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# African Costume for Artists: The Woodcuts in Book X of *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo*, 1598

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African Costume for Artists: The Woodcuts in Book X of

*Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo*, 1598

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts  
Department of Art  
College of Visual and Performing Arts  
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**African Costume for Artists: The Woodcuts in Book X of  
*Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo*, 1598**

Laura Herrmann

**ABSTRACT**

This study investigates the woodcuts of African dress in Cesare Vecellio's 1598 costume book *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo*. While Vecellio's book has been previously studied to understand its contribution to sixteenth-century conceptions of human variation across geography and Venetian identity making, I concentrate instead on the book's intended function. In doing so, I show how its woodcuts of Africans, should be understood primarily as proposals for costumes to be used in new artistic productions.

Vecellio situated his representations of African costume in a highly organized geographic framework that was shaped by travel narratives. These texts recorded voyages motivated, in part, by European political and economic interests in Africa. However, the resulting associations deposited in Vecellio's woodcuts are neutralized or at least complicated by the representations' hybridity, their inclusion in an early modern collection, and their status as models for artists to manipulate.

Vecellio explained that all of the representations in *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* displayed antiquity (*antichità*), diversity (*diuersità*), and richness (*la ricchezza*). Sixteenth-century theater directors insisted on these qualities for costume, which promoted both the *imitatio naturae* and *superatio naturae* of artistic productions. Costumes could simultaneously contribute to a painting or a theatrical performance's

decorum and propriety by differentiating and correctly identifying figures, and its *grazia* or pleasure with their exoticism and sumptuousness.

This study suggests that in their intended use, the images of African costume were participating in “translations” of African dress into costumes for European paintings and theater. During this process, they accumulated new meanings. The dressed figures were copied from art objects with varying degrees of removal from immediate African encounters and combined with texts from published travel narratives to create mythic bricolages of Africans. The decontextualized costumes, organized into a sartorial collection with a categorization that readers understood as flexible, were tentatively defined vestimentary signs available for further signification within potential artistic contexts.



## Introduction

*Non picciola laude merita, chi ben veste le sue figure.*  
The man who clothes his figures well does deserve high commendation.  
– Fabrini in *Dialogo della Pittura di M. Lodovico Dolce*<sup>1</sup>

This study examines the twenty-five woodcuts of Africans and their accompanying printed descriptions in Book X of Cesare Vecellio’s costume book *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* (fig. 4), which was published at Venice by Bernardo Sessa in 1598. My goal is to formulate a reading of the representation of “Africanicity” in Vecellio’s book that takes into account the images and the texts associated with them and the contexts within which they appeared. Elucidating the purpose of this codex and the nature of its creation is essential to this project.

*Habiti antichi et moderni* is by far the most comprehensive and organized of the numerous compendiums of world costume published across Europe during the second half of the sixteenth century. It is the second edition of Vecellio’s costume book and contains five hundred and seven woodcuts of clothed figures. The printed figures are surrounded by strapwork borders and accompanied by texts in both Italian and Latin. When it is compared with the first edition of Vecellio’s costume book, *De gli habiti antichi et moderni di diverse parti del mondo* (fig. 3), which was published in Venice by Damian Zenaro in 1590, its innovations stand out clearly. Vecellio’s 1598 edition includes eighty-seven new woodcuts, a more precise system of geographical classification, Latin translations, heavily abridged introductory texts and descriptions of

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<sup>1</sup>Lodovico Dolce, *Dialogo della Pittura di M. Lodovico Dolce, Intitolato L’Arentino*, in *Dolce’s Arentino and Venetian Art Theory of the Cinquecento*, trans. and ed. Mark Roskill (Toronto, 2000) 151.

costumes, and more extensive indices. The costumed figures are organized geographically and chronologically into twelve books titled by geographical regions including Italy, Spain, France, England, Northern Europe, Germany, Poland, Turkey and Greece, Hungary, Africa, Asia, and the Americas. Cesare Vecellio, a distant cousin of Titian, designed the images, and the Nuremberg Formschneider Christoforo Guerra Thedesco da Norimbergo cut the plates.<sup>2</sup>

Vecellio was born in Pieve di Cadore in the north of the Veneto around 1521. He was active in Titian's workshop and completed his own public and private commissions. In addition to the two editions of his costume book, he published a book of lace patterns called *Corona delle nobili et virtuose donne*. He died in Venice in 1601.

Like his lace book, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* was intended as a resource for artists. Cesare Vecellio announced in his introduction that the principal characteristics of his woodcuts were their antiquity (*antichità*), diversity (*diuersità*), and richness (*ricchezza*).<sup>3</sup> Contemporary theorists of the theater deemed these qualities essential for costume. Dress was also important for enhancing the artifice of and identifying the figures in late sixteenth-century *historia* painting. The images of Africans in *Habiti antichi et moderni* were intended to be used by artists to create dress for figures of Africans in paintings and for actors portraying Africans in performances. Bronwen Wilson has established that in early modern Europe, clothing registered the class, sexual status, profession, and nationality of its wearer.<sup>4</sup> Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter

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<sup>2</sup> Tracy Timmons, "*Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo as an Indicator of the Late Sixteenth-century Venetian Social Order*", M.A. thesis (University of South Florida, 1996) 20.

<sup>3</sup> Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* (Venice, 1598) f. [2r].

<sup>4</sup> Wilson, "'The Eye of Italy': The Image of Venice and Venetians in Sixteenth Century Prints," PhD diss (Northwestern University, 1999) 152-154.

Stallybrass have since made a similar argument.<sup>5</sup> In an artistic culture that called for artwork that imitated nature (*imitatio naturae*) in its ordered decorum, Vecellio attempted to create a record of local customs that would allow artisans to differentiate between and properly identify their figures. Importantly, he was also concerned with selecting African representations that would be successful with audiences who valued *grazia* and the artist's ability to exceed the physical world (*superatio naturae*).

The clothed Africans printed in *Habiti antichi et moderni* are copied from earlier visual sources that were removed by varying degrees from immediate contact with actual Africans. As such, the images participated in a complex process of "translating" African costume from original bodies into possible costumes for anticipated bodies in potential European representations. Vecellio reduced and altered the already revised contexts of the clothed bodies and presented them for use, in whole or in part, in new artistic productions, each with its own system of self-referential meaning. Moreover, the categorization of these the images within Vecellio's codex would have been implicitly understood as fluid. Consequently, the African bodies and their vestments were open to a wide possibility of definitions rather than attached to fixed characterizations.

*Habiti antichi et moderni* was initially studied alongside other sixteenth-century costume books as a social document recording local dress.<sup>6</sup> Such research was also concerned with how imagery was borrowed among the codices within the genre. More

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<sup>5</sup> Peter Stallybrass and Ann Rosalind Jones, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge, 2000) 2-4.

<sup>6</sup> *Habiti antichi et moderni* is considered in Karl Kup's survey of costume books in the New York Public Library. See "Some Early Costume Books," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 40 (1936): 926-932 and also his exhibition catalogue coauthored with Muriel Francis Baldwin, *Costume, Gothic and Renaissance: Some Early Costume Books* (New York, 1937). For a more recent survey of costume books including Vecellio's, see Jo Anne Olian, "Sixteenth Century Costume Books," *Dress: The Journal of the Costume Society of America* 3 (1977): 20-48.

recent studies have centered on how the costumes in *Habiti antichi et moderni* represent Venetian identity.<sup>7</sup>

Many of the non-Venetian woodcuts, including those of the Africans, have been defined in previous scholarship as appropriated copies of clothing from other costume books that did not reflect actual dress at the time the book was printed.<sup>8</sup> Though often “lifted” from other representations and at times misidentified or improperly dressed according to actual local customs, the figures throughout the codex should be considered in their entirety and not only for their contribution to Venetian mythologizing. In this respect, Bronwen Wilson acknowledges the importance of these costume prints as a register of geographic variation at a time when knowledge about the world and its occupants was rapidly expanding, and clothing functioned as a key indicator of identity.<sup>9</sup> She proposes that costume books codified clothing and thereby reduced the expressive potential of bodies into stereotypes that fixed differences between people.

My study seeks to expand the discussion about this codex by focusing on how its intended use should inform our understanding of its illustration. I acknowledge that Vecellio’s conception of Africa is rooted in the exploration literature of Europe. His images are, therefore, associated with the economic and territorial interests of European

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<sup>7</sup> Traci Timmons defines *Habiti antichi et moderni* as an indicator of Venetian social order in “*Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* as an Indicator of the Late Sixteenth-century Venetian Social Order,” M.A. thesis (University of South Florida, 1996). Bronwen Wilson argues that printed representations were the locus of Venetian identity using Vecellio’s costume book as one of her many examples in “‘The Eye of Italy’: The Image of Venice and Venetians in Sixteenth Century Prints,” PhD diss (Northwestern University, 1999).

<sup>8</sup> See Olian, 29 and Timmons, 4-5 and 22-26. Timmons asserts the central position of the Venetian costumes in *Habiti antichi et moderni* because of the unreliability of non-Venetian costume.

<sup>9</sup> Bronwen Wilson’s paper “Vecellio and Physiognomy” presented on April 3, 2004 at the Renaissance Society of America annual meeting addressed the geographical variation among the faces of the costumed North African and Japanese figures. Also, see her discussion on pp. 144-190 in “‘The Eye of Italy’”.

powers. Moreover, the costumes are presented in a structured grid of strapwork borders and seem, like Wilson argues, to codify fashion. However, I argue that these bodies are able to retain ambiguity and neutralize their connection with economic expansionism.<sup>10</sup> This was possible because most costumes were hybrids of previous representations of Africans. Also, by locating them within an early modern collection, Vecellio invited his audience to shuffle the costumes into a variety of classificatory schemas. Most convincingly, the images were intended as models for artists to manipulate and include in their own projects. Their ultimate signification was largely dependent on the user of the codex.

My primary concern is to shed light on the ambiguous and multivalent signification of Vecellio's representations. This brief examination of the Africans in *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* fits into a larger discourse proposed by Claire Farago in *Reframing the Renaissance* that called for the revision of art historical paradigms for studying the Renaissance to make room for cultural transmission and suggestions that non-European art played a role in defining European conceptions of art.<sup>11</sup>

First, I explain how these images are part of a cartographic understanding of the African continent by examining the European travel writing that functioned as the grids that contained the visual knowledge about Africans presented in *Habiti antichi et*

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<sup>10</sup> This phenomenon can be considered "anticonquest." This term was invented by Mary Louise Pratt to discuss "strategies of representation whereby European...subjects seek to secure their innocence in the same moment as they assert European hegemony." She explores this them in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century travel writing in her book *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London, 1992). See especially her definition on page 7 and Part I – "Science and Sentiment, 1750-1800."

<sup>11</sup> "Introduction" in *Reframing the Renaissance* (New Haven, 1995) pp. 1-20, especially, 3-13.

*moderni*. I show how these images are consequently related to European interests in Africa.

Second, I explain that *Habiti antichi et moderni*'s woodcuts and their accompanying texts participated in a complex process of cultural translation in which African dress acquired new signification. I will rely on the concepts of "translation" and "bricolage" in addressing Vecellio's strategies for collecting costumes for his book. Deborah Howard asserts that as stylistic elements are "translated" from one culture to another, they acquire new meanings.<sup>12</sup> As signifiers, the African costumes acquired new signifieds when they were "translated" into different cultures, contexts, or media. Bernadette Bucher argues that the appropriation of images and texts in a travel book mimics the mythmaking process of "bricolage" defined by Claude Lévi-Strauss in that those responsible for the book use the images and texts available to them in order to create a "myth" of the place to which the images and text refer.<sup>13</sup> In making his book, Vecellio created mythico-historical African costumes by combining available texts with unrelated, but available images, making what were essentially new signs with ambiguous meaning. This investigation traces the transformation of African dress from garments in Africa into clothing for the two-dimensional printed figures and explains how the assemblage and decontextualization of the figures made them available for further signification.

After establishing how Vecellio constructed his images of Africans, I show that Vecellio's entire set of costume woodcuts functions as an early modern collection.

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<sup>12</sup> *Venice and the East* (New Haven, 2000) pp. xiv-xv.

<sup>13</sup> *Icon and Conquest: a structural analysis of the illustrations of de Bry's Great voyages* (Chicago, 1981) 13-23.

Martin Kemp has argued that the items within the assemblages of curiosity cabinets were not to be viewed within the strict parameters of their classifications.<sup>14</sup> Instead, they were observed as multivalent objects simultaneously existing in several groups, exhibiting both similarities and differences with other pieces of the collection. *Habiti antichi et moderni* is structured to allow for a similar jostling of objects among defined categories. The indices and figure titles loosen the parameters of geographic divisions, allow a given figure to be identified with many groupings, and illuminate the ways it is the same as and different from other figures. The capacity for intellectual play and marvel associated with the curiosity cabinet was built into the printed pages of Vecellio's costume collection. Africans were not contained within their geographic category nor rendered completely understandable through Vecellio's textual explanation of their dress. Instead, the woodcuts seemed poised for exchange among categories, and readers were able to establish their own relationships among dressed bodies across geography. The printed book's structure encouraged the reader to engage in his or her own "cut" and "paste." The reader could establish the potential groupings in which a woodcut belongs. As a result, the images of Africans are open to possibilities of definition rather than attached to fixed characterizations.

The intended use of the volume was realized as artisans "cut" and "pasted" the printed costumes, or portions of them, to invent costumes for bodies in new artistic productions. After establishing the importance of costume's role in upholding both the propriety and grace of Renaissance artifices, I discuss costume's role in both Venetian painting and Italian theater in the late sixteenth century. I argue that Vecellio designed

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<sup>14</sup> "Wrought by No Artist's Hand" in *Reframing the Renaissance*, ed. Claire Farago (New Haven, 1995) 177-196.

his book and images in order to meet the needs set out by artists creating or directing the design of costume. As such, these woodcuts imaged costume that could be used as the source for dress in new representations where it would acquire additional meaning. In semiotic terms, Vecellio's African images were not necessarily participating in the codified signification of "Africanity" for early modern Europe, but were instead offering possibilities for European artists to shape African identity by supplying a source of ambiguous signifiers. In short, Vecellio's African costumes are a visual vocabulary made available for signification in new artistic contexts.



## Chapter One

### Mapping of the African Continent: Vecellio's Textual Sources for Book X

Vecellio's 1598 *Habiti antichi et moderni* includes two indices as part of its opening texts. Walter Ong has explained that the idea for indices in printed books was based upon a rhetorical strategy called *index locorum* or "index of places" intended to help one recall headings within one's memory under which arguments were categorized.<sup>15</sup> The *loci* were vague psychic places in the mind where ideas were stored. With the advent of print, the index came to refer to the physical locations within a book where the reader could visibly locate particular information. According to Ong, the intellectual world increasingly relied on visuality after the invention of print. Another visual strategy for spatial organization was mapping. Scientific advances and increased navigational exploration encouraged the cartographic impulses of early modern Europe. For instance, new editions of Ptolemy's *Geographia* included updated spatial projections of the earth.<sup>16</sup> The internalized spatial sensibility also influenced printed narratives, like those referred to by Tom Conley as "cartographic writing."<sup>17</sup> I posit that with its grids spread out across pages and its foliation substituting for coordinates, *Habiti antichi et moderni* is modeled upon the same diagrammatic representation of space that was shaping much of early modern knowledge. In this instance, costumed bodies, instead of land, fill the charted pages.

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<sup>15</sup> *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London, 1982) 125.

<sup>16</sup> Revised editions of Ptolemy were printed at Basel in 1542 and 1545.

<sup>17</sup> *The Self Made Map* (Minneapolis, 1996).

The costumed bodies of Africans that mark the space in Book X are plotted on a grid of European travel writing that formed Vecellio's conception of Africa. Vecellio based his idea of Africa largely on descriptions of travel to Africa compiled by Giovanni Battista Ramusio in *Navigazioni et viaggi* originally published in 1550 (fig. 1). The many subsequent editions confirmed its popularity and financial success.<sup>18</sup> The purpose of Ramusio's three-volume collection of travel writing was to reconcile Ptolemy's geographic propositions with navigational knowledge gathered on recent voyages and to expose the readership to the fantastic and marvelous adventures that occurred on these trips. Ramusio was a secretary for the Venetian government. He had an interest in literary matters and participated in the editing of several of Aldus Manutius' editions of classical texts. He gathered narratives from several outlets, including his literary colleagues, diplomatic contacts, and already published travel accounts, translated them into Italian, and introduced them to his readers. Maps made by Giacomo Gastaldi, the one time Cosmographer to the Republic, accompany the texts. They included three of Africa in Volume One and a fourth of West Africa in Volume Three (see fig. 2). Volume One of *Navigazioni et viaggi* contains primarily fifteenth- and sixteenth-century accounts of European *viaggiatori* in Africa.

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<sup>18</sup> *Delle Navigazioni et Viaggi de Ramusio* was published in Venice by Giunti. Editions for volume one: first edition 1550, second edition 1554, third edition 1563, fourth edition 1588, reprints of fourth edition 1606, 1613. Editions for volume two: first edition 1559 [1564]?, second edition 1574, third edition, 1583, fourth edition 1606 [1613]?. Editions for volume three: first edition 1556, reprint for first edition 1565, third edition 1606 [1613]?. See George Parks, "The Contents and Sources of Ramusio's *Navigazioni*" in *Navigazioni et Viaggi, Venice 1563-1606* (Amsterdam, 1970) 1: 1-39. "Ramusio's Literary History," *Studies in Philology* 52 (1955): 127-148, also by Parks, informs my discussion of Ramusio.

Vecellio had access to *Navigazioni et viaggi* in his friend and patron Odorico Pillone's library at his villa in Belluno in the north of the Veneto.<sup>19</sup> In *Degli habitus antichi et moderni*, Vecellio mentioned the generous hospitality of the Pillone family, their collections, and their library.<sup>20</sup> Odorico's father Antonio began the library, purchasing primarily classical texts.<sup>21</sup> Odorico had a broader focus for the library, which reflected his keen interest in travel literature among a variety of other topics.<sup>22</sup> Around 1580, Vecellio was commissioned to paint the fore-edges of the codices in the Pillone library. Vecellio had access to Ramusio and Theodore de Bry's 1591 edition of Hariot's *Virginia*, the source for some of his representations of American costumes.<sup>23</sup> Vecellio evidently spent his time at Belluno doing more than just decorating his patron's books. He was also gathering information from them about the universe's cosmography and the costumes that identified the national and social identities found there.

The following survey of Vecellio's Africans shows that he relied heavily on the printed travel narratives in Ramusio for his understanding of African geography and people. As a result, Book X reflects the Portuguese circumnavigation of Africa and the subsequent increase in European exploratory activity around the Africa's coasts. The geographic orientation of the Africans in *Habitus antichi et moderni* is towards regions where there were European economic interests.<sup>24</sup> Vecellio's dependence on navigational

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<sup>19</sup> Anthony Hobson. "The Pillone Library." *The Book Collector*, VII (1958): 28-37. See also the following catalogues of sales of books from the Pillone Library: Pierre Berès, *Bibliothèque Pillone* (Paris, 1957) entry no. 153; Pierre Berès, *Un groupe des livres Pillone* (Paris, 1975?) entry no. 34; and Alan Keen, *The Venetian Library* (London, n.d.) entry no. 128.

<sup>20</sup> Hobson, 29.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 30.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 36. See also entry no. 49 in Keen and entry no. 137 in *Bibliothèque Pillone*.

<sup>24</sup> For the history and geography of Africa during this period, I rely primarily on Roland Oliver and Anthony Atmore, *Medieval Africa, 1250-1800* (Cambridge, 2001). More extensive essays and

and diplomatic travel narratives biases his choice of locales in favor of areas where shipping was vital for either the Venetian or Portuguese economies, or areas where potential trade or political alliances would offer security and foster commerce. Vecellio plotted African costumes across a projection of European economic potential in Africa.

Vecellio opened Book X of his codex with a finely dressed Christian king of Ethiopia, members of his court, and examples of his subjects (fig. 5-10). Ethiopia, sometimes referred to as Abyssinia in this period, had a long Coptic Christian tradition imported from Egypt and Syria between the fourth and sixth centuries.<sup>25</sup> The polity had been ruled by the Solomonid dynasty since 1270. These kings claimed to be in the lineage of the ancient kings of Aksum who considered themselves to be the descendents of a union between the biblical King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.<sup>26</sup>

Vecellio named this king Prestor John (fig. 5).<sup>27</sup> Prestor John first gained European fame in *Historia de duabus civitatibus*, the chronicle of Otto, bishop of Freising, written in 1125. Otto relates Hugh's, the bishop of Jabala (Lebanon), description of a wealthy, Christian king in the East making war with the "infidels".

...a certain Johannes a king and a priest, living in the Far East ...who like all his people was a Christian...made war on the brothers, the kings of the Persians and Medes, the Samiardi, and stormed the capital of their kingdom, Egbattana....Presbyter Iohannes ... was victorious, putting the Persians to flight with the most bloodthirsty slaughter...after this victory the said Iohannes had advanced to the help the church of Jerusalem, but when he had reached the Tigris he had not been able to take his army across the river...

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additional valuable information about fifteenth and sixteenth century in African are in Roland Oliver, ed. *The Cambridge History of Africa*, vol. 3 (Cambridge, 1977); D.T. Niane, ed. *General History of Africa*, vol. 4 (London, 1984); and B.A. Ogot, ed. *General History of Africa* vol. 5 (London, 1992).

<sup>25</sup> Oliver and Atmore, 114.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 117-118.

<sup>27</sup> See C.F. Beckingham, "The Achievements of Prester John" in *Between Islam and Christianity: Travelers, Facts, and Legends in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (London, 1983) and "The Quest for Prester John" in the same volume. Also, Charles E. Nowell, "The Historical Prestor John," *Speculum*, 28 (1953) 435-445.

He is said to be of the ancient lineage of those Magi who are mentioned in the Gospel, and to rule over the same peoples as they did, enjoying such glory and prosperity that he is said to use only a scepter of emerald.<sup>28</sup>

This partially true account and a more dubious letter, reportedly written by Prestor John to the Byzantine emperor Manuel Comnenus and circulated around Europe, inspired quite a stir.<sup>29</sup> Though not everyone believed in his existence, the possibility of a Christian king in the East willing to fight Islamic forces was exciting to Europeans and influenced international politics and geographic exploration over the next centuries.

Searches for the Eastern king in Asia were fruitless, and he was ultimately conflated with the king of Ethiopia by the fourteenth century.<sup>30</sup> The Ethiopian monarch was an acceptable embodiment of Prestor John because his Nestorian kingdom in the African interior seemed to live up to the legendary richness of the invented Presbyter's court expressed in a faked 1145 letter to the Byzantines.

I Prestor John, who reign supreme, surpass in virtue, riches and power all creatures under heaven. Seventy kings are our tributaries. I am a zealous Christian and universally protect the Christians of our empire supporting them by our alms....For gold, silver, precious stones, animals of every kind, and the number of our people we believe there is not our equal under heaven.<sup>31</sup>

The Prestor John illustrated in *Habiti antichi et moderni* probably corresponds to Lebna Dengel of the Ethiopian Solomonid dynasty who reigned from 1508-1540.<sup>32</sup> The Portuguese diplomatic mission of Rodrigo de Lima accompanied the traveling court of Lebna Dengel between 1520 and 1526. The report of the ambassadorial mission was recorded by its chaplain Francisco Alvares and published as *Verdadera informaçam das*

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<sup>28</sup> As quoted in Beckingham, "The Achievements of Prestor John," 4. Taken from the chronicle of Otto, Bishop of Freising entitled *Historia de duabus civitatibus* Book VII, chapter 33.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 22-24.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>32</sup> Oliver and Atmore, 120.

*terras do Preste Ioam* at Lisbon in 1540. Ramusio included a slightly edited Italian translation of the printed narrative in each edition of *Navigazioni et viaggi*.

The massive court of the Ethiopian king traveled throughout the country moving every three or four months because no one area could keep it supplied for much longer.<sup>33</sup> Vecellio's inspiration for his luxuriously outfitted Ethiopians was the conspicuously enormous and wealthy traveling court of the Lebna Dengel. It was comprised of government and church officials, nobles and their retinues, a military contingent and their armourers, artisans, cooks, herdsman, and servants. Five to six thousand white tents were pitched for the nobility, and some have estimated that ten times that many attendants were associated with the court.<sup>34</sup> The court was sustained largely on a tribute system by which it received the products of the various provinces.

The Portuguese visit was not the first or only European contact with Ethiopians. Ethiopians often made pilgrimages to Jerusalem, and met European Christians there. Sometimes, they returned with the Europeans to their home countries in the northern Mediterranean. Some would later return to Ethiopia and bring back letters from European courts or even European visitors.<sup>35</sup>

Despite the illustrious grandeur Vecellio gives to his Ethiopian figures, by the time *Habiti antichi et moderni* was published, Ethiopia had suffered through a fourteen year military struggle with Muslim invaders from the East.<sup>36</sup> The conquering armies were initially quite successful especially with their Ottoman support. They were

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 121.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, 120. See also, Robert Smith, "Carpaccio's African Gondolier," *Italian Studies*, XXXIV (1979), 46 and note 3.

<sup>36</sup> Oliver and Atmore, 126-127.

defeated, however, with the assistance of the Portuguese, but the kingdom was left decimated and retained only a shadow of its former glory.

Vecellio followed his representations of an elaborate Christian court with an equally opulent Islamic one in Egypt (figs. 11-16). Egypt was commercially important to Venetians. This mutually beneficial mercantile relationship began under the rule of the Mamluks. The Mamluks were white Turkish and Circassian slaves brought as boys to Egypt and raised in families headed by great military officers.<sup>37</sup> When they reached adulthood, they could hold their own positions of authority in Egypt. The children of these soldiers were not able to succeed their fathers. Only the foreign elite of the Mamluk class could govern and lead the military. Vecellio included one of these Mamluks in his collection of Egyptians (fig. 15), in addition to one of their sultans, Campson Guari, also known as, Qansawh al-Ghawri (fig. 11). Al-Ghawri was the last grand Mamluk sultans of Egypt before the Ottoman conquest. Venetian officials sent a diplomatic mission to his court in 1512. Zaccaria Pagani recorded the activities of the party that was headed by Domenico Trevisan.<sup>38</sup> Though it was not included in Ramusio, Vecellio may have had access to this text, which was available in manuscripts in Venice and possibly Belluno. In 1516, Sultan al-Ghawri was defeated and killed by Ottoman aggressors while defending his northern lands in Syria.<sup>39</sup> By January of 1517, the Ottomans had taken control of Cairo. Vecellio seemed to mark this transition of power in his description of the *Moorish Nobleman of Cairo's* (fig. 13) silk turban, which he

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 15-16.

<sup>38</sup> Domenico Trevisano was sent to Cairo to arrange for the resumption of trade after it had been disrupted by high prices that resulted from Portuguese raids in the Indian Ocean. See Zaccaria Pagani, *Viaggio di Domenico Trevisan Ambasciatore Beneto al Gran Sultano del Cairo nell' anno 1512* (Venezia, 1875).

<sup>39</sup> Ibid, 25.

described as being in the Turkish style.<sup>40</sup> The Ottomans retained control of Egypt, one of its most profitable provinces, despite several attempts by Mamluks to overthrow their colonizers.<sup>41</sup> Through Egypt's political changes, Venetians continued trading there. Except for breaks during overt hostilities between Venice and the Ottoman Empire, Venice and Egypt maintained a beneficial commercial partnership.<sup>42</sup>

In fact, Venice had strong commercial ties to most of Northern Africa. Starting in the late fifteenth century, a galley line sailed along the eastern North African coast into Alexandria or on to Syria.<sup>43</sup> Venetians often sent ambassadors to Cairo and Alexandria to work out trade agreements, and notably, an Egyptian delegation was sent to Venice in 1507.<sup>44</sup> Another Venetian merchant galley line, established in 1436, conducted business along the Barbary Coast trading silver and textiles in Tunis, along the western North African shore, in Moorish Granada, ending up in Valencia.<sup>45</sup> Though trade was halted in 1570 after the start of hostilities with the Ottomans, Venice was restoring its shipping throughout the Mediterranean and its trade along the North African coast and in Egypt in the last years of the sixteenth century when Vecellio was preparing and publishing his book.<sup>46</sup>

Vecellio pictured people along the North African coast, known also as the Barbary Coast or the Magrib. This region of North Africa was comprised of Ifriqiya to

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<sup>40</sup> Vecellio, f. 424r.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 27.

<sup>42</sup> Fredric C. Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic* (Baltimore, 1973) 292.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 339.

<sup>44</sup> Twenty commercial treaties were negotiated between the Mamluks and the Venetians. Most were worked out in Egypt. In 1507, however, a Mamluk ambassador was sent to Venice to work out a treaty. See John Wansbrough, "A Mamluk Ambassador to Venice in 913/1507," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, 26 (1963), 503-530.

<sup>45</sup> Lane, 339.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 293-294.



the east and Morocco to the west. Ifriqiya was a loose association of regencies.<sup>47</sup> Tlemcen, the only North African city to which Vecellio specifically referred lies between these regions. He included descriptions of a man and a woman from this region (figs. 22 and 23). Tlemcen and its port city Olan were the gateways to the interior of Africa. They were the access point to Mali and the Songhay Empire with its plethora of slaves and gold. Ifriqiya was firmly under Ottoman control by 1574, while portions of Morocco had been controlled by the Portuguese seeking outposts closer to the southern portions of Africa that they desired to investigate.<sup>48</sup> The Sadid dynasty, which took over power in Morocco in 1554, was successful in expelling the Portuguese from North Africa.<sup>49</sup>

Vecellio's understanding of North Africa appears to be based on *Della descrizione dell' Africa et delle cose notabili che iui sono, per Giovan Lioni Africano* by Leo Africanus, an Andalusian adventurer and ambassador.<sup>50</sup> *Della descrizione dell' Africa* was first published in Ramusio's *Navigazioni et viaggi*. It was later reprinted in several languages and formed the foundation of European knowledge about North Africa at the time.

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<sup>47</sup> Oliver and Atmore, 32.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 41, 55.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 56-57.

<sup>50</sup> The following biographic information is from Pekka Masonen, "Leo Africanus: The Man with Many Names," *Al-Andalus-Magreb. Revista de estudios árabes e islámicos*, VII-IX (2002) 115-143. Born al-Hasan b. Muhammad al-Fasi in Granada, Leo Africanus moved with his family to Fez in Morocco when the Spanish forced out their Islamic population at the end of the fifteenth century. He worked for the Wattasid sultan of Morocco traveling as part of his diplomatic missions most notably to Timbuktu in the Songhay Empire and claims to have visited Sudanic Africa including Mali (though he may have gotten his information about this region from West Africans he met in North Africa). Spanish corsairs captured him and presented him to Pope Leo X in Rome whom he was named after (Johannes Leo de Medicis or Giovanni Leone). Incidentally, the coast of North Africa was rampant with pirates, both Christian and Muslim. (See Sir Godfrey Fisher, *Barbary Legend: War, Trade, and Piracy in North Africa, 1415-1830* (Westport, 1957). Also see the chapter on "The Barbary Corsairs" in Alberto Tenenti, *Piracy and the Decline of Venice, 1580-1615* (Berkeley, 1967). After a time spent in Bologna, Leo Africanus returned to Rome in 1526 during the ascendancy of the new Medici pope Clement VII, the same year he claimed to finish his description of the geography and anthropology of North Africa.

Mediterranean Africa was filled with a diverse population that Vecellio acknowledged, although he was not specific about the regencies with which he intended them to be associated. His *African Woman* (fig. 20) recalls North Africa's historical position as a province of the Roman Empire because her clothing is said to resemble that of a Roman matron.<sup>51</sup> The *Noble of Barbary* (fig. 17) is a Berber, the indigenous people of the area. Some Berbers were Christianized during the early Christian era, but were united under Islam after the Arab migration into the area.<sup>52</sup> Vecellio's figure titled *An African Indian* (fig. 26) illustrates a nomadic Arab. The Arabs traveled across the Sahara Desert in caravans accompanied by camels. Three of Vecellio's North Africans are described as Moors, which can refer to persons of mixed Berber and Arab descent or simply black people.<sup>53</sup>

Vecellio next turned to the southeastern coast of Africa and focused on the important trading center of "Ceffala" and the outlying island of Zanzibar in the Indian Ocean. "Ceffala" referenced either the coastal region that is part of modern day Mozambique or one of the major port cities situated there, both also known as Sofala. This region had a long history of outside contact, assimilating Indonesians, Persians, and Arabs into their culture and society as they established trade with Asia. The Sofala coast and its Swahili settlements had been ruled from the city of Kilwa since the eleventh century by Islamic dynasties made wealthy from the mercantile exchanges taking place along their shores.<sup>54</sup> The luxury trade was essential to the Arab spice trade. Ivory and gold bought with Indian cloth, hardware, and beads from interior Shona kingdoms in the

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<sup>51</sup> Vecellio, f. 437r.

<sup>52</sup> Oliver and Atmore, 32; Vecellio, f. 437r.

<sup>53</sup> Vecellio, ff. 428v-430r, 431v, 432r.

<sup>54</sup> Oliver and Atmore, 198-9.

Mutapa empire was brought to the coast to be shipped by Arabs to Southeast Asia where it facilitated the procurement of spices.<sup>55</sup>

At the dawn of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese, eager to usurp control of the spice trade, quickly understood that their buying power in India was contingent on their ability to provide East African ivory and gold, as their own trade goods rallied little excitement in Calicut, Goa, or Cananor.<sup>56</sup> Vasco da Gama investigated the region for the Portuguese in 1497, and soon after Francisco de Almeida, the first Portuguese governor in India, had forts built in the cities of Kilwa and Sofala to enforce a Portuguese monopoly on external maritime trade. By 1515, the Portuguese had set up a series of enforced sites along the coast and successfully minimized Arab shipping in the Indian Ocean. The Portuguese objective in the interior was to ensure a consistent supply of ivory and gold through diplomacy with the Shona kings in the Mutapa empire, and to limit the business of the Swahili traders, which they had essentially taken over.<sup>57</sup>

European knowledge of East Africa was spread in *Décadas da Ásia*, an official history of the Portuguese in the Orient first published at Lisbon in 1552. Its author, João de Barros, held several royal posts including that of *Casa Da India e Mina* (crown administrator of the Indian and Guinean colonies). Through his contact with official reports and returning soldiers, merchants, and administrators, he compiled his text. *Ásia* was also available in Italian beginning with Ramusio's 1554 edition of the first volume of *Navigazioni et Viaggi* published in Venice. It included a translation of the first section of De Barros' text, which refers to Ceffala and Zanzibar. The first two *decadas* of

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 205-206.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 207.

DeBarros' history were also published as an independent codex in Italian translation at Venice in 1561-2.

Vecellio's *African Indian from Ceffala* (fig. 25) represents an inhabitant who lived along this contested coastline. Considering the image and its description, he seems to stand as a classicized amalgam of the Shona, Swahili, Arab, and Indian influences that would have been present in Sofala. According to Vecellio, his diet consists of rice, meat, and fish, which is the longstanding diet of the local inhabitants.<sup>58</sup> Also Vecellio wrote that his spear is made of materials imported from India. In addition, he mentioned the range of skin colors that would have been represented by this diverse group of peoples and noted the presence of both Arabic and Indian languages. Visually, the figure's state of undress infers a less civilized condition perhaps evoked by contemporary descriptions of the Swahili or Shona peoples. Most tellingly, his head is crowned with a gold ornament set with stones.<sup>59</sup> He is crowned with the prized commodity of his locality.

The *Black Moor of Zanzibar* (fig. 28) is from the island of Zanzibar, initially a self-governed polity where clans sustained themselves by fishing, hunting, and farming.<sup>60</sup> Harbor towns sprung up as Islamic shipping began to fill the Indian Ocean. After the Portuguese took over the trading routes and began to exert influence along the coast, they maintained friendly relations with the island's people.<sup>61</sup> Instead of the classicized physiognomy of the African Indian from Ceffala, this "moor" has distinctly black facial features. The text is also rather generic referring mainly to elements of costume depicted

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 197; Vecellio, f. 436r, "*risi, miglio, carni, e pesce.*"

<sup>59</sup> Vecellio, 436r, "*portano attorno il cappello un'ornamento d'oro molto ben fatto con alcune belle pietre.*"

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 194.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 206.

in the woodcut. Still, Vecellio again highlighted the gold essential to his island's European fame, which makes up his well-worked sword's sheath.<sup>62</sup>

Lastly, Vecellio included West Africans from the Gambia River area (fig. 27) and the Canary Islands (fig. 29), retracing the first West African sea journey of Cadamosto, a fifteenth century Venetian galley master. Cadamosto began his career working for his merchant cousin Andrea Barbarigo and trading cloth and beads for gold in North African ports.<sup>63</sup> In 1455, Prince Henry the Navigator, the Portuguese governor of the Moroccan town of Ceuta, retained him to explore the West African coastline. The Portuguese were anxious to improve their access to West African gold.<sup>64</sup> Cadamosto recorded the events and geography of his two exploratory voyages for the Portuguese, the first, in 1455, to the Canary Islands and the Gambia River, and the second, in 1465, to the Cape Verde Islands, for the benefit of the Venetian government. Surprisingly, because the Portuguese were very secretive about their navigational discoveries in Africa, it was present as a manuscript in Venice and was published in *Paesi novamente ritrovati* at Vicenza in 1507. Ramusio included the account in all editions of his collection of travel writing.

The Canary Islands off the northwest coast of Africa, though known in antiquity, had been rediscovered in the early fourteenth century.<sup>65</sup> By the time Cadamosto arrived, the Portuguese and Castilians had established themselves on the island with claims to sovereignty. The local population of animal herders had been rather forcefully

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<sup>62</sup> Vecellio, 439r, “*portano alcuni costelli storti con manichi di legno, lauorati d’oro, ò d’altri metallic.*”

<sup>63</sup> Lane, 345.

<sup>64</sup> Oliver and Atmore, 64-65.

<sup>65</sup> For an account of the European conquests of the Canaries, see Eduardo Aznar Vallejo, “The conquests of the Canary Islands” in *Implicit Understandings* ed. Stuart B. Schwartz (Cambridge, 1994) 134-156.

evangelized into the Christian faith. By the time *Habiti antichi et moderni* was written, the islands were under complete colonial control despite stiff aboriginal resistance.

After leaving the Canary Islands, Cadamosto sailed down the coast and discovered the mouth of the Gambia River for Portugal. He did not remain long however as he encountered hostilities from the residents along the river which Vecellio alludes to in his description of the inhabitants of the region.<sup>66</sup> His navigation, however, allowed for the start of Portuguese trade with West Africa bringing them in contact with the Dyula, the merchant class of Mali who controlled the gold trade. The Dyula traveled in groups with armed combatants.<sup>67</sup> These are likely the sort of people that Cadamosto encountered on his voyage down the river, as well as, the group to which Vecellio's representation refers.

As we have seen, Vecellio's Africans reside in regions valuable to Europeans especially the Portuguese and the Venetians. The inclusion of inhabitants of regions with rich natural resources, including gold is not surprising in a book published in a city with mercantile foundations whose text and geographical orientation relied on the travel narratives. Profitable trade was a prime objective of both Venetian and Portuguese travel. Also, in the late sixteenth century, Venice had become the leading manufacturer of silk and an important industrial center for wool. Did Vecellio present residents of Africa as potential consumers for Venetian cloth?

Ottoman and Portuguese imperial interests were quickly taking control of African territory. This made Venetian expansion in the Mediterranean a distant memory and growth in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans all but impossible. The possibilities of marking

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<sup>66</sup> Vecellio, 438r, "*ualorosi combattitori; auuelenano le loro armi, & non stimano lauita loro.*"

<sup>67</sup> Oliver and Atmore, 64.

the memory of Venetian potential through costumed bodies seem tantalizing. Many of Vecellio's images represent peoples known because Portuguese expeditions made possible by Cadamosto's Venetian navigational know-how or advertised through Pigafetta's Venetian account of Magellan's circumnavigation of the African Continent. A scholar may undertake a search for evidence of agency among Mamluks or Berbers subjugated by Ottomans or West or East Africans whose own trade was being compromised by the Portuguese. Both of these expanding empires posed potential threats to Venice's own physical and economic security.

On the other hand, the researcher is faced with facts that make these possibilities improbable. Venetian trading relationships in North Africa and Egypt were mutually beneficial. In fact, Venetian trade with the Mamluks was often complicated.<sup>68</sup> Even though the Ottomans remained a possible danger to Venice, their occupation in Northern Africa actually had beneficial results for Venetian business in the area.<sup>69</sup> Furthermore, Portuguese activities in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans meant their absence in the Mediterranean where they had been a dominant, competitive commercial force.<sup>70</sup> Overall, Venetians compensated for the negative effects of these conquests adapted and remained a significant shipping center, built up its industrial infrastructure with textile manufacturing, and turned its attentions to its possessions on the Italian mainland. Vecellio's representations of African costume are associated with all these complex economic and political relationships. However, the meanings they acquired by virtue of their association with politically and economically motivated texts are neutralized by the

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<sup>68</sup> Lane, 286-290.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 304.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 331.

hybrid nature of their construction, the flexibility of their classification, and most significantly, their intended purpose as proposals for theater costumes.



## Chapter Two

### “Translating” African Dress: Vecellio’s Visual Sources for Book X

Borrowing information from previously published books, as Vecellio did, was a common practice. Ethnographic descriptions in most fifteenth- and sixteenth-century proto-anthropological texts are copied from previously published books.<sup>71</sup> Scholars are quick to point out that most authors of sixteenth-century costume books used woodcuts or engravings from earlier costume books as models for their own examples of costume.<sup>72</sup> Olian and Timmons have established that the practice of copying weakens what can be known from these imitated bodies.<sup>73</sup> While I agree with their conclusion, I contend that the practice of copying images deserves attention. Showing how Vecellio selected previously used imagery sheds light on what he deemed visually important about Africans for his audience. Moreover, the Africans in *Habiti antichi et moderni* have a visual history that complicates their meaning. Copying distances the representations from European exploration and travel and the motivations behind them, thereby neutralizing them.

Vecellio made Book X of *Habiti antichi et moderni* by copying selected images from other artistic projects and describing them with excerpts from travel narratives and his own observations. As a result, he created an assortment of decontextualized, mythico-historical costumed African figures. Vecellio’s method of assemblage ensures

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<sup>71</sup> Margaret Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1964) 150 and 154.

<sup>72</sup> Wilson, 441; Olian, 21.

<sup>73</sup> See note 8.

the multivalent quality of his African figures. Before Vecellio interpreted his African costumes, they had already been interpreted in other European contexts. Their hybridity resulted from multiple cultural encounters that occurred over time and that were synthesized into single representations.

Vecellio's selection and manipulation of his sources and models for his depictions of African costume confirm that those depictions do not comprise a fixed system of signification, but instead are a compilation of altered or invented signifiers with multiple or incompletely defined signifieds. The African costumes are signifiers that accumulate new signifieds as they move into a different culture and various contexts within that culture. By extracting them from their most recent contexts, Vecellio disassociated them from the meaning they acquired there. Moreover, the signifiers themselves are changed by the act of copying, especially because they were previously rendered in media different than print. Each medium has its own unique visual possibilities. Sometimes, Vecellio combined unrelated images and texts, thereby inventing mythic Africans that had yet to be fully signified. The following investigation of Vecellio's artistic process shows that his representations of Africans are resistant to definitive meanings.

Like most other costume book makers, Vecellio selected his Africans from other artistic contexts. For example, Vecellio extracted some of his residents of Cairo, including the *Moorish Nobleman of Cairo* (fig. 13), *Woman of Cairo* (fig. 14), and the *Christian Indian in Cairo* (fig. 16) from Gentile Bellini's *St. Mark Preaching in Alexandria* painted for the *albergo* of the Scuola Grande di San Marco (fig. 32).<sup>74</sup> It is helpful to consider these figures in their earlier context by examining the circumstances

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<sup>74</sup> The identification of this source for Vecellio's Egyptian costumes was made by Jeanine Guérin dalle Mese, *L'occhio di Cesare Vecellio: abiti e costumi esotici nel '500* (Alessandria, 1998) 131.

of Bellini's painting in the confraternity's meeting place. After their original building burned in 1485, the members of the confraternity undertook a lavish reconstruction project. Gentile's *historia* was the first painting commissioned for the main meeting room and was designated for the position of honor on the east wall where the members entering through the doorway in the west wall would immediately see it. The room's decoration would eventually include a cycle of seven narrative paintings.<sup>75</sup> At the time of Gentile's death in 1507, the composition was almost completed, and his brother Giovanni was tasked with its finishing touches in Gentile's will.<sup>76</sup>

Images of the life of St. Mark, the patron of both the city of Venice and the confraternity, were frequent sites for the representation of Africans because the story's key events occurred in Egypt.<sup>77</sup> In Gentile's scene from the life of Mark, the Egyptians listen to the gospel alongside representations of the confraternity's own members. Bellini's composition was possibly inspired by Cima and Mansueti's narratives of St. Mark's evangelism and martyrdom in the Orient located in the apsidal chapel at the Church of Crociferi. The chapel belonged to the Guild of the Silk Weavers (*Arte de Setaiuoli*), who considered St. Mark to be their patron. Patricia Fortini Brown points out that Bellini's exotic imagery was appropriate for a *scuola* whose members had included such *viaggiatori* as Alvise da Mosto, Giosafat Barbaro, a Venetian diplomat, and

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<sup>75</sup> The cycle included the following *historias*: Giovanni Mansueti, *St. Mark Healing Anianus*; Gentile Bellini, *St. Mark Preaching in Alexandria*; Giovanni Mansueti, *Episodes in the Life of St. Mark (Arrest and Trial of St. Mark)*; Vittore Belliniano, *Martyrdom of St. Mark*; Palma Vecchio and Paris Bordone, *Miracle of St. Mark in a Storm at Sea (or Sea Storm)*; and Paris Bordone, *Presentation of the Ring to the Doge*. See the description of the *albergo*'s cycle in Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio* (New Haven, 1988) 291-295.

<sup>76</sup> Brown, 293.

<sup>77</sup> The life of St. Mark is represented in twelve episodes in mosaics along the barrel vault of the ante-vestibule of the southwest corner of the Basilica de San Marco in Venice. The ante-vestibule was once the main entrance to the basilica. The area is now referred to as the Cappella Zen. See Brown, 33-37.

Ambrogio Contarini, who brought back a piece of the True Cross to Venice from Constantinople.<sup>78</sup>

Brown characterizes *St. Mark Preaching* as a fantasy (*fantasia*) with authentic elements intended to evoke an exotic setting that does not necessarily depict an authentic Orient.<sup>79</sup> However, she explains that the image, painted in the “eyewitness style,” appears to be visual testimony.<sup>80</sup> The imagined scene takes place on invented topography that references an Alexandrian setting and includes reference to Mamluk costume while also recalling Venice’s Piazza di San Marco.<sup>81</sup> Bellini never traveled to Alexandria, but he did spend time in Constantinople, the seat of Ottoman rule. He depicted a single figure in the Ottoman dress that he observed firsthand. The Turk stands as an Ottoman presence to the right of St. Mark’s podium and balances Gentile’s own self-portrait on the other side. The turban on his head is wrapped horizontally and is topped with a *taj*, the red cap rising above the white fabric.<sup>82</sup> The other men wear turbans in the Mamluk style. A Mamluk turban lacks a *taj* and is sometimes wrapped vertically.<sup>83</sup> Vecellio’s *Moorish Nobleman of Cairo* was excised from the Mamluk crowd. Interestingly, Vecellio stated

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 74.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 206.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 4. Brown uses “eyewitness style” to describe the invented scenes that appear to be documentary in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Venetian narrative paintings.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., 208-209. As a reference to Alexandrian topography, Brown points out the Column of Diocletian behind the wall to the right of the basilica. Also, she explains that the leftmost tower could be the Pharos Lighthouse of Alexandria’s harbor. Finally, she explains that the obelisk in front of the wall to the left of the basilica corresponds to one brought by Emperor Augustus from the temple of Amon at Heliopolis and placed in front of the Caesarium of Alexandria.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 197.

<sup>83</sup> My conclusions about the costumes in *St. Mark Preaching* are derived from Julian Raby’s discussion of Mamluk headwear in *Venice, Dürer and the Oriental Mode* (London, 1982) 35-41.

that his turban is in the Turkish style even though it is actually Mamluk because it lacks a *taj*.<sup>84</sup>

*St. Mark Preaching in Alexandria* was one of seven Venetian paintings made between 1495 and 1525 that included Mamluk costume. Five of them were created for the Scuola Grande di San Marco. The interest in the Mamluk setting could correlate with Venetian distress about increasing Ottoman power and its affect on Venetian interests; gradual Ottoman domination of Mamluk territory was concurrent with the making of these images.<sup>85</sup> Julian Raby has proposed the *Reception of an Ambassador in Damascus* as the source for Mamluk motifs in Venetian painting by arguing that it is the most faithful representation of Mamluk costume, architecture, and heraldry of all Venetian paintings in the Mamluk mode (fig. 33).<sup>86</sup> Unlike Gentile Bellini's *fantasia, Ambassador* was not just a pretext for Oriental costume, architecture, and customs. Brown explains that it represents an actual occurrence, and its intent was to document the presence of a Venetian diplomat in a particular place.<sup>87</sup> Raby confirms Jean Sauvaget's earlier observation that the scene is set in Damascus because of the inclusion of several of the city's landmarks.<sup>88</sup> He concludes that the artist either traveled with the diplomatic party or relied on first-hand descriptions for the composition.

The amir and his consultants in the *Reception of the Ambassador* wear clothing similar to *Campson Guari, Sultan of Egypt* (fig. 11) and his *Admirals and Councilors* (fig. 12) in *Habiti antichi et moderni*. The horned turban, worn by the amir in the

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<sup>84</sup> According to Vecellio, "*I Moro di conditione del Cairo portano in capo un dulipa vte simile à i Turchi do sessa...*" See *Habiti antichi et moderni*, f. 424r.

<sup>85</sup> See Brown, 196 and Raby, 83.

<sup>86</sup> Raby, 43-52.

<sup>87</sup> Brown, 197.

<sup>88</sup> Raby, 55-60 and Jean Sauvaget, "Une ancienne representation de Damas au Musée du Louvre." *Bulletin d'études orientales*, 11 (1945-6): 5-12.

painting and the Sultan in the costume book, was a mark of the sultan's authority. An amir could be granted the privilege of wearing it by a sultan. The headdress was called an *al-takhfifa al-kabira* and nicknamed *al-na<sup>c</sup>-ura*, which is Arabic for "waterwheel."<sup>89</sup> The *Sultan of Cairo*'s "waterwheel" turban has greatly exaggerated "horns," and his *Admirals and Councilors* wear fantastical hats with the vertical folds characteristic of Mamluk headgear. Vecellio has emphasized the verticality of the *al-na<sup>c</sup>-ura*'s "horns" and increased the verticality or horizontality of the *Admirals and Councilors*' headdresses to the point of the ludicrous, giving them increased strangeness. A strikingly similar Sultan and counselors appear in illuminations in a manuscript of Zaccaria Pagani's *Viaggia*, described previously as the account of Venetian diplomats and merchants in Egypt.<sup>90</sup> Pagani was a Bellunese noble and the clerk for a 1512 Venetian diplomatic mission to Cairo. Vecellio spent some time in Belluno where he worked for his patrons, the Pillone. Possibly, he conversed with Pagani, or at least he may have had access to the aforementioned manuscript and its illuminations.<sup>91</sup> Vecellio has been suggested as the artist of these illuminated figures, but alternatively, I suggest the possibility that the images may have been the source for his woodcut designs of the *Sultan of Egypt* and the *Admirals and Councilors*.

Returning to Bellini's *fantasia*, *St. Mark Preaching*, the model for Vecellio's *Woman of Cairo* (fig. 14) stands in the crowd facing the viewer at the base of the podium where St. Mark preaches. She looms over the crimson clad self-portrait of Gentile

<sup>89</sup> Raby, 35.

<sup>90</sup> See note 45 in Raby, 89. According to M. François Avril, Vecellio may have painted the two watercolors in the front of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris MS Italien 2111, which is dated c.1570-1580. One of the images portrays four Egyptians in a variety of headdresses. The other shows a sultan on a raised pedestal.

<sup>91</sup> Guérin dalle Mese suggests that Pagani's narrative is a source for Vecellio, 135. See Zaccaria Pagani, *Viaggio di Domenico Trevisan*

Bellini. Raby suggests that Bellini's source for her is possibly Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*, a chronicle of his journey through the Holy Land.<sup>92</sup> Erhard Reuwich accompanied Breydenbach and printed his depictions of the cities they visited and images of the people who lived in them alongside Breydenbach's texts when they returned to Europe. The *Woman of Cairo* with her covered face and her striped dress resembles Reuwich's woodcut of a woman in Damascus (fig. 34).<sup>93</sup>

These dressed "Egyptian," or more accurately "Mamluk," bodies were altered in appearance, as well as meaning, when they were transformed from first-hand representations of Syrian Mamluk bodies, to figures in scenic artifices, and finally to schematic printed figures. As they moved from one pictorial context to another, they were associated with different localities. Initially, they were associated with Damascus, then Alexandria, and in Vecellio's book, Cairo. Originally depicted to record face-to-face interactions between Mamluks in Damascus and European merchants, diplomats, and pilgrims, the costumes were used to evoke Oriental exoticism in Bellini's *fantasia*. Perhaps Vecellio chose to copy these Mamluk images because they reminded Venetians of an Egypt without Ottomans. Even if this was so, according to Raby's research, the actual Mamluks living under Ottoman rule during this time wanted to wear Ottoman dress, but they were forced to differentiate themselves from their colonial occupants by maintaining their traditional costume.<sup>94</sup> Regardless, Vecellio removed these images from their most recent contexts, Bellini's painting and possibly the Pagani manuscript. These

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<sup>92</sup> Breydenbach was first published in 1486 at Mainz. Raby, 41.

<sup>93</sup> Both Pagani and Leo Africanus describe the dress of women in Cairo.

<sup>94</sup> Raby, 83.

images were again copied by Vecellio, and consequently were distanced from their originals and the signification associated with them.

Thus, as part of a vestmentary sign system, the Mamluk costumes were signifiers whose signifieds shifted as they were moved into different cultures, rendered in different media, and situated in different pictorial contexts.<sup>95</sup> Deborah Howard called the mutations and reinterpretations like those that Vecellio's Egyptians have undergone "cross-cultural translation."<sup>96</sup> Mimicking the idea of *translatio* or acquisition of saintly relics, "translation" naturalizes an object within its adoptive context. This term encompasses the transmission, reformulation, and assimilation objects undergo as they move from one cultural space to the next. In addition to their initial cultural "translation" from Mamluk bodies to European conceptions, these images have been "translated" from one media into another, in some cases several times. As they migrate from culture to culture, medium to medium, and pictorial context to pictorial context, they shift in meaning. Ultimately, Vecellio extracted the images from their contexts. In this process, they lose their attachment to the signification they acquired there. Moreover, when the *Moorish Noble Man of Cairo* and the *Woman of Cairo* were "translated" from paint into a drawing and eventually, a woodcut, the painted Mamluk and the Egyptian woman lost pieces of visual information. Paint allows for the colors and textures of the garments to be communicated in ways that are impossible in a woodcut. By comparison, Vecellio's prints appear as only diagrammatic remnants of their source.

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<sup>95</sup> Roland Barthes asserts that clothing is a system of signification, though one that is dependent on language as a mediator. *Elements of Semiology*, trans. Annette Lavers and Colin Smith (New York, 1964) 10, 25-27.

<sup>96</sup> *Venice and the East*, xv.



A similar translation process happened when Vecellio borrowed ten of his Africans from Jean Jacques Boissard's *Habitus Variarum Orbis gentium* (figs. 35-45).<sup>97</sup> The engraver Boissard was involved in a myriad of antiquarian pursuits, most notably the writing his four volume *Romanae urbis topographia*. As an antiquarian, he studied the entirety of Rome's classical culture in order that it might be reconstructed in his own time. Boissard applied a similar approach to his study of contemporary society that resulted in his costume book and a collection of portraits.<sup>98</sup> His antiquarian studies required travel, and the notice to his readers in *Habitus Variarum Orbis gentium* suggests that he based the drawings for the engravings of the costumes on the clothing he observed on these journeys.<sup>99</sup> Whether they are drawn from life or not, Boissard's drawings were made into engravings that carefully conveyed detailed ornaments and physiognomies on individualized, but classicized bodies. While removed from their physical surroundings,

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<sup>97</sup>Boissard's costume book was published at Cologne in 1581. The following woodcuts from Book X of *Habiti antichi et moderni* were copied from Boissard. *African Indian from Ceffala*, f. 435v (fig. 25) is copied from Boissard's *African Indian*, f. 54 (fig. 38). *Noble of Barbary*, f. 427v (fig. 17) is copied from Boissard's *Nobleman of Barbary* f. 55 (fig. 39). *African Woman from the Kingdom of Tlemcen*, f. 433v (fig. 23); *Woman of Average Condition*, f. 434v (fig. 24); and *African Woman*, f. 430v (fig. 20) are copied from the images of African women on f. 56 of *Habitus Variarum Orbis gentium*. The *Well-to-do Moor*, f. 429v (fig. 19); the *Moorish Girl*, f. 428v (fig. 18); and the *Ethiopian Soldier*, f. 420v (fig. 10) are copied from the images of *Moor*, *Moorish Girl*, and *Ethiopian* on f. 59 in Boissard's costume book (fig. 43). The *Ethiopian Girl* and *Ethiopian Nobleman* (figs. 8 and 9), on folios 419v and 418v respectively, are copied from the *Ethiopian Girl* and one of the *Ethiopian men* pictured on f. 60 of *Habitus Variarum Orbis gentium* (fig. 44). Finally, Vecellio's other *African Indian* f. 436v (fig. 26) is a copy of another of Boissard's *African Indians* from f. 61 (fig. 45).

<sup>98</sup> Angelo Mazzacco describes Renaissance antiquarianism and its influence on all sorts of study including proto-anthropological investigations in "Biondo Flavio and the Antiquarian Tradition," *Acta Coventus* (1979): 124-136.

<sup>99</sup> The preface to the reader written by Boissard's publisher in the beginning of his costume book reads, "For so it is that we shall see before our eyes not only the differences between one area and another, but between one human being and another, in accordance with their different ways of life, which for the most part betrays their character and customs. This of course is the benefit derived from foreign travel. And in this matter Jean Jacques Boissard, a man of the most precise and honest genius, has in my opinion made the most outstanding efforts." In Latin, "Et enim sic non tantum prouincia prouinciæ, sed homo etiam homini quid intersit ex vario cultus genere, qui ingenium plerumque ac mores prodit, in oculos incurret. Qui sane verus peregrinationis fructus est. Atque ea in re præclarissimam, mea quidem sentential, operam elegantissimi vir ingenij Joannes jacobus Boissardus posuit..."

the figures seem to continue the actions they were performing in the world. They are labeled with geographic identities in three languages and combined in trios on wide pages. In his own costume book, Vecellio often maintained Boissard's labeled identities, but the woodcut versions of the costumes in *Habiti antichi et moderni* lose the precision they had as engravings in Boissard's *Habitus Variarum Orbis gentium*.<sup>100</sup> As woodcuts, the Africans in *Habiti antichi et moderni* are schematized. Importantly, Vecellio does not copy all of Boissard's African figures. He selected only some to populate his "map" of Africa in Book X of *Habiti antichi et moderni*.<sup>101</sup> In addition, he changed and expanded the identities of those he chose to copy with his descriptions.

Vecellio juxtaposed the imagery he selected from Boissard with his own verbal description of the images and information from travel narratives about Africans mostly found in Giovanni Battista Ramusio's first volume of *Navigazioni et viaggi*. For instance, the text associated with Vecellio's *Noble of Barbary* (fig.17), an image copied from Boissard's *Nobleman of Barbary* (fig. 39), is composed of information from Leo Africanus and Vecellio's own verbal representation of the costume.<sup>102</sup> Both Vecellio and Leo Africanus in *Navigazioni et viaggi* refer to the Latin language of the Berbers. Both remark that it is not very elegant. In addition, they both mention the Berbers' inquisitive study of the humanities. Vecellio continued to describe the image that he has

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<sup>100</sup> See chapter 2 "The Road Block Broken" in *Prints and Visual Communication* (Cambridge, 1969) especially pages 47-49 for a discussion of the visual possibilities of engravings, as compared to the visual possibilities of woodcuts.

<sup>101</sup> Vecellio does not use the following Africans from Boissard: *Man of Barbary*, f. 34 (fig. 36); *Woman of Alexandria*, f. 39 (fig. 37); *African Patriarch*, f. 55 (fig. 39); *African Indian Woman*, f. 57 (fig. 41); *African Indian Woman*, f. 58 (fig. 42); *African Indian*, f. 58 (fig. 42), *Ethiopian*, f. 60 (fig. 44).

<sup>102</sup> See Leo Africanus in *Navigazioni et viaggi Venice 1563-1606*, by Gian Battista Ramusio, with an Introduction by R.A. Skelton and an Analysis of the Contents by Prof. George B. Parks, vol. I (Amsterdam, 1970) 7v and 8r.

“translated” from Boissard into his own book by verbally emphasizing the types of fabrics and ornamental details of the figure’s dress, like the neckerchief around his beard.

Vecellio’s African representations are an assemblage of diverse imagery and texts about Africa that happened to be available to him. Bernadette Bucher used Claude Lévi-Strauss’s structuralist theory about mythmaking to explain the similarly “patched together” compendiums of travel narrative published in England by the De Brys.<sup>103</sup> In *The Savage Mind*, Lévi-Strauss explains that

The characteristic feature of mythic thought is that it expresses itself by means of a heterogeneous repertoire which, even if extensive, is nevertheless limited. It has to use this repertoire, however, whatever the task in hand, because it has nothing else at its disposal. Mythical thought is therefore a kind of intellectual “bricolage” – which explains the relations which can be perceived between the two.<sup>104</sup>

Bucher explains that the union of merged texts from unrelated histories results in mythico-historical amalgams. In the same way, when Vecellio “pasted” together a “translated” African body with a selection from a travel narrative, a mythico-historical amalgam of an African was created.

Another example of Vecellio’s bricolage is his *African Indian from Ceffala* (fig. 25). Vecellio borrowed Boissard’s *African Indian* (fig. 38) and merged it with information about people from Ceffala likely gathered from Joao de Barros’ history of the Portuguese possessions in Africa and Varthema’s personal narrative, both in Ramusio’s travel literature collection, in order to create this representation. Also, in what seems like an arbitrary decision, he conflated another of Boissard’s *African Indians* (fig. 45) with Leo Africanus’ description of the nomadic Arabs in the Sahara Desert.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> See the chapter “The Makeup of Mythic Material: Collage and Bricolage” in her book *Icon and Conquest*, 13-23.

<sup>104</sup> Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind*, trans. George Weidenteld (Chicago, 1962) 17.

<sup>105</sup> See Vecellio, f. 436v and Leo Africanus in Ramusio, 5v and 6r.

Vecellio's rendition of the *Christian Indian of Cairo* (fig. 16) is perhaps Book X's strangest syncretism. Plenty of Christians lived in Cairo, including foreign merchants and visitors and local Egyptians. Leo Africanus mentioned their presence several times in his description of Egypt. However, this particular "Christian" wears a *zamt* on his head. The *zamt*, worn by the Mamluk military class, was a red bonnet with long tufts and a kerchief tied over the top or around the base.<sup>106</sup> It is quite unlikely that a man who dressed in these clothes would have been a Christian. *Zamts* were usually worn by Muslims.

These "pieced-together" Africans have been decontextualized from their sources and reduced to diagrammatic woodcut representations. They carry only remembered meanings from earlier contexts that have not been explicitly defined in their present one. Vecellio's method of assemblage results in a population of multivalent, mythic, yet vaguely historic Africans partially stripped of previous meanings and intended to populate the future paintings and theatrical performances of Northern Italy. The earlier signification of Vecellio's Africans has been diffused, and they are ready to acquire new meanings as they were to be copied again and again by painters, sculptors, and designers.

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<sup>106</sup> Raby, 41.

## Chapter Three

### A World of Costume in One Codex Shut<sup>107</sup>

Vecellio attempted to make *Habiti antichi et moderni* universal and comprehensive. The title claims that the book contains costumes from “*tutto il mondo*” or “all the world.” To accomplish this, he collected imagery and ethnographic information and organized them into a classificatory structure made possible by the codex form. The book was intended to be a site for artistic study and curiosity. These characteristics of Vecellio’s project define it as an early modern collection.<sup>108</sup>

Attention to organizational categories is one of the essential characteristics of early modern collections. Objects in early collections were often associated with one of five categories, including *mirabilia* (to be marveled), *exotica* (from foreign locales), *naturalia* (products of nature), *artificialia* (made by human artifice), and *scientifica* (for the pursuit of science and technology). In reality, however, the objects were understood

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<sup>107</sup> This title is my own revision of the statement “A World of Wonders in one closet shut” from the epitaph of the British collector John Tradescant (ca. 1577-1638):

As by their choice collections may appear,  
Of what is rare, in land, in seas, in air:  
Whilst they (as HOMER’s Iliad in a nut)  
A World of Wonders in one closet shut.

In Arthur MacGregor, “The Tradescants: Gardeners and Botanists,” in *Tradescant’s Rarities: Essays on the Foundation of the Ashmolean Museum 1683*, ed. Arthur MacGregor (Oxford, 1983), p. 15.

<sup>108</sup> Many important studies on collecting and collections in the early modern period exist. My argument is influenced primarily by the following: Krzysztof Pomian’s work on the relationship between museums and the place of curiosity in *Collectors and Curiosities: Paris and Venice, 1500-1800* (London, 1990); an extensive survey of early modern collecting in the conference proceedings from the tercentennial of the Ashmolean Museum in Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor, *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Oxford, 1985); Paula Findlen’s study of scientific collecting in *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley, 1994); and the catalogue from the Hood Museum of Art’s exhibition *The Age of the Marvelous*, ed. Joy Kenseth (Hanover, NH, 1991).

to be able to simultaneously exist within several groups, drawing attention to both their similarities and their differences with other pieces of the collection.<sup>109</sup> *Habiti antichi et moderni* is structured to allow for a similar jostling of objects among defined categories. This chapter will examine how Vecellio's book works as an early modern collection and the ways in which it is ordered to show that the objects within this structured codex remain available for fluid and ambiguous classificatory viewing that allows each representation a diversity of characterizations. Within such a collection, Vecellio's representations of costume have a multivalent status.

Though early modern collections were usually groups of physical objects displayed in a room or cabinet, books could also contain collections.<sup>110</sup> Collectors often produced printed catalogues of their physical collections. Also, drawings, engravings, and woodcuts of large or living things compiled in a book were more easily stored than the things themselves. Collections in codices were also more accessible to a larger audience. Margaret Hodgen has made the case that proto-anthropological texts, and especially costume books, were understood as collections by contemporary readers and should be conceived of as such by the scholars who study them.<sup>111</sup>

Vecellio's own patron, Odorico Pillone, was an enthusiastic collector.<sup>112</sup> The books that he collected in his library were decorated on their fore-edges with paintings of

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<sup>109</sup> This argument is taken from Martin Kemp's essay "Wrought by No Artist's Hand" in *Reframing the Renaissance*, ed. Claire Farago (New Haven: 1995) 177-196, see especially 179.

<sup>110</sup> Giuseppe Olmi, "Science-Honour-Metaphor: Italian Cabinets of the Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Centuries," in *The Origins of Museums*, 7-8.

<sup>111</sup> Margaret Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia, 1964) 123.

<sup>112</sup> A. R. A. Hobson, "The Pillone Library," 29.

subjects appropriate to their contents.<sup>113</sup> Cesare Vecellio executed this entirely original project by painting images such as the Venetian cityscape, antique monuments, Turks, Russians, the emperor of China, and American Indians on the books.<sup>114</sup> Perhaps Vecellio conceived of his costume collection during one of his working visits to Odorico's villa on the foothills of the Dolomites at Casteldardo in the south of the Belluno valley. Odorico gathered more than just codices. He collected historical portraits, natural history specimens, and relics from the Battle of Lepanto. During his retirement at the close of the sixteenth century, he turned his attentions and finances toward his collection and enriched it with additional books, especially those on travel, medals, and geological and zoological objects. Whether or not Odorico's activities inspired or motivated Vecellio's collecting impulse, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* is an early modern collection because it is a highly ordered site of study and wonder with a universal scope.

African objects were often found within early modern collections. Sub-Saharan African objects were components of many curiosity cabinets in Europe.<sup>115</sup> Three worked ivory horns belonged to the collection of Cosimo de Medici.<sup>116</sup> Albrecht Dürer recorded that he paid three florins for an ivory saltcellar likely imported from Africa by the Portuguese.<sup>117</sup> Objects like these were made in Africa after western models.<sup>118</sup>

Collectors also included African items made for local use inside their curiosity cabinets,

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<sup>113</sup> In this time period, books were shelved so that the binding faced the back of a bookshelf, making the fore-edges available for view in the room where the books were stored.

<sup>114</sup> See Francesca Bellengin, "La decorazioni pittorica della Biblioteca Piloni," in *Cesare Vecellio, 1521c. -1601*, ed. Tiziana Conte (Belluno, 2001) 95-123.

<sup>115</sup> See Ezio Bassani and Malcolm McLeod, "African Material in Early Modern Collections" in *The Origins of Museums*, 245-250.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 247.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>118</sup> See Suzanne Blier, "Imaging Otherness in Ivory," *Art History Bulletin* 75 (1993): 375-396.

though they often found them engaging in ways that Africans would not have.<sup>119</sup> The monetary value of certain African commodities like gold or ivory sometimes attracted the most attention.<sup>120</sup>

African people themselves were sometimes parts of “human collections.” Some collectors like Isabella d’Este had a particular interest in obtaining servants of African heritage. Her mother had once imported an entire family of Africans. Isabella continued to obtain Africans as her slaves because of their perceived exotic nature.<sup>121</sup> Additionally, Cardinal Ippolito de Medici collected slaves of all countries as curiosities.<sup>122</sup>

Early modern collecting was based on a belief in individual human ingenuity and the possibility of universal knowledge. Florentine Pico della Mirandola insisted on the privileged position of humankind in the universe and their capacity to acquire comprehensive knowledge in his *Oration of the Dignity of Man* published in 1486. Collections aspired to be universal and comprehensive, or in effect, to become microcosms that reflected the macrocosm.<sup>123</sup> Vecellio’s goal was clearly universality. His costumes encompass the world known at the time of its production. The expanded second edition includes eighty-six new costume representations, and still, Vecellio begged his readers to forgive him for his omissions.<sup>124</sup> In his section of African dress,

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<sup>119</sup> Bassani and MacLeod, 246.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

<sup>121</sup> Jean Devisse and Michel Mollat, *Imaging the the Black in Western Art*, 2, trans. William Granger Ryan (New York, 1979) 187-188.

<sup>122</sup> Mark, Peter. *Africans in European Eyes: The Portrayal of Black Africans in Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century Europe*. Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, Foreign and Comparative Studies/Eastern Africa Series 16, 1974, p. 62.

<sup>123</sup> Joy Kenseth, “ ‘A World of Wonders in One Closet Shut,’ ” in *The Age of the Marvelous*, 83-84.

<sup>124</sup> Vecellio, f. [6v].



Vecellio attempted to include a comprehensive sampling of the costumes around the continent of Africa, but his scope was limited by the extent of European travel.

Early modern collections were the site of investigative study and enticing curiosity for their founders and observers.<sup>125</sup> As will be explained in chapter four, this collection was intended to be a site for artistic study. Readers could investigate the inventive possibilities of costume around the globe as models and inspiration for their own ingenious creations. Secondly, readers who were not artists could have used the costume book to examine the dressing customs of people from around the world.

Though it was not the book's primary purpose, *Habiti antichi et moderni* could easily accommodate armchair travel. Vecellio himself remarked on his scholarly and diligent efforts to assemble the collection.<sup>126</sup> His collection reflects his own interest in curious facts. Why else would he have included so many strange facts with so little to do with costume and everything to do with enjoying the alterity of another group of people? For instance, Vecellio detailed the camel's milk and other foods that the *African Indian* (fig. 26), whom he associated textually with the nomadic Arabs in the Sahara desert, ate.<sup>127</sup>

In addition to its encyclopedic scope, early collections were necessarily organized.<sup>128</sup> A survey of Vecellio's organizing principles makes clear the looseness of his parameters for classification. Though the most organized of the costume books published in the sixteenth century, *Habiti antichi et moderni* still accommodates the intellectual play of early modern classificatory viewing, allowing for the jostling of

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<sup>125</sup> Olmi, 8.

<sup>126</sup> Vecellio, f.[5v].

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., f. 437r. "*Si pascono di latte de camelli, &d'altri cibi grossi.*"

<sup>128</sup> Barbara Jeanne Balsiger, *The Kunst- und Wunderkammern: A Catalogue Raisonné of Collecting in Germany, France, and England, 1565-1750*, Ph.D. Dissertation (University of Pittsburgh, 1970) 14,18. Balsiger makes the case that collections are defined by the fact that they are catalogued or given an intentional order.

costumes into and out of various ordering schemes.<sup>129</sup> Vecellio offered a variety of classifying opportunities for his Africans. Geography is his most dominate organizer. The costumes are organized into twelve books that classify the dress by nationality or by continent (Africa, Asia, and the Americas). Within Book X, which contains the representations of African costume, the costumes are again grouped, though this time less clearly, by geography. Ethiopians, Egyptians, North Africans, East Africans, and West Africans are gathered in clusters.

A closer examination of the organization of Book X reveals that Vecellio relied on a scale of civilization to classify the African costume within this subsection of the codex. The scale is “bookended” by *Prestor John* (fig. 5), a sumptuously dressed, Christian king, and *The Clothing of the Canary Islands* (fig. 29), a figure characterized more by his state of undress than his clothing. According to Vecellio, the Canary Islanders worshipped the sun, moon, and stars before the Portuguese converted them. The boundaries of Vecellio’s scale are an elaborately clothed Christian ruler and a nearly naked pagan. He ranks his dressed figures on this scale of civility. After *Prestor John* and images of the members of his court (figs. 6-10), Vecellio presented the opulent, but Muslim Egyptians (figs. 11-16). Inhabitants of the North African regencies follow (fig. 17-24). The population is intellectually active, Latin speaking, and Islamic. Towards the other end of the scale, Vecellio included the East and West Africans and depicted them with increasing levels of nudity as he progressed. Such a ranking, inconspicuous as it may be, ion of Book X reveals that Vecellio relied on a scale of civilization to classify the African costume within this subsection of the codex. The scale of civility on which the

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<sup>129</sup> See Kemp, “Wrought by No Artist’s Hand.”

the Africans are organized reflects the influence of Aristotelian ideas about civilization and the Great Chain of Being, both of which rely on the principle that everything has its proper position in the world.<sup>130</sup>

Though Vecellio integrated ethnographic information into his collection of dress, his primary interest was not the methodical study of diverse peoples. He used anthropological details to order his figures as described above, but he did not include the same sort of facts about each type of person. His seemingly arbitrary inclusion of details contributes to the argument that he provided information as much for study and ordering as for satiating curiosities.

The key anthropological interests of sixteenth-century social studies were religion and language.<sup>131</sup> Equipped with this information, Western Christians could communicate their faith to foreigners. Vecellio organized his geographic clusters of Africans by their faith, but he did not always mention it. Book X opens with the Ethiopian Christians led by Prestor John, who filled the dual position of ruler and priest for his people. Vecellio continued with the Muslim Egyptians. Next, he included the North Africans who also followed the Islamic religion, but Vecellio was careful to point out that Berbers had been Christianized during in the latter days of the Roman Empire before the arrival of the nomadic Arabs who infiltrated their population and converted them to Islam.<sup>132</sup> Vecellio closed his book on Africa with the Canary Islanders. Vecellio gleaned from his sources that they had been worshippers of the sun, moon, and stars before the Portuguese

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<sup>130</sup> See Hodgen, 386-426 for a discussion of the Great Chain of Being and the use of Aristotelian principles in creating categories for humans.

<sup>131</sup> Hodgen, 214-215.

<sup>132</sup>Vecellio f. 428r. “*Nella Barbaria parte dell’Africa si viue hoggidi alla Macomettana; se bene per i tempi à dietro hauessero tenuta la fede di Christo, la quale à persuasione d’infedeli hanno poi persa.*”

Catholics began to evangelize them.<sup>133</sup> Language played less of a role in Vecellio's construction of Africa. Nonetheless, he included linguistic information about the Nobleman of Barbary and the African Indian of Ceffala. He explained that the Berbers spoke Latin less elegantly than the Europeans, and mentioned the presence of both Indian and Arabic languages in East Africa.<sup>134</sup>

One of Vecellio's minor interests seems to have been the diet of the Africans. In many of his descriptions, he outlined what the people in a particular African region ate. His gastronomic details seem to be provided simply for curious readers. Sometimes, these details highlight the alterity of certain Africans. Other times, they draw similarities among Africans from different regions and even among Africans and Europeans. I have already explained how Vecellio emphasizes the strangeness of the *Other African Indian* (fig. 26) by mentioning the camel's milk in his diet. On the other hand, Vecellio compared the diet of the Berber nobles to that of the inhabitants of Cairo.<sup>135</sup> Also, the diet Vecellio described for the residents of Ceffala would have been remarkably similar to that of a Venetian.<sup>136</sup>

Color and physiognomy, although mentioned, are not primary identifiers among Vecellio's Africans. Color is only mentioned in the text accompanying six of the African figures. Vecellio never referred to white complexions in his descriptions, but instead emphasized the swarthy or dark facial coloring of certain Africans. Few of the printed figures have the distinct physiognomy of black Africans. Vecellio did not depict any of them with dark skin, but this may be primarily a result of the medium he used.

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<sup>133</sup> Ibid., f. 440r.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., f. 428r and f. 436r.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., f. 428r. "*I loro cibi sono si come anco quelli de Cairo.*"

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., f. 436r. "*Si pascono di risi, miglio, carni, e pesce.*"

Of interest, however, is the indication of color among North African Moors of various standings. The *Black Moor of Africa* (fig. 21) is said to have a low economic standing and in the next sentence he is described as black.<sup>137</sup> The *Woman of Average Condition* (fig. 37) was in a better position than the Black Moor from a monetary standpoint. Vecellio suggested that these women had a variety of complexions, some being brown, and not all being black<sup>138</sup>. The *Well-to-do Moor* (fig. 19) is represented as comfortable, though not extremely wealthy, and according to the text, has an olive or swarthy face.<sup>139</sup> In *Habiti antichi et moderni*, darker coloring and lower economic stations among North Africans are associated. In Vecellio's North Africa, a continuum of increasing darkness ranging from swarthy to brown-black to black appears to mirror decreasing economic status within the society.

Two additional references to color are in connection with Asian peoples residing in Africa. "*Oliustra*," used to describe North African Moors of a certain wealth, also describes the *Christian Indian in Cairo* (fig. 16).<sup>140</sup> The *African Indians from Ceffala* (fig. 25) are described as part black, and part with swarthy complexions.<sup>141</sup>

The final mention of color appears in the title for the *Clothing of Some Black Moors of Zanzibar in Africa* (fig. 28). The black inhabitants of Zanzibar are portrayed with facial features associated with black Africans. Additionally, the Africans from the Canary Islands and Gambia appear to have a black facial physiognomy (figs. 29 and 27). In most of Vecellio's imagery and text, physiognomy and color is not emphasized and

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<sup>137</sup> Ibid., f. 432r. Vecellio used the word "*negri*."

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., f. 437r. The phrase Vecellio used is "...sono al quanto burne, & non tutte negre."

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., f. 430r. Here, Vecellio used "*oliuustra*."

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., f. 427r.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., f. 436r. Vecellio wrote, "*parte neri, e parti oliuistri*."

frequently must be inferred or guessed at. As a result, though Vecellio clearly acknowledged the diverse colorings among African peoples, he did not use this feature as a principal organizer for his African categories, nor did he see it as a critical trait important enough to consistently draw textual or figural attention to it in every instance. His approach reflected the pervasive early modern preoccupation with the national identity of humans that trumped identification by ethnicity and race in early modern anthropological conceptions.<sup>142</sup>

The tentative nature of the categories in *Habiti antichi et moderni* is readily apparent. Even the seemingly firm geographical categories are problematized. The *Christian Indian in Cairo* likely represents an Asian (fig. 16). A figure entitled African Woman in the Indies (fig. 30) is located in Vecellio's book on Asia. The looseness of the categorization requires engagement and encourages intellectual play. Readers looked for possibilities with which to characterize an object rather than being limited by strict schemes of classification. While the images' positions within the book are not physically moveable, the representations can be mentally jostled to fit into categories that are important to the viewer. The indices point toward similarities in sexual or economic status and professions across geography. They also help readers to find similar elements of costume on various bodies that representing different nations and even continents. Differences registered by dress are sometimes challenged by other similarities. For example, *Campson Guari, Sultan of Egypt* (fig. 24) is depicted in clothing distinct from that of the contemporary Venetian Doge. However, both ruled from cities with canals.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> Ivan Hannaford, *Race: The History of an Idea in the West* (Baltimore, 1996) 147-182 and Hodgen, 214-215.

<sup>143</sup> Vecellio mentioned canals in Cairo, f. 422r.

The organization of the book is dynamic, opening up new ideas for groupings rather than relegating costumes into fixed, assigned categories that firmly define them.

As part of this early modern collection, Vecellio's representations of Africans gain multivalence. The images were made available for open-ended characterization by comparing and contrasting them with representations of costumes from other localities. *Habiti antichi et moderni* is a carefully organized and comprehensive compendium of dress. Even so, the characterizations of its contents depended more on the intellectual engagement of its readers than the parameters for order designed into the book. In fact, the organizational features facilitated new formulations for grouping the dressed bodies in the codex. Though enframed within strapwork borders in a thick codex, the woodcuts have endless potential for interacting with other prints in the book. Such playful possibilities for defining these images counteract the associations they had with travel narratives and European economic interests in Africa.

## Chapter Four

### Africans for Well-Fashioned Productions

Vecellio's costume books were intended as model books for artists designing costume for theatrical productions and paintings. *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo*'s introductory text and extensive indices suggest that it was intended as a visual reference of geographic differences among humans for artists who needed such information to produce successful artistic representations. As an artist in the Veneto, Vecellio understood the importance of costumes as identifiers and ornaments in both paintings and theatrical performances. Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italian theorists of theater and painting set standards for costume that are echoed in the words Vecellio used to describe his designs – *antichità*, *diversità*, and *ricchezza*. The costumes in *Habiti antichi et moderni* reflect these artistic ideals and are organized within the codex for easy reference. Within this collection of costume designs, the images of African costume were not primarily intended to codify African vestimentary signs. Instead, the woodcuts were proposals for costumes that remained open to further signification that would be assigned within their ultimate pictorial or theatrical contexts.

Costume was not an afterthought for artists in late sixteenth-century Italy. In fifteenth- and sixteenth-century paintings, figural costumes were considered part of the harmonious whole of a picture. They needed to relate to each of the other parts of the composition, and to the image in its entirety. In his fifteenth-century treatise, *De pictura*, Leon Battista Alberti encouraged painters to imitate nature, but to do so by selecting its



most beautiful parts.<sup>144</sup> In doing so, he relied on the Aristotelian philosophical principle that things in nature have particular stations, which assign them a proper form and function. Therefore, according to Alberti, the elements of a picture, like the components of nature, should have a “fittingness” in their environment.<sup>145</sup> The parts of a painting should be internally consistent, well-ordered, and in compliance with propriety. As part of his conception of painting, Alberti called for decorous costume.

Everything should also conform to a certain dignity. It is not suitable for Venus or Minerva to be dressed in military cloaks; and it would be improper for you to dress Jupiter or Mars in women’s clothes.<sup>146</sup>

Another book about painting, *Dialogo della pittura* written by Ludovico Dolce presented criteria for good painting through an invented conversation between Aretino and Fabrini. The book, published in 1557 in Venice, relied heavily on *De pictura*. For instance, Aretino explains that invention, a component of painting, involves composing a picture with order and propriety. This involves the appropriate use of costume.

And now let me begin with invention. I maintain that a great many constituents enter in here, the most important ones being order and propriety. For suppose, by way of an example, that the painter should need to paint Christ or St. Paul preaching. It does not do for him to paint a nude or dress his figure in the manner of a soldier or sailor. Rather, he needs to work out a costume appropriate to the one and the other...he should always pay attention to the personal qualities of his subjects; and he should consider to the same degree questions of nationality, dress, setting, and period. If for instance, he should be depicting a military action of Caesar or Alexander the Great, it is inappropriate that he should arm the soldiers in the fashion which prevails nowadays. And he should put one kind of armor on the Macedonians and another kind on the Romans...And similarly, if he wanted to represent Caesar, it would be a ridiculous thing for him to place on the head in question a Turkish turban, or one of our caps, or indeed one in the Venetian style.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting*, trans. and ed. Cecil Grayson (London, 1991). Alberti wrote *De pictura* in 1435 and translated it into Italian a year later. See Anthony Blunt, *Artistic Theory in Italy, 1400-1600* (Oxford: 1962) 14-15 and 17-18 for explanations of Alberti’s concept of imitating nature.

<sup>145</sup> I am borrowing the term ‘fittingness’ from Martin Kemp who uses it in his introduction to *On Painting*, 8.

<sup>146</sup> Alberti, 74.

<sup>147</sup> Ludovico Dolce, *Dialogo della Pittura di M. Lodovico Dolce, Intitolato L’Aretino*, 119.

In addition to announcing the chronological setting, costume was also necessary to identify the nationality and social status of figures.

As regards propriety, that is, costume should accord in its style (as I said earlier) with the wearer's nationality and station. And if the painter is working on an apostle, he will not dress him in a short mantle; nor again, if he means to depict a military commander, will he put on his back a gown with (as I shall term them) 'looped sleeves.'<sup>148</sup>

Day-to-day dress was an important indicator of national and social identity.

Stallybrass and Jones argue that the materiality of clothing defined the social status, profession, and nationality bodies that wore it.<sup>149</sup> Wilson explains that dress rather than physiognomy suggested a body's identity in printed representations of figures.<sup>150</sup>

Costume for performances and in paintings functioned in a similar way and suggested the identity of a character or figure.

In addition to being geographically and chronologically verisimilar, costumes in paintings were supposed to resemble the materiality of fabric. While explaining how design needed to be executed for a satisfying result, Aretino highlighted the importance of how an artist painted his costumes.

Where clothes are concerned, the painter should also pay attention to the matter of quality; for velvet and watered silk, a fine linen and a coarse cloth all produce folds of different kinds. And similarly these folds need to be arranged where they belong in such a way that they show what is underneath and wander in a skillfully organized fashion along the path which they ought to follow – but not so that they cut into another or so that the drapery looks as if it were stuck to the flesh. And just as too great a hardness make the figure scanty and denies it grace, so a lot of loose ends create confusion and give no pleasure. So here too one needs to follow that middle path which meets with praise in all matters.<sup>151</sup>

With such requirements, it would have been important for an artist to know out of what sort of cloth a figure's costume was cut. Vecellio's careful documentation of the fabrics,

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<sup>148</sup> Ibid., 151.

<sup>149</sup> See note 5.

<sup>150</sup> See note 4.

<sup>151</sup> Dolce, 151.

metals, and stones of African costumes helped artists create convincing representations of shirts, mantles, crowns, earrings, and swords.

In addition being decorous, costumes were also meant to please the viewer of a composition. According to Alberti, “the first thing that gives pleasure in a ‘*historia*’ is a plentiful variety.”<sup>152</sup> Vecellio offered artists an enormous variety of proposed figures for their narrative paintings. Later in the sixteenth century, Giorgio Vasari, in his book *Le vite de piu eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori*, exalted the pleasure of a well-made painting and listed varied and rich costumes as pictorial elements that contributed to a picture’s appeal. Vasari’s book constructed a progressive history of art after the medieval era that climaxed in the work of Michelangelo. Through his biographical descriptions, Vasari suggested that art should be an imitation of nature that surpasses nature itself. Beyond propriety and correctness, paintings needed to exhibit *grazia* (grace), a concept developed in Castiglione’s *Il Cortegiano* and based on neo-Platonic ideas.<sup>153</sup> Anthony Blunt characterizes art with *grazia* as learned painting with good manners.<sup>154</sup> These “manners” appealed to viewers who found inventions that combined skill and ornament immensely pleasurable. Through the successive periods of art making, Vasari argued that the ingenuity of artifices and their *grazia* increased.

...there comes the second period during which everything will be seen to improve enormously. Inventions are more abundant in figures and richer in ornamentation...<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> Alberti, 75.

<sup>153</sup> See Blunt, 93 for an explanation of Vasari’s use of the term *grazia*.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid., 98.

<sup>155</sup> Giorgio Vasari, *The Lives of the Artists*, trans. and ed. Julia Conaway Bondanella and Peter Bondanella (Oxford, 1991) 54.

The ornamental nature of costumes contributed to an image's *grazia*. The artists Vasari associated with his third, most recent, and most successful period of art making employed costume to enhance the ingenuity of their compositions.

And although the artists of the second period made extraordinary efforts in these crafts...they were not, however, sufficient to achieve complete perfection...They...lacked an abundance of beautiful costumes, variety in imaginative details...But their mistakes were later clearly demonstrated by the works of Leonardo da Vinci, who initiated the third style which we call modern...his scenes...show us...the faces and clothing of our own peoples as well as those of foreigners, just as Raphael wished to depict them.<sup>156</sup>

According to Aretino in Dolce's *Dialogo*, which borrows from Vasari, images should elicit an emotional response.

What is needed is that the figures should stir the spectators' souls...Failing this, the painter should not claim to have accomplished anything.<sup>157</sup>

In the hands of a skilled artisan, costume, as part of a composition and in harmony with other pictorial elements, could evoke passion from viewers with a taste for *grazia*.

As we have seen, sixteenth-century art was meant to simultaneously imitate nature (*imitatio naturae*) and idealize or embellish nature (*superatio naturae*).<sup>158</sup>

According to Aretino's mix of Aristotelian and Platonic ideals, successful images depended on *bellezza*, achieved through the harmonious and proportionate relationships between their parts and the whole, and *grazia*.<sup>159</sup> Theorists and practitioners of theater, basing their theoretical assertions on Aristotle's *Poetics*, also considered both propriety and *grazia* essential to their *mise-en-scène*. Angelo Ingegneri, the director of the inaugural play *Edipo tirrano* at Palladio's Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza, characterized his

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<sup>156</sup> Ibid., 278.

<sup>157</sup> Dolce, 157.

<sup>158</sup> Mark Roskill, "Introduction" in *Dolce's Aretino and Venetian Art Theory of the Cinquecento*, 11.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid, 19.

decorative apparatus for the spectacle, including costume, as a mixture of *rassomiglianza* (likeness) and *la pompa* (stately display).<sup>160</sup> Ingegneri's terms carry meanings similar to Dolce's *bellezza* and *grazia*. Both argued for art that reflected nature and enhanced it for pleasurable visual experiences.

Artists were often involved in preparing the scenography, mechanical devices, and the *apparato* for performances. *Apparato* could include everything required for a production including lighting, scenery, and costumes.<sup>161</sup> Vasari documented the inventions artists contributed to the various forms of period spectacle. Piero di Cosimo (c. 1462-1521) made inventions for the Carnevale masques in Florence.

At the least he improved these greatly by suiting to the theme of the story not only music and words related to the subject but also showy parades of men on foot and on horseback, of costumes and adornments fitted to the story, an idea that proved both rich and beautiful, bringing together greatness and ingenuity.<sup>162</sup>

Giulio Romano (c.1492/99 – 1546) designed extravagant costumes for jousts in honor of Emperor Charles V's 1530 visit to Mantua.<sup>163</sup> Tribolo (1500-1558) was responsible for the costumes for the *intermezzi* during the wedding of the Florentine ruler Cosimo's marriage to Eleanora, daughter of Pietro di Toledo, viceroy of Naples.

And Tribolo made for the costumes of the intermezzi...the finest and most beautiful inventions of clothing, shoes, headdresses and other properties that could possibly be imagined...These were [among] the reasons that the Duke later served himself of many capricious masquerades of Tribolo's invention...<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> Angelo Ingegneri, *Della poesia rappresentativa e del modo di rappresentare le favole sceniche*, a cura di Maria Luisa Doglio (Modena, 1989) 26.

<sup>161</sup> Thomas A. Pallen, *Vasari on Theatre* (Carbondale, 1999) 3.

<sup>162</sup> Giorgi Vasari, "Excerpts from *Le vite de' più eccellenti Pittori, Scultori et Architettori*" in *Vasari on Theatre*, 58. I have chosen to use Pallen's translations of Vasari when discussing the contributions to theater made by artists mentioned in *Le vite*. Pallen has translated these selections of Vasari with special concern for expressing the meanings of the terms that are related to theatrical performance.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, 66.

Also, Piero da Vinci (Leonardo's father) and Bernardino di Giordano designed the costumes for Jacopo da Pontormo's (1494-1557) triumphal procession during Carnevale in Florence, which celebrated Leo X becoming the Pope.<sup>165</sup>

In order to understand how artists, directors, and producers thought about theatrical costume, we will examine four treatises written by practitioners and theorists of early modern theater. In these texts, the authors list what they considered the essential attributes of costume and argued that the grandeur and verisimilitude of costume would inspire and guide the audience during performances. *Antichità, diversità, and ricchezza*, the greatest qualities of the costumes in *Habiti antichi et moderni* according to Vecellio, were important to theatrical costume design according to sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century directors who consistently demanded rich and diverse costumes in their writings. Costumes with these characteristics contributed to the veracity of a spectacle because a diverse selection helped audiences identify performers and were also pleasurable in their sumptuousness, foreignness, and antiqueness. By using the terms *antichità, diversità, and ricchezza* to describe his woodcuts, Vecellio identified them as proposals for theater costumes.

The first treatise on theater we will discuss is Giraldi Giovanni Battista's (also known as Cinthio) *Discorsi* published in 1554. Though this text is mostly a poetics of theater, Cinthio did author several theatrical pieces, some of which were performed under his guidance in Ferrara, and his book does explain the relevance of the *mise-en-scène* to the play.<sup>166</sup> Leone di Somi, another playwright who directed and produced comedies and

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<sup>165</sup> Ibid., 70-71.

<sup>166</sup> Cinthio was the author of the story upon which Shakespeare based *Othello*.

pastorals for the Mantuan court, wrote *Quattro dialoghi* in 1565.<sup>167</sup> His text revolves around a conversation between two friends and a director Verdico, who represents di Somi. Verdico explains how he carries out all the practical necessities of theatrical production. Next, Ingegneri published *Della poesia rappresentativa e del modo di rappresenatare le favole sceniche* in 1598 in which he recorded his impressions of production based on his experience staging Orsatto Giustiniani's Italian translation of *Oedipus Rex* at the Teatro Olimpico in 1585. Finally, a text called *Il Corago* was written around 1628, likely in Florence, and outlined the production of operas.

Among these directors, only Leone di Somi mentions antiquity as an important quality for costumes. In addition to suggesting antique sculptures and paintings with ancient figures as models for costumes, he points to mantles and antique garments as particularly effective in tragedies, insisting that a careful producer would not be satisfied with modern clothes.<sup>168</sup> When Di Somi discussed antique costumes, he was not referring to the types of costumes worn by Classical actors or actual ancient dress. Instead, he meant a style of dress that suggested ancient times, but was particularly Renaissance in nature. Stella Mary Newton has outlined the vocabulary that authors used to describe this form of Renaissance "antique" dress.<sup>169</sup> The *camicia* was a wide, loose shirt or chemise worn close to the body under other layers of clothing. Another characteristically classical piece was the mantle (or *manto*), which was usually tied in a knot on the shoulder. Finally, *socci* were footwear secured around the ankles with ties.

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<sup>167</sup> *Quattro dialoghi* remained unpublished until the twentieth century.

<sup>168</sup> Leone di Somi, *The Dialogues of Leone di Somi*, trans. and ed. A. Nicoll, in *The Development of Theatre: A Study of Theatrical Art from the Beginnings to the Present Day*, by Allardyce Nicoll, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. rev. (New York, 1966) 270.

<sup>169</sup> Stella Mary Newton, *Renaissance Theatre Costume and the Sense of the Historic Past* (New York, 1975) 199-200.

According to both the textual and visual information in Book X, eleven of the Africans in *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* are dressed in these pieces of early modern “antique” dress. The *camicia* is commonly mentioned in the descriptions of the African figures. It functions as the base of nine figures’ costumes.<sup>170</sup> The reader can readily observe the *manto* or mantle on the *African Woman* (fig. 20), the *African Woman from the Kingdom of Tlemcen* (fig. 23), and the *Woman of Average Condition* (fig. 24). The *Ethiopian Nobleman* (fig. 8) and *Prestor John* (fig. 5) also wear mantles. In addition, the *Ethiopian Nobleman* wears shoes tied with a cord in the “ancient” style.<sup>171</sup> The *African from the Kingdom of Giabea in Africa* (fig. 27) wears shoes that Vecellio described as being in the style of the apostles who were residents of the Roman Empire.<sup>172</sup>

In addition to being clad in “antique” garments, these Africans are linked to the past. Vecellio’s Africans are characterized by their classicism. Their style references ancient Greco-Roman art, but reflects a particularly Renaissance reinterpretation of the antique forms. Also, Vecellio selected some of his figures from Bellini’s *St. Mark Preaching in Alexandria*. It was painted nearly a century before Vecellio published his book that depicts an event that occurred in antiquity. In addition, the models Vecellio chose to depict are dressed in “antique” costume that is appropriate to the temporal setting of Bellini’s painting. Vecellio’s choices are in line with di Somi’s directive to select costumes from older works of art and artworks that depict ancient costume.

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<sup>170</sup> The following Africans wear a *camicia* according to their accompanying text: *Prestor John*, f. 416r (fig. 5); *Prestor John’s Pages*, f. 417r (fig. 6); *Prestor John’s Chief Assistants*, f. 418r (fig. 7); *Ethiopian Nobleman*, f. 419r (fig. 8); *Ethiopian Soldier*, f. 421 (fig. 10); *Well-to-do Moor*, f. 430r (fig. 19); *African Woman*, f. 431r (fig. 20); *African Woman of the Kingdom of Tlemcen*, f. 434r (fig. 23); and *Clothing of the Kingdom of Giabea in Africa*, f. 438r (fig. 27).

<sup>171</sup> Vecellio, f. 419r.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 438r.



*African Woman* (fig. 20) is the clearest example of *antichità* in Book X of *Habiti antichi et moderni*. She is dressed in a manner that is “very similar to that of those ancient Roman matrons” according to Vecellio’s text.<sup>173</sup> She is a reminder of Africa as a part of the classical Roman world.

Diversity was a feature of *Habiti antichi et moderni* that was essential for designers seeking verisimilitude in that they needed to know what people of a certain place in a certain time and of a certain station looked like in order to make a proper costume and comply with the standards of decorum. Also, diverse costumes were useful to an audience trying to differentiate among characters. Most excitingly, diverse costumes included the strange, foreign, and exotic, which evoked wonder for the spectators.

The “fittingness” of the costume to the play, setting, and character was of utmost importance. According to Cinthio, costumes should “suit the theme of the play and their own situations within it.”<sup>174</sup> Di Somi said that when an actor stepped out onto a stage, his clothing would “announce his identity.”<sup>175</sup> Both Di Somi and Ingegneri explained that class, rank, and national identity should be visible through “*habiti*.”<sup>176</sup> The early seventeenth-century text, *Il Corago*, reiterates these earlier ideas. The author argued that costumes should conform to the customs and traditions of the setting. In this way,

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<sup>173</sup> Vecellio, f. 431r. In Italian the quote reads, “*molto simile à quello di queste antiche Romane matrone.*”

<sup>174</sup> Cinthio, 277.

<sup>175</sup> Di Somi, 269.

<sup>176</sup> Di Somi, 269 and Ingegneri, 29.

costumes could identify figures and guide audience members through the plot of the performance.<sup>177</sup>

On the other hand, diverse costumes could also contribute to the *grazia* of a production. Di Somi wrote, “since novelty is always sure to please, an audience takes delight in seeing foreign or strange costumes on stage.”<sup>178</sup> Cinthio mentioned the power of non-familiar costumes to arouse both the attention and admiration (or pleasure) of the spectators.<sup>179</sup> African costumes like those in *Habiti antichi et moderni* can then be understood to a reflection of what Europeans thought Africans actually wore that has been enhanced in order to contribute to a pleasurable spectacle of artistic ingenuity.

Vecellio told his readers that he choose Montalbano of the Della Fratta family as his patron for this book because he could, like Vecellio’s costumes, be associated with antiquity, diversity, and richness.<sup>180</sup> He was “diverse” because he lived in various Italian cities. Just as Montalbano’s presence moved throughout Northern Italy, Vecellio’s Africans were from different parts of the African continent. His Africans include the civilized and barbaric, the dressed and the undressed, the faithful, the infidels, and the idolaters. They were male and female and of all possible social statuses, including rulers, their attendants, nobles, average people, and servants. In addition, they are dressed in a variety fabrics. Even within a single description, Vecellio sometimes offers more than one possible color for a garment. In Egypt, he attempts, albeit incorrectly, to account for the variety of people that lived in this single locality. *La diuersità* is quite possibly the most obvious quality of Vecellio’s compendium, marked even in the title, *Habiti antichi*

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<sup>177</sup> *Il Corago*, 105.

<sup>178</sup> Di Somi, 270.

<sup>179</sup> Cinthio, 278.

<sup>180</sup> Vecellio, f. [3v-4r].

*et moderni di tutto il mondo*. Its universal nature included costumes from the past and the present and from all known geographical regions. A particular feature of the second edition of Vecellio's costume book is the inclusion of additional figures from geographies remote from Northern Italy, such as Prestor John's Ethiopian court and the Americans.

The differing and exotic costumes available in Vecellio's diverse collection could contribute to the sense of richness evoked by the visual parade of dress in a performance. Moreover, theatrical practitioners demanded that costume be sumptuous and aristocratic, especially for tragedies. Cinthio called for "*grandi e magnifici*" stage clothes for a tragedy.<sup>181</sup> Di Somi had Verdico announce that he dresses his actors in as "noble a fashion as possible," using sumptuous costumes for tragedy and suggesting that rich costume may even enhance a comedy.<sup>182</sup> Verdico saw no need for poorly clad servants in worn or ripped clothing. They should be dressed in velvet as long as their masters were clothed in an even greater degree of grandeur.<sup>183</sup> Ingegneri agreed, encouraging extravagant and superb costumes for tragedies and pastorals.<sup>184</sup> *Il Corago* also encouraged elegant and attractive designs for operatic costumes. These costumes were to be completed with ornamentation and jewelry.<sup>185</sup> Reaffirming the power of costume to excite an audience, *Il Corago* mentions that costume should be invented with "*capriccio di arteficio*" or capriciousness.<sup>186</sup>

*Ricchezza*, like *diversità*, is conspicuously in *Habiti antichi et moderni*'s folios.

Each of the African figures is exotic and strange, or elegantly and expensively dressed, or

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<sup>181</sup> Cinthio, 278.

<sup>182</sup> Di Somi, 269.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid.

<sup>184</sup> Ingegneri, 29.

<sup>185</sup> *Il Corago*, 115

<sup>186</sup> Ibid.

both. Richness is indicated in some rather obvious ways. According to their descriptions, fourteen of Vecellio's Africans wear gold, and five of them wear silver.<sup>187</sup> According to the text associated with Prestor John's costume, it is made from gold fabric.<sup>188</sup> A sumptuary law passed by the Venetian Senate in 1443 forbade women to cut dresses out of gold or silver cloth, though some exemptions were made for specific public displays.<sup>189</sup> Women were not so easily prevented from including the rich metallic fabrics in their wardrobes. Since they could not make their entire dress from the gold or silver cloth, they lined their sleeves with the material, slit them and lengthened them in order to display their sumptuous, extravagant ornamentation.<sup>190</sup> Prestor John's *habiti*, made completely of worked gold, would have been the most conspicuous of consumptions even by standards in Venice where sumptuary laws were often ineffective against vestimentary display.

Six Africans are ornamented with gems and jewels according to Vecellio's verbal descriptions.<sup>191</sup> These bejeweled bodies would have been spectacular to Venetians required to register their families' pearls.<sup>192</sup> Some of the Africans are clothed in animal

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<sup>187</sup> The following costumes include gold, according to Vecellio's text: *Prestor John*, f. 416r; *Prestor John's Pages*, f. 417r; *Prestor John's Chief Assistants*, f. 418r; *Ethiopian Soldier*, f. 421r; *Admirals and Councilors of the Sultan of Egypt*, f. 423; *Woman of Cairo*, f. 425r; *Mamluk*, f. 426r; *Moorish Girl*, f. 429r; *Well-to-do Moor*, f. 430; *African Woman*, f. 431r; *African Woman from the Kingdom of Tlemcen*, f. 434r; *African Indian from Ceffala*, f. 436; *An African Indian*, f. 437r; and *Clothing of Some Black Moors of Zanzibar in Africa*, f. 439r. Again, according to the text, the following costumes include silver: *Prestor John*, f. 416r; *Prestor John's Pages*, f. 417r; *Prestor John's Chief Assistants*, f. 418r; *African Woman*, f. 431r; and *African Woman from the Kingdom of Tlemcen*, f. 434r.

<sup>188</sup> Vecellio, f. 416r. "Il Prete Ianni porta di sopra una vesta di panno d'oro."

<sup>189</sup> Diane Owen Hughes, "Sumptuary Law and Social Relations in Renaissance Italy" in *Disputes and Settlements: Law and Human Relations in the West*, ed. John Bossy (Cambridge, 1983) 78.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.

<sup>191</sup> According to the text, the following costumes include jewels and gems: *Prestor John's Chief Assistants*, f. 418r (fig. 7); *Ethiopian Girl*, f. 420 (fig. 9); *Moorish Girl*, f. 429r (fig. 18); *African Woman*, f. 431 (fig. 20); and *An African Indian*, f. 437 (fig. 26).

<sup>192</sup> Hughes.

fur.<sup>193</sup> Most fantastic of the five are the *Ethiopian Soldier* (fig. 10) and the *Black Moor of Zanzibar* (fig. 28). The coat of the Ethiopian soldier is made from a lion's hide. Even more fabulously, a furry animal hide is wrapped around the man from Zanzibar's waist. The tail of the animal hide remains on the pelt and brushes the ground between its wearer's legs.

Eight Africans wear embroidered or embellished clothing.<sup>194</sup> Though Vecellio did not always mention the worked (“*lavorata*”) fabrics in his texts, he rendered ornate linear foliate patterns onto the “printed cloth” of seven of his Africans. Five of the Africans have wide sleeves that are indicated textually.<sup>195</sup> Wide sleeves were associated with luxury.<sup>196</sup> In fact, in October of 1504, the Venetian Senators banned all sleeves wider than one third of a *brachia* at any point.<sup>197</sup> Despite their best efforts to curb the growing openings, they seemed unstoppable. On January 4, 1507, when sleeve width was again being restricted, the Senate decreed that “if [women] are granted the right to put six *brachia* [into the sleeves], in a few months they will grow to an even larger size.”<sup>198</sup> In a city where the politicians often associated their polity's environmental and

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<sup>193</sup> The following costumes involve fur: *Prestor John's Chief Assistants*, f. 418r (fig. 7); *Ethiopian Soldier*, f. 421r (fig. 10); *Man from the Kingdom of Tlemcen*, f. 433r (fig. 22); *An African Indian*, f. 437r (fig. 26); and *the Clothing of Some Black Moors of Zanzibar in Africa*, f. 439r (fig. 28).

<sup>194</sup> The following costumes are visually shown to be worked or embroidered: *Prestor John*, f. 415v (fig. 5); *Prestor John's Pages*, 416v (fig. 6); *Prestor John's Chief Assistants*, f. 417v (fig. 7); *Ethiopian Soldier*, f. 420v (fig. 10); *Admirals and Councilors of the Sultan of Egypt*, f. 422v (fig. 12); *Moorish Nobleman of Cairo*, f. 423v (fig. 13); and *Mamluk*, f. 425v (fig. 15). Vecellio mentioned worked cloth in the descriptions for the following figures: *Prestor John's Pages*, 417r (fig. 6); *Admirals and Councilors of the Sultan of Egypt*, f. 423r (fig. 12); *Moorish Nobleman of Cairo*, f. 424r (fig. 13); *Mamluk*, f. 426r (fig. 15); and *Well-to-do Moor*, f. 430r (fig. 19).

<sup>195</sup> *Prestor John* (fig. 5), *Prestor John's Pages* (fig. 6), the *Well-to-do Moor* (fig. 19), *African Woman* (fig. 20), and *African Woman from the Kingdom of Tlemcen* (fig. 23) are described as having wide sleeves. These sleeves are also visible in the woodcuts. Also, the wide sleeves of *Prestor John's Chief Assistants* (fig. 7) are visible, but not mentioned in the text.

<sup>196</sup> Newton, 201.

<sup>197</sup> Hughes, 89

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*

territorial crises with conspicuous consumption, the Doge addressed the Great Council in the summer of 1509 attributing Venetian decline to the inordinate length of the sleeves.<sup>199</sup>

Overall, eighteen of the twenty-five African representations have some visual or verbal indicator of *ricchezza* such as gold, silver, gems, jewels, embroidered cloth, animal fur, or wide sleeves. The remaining seven are still sumptuous because of their foreignness, which in its diversity can add to the beauty of a production according to Di Somi.<sup>200</sup> Importantly, richness and grandeur were always visible in degrees so that the relationships among the figures were maintained, and the harmonious propriety was not disrupted.

Vecellio included labels for these antique, diverse, and rich costumes in two extensive indices. The indexes point toward *Habiti antichi et moderni*'s intended use as a reference guide. Costumes were searchable by the figure's title or by specific ornaments worn by the figures in the book. Users could also easily locate figures from a particular place by the large geographical divisions created by the separation of the texts and images into "books" within the codex. Vecellio's first edition, *Degli habiti antichi et moderni*, consisted of only two major geographical divisions – Europe in Book I and Africa and Asia in Book II. In that edition, the Africans intermingle with the Asians. Additionally, the earlier edition has only one index in which all notable things in the book are contained. Thus, the second edition is a more accessible sourcebook for artisans. Artist selecting ideas for their own designs could find costumes based on geography, the wearer's identity, or the name of a particular element of costume.

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<sup>199</sup> Ibid, 90.

<sup>200</sup> Di Somi, 270.

Once the figure or item of clothing the artisan required was selected, Vecellio provided a textual representation of the imagery in the woodcut. In his letter to his readers, he advertised this as a selling point because it gives the user important information that could not be visually conveyed in the format of woodcut prints.<sup>201</sup> In his descriptions, which in certain cases provide ethnographical details, Vecellio carefully recorded the materials from which the pieces of the costume and worn ornaments are made. Furthermore, he often mentioned the usual colors of the costumes. In the case of the African women, he also details their hairstyles, facial make-up, and fingernail polish.<sup>202</sup>

Clearly, Vecellio's Africans were meant to escape their strapwork frames and be transformed into physical and painted costumes. Rather than being contained in this codex by precise description or defined by typified imagery, these Africans were made to inspire new and unique African costumes that would exceed "correctness" as displays of their inventor's ingenuity through their sumptuously rich *grazia* and the *capriccio* of their invention.

Vecellio's methodology for compiling his book takes on new significance in light of its intended use. The figures were likely chosen because of their proven success as markers of identity and conduits of pleasure. Theorists of theater actually encouraged the use of previously existing artworks as models for costume. Marcello Buttigli's 1629 pamphlet chronicling the spectacles in honor of Parma's Duchess, Margherita di Toscana,

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<sup>201</sup> Vecellio, f. [6r] and [6v].

<sup>202</sup> Regarding the *Ethiopian Girl* (fig. 9), Vecellio wrote, "*Portano in capo una bella legatura di capelli di capelli di velo rosso, ò turchino*", f. 420r. He also described the hairstyle of the *Woman of Average Condition* (fig. 24). "*Hanno I loro capelli ricci, & bene accommodati*," f. 435r. Vecellio mentioned the makeup and fingernail polish of the *African Woman* (fig. 20): "*quasi tutte si dipingono le carni, et si tingono le unghie*," f.431r; f. 434r *Africana del Regno Tramisin*: "*si dipingo in modo*."

*Descrizione dell'Apparato fatto, per honorare la prima e solenne entrata in Parma dell Serenissima Prencipessa, Margheria di Toscana, duchessa di Parma, Piacenza*, gave a source list for costumes.<sup>203</sup> Compendia by Buontalenti, Vasari, Callot, and Parigi who designed court spectacles for the Medici in Florence also offered models for costume. Di Somi recommended costume styled “after the fashion of antique sculptures or paintings with those mantles and attires in which these persons of past centuries were so beautifully depicted.”<sup>204</sup> On the other hand, Ingegneri advocates looking for designs in contemporary painting. The author of *Il Corago* suggested the use of modern drawings, engravings, and other iconographic materials as sources for operatic costume.<sup>205</sup> Vecellio’s “borrowings” of imagery from other artistic sources can only be seen as typical and intended. Acting as a surrogate for costume designers and painters, he collected successful models and compiled them for their perusal.

However, the models were only supposed to act as guides. Users would have taken these models and adapted them for their own specific invention. Novelty and invention were prized in costume design. According to Cinthio, innovative costumes not only arouse the admiration of the audience, but also help them to follow the play with more attention.<sup>206</sup> Vecellio’s models were certainly not intended to work as a costume code for the costume designers or painters. The classical Greek system of codified costume had been denounced except for some who found it only acceptable for comedies.<sup>207</sup> In ancient Greece, theatrical costume was standardized so that old men

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<sup>203</sup> Buttigli mentions his sources on pp. 286-287.

<sup>204</sup> Di Somi, 270.

<sup>205</sup> *Il Corago*, 114.

<sup>206</sup> Cinthio, 278.

<sup>207</sup> Newton, 211.



wore white, young men dressed in varied colors, prostitutes were outfitted in yellow, and parasites wore twisted and pleated cloaks.<sup>208</sup> This restrictive codified system was dismissed because new tastes enjoyed more variation and extravagance in theatrical spectacles.

In this environment, Vecellio's Africans can be understood as models successful in their propriety and *grazia* in previous pictorial contexts. Now removed from that context, they are made available for revision and insertion in newly created theatrical or pictorial spaces. Umberto Eco explains that the elements of a picture gain their meaning from the pictorial context.

The units composing an iconic text are established – if at all – by the context. Out of context these so-called 'signs' are not signs at all, because they are neither coded nor possess any resemblance to anything. Thus insofar as it establishes the coded value of a sign, the iconic text is an act of code-making.<sup>209</sup>

As proposals for costume in new productions, Vecellio's African representations await a context and consequently the ability to fully signify. Only the individual pictorial text can determine the pertinence and structural value of its visual elements.<sup>210</sup> As pictorial elements preciously excised from picture planes and decontextualized, Vecellio's African representations are incomplete signifiers. As a group, they are not coded costumes. Instead, they are a vocabulary of decontextualized iconic units ready to participate in code-making when located within new artistic productions.

In light of the intended purpose of *Habiti antichi et moderni* as a model book of costume, the individual African costumes remain open to signification.

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<sup>208</sup> Ibid.

<sup>209</sup> Umberto Eco, *A Theory of Semiotics* (Bloomington, 1976) 216.

<sup>210</sup> Walter A. Koch, *Varia Semiotica* (Hildesheim, 1971) 306-309.

They are contained in a highly ordered codex and are shaped by travel narratives pointing to the economic potential of Africa for Europeans. Still, as representations, they are available for other meanings in their new theatrical and pictorial contexts. Within *Habiti antichi et moderni* is a “vocabulary” of African costume ready to assume additional signification.

## Conclusion

The printing of *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* eight years after the first edition of Vecellio's costume book was published suggests the financial success of his project. In an environment where printing projects required substantial capital to begin, a second edition implies at least a modest response from readers. Most of the woodcuts in *Habiti antichi et moderni* were reprinted again as *Habiti antichi* in 1664, but with significantly reduced descriptions (figs. 46-48). This edition attributed the designs to Titian who was "assisted" by his cousin Vecellio. Perhaps its publishers were trying to tap into the seventeenth-century mania for Titian and offer models to his would-be imitators. The preface of the book explains that it is made for painters, designers, sculptors, architects, and all who are curious ("*pittori, dissegnatori, scultori, architetti, & ad ogni curioso.*") Into the seventeenth century, the clothed Africans in *Habiti antichi et moderni* were intended to inspire costumes for artistic projects.

In the mid-nineteenth century, Ambroise Firmin-Didot resurrected Vecellio's Africans, breathing new life into them as he translated them yet again into a group of engravings characterized by soft lines and animated faces (figs.49-74). Firmin-Didot was an avid collector of prints, especially early German woodcuts, Old Master prints, and those of eighteenth-century France. He belonged to a Parisian family of printers, publishers, and collectors, eventually taking over the family business in 1827. He included Vecellio in his catalog of print history, *Essai typographique et bibliographique*

*sur l'histoire e la gravure sur bois*, and recreated his costume book in two volumes, entitling it *Costumes anciens et modernes* (1859-1860).

Perhaps the original constructions *Degli abiti antichi et moderni* and *Habiti antichi et modern* or the reconstructed *Costumes anciens et modernes* inspired Auguste Racinet who created his own monumental and expansive collection of costume, *Le costume historique*, published by Ambroise Firmin-Didot from 1876-1888 (figs. 75 and 76). Vecellio's woodcuts of Venetian dress inspired some of Racinet's renderings of Venetian costume. Employing newly invented color lithograph technology, *Le costume historique* contained two thousand pages of costumed figures in six volumes and was originally printed in magazine form. Racinet relied on Vecellio's methodology of costume collection selecting figures from painting, sculpture, tapestry, illuminated manuscripts, portraits, and engravings to compile his dressed bodies. However, instead of singling out his bodies for unique observation and interaction with other single figures as Vecellio did, Racinet's figures appear in groups. They are portrayed engaging in day-to-day life, displaying their local customs, or are overlapped in a collage of bodies, turned this way and that for examination. Often bodies are separated from their ornaments and weaponry, arranged in ethnographic displays on adjacent pages. They are unlike Vecellio's Africans, which were prepared to step out of the page and be remade with new identities acquired in their ultimate destinations. Racinet's Africans remain attached to their pages as part of a visual display for perusal by a general audience in a tour-de-force of printing.

Racinet's Africans reside in a nineteenth-century costume book designed in the capital of their colonial power and are arranged in a quasi-scientific language of

anthropological display. They were subjected to an investigative view of French citizens. Vecellio's Africans of nearly three hundred years earlier were to be engaged with a different, active gaze. They were located in a costume book made in a city that did not possess power over African geographies and peoples, but instead, had power over their representation on the European continent. Vecellio's Africans are quite literally enframed by European-ness with the decorative and distinctly Mannerist design of their strapwork borders. Though they reflect little of their original African-ness, as part of the collection of models in *Habiti antichi et moderni*, they resisted fixed definition. Curious artisans, intending to evoke decorous wonder, were intended to "play" *with* them not just look *at* them.

Vecellio's classificatory order may foreshadow a new format of organizing knowledge, specifically, that which Foucault names the Classical *episteme* and argues makes possible the "scientific" examination of human bodies and customs. The sixteenth-century practice of gathering parts into a collection did involve working out ways to contain and reconcile new and existing knowledges within a European system. But, collecting practices also emphasized the excitement inspired by these knowledges inspired. For example, recall Ramusio's double goal in *Navigazioni et viaggi* of revising Ptolemy's spatial organization of the world to include new discoveries and recording great and marvelous deeds. The spatially ordered and economically and politically motivated framework of Vecellio's collection coexisted with the wonder, curiosity, and possibilities of the images.

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**Appendix A: Codicological Analysis of *Habiti antichi et moderni***

VECELLIO, Cesare, 1521-1601. *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo*. 8° (octavo). 12 books in 1 vol. Venice, Giovanni Bernardo Sessa, 1598. (University of South Florida, Tampa Library, Special Collections.)

Sessa's printer's mark, a cat with a mouse, appears in the center of the title page. Also, one of four female figures, who represent Europe, Asia, America, and Africa, stands in each corner of an architectural border. Five hundred and seven woodcuts of figures in their local costumes (approximately 10.8 x 5.1 cm to 11.4 x 5.7 cm) appear throughout the book. These woodcuts are surrounded by strapwork decorations. The illustrations occur on each verso, and the facing recto page is filled with text. Four hundred and twenty of these woodcuts appeared in Vecellio's first edition of this book, *De gli habiti antichi, et moderni di diverse parti del mondo libri due, fatti da Cesare Vecellio, & Con discorsi da Lui dichiarati*, published by Damian Zenaro in Venice in 1590. Eighty-seven woodcuts were prepared especially for the 1598 edition including those of Prestor John and his associates, Popes and Cardinals, and individuals from the New World. Two of the woodcuts are repeated several times in the book. The Roman nobleman is also used for the Modern Milanese, Florentine and Neopolitan noblemen; and the Roman merchant is also used for the Modern Italian, Florentine, and Neopolitan merchants. The woodcuts were designed by Vecellio and engraved by the Nuremberg Formschneider, Christoforo Guerra Thedesco da Norimbergo (also referred to as Christopher Guerra, Christoph Krieger, or Chrieger). The book ends with a colophon including the printer's mark.

The brief Italian texts (abbreviated versions of the explanations from the 1590 edition) are printed in italics on the top of each recto, and newly prepared Latin texts are printed in a Latin type at the bottom of the page. The lines per recto are highly variable. However, the same amount of space is utilized on each page. In order to accomplish this, the type size is varied, and sometimes woodcut emblems are inserted at the bottom of the text to fill the page. Foliated woodcut initials begin most sections of Italian text. After the introductory material, the book is foliated on each recto beginning with folio 2 and ending with folio 507. Several mistakes in foliation include the following: folios 66-72 are foliated 62-68; folio 463 is foliated 450; and folio 499 is foliated 490.

The book is organized geographically and chronologically into twelve books and includes introductory material. It begins with a dedication to Pietro Mont'albano, first in Italian and then in Latin. This is followed by a dedication to the reader. A discourse on costume included in the first edition is omitted. The book contains two alphabetized indices both in Italian and Latin. One index lists the figures included in the book (*Tavola de' nomi properi delle figvre di tutto il volume*), and the other lists the components of their costumes (*Tavola de' vesti, et ornamenti di tutte le Figure dell opera*). The primary content follows a secondary title page. It includes (1) *Libro Primo de gli habiti d' Italia* (Italy), (2) *Libro II de gli habiti di Francia* (France, Lowlands, and Burgundy), (3) *Libro III de gli habiti di Spagna* (Spain and Portugal), (4) *Libro IIII de gli habiti d'Ingnilterra*

## Appendix A (Continued)

(England), (5) *Libro V de gli habiti Settentrionali* (northern Europe), (6) *de gli habiti di Germania* (Germany and central Europe), (7) *de gli habiti di Polonia* (Poland and neighboring lands), (8) *Libro VIII de gli habiti de'Tuchi* and *de gli habiti de'Greci* (Turkey and Greece), (9) *Libro IX de gli habiti d'Vngheria* (Hungary and neighboring lands), (10) *Libro X de gli habiti dell'Affrica* (Africa), (11) *Libro XI de gli habiti dell'Asia* (Asia), (12) *Libro XII de gli habiti dell'America* (America). Italian costumes constitute nearly half the book and are further subdivided into: Rome (the Church, ancient, medieval and modern), Venice and the Venetian region (before 1590 and modern), and other regions (Lombardy, northwest Italy, Tuscany, central Italy, Naples and Sicily).

The book measures 18 x 12 x 6 cm. The binding is leather over panel with a cross and the letters I, H, S pressed into it. The binding most likely originates from the time that the book was located in the Bibliotheca Majori Coll. Rom. Societ. Jesu.

The shelf marks include 68.512 inside the front cover, B.5 on the title page, and Spec. Coll NK 4703 143 no. 862 on the back of the first blank leaf. Two bookplates and a slip of paper are attached inside of the front cover. The bookplates read *ex Libris Georgio di Veroli* and *ex Bibliotheca Majori Coll. Rom. Societ. Jesu*. The slip of paper appears to comment on the condition and type of book that it is, and it was probably inserted at a shop where the book was for sale. Finally, the book is signed G. Sassi on the front of the first blank leaf.

Collation: a<sup>4</sup>-g<sup>4</sup> (introductory material); A<sup>4</sup>-I<sup>4</sup>, K<sup>4</sup>-T<sup>4</sup>, V<sup>4</sup>, X<sup>4</sup>-Z<sup>4</sup>; Aa<sup>4</sup>-Ii<sup>4</sup>, Kk<sup>4</sup>-Tt<sup>4</sup> (Kk<sub>3</sub> missigned KK<sub>3</sub>), Vu, Xx-Zz (Yy<sub>3</sub> missigned Yy); Aaa<sup>4</sup>-Iii<sup>4</sup>, Kkk<sup>4</sup>-Rrr<sup>4</sup> (Ppp missigned ppp), Sss<sup>2</sup>. 563 leaves.

## Appendix B: Illustrations



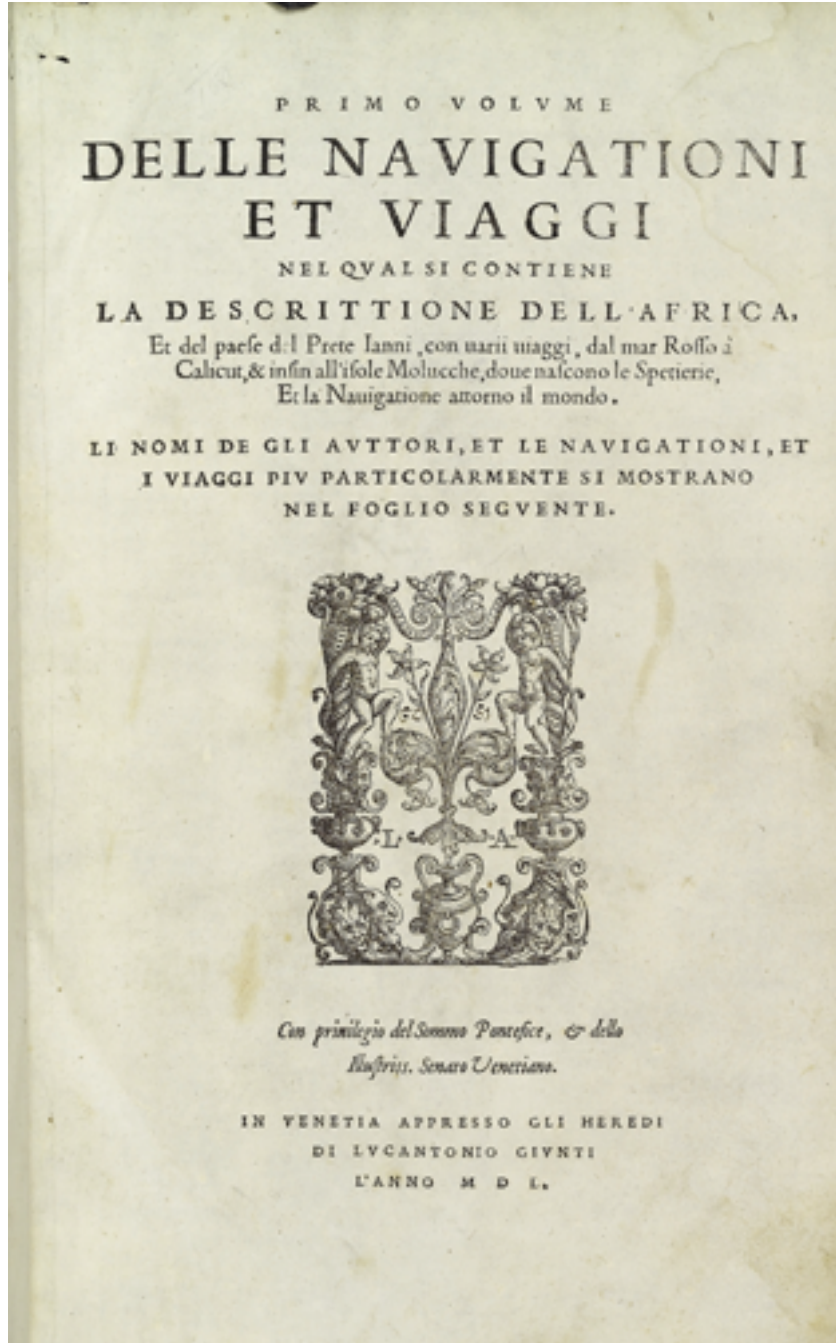


Figure 1. Frontispiece, Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Primo volume delle navigationi et viaggi ne qual si contiene la descrizione dell' Africa* (Venice: Giunti, 1550). [Photograph reproduced by permission from the Rare Books Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.]

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Figure 2. *Prima Tavola (Map of Africa)*, Giacomo Gastaldi in Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Primo volume, & seconda edizione delle naviagazioni et viaggi* (Venice: Giunti, 1554). [Photograph reproduced by permission from the Rare Books Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.]



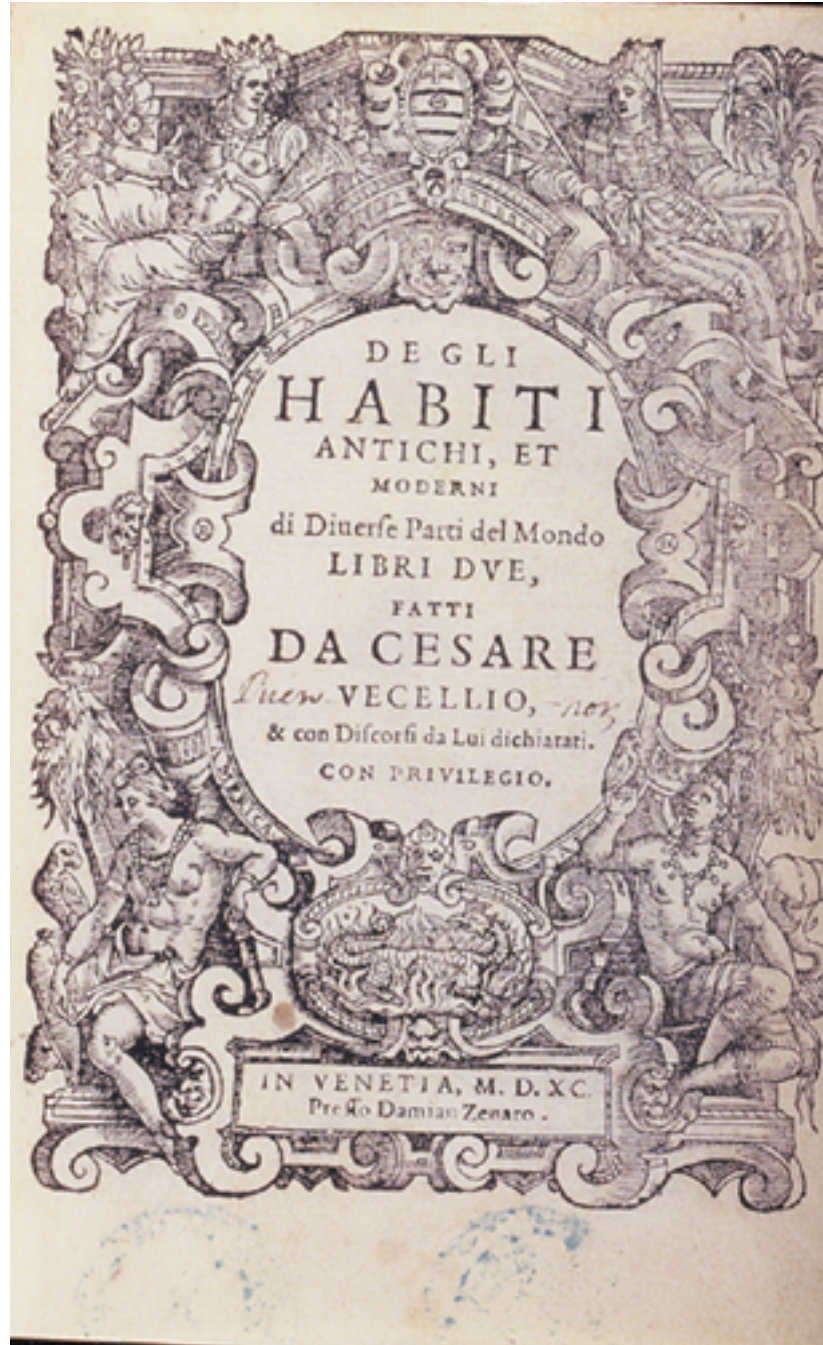


Figure 3. Frontispiece, Cesare Vecellio, *De gli abiti antichi, et moderni di diuerse parti del mondo* (Venice: Damian Zenaro, 1590). Woodcut. [Photograph reproduced by permission from The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, PML 9626.]



Figure 4. Frontispiece, Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* (Venice: Bernardo Sessa, 1598). Woodcut. [Image courtesy of the University of South Florida, Tampa Library, Special Collections/ Richard Bernardy and Walter Rowe.]



Figure 5. *Prestor John*, Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* (Venice: Bernardo Sessa, 1598), ff. 415v and 416r. Woodcut. [Image courtesy of the University of South Florida, Tampa Library, Special Collections/ Richard Bernardy and Walter Rowe.]





Figure 6. *Prestor John's Pages*, Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* (Venice: Bernardo Sessa, 1598), f. 416v. Woodcut. [Image courtesy of the University of South Florida, Tampa Library, Special Collections/ Richard Bernardy and Walter Rowe.]

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Figure 7. *Prestor John's Chief Assistants*, Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* (Venice: Bernardo Sessa, 1598), f. 417v. Woodcut. [Image courtesy of the University of South Florida, Tampa Library, Special Collections/ Richard Bernardy and Walter Rowe.]



Figure 8. *Ethiopian Nobleman*, Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* (Venice: Bernardo Sessa, 1598), f. 418v. Woodcut. [Image courtesy of the University of South Florida, Tampa Library, Special Collections/ Richard Bernardy and Walter Rowe.]



Appendix B (Continued)



Figure 9. *Ethiopian Girl*, Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* (Venice: Bernardo Sessa, 1598), f. 419v. Woodcut. [Image courtesy of the University of South Florida, Tampa Library, Special Collections/ Richard Bernardy and Walter Rowe.]

Appendix B (Continued)



Figure 10. *Ethiopian Soldier*, Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* (Venice: Bernardo Sessa, 1598), f. 420v. Woodcut. [Image courtesy of the University of South Florida, Tampa Library, Special Collections/ Richard Bernardy and Walter Rowe.]



Figure 11. *Campson Guari (Qansawh al-Ghawri), Sultan of Egypt*, Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* (Venice: Bernardo Sessa, 1598), f. 421v. Woodcut. [Image courtesy of the University of South Florida, Tampa Library, Special Collections/ Richard Bernardy and Walter Rowe.]



Figure 12. *Admirals and Councilors of the Sultan of Egypt*, Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* (Venice: Bernardo Sessa, 1598), f. 422v. Woodcut. [Image courtesy of the University of South Florida, Tampa Library, Special Collections/ Richard Bernardy and Walter Rowe.]



Appendix B (Continued)



Figure 13. *Moorish Nobleman of Cairo*, Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* (Venice: Bernardo Sessa, 1598), f. 423v. Woodcut. [Image courtesy of the University of South Florida, Tampa Library, Special Collections/ Richard Bernardy and Walter Rowe.]

Appendix B (Continued)



Figure 14. *Woman of Cairo*, Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* (Venice: Bernardo Sessa, 1598), f. 424v. Woodcut. [Image courtesy of the University of South Florida, Tampa Library, Special Collections/ Richard Bernardy and Walter Rowe.]

Appendix B (Continued)



Figure 15. *A Mamluk*, Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* (Venice: Bernardo Sessa, 1598), f. 425v. Woodcut. [Image courtesy of the University of South Florida, Tampa Library, Special Collections/ Richard Bernardy and Walter Rowe.]



Figure 16. *A Christian Indian in Cairo*, Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* (Venice: Bernardo Sessa, 1598), f. 426v. Woodcut. [Image courtesy of the University of South Florida, Tampa Library, Special Collections/ Richard Bernardy and Walter Rowe.]



Appendix B (Continued)



Figure 17. *Noble of Barbary*, Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* (Venice: Bernardo Sessa, 1598), f. 427v. Woodcut. [Image courtesy of the University of South Florida, Tampa Library, Special Collections/ Richard Bernardy and Walter Rowe.]

Appendix B (Continued)



Figure 18. *Moorish Girl*, Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* (Venice: Bernardo Sessa, 1598), f. 428v. Woodcut. [Image courtesy of the University of South Florida, Tampa Library, Special Collections/ Richard Bernardy and Walter Rowe.]

Appendix B (Continued)



Figure 19. *Well-to-do Moor*, Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* (Venice: Bernardo Sessa, 1598), f. 429v. Woodcut. [Image courtesy of the University of South Florida, Tampa Library, Special Collections/ Richard Bernardy and Walter Rowe.]

Appendix B (Continued)



Figure 20. *African Woman*, Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* (Venice: Bernardo Sessa, 1598), f. 430v. Woodcut. [Image courtesy of the University of South Florida, Tampa Library, Special Collections/ Richard Bernardy and Walter Rowe.]





Figure 21. *Black Moor of Africa*, Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* (Venice: Bernardo Sessa, 1598), f. 431v. Woodcut. [Image courtesy of the University of South Florida, Tampa Library, Special Collections/ Richard Bernardy and Walter Rowe.]



Figure 22. *Man from the Kingdom of Tlemcen*, Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* (Venice: Bernardo Sessa, 1598), f. 432v. Woodcut. [Image courtesy of the University of South Florida, Tampa Library, Special Collections/ Richard Bernardy and Walter Rowe.]

Appendix B (Continued)



Figure 23. *African Woman from the Kingdom of Tlemcen*, Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* (Venice: Bernardo Sessa, 1598), f. 433v. Woodcut. [Image courtesy of the University of South Florida, Tampa Library, Special Collections/ Richard Bernardy and Walter Rowe.]



Figure 24. *Woman of Average Condition*, Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* (Venice: Bernardo Sessa, 1598), f. 434v. Woodcut. [Image courtesy of the University of South Florida, Tampa Library, Special Collections/ Richard Bernardy and Walter Rowe.]





Figure 25. *African Indian from Ceffala*, Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* (Venice: Bernardo Sessa, 1598), f. 435v. Woodcut. [Image courtesy of the University of South Florida, Tampa Library, Special Collections/ Richard Bernardy and Walter Rowe.]



Figure 26. *An African Indian*, Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* (Venice: Bernardo Sessa, 1598), f. 436v. Woodcut. [Image courtesy of the University of South Florida, Tampa Library, Special Collections/ Richard Bernardy and Walter Rowe.]



Figure 27. *Clothing of the Kingdom of Giabea in Africa*, Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* (Venice: Bernardo Sessa, 1598), f. 437v. Woodcut. [Image courtesy of the University of South Florida, Tampa Library, Special Collections/ Richard Bernardy and Walter Rowe.]



Figure 28. *Clothing of Some Black Moors of Zanzibar in Africa*, Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* (Venice: Bernardo Sessa, 1598), f. 438v. Woodcut. [Image courtesy of the University of South Florida, Tampa Library, Special Collections/ Richard Bernardy and Walter Rowe.]





Figure 29. *Clothing of the Canary Islands*, Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* (Venice: Bernardo Sessa, 1598), f. 439v. Woodcut. [Image courtesy of the University of South Florida, Tampa Library, Special Collections/ Richard Bernardy and Walter Rowe.]

Appendix B (Continued)



Figure 30. *African Woman in the Indies*, Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* (Venice: Bernardo Sessa, 1598), f. 486v. Woodcut. [Image courtesy of the University of South Florida, Tampa Library, Special Collections/ Richard Bernardy and Walter Rowe.]



Figure 31. Colophon, Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* (Venice: Bernardo Sessa, 1598). Woodcut. [Image courtesy of the University of South Florida, Tampa Library, Special Collections/ Richard Bernardy and Walter Rowe.]



Appendix B (Continued)



Figure 32. *St. Mark Preaching in Alexandria*, Gentile Bellini (1429-1507). Painting finished after Gentile's death by his brother Giovanni Bellini in 1508. Oil on canvas, 347 x 770 cm. Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan, Italy. [Photograph reproduced by permission. Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.]



Appendix B (Continued)



Figure 33. *Reception of an Ambassador in Damascus*, Venetian artist. Sixteenth century. Oil on canvas. Photo: G. Blot/J. Schor. Louvre, Paris, France. [Photograph reproduced by permission. Réunion des Musées Nationaux/ Art Resource, NY.]



Figure 34. *Sarraceni*, Erhard Reuwich in Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctum* (Mainz: Erhard Reuwich, 1486). Hand-colored woodcut. [Photograph reproduced by permission from the Rare Books Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.]





Figure 35. Frontispiece, Jean Jacques Boissard, *Habitus Variarum Orbis gentium* (Coloniae?: Caspar Rutz, 1581). Engraving. [Photograph reproduced by permission from the Rare Books Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.]

Appendix B (Continued)



Figure 36. *Man of Barbary, Albanian, and Greek Soldier*, Jean Jacques Boissard, *Habitus Variarum Orbis gentium* (Coloniae?: Caspar Rutz, 1581), f. 34. Engraving. [Photograph reproduced by permission from the Rare Books Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.]

Appendix B (Continued)



Figure 37. *Macedonian Girl, Lady of Alexandria, and Woman of Macedonia*, Jean Jacques Boissard, *Habitvs Variarum Orbis gentium* (Coloniae?: Caspar Rutz, 1581), f. 39. Engraving. [Photograph reproduced by permission from the Rare Books Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.]



Appendix B (Continued)



Figure 38. *Oriental Indian Woman, Oriental Indian, and African Indian*, Jean Jacques Boissard, *Habitus Variarum Orbis gentium* (Coloniae?: Caspar Rutz, 1581), f. 54. Engraving. [Photograph reproduced by permission from the Rare Books Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.]

Appendix B (Continued)



Figure 39. *African Patriarch, Nobleman of Barbary, and Turk*, Jean Jacques Boissard, *Habitus Variarum Orbis gentium* (Coloniae?: Caspar Rutz, 1581), f. 55. Engraving. [Photograph reproduced by permission from the Rare Books Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.]



Appendix B (Continued)



Figure 40. *Three African Women*, Jean Jacques Boissard, *Habitus Variarum Orbis gentium* (Coloniae?: Caspar Rutz, 1581), f. 56. Engraving. [Photograph reproduced by permission from the Rare Books Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.]

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Figure 41. *African Indian Woman, Arab, and Arab Girl*, Jean Jacques Boissard, *Habitus Variarum Orbis gentium* (Coloniae?: Caspar Rutz, 1581), f. 57. Engraving. [Photograph reproduced by permission from the Rare Books Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.]

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Figure 42. *African Indian Woman, African Indian, and Oriental Indian*, Jean Jacques Boissard, *Habitvs Variarum Orbis gentium* (Coloniae?: Caspar Rutz, 1581), f. 58. Engraving. [Photograph reproduced by permission from the Rare Books Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.]



Appendix B (Continued)



Figure 43. *Moor, Moorish Girl, and Ethiopian*, Jean Jacques Boissard, *Habitus Variarum Orbis gentium* (Coloniae?: Caspar Rutz, 1581), f. 59. Engraving. [Photograph reproduced by permission from the Rare Books Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.]

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Figure 44. *Two Ethiopians and an Ethiopian Girl*, Jean Jacques Boissard, *Habitus Variarum Orbis gentium* (Coloniae?: Caspar Rutz, 1581), f. 60. Engraving. [Photograph reproduced by permission from the Rare Books Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.]

Appendix B (Continued)



Figure 45. *Oriental Indian Woman, African Indian, and Oriental Woman*, Jean Jacques Boissard, *Habitus Variarum Orbis gentium* (Coloniae?: Caspar Rutz, 1581), f. 61.

Engraving. [Photograph reproduced by permission from the Rare Books Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.]



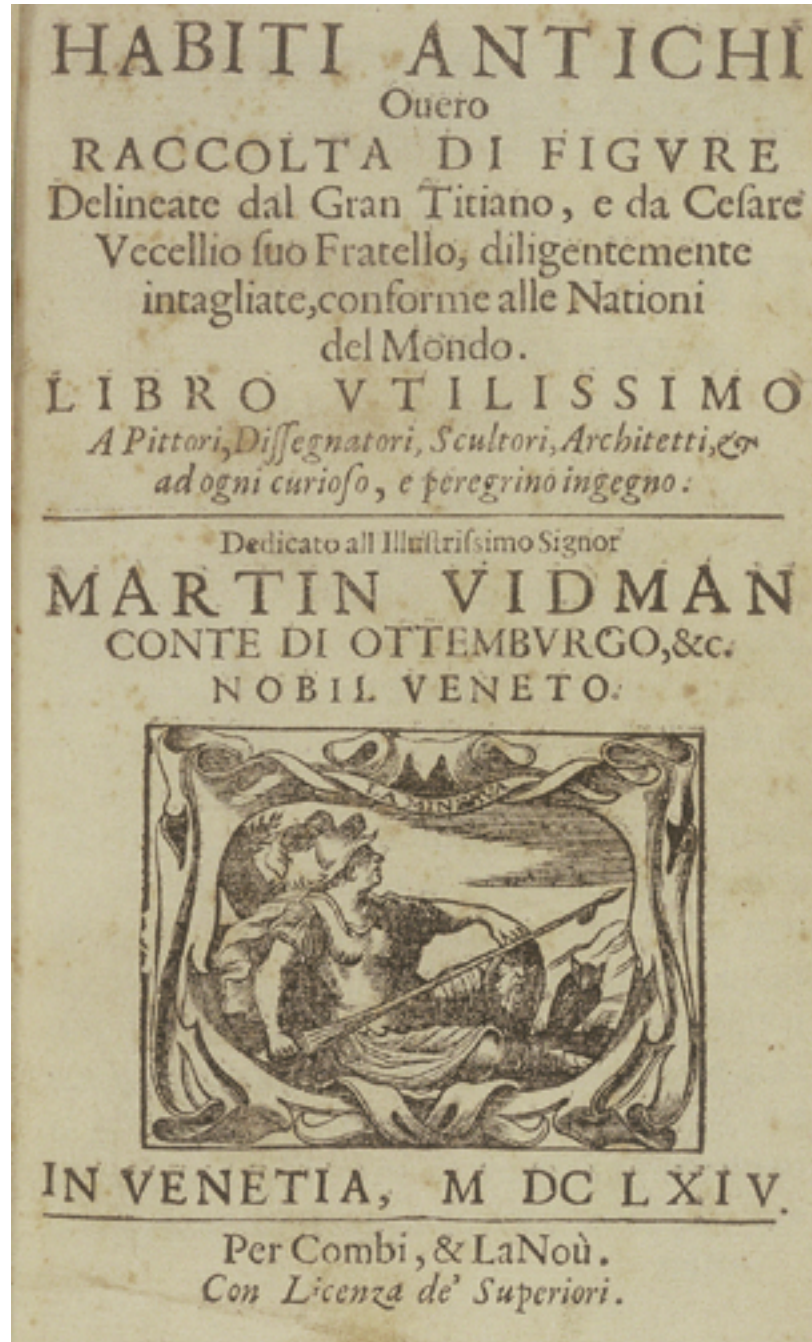


Figure 46. Frontispiece, Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi* (Venice: Combi & LaNoù, 1664). Woodcut. [Photograph courtesy of Mandeville Special Collections Library, University of California, San Diego Libraries.]





Figure 47. *Prestor John*, Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi* (Venice: Combi & LaNou, 1664), 346. Woodcut. [Photograph courtesy of Mandeville Special Collections Library, University of California, San Diego Libraries.]



Figure 48. Colophon, Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi* (Venice: Combi & LaNoù, 1664). Woodcut. [Photograph courtesy of Mandeville Special Collections Library, University of California, San Diego Libraries.]





Figure 49. Frontispiece, Cesare Vecellio, *Costume anciens et modernes*, vol. 2 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1860).



Figure 50. *Clothes of Prestor John*, Cesare Vecellio, *Costume anciens et modernes*, vol. 2 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1860), plate 422.

Appendix B (Continued)



Figure 51. *Prestor John's Pages*, Cesare Vecellio, *Costume anciens et modernes*, vol. 2 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1860), plate 423.



Appendix B (Continued)



Figure 52. *Prestor John's Chief Assistants*, Cesare Vecellio, *Costume anciens et modernes*, vol. 2 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1860), plate 424.

Appendix B (Continued)



Figure 53. *Ethiopian Nobleman*, Cesare Vecellio, *Costume anciens et modernes*, vol. 2 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1860), plate 425.



Appendix B (Continued)

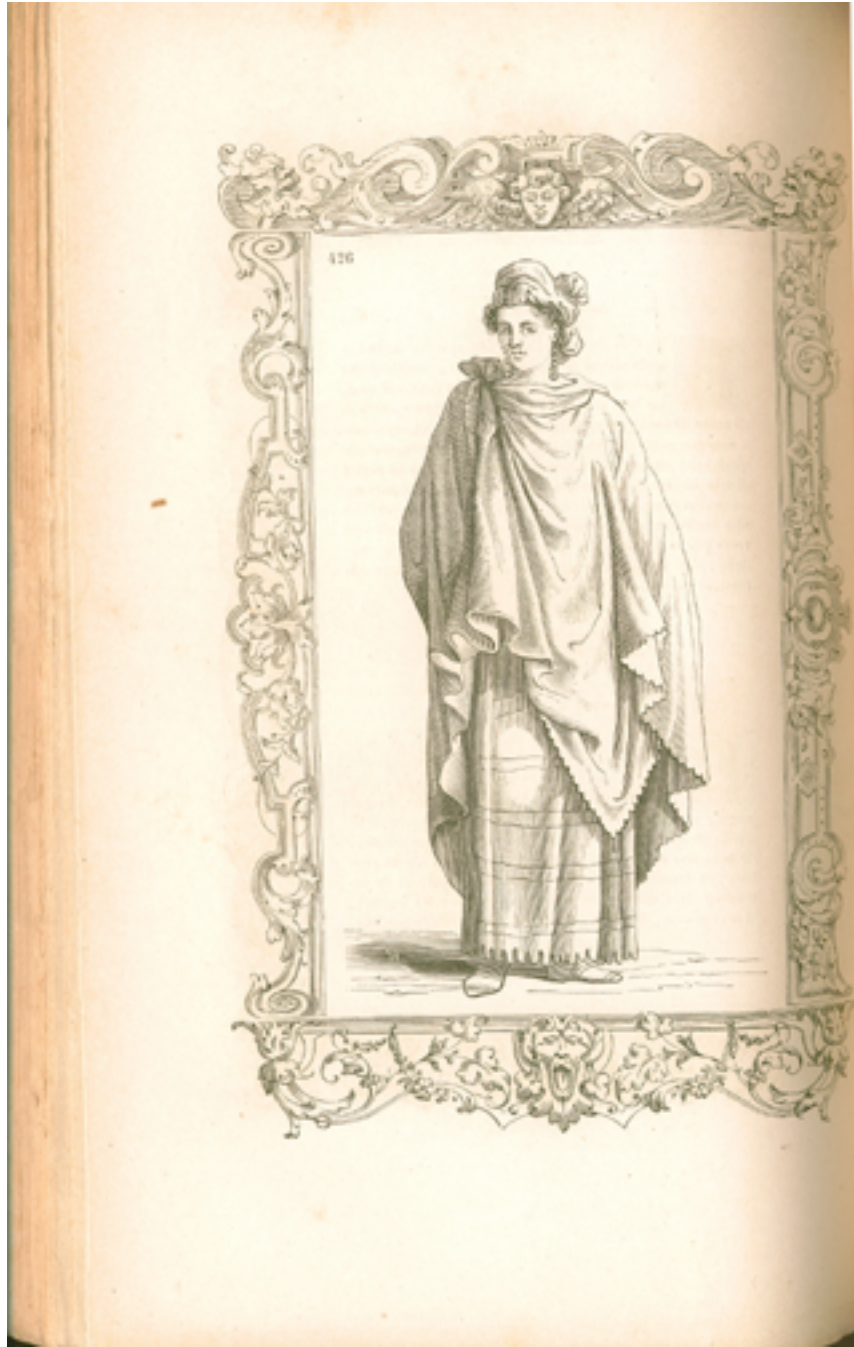


Figure 54. *Ethiopian Girl*, Cesare Vecellio, *Costume anciens et modernes*, vol. 2 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1860), plate 426.

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Figure 55. *Ethiopian Soldier*, Cesare Vecellio, *Costume anciens et modernes*, vol. 2 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1860), plate 427.

Appendix B (Continued)



Figure 56. *Clothes of Campson Guari or Great Sultan of Cairo*, Cesare Vecellio, *Costume anciens et modernes*, vol. 2 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1860), plate 428.





Figure 57. *Admirals and Councilors of the Great Sultan*, Cesare Vecellio, *Costume anciens et modernes*, vol. 2 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1860), plate 429.



Figure 58. *Moorish Nobleman of Cairo*, Cesare Vecellio, *Costume anciens et modernes*, vol. 2 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1860), plate 430.



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Figure 59. *Woman of Cairo*, Cesare Vecellio, *Costume anciens et modernes*, vol. 2 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1860), plate 431.

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Figure 60. *A Mamluk*, Cesare Vecellio, *Costume anciens et modernes*, vol. 2 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1860), plate 432.

Appendix B (Continued)



Figure 61. *A Christian Indian in Cairo*, Cesare Vecellio, *Costume anciens et modernes* vol. 2 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1860), plate 433.



Appendix B (Continued)



Figure 62. *Noble of Barbary*, Cesare Vecellio, *Costume anciens et modernes*, vol. 2 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1860), plate 434.

Appendix B (Continued)



Figure 63. *Moorish Girl*, Cesare Vecellio, *Costume anciens et modernes*, vol. 2 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1860), plate 435.



Appendix B Continued



Figure 64. *Well-to-do Moor*, Cesare Vecellio, *Costume anciens et modernes*, vol. 2 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1860), plate 436.

Appendix B (Continued)



Figure 65. *African Woman*, Cesare Vecellio, *Costume anciens et modernes*, vol. 2 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1860), plate 437.

Appendix B (Continued)



Figure 66. *Black Moor of Africa*, Cesare Vecellio, *Costume anciens et modernes*, vol. 2 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1860), plate 438.



Appendix B (Continued)



Figure 67. *Clothing of the Kingdom of Tlemcen*, Cesare Vecellio, *Costume anciens et modernes*, vol. 2 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1860), plate 439.

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Figure 68. *Woman of the Kingdom of Tlemcen*, Cesare Vecellio, *Costume anciens et modernes*, vol. 2 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1860), plate 440.



Appendix B (Continued)



Figure 69. *African Woman of Average Condition*, Cesare Vecellio, *Costume anciens et modernes*, vol. 2 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1860), plate 441.

Appendix B (Continued)



Figure 70. *African Indian from Ceffala*, Cesare Vecellio, *Costume anciens et modernes*, vol. 2 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1860), plate 442.

Appendix B (Continued)



Figure 71. *An African Indian*, Cesare Vecellio, *Costume anciens et modernes*, vol. 2 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1860), plate 443.



Appendix B (Continued)



Figure 72. *Clothing of Giabea, Kingdom of Africa*, Cesare Vecellio, *Costume anciens et modernes*, vol. 2 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1860), plate 444.

Appendix B (Continued)

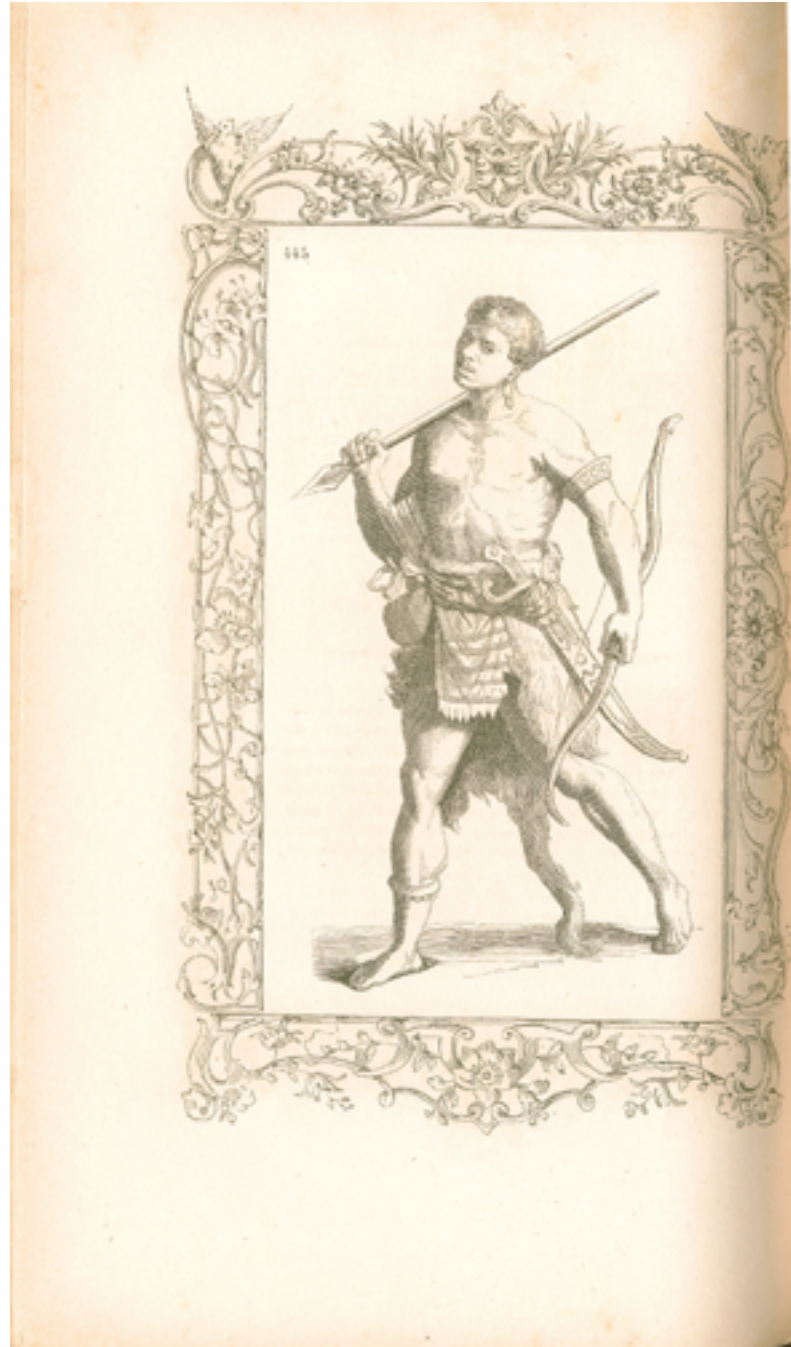


Figure 73. *Clothing of Some Black Moors of Zanzibar in Africa*, Cesare Vecellio, *Costume anciens et modernes*, vol. 2 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1860), plate 445.



Appendix B (Continued)



Figure 74. *Clothing of the Canary Islands*, Cesare Vecellio, *Costume anciens et modernes*, vol. 2 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1860), plate 446.

Appendix B (Continued)



Figure 75. *Les Noirs*, Auguste Racinet, *Le costume historique*, vol. 2 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1888), plates 67 and 68.

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Figure 76. *Partie septentrionale – L’Algérie*, Auguste Racinet, *Le costume historique*, vol. 3 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1888), plate 153.