food itself, from the spices, taste and etiquette to the environment of the meal, such as, the place, tableware, furniture, tapestries, and the kitchen⁶.

This article focuses on the *scalco* who managed everything related to the food of the Florentine court of the Medici family. Florence was a republic during the Middle Ages, but came under the rule of dukes from the Medici family from 1532. With the birth of the principate came the birth of the court. Details on the court of the first duke Alessandro are not well known, but we have many documents on the second duke Cosimo I (1519-87, duke 1532-, grand duke 1569-). As such, this article covers the reigns from the Cosimo I to Ferdinand II (1610-70). The reign of Ferdinando II is usually considered as a decline, but was the golden age for the court.

As Florence was a republic until 1532, the system of nobility did not exist in the grand duchy of Tuscany⁷. Although some lords had a feudal title conferred upon them by the Holy Roman Emperor, this was rare. The grand dukes of Tuscany gave feudal titles, such as marquises, but the legal distinction between a noble and a citizen still did not exist. Therefore not only nobles but also local citizens could occupy the posts of high-ranking courtiers at the Florentine court, while this was reserved only for nobles at many other courts in Europe. However, few Florentine citizens in the 16th century accepted such posts, probably because the court was not appealing to those with a strong republican tradition. It was not until the mid 17th century that many leading citi-

zens entered the court⁸.

There are already many studies on the *scalco*. Various manuals of the court written in the 16th and 17th centuries explain the duties and the functions of the *scalco*⁹. But within my knowledge, a study dealing specifically with who served as the *scalco* has not been carried out. The court manual only vaguely discusses what kind of person the *scalco* should be. I would like to give a detailed description of the actual *scalco* in the court of Florence.

The payroll accounts of the Florentine court can be used as historical documents¹⁰. The lack of payroll accounts' especially in 16th century, can be compensated for by a list of courtiers from 16th to 17th century compiled in the late 17th century¹¹.

Similar to the rest of Europe, not only did the Prince have his own court, but his wife and children also each had their own court in Florence. However, only the courtiers employed by the Prince, his wife and the crown prince appear in the court payroll accounts. This is probably because the source of their salary was different. Moreover, historical documents of courtiers employed by the family other than the Prince, his wife, and the crown prince are scarce, and a longitudinal investigation cannot be carried out. Therefore this study is limited to courtiers appearing in the payroll accounts of the grand duke. The *sottoscalco*, assistant *scalco*, is not considered in this analysis because his status appears to be inferior to the *scalco* (his salary was much lower than the *scalco*). Thirty eight people meet the conditions of the *scalco*.

1. The Post of the *Scalco*

The ideal *scalco* can be seen in the court manuals. According to the manual of the *scalco* written by Giovan Battista Rossetti of Ferrara, the *scalco* at the Court of the Este family should be "taller than average in order to appear more important when overseeing the tables"¹². The clothes of the *scalco* "must be modest but honorable and clean"¹³. While humility is required, he must be "allegro" during the meal, especially during "the time of pleasure" in the banquet¹⁴. Moreover Rossetti says

it is desirable that the *scalco* be familiar with his master and invited dinner guests¹⁵.

Regarding the daily routine of the *scalco*. According to Rossetti, the *scalco* gets up early in the morning, goes to the food storeroom, and takes inventory of what was used the previous day. He then informs the purchasing staff of the court what items are required. Next, he goes to the kitchen and instructs the cooks of the needs for the meals of the day, and determines what is needed in the kitchen. He also makes sure the guest rooms are clean and the needs of the guests are met. He then sits down to have a meal himself, after which he returns to the kitchen to make sure that everything is in order, such as whether the meat has been roasted to the proper degree or has been overly roasted and is dry. He checks if the *credenza* (the side table for preparing the cold dishes and desserts) has been set up properly and if the valets and pages are in their proper positions. Finally he directs the entire staff to serve the meal flawlessly (cf. Fig. 1)¹⁶.

The *scalco* is in charge of deciding the menu and the place of the daily meal, managing the meal itself, and overseeing all staff members related to the meals of the court. Furthermore he must be careful that the purchaser does not try to cheat the court¹⁷, decide a menu considering the food and the health of his master¹⁸, and sometimes taste his master's dishes¹⁹. In Florence he also played the role of a chamberlain, introducing guests seeking an audience with the Prince. In 1620 Gabriello Tassis, the *scalco*, introduced German Gaspero Scopio who was seeking audience with the grand duke of Tuscany²⁰.

Since the manuals were not written by Florentines, the post of



Fig. 1 *Scalco* (Center). Cited from Paolini, *A tavola nel Rinascimento*, p. 54.

the *scalco* in the court of Florence may vary slightly from the manuals. However, it can be assumed that the role of the *scalco* in managing the meal would basically be the same. Then how was the *scalco*, who bore such a heavy responsibility in the court of Florence, selected? The documents do not touch upon this, but do show posts held before being appointed as the *scalco*.

The names of seventeen *scalchi* are recorded in the court payroll accounts in the 16th century. Four did not hold any post in the court prior to appointment as *scalco* (two were appointed during the early reign of the Cosimo I, and there are no prior records), two were chamberlains, one was the wine steward, one was the *sottoscalco*, and eight were valets in service at the table. It can be said that many *scalchi* were appointed from among valets in the 16th century. It would appear that valets learned the art of the *scalco* while working at the table. Valets served at the table for an average of 7.8 years before being appointed to *scalco*.

Twenty-one *scalchi* were appointed during the 17th century. Among them, twelve were chamberlains prior to appointment, four were valets, four did not have a post in the court, one was the cup bearer, and rest are unknown. The number of cases where the *scalco* was appointed from among the chamberlains clearly increased in the 17th century. This may be due to the increase in the number of chamberlains and the decrease in the number of valets during that period. The main duty of the chamberlain was to stand in waiting in the chamber of the Prince and to assist in the presentation ceremony, but he also frequently assisted at table service during the meal of the Prince. In the 17th century, with the decrease in the number of valets, the occasions when the chamberlains assisted at table service probably increased. Therefore, it appears that the persons serving at the table were appointed as the *scalco* as in the 16th century. Chamberlains served for an average of 7.1 years before being appointed as the *scalco*, roughly the same time length as that in the 16th century.

In the 16th and the 17th century, some persons were appointed as the *scalco* without holding a previous post in the court. However, this

does not mean that they had never served the Prince's family before, as courtiers other than those who served the Prince, his wife, or the crown prince, were not recorded in a court payroll account as previously mentioned. Therefore, it is possible that those who served other family members and learned by experience were then later appointed as the *scalco* in the court of the grand duke.

Up to now a general overview of the *scalco* of the 16th and 17th centuries has been considered, but the *scalco* of the court of Florence changed over time. The *scalco* for the duke, duchess and the prince existed during the reign of Cosimo I and Francesco, but the *scalco* for princesses and guests appeared during the reign of Ferdinando I²¹. *Scalchi* who served guests staying at the ducal palace were divided into two categories: the *scalco* for normal guests and the *scalco* for honored guests. But during the reign of Ferdinando II the *scalchi* for guests decreased and the *scalco* for the grand duke is not registered. It is thought that the chamberlain or another courtier also served as the *scalco* as the work of the *scalco* is indispensable.

The salary given to the *scalco* also changed. The monthly salary of the *scalco* of the grand duke and the grand duchess was twenty-two *scudi*²², and that of the crown prince was twenty *scudi* during the reign of Cosimo I²³. This is quite high compared to a chamberlain's salary of 16 *scudi*. During the reign of Francesco, the *scalco* of Cosimo I who handed over the power to Francesco but in reality continued to hold substantial power and title, received a salary of 22 *scudi*, while other *scalchi* received 20 *scudi*²⁴.

During the reign of Ferdinando I, three *scalchi*, two for the grand duke and one for honored guests, received the monthly salary of 20 *scudi*²⁵, but the *scalco* for normal guests received 12 *scudi*²⁶, and the *scalco* for the princesses, 8 *scudi*²⁷. There are four other *scalchi* whose master are unknown, and three of these received a monthly salary of 20 *scudi*²⁸. These three are considered to be the *scalchi* for the grand duke, grand duchess, and the crown prince. Another *scalco* received 15 *scudi* and was probably the *scalco* for honored guests²⁹.

During the reign of Ferdinando II, Giovan Cosimo Geraldini was

appointed as *scalco* by Cosimo II and continued to serve Ferdinando II. Girolamo Maffei was *scalco* for Maria Maddalena of Austria, the mother of the grand duke, and received a monthly salary of 20 *scudi*³⁰, but four *scalchi* for the grand duchesses and the three *scalchi* for the crown prince received only 16 *scudi*³¹. On the other hand, the 8 *scudi* salary of the *scalchi* of the princesses was increased by Cosimo II, one received 15 *scudi* and another received 16 *scudi*³². The salary of the *scalco* for normal guests was 15 *scudi*³³. Three other *scalchi* whose masters are unknown received 16 *scudi*³⁴.

In consideration that the salary of the *scalco* for the grand duchess and the crown prince decreased, and that the *scalco* for the grand duke was not listed in the court payroll accounts except for Geraldini who was appointed by Cosimo II, the system of the *scalco* may have changed during the reign of Ferdinand II. It is quite possible because various reforms were carried out during the reign of Ferdinand II and the rules of ceremony were fixed³⁵. Therefore the system of the *scalco* may have also been revised. Unfortunately, currently existing documents do not clarify this point.

2. Changes in the Origin and Rank of the *Scalco*

In this chapter who actually served as the *scalco* in the court of Florence is explained (see Appendix).

As shown in Table 1, there were many Italian *scalchi*. More than half were Italian (the term "Italian" does not include people who originated from the grand duchy of Tuscany). There were few Florentines until the reign of Ferdinand II. Among the Florentine feudal nobles (such as Bardi, Ricasoli, Montauto and Bourbon del Monte) who entered the court as chamberlains, only one became a *scalco*. Only four Tuscans in dominion of the grand duchy (except Lucca) became *scalchi*. There were also few foreigners. It can be said that the posts of *scalco* of the court of Florence have filled with Italians except during the reign of Ferdinand II.

During the reign of Cosimo I, no foreigner became a *scalco* even

Table 1 Scalco nominated by Grand Dukes of Tuscany

| Grand Dukes | Florentine | Florentine Noble | Tuscan: Granducato | Italian | Stranger | Unidentified | Total |
|---------------|------------|------------------|--------------------|---------|----------|--------------|-------|
| Cosimo I | | | 1 | 3 | | 1 | 5 |
| Francesco | | | | 3 | 1 | | 4 |
| Ferdinando I | 1 | 1 | 2 | 6 | | | 10 |
| Cosimo II | | | | 3 | 1 | 2 | 6 |
| Ferdinando II | 5 | | 1 | 7 | 1 | | 14 |
| Total | 6 | 1 | 4 | 22 | 3 | 3 | 39 |

Florentine Noble = Feudal Nobole from the republican Period

Tuscan = tuscan of dominion of Grand duchy

though many foreigners (especially Spanish) were among the high ranking courtiers serving as chamberlains³⁶. Antonio Ciarro, *scalco* for duchess Eleonora of Toledo may have been Spanish³⁷, but would be the only one considered to be a foreigner. Two reasons can be given for the lack of foreigners. One is taste, the other is manners. It could be said that the standard for court cooking and manners existed in early modern Italy. Many Italian dynasties, such as Este, Gonzaga and Medici were joined through marriage and many *scalchi* were assigned far from their origin (as occurred in Florence). But there would be differences in cooking and manners between Italy and other countries. This may be why few foreigners served in the court during the reign of Cosimo I.

There was only one Florentine *scalco* from the reign of Cosimo I until the reign of Cosimo II, although 20% of the high-rank courtiers during the reign of Francesco were Florentine³⁸. Why didn't Florentines become *scalco*?

One reason may have been that the *scalco* must have a wide range of knowledge. He must be well acquainted with cooking in order to decide the menu for the daily meals as well as banquets. But didn't Florentines citizens that were proud of the republican tradition have this kind of knowledge and could shoulder the gastronomic culture of the court in Florence as the *scalco*? Perhaps another reason may have been that Florentines did not want to become the *scalco* in the court. During the reign of Cosimo I, few Florentines wanted to enter the court.

Florentines were proud of their republican traditions and did not want to serve the Medici, previously citizens the same as them. Florentines may have entered the court after the reign of Cosimo I, but did so with distaste towards serving as the *scalco* who cared for the meals of the Medici Duke. On the other hand, perhaps the Medici did not want a Florentine to serve as the *scalco*. The *scalco*, according a manual of the court written by Priscianese, “has the life of the Prince in his hands”³⁹. Prominent Florentine citizens attempted to assassinate the grand duke in the 16th century⁴⁰. If the Medici grand dukes appointed a Florentine as the *scalco*, would he be risking assassination? Five Florentine *scalchi* during the reign of Ferdinando II serve not the grand duke but other ducal members. Does this mean that Florentines were still considered dangerous? This was probably not the case, since there was a Florentine *scalco* for the crown prince and two for the grand dukes. Still, the fact remains that there was not even one Florentine *scalco* for the grand duke for approximately 150 years from the reign of Cosimo I to that of Ferdinand II. It seems that Florentines were not considered to be candidates for the *scalco* of a grand duke, a person central to the gastronomic culture of the court.

Regarding the status of *scalco*. During the reign of Cosimo I, the *scalco* was a humble position. All *scalchi* were addressed as *messer*, in contrast with *don* or *signor* used for foreign nobles⁴¹. Considering that only one was a Tuscan⁴², the *scalco* would swear personal loyalty to the grand duke without bonds to Florence such as the secretary of Cosimo I⁴³. *Scalchi* with the title of *signor* increased during the reign of Francesco and Italians with feudal titles became *scalchi* during Ferdinando I. But no feudal noble became a *scalco* during the reign of Cosimo II and the position of *scalco* was lower than other high ranking courtiers. In reign of Ferdinando II, Malaspina the marquis of Lunigiana and Count Bentivoglio of Bologna became *scalchi* as well as members of the Florentine leading family, such as Corsini, Guicciardini and Rucellai. Finally the *scalchi* were assumed by nobles during the reign of Ferdinando II.

3. The Family Tradition

In this chapter, the existence of a family which produced more than one *scalco* for the Florentine court is considered. The idea that several *scalchi* were from the same family is plausible due to the knowledge and experience required for this post.

Several members of four families were commonly appointed as *scalchi* by the grand dukes. Two *scalchi* were from the family of Count Corbara. Alessandro Count Corbara entered the court of Florence as a hussar⁴⁴. After him, Marzio entered the court and received a monthly salary of 7.5 *scudi* in 1583 (his post unknown)⁴⁵. He became the *scalco* in 1588 with a salary of 20 *scudi*⁴⁶. How many years he continued in this work is unknown because there are no documents from 1583 to 1587. The last record of Marzio is in 1588, when Ferdinando Count of Corbara became the *scalco* and continued in this job until 1593 with a salary of 20 *scudi*⁴⁷. He was a page to Ferdinando before assuming the post of *scalco*⁴⁸. He may have inherited the post of *scalco* from Marzio who had retired. The relationship between Marzio and Ferdinando is unknown, but it is assumed that the post of *scalco* was passed down from one member of the family to the next.

Two members of the Malaspina family, Giovan Lorenzo and Bernabò Malaspina also became *scalchi*. This family was the feudal noble of Lunigiana which bordered the Grand duchy of Tuscany on the northwest. However, they are only listed in the court payroll accounts for one-year (Gian Lorenzo for 1635, Bernabò for 1652). They were also not part of the same branch of the Malaspina family. Giovan Lorenzo was the marquis of Treschietto, and Bernabò was the Marquis of Filattiera and Terrarossa. Therefore the relationship between them is also not clear.

The Marinozzi family of Ancona also produced two *scalchi* (Fig. 2). In addition to the two *scalchi*, two other members of this family entered the court of Medici as a chamberlain and a valet. Lionardo Marinozzi was a chamberlain from 1547 to 1574, and attained Florentine citizen-

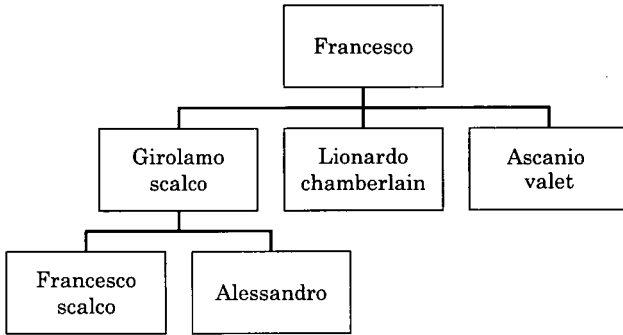


Fig. 2 Marinozzi Family

ship in 1575⁴⁹. The first *scalco* of this family was Girolamo the brother of Lionardo. He became the *scalco* of Cosimo I and was listed in the court payroll accounts in 1542. But already in a letter in 1540, he was called the *scalco segreto*, namely the *scalco* of duke⁵⁰. The second *scalco*, Francesco, was an illegitimate child and was granted legitimacy by Cosimo I⁵¹. He was the *scalco* for normal guests in 1588, 1591–1593⁵². While it cannot be said he inherited this post because Girolamo was the *scalco segreto* and Francesco was the *scalco* for guests, but the fact that two generations of the Marinozzi family became *scalchi* suggests the existence of the practice that the *scalco* was elected from a family comprising of members who served as the *scalco*.

While there are some examples of *scalchi* from the same family, only a few members are considered to have been appointed simply due to hereditary factors, and a few continued to serve long terms. As such these are not considered to be families with a tradition of members being appointed as *scalchi*. However, there is one family which produced many *scalchi* as if it were a family tradition, the Geraldini family of Amelia.

Amelia is a small Umbrian town in the Papal State. The Geraldini family was a prominent family of this town and many members of the Geraldini family entered the court of the Pope or went to Spain⁵³. Antonio Geraldini (1450–89) was a famous poet and papal diplomat. Alessandro (1455–1525) served in the court of Ferdinand II of Aragon

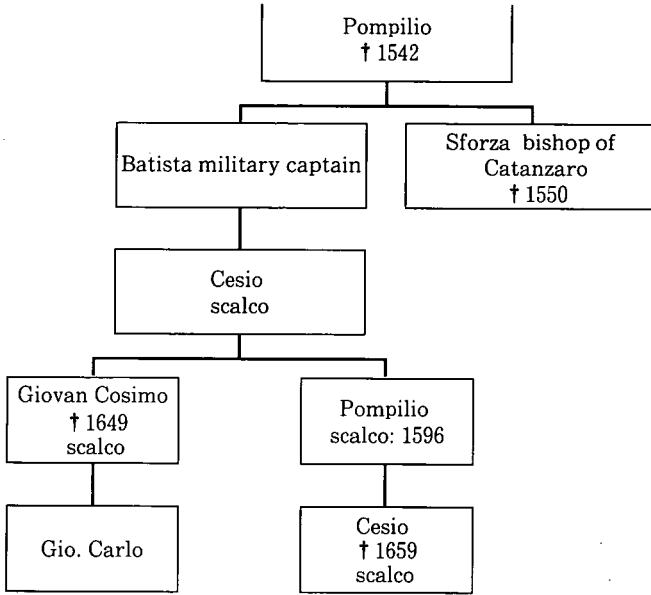


Fig. 3 Geraldini

and Isabella I of Castile in Spain. He assisted Christopher Columbus and traveled to the New World, and became the bishop of Santo Domingo. Agabito Geraldini (1459–1515) served the famous Cesare Borgia.

Cesio Geraldini was the first to attend the court of Florence (cf. Fig. 3). He began service with Cosimo I from 1547 as a valet, and became the *scalco* in 1565. He continued in this post until 1603, and although his title sometimes changed⁵⁴, his salary was always 20 *scudi*, the salary of the *scalco*. He was decorated as a Knight of Santo Stefano in 1564⁵⁵. His wife Laura is listed in the court payroll account as a lady's maid in 1584, 1586, 1594 and 1596, and as a courtier under the Crown Prince and his younger brothers from 1610 to 1622⁵⁶.

Giovan Cosimo of Cesio began to serve as a chamberlain in 1604⁵⁷. It is interesting that the last year Cesio is listed in the court payroll accounts is 1603, and the name of his son appears the following year. The salary of Giovan Cosimo increased from 16 to 20 *scudi* "in the rank of *scalco*" in 1611⁵⁸, and he officially became the *scalco* in 1612 until his

death in 1649.

Pompilio another son of Cesio, brother of Giovan Cosimo, was listed in the court payroll as the *scalco* only in 1596⁵⁹. Another Cesio, son of Pompilio, served not only as a chamberlain in 1635 and 1638-1643, but as the *scalco* of grand duke in 1644 and 1662⁶⁰.

Although Pompilio and his son Cesio did not serve as the *scalco* for a long time, Cesio of Battista Geraldini served as the *scalco* for twenty-four years and Giovan Cosimo for thirty-eight years. The Geraldini family governed the table of the Medici court for approximately sixty years! It can be said that this family decided the tradition of the gastro-nomic culture of the Florentine court.

Conclusion

The *scalchi* of the Florentine court were fundamentally persons equal to high ranking courtiers, but peculiarities surrounding the *scalco* existed. Early *scalchi* of the Principate of Medici were non-Florentines who personally swore loyalty to the Prince and were not nobles. They were similar to the secretaries of Cosimo I. There were no Florentine *scalchi* until the reign of Cosimo II, and in the reign of Ferdinando II, no Florentine became the *scalco* to the grand duke although there were five Florentine *scalchi*. Italians dominated the realm of the *scalco*, and the Geraldini family governed the table of the court for approximately sixty years.

It can be said that the *scalco* was a specialized office requiring skill and knowledge. Not only Italians, but also feudal nobles and prominent Florentine citizens served as *scalchi*, but were probably trained while serving as valets or chamberlains. The *scalco* was not an office any courtier could assume. Knowledge of cooking and medicine, and business skills were required. Many *scalchi* came from families such as the Geraldini Family that have such skills.

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Notes

- 1 N. Elias, *Die höfische Gesellschaft*, Darmstadt und Neuwied, Luchterhand, 1969.
- 2 M. Fantoni, *La corte del Granduca*, Roma, Bulzoni, 1994, A. Bellinazzi e A. Contini (a cura di), *La Corte di Toscana dai Medici ai Lorena*, Roma, 2002, S. Bertelli e R. Pasta (a cura di), *Vivere a Pitti. Una reggia dai Medici ai Savoia*, Firenze, Olschki, 2003.
- 3 Jean-Louis Flandrin et Massimo Montanari, *Historie de l'alimentation*, Paris, Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1996, pp. 10-14.
- 4 *Ibid.*, p. 17.
- 5 A. Capatti e M. Montanari, *La cucina italiana*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1999.
- 6 Cf. Ken Albala, *The Banquet*, Urbana and Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 2007, Giancarlo Malacarne, *Sulla mensa del principe*, Modena, Bulino, 2000, Claudio Paolini, *A tavola nel rinascimento*, Firenze, Polistampa, 2007, Marzio A. Romani, "Regalis coena: aspetti economici e sociali del pasto principesco (Italia settentrionale secoli XVI-XIX)", in S. Cavaciocchi (a cura di), *Alimentazione e nutrizione secc. XIII-XVIII*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1997, pp. 719-740.
- 7 The system of the noble was constituted by the grand duke Francis Stephen of Lorraine after the extinction of the Medici. Cf. L. Cantini, *Legislazione Toscdana*, Firenze, Stamperia Albizziniana, 1800-08, vol. 26, pp. 231-241.
- 8 Cf. Y. Kitada, "L'aristocrazia fiorentina nella corte medicea da Cosimo I a Ferdinando II", in *The Journal of Humanities (Meiji University)*, vol.14, 2009, forthcoming.
- 9 The major manuals of the court are below: F. Liberati, *Il Perfetto maestro di casa*, Roma, 1658, Cristoforo di Messisbugo, *Banchetti compositioni di vivande et apparecchi generale*, Ferrara, 1549 (Bologna, Forni, 1972), F. Priscianese, *Del governo della corte d'un signore in Roma*, Roma, 1543 (Città di Castello, 1883), Domenico Romoli detto il Panunto, *La singular dottrina*, Venezia, 1560 (in *Arte della Cucina*, a cura di Emilio Paccioli, Milano, 1966, pp. 343-393), G. B. Rossetti, *Dello Scalco*, Ferrara, 1584 (Bologna, Forni, 1991), S. Sigismondi, *Prattica cortigiana morale, et economica*, Ferrara, 1604.
- 10 Archivio di Stato di Firenze (below ASF), Depositeria Generale, filza 394bis (salarati del 1607-08), 395 (1622), 1517 (1603), 1520 (1611), 1523 (1622), 1524 (1626), 1527 (1631), 1529 (1639), 1531 (1656), 1532 (1658), 1538 (1666), Miscellanea medicea, filza 264, inserto 20, c. 10r-21v (ruolo del 1566 e del

- 1660), filza 30, inserto 19 (roolo del 1618-26), Mediceo del Principato, filza 616, inserto 19, cc, 257v-295v (ruolo della casa 1567-70), filza 631, cc, 1v-2r (salarati 1558).
- 11 ASF, Manoscritti, filza 321 (Arrolati della corte di Toscana dal 1540 sino al presente estratti da vari libri della Seren. ma).
- 12 "lo Scalco fosse di più gravità, si per dominare le tavole", Rossetti, *Dello scalco*, p. 1.
- 13 "Lo Scalco per giovane che si sia, deve vestire modesto, ma honorato, & pulito," *Ibid.* p. 2.
- 14 *Ibid.*
- 15 *Ibid.*
- 16 *Ibid.*, pp. 6-8.
- 17 Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-14, Romoli, *La singolar dottrina*, pp. 348-349.
- 18 Aldana, *The Banquet*, pp. 141-142.
- 19 *Ibid.*, p. 147.
- 20 "Et a di 16 di settembre (1620)... comparve a Firenze il Sig. Gaspero Scopio todesco, venne alla odienza a S. A.; Stete ritto et coperto, condotto da Gabriello Tassis;" (Diario di Cesare Tinghi, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Fondo Gino Capponi, 261 II, c. 268v). It is possible that Tassis assisted the presentation of a German because he is also German. But the origin of Tassis is unknown.
- 21 ASF, Manoscritti, filza 321, cc. 233-234.
- 22 ASF, Manoscritti, filza 321, c. 41, 101-102, 110, 122-123, 133, 158, 164, Mediceo del Principato, filza 631, 1v.
- 23 ASF, Miscellanea medicea filza 264, inserto 20, c. 21r, Mediceo del Principato, filza 616, inserto 19, 295r, Manoscritti, filza 321, c. 78, 173, 177, 181, 185.
- 24 ASF, Miscellanea medicea, filza 264, inserto 20, c. 1r, 22v, Manoscritti, filza 321, c. 175, 177, 181, 185, 189, 197, 295, 214, 225, 226, 233, 245, 258, Mediceo del Principato, filza 616, inserto 19, c. 195r.
- 25 ASF, Manoscritti, filza 321, c. 301, 306, 309, 317, 323, 328, 332, 339, 344, 350, 352, Depositeria generale, filza 1517, c. 76, filza 394 bis, c. 68, 120, filza 1520, c. 178.
- 26 But Francesco Marinozzi whose salary is twelve *scudi* is described in the payroll book as *sottoscalco* in 1588, 1592-93 (ASF, Manoscritti, filza 321, c. 233, 265, 273). Therefore the salary of twelve *scudi* may have been not of the *scalco* but of the *sottoscalco*.
- 27 ASF, Manoscritti, filza 321, c. 234, 242, 258, 281, 289, 305, 310, 320, 323, 327, 336, 338, 347, 349, 354, 360, 376, 387, 394, 399, Depositeria generale, filza 1517, c. 20,

- filza 1520, c. 118.
- 28 ASF, Manoscritti, filza 321, c. 237, 243, 260, 265, 268, 275, 283, 289, 294, 297.
- 29 Ibid., c. 293.
- 30 Ibid., c. 487, 464, 469, 475, 493, 499, 504, 509, 514, 516, 520, Depogiteria generale, filza 395, c. 121, filza 1523, c. 131.
- 31 ASF, Manoscritti, 597, 607, 610, 615, 618, 623, 633, 638, 645, 677-678, 674, 677, 681-682, 692, 698-699, 701, 704, 707-711, 712-713, 715, Miscellanea medica filza 164, inserto 20, c. 14v, 17r, Depositeria generale, filza 1531, c. 82, filza 1532, c. 78, filza 1538, c. 157, 160, filza 1539, c. 54, 139.
- 32 ASF, Manoscritti, filza 321, c. 693, 703, 706, 708, 710, 712, 731.
- 33 Ibid., c. 504, Depositeria generale, filza 1523, c. 135.
- 34 ASF, Manoscritti, filza 321, c. 541, 674, 679, 689, 699, 701.
- 35 Cf. S. Tofani, "Composizione e cerimoniale della corte medica (1650-1670)", in *Vivere a Pitti*, pp. 109-134.
- 36 Cf. Kitada, "L'aristocrazia fiorentina nella corte medica da Cosimo I a Ferdinando II".
- 37 For him see Konrad Eisenbichler (ed.), *The Cultural World of Eleonora di Toledo Duchess of Florence and Siena*, Ashgate, 2004, p. 184.
- 38 See Kitada, "L'aristocrazia fiorentina nella corte medica da Cosimo I a Ferdinando II", forthcoming.
- 39 Priscianese, *Del governo della corte*, p. 74.
- 40 The well known conspiracy was that of the Pucci family. Pandolfo of the cardinale Roberto Pucci attempted to kill Cosimo I, but the plot was found out in 1559 and he was executed. His son Orazio attempted to kill Francesco probably in order to take vengeance for his father, but was found out in 1575. Cf. Giuliano de Ricci, *Cronaca*, a cura di G. Saporì, Milano-Napoli, Riccardo Ricciardi, 1972, pp. 148-150, 154, 157-158, 168, 170, 179-180, 212-213, 229, 231-232, 236, 247, 361.
- 41 The *scalco* of Cosimo I were Girolamo Marinozzi of Ancona and Carlo Venanzio of Spello. Marinozzi was called *scalco* segreto that means he belonged exclusively to the duke (ASF, Mediceo del Principato, filza 3, c. 94r, 20/3/1540).
- 42 An exception is Giulio Brunozzi of Pistoia.
- 43 For the secretaries of Cosimo I, see F. Angiolini, "Dai segretari alle «segreterie»: uomini ed apparati di governo nella toscana medicea", in *Società e storia*, n. 57, 1992, pp. 701-720, G. Pansini, "Le segreterie nel principato mediceo", in *Carteggio universale di Cosimo I de' Medici*, vol. 1,

Firenze, 1982, pp. XXIV-XXV, XXVII.

- 44 ASF, Manoscritti, filza 321, c. 87.
- 45 ASF, Manoscritti, filza 321, c. 230.
- 46 Ibid., c. 237.
- 47 Ibid., c. 243.
- 48 ASF, Miscellanea medicaea, filza 29, inseto 18, c. 4r.
- 49 ASF, Manoscritti, filza 445, Cittadinanza Fiorentina 1532-1606, c. 27.
- 50 ASF, Mediceo del principato, filza 3, c. 94r.
- 51 Cf. ASF, Pratica segreta, filza 187, Libro di privilegi, c. 26rv.
- 52 ASF, Manoscritti, filza 321, c. 233, 259, 265, 273.
- 53 Of the Gerarldini family, see M. Sensi, "La famiglia Geraldini di Amelia", in E. Menestò (a cura di), *Alessandro Geraldini e il suo tempo*, Spoleto, Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1993, pp. 55-85.
- 54 He is described only "servizio" (service) for seven years (1592, 1595-97, 1599-1601).
- 55 Ricci, *Cronaca*, p. 24.
- 56 ASF, Manoscritti, filza 321, c. 89, 248, 283, 294, 376, 386, 394, 401, 413, 418, 427, 435, 448, 452, 457, 462, 466, 494, Depositeria generale, filza 395, c. 30, filza 1520, c. 107, Miscellanea medicaea, filza 264, inserto 20, c. 18r.
- 57 ASF, Manoscritti, filza 321, c. 337.
- 58 Ibid., c. 365.
- 59 Ibid., c. 293.
- 60 Ibid., c. 607, 677.

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Appendix

 The list of *scalco*

| Grand duke | NAME | From | To | Master | Active years | Salary (scudi) | Origin |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|------|------|------------------|--------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Cosimo I | Marinozzi, Girolamo (M) | 1540 | 1562 | GD | 13 | 10(1542), 22 | IT: Ancona |
| | Ciarro, Antonio (S) | 1540 | 1556 | DCS | 6 | 22 | unknown |
| | Brunozzi, Giulio (M) | 1559 | 1571 | PCS | 10 | 14(1559), 16(1562), 20 | TO: Pistoia |
| | Venanzio, Carlo (M→S CV) | 1560 | 1574 | GD | 4 | 22 | IT: Spello |
| Francesco | Geraldini, Cesio (M→S CV) | 1565 | 1603 | GD ? | 24 | 20 | IT: Amelia |
| | Rossi, Sigismondo (M→S) | 1574 | 1583 | GD | 6 | 20 | IT: Carpi |
| | Tassoni, Adriano (M →S) | 1574 | 1574 | father of GD | 1 | 22 | IT: Modena |
| | Viega, Filippo (D) | 1568 | 1584 | GD (PCS 1584) | 3 | ? | O (Spain) |
| Ferdinando I | Corvara, Marzio della (Conte) | 1588 | 1588 | ? | 1 | 20 | IT: Carbara |
| | Foresi, Andrea (M) | 1588 | 1614 | PCS | 23 | 8 | TO: Siena |
| | Marinozzi, Francesco | 1591 | | GS | 4 | 12 | IT: Ancona |
| | Passerini, Valerio di Niccolo (S CV) | 1588 | 1598 | GD ? | 9 | 20 | TO: Cortona |
| | Corvara, Ferdinando della (Conte) | 1589 | 1606 | ? | 4 | 20 | IT: Carbara |
| | Giugni, Vincenzo (S CV) | 1592 | 1594 | GS | 3 | 15 | FI |
| | Portasavello, Pompilio Numa (S) | 1595 | 1604 | GS | 9 | 20 | IT: Piacenza |
| | Geraldini, Pompilio | 1596 | 1596 | ? | 1 | 15 | IT: Amelia |
| | Bufalo, Agnolo del (S CV) | 1598 | 1609 | GD | 12 | 20 | IT: Roma |
| | Montauto, Fabrizio di Giovanni (S) | 1606 | 1620 | GD | 10 | 20 | TO: feudal noble |
| Cosimo II | Tassis, Gabbriello (S) | 1608 | 1626 | GD | | 15 (1608), 18(1609-16),20 | O: ? |
| | Dovara, Alfonso (S CV) | 1611 | 1611 | ? | 1 | 15 | IT: Cremona |
| | Geraldini, Giovan Cosimo | 1612 | 1626 | GD | 15 | 20 | IT: Amelia |
| | Alba, Francesco (S CV) | 1611 | 1615 | DCS | 3 | ? | IT: Monferrato |
| | Baccereto, Francesco da | 1615 | 1615 | PCS | 1 | 8 | unknown |
| | Amerighi, Domenico | 1616 | 1619 | PCS | 2 | 8 | unknown |
| Ferdinando II | Rucellai, Benedetto (S) | 1626 | 1628 | GS | 2 | 15 | FI |
| | Maffei, Girolamo (S) | 1628 | 1631 | mother of GD | 4 | 20 | IT: Roma |
| | Malaspina, Giovan Lorenao (MC) | 1635 | 1635 | ? | 1 | 16 | IT: Lunigiana |
| | Antinori, Luigi (S) | 1641 | 1666 | DCS | 25 | 16 | FI |
| | Geraldini, Cesio (S CV) | 1644 | 1652 | DCS | 2 | 16 | IT: Amelia |
| | Malaspina, Bernabo (MC) | 1652 | 1652 | DCS | 1 | 16 | IT: Lunigiana |
| | Vicq, Ipolito di (S) | 1652 | 1652 | GD ? | 1 | 16 | O: Bruge |
| | Bentivogli, Domenico (Conte) | 1653 | 1653 | PC | 1 | 16 | IT: Bologna |
| | Vitelli, Pierfrancesco (S) | 1657 | 1666 | ? | 8 | 16 | IT: Città di Castello |
| | Albergati, Silvio (Conte) | 1660 | 1663 | PC | 4 | 16 | IT: Bologna |
| | Minerbetti, Andrea (S CV) | 1644 | 1675 | PCS | 5 | 15 | FI |
| | Corsini, Filippo (MC) | 1662 | 1670 | PC | 7 | 16 | FI |
| | Guicciardini, Piero (S CV) | 1662 | 1673 | DCS | 10 | 16 | FI |
| Ricci, Pierantonio (S CV) | 1665 | 1675 | PCS | 6 | 16 | TO: Montepulciano | |

Title abbreviations-after the Name: (M=messer, S=Signore, CV=cavalier, MC=marchese, D=Don).

Master: GD=Grand Duke, DCS=Grand Duchess, PC=Prince, PCS=Princesses, GS=Guests,

Origin: FI=Florence, TO=Tuscan (Grand Dukey), IT=Italy, O=other