



Universiteit  
Leiden  
The Netherlands

## The cultural importance of Florentine patricians

Goudriaan, E.J.

### Citation

Goudriaan, E. J. (2015, April 30). *The cultural importance of Florentine patricians*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/32883>

Version: Corrected Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/32883>

**Note:** To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/32883> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

**Author:** Goudriaan, Elisa Johanna

**Title:** The cultural importance of Florentine patricians. Cultural exchange, brokerage networks, and social representation in early modern Florence and Rome (1600-1660)

**Issue Date:** 2015-04-30

# 3

## Patricians as patrons and collectors during the reigns of Ferdinand I, Cosimo II, the regents and Ferdinand II de' Medici

### **Introduction**

In this chapter we show the versatile patronage of some important patrician families in the period 1600-1650 (although the first major commission started as early as 1581). Until now, the patronage characteristics of different patrician families in the first half of the seventeenth century have never been compared with each other. Thus this analysis, based on the excellent studies of individual patrician families by other researchers, shows how they took example from each other and from members of other Italian elite groups, underlines their joint cultural aspirations, and reveals the development in represented themes over time due to transformations in social aspirations. For the first time an overall picture is given of patrician patronage and collecting in this period.

### **3.1 Patricians as patrons and collectors during the reigns of Ferdinand I and Cosimo II de' Medici**

We start by outlining the characteristics of the commissions of four important patricians during the reigns of Ferdinand I and Cosimo II de' Medici at the be-

ginning of the seventeenth century: Giovanni Niccolini and Piero Guicciardini (the ambassadors whose diplomatic activities we analyzed in the previous chapter), Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger, and Niccolò dell'Antella. All four patricians had different artistic tastes, which were influenced by their different political and social positions. Yet we can see similarities between their commissions and the ways in which they expressed their cultural and social ambitions.

### 3.1.1 Giovanni Niccolini (1544-1611)

#### The Niccolini chapel in Santa Croce

Some years before going to Rome as ambassador, Giovanni Niccolini gave the important commission to build a family chapel in the Santa Croce-church (1581, fig. 1) to the architect Giovanni Antonio Dosio.<sup>383</sup> In this commission architecture, sculpture and painting were integrated into a decorative ensemble. The chapel was dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin and honoured two clericals from the Niccolini family: Cardinal Agnolo Niccolini (1500-1566), Giovanni's father, and Giovanni di Ottone Niccolini (1449-1504), who had been archbishop of Amalfi and Verdun.<sup>384</sup> The painter Alessandro Allori was commissioned to make two large paintings of the *Assumption* and the *Coronation of the Virgin*.<sup>385</sup> It took him until 1597 to finish the *Coronation* and his son Cristofano Allori had to finish the *Assumption* after Alessandro's death in 1607.<sup>386</sup> In 1585 the sculptor Francavilla started to make two sculptures of *Moses* (fig. 1) and *Aaron* (fig. 2) for the chapel and three virtues of Saint Mary namely *Humility*, *Prudence* and *Virginity*.<sup>387</sup> The three virtues were made in a Mannerist style and resembled statues by Giambologna.<sup>388</sup>

The iconographic programme for the chapel was from the hand of Niccolini himself, with the help of a camaldolese monk of the Florentine convent Santa Maria degli Angeli.<sup>389</sup> To complete the programme Niccolini also sought the advice of the architects Giovanni Antonio Dosio, Giovanni Gargioli, and Andrea Palladio, the sculptor Giovanni Caccini, and the patrician Niccolò Gad-

383 Spinelli 1992a: 200, 211.

384 Ibid.: 211.

385 Ibid.: 230.

386 Spinelli 1990: 106.

387 Spinelli 1992a: 230; Spinelli 1990: 110. In 1606 Francavilla left Florence and at that time the sculptures were in any case finished.

388 Spinelli 1990: 110.

389 Spinelli 1993: 128. The anonymous monk sent a letter about the chapel to Giovanni Niccolini (ANCFI fondo antico 227, inserto 2, 23 August 1582).

di.<sup>390</sup> Elements in the Niccolini chapel that probably derive from Palladio are the bas-reliefs above the sculptures and the altar, which is flanked by columns with a tympanum with Angels. Both Palladio and Gaddi present these motifs in their studies for the Niccolini chapel which are preserved in Budapest and the Uffizi. The main model for the Niccolini-chapel was the Gaddi-chapel in the Santa Maria Novella, built by Giovanni Antonio Dosio in 1575-76 in the *stile romano* (Roman style), with the use of much polychrome marble.<sup>391</sup> Like the Gaddi-chapel, the ground plan of the Niccolini-chapel was octagonal, and Alessandro Allori worked in the Gaddi-chapel as well.<sup>392</sup>

Niccolini wanted as many colours of marble as was possible in his chapel, as was the custom in Roman chapels of cardinals of that time, notably those of Chigi, Frangipane, and Ricci.<sup>393</sup> The inlay of larger slabs of coloured marble in chapels was a technique that originated in Rome in the sixteenth century.<sup>394</sup> The first examples of chapels or other architectural spaces being richly decorated with antique marble were: the Cappella Chigi (1513-20), designed by Raphael for Agostino Chigi in the Santa Maria del Popolo; the ninfeo of the Villa Giulia (1553-55) by Ammanati; the church Santa Croce in Bosco Marengo (1566-72) for Pope Pius V Ghisleri; the Cappella Gregoriana (1572-83) for Pope Gregory XIII Boncompagni in the Saint Peter's (by Michelangelo, Vignola, and finally Giacomo della Porta); the Cappella Sistina (1585) for Pope Sixtus V Peretti in the Santa Maria Maggiore by Domenico Fontana and his pupil Carlo Maderno; and the Cappella Clementina (1597) for Pope Clement VIII Aldobrandini in the Saint Peter's by Giacomo della Porta.<sup>395</sup>

The first Florentine chapel with inlaid coloured marble was the richly decorated Gaddi chapel, which had to express the wealth of its worldly patron.<sup>396</sup> A poem of the famous poet Il Lasca demonstrates that the chapel was regarded as very precious:

390 Spinelli 2011b: 356-58; Spinelli 1993: 90 He asked their advice in February 1580. Niccolò Gaddi, *progetto per la cappella*, Firenze, Gabinetto dei Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, inv. n. 4340A; Palladio, Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, inv. n. 1989.

391 Spinelli 1992a: 233.

392 Spinelli 1993: 84, 85, 87. Niccolini and Gaddi possessed more works by the same artists. They both possessed a sculpture group of Giovanni Bandini and had commissioned him to make busts of the Medici family.

393 Delli Santi 2000: 92; Valone 1972: 213.

394 Tuena 1998: 81.

395 Bosman 2005: 353; Tuena 1998: 88.

396 On the Gaddi chapel, see: Morrogh 2011.

Con grande spesa il Gaddi ha fatto fare  
 Ma vie più col suo ingegno, una cappella,  
 Che in tutto il mondo non si può trovare  
 Opera tal, che paragoni quella:  
 Fa chi la vede ognun maravigliare,  
 Tant'è leggiadra, allegra, ricca e bella.  
 Roma e Venezia, abbiate pacienza,  
 In questa parte cedete a Fiorenza.<sup>397</sup>

This poem illustrates the impact the chapel made on contemporaries. According to the Dominican monk Agostino del Riccio (1541-1598) in his *Istoria delle pietre* (*History of stones*) the floor resembled a table of inlaid marble.<sup>398</sup> Giovanni Antonio Dosio had never made a chapel of coloured marble before, but Lex Bosman suggests that he was the architect of the Cappella Cavalcanti (1560) in the Santo Spirito in Florence, where the altarpiece and two busts are surrounded by coloured marble.<sup>399</sup> The antique marbles used in this chapel were giallo antico, africano, verde antico (from Greece), and portasanta.<sup>400</sup> If Giovanni Antonio Dosio was the architect of this chapel, this could explain his experience with these materials when making the Gaddi and Niccolini chapels. Dosio had worked as an agent for Niccolò Gaddi in Rome and collected antique fragments, sculptures, coins, and cameos for him.<sup>401</sup> He had much knowledge about antique marble and the places where to find it.<sup>402</sup>

Although, at the time of the construction of the Niccolini chapel, Dosio was an expert in working with rare precious stones and coloured marble and in obtaining these materials from Rome, this time he could not obtain all the colours desired by Niccolini, because Pope Gregory XIII needed the marble for his chapel in Saint Peter's.<sup>403</sup> Nevertheless, except for yellow marble, Dosio succeeded in importing precious black, green, and African marbles.<sup>404</sup> Apart from

397 Acidini Luchinat 1980: 141. Il Lasca, *Le rime burlesche* (Carlo Verzone (ed.) Florence 1882, n. CXVIII, p. 449.

398 Morrogh 2011: 321. The remark about the table is written in section XXXI (Del porfido bianco) of Riccio's *Istoria delle pietre* (1597).

399 Bosman 2005: 361.

400 Ibid.: 363. Not all the marble used in the Cavalcanti chapel was of antique origin. The rose-red stone came from San Giusto, the green and black marble from Prato and other black marble from Flanders.

401 Valone 1972: 168, 172.

402 Bosman 2005: 364.

403 On Dosio and rare precious stones and marble, see Spinelli 2011b: 348.

404 Spinelli 1992a: 237. For more information about the different kinds of marble used in the Niccolini chapel, see Delli Santi 2000: 91.

its similarities with the Gaddi-chapel, the Niccolini chapel also resembled the Salviati-chapel (fig. 3) in the San Marco (1589), for example if we consider the fluted pilasters and the Corinthian capitals, the niches with statues, and the polychrome marble on the walls.<sup>405</sup> A difference from the Gaddi-chapel was the use of pietra serena, combined with white stone, which was also used in the Biblioteca Laurenziana.<sup>406</sup>

The Niccolini chapel was built with a very coherent design and iconographic programme. Dosio designed everything, from the large structure until details like the candle brackets. The division of the Dome was a reflection of the ground plan.<sup>407</sup> The precious materials, colours, and flat surfaces that were not yet influenced by the baroque gave the chapel a quiet and serene appearance which we can experience even today when visiting the chapel.<sup>408</sup>

### The Niccolini Palace and Giovanni's collection of paintings, sculptures and coins

During his ambassadorship in Rome, Giovanni Niccolini gave commissions to several artists to decorate his family palace (fig. 4) in Florence (situated at Via dei Servi 15, between the Duomo and Piazza della Santissima Annunziata), which he had bought in 1576 from Bastiano da Montauto.<sup>409</sup> From 1595 a new wing and a loggia with view on the garden were built by Dosio, who lived in Niccolini's palace from 1590 to 1596.<sup>410</sup> At the end of the loggia was the sculpture group *Ercole che uccide l'Idra di Lerna* (*Hercules slays the Hydra of Lerna*) by Giovanni Bandini (1573-78) (fig. 5).<sup>411</sup> The loggia was decorated with frescoes by Lorenzo Cristofani, which were unfortunately destroyed when the loggia was heightened in 1655.<sup>412</sup> While in Rome, Niccolini collected many antique sculptures, bas-reliefs, busts, coins, cameos, and medals and imported these to

405 Spinelli 1993: 89-90. Caterina Salviati (the wife of Giovanni Niccolini) was the sister of Antonio and Averardo Salviati.

406 Delli Santi 2000: 91.

407 Valone 1972: 214.

408 *Ibid.*: 215.

409 Sottili 2012b: 26.

410 Heikamp 1978: 239.

411 *Ibid.* The sculpture group *Hercules slays the Hydra of Lerna* is now replaced to the Villa Niccolini in Camugliano.

412 Restauero 1959: 54. Due to financial problems, the Niccolini had to sell their palace in 1824 and a large part of their collection was dispersed. The Hercules group, which was made by Bandini around 1573-78, was relocated to the Camugliano Villa. Cinelli still describes the group in the palace in 1677 (p. 405). The marble bust of Cosimo I that Bandini made for Giovanni Niccolini has been lost. See Heikamp 1978: 240. On the history of the Niccolini-palace in and after World War II, see Restauero 1959: 3.

his Florentine palace.<sup>413</sup> In 1601 he commissioned for making precious pieces of furniture, including tables and cabinets of ebony, ivory, and *pietre dure* for displaying his collection of antique medals, cameos, and engraved gems.<sup>414</sup> Many of the antique sculptures, including a bronze emperor Gordianus, were situated in his cortile (inner courtyard), while heads and busts adorned the loggia.<sup>415</sup>

Apart from antique sculptures, he also collected contemporary busts and portraits. In 1594 he commissioned Giovanni Bandini to carve busts of members of the Medici-family, including Ferdinand I, which were placed in a room on the first floor, together with three busts of Cosimo I and one of Francesco I which he had commissioned in 1577.<sup>416</sup> In a small room, overlooking the small garden, Niccolini placed painted portraits of Ferdinand I and his wife Christine of Lorraine, made by Cristofano Allori in 1598.<sup>417</sup> Santi di Tito and Passignano were commissioned to paint family-portraits of Giovanni Niccolini and his sons and daughters in 1589, 1593, and 1603. The portrait of Giovanni Niccolini was placed in the same room as the Medici-busts.<sup>418</sup> An inventory from 1603, discovered by Riccardo Spinelli, mentions family portraits of ancestors from the Niccolini family who had had important political, diplomatic or clerical functions. Portraits of other famous Florentine citizens and clericals are also listed.<sup>419</sup> Niccolini started this collection of *uomini illustri* in his villa in Grassina in 1572, and he commissioned the otherwise unknown painter 'Il Tofano' to paint the large number of seventy-five portraits of popes, cardinals, members of the Medici family, and members of other patrician families.<sup>420</sup>

After 1605, in addition to commissions for paintings, Niccolini commissioned the renowned artists Antonio Tempesta, Jacopo Ligozzi, and Orazio Gentileschi for painted scenes on precious materials like alabaster and copper.<sup>421</sup> This technique of painting scenes on precious materials had been developed by Sebastiano del Piombo in 1530.<sup>422</sup> At the end of the sixteenth century the

---

413 Heikamp 1978: 240.

414 Spinelli 2005: 85.

415 Heikamp 1978: 242.

416 Spinelli 2009: 78; Spinelli 2005: 82, 84. Two of the busts of Cosimo I are possibly the ones in the Detroit Institute of Arts and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

417 Spinelli 2009: 78; Spinelli 2005: 84.

418 Spinelli 2009: 78.

419 *Ibid.*: 80.

420 Spinelli 2005: 82. Spinelli mentions that Niccolini was also planning to make a series of busts of twenty-two Florentine cardinals, as a tribute to his father Agnolo Niccolini, but did not put this project into practice.

421 Spinelli 2009: 76-77.

422 Chiarini 2000a: 13.

technique was more broadly used by painters such as Valerio Marucelli and Agostino Caracci, who incorporated the seams of the precious materials to get trompe l'oeil-effects.<sup>423</sup> In the first two decades of the seventeenth century, the genre was flowering in Florence.

Grand Duke Ferdinand I knew the technique of inlaid stones from Rome and promoted it in his Galleria dei Lavori in Florence (founded in 1588) and in the Cappella dei Medici in the San Lorenzo church. The painters in his service even developed new, typically Florentine, techniques. In a letter to Pope Clement VIII from 1601, quoted by Anna Maria Giusti, Ferdinand I wrote that painters in Florence made paintings on precious materials that were not 'in the ordinary form of mosaic, but that could rival painting, and, like painting, could treat a nearly limitless array of subjects, ranging from landscape and portraiture to themes from the Bible and still life.'<sup>424</sup> According to Ferdinand I the 'commessi di pietre dure', or Florentine mosaics, had the character of paintings in stone, which was demonstrated by the gift to Clement VIII that accompanied the letter, a portrait of the Pope designed by Jacopo Ligozzi and laid in by Romolo del Tadda (also called Francesco Ferrucci, 1544-1621), one of the first sculptors to specialize in hard stone mosaic.<sup>425</sup> In a letter to the chamberlain of the Pope, Count Giovanni de' Bardi di Vernio, Ferdinand I recommended placing the painting high and at a distance in natural light, which would most benefit the character of the painting.<sup>426</sup>

In Florentine hard stone mosaics, the colours and forms of the different stones were exploited and determined the forms of the represented scenes, a development that was not seen in Roman inlay.<sup>427</sup> Also, the painters who painted with oil on precious stones used its natural forms in this way. Specialists in this genre in the first two decades of the seventeenth century were Jacopo Ligozzi, Filippo Napoletano, and Cornelis van Poelenburgh.<sup>428</sup> After the death of

423 Ibid.: 14.

424 Giusti 2008: 20. This is a fragment from the letter of Ferdinand I to Clement VIII, cited in Italian by Zobi 1853: 187 'nostra invenzione un nuovo modo di rappresentare in marmi commessi insieme non in foggia ordinaria di musaico, ma con altro e più ingegnoso artificio, l'effigie et I ritratti delle persone con i colori naturali, et propri in tutte le parti della faccia.'

425 Giusti 2008: 20, 148. This portrait is now in The J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles.

426 Ibid.: 150; Zobi 1853: 187. "Et lo saprà anche far vedere nel suo vero lume, et collocato in alto et da lontano, siccome ricerca la qualità di quest'opera, et anche saprà trovare un una compositione di pietra così al vivo effigiata l'immagine, come si vorrebbe in pittura col pennello. (...) Dal Poggio a caiano, addì 10 ottobre 1601." Giovanni de' Bardi was chamberlain of the Pope from 1590 to 1600 and was succeeded by Jacopo Corsi. (See Del Nero 2009: 78.)

427 Giusti 2008: 20.

428 Chiarini 2000a: 16.

Ferdinand I, the Florentine painters specialized more and more in naturalistic subjects like flowers, fruit, and birds.<sup>429</sup>

In his travelogue account of the Uffizi, the Englishman Isaac Basire, who visited Florence in 1648, paid more attention to the inlaid works than to the paintings or sculptures. This is a sign of the attraction these rare works had for foreigners.

...cabinet inlayd with pretious stones and wood petrified. In another chamber [...] is a great cabinet of Ivory inlayd with Jasper and other pretious stones. [...] There are also many rare tables inlayd with pretious stones. In a Round chamber [...] there are rare pictures of mosaique work.<sup>430</sup>

At the beginning of the century Giovanni Niccolini's passion for commissioning painted scenes on alabaster of archaeological origin was thus completely in line with the artistic trends in that period.<sup>431</sup> Between 1605 and 1608, he commissioned Antonio Tempesta to paint eight scenes of the Old Testament on this material.<sup>432</sup> The alabaster representations were placed in tabernacles of ebony or pear wood, decorated with arabesques. Although none of these paintings can be found today, we can get an idea of what they were like by looking at an oval painting on alabaster by Tempesta in the Palazzo Doria Pamphilj in Rome.<sup>433</sup> It has the same theme as one of the eight paintings ordered by Niccolini, *The crossing of the red sea*. In this painting Tempesta used the seams of the stone to create rocks.<sup>434</sup> Around 1610, Niccolini commissioned Orazio Gentileschi to paint an *Assumption of the Virgin* on alabaster in the form of a mezzotondo, probably destined for the house chapel.<sup>435</sup> The next year, he commissioned Gentileschi to paint an *Agony in the Garden* on alabaster.<sup>436</sup> Gentileschi belonged to the

429 Giusti 2008: 20.

430 Monga 1987: 6-7.

431 Spinelli 2009: 76.

432 Ibid. Tempesta was paid for this commission between 1605 and 1608. He painted eight biblical representations on alabaster, the first four of which were noticed by Cinelli (pp. 404-409): 1. *Pharaoh's drowned army*, 2. *The crossing of the red Sea*, 3. *The parting of Jacob and Laban*, 4. *The Jews' victory over the Assyrians*, 5. *Abraham and Lot's separation*, 6. *The defeat of the Assyrian king Sennacherib by Yahweh*, 7. *Judith and Holofernes*, 8. *Jacob leaves Laban*. Orazio Gentileschi painted a representation of *Christ on the Mount of olives*.

433 Pezzati 2002: 72.

434 Cecchi 1986: 47. This drawing was made in 1613. In the Louvre is a drawing of Tempesta with the same theme.

435 Spinelli 2009: 88-89.

436 Bastogi 2010: 339; Spinelli 2009: 88-89. Both these works of Gentileschi are lost.

'caravaggeschi' and Niccolini's early interest in this style was quite remarkable and shows how his Roman connections could create Florentine innovations.<sup>437</sup>

Between 1600 and 1610, Niccolini commissioned Tempesta and Ligozzi to execute painted scenes on alabaster as well as on copper.<sup>438</sup> These were historical, biblical, and hunting scenes with landscapes in the background. In the Galleria Borghese in Rome is preserved a copper scene by Tempesta, which gives an idea of the now lost painting once in Niccolini's possession. In this hunting scene Tempesta has given much attention to the variation of the light effects on the rocks and on the trees, a method he used to create space.<sup>439</sup>

For a room that faced the garden, Niccolini had ordered *soprapporte dipinte* (decorative paintings over doors) and six canvases with Flemish landscapes, probably painted by Tempesta.<sup>440</sup> Around 1608 he ordered copies of famous paintings, such as an *Annunciation*, a *Saint Joseph*, a *Saint John the Baptist*, and a *Madonna with child* from Andrea del Sarto and a copy of one of the Galatea-frescoes by Raphael from the villa Farnesina of the banker Agostino Chigi. They were copied by Passignano (the *Annunciation*) and Cosimo Bandini (the rest of the paintings).<sup>441</sup> In 1609, Giovanni took care of the inheritance of his collection by means of a *fidecommesso*-clause in his will, especially to save his collection of coins, which was one of the most valuable of Florence.<sup>442</sup>

### 3.1.2 Piero Guicciardini (1569-1626)

#### The Guicciardini-chapel in Santa Felicita

For his family chapel in Santa Felicita in Florence, Piero Guicciardini chose an anti-mannerist style with narrative clarity, executed by architects of the new Florentine school of the day like Lodovico Cigoli. In this period Cigoli worked mainly in Rome, but travelled to Florence to construct chapels not only for the Guicciardini family, but also for the Doni and Usimbardi families in the Santa Trinita.

437 Papi 2010: 339.

438 Spinelli 2009: 80. The scenes on copper were hunting scenes, historical scenes like the *Burning of Troy*, and sacred scenes like *Tobias and the Angel* and *Saint Eustace*.

439 Pezzati 2002: 73. Two other copper scenes of Tempesta are preserved at Castel Chinon in France and derive from the collection of Cardinal Richelieu. One of them also has as its theme *The crossing of the red sea*.

440 Spinelli 2009: 79.

441 *Ibid.*: 79-80; Spinelli 2005: 90.

442 Restauro 1959: 55.

For the paintings in his chapel Guicciardini chose for the *caravaggismo*-style. In 1619 and 1620 he ordered three large canvases for his chapel from the painters Giovanni Antonio Galli (lo Spadarino), Francesco Buoneri and Gerard van Honthorst (in Italian, Gherardo delle Notti).<sup>443</sup> Gianni Papi states that the otherwise unknown Francesco Buoneri has to be Cecco del Caravaggio, one of the advocates of the art scene in Naples and Rome in the second decade of the seventeenth century.<sup>444</sup> Guicciardini's interest in the caravaggisti was unique in Florence at that time. Lo Spadarino and Cecco del Caravaggio were among the most radical painters of the caravaggisti. It was the first time that such a large commission to exponents of the caravaggismo was given in Florence. Not even in Rome existed a similar commission.

It is likely that Guicciardini wanted to emulate Grand Duke Cosimo II with this commission. In the previous years, the Medici had bought paintings of Artemisia Gentileschi, Caracciolo, Cavarozzi, Manfredi, Ribera, and Caravaggio, but a commission with three large altarpieces of the caravaggisti was unique. Only four years earlier, in 1615, Guicciardini had given the Medici a negative judgement about the quality of the paintings of Orazio Gentileschi, so the caravaggismo-style was not a real passion of his. The commission for his chapel therefore was really meant to make a statement in Florence.

Once the three altarpieces arrived, however, Guicciardini probably feared that the paintings would be far too radical for the Florentine art scene. He ordered Lo Spadarino to make some changes and he even refused the altarpiece of Cecco del Caravaggio and sent it back. The altarpieces by Lo Spadarino and Honthorst were placed in his chapel in the early summer of 1620. Honthorst's *Adoration of the Shepherds* (1620) remained in the Guicciardini chapel until 1835, when it was moved to the Uffizi. Unfortunately, it was destroyed there by a bomb set off by the mafia in 1993 (figs. 6 and 7). Now its many beautiful anatomical details can only be discerned vaguely in the restored version.<sup>445</sup> Cecco del Caravaggio made for Guicciardini a *Resurrection* (now at the Art Institute of Chicago), which is considered one of his masterpieces and one of the most important works of the whole of the caravaggisti movement (fig. 8).<sup>446</sup> Unfortunately for Florence, Guicciardini was not satisfied with it and did not buy it. Instead, in 1621 he ordered Antonio Tempesta to paint another *Resur-*

443 Corti 1989: 111. He pays Galli and Buoneri 200 scudi and Honthorst 250 scudi for this commission.

444 Papi 2010: 76. The rest of this paragraph and the next paragraph are based on Papi.

445 Ekkart 1999: p 61, Uffizi Gallery Inv. 1890 no. 77 (destroyed at the Massacre of Via dei Georgofili).

446 Papi 2010: 150; Papi 1991: 205. Cecco del Caravaggio, *Resurrection*, 1619-1620, Art Institute of Chicago, 339 x 199,5 cm.

*rection*, which was placed in the chapel in the same year and can still be seen there.<sup>447</sup> The *Resurrection* of Cecco del Caravaggio was sold on the Roman art market in October 1620 and was probably bought by Scipione Borghese, as it is listed in his collection in an inventory of the third decade of the seventeenth century.<sup>448</sup> Cecco's *Resurrection* was a very naturalistic work with extreme plastic details. His hyper-realistic naturalism was probably just too far from the canon in those days.<sup>449</sup>

It is unknown what happened with the altarpiece of lo Spadarino. We know it remained in the Guicciardini chapel only until 1667, when it was replaced by a *Crucifix* by Lorenzo Carletti. Gianni Papi thinks the subject of Lo Spadarino's altarpiece must have been a crucifixion as well, which would make sense in combination with the *Resurrection*.<sup>450</sup> Although the altarpiece of Lo Spadarino was in the chapel for four decades, there is no trace of it in contemporary written sources. Not even Honthorst's painting seems to have influenced the Florentine art scene in those years. Papi thinks the appreciation for the naturalistic caravaggismo-movement was far less in Florence than Guicciardini had hoped for. His plans were just too radical. Even in Rome, interest in the caravaggisti was waning and Honthorst and Orazio Gentileschi left the city in 1620.<sup>451</sup> So, Guicciardini's choice can be understood quite well. He just did not have the courage to display Cecco's *Resurrection* so prominently in his chapel and he only dared to possess works by the caravaggisti in his private palace. We do not even have any details about the person or career of Cecco del Caravaggio after Guicciardini refused his painting. His paintings were too much even in Rome, and Guicciardini's refusal of the altarpiece probably meant the end of his career.<sup>452</sup>

### The Guicciardini palace and the collection of art

In Rome, Guicciardini frequented the circles of Scipione Borghese, Vincenzo Giustiniani and Cardinal Del Monte and could admire their art collections and see how certain paintings were displayed, so there were many new Roman influences in his palace (fig. 9) and chapel, just as in the Niccolini palace. One can see this clearly, because in his palace he collected many paintings by the

447 Corti 1989: 112. He buys the *Resurrection* for 200 scudi.

448 Papi 2010: 78.

449 *Ibid.*: 79-81.

450 Papi 1991: 205.

451 Papi 2010: 83.

452 *Ibid.*: 83.

caravaggisti as well as many minor genres (landscapes, battle scenes, fire scenes, still lifes, and hunting scenes) by contemporary painters then in vogue at Rome. In contrast, many other patrician families still collected historic and religious paintings from the Florentine, Venetian and Roman schools more fashionable in the sixteenth century.<sup>453</sup> During his ambassadorship in Rome, Guicciardini had bought three paintings by Filippo Napoletano (with the help of the Milanese painter Giuseppe Vermiglio), two landscapes on copper by an anonymous painter (from the art dealer Cristofano Stati), a painting on copper of the Flood by Alessandro Turchi (also called l'Orbetto), a landscape by Paul Bril (from the art dealer Francesco Stati), two paintings by Bartolomeo Manfredi, and one by Guercino.<sup>454</sup>

Guicciardini had begun collecting paintings around 1590. In 1593, he had given the painters Agostino Ciampelli, Gregorio Pagani and a certain 'Cornelio fiammingo' the commission to decorate the lunettes of the salon of his palace with the four seasons.<sup>455</sup> The Flemish artist painted the landscapes, while Ciampelli and Pagani executed the figures in them. For Carnival around 1593 he commissioned Cigoli to paint a *Bagno di Straccia*, Ciampelli to paint the *Gioco di Calcio*, and Gregorio Pagani to paint hunting scenes.<sup>456</sup> After his return from Rome, Guicciardini gave the architect Gherardo Silvani the commission to enlarge and reconstruct his family palace.<sup>457</sup> An important aspect of his collection were illustrious men, and busts of members of the Medici family. In 1593 Guicciardini commissioned the sculptor Niccolò Berti to carve six heads, three of the Grand Dukes Cosimo I, Francesco, and Ferdinando I, and three of Grand Duchesses, all of which were placed in the loggia<sup>458</sup>. In 1622, he ordered Domenico Casini to paint family portraits for the audience rooms.<sup>459</sup> In the an-

---

453 Fallani 1996: 173-87. From the inventory of 1603 it appears that for his art collection Guicciardini was interested in Flemish landscapes, portraits of women by Santi di Tito, and illustrious men like princes and poets. (For the archival sources of the women portraits and the illustrious men, see Fallani 1991-92: 15, 16, 18, 20. Two later inventories of 1643 and 1658 show his interest in the above-cited minor genres. From Rome he imported paintings by the caravaggisti Filippo Napoletano, Paul Bril, Giovanni Antonio Galli (lo Spadarino), Cecco del Caravaggio, Gerard Honthorst, Agostino Tassi, Antonio Tempesta, Bartolomeo Manfredi, and Guercino.

454 Corti 1989: 111. The subjects of these paintings are unknown.

455 It is unknown who Cornelio fiammingo was. It is not Cornelis Cort (1533-1578), who was also called Cornelio fiammingo. It might be Cornelis de Witte (the son of Pieter de Witte), who was still active in Florence in 1583.

456 Fallani 1996: 174.

457 Ibid.: 173. Luigi Arrigucci finished Cigoli's plans for the chapel after Cigoli's death in 1613.

458 AG Lib. Amm. 136 (Entrata e Uscita e Giornale B di Girolamo, Francesco e Piero 1592-97), cited by Fallani.

459 Fallani 1991-1992: 106.

techamber, which was part of the audience rooms, portrait busts of the Queen of Cyprus and the Grand Duchess Bianca were placed.<sup>460</sup>

Apart from paintings and portrait busts, Guicciardini was also interested in collecting antique sculptures, archaeological findings, silver objects, jewels, relics, tapestries, and precious furniture.<sup>461</sup> To find antique sculptures Guicciardini used art dealers as intermediaries, among them Cristofano and Francesco Stati (who also worked in this function for Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger), Andrea Lomi, Alessandro Monaldi, Stefano Longo, and Alessandro Rondoni. He bought for example statues of Hercules and Bacchus (from Rondoni), which are still in the Guicciardini-palace today.<sup>462</sup> Besides that, he paid the monks of Santa Sabina for antique sculptures and fragments that were found at their excavations.<sup>463</sup> From Longo he bought a torso of a muse and from Rondoni, who also restored antique sculptures for him, a small Venus.<sup>464</sup> Before he left Rome he shipped thirty-two chests full of paintings, antique sculptures, silver work, three tapestries, and many luxurious objects to Livorno, intended for his palace in Florence.<sup>465</sup>

Like Niccolini, Guicciardini's collection was influenced by his stay in Rome. In Niccolini's case we saw this influence especially in his collection of antique sculptures and coins and in his interest in minor genres. Guicciardini was more interested in Roman painters and genres. Busts of members of the Medici family were also part of Guicciardini's collection, as they were in Niccolini's. But Guicciardini did not go as far as Giovanni Niccolini, who put his own portrait in the same room as that of the Medici busts. The reason for this was probably that the Niccolini were more connected to the Medici family, also in the previous century, in the person of Giovanni's father, Agnolo Niccolini, who had served the Medici as ambassador in Rome and as the first governor of Siena (from 1555). Another similarity between the collections of Guicciardini and Niccolini were their copies of famous paintings.

After Piero's death his art collection was inherited by his nephew Lorenzo (1597-1649), the son of his brother Girolamo. In 1630 Lorenzo was nominated *capitano delle corazze* of Arezzo and also *maestro di camera* of Prince Mattias de'

---

460 Ibid.: 20.

461 Fallani 1996: 178.

462 Fallani 1991-1992: 47.

463 Corti 1989: 109.

464 Ibid.: 109-110.

465 Fallani 1991-1992: 48; Corti 1989: 109.

Medici.<sup>466</sup> He shared Mattias' passion for theatre.<sup>467</sup> In 1631 Lorenzo became maestro di camera to Maria Magdalene of Austria and followed her and Mattias in the Thirty Years' War. As compensation, Grand Duke Ferdinand II gave him the fief of Montegiovi in 1639.<sup>468</sup> Lorenzo built on Piero's art collection by adding German paintings such as works from Lucas Cranach the Elder, which he probably bought during his trip with Maria Magdalene of Austria.<sup>469</sup> In 1643 Lorenzo joined the Order of Saint Stephen and in the years after he acquired paintings by Giovan Battista Vanni, Giovanni Martinelli, Cesare Dandini, and Salvator Rosa - all painters who had attracted the interest of the Medici prince Giovan Carlo de' Medici.<sup>470</sup> To Salvator Rosa Lorenzo commissioned two landscapes and to Giovan Battista Vanni a *Story of Cleopatra*.<sup>471</sup> Moreover Vanni dedicated to Lorenzo a set of fifteen prints after frescoes of Correggio in Parma, after a trip to this city.<sup>472</sup>

At Lorenzo's death, the Guicciardini collection was inherited by Francesco Guicciardini, Lorenzo's son. Francesco was gentilhuomo di camera of Giovan Carlo de' Medici from 1639 to 1661 and inherited some of his paintings. In an inventory from 1662, one of the rooms in the palace is named for the first time 'galleria'. From the inventory results that all the paintings were reframed in the baroque style, embellished with curves and decorative elements, whereas Piero had chosen black frames with profiles of gold and silver for the large canvases and frames of ebony with silver roses for the smaller canvases.<sup>473</sup> In the inventory of 1662, the paintings are displayed in a totally different way than in 1643. To make the gallery more inviting for visitors, Lorenzo had chosen to devote each room to one particular subject or genre, instead of hanging all kinds of paintings and genres together.<sup>474</sup> Portraits were placed mainly on the piano nobile in the salons and reception rooms and were alternated with landscapes and battle scenes. Portraits of the Guicciardini family were never placed in the same rooms as those of the Medici. On the ground floor were the larger can-

---

466 Bruno 2008: 190.

467 Ibid.: 212. Later on he shared this passion also with Prince Leopoldo (see section 4.3).

468 Fallani 1991-1992: 117.

469 Ibid.: 118.

470 Ibid.: 119.

471 Bruno 2008: 213-15. Payments to Salvator Rosa are recorded in AG. 190, c. 40 and AG 191, c. 62, to Giovan Battista Vanni in A.G. 190, c. 105. Today there are no traces of these paintings anymore.

472 Bruno 2008: 214. The prints (1642) are now in the collection of The British Museum.

473 Ibid.: 116, 121.

474 Ibid.: 122.

vases with historical, allegorical, and mythological scenes, as well as seascapes and *natura morte* (fruit, birds, flowers, and animals).<sup>475</sup>

### 3.1.3 Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger (1568-1647)

#### The first three rooms of the Galleria Buonarroti

Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger (fig. 10) was the son of Lionardo Buonarroti, who in his turn was the son of Buonarroto Buonarroti, a brother of the famous artist Michelangelo.<sup>476</sup> Buonarroti the Younger was a man of letters and frequented the circles of other men of letters in Florence and Rome. He studied in Pisa, where he shared an apartment with Maffeo Barberini, the future pope Urban VIII and where he befriended Galileo Galilei.<sup>477</sup> As a dramatist, he wrote many plays and other works for the Medici court between 1605 and 1643.<sup>478</sup> He was a member of several academies and confraternities and had some official functions as a magistrate for the Medici government from 1613 to 1624.<sup>479</sup> In the fifth chapter, we will demonstrate how he favoured the geographic mobility of artists in his function as art broker. But first we concentrate on his patronage.

Between 1613 and 1643 Buonarroti the Younger commissioned thirty-four painters to decorate his Galleria Buonarroti.<sup>480</sup> Among these painters were Jacopo Vignali, Matteo Rosselli, Pietro da Cortona, Giovanni da San Giovanni, and Cristofano Allori.<sup>481</sup> At the beginning of the seventeenth century, it was

475 *Ibid.*: 124-25. In 1810 the whole Guicciardini collection of paintings was sold to a certain mister Dubois, 'directeur de la police du grand duché de Toscane' during the reign of Napoleon's sister Elisa Baciocchi (see Fallani 1991-1992: 147, 149) and in 1813 his collection was sold in Paris.

476 Vliegthart 1976: 7.

477 *Ibid.*: 7-8; Maserà 1941: 11.

478 For a detailed description of all his commissions for the Medici court, see Cole 2011, especially pp. 159-356.

479 Maserà 1941: 17. His functions as magistrate: Magistrato di Dogana (1613/14), Magistrato di Nove (1616), Magistrato della Grascia (1619/20), Magistrato dei Conservatori della Legge (1620), and Magistrato del Sale (1624). For a description of his role in different academies and confraternities, see Cole 2011: 53-95.

480 Vliegthart 1976: 1.

481 *Ibid.*: 58-72. The artists who cooperated to decorate the Galleria Buonarroti were: Jacopo Vignali (1592-1664), Michelangelo Cinganelli (1580-1635), Baccio del Bianco (1604-1656), Francesco Montelatici (Cecco Bravo) (1607-1661), Matteo Rosselli (1578-1651), Pietro da Cortona, Jacopo (Chimenti) da Empoli (1554-1640), Gherardo Silvani (1579-1675), Domenico Passignano (1558/60-1638), Agostino Ciampelli (1565-1642), Anastasio Fontebuoni (1580-1626), Giovanni da San Giovanni (1592-1636), Fabrizio Boschi (1570-1642), Cosimo Gamberucci (1560/65-1621), Francesco Curradi (1570-1661), Artemisia Gentileschi (1593-1652/53), Cristofano Allori (1577-1621), Giovanni Biliverti (1576-1644), Sigismondo Coccapani (1583-1642), Francesco Furini (1603-1646), Domenico Pugliani (1589-1658), Giovanni Battista Brazzè (il Bigio), Zanobi Rosi (?-1633), Girolamo Buratti, Francesco Bianchi Bounavita (1593-1658), Giovanni Battista Gui-

common among members of the European elite to have a 'piano nobile' and Buonarroti wanted one, too.<sup>482</sup> The Galleria on the piano nobile was decorated in a classical-realistic style that was in vogue between the mannerism of the late sixteenth century, and the baroque period that flourished in the seventeenth.<sup>483</sup>

The first room of the piano nobile was dedicated to Buonarroti's famous great-uncle, the painter, architect, and sculptor Michelangelo, and was decorated mainly between 1613 and 1620 with large panels, that were placed on the ceiling.<sup>484</sup> These scenes represented Michelangelo's contacts with authorities like Pope Julius II (in 1506), the Sultan of Turkey (fig. 12), Pope Leo X, the Doge of Venice, Pope Paul III (in 1535), Pope Julius III (in 1522) (fig. 11), and Pope Pius IV. Apart from these large panels, there were smaller *chiaroscuro* panels with (almost princely) virtues of Michelangelo (like *Justice*, *Prudence*, *Moderation* and *Magnanimity*) and with personifications of the Arts. In the centre of the ceiling his glorification was represented.<sup>485</sup> Up till then it never happened that a painter got such a princely glorification.<sup>486</sup> The reason that the main focus of the cycle was not on Michelangelo's qualities as an artist, but on his contacts with important civil and religious authorities, was to underline the importance of the Buonarroti-lineage.<sup>487</sup>

The other three rooms were decorated between 1619 and 1643. One contained portraits of other members of the Buonarroti family, together with

---

doni, Tiberio di Tito (1573-1627), Nicodemo Ferrucci (1574-1650), Jacopo di Berto da Corbignano (stone mason), Montelupo Fiorentino (maiolica), Valerio Marucelli (1563-1627), Filippo Tarchiani (1576-1645), and the sculptors Domenico Pieratti (1595/1600-1656) and Antonio Novelli (1600-1662).

482 De Luca Savelli 1973: 176.

483 Vliegenthart 1976: 1.

484 The decoration of this first room was finished in 1635.

485 Wasmer 1992: 125-126; Vliegenthart 1976: 1. The glorification of Michelangelo was painted by Sigismondo Coccapani (1619) and was called *The coronation of Michelangelo by the four Arts (sculpture, painting, architecture, poetry)*.

486 Wasmer 1992: 121; Vliegenthart 1976: 16-17. The starting point for the iconographic programme of the Galleria Buonarroti was the temporary glorification of Michelangelo on 14 July 1564 in the San Lorenzo after his death on 18 February of that same year. A catafalque with several levels on which were painted virtues, allegories and moments of his life was placed in the San Lorenzo church.

487 Wasmer 1992: 123-124; Vliegenthart 1976: 21. This fact is illustrated for example by the panel *Michelangelo presents a model of the Palazzo di Strada Giulia to Pope Julius III, in the presence of some cardinals* (fig. 11) painted by Fabrizio Boschi (1617). Michelangelo is sitting, while all the cardinals are standing around him, which is not a very credible scenario. The palace was never finished, but still Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger chose this scene to be represented. The same strategy was applied on the panel of Giovanni Biliverti (1620) on which the sultan of Turkey invites Michelangelo to build a bridge over the Bosphorus in Constantinople (Istanbul) (fig. 12). Michelangelo never built this bridge, but still Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger portrays this scene to show the sultan's attention to his uncle.

painted scenes of the most important events in their lives. In another room, Florentine saints were painted, and the last room (called the Studio), was decorated with frescoes of Florentine scientists, men of letters, and politicians.<sup>488</sup> The Galleria Buonarroti extolled Florentine civil and religious history, together with the most famous member of the family, Michelangelo,<sup>489</sup> whose virtues and qualities, and relations with important political and religious figures, reflected well on Buonarroti the Younger.<sup>490</sup> When possible, Buonarroti the Younger portrayed himself and his friends as bystanders in scenes depicting his uncle (fig. 13).<sup>491</sup>

### **Some contemporary decoration cycles of the Medici and influences of the Galleria Buonarroti on the decoration of Casino Mediceo of Carlo de' Medici**

Between the decorations in the Galleria Buonarroti and the fresco cycles commissioned by Cardinal Carlo de' Medici exist some similarities. Carlo de' Medici, the brother of Grand Duke Cosimo II, was enthusiastic about hunting, literature, music, and theatre.<sup>492</sup> He patronized the *Infuocati* and the *Immobili-academies*.<sup>493</sup> He collected both contemporary art and art from the Quattro- and Cinquecento. Often he appropriated original paintings from churches and replaced them with copies.<sup>494</sup> He possessed apartments in the Pitti Palace, the Casino Mediceo-palace, and several villas including the villa Cerreto Guidi, the villa Cafaggiolo, and the villa at Trinità dei Monti in Rome.

From 1621 to 1623, Carlo commissioned a team of Florentine painters to decorate the ground floor of the Casino Mediceo. These were Matteo Rosselli, Sigismondo Coccapani, Anastagio Fontebuoni, Ottavio Vannini, Francesco

488 Vliegenthart 1976: 2.

489 Rossi 1995a: 174.

490 Wasmer 1992: 121; Vliegenthart 1976: 14.

491 Spinelli 2006: 86; Rossi 2004: xxvi; Chappell 1977: 21. On the panel *Michelangelo and Poetry*, painted by Zanobi Rosi (1622, designed by Cristofano Allori, who had just died) Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger and Cristofano Allori are portrayed observing the scene as poets. On the panel on which Michelangelo is received by the Doge of Venice, painted by Valerio Marucelli (1618) three friends of Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger are portrayed: Gabriello Chiabrera, Jacopo Soldani and Jacopo Giraldi. Baldinucci (1974-75, III: 642 and IV: 307) writes about other friends of Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger on several panels. On the panel with Julius III, painted by Fabrizio Boschi (1617) some bishop-friends of Buonarroti the Younger are portrayed: Cosimo della Gherardesca (bishop of Colle val d'Elsa), Minerbetti (bishop of Cortona), Neri (bishop of San Miniato) and Piero Dini (archbishop of Fermo). The panel with the sultan of Turkey, painted by Biliverti (1620), portrays his good friend Niccolò Arrighetti.

492 Bastogi 2005: I: 192-95.

493 Brunelli 2009a: 31-33.

494 Bastogi 2005: I: 192-95.

Furini, and Fabrizio Boschi - exactly the same painters who decorated the Galleria Buonarroti over the preceding seven years.<sup>495</sup> Not surprisingly this choice for the same team of Florentine painters led to a correspondence in style and sometimes in subject matter between the two places. The forty-five frescoes in the Casino Mediceo were intended mainly to glorify the Grand Dukes of the Medici Family (Cosimo I, Francesco I, Ferdinand I, and Cosimo II) and constituted the first large dynastic cycle after Vasari's frescoes in the Palazzo Vecchio for Cosimo I, completed between 1558 and 1565.<sup>496</sup> It was even a continuation of these frescoes because they begin with Cosimo I, while the frescoes in the Palazzo Vecchio ended with this Grand Duke.<sup>497</sup> The reason for glorifying the Medici Grand Dukes in the Casino Mediceo was due to the power vacuum that followed the death of Cosimo II, during the reign of the regents.<sup>498</sup> Carlo wanted to show the regents that he was the legitimate successor of Cosimo II. Cosimo II had wanted as such all his political career but had changed his will shortly before his death. Carlo wanted to show that he was aware of his illustrious dynasty and was able to continue this line.<sup>499</sup>

The theme of the room of Cosimo II was the rebirth of the arts and science during his time in power. Allegorical scenes show Cosimo II crowning the personifications of *Music* and *Poetry* with a laurel wreath, visiting an art studio, and waking the personifications of *Sculpture* and *Painting*.<sup>500</sup> Francesco Furini depicted Cosimo II's interest in science with the four satellites of Jupiter discovered by Galileo, while Cosimo II is also shown with a telescope, which was invented by Galileo.<sup>501</sup> (Similarly, in 1628 Baccio del Bianco painted a telescope in the Casa Buonarroti). In Anastagio Fontebuoni's painting of the apotheosis of Cosimo II (fig. 14), we can see the immediate influence of the Galleria Buonarroti. In this scene, Cosimo II is surrounded by personifications of the Arts,<sup>502</sup> in imitation of Sigismondo Coccapani's 1619 painting of the apotheosis of Michelangelo being crowned by Painting, Sculpture, Architecture and Poetry (fig. 15).<sup>503</sup> In another scene in the Casino Mediceo painted by Bartolomeo Salvestrini (a pupil of Biliverti) personifications of the Arts lament the death of

---

495 *Ibid.*: 191.

496 *Ibid.*: 191.

497 Kliemann 1993: 174.

498 Spinelli 2005: 208.

499 Fumagalli 2001: 73.

500 Kliemann 1993: 176.

501 Spinelli 2005: 212.

502 *Ibid.*: 209-11.

503 Wasmer 1992: 126.

Cosimo II together with a personification of Tuscany (fig. 16). Also in this scene the appearance of the personifications of the Arts seem to have been influenced by the scene of Coccapani in the Galleria Buonarroti.

A few years after the completion of the Galleria Buonarroti and Casino Mediceo, Maria Magdalene of Austria devoted her time to the decoration of the villa Poggio Imperiale. In 1623, the decoration of the rooms was started and in 1624 Giulio Parigi began to enlarge this villa.<sup>504</sup> Paintings glorified Cosimo II, Maria Magdalene herself, and the Habsburg family. All kinds of female saints and heroines from antiquity and their virtues were painted.<sup>505</sup> It is not exactly known which painters executed the frescoes at the Poggio Imperiale. Baldinucci writes that Matteo Rosselli, Anastagio Fontebuoni, and Ottavio Vannini painted them, but more recent sources indicate that apart from these three painters, probably the whole team of painters who painted the Casino di San Marco (1621-23) and the Casa Buonarroti (1613-1619) was active also in Poggio Imperiale: among them were Giovanni Biliverti and his pupils, Cecco Bravo, Bartolomeo Salvestrini, Giovanni Battista Ghidoni, Sigismondo Coccapani, Giovanni Battista Vanni, Tarchiani, Domenico Pugliani, Jacopo Vignali, Cinganelli, and Francesco Curradi.<sup>506</sup>

The decorations in the Casa Buonarroti, the Casino Mediceo and Poggio Imperiale constituted important anthologies of the Florentine school of the time.<sup>507</sup> These kind of large commissions meant that painters did not have to travel away from Florence after the death of Cosimo II. Like Cardinal Carlo, the regents also preferred frescoes to the oil panels favoured by Cosimo II.<sup>508</sup> The fresco cycles in the Casino Mediceo and Poggio Imperiale were important for the development of Florentine paintings in those decades. Thanks to the buon-fresco technique, bright colours could be used again and in 1636 Buonarroti decided to decorate his Studio with frescoes instead of the oil painting panels he had used in the first three rooms.

#### **The fourth room of the Galleria Buonarroti, Buonarroti's attempt to build up an antique sculpture collection, and Pietro da Cortona's stay in Florence**

The fourth room of the Casa Buonarroti with Florentine men of letters and scientists was decorated from 1636 with frescoes by Cecco Bravo, Lionardo

504 Acanfora 1998: 145.

505 *Ibid.*

506 Acanfora 2005a: 145, 153.

507 *Ibid.*: 145.

508 Chiavacci 2005: 135.

Ferroni, Domenico Pugliani and Matteo Rosselli. Florentine uomini illustri - poets, writers, astronomers, mathematicians, navigators, physicists, physicians, orators, jurists, historians, humanists, herbalists, philosophers, and theologians – are depicted talking and gesticulating and situated on different balconies, as if they stood above the room in a loggia (figs. 17 and 18).<sup>509</sup> The style was illusionistic, with painted wood and painted architectural elements like pilasters in the form of caryatids that supported the real wooden joists. On the architraves were painted monochrome bas-reliefs.<sup>510</sup> This was a new phase in Florentine painting, when the classical realistic transformed into a playful illusionistic style with many burlesque elements. In the case of Buonarroti we can see the two styles in one palace. Like Giovanni Niccolini, Buonarroti had much influence on the iconographic programme himself.<sup>511</sup> He had designed where to place the figures, and gave advice about the colours of their robes, and their attributes. In preparation for this he had composed a list of famous men, and noted the places where their portraits could be found. His sources were Florentine publications about illustrious men, like those of Filippo Villani, Paolo Giovio, and Michele Poccianti.<sup>512</sup>

Apart from decorating his Galleria, Buonarroti tried to build up a collection of antique sculptures. He was assisted by a network of clients who worked for him as agents in Rome, like the painter Agostino Ciampelli, the canon of Santa Maria Maggiore Domenico Fedini, the sculptor Francesco Stati, and Francesco Barberini's secretary, Piero Velluti.<sup>513</sup> Probably Buonarroti had created this unique network of agents, remarkable for a Florentine patrician still living in Florence, during his stays at the Barberini court in Rome.<sup>514</sup> With the assistance of the agents, Buonarroti wanted to find six bas-reliefs and two antique sculptures to place in two niches. Moreover, he wanted to find a sculpture of a philosopher, with the intention to replace the head with one resembling his great-uncle Michelangelo.<sup>515</sup> The agents had difficulties in finding bas-reliefs with the right dimensions, because in the same period (1619-25) the façade

---

509 Bigazzi 1974: 164-168.

510 Ibid.

511 Ibid.

512 Ibid.: 168; Smit 1971: 3. Filippo Villani (1325-1407): *Liber de origine civitatis Florentiae et eiusdem famosis civibus*; Paolo Giovio (1483-1552): *Elogia virorum litteris illustrium* (1546); Michele Poccianti (1536-1576): *catalogus scriptorum florentinorum* (1589).

513 Cole 2007a: 757.

514 On Buonarroti's contacts with the Barberini, see chapter 5, especially section 5.5 The social network of Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger.

515 Vliegenthart 1976: 84.

of Villa Borghese and the cortile of the Palazzo Mattei di Giove were under construction which made it difficult for patrons from outside Rome to obtain antique sculptures for their own projects.<sup>516</sup> Although some antique pieces and parts of sculptures finally reached Florence - notably an Apollo that was found and restored by Francesco Stati from 1620 to 1625 - ultimately the project to obtain antique sculptures for the Galleria failed.<sup>517</sup> Thus from 1628 Buonarroti decided to place modern sculptures by Domenico Pieratti and Antonio Novelli in his Galleria, and to commission *chiaroscuro* to go where the bas-reliefs would have been.<sup>518</sup> Moreover, in 1629, he commissioned the sculptor Giuliano Finelli, a pupil of Gian Lorenzo Bernini, to make his portrait bust, with a Barberini-bee on his costume, as a sign of his loyalty to that family.<sup>519</sup>

Pietro da Cortona lived in Buonarroti's house for three different periods - June to October 1637, in 1641-1642, and again from 1644 to 1647.<sup>520</sup> He was hosted there by Buonarroti while he was working on the frescoes in the Palazzo Pitti for Ferdinand II.<sup>521</sup> In the Casa Buonarroti he could see the illusionistic doors (1627) of Baccio del Bianco (including a detail of Galileo's telescope), which influenced his work on the Pitti-palace (fig. 19).<sup>522</sup> Del Bianco and his pupils Jacopo Chiavistelli and Angelo Gori were important for the development of the *quadratura toscana*.<sup>523</sup> As a way of thanks for Buonarroti's hospitality, in 1641-42 Da Cortona designed intarsia (inlay) decorations for the six small double doors in the Galleria (these are the only intarsia-decorations he is known to have made). The designs were executed by Benedetto Calenzuoli and the intarsia was made of yellowish orange tree wood, walnut and some mother-of-pearl. Each door contained two allegorical figures, representing together the arts and sciences related to the artist Michelangelo (figs. 20 and 21).<sup>524</sup> These

516 Corsi 2003: 161. The cortile was built for Asdrubale Mattei (Via dei Funari); Vliegenthart 1976: 85.

517 Letters from Fedini to Buonarroti about the acquisition and restoration of the Apollo: A.B. 47, no. 894; A.B. 47, no. 896. Two other reasons why the project failed were probably the death of Domenico Fedini in 1629 and the fact that Francesco Stati had to flee from Rome in 1625 because of his debts. At this occasion, his whole house was cleared out. See A.B. 47, no. 908 (Letter from Fedini to Buonarroti). In 1626 Stati returned to Rome and in 1627 he died. (See Vliegenthart 1976: 90).

518 Corsi 2003: 161.

519 Cole 2011: 355.

520 Contini (R.) 1998: 145.

521 Solinas 2010: 20. Cortona already finished the *Età dell'Oro* and the *Età dell'Argento* in 1637 and came back in 1641 to finish the rest of the Sala della Stufa (*Età del Bronzo* and *Età del Ferro*) and to execute the Saloni dei Pianeti (Sala della Venere, Sala di Marte, Sala di Giove, Sala di Apollo and Sala di Saturno).

522 Contini (R.) 1998: 150.

523 Acanfora 200b: 45.

524 Vliegenthart 1976: 97 + 222.

were theology, mathematics, perspective (the arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture), history, poetry, and philosophy. The allegories are designed in a very lively and cheerful way and their shapes follow the seams of the wood.<sup>525</sup>

Pietro da Cortona executed two other pieces for free to thank Buonarroti for his hospitality, the painting with Michelangelo's brother Buonarrotto during the visit of Leo X to Florence in 1515 for the Stanza della Notte e del Di, and an altarpiece for the Stanza degli Angioli.<sup>526</sup> Furthermore he gave Buonarroti four cartoons with his designs for the Stanza della Stufa of the Palazzo Pitti.<sup>527</sup>

### **Buonarroti's influences on the patronage of Grand Duke Ferdinand II**

In the years 1637-42 Ferdinand II commissioned for large fresco cycles in the Palazzo Pitti.<sup>528</sup> During the course of a four-month trip through Europe with his brother Giovan Carlo de' Medici in 1628 he had seen all kinds of innovative paintings at different courts.<sup>529</sup> On the ceiling of the church Sant'Alessandro in Parma they saw a painting of Angelo Michele Colonna, and in the Palazzo Barberini in Rome they saw the frescoes of Pietro da Cortona. Back in Florence Ferdinand II decided to introduce this kind of innovative frescoes in the Palazzo Pitti.<sup>530</sup> One of the main characteristics of these innovative frescoes was the illusionistic perspective and the splendour of the baroque (instead of the great attention given to grotesques in the Cinquecento and during the reigns of Ferdinand I, Cosimo II, and the regents).<sup>531</sup> Ferdinand II commissioned Giovanni da San Giovanni, Pietro da Cortona, Agostino Mitelli, and Angelo Michele Colonna to make illusionistic frescoes in his palace. Ferdinand II wanted to represent himself as a European prince rather than as a mere Italian duke, and these monumental frescoes suited this intention.<sup>532</sup>

In the Sala della Stufa, Pietro da Cortona painted in 1637 the apotheosis of Alexander the Great, depicted here not as a war hero, but because of his love for philosophy, poetry, the study of literature, and wisdom, characteristics Ferdinand recognized in himself.<sup>533</sup> The iconographic programme for this room

---

525 *Ibid.*: 98.

526 *Ibid.*: 220. The altarpiece contained a Madonna and child.

527 *Ibid.*: 221. These cartoons are lost.

528 Chiavacci 2005: 135.

529 Boutier 1994: 268. During their trip through Europe Ferdinand II and Giovan Carlo de' Medici visited Munich, Nuremberg and Prague.

530 Acanfora 1998: 155-156.

531 Bastogi 2005: 17.

532 Acanfora 2005b: 60.

533 *Ibid.*: 74-75.

was made most likely by Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger.<sup>534</sup> This is not a coincidence, because we know Cortona was living in Buonarroti's palace when executing this commission for the Medici.<sup>535</sup> In the Studio of his Galleria Buonarroti, Michelangelo the Younger had also praised philosophy, literature, and all kinds of sciences, and as in the Casa Buonarroti and the Casino Mediceo, an allusion to Galileo Galilei was made in the Sala della Stufa by the presence of a telescope.<sup>536</sup>

In 1635 Giovanni da San Giovanni started to paint the Salone degli Argenti of the Palazzo Pitti. In this room, Lorenzo il Magnifico was glorified by means of biographic chronicles, inspired by similar chronicles in which the Medici were glorified in the Palazzo Vecchio (1558-62) and Michelangelo in the Casa Buonarroti (1613-19). The iconographic programme was made by Francesco Rondinelli, a good friend of Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger. The main themes were the union between the Medici and the Della Rovere-family, the destruction of antique culture and its revival by Lorenzo il Magnifico, and finally the rediscovery of the Golden Age of Tuscany.<sup>537</sup> In the Salone degli Argenti, Giovanni da San Giovanni painted frescoes full of beautiful illusionistic details, like clouds that gave shade to the painted architectural elements and bas-reliefs covered with dust, in imitation of real stucco bas-reliefs which in the course of time get dirty.<sup>538</sup> Giovanni da San Giovanni had studied in the house of the architect Giulio Parigi, who held a school on the uses of perspective.<sup>539</sup>

Following the death of Giovanni da San Giovanni, Cecco Bravo, Ottavio Vannini, and Francesco Furini finished the room between 1638 and 1642.<sup>540</sup> All three painters had worked in the Casa Buonarroti in the years before. Cecco Bravo probably got his commission in the Salone degli Argenti thanks to the efforts of Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger.<sup>541</sup> He was a pupil of Matteo Rosselli, who assisted in all the important commissions for fresco cycles in the previous years, such as that for Casino Mediceo, Poggio Imperiale, and the Studio of the Galleria Buonarroti. Cecco Bravo had already assisted Rosselli at Poggio Imperiale and was one of the main painters of the Studio in the Casa Bu-

534 Campbell 1977: 8.

535 *Ibid.*: 41.

536 Acanfora 200b: 76.

537 *Ibid.*: 43.

538 *Ibid.*: 42.

539 *Ibid.*: 45. Baccio del Bianco also frequented this school and was later on employed as a teacher.

540 Varese 1972a: 3.

541 Acanfora 2005b: 52.

onarroti.<sup>542</sup> There are striking similarities between the scenes painted by Cecco Bravo in the Galleria Buonarroti (1636) and in the Salone degli Argenti (1638-42). In all three scenes – the fresco with the poets and the writers in the Galleria Buonarroti (fig. 17), and the scenes in the Salone degli Argenti of Lorenzo il Magnifico receiving *Apollo and the Muses* and *Bringing peace* (fig. 22) – figures are shown hanging out of the frame of the representation. The background of the scenes is vague and the foreground features illusionistic jokes, like books that stick out at the railing of the balustrade in the Galleria Buonarroti and a putto in the Palazzo Pitti who hangs out of the painting.<sup>543</sup> The scene of Lorenzo surrounded by artists (fig. 23) painted by Ottavio Vannini also resembles the scene with poets and writers of Cecco Bravo (fig. 17) in the Galleria Buonarroti, especially regarding the right-angled view on the landscape after the scene. Vannini also painted in the Galleria Buonarroti in the years 1636-37.<sup>544</sup>

Francesco Furini painted the scene of *Lorenzo and the Platonic Academy*, also called *Lorenzo between poets and philosophers*, in the Salone degli Argenti (fig. 24). In 1638, Leopoldo de' Medici had decided to revive this academy and had founded the Accademia Platonica.<sup>545</sup> The paintings with the philosophers in the Palazzo Pitti and Galleria Buonarroti are based on Raphael's *School of Athens*.<sup>546</sup> In the Stanza della Segnatura Raphael had distinguished natural philosophy and moral philosophy by means of their representatives, Aristotle and Plato, respectively. In the Galleria Buonarroti the same distinction between neoplatonic and Aristotelian philosophers is painted in the scene with the philosophers by Domenico Pugliani (fig. 25).<sup>547</sup> Also Furini maintains this distinction in the Palazzo Pitti and he probably based his painting on the scene by Pugliani in the Galleria Buonarroti. The sketches for the scene in the Palazzo Pitti suggest this influence. The personification of Poetry was painted initially with three children, according to Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* the three poetic genres lyric, tragic and heroic poetry. In the Galleria Buonarroti these three genres are represented together with the genre of burlesque poetry so beloved by Michelangelo the Younger.<sup>548</sup> In the academy of Lorenzo, only lyrical poetry was practised, so in the end Furini left out the three children of Poetry and concentrated on lyri-

---

542 Barsanti 1999: 17.

543 Acanfora 2005b: 56.

544 Ibid.

545 McGrath 1994: 209.

546 Acanfora 1998: 157.

547 Bigazzi 1974: 198-201.

548 Ibid.: 177-79.

cal poets.<sup>549</sup> The composition of his Platonic Academy in the Palazzo Pitti also resembles the Cecco Bravo's fresco with the poets and writers in the Galleria Buonarroti, especially regarding the hanging figure on the left and the sketchy background.

The similarities between the Studio of the Galleria Buonarroti and the Salone degli Argenti are not coincidental. On the east side wall of the Salone, Giovanni di San Giovanni originally planned to paint a spectacle with a personification of the Arno accompanied by nymphs and a young lady, the personification of the Golden Age. This scene, which was never executed due to the death of the painter, was based directly on the second intermezzo from the theatre piece *Il giudizio di Paride* of Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger.<sup>550</sup> So it seems that Michelangelo, by means of his good friend Rondinelli, had considerable influence on the represented scenes.

#### 3.1.4 Niccolò dell'Antella (1560-1630)

Niccolò dell'Antella wanted to demonstrate his pride in Florentine painting and on cultural and scientific history. He bought the Villa Belvedere and a city palace, the Palazzo degli Sporti, today known as the Palazzo dell'Antella (fig. 26).<sup>551</sup> He had a double function for the Medici, as political adviser and lieutenant of the Accademia del Disegno.<sup>552</sup> Thanks to the latter, he was in contact with many painters and architects. In May 1619 and May 1620 he commissioned thirteen Florentine painters to decorate the façade of his palace, newly designed by Giulio Parigi, with painted scenes and allegories of virtues and different categories of science.<sup>553</sup> The thirteen painters who decorated the façade were to a large extent the same who decorated the Galleria Buonarroti five years earlier, including Domenico Passignano, Matteo Rosselli, Ottavio Vannini, Giovanni da San Giovanni, Fabrizio Boschi, and Michelangelo Cinganelli.<sup>554</sup>

Giovanni da San Giovanni made a sketch of the whole façade, with explanations of the scenes and the authors of them (fig. 27). The main goal of the paintings was to glorify Cosimo II and Niccolò dell'Antella by means of their virtues

549 McGrath 1994: 209.

550 Campbell 1976: 17. The title of the intermezzo was *The return of Astrea*.

551 Casprini 2000: 49, 55. His son Domenico sold the villa in 1631.

552 Ibid.: 55; Vivoli 1989: 121-24.

553 Van Veen 2005: 76; Casprini 2000: 56. The painters were Matteo Rosselli, Domenico Passignano, Ottavio Vannini, Fabrizio Boschi, Michelangelo Cinganelli, Nicodemo Ferrucci, Andrea del Bello, Michele Buffini, Antonio Guerrini, Filippo Tarchiani, Cosimo Milanese, Stefano da Quinto, and Giovanni da San Giovanni.

554 Pecchioli 2005: 70-73.

and moral qualities.<sup>555</sup> Among the painted scenes were, on the first floor, the virtues *Fortitude* and *Sincerity* (Vannini), *Tranquillity* and *Fidelity* (Giovanni da San Giovanni), *Abundance* and *Wealth* (unknown), and *Delight* (Rosselli). For the virtue of *Tranquillity* Giovanni da San Giovanni imitated in fresco Caravaggio's painting of the *Sleeping Cupid*, in the possession of the Antella.<sup>556</sup> On the second floor, the piano nobile, were painted fourteen monochrome personifications of other virtues and allegories of moral qualities: among them *Pity* (Vannini), *Science*, *Wisdom*, *Faith*, and *Temperance* (unknown), *Justice*, *Intellect* and *Prudence* (Giovanni da San Giovanni), *Council*, and *Providence* (Rosselli). Above the piano nobile were painted allegories of sciences and moral qualities.<sup>557</sup> Painted around all the scenes were putti, arabesques, coats of arms, and festoons, while right in the middle of the façade was a bust of Cosimo II.<sup>558</sup> This was a common way for patricians to show their loyalty to the Medici family, especially for those who were in their service. The commission illustrates the great interest for science and the pride the patricians felt for Florentine painters.

Painted, and not sgraffito façades, were relatively rare at the beginning of the seventeenth century. From 1530 on, many all'antica sgraffito-facades with grotesques were made, especially by the specialists in this genre, Mariotto di Francesco Mettidoro, Cosimo Feltrini, and later in the sixteenth century Bernardino Poccetti. After the Counter Reformation, this type of decoration lost its attraction because of the secular content.<sup>559</sup> At the end of the sixteenth century, however, this genre was revived in a different way, with a more polychrome decoration. The first palace in this genre which has survived is the palazzo Benci-Manelli at Piazza Madonna degli Aldobrandini where Bernardino Poccetti made a mannerist subdivision in different zones.<sup>560</sup> Another palace of which polychrome decorations have survived is Palazzo Mellini-Fossi in the Via dei Benci, with frescoes by the otherwise unknown Flemish painter

---

555 Ibid.: 73-74.

556 Ibid.: 74.

557 Ibid.: 78. These were Magnanimity, Equity, Judgment, Glory of Princes, Majesty, Meditation, Knowledge, Contemplation, Astronomy, Painting, Vigilance, Truth, Glory, Contenance, Fame, Charity, Kindness, Peace, Government of the Republic, Zeal, Magnificence, Agility, Affability, Love of God, Teaching, Concord, Magnanimous Ardour, Velocity, Love of Virtue, Council, Neighbourly Love, and Charity.

558 Casprini 2000: 56.

559 Pecchioli 2005: 12 + 23. Two painters who were very active in this genre in Rome in the years after 1522 were Polidoro da Caravaggio (ca. 1499-1543) and Maturino da Firenze (1490-1528), described by Vasari together in one Life in the third part of his *Vite* (1568 edition).

560 Fenech Kroke 2011: 195-96.

Giovanni Stolf on the façade.<sup>561</sup> The frescoes, painted in 1575, represent stories of Perseus, probably based on cartoons by Francesco Salviati. Some other polychrome decorations on the façades of palaces of the Corsi (by Giorgio Vasari) and Altoviti (by Poccetti) families have been lost.<sup>562</sup> The next palace to feature a polychrome decoration which has survived was the Palazzo dell'Antella.<sup>563</sup>

### 3.2 Patricians as patrons and collectors during the reigns of the regents and Ferdinand II de' Medici

Throughout the period of the regents and during the first years of the government of Ferdinand II, when the regents still assisted him, the patronage of the Florentine patricians was of vital importance for the advancement of painting and sculpture in Florence. The patricians were rooted in all the religious, social, and cultural structures of the city and therefore their networks constituted the underlying structures of the Medici court. Thanks to the fact that their networks remained intact during this transitional period an exodus of artists to Rome and other cities was prevented. Together with the brothers of Cosimo II, Don Carlo and Don Lorenzo de' Medici, the patricians continued their patronage of a large group of Florentine painters.

#### 3.2.1 Giovan Battista Strozzi the Younger (1596-1636)

##### His Art Collection and the interest of the Medici and patricians for paintings with literary themes

Giovan Battista Strozzi the Younger, marquis of Forano, was raised by his cousin Giovan Battista Strozzi il Poeta (1551-1634), since his parents died when he was still young.<sup>564</sup> Strozzi il Poeta patronized many artists and was a key figure in the Accademia degli Alterati.<sup>565</sup> In 1618 Strozzi the Younger married Maria di Luigi Martelli, as a result of which he inherited many artworks from the Martelli family.<sup>566</sup> Strozzi himself made an inventory from which we know that

561 Ibid.: 196-98.

562 Ibid.: 194-95.

563 Pecchioli 2005: 38-39.

564 Guerrieri Borsoi 2004a: 85.

565 Guerrieri Borsoi 2004b: 85. On the Alterati, see chapter 4, section 4.1 (Giovanni de' Medici and the Alterati).

566 Ibid.. He recorded his inherited works himself in his *Ricordi*: ASF Carte Stroziane 274 (1617-1628), 275 (1618-1625), 279 (1626), 1253 (1629-1632), 305 (1632-35).

the paintings included a round *Madonna with Angels* by Domenico Botticelli, and a sculpture of *David* by Donatello.<sup>567</sup> In 1632, Strozzi the Younger inherited a large amount of money from Leone Strozzi, but had to move to Rome to solve all the lawsuits with other possible heirs about this inheritance.<sup>568</sup> This cost him a lot of effort, and soon after he had resolved everything, he died.<sup>569</sup>

Strozzi was a connoisseur of art who could contribute to a discussion about attributions between artists with similar styles and could identify then quite unknown painters like Franciabigio.<sup>570</sup> He commissioned paintings from prominent painters like Passignano, Sigismondo Coccapani, Francesco Furini, and Jacopo Vignali, who all worked in the Casa Buonarroti. Many of their paintings had literary subjects, like *Erminia*, *Isabella*, *Orlando*, *Ruggieri*, and *Alcina* from Ariosto and Tasso, and *Theagenes and Chariclea* from Heliodorus.<sup>571</sup> This taste for modern and antique poets was influenced by the Tasso and Ariosto-frescoes in Villa Careggi of Carlo de' Medici and by the literary discussions that took place in the academies.<sup>572</sup> Already in the sixteenth century there were many discussions in the Crusca and Alterati-academies about Ariosto, Tasso, and their inter-textual relations with classical literature like the work of Ovid.<sup>573</sup> These poets were thus favourite sources for the literary scenes in the Medici and patrician palaces of Florence as well as in those of Roman princes and cardinals.<sup>574</sup> In 1614, Domenico Passignano had painted scenes from Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* in the Palazzo Rospigliosi in Rome.<sup>575</sup>

The similarities between frescoes and panels based on literary themes in the palace of Carlo de' Medici and decorations in patrician palaces (unfortunately mostly lost) in the period between 1615 and 1640 were evident. To have an idea of these decorations, we consider Carlo's patronage in this field. Carlo de' Medici (1595-1666) commissioned Michelangelo Cinganelli in 1617-18 to

---

567 Guerrieri Borsoi 2004a: 86. The art works from the *Inventario delle robe venute di Casa Martelli con masserizie gioie, libri, quadri et altro*: Portraits of Bali Luigi Martelli, Maria degli Albizzi (the Bali's wife), Lorenzo Martelli (the Bali's father), Monsignor Ugolino Martelli (bishop of Gondives in France), Lodovico Martelli (bishop of Chiusi), and, furthermore, an *Annunciation*, a *John the Baptist* and a bronze sculpture of John the Baptist.

568 Paolozzi Strozzi 2005: 90.

569 Ibid.

570 Guerrieri Borsoi 2004a: 86. He discussed about an attribution between Parmigianino and Girolamo da Carpi and expressed often his doubts about attributions of others.

571 Ibid.: 16.

572 Guerrieri Borsoi 2004b: 91.

573 Fumagalli 2011: 89.

574 Barocchi/Bertelà 2005: 162.

575 Brooks 2003a: 86.

decorate his villa Careggi with epic-literary themes, such as scenes from Tasso (*Rinaldo and Armida*) in the lunettes of the Sala terrena.<sup>576</sup> Patrician families like the Salviati (the salon of the Villa del Ponte alla Badia) and the Corsini commissioned comparable frescoes.<sup>577</sup> Queen Maria de' Medici was very impressed by the Careggi scenes and wanted copies of them in France. The patrician Niccolò Giugni, guardaroba generale of the Medici, proposed to arrange this by sending several young painters, pupils of Matteo Rosselli and Giovanni Biliverti, to France to paint the copies.<sup>578</sup>

Apart from fresco decorations, between 1622 and 1630, Carlo de' Medici also commissioned many panel paintings with literary subjects from well-known painters of that time like Francesco Curradi, Jacopo da Empoli, Passignano, Matteo Rosselli, Cesare Dandini, Giovanni Biliverti, and Jacopo Vignali. Many of these painters had worked in the Casa Buonarroti in the years just before.<sup>579</sup> Like Giovan Battista Strozzi the Younger, other patrician families like the Riccardi, the Corsini, the Niccolini, the Salviati and the Panciatichi families also gave commissions for panel paintings with literary scenes.<sup>580</sup>

576 Website Soprintendenza per i beni architettonici, paesaggistici, storici, artistici ed etnoantropologici per le province di Firenze, Pistoia e Prato. Villa Medicea di Careggi. <http://www.sbap-fi.beniculturali.it/index.php?it/208/villa-medicea-di-careggi>, 15-2-2012.

577 Fumagalli 2001: 75. Nowadays the Villa del Ponte alla Badia (in Florence, near Fiesole) is one of the buildings of the European University Institute. The Salviati family commissioned literary frescoes also at the end of the sixteenth century, as will be demonstrated in the forthcoming PhD thesis of Klazina Botke about the Salviati family, in which she discusses the Ulysses cycle for Duke Jacopo Salviati, painted by the workshop of Alessandro Allori between 1574 and 1580.

578 Barocchi/Bertelà 2005: 18. Niccolò Giugni (1585-1648) proposes the painters Tancredi Ferretto, Bartolomeo Nocentino, Jacopo Vignali, Francesco Settimani (all pupils of Matteo Rosselli) and Francesco, the brother of Bastianino, Bartolomeo Salvestrini, Gian Lionardo del Luogotenente, Il Monanni, Teodoro fiammingo, Giovan Battista Guidoni, Francesco Montelatici (also called 'Cecco Bravo'), and Cosimo Curradi (all pupils of Biliverti).

579 Barocchi/Bertelà 2005: 17. He gave many commissions for literary panels by Francesco Curradi (*il Narciso* 1622, *Erminia tra i pastori* 1633), Jacopo da Empoli (*Giudizio di Mida/Orfeo e Pan* 1624), Rutilio Manetti (*Ruggiero e Alcina* 1624), Passignano (*Anfione e il delfino* 1624), Matteo Rosselli (*Tancredi e Erminia* 1624 + *Angelica e Medoro* 1630), Francesco Rustici (*Sofronia e Olindo* 1624), Domenico Frilli Croci (*Rinaldo e Armida* 1624), Cesare Dandini (*Erminia e Rinaldo* 1630), Jacopo Vignali (*Ruggiero e Melissa* 1630), Valerio Marucelli (*Astolfo e Mandricardo*), Zanobi Rosi (*Ruggiero e Alcina*), Giovanni Biliverti (*Ruggiero e Angelica*) and Bartolomeo Salvestrini (*Salmace e Ermafrodito*).

580 Baldassari 2011: 47-52. Biliverti made *The temptation of Charles and Ubalde* for the Riccardi in 1629-30 (later in the collection of the Niccolini, now at the antique dealer Giovanni Pratesi in Florence), Felice Ficherelli made *Charles and Ubalde in the garden of Armida* for Bartolomeo Corsini (1654-55, now in a private collection in Rome), Ficherelli also made *Rinaldo in the enchanted forest* for the Panciatichi (1654-55, now in Pistoia), Orazio Fidani made the pendant for this panel: *The blind-man's-buff game (from Guarini's Il pastor fido) with Amaryllis, Corsica and Myrtil*.

Some years after the Careggi-decorations Carlo, again commissioned literary scenes from Tasso, Ariosto, and Ovid, this time for the *Sala della Residenza* of the Casino Mediceo, from 1622 to 1624 and from 1633 to 1636, by the famous painters Bartolomeo Salvestrini, Francesco Curradi, Giovan Battista Vanni, Domenico Passignano, Francesco Rustici, Guido Reni, Jacopo Vignali, and Matteo Rosselli.<sup>581</sup> Carlo's nephew Giovan Carlo de' Medici (1611-1663) commissioned in his villa Mezzomonte from 1629-32 a literary cycle, inspired by the cycles of his uncle Carlo in the Villa Careggi and Casino Mediceo.<sup>582</sup> He chose (supposedly with the help of Filippo Niccolini) a mix of scenes on the theme of love and marriage drawn from Ariosto, Tasso, and Apuleius.<sup>583</sup>

We return to the patronage of Giovan Battista Strozzi the Younger. For ten years he patronized the painter Tommaso Banderesi from Modena, who lived in his house from 1627. A pupil of Passignano, Banderesi received a monthly income in exchange for which he made copies of paintings already in possession of the Strozzi, mostly landscapes, still lifes, saints, and portraits.<sup>584</sup> He copied for example the *Five heads of artists* from Masaccio, paintings of saints from Cigoli, Vannini, Pontormo, and Franciabigio, and frescoes from Poccetti in il Boschetto.<sup>585</sup> From 1626 Strozzi offered many commissions, for example for a large family portrait painted by Domenico and Valore Casini (fig. 28).<sup>586</sup> Executed in a very naturalistic style quite uncommon for that time, the painting shows the whole family gazing at the viewer. The painting reveals a consciousness of social prestige. When he died, Giovan Battista possessed 140 paintings in his city palace, another 60 in his Boschetto-villa, and 50 in his Balconevisi-villa.<sup>587</sup> Furthermore he possessed three landscapes of the Flemish painter Federico Bemel and two sea-landscapes by Giovanni Ghoutuelt, who

---

581 Bastogi 2005, I: 192; Fumagalli 2004: 331-37.

582 Spinelli 2004: 342.

583 Ibid.: 352-355. Apuleius wrote *The Golden Ass* (Asinus Aureus), about experiments with magic.

584 Guerrieri Borsoi 2004a: 16.

585 Guerrieri Borsoi 2004b: 89.

586 Domenico (1588-1660) and Valore Casini (1590-1660) often worked together. Nowadays they are especially known for their Medici portraits, whereas in reality they also painted many portraits of patricians, which unfortunately are often lost, dispersed, or withdrawn from public view. Recently Lisa Goldenberg Stoppato found a list of all their patrician portraits in an account book which was kept by Domenico between the years 1614-32 (debitori e creditor di Domenico e Valore Casini, BMF Fondo Bigazzi, no. 74, segnato A, 1614-1632, Biblioteca Moreniana, Palazzo Medici Riccardi Firenze). See Goldenberg Stoppato 2004: 165.

587 Guerrieri Borsoi 2004a: 86-91.

was also Flemish.<sup>588</sup> In addition, he possessed views of his villa from Remigio Cantagallina (1582-1656).<sup>589</sup> This demonstration of his rural real estate in the form of (painted) views of villas was perhaps in imitation of the views of the Medici-villas by Giusto Utens (1599-1602) in the Villa Medici di Careggi. To conclude he commissioned family portraits painted by the leading painters Cigoli, Santi di Tito, and Jacopo da Empoli.<sup>590</sup>

### 3.2.2 Tommaso Guadagni (1582-1652)

#### The Guadagni Palace

Senator Tommaso di Francesco Guadagni, who married Maria Acciaiuoli in 1626, commissioned Gherardo Silvani to rebuild his Casino Guadagni on what is now Via Micheli 2, at the corner of Via Gino Capponi (fig. 29).<sup>591</sup> Casino Guadagni was the former palace and garden of Don Luigi da Toledo, the brother of Eleonora da Toledo, which his sister Ortensia Guadagni had bought in 1634.<sup>592</sup> The interior of the Palazzo di S. Clemente, as the palace is now called, was decorated with frescoes, which were finished in 1642. In 1637 Bartolomeo Neri painted the family coats of arms with a leopard. Decorations throughout the rest of the palace were meant to glorify the Guadagni-family, whose ancestors are shown in scenes in which they played an important role. The loggia of the first floor was decorated by Baccio del Bianco (who also worked for Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger) with views of farms and villas of the Guadagni-family in the countryside (fig. 30).<sup>593</sup> On the vault in the salon on the ground floor was

588 Federico Bemel must be Frederik van Bommel, who died in 1628 in Rome. Giovanni Ghoutuelt is probably Giovanni/Johannes Goltfelt, who in 1631 was a member of the Florentine confraternity of Santa Barbara, a German confraternity which was founded in the fifteenth century (1446) and remained active until 1745. The almost exclusively northern members met in a chapel and two rooms of Santissima Annunziata. On the confraternity of Saint Barbara, see Zanovello 2008; Rosenthal 2006.

589 Guerrieri Borsoi 2004b: 91. The 1636 inventory: ASF Carte Stroziane V 791 Firenze 1636 Quadri esistenti alla morte del Sig. March.e Gio. Batta Strozzi secondo l'inventario in Firenze (cc.194-199).

590 Guerrieri Borsoi 2004a: 85. His son listed all these portraits, including the painters: ASF, Carte Stroziane, V, 274. Ricordi di Giovan Battista Strozzi 1617-1628. Some of the portraits were painted by the lesser known painter Giovanni Bizzelli.

591 Spinelli 1996: 37-38. The Guadagni had emigrated as exiles to France in the fifteenth century, established themselves as successful bankers in Lyon, accumulated a considerable capital and later reconciled with the Medici family. Tommaso became senator in 1645. See Baggio/Insabato 2007.

592 Ibid.: 37. The palace still exists and is situated in Via G Capponi 15, via P A Micheli 2. Archivio Guadagni Masseto: Debitori e Creditori di Tommaso Guadagni 1636-1643. AGM B133. Five houses were consolidated into one palace.

593 Dodi/Salvetta 2003: 369; Spinelli 1996: 38. The villas of the Guadagni at the countryside were: Neri, San Martino, Folle, Pagnolle, Camerata, Fiesole and Pontassieve. Baccio del Bianco painted the villas of

a fresco by Il Volterrano, *San Martino dona il mantello al povero* (fig. 31), from the same years as the frescoes Il Volterrano made in the Niccolini-palace.<sup>594</sup>

In the garden, Domenico Pieratti made sculptures with themes from rural life and hunting from 1643 to 1651. In the years before, he had also worked for Michelangelo the Younger, he had executed a sculpture of *Latona and her children* for the Barberini-family, and stone sculptures for the Medici family in the Boboli gardens. In the Guadagni-garden, Pieratti also made *caramogi* (fanciful deformed humans) of terracotta and caricatures of peasants that resemble drawings by Baccio del Bianco (fig. 32). Inside the palace, Tommaso had an art collection with many paintings by Giacinto Botti.<sup>595</sup> Apart from family coats of arms Bartolomeo Neri painted many *soprapporte*, vegetal friezes, and door jambs.<sup>596</sup> On the ground floor he painted views of the palace from different sides and other views of Guadagni-villas, just as Baccio del Bianco did on the first floor. All these Neri frescoes have been lost or painted over.

In the four finished rooms on the first floor on the garden side Matteo Rosselli made perspective paintings with religious themes, like the *Archangel Raphael with Tobio* (fig. 33). They were painted in 1638, immediately after Rosselli painted the judges, historians, and chroniclers in Buonarroti's library.<sup>597</sup> In another room on the first floor was painted a balustrade that surrounded an evening sky and over which leaned curious children and a dog. We can see the same thing in the Salone degli Argenti (Palazzo Pitti) and this also resembles the loggia of the Studio in the Casa Buonarroti with its lively and playful style. It was painted in 1638 by Alfonso Boschi (1615-1649), a nephew of Matteo Rosselli.<sup>598</sup> Baccio del Bianco finished the fifth room at the side of Via Capponi from 1639 with a personification of *Eternity*, a woman who holds a snake that bites its own tail. On the ground floor he made a personification of *Faith*. These frescoes were painted not long after he finished the portraits in the *Stanza della notte e del dì* in the Casa Buonarroti (1637-38), to which it is quite similar

---

Castel San Martino and Folle.

594 Spinelli 1996: 37.

595 Ibid.: 52.

596 Ibid.: 37. Balducci speaks about these paintings on p. 664 (1846 edition).

597 Ibid.: 38. The other frescoes of Rosselli from 1638 were Guardian angel, Saint Andrew in glory and Saint Thomas of Aquin in glory with angels.

598 For more information about Alfonso Boschi see: Lisa Goldenberg Stoppato, 'Filippo Balducci, the Boschi brothers and the circle of Alessandro Valori', *Medicea* 7 (2010): 60-85.

in style, according to Spinelli.<sup>599</sup> Later Baccio del Bianco returned to paint a personification of *Flora* and portraits of ancestors of the Guadagni-family.<sup>600</sup>

Spinelli remarks that Guadagni loved artists from the circle of Baccio del Bianco, who were interested in still life painting and playful details. For the rest Guadagni possessed portraits of ancestors of the Guadagni-family by Giacinto Botti, portraits of saints and fruit paintings (1649) of Agnolo Gori, a pupil of Baccio del Bianco.<sup>601</sup> After Tommaso's death, his widow Maria Acciaiuoli ordered several paintings from Salvator Rosa.<sup>602</sup>

### 3.2.3 Giovanni (1600-1661) and Lorenzo (1602-1656) di Jacopo Corsi

#### The Corsi villa

Any important patrician family possessed one or more villas in the country. Giovanni and Lorenzo di Jacopo Corsi commissioned Gherardo Silvani to restructure their villa from 1632 (fig. 34).<sup>603</sup> Giovanni Corsi, marquis of Cajazzo, was married to Lucrezia di Antonio Salviati and served as ambassador in Milan and as a senator in the Tuscan government.<sup>604</sup> Lorenzo Corsi was prelate, nuncio in France in 1642, and vice-legate of Avignon from 1653-55.<sup>605</sup> For the brothers Corsi, Silvani made a Galleria with view onto the garden.<sup>606</sup> Baccio del Bianco made frescoes in the villa from 1640-41 just after his work for the Guadagni family. He made the Corsi coats of arms in the vault of the Galleria, and ornamental paintings, such as door and window jambs, illusionistic doors, a window with parapet, and virtues like a *Fortuna* in the room next to the Galleria. All these frescoes have been lost. Marcantonio Angiolelli made ornamental paintings and the Corsi also possessed four of his landscapes. Furthermore they possessed paintings with fruit and hunting scenes.<sup>607</sup>

599 Spinelli 1996: 41, 44.

600 Ibid.: 50.

601 Ibid.: 53.

602 Fumagalli 2007a: 74; Spinelli 1996: 59.

603 Guicciardini Corsi Salviati 1937: 9.

604 Gurrieri 1992: 105; Guicciardini Corsi Salviati 1937: 9.

605 Arrighi 1989: 1-2 The financial capital in the family was made by Bardo di Giovanni Corsi, who died in 1624 and had always worked in the grain trade in Messina and Naples.

606 Guicciardini Corsi Salviati 1937: 9.

607 Ibid.: 10 All this information comes from a 'carteggio' di Sesto ACS Carteggio di Sesto, Filza 183, which is now lost due to the flood of Florence in 1966.

Giovanni and Lorenzo decided to change the garden.<sup>608</sup> After the renovation a well was situated in the centre of the garden, with a wild garden at the one side and a fishpond at the other. Furthermore they commissioned an aviary. Through the garden were star-shaped paths, with a room for citrus trees at the end and a large field in the centre. There were also some caves with animal sculptures in it, made by Romolo del Tadda.<sup>609</sup> The garden can still be visited today and is largely restored to its original seventeenth century design (figs. 35 and 36).

### **The Corsi palace and the difference between the decoration of the palace and the villa**

The Corsi also bought properties in the city. In 1647, they bought a city palace from Lodovico and Fernando Incontri. They commissioned Gherardo Silvani to reconstruct it and it was decorated by the painter Giovanni Battista Ruggieri. The sculptor Antonio Novelli, who also worked for Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger, made the Corsi family coats of arms.<sup>610</sup> Moreover he made a large sculpture of *Polyphemus* in 1640, just as he did one year later for Giovan Carlo de' Medici.<sup>611</sup> From the inventory of 1661 it becomes clear that there was a large statue of *Diana* in the cortile. Above the doors were seven busts of white marble and in the garden a bronze statue of *Mercury*. Within the palace, in a room called Sala d'Orfeo (room of Orpheus), there was a Roman bath of red marble and a statue of *Orpheus* by Cristoforo Stati.<sup>612</sup> Furthermore there was a Galleria with a collection of paintings of various members of the Corsi-family<sup>613</sup> as well as a statue of *Venus*.<sup>614</sup> The inventory shows an interest in still life painting (birds, fruit, flowers, animals, landscapes), family portraits, and portraits of members of the Medici family. What is remarkable is that the Corsi also

---

608 Ibid.: 9.

609 Ibid.: 12.

610 Gurrieri 1992: 109.

611 Donatella Pegazzano during her presentation 'Monsignor Lorenzo di Jacopo Corsi (1602-1656) as collector and maecenas of artists and musicians' at the conference *A forgotten world. Florentine patri-cians as Patrons, Collectors, Cultural Brokers under Medici rule (1530-1743)*, 3-5 March 2011, University of Groningen, the Netherlands.

612 Gurrieri 1992: 109. After the death of Lorenzo and Giovanni Corsi two inventories were made: one in 1657 (ASF AGCS (Archivio Corsi Salviati filza 21 + a copy of the inventory of 1656 from 1782, filza 197 cit. Ins. 4 no. 1 (appendix), the other from the 1st of December 1661: ASF AGCS Filza 20 (Successioni e divise ins. 9 no. 3 bis Inventario.) In 1955 Conte Giulio Guicciardini Corsi Salviati gave a large part of his archive to the Archivio di Stato. He kept the carteggio (correspondence), which was unfortunately lost when the Corsi palace was damaged by the flood in 1966 (Arrighi 1989: 4).

613 Gurrieri 1992: 109.

614 Guicciardini Corsi Salviati 1937: 20.

possessed portraits of other Italian and European princes and of the King of Spain.<sup>615</sup> In the villa they also had a painting depicting Prince Giovan Carlo de' Medici hunting at Cafaggiolo.<sup>616</sup>

If the two inventories of the city palace (1661) and the villa (1757) are compared, one can see that in the villa the Corsi possessed far fewer religious paintings (fourty-two in the palace and fifteen in the villa), fewer mythological paintings, fewer family portraits, and no portraits of the Medici family (compared with six in the palace), or of other princes (forty in the city palace), and only two of uomini illustri (versus nineteen in the city palace). It seems that they wanted to show their alliances with the Medici-princes, their praise of other European princes, and their pride in Florentine history in the city. This difference between the decoration in the villa and in the city palace was a common phenomenon, and in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century art treatises famous architects such as Filarete and Leon Battista Alberti offer guidelines for how to decorate one's villa and city-palace.<sup>617</sup> These treatises were analyzed by Jan de Jong and compared to the Roman practice in the Renaissance. In general, the decorations in villas were less formal, had a less heroic character and were less likely to glorify the city and its rulers.<sup>618</sup> The decorations in the city palaces were meant to evoke a sense of admiration and pride, while villa-decorations were designed to increase feelings of relaxation.<sup>619</sup> In the villa the Corsi thus possessed more antique sculptures and busts, more portraits of women, and more seascapes, hunting scenes, and still life paintings of fruit, flowers and fishes.

### 3.2.4 Filippo Niccolini (1586-1666)

The last patrician whose patronage we will analyze is Filippo Niccolini,<sup>620</sup> who continued the patronage started by his father, Giovanni, in the Niccolini palace and chapel. Besides that he also bought and decorated a villa at Camugliano (near Pontedera) and restored and decorated his Montauto-castle (in Impru-

615 Gurrieri 1992: 145. From the inventory ASF Fondo Corsi Salviati, Libri di Amministrazione 606 Inventarii delle Masserizie, Gioie et Argenti.

616 Guicciardini Corsi Salviati 1937: 16-19.

617 De Jong 1987: 42-44. Other treatises which treated this topic were written by Gian Paolo Lomazzo (1538-1592) and Giovanni Battista Armenini (1530-1609).

618 Ibid.: 135.

619 Ibid.: 136.

620 In 1606 Filippo Niccolini married Lucrezia Corsini (?-1652). More information about Filippo Niccolini and his patronage can be found in Spinelli 2011a; 2010; 2002 and 1998.

neta, near Florence).<sup>621</sup> Filippo Niccolini made several diplomatic missions to Mantua, Urbino, and Parma.<sup>622</sup> After those missions, in 1622, he became tutor of Prince Giovan Carlo de' Medici and in 1630 he became his chamberlain.<sup>623</sup> He was nominated marquis of Montegiovi in 1625, but exchanged this fief for Ponsacco and Camugliano in 1637.<sup>624</sup> He patronized Rutilio Manetti. He commissioned, for example, a panel with *Tancredi and Erminia* (1639), to form a (Tasso-) counterpart with a painting of Biliverti *Rinaldo on the lap of Arminia*. Both works are now lost.<sup>625</sup>

### The Montauto-castle

From 1631-35 Niccolini commissioned the architects Gherardo Silvani and Bernardino Radi to change the Montauto-castle into a baroque residence (fig. 37). The medieval castle had previously been restored by Domenico di Baccio d'Agnolo, but needed to be restored again after a stroke of lightning in 1630.<sup>626</sup> It was a good occasion for Niccolini to modernize the castle. In 1633, the brickwork was done and Niccolini commissioned several painters to decorate the walls, windows, vaults, and wooden ceilings. Following the example of Villa Mezzomonte of Giovan Carlo de' Medici, the decoration of which was supervised by Filippo Niccolini, for the Montauto-castle Niccolini commissioned grotesques, illusionistic scenes on the ceilings, landscapes, coats of arms, allegorical figures and literary scenes. Fabio Sottili recently published an elaborate article about these decorations, which remain relatively unknown to present day art historians, even though the painters involved were the same as those who painted under Niccolini's supervision in Mezzomonte: Giovanni da San Giovanni, Angelo Michele Colonna, Domenico Passignano, Cecco Bravo, Francesco Albani, Pandolfo Sacchi, Baccio del Bianco, Stefano di Domenico del Buono, Bartolomeo Neri, and Francesco Coppa. In 1634-35, Giovan Carlo and

---

621 Sottili 2012a: 147-80. The Castello Montauto was bought by Giovanni Niccolini in 1572 after the bankruptcy of the bank of the Montauto-family. See Sottili 2012b: 26.

622 Spinelli 2011b: 345. In Mantua he offered the Medici's condolences at the death of the Duchess of Ferrara, Margherita Gonzaga, in 1618. In Urbino he announced the death of Cosimo II de' Medici in 1621. In Parma he offered the Medici's condolences at the death of Cardinal Odoardo Farnese in 1626. See Del Piazzo 1952.

623 Sottili 2012a: 147.

624 Spinelli 2002: 182.

625 Ibid.: 179.

626 Sottili 2012b: 29. The cost of the whole restoration was 10,000 scudi. For all the information in this and the following paragraphs about Montauto, see Sottili 2012a: 147-80. In the nineteenth century the Montauto castle was sold to the Parenti family.

Filippo had commissioned these painters to execute frescoes with representations of *Jupiter and Ganymedes* and *Jupiter and Hebe*, as well as many illusionistic frescoes, for the Villa Mezzomonte.<sup>627</sup> Other rooms in the villa were decorated with hunting scenes and scenes with playing children, the latter by Cecco Bravo.<sup>628</sup>

For the loggia of Montauto Niccolini chose a neo-cinquecentesco-style with grotesques, lunettes with river landscapes, and putti with festoons of fruit and vegetables. One of the themes was rural life, showing the passage of time according to the different activities performed in different months of the year. This recalls similar cycles in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence (by Giorgio Vasari, 1565) and in the loggia of Villa Mezzomonte, which was decorated by Domenico Passignano in 1630-31 with terrestrial gods and the pleasures of life in the countryside, and with the cycle of seasons and the months of the year as well.<sup>629</sup> In a room next to the loggia is a frieze with literary scenes based on Vergil's *Aeneid*. The episodes were enclosed by putti and each episode was divided by two illusionistic caryatids that supported the real wooden joists of the coffered ceiling, as in the Galleria Buonarroti. At the place where the caryatids supported the coats of arms of Niccolini and his wife Lucrezia Corsini, the heads of the caryatids even had the form of miniature portraits of Filippo and his wife. Illusionistic caryatids were also used in a room decorated by Pandolfo Sacchi in the Villa Mezzomonte.

No other *Aeneid*-cycle from the beginning of the seventeenth century is known; all the other cycles were painted in the sixteenth century in Rome, Bologna, Genoa, and Mantua.<sup>630</sup> The difference between the Niccolini-cycle and the others is that earlier ones do not include the death of Dido, which Niccolini's cycle does. This may have to do with the appeal to the sentiment of the beholder painters strived for in the baroque period. According to Fabio Sottili, the reason for the reference to the founding myth of Rome in the Niccolini-palace was to glorify several members of the Niccolini family who played important roles in Rome.<sup>631</sup> It is quite remarkable that Niccolini chose

627 Spinelli 2004: 373; Mascalchi 1984: 269; Campbell 1976: 6.

628 Spinelli 2004: 345-350.

629 Ibid. The loggia was finished by the painter Pandolfo Sacchi. On the cycle of the passage of time in the Palazzo Vecchio, see Goudriaan 2009.

630 The *Aeneid* fresco cycles can be found in Rome (Palazzo Angelo Massimo, Capodiferro-Spada en Rondanini alla Rotonda), Bologna (Palazzo Leoni e Fava), Modena (Rocca di Scandiano), Genova (Palazzo Salvago Campanella e Lercari), and Mantua (Palazzo del Giardino a Sabbioneta). See Sottili 2012a: 154.

631 Agnolo was a cardinal and also two earlier ancestors, Ottobuono di Lapo and his son Agnolo had important diplomatic functions in Rome in the period of the Florentine republic. See Sottili 2012a: 153.

for themes from Aeneid rather than the more common scenes from Tasso, Ariosto, and Ovid, which could be found for example in Mezzomonte (1629-32), in the Careggi-villa (1617-18), and the Casino Mediceo (Sala della Residenza, 1622-24 and 1633-36) of Carlo de' Medici.<sup>632</sup> The last section of the literary frescoes for Carlo de' Medici in the Casino Mediceo was painted exactly in the same years as the frescoes in Montauto. Did Niccolini want to make a statement to other nobles with his original choice?

Another room in Montauto was decorated with birds from the then four known continents of the world, as in the Sala di Flora in Mezzomonte. The Niccolini-family kept examples of such exotic birds in the castle, which was a sign of their well-being, as was their 'wunderkammer', a small gallery with ivory, coral, shells, musical instruments, books, and a binocular made by Galileo. To conclude, there was also a room with eighty-two portraits of uomini illustri painted for Giovanni Niccolini by Cristofano dell'Altissimo.

#### **Villa Camugliano and the Niccolini palace**

In 1642, Niccolini started to commission the famous quadraturisti Mitelli and Colonna to decorate his palace and his villa at Camugliano. This was remarkable, because Colonna was one of the best paid artists who had worked for the Medici.<sup>633</sup> Between 1637 and 1641, Colonna had painted several ceilings and walls of the Palazzo Pitti in the actual Museo degli Argenti. In 1642, he painted a scene on the ceiling of Filippo's villa, which is still preserved today. It represents Flora or Venus and Adonis with putti in a perspective frame. The illusionistic putti are white and seem to be made of stucco.<sup>634</sup> In the movement of the quadraturismo, real space was enlarged by betraying the eye of the beholder with (architectural) illusionistic paintings.<sup>635</sup>

From 1648, Colonna and Filippo Niccolini had an intense, thirty-year correspondence that is unique between two people of such different status.<sup>636</sup> The friendship between Niccolini and Colonna resembled the friendship between Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger and Pietro da Cortona.

632 Mezzomonte: Sala di Isabella and Sala di Armida. On the fresco-cycles in the Casino Mediceo see Bastogi 2005 I: 192; Fumagalli 2004: 331-37.

633 Fumagalli 2007b: 148. Colonna (and his assistants) received 6000 scudi for the commission in the Palazzo Pitti. He worked in the palace for 36 months and converted to a monthly income he received 160 scudi which is far more than what Mitelli received (15 scudi monthly).

634 Spinelli 2011: 32.

635 Farneti 2003: 327.

636 See Spinelli's *Angelo Michele Colonna e Agostino Mitelli in Toscana e in Spagna* (Pisa 2011) for the transcribed letters between Filippo Niccolini and Angelo Michele Colonna.

For his city palace, Filippo commissioned a second loggia on the piano nobile, above the loggia on the ground floor commissioned by his father (fig. 38).<sup>637</sup> Furthermore he commissioned Il Volterrano (Baldassare Franceschini) to paint two scenes with personifications of virtues in 1651-52 (fig. 39), before this painter started working on the dome of the Niccolini chapel in Santa Croce.<sup>638</sup> In preparation for his work on this, Niccolini gave Il Volterrano the opportunity to travel to the region of Emilia (Bologna, Parma, Modena, and Sassuolo) and to Rome, to acquire experience by looking at the paintings of Correggio, Lanfranco, Sacchi, and Pietro da Cortona.<sup>639</sup> The whole journey was paid for by Niccolini, who also arranged that Il Volterrano could stay at the houses of people from his cultural network. In Bologna, for example, Il Volterrano was under the protection of Ferdinando Cospi, a gentleman, who served as an agent of the Medici in Bologna and had his own museum with curiosities called the Museo Cospiano. Cospi wrote Niccolini to tell him that Il Volterrano arrived and that he ordered one of his virtuous friends to guide him through the city:

Il Signor Baldassar Franceschini Pittore è arrivato in Bologna mentre io mi trovo in Villa, ma subito ricevuto la lettera di VS *Illustrissima* ho spedito a Bologna al mio *Maestro* di Casa che lo serva, l'assista, et occorendo li dia denaro. Fra tre o quattro giorni io sarò di persona a servirlo at anco in questo tempo ho pregato un Virtuoso mio amico ad andar con lui per farli vedere le opere più insigne di questa Città...<sup>640</sup>

So Niccolini, using his cultural connections at other courts, arranged for Il Volterrano to acquire knowledge of new artistic forms in other cities and to introduce these to Florence. Il Volterrano travelled to Rome with Lorenzo Niccolini, Filippo's nephew, who was going to be married to the Marquise Contessa Del Bufalo. They stayed in the Bufalo-palace and Il Volterrano made two frescoes there, paid for by Niccolini, as thanks for their stay.<sup>641</sup> Il Volterrano's trips to

637 Ginori Lisci 1972: 446.

638 Spinelli 1990: 117. These two personifications were *La Virtù che scaccia l'Ozio* and *La Bellezza lacerata dal Tempo*, both from 1651-52.

639 Spinelli 1990: 117. Baldinucci makes notion of this trip to Rome in his *Notizie dei professori*, vol. V (1974-75), pp. 165-67: 'Ma prima si risolvè a far sì, che Baldassarre tornasse per la seconda volta in Lombardia a rivedere le opere dal Correggio; e perche e' sapeva, che egli non aveva mai veduto Roma, tanto in Lombardia che ad essa città di Roma a proprie spese lo mandò: atto degno veramente della generosità di quel gran cavaliere.'

640 ANCFi, fondo antico 246, inserto 4.

641 Spinelli 1998: 27, 29; Spinelli 1990: 118.

Rome and Emilia had their desired effect, because one can see the influences of Cortona in his paintings while his putti and use of chiaroscuro resemble those of Correggio in Parma, especially in his representation of *Tempo* (Time).<sup>642</sup>

Niccolini commissioned the famous quadraturisti Mitelli and Colonna to paint illusionistic scenes and *soprapporte* in the family-palace in 1652 (fig. 40).<sup>643</sup> Two lesser known quadraturisti accompanied them in the palace - Andrea Ciseri from Lombardy (from the school of Baccio del Bianco and a pupil of Pietro da Cortona) in 1652 and Jacopo Chiavistelli (a pupil of Baccio del Bianco) in 1653.<sup>644</sup> During that same year Chiavistelli and Ciseri also worked for the Corsini in their Parione palace, together with their master Bartolomeo Neri. Neri also painted a niche in the loggia on the ground floor of the Niccolini palace in 1650, which had to surround the sculpture group of Hercules and the Hydra.<sup>645</sup> Between 1637 and 1642 Neri had worked in the Guadagni-palace.<sup>646</sup> In the rest of the palace Niccolini made considerable use of the quadraturismo, an avant-garde style that was also loved by the Medici and Guadagni. Probably Niccolini liked this style because of his close contact with Giovan Carlo de' Medici.<sup>647</sup> In 1653, Giacinto Gimignani from Pistoia and educated in Rome, painted a *Parnassus* on the ceiling of a ground floor apartment. He also worked for Ferdinand II as a designer of tapestries.<sup>648</sup> After the marriage in Florence in 1653, Mitelli and Colonna returned to decorate the marriage-rooms in 1655. And, finally, in 1657 they decorated a loggia and salon and made other *soprapporte* and friezes. Almost all these frescoes are completely lost or repainted.

In 1663 the highest loggia was closed, to be able to function as Galleria. In the same year it was decorated by Colonna (fig. 41), after he had returned from Madrid, where he had been in the service of Philip IV and where Mitelli in the meantime had died.<sup>649</sup> Colonna resided in the Niccolini-palace. On the

---

642 Restauero 1959: 27.

643 Spinelli 2011: 30. These works of Colonna and Mitelli in Palazzo via dei Servi are partially lost. They are described in Baldinucci (p. 663 in the version of 1846). Some of the frescoes were stripped off the walls of the palace and preserved in a repository from the Soprintendenza per i Beni Architettonici, Paesaggistici, Storici, Artistici ed Etnoantropologici per le province di Firenze at the Villa Corsini in Castello (near Florence). The frescoes are preserved in the Limonaia of this villa.

644 Spinelli 1998: 28, 31.

645 Farneti 2003: 328.

646 Spinelli 1998: 32.

647 Farneti 2003: 327.

648 Spinelli 1998: 32.

649 *Ibid.*: 33, 66, 67, 69. In Colonna's letters to Niccolini published by Spinelli in 2011 more information about those lost frescoes in Madrid can be found. Mitelli and Colonna painted in the Alcazar, which was destroyed in 1734 and in El Buen Retiro.

walls he painted illusionistic arches, columns, and frames, and with paint he tried to imitate materials like marble, stone, stucco and metal, together with his new companion, Giacomo Alboresi.<sup>650</sup> On the ceiling were painted mythological scenes with *Isis*, *Bacchus*, *Ariadne*, and *Mercury*. There were also violet monochromes.<sup>651</sup> To complete the works in the palace the sculptor Domenico Frasconi, also called Il Napoli, made a niche in the Galleria to surround a large alabaster sculpture, the *Vestal Virgin*, with hands and feet of gilded bronze and a belt of copper with gems.<sup>652</sup>

In his city palace Niccolini patronized almost all the painters who he had commissioned in Mezzomonte for Giovan Carlo de' Medici between 1629 and 1637, the years in which he supervised the works there.<sup>653</sup> Francesco Coppa (the father of the famous singer Francesca Coppa) made portraits of ancestors from the Niccolini-family and family coats of arms. Bartolomeo Neri, who together with Baccio del Bianco represented the *quadratura toscana*, painted the oratorio of the villa (now lost) in 1648.<sup>654</sup> Just like Giovan Carlo, Niccolini possessed paintings of Willem van Aelst and panels of Salvator Rosa.<sup>655</sup> Filippo was less interested in sculpture than his father Giovanni.<sup>656</sup> Nevertheless, he ordered a sculpture from Antonio Novelli (a portrait bust of himself), just like Giovan Carlo de' Medici, the Corsi-family, and Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger.<sup>657</sup> In his *Notizie*, Baldinucci tells a probably apocryphal story in which Filippo Niccolini visited the sculptor Antonio Novelli, when he was suffering from poverty and illness in a draughty castle. Niccolini offered to let him come to his villa in Ponsacco to enjoy the healing water there, after which Novelli recovered completely from his illness.<sup>658</sup>

650 Spinelli 2011: 80 (In this publication of Spinelli photographs of the illusionistic paintings of Mitelli and Colonna are included); Restauro 1959: Twenty-eight frescoes were removed from the walls and the ceiling.

651 Restauro 1959.

652 Farneti 2003: 329; Spinelli 1998: 34. The Vestal Virgin is now lost and was described by Cinelli (note 66, p. 406).

653 Spinelli 2010: 266; Spinelli 2002: 182.

654 Spinelli 2010: 268; Acanfora 2005b: 44.

655 Spinelli 2010: 273.

656 *Ibid.*: 270.

657 *Ibid.*: 271. Baldinucci mentions this portrait bust of Niccolini by Novelli in vol. V, p. 68.

658 Baldinucci, 1974-75, vol. V: 74.

## Conclusion

If we consider all the cases, it is clear that the patricians paid considerable attention to artistic patronage, which they used to express their cultural and social aspirations. They followed each other's example in designing their chapels and palaces, but at the same time tried to distinguish themselves by following the most current trends in painting and collecting from other Italian cities, especially Rome. Thanks to their cultural and political functions for the Medici family, each patrician family had access to different sources that could define their patronage characteristics and thereby increase their social mobility.

Giovanni Niccolini and Piero Guicciardini, who resided as ambassadors in Rome, could build up Roman networks, which enabled them to collect antique sculptures and minor genres. Niccolini's collection of paintings, antique sculptures and coins and his commission for a chapel full of polychrome marble were much influenced by his stay in Rome, where he had seen the artistic collections and chapels of the main elite families. Guicciardini's role as art broker for the Medici also influenced his own preference for Roman painters. Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger's commissions were much more concentrated on the Florentine history and culture than the commissions of Giovanni Niccolini and Piero Guicciardini.

As a man of letters, Buonarroti was the key figure in a large network of artists, patrons, and brokers. Consequently he chose mainly Florentine artists to decorate his palace with the intention of glorifying his own family, and Florentine men celebrated for their scientific and cultural accomplishments. What is remarkable is that, unlike Guicciardini and Niccolini, he did not glorify the Medici in his palace. There are no Medici portraits. This may have had to do with the fact that Buonarroti was not officially in the service of the Medici, although he wrote many theatre works for them and also had close ties with the Barberini-family in Rome.

Niccolò dell'Antella could meet many Florentine artists thanks to his position at the Accademia del Disegno. Filippo Niccolini came in contact with many renowned Italian painters due to his function as tutor and chamberlain for Giovan Carlo de' Medici, and this increased his interest in the illusionistic style of the quadraturisti. With regard to the Corsi-, Strozzi- and Guadagni-families, we see fewer direct connections between their functions for the Medici and their patronage characteristics, but thanks to their political functions for the Medici and at the papal court, they had a high social status that enabled them to commission the most prominent painters and architects of that time.

And they all continued to show their loyalty to the Medici family by collecting their portraits.

Among the patterns we can observe are the collecting and displaying of: busts of the Medici family (Niccolini, Guicciardini, and Corsi); busts and portraits of ancestors of the patrician families (Niccolini, Guicciardini, Buonarroti, Strozzi, Guadagni, and F. Niccolini); portraits of *uomini illustri* (Niccolini, Guicciardini, Buonarroti, Antella, Corsi); antique sculptures (Niccolini and Guicciardini); copies of famous paintings (Niccolini and Strozzi) paintings of minor genres (Niccolini, Guicciardini, Strozzi, Guadagni, and Corsi); paintings and frescoes of literary subjects (Strozzi and F. Niccolini); paintings executed on precious materials (Niccolini and Guicciardini); views of countryside possessions (Strozzi and Guadagni) or life in the country (F. Niccolini); family coats of arms (Guadagni, and Corsi); and personifications of virtues (Guadagni, Corsi, and F. Niccolini).

During the conference *A forgotten world. Florentine patricians as Patrons, Collectors, Cultural Brokers under Medici rule (1530-1743)* Jean Boutier asked whether patronage for the Florentine patricians was a key resource or a common language, that is, whether patricians wanted to distinguish themselves with their patronage or if it was more a common language with shared rules.<sup>659</sup> From the many similarities that we can observe in their patronage, we can conclude that it was certainly a common language, despite the fact that every family had its own character of patronage. Patricians as a group presented themselves against other groups in the Florentine society like the *uomini nuovi*, the Medici themselves, and people from lower levels of society. This was possible because all the patricians had comparable backgrounds and histories, social and political positions, contacts, fortunes, and activities. The Florentine patricians were a relatively homogeneous group, especially when compared with the *uomini nuovi*, who came from different Tuscan cities and social levels, or with Roman nobles, many of whom originated in different parts of Italy.<sup>660</sup> At courts where nobles did not share the same background, there was more competition. In Florence on the contrary, as Cinzia Sicca argued at the same conference, it seems there was a coherent, shared culture where art was more a common social affair than a competitive element.

659 The conference *A forgotten world. Florentine patricians as Patrons, Collectors, Cultural Brokers under Medici rule (1530-1743)* was held at the University of Groningen from 3-5 March 2011. See Botke/Goudriaan/Van Veen/Wierda 2011.

660 The comparison between the Florentine patricians and the Roman nobles was made by Sicca during the same conference.

In spite of the above mentioned similarities and the conclusion that art patronage for the patricians was a common social affair, we can observe some changing patterns if we consider all the cases. In the first half of the seventeenth century, we see a shift from the glorification of themselves through a celebration of their ancestor's contributions to Florentine cultural and civil history to an increasing tendency to glorify their own families in the present by demonstrating their alliances to other noble families and their actual possessions at the countryside.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the patricians still wanted to reclaim their power as a group and therefore they underscored the deeds of their ancestors (also as a group) and their contribution to the Florentine history, which they wanted to continue. With their antique collections and imitation of the customs of other Italian nobles, they wanted to convince the Medici family of their importance, for example when eminent guests were visiting Florence to tour the city and admire their palaces.

Towards the middle of the century we see a tendency to a more princely style of decorating their palaces, following the taste of the Medici and collecting not only Florentine but also international *uomini illustri* and paintings with personifications and mythological themes. Moreover, in the patrician palaces there is an increase in the display of coats of arms, as was the custom in the Medici palaces and in palaces of other nobilities. With the display of their coats of arms the patricians wanted to show the families' alliances to other noble families and the importance and continuity of their lineage. As many patricians had already entered the Medici government in high positions, it was no longer necessary to demonstrate their importance as a group and their claim to power by showing their illustrious family histories. Now it was in their interest to underline their continuity as a noble lineage, something that also helped to raise the social standing of the Medici court.

Regarding the style, we see a shift from a classical realistic to a more playful illusionistic style of painting, that echoes the patricians' playful linguistic, theatrical, and literary experiments in the cultural academies. This style of the playful burlesque painting was extended even to the garden, with statues of *caramogi* and peasants (Guadagni).

To conclude, we can say that patrician patronage was a continuing aspect of the Florentine culture and was of vital importance during power shifts of the Medici family, to keep introducing innovative new styles and to restrain artists from travelling to other courts, when new Medici Grand Dukes or their regents still had to consolidate their power.

### Figures - Chapter Three



**Figure 1:** *Cappella Niccolini*, Santa Croce Florence, on the left the statue of Moses by Pietro Francavilla (1592). (Photograph by the author, September 2008)



**Figure 2:** Pietro Francavilla, *statue of Aaron*, 1592, Cappella Niccolini, Santa Croce Florence. (Photograph by the author, September 2008)



**Figure 3:** *Cappella Salviati*, San Marco Florence (Giambologna, 1589). Photograph by Sara Hopkins.



**Figure 4:** Palazzo Niccolini, Via de' Servi 15. Photograph by Stephan de Prouw.



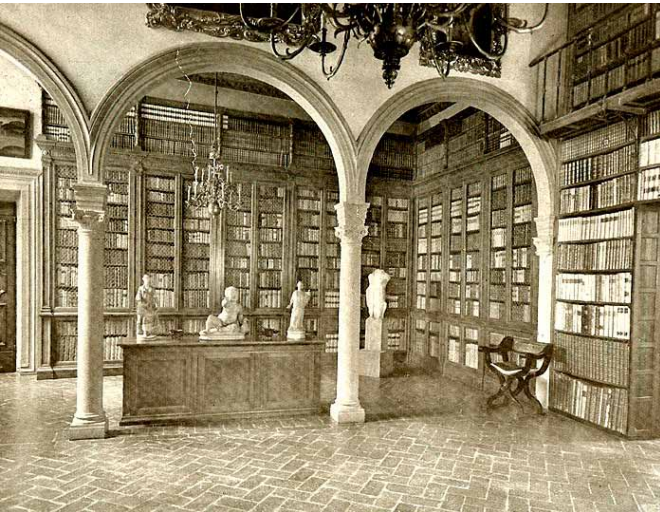
**Figure 5:** Villa Niccolini di Camugliano with the sculpture group *Ercole che uccide l'Idra* (Hercules slays the Hydra) by Giovanni Bandini (1573-78).



**Figures 6 and 7:** Gerard van Honthorst, *Adoration of the shepherds* (1620), before and after 1993. Reproduced in: Gianni Papi (ed.), *Caravaggio e Caravaggeschi a Firenze*, Livorno 2010, p. 187.



**Figure 8:** Cecco del Caravaggio, *Resurrection*, 1619-20, Art Institute Chicago. Reproduced in: Gianni Papi (ed.), *Caravaggio e Caravaggeschi a Firenze*, Livorno 2010, p. 151.



**Figure 9:** Palazzo Guicciardini, Florence (Lo Studio). Reproduced on a website by Umberto Sartori.



**Figure 10:** Cristofano Allori, *portrait of Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger*, 1610. Reproduced in: Janie Cole, *A muse of music in early baroque Florence. The poetry of Michelangelo Buonarroti il Giovane*, Florence 2007.



**Figure 11:** Fabrizio Boschi, *Michelangelo presents the model of the Palazzo di Strada Giulia to Pope Julius III in 1522, in the presence of cardinals*, 1617, Casa Buonarroti, Florence.



**Figure 12:** Giovanni Biliverti, *The sultan of Turkey invites Michelangelo to build a bridge over the river Bosphorus in Constantinople*, 1620, Casa Buonarroti, Florence.



**Figure 13:** Zanobi Rosi, *Michelangelo and Poetry*, 1622, Casa Buonarroti, Florence. Reproduced in: Janie Cole, *A muse of music in early baroque Florence. The poetry of Michelangelo Buonarroti il Giovane*, Florence 2007.



**Figure 14:** Anastagio Fontebuoni, *Cosimo II surrounded by personifications of the Arts*, 1621-23, Casino Mediceo, Florence.



**Figure 15:** Sigismondo Coccapani, *Michelangelo crowned by the Four Arts*, 1619, Casa Buonarroti, Florence.



**Figure 16:** Bartolomeo Salvestrini, *La Toscana e le arti piangono la morte di Cosimo II* (*Tuscany and the Arts lament the death of Cosimo II*), 1621-23, Casino Mediceo Florence.



**Figure 17:** Cecco Bravo, *The poets and the writers*, 1636, Casa Buonarroti, Florence.



**18:** Matteo Rosselli, *The jurists, the historians, the orators and the chroniclers*, 1636, Casa Buonarroti, Florence.



**Figure 19:** Baccio del Bianco, *Natura morta*, 1627, Casa Buonarroti, Florence.



**Figures 20 and 21:** Pietro da Cortona, *intarsia-decoration at the wooden doors in the Casa Buonarroti, Florence*



**Figure 22:** Cecco Bravo, *Lorenzo receives Apollo and the Muses (on the left) and Lorenzo brings peace (on the right), 1638-42, Salone degli Argenti, Palazzo Pitti, Florence.*



**Figure 23:** Ottavio Vannini, *Lorenzo the Medici surrounded by artists*, 1638-42, Salone degli Argenti, Palazzo Pitti, Florence.



**Figure 24:** Francesco Furini, *Lorenzo the Medici between poets and philosophers*, 1638-42, Salone degli Argenti, Palazzo Pitti, Florence



**Figure 25:** Domenico Pugliani, *The philosophers*, 1636, Casa Buonarroti, Florence.



**Figure 26:** *Palazzo dell'Antella*, piazza Santa Croce, Florence  
Reproduced in: Elena Pecchioli, *The painted Facades of Florence. From the fifteenth to the twentieth century*, 2005, p. 70/71.



**Figure 27:** Palazzo dell'Antella. Plan for the façade by Giovanni da San Giovanni, 1619-20, Florence Uffizi gallery, Department of Prints and Drawings, 1088. Reproduced in: Elena Pecchioli, *The painted Facades of Florence. From the fifteenth to the twentieth century*, 2005, p. 70/71.



**Figure 28:** Domenico and Valore Casini, *Giovan Battista Strozzi, Maria Martelli and the children Luigi, Caterina and Elisabetta*, ca. 1626, Palazzo Guicciardini, Florence. Reproduced in: Maria Barbara Guerrieri Borsoi, *Gli Strozzi a Roma. Mecenati e collezionisti nel Sei en nel Settecento*, Rome 2004, p. 17.



**Figure 29:** Palazzo di San Clemente (Casino Guadagni), Via Micheli 2 (corner Via Capponi)



**Figure 30:** Baccio del Bianco, *il feudo di Folle*, 1637-42, Palazzo di San Clemente, Florence. Reproduced in: Riccardo Spinelli, 'Indagini sulle decorazioni secentesche del Casino Guadagni di San Clemente' a Firenze', *Quaderni di Palazzo Te* (1996), pp. 36-65.



**Figure 31:** Il Volterrano, *San Martino dona il mantello al povero* (detail), 1637-42, fresco Palazzo di San Clemente, Florence.

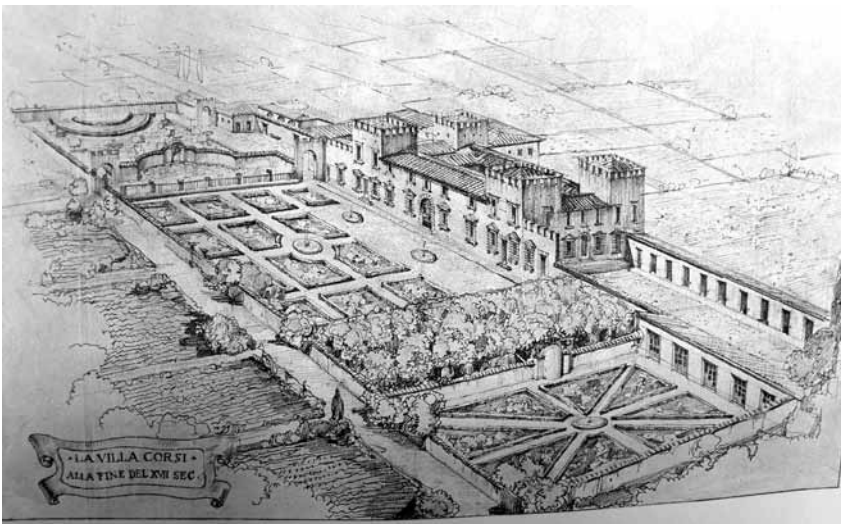
Reproduced in: Riccardo Spinelli, 'Indagini sulle decorazioni secentesche del Casino Guadagni' di San Clemente' a Firenze', *Quaderni di Palazzo Te* (1996), pp. 36-65.



**Figure 32:** Domenico Pieratti, on a design by Baccio del Bianco, *Villano che mangia*, 1643-51, garden Palazzo di San Clemente, Florence. Reproduced in: Riccardo Spinelli, 'Indagini sulle decorazioni secentesche del Casino Guadagni' di San Clemente' a Firenze', *Quaderni di Palazzo Te* (1996), pp. 36-65.



**Figure 33:** Matteo Rosselli, *L'angelo custode*, 1638, Palazzo di San Clemente, Florence.  
Reproduced in: Riccardo Spinelli, 'Indagini sulle decorazioni secentesche del Casino Guadagni di San Clemente' a Firenze', *Quaderni di Palazzo Te* (1996), pp. 36-65.



**Figure 35:** Illustration of Villa Corsi at the end of the 17th century.  
Reproduced in: Riccardo Spinelli, 'Indagini sulle decorazioni secentesche del Casino Guadagni di San Clemente' a Firenze', *Quaderni di Palazzo Te* (1996), pp. 36-65.



**Figure 34:** garden façade Villa Guicciardini Corsi Salviati. Photograph by the author (July 2010).



**Figure 36:** Garden Villa Guicciardini Corsi Salviati. Photograph by the author (July 2010).



**Figure 37:** Castello di Montauto.



**Figure 38:** Palazzo Niccolini with the second loggia commissioned by Filippo Niccolini.  
Reproduced in: *Restauro del palazzo Montauti Niccolini sede del provveditorato alle opere pubbliche per la Toscana in Firenze*, Florence 1959.



**Figure 39:** Il Volterrano, *La bellezza lacerata dal tempo*, 1651-52. Palazzo Niccolini, Florence. Reproduced in: *Restauro del palazzo Montauti Niccolini sede del provveditorato alle opere pubbliche per la Toscana in Firenze*, Florence 1959.



**Figure 40:** a lost fresco of Angelo Michele Colonna on the wall of Palazzo Niccolini, in a drawing by Giuseppe Menabuoi (1781). Colonna painted an illusionistic architectural scene which surrounded the real antique statue of Venus in the niche.

Reproduced in: Mario Bevilacqua, Maria Luisa Madonna (ed.), *Il sistema delle residenze nobiliari. Stato pontificio e Granducato di Toscana*, Rome 2003



**Figure 41:** Angelo Michele Colonna, ceiling of the Galleria, 1663, Palazzo Niccolini Florence. Reproduced in: *Restauro del palazzo Montauti Niccolini sede del provveditorato alle opere pubbliche per la Toscana in Firenze*, Florence 1959.