

AROUND AND IN THE GIANFIGLIAZZI PALACE IN FLORENCE: DEVELOPMENTS ON LUNGARNO CORSINI IN THE 15TH AND 16TH CENTURIES

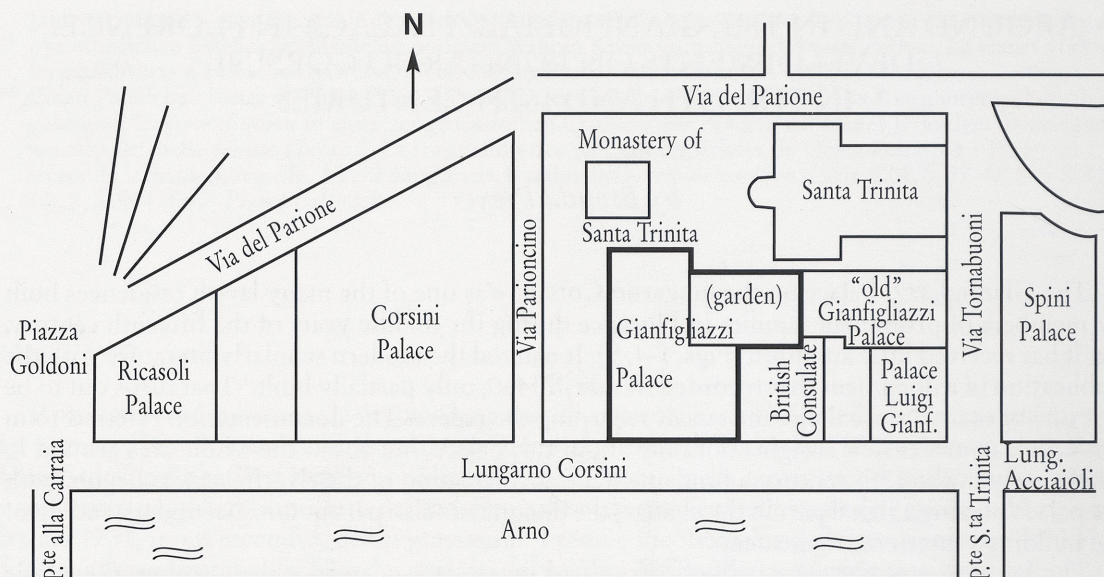
by Brenda Preyer

The Gianfigliuzzi Palace on the lungarno Corsini was one of the many lavish residences built by members of prominent families in Florence during the middle years of the fifteenth century, but it has received little attention (Figs. 1-4, 9). It entered the modern scholarly literature with the publication of a document that recorded its sale in 1460, only partially built.¹ That turns out to be just one of many unusual circumstances regarding the palace. The documentation referred to in this article provides new insights not only about this palace, but about the whole area around it, where early in the 15th century a fundamental transformation of the riverfront was begun, with the palace playing a signal part in the change; the documents also permit unusual understanding of the building's interior arrangement.

The location near the river is the first topic of investigation, and we shall explore the whole block between the lungarno, via Tornabuoni, via del Parione, and via Parioncino, watching developments throughout the area and during the course of several centuries in this "Gianfigliuzzi neighborhood." The palace's exterior appearance — now greatly changed because a story has been added and the whole facade redone — was never particularly distinctive and this probably explains why the building has not been intensely studied; *intonaco*, and *sgraffiti*, now gone, were used here, in contrast to the nearly contemporary Rucellai, Pitti or Boni-Antinori Palaces, with their stone facades. Eighteenth-century views (see figs. 3-4) show the basic scheme²; the palace had eight bays (the ninth was added in the sixteenth century), rounded windows on both the high ground floor and the *piano nobile*, and a third level that was open as an *altana*. The main entrance led not to a courtyard but to a *loggia* that faced on the large garden in the middle of the block, once a part of this building (Fig. 7).³ There was also a service court to the west, reached through the low doorway in the first bay of the original facade. Work with the early history of the site will show how preexisting structures affected the palace's plan. We shall explore the interior with the aid of two early inventories, a document of division in 1491, sixteenth-century plans of the western portion of the ground floor, and detailed verbal and planimetric descriptions dating from the 1820s. Finally, we shall see that the expansion of the monastery of Santa Trinita led to conflict with the Gianfigliuzzi and brought radical changes to the block as a whole.

The area

Today the lungarno Corsini is one of the most desirable addresses in Florence, but the way its buildings seem to welcome the river is a relatively late development. Indeed, in the Middle Ages residents throughout the city often turned their houses away from the river, as on the via di Santo Spirito⁴; this was not possible on the lungarno Corsini, where the block was deeper and the church of Santa Trinita prevented access to the via del Parione in the eastern portion (Figs. 1, 5). Although we have no certainty about when this lungarno was laid out, Franek Sznura has made the convincing proposal that there were streets along the north side of the river between the ponte alla Carraia and the ponte alle Grazie inside the set of walls that was built in the 1170s.⁵ An unpublished document of 1411 (Doc. 3) makes clear that until the fifteenth century the houses on the present lungarno Corsini were set back several meters from the street, for in the document a new property



1 Map of current configuration of the block of the lungarno Corsini between the ponte Santa Trinita and the ponte alla Carraia, showing the buildings mentioned in this article.

line for the block between via Tornabuoni and via Parioncino was prescribed, with owners permitted to buy the land in front of their houses out to what became the point where the present facades lie; numerous later references show that many of these individuals simply built low walls around the newly acquired land between their houses and the lungarno and left it like that for decades. A law of 1465 ordering that purchase of the land in front of houses on the lungarno between ponte Santa Trinita and ponte alla Carraia be completed (Doc. 11) indicates not only that the acquisitions were spread over a long period, but that a process of regularization had been under way also for the block between the via Parioncino and the ponte alla Carraia, in which tract already in 1401 a house on the lungarno was sold "with part of the court with a pergola and portico located in front."⁶

The straight new property line described in Doc. 3 was to be drawn from the front of the Spini Palace to the house on the west corner of the via Parioncino.⁷ The amounts of land to be sold are significant, so we can infer that the buildings once were some distance from the street; all measurements are given in Florentine *braccia* (58.36 cm. or about 22 inches). We can use Doc. 3, in conjunction with others, especially the property descriptions in the 1427 Catasto, as an introduction to the area. The first piece of land lay in front of a Gianfigliuzzi house at the corner of the lungarno and via Tornabuoni.⁸ In 1427 there was a "court and construction in front of said house."⁹ One of the boundries given in both documents was an alley leading to the old Gianfigliuzzi Palace, which had belonged to messer Rinaldo. The alley was still shown on an eighteenth-century elevation drawing, marked with a cross between the houses numbered 1371 and 1372 (Fig. 6).¹⁰ By the time the drawing was made, two houses had been built here on the corner plot, nos. 1372 and 1373. In 1460 Bongianni di Bongianni Gianfigliuzzi, a leading figure in this article, had bought the whole property, with the walled portion in front (Doc. 8); it had been divided by his sons (Doc. 20), and the corner portion, mentioned in the wills of one son (Docs. 25 and 26), became the second in importance among the Gianfigliuzzi houses on the lungarno when Bongianni's grandson Luigi di Jacopo rebuilt his part ca. 1550.¹¹



2 View of the lungarno Corsini from the via Parioncino to the via Tornabuoni.

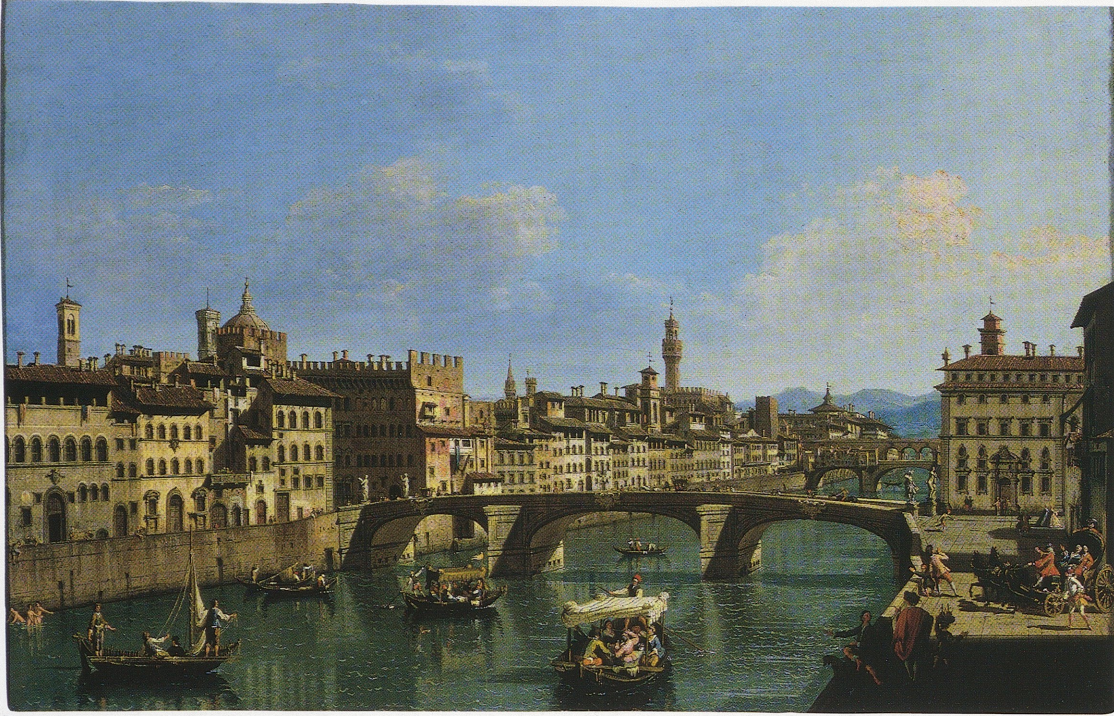
The next property, no. 1371 on the drawing, also belonged to a member of the family in 1411, and by 1427 the owner had “certain land in front of said house granted me by the Tower Officials of the Comune of Florence.”¹² And in 1483, a plot of land in front of this house measuring 22 *braccia* wide, with a roof above it to a depth of 7 *braccia*, and then continuing out to the pavement of the lungarno was sold to Gherardo Giandonati, in the next house to the west (Doc. 17). Giandonati’s small house, corresponding to no. 1370 on the drawing, had been owned in the late fourteenth century by a great-uncle of Bongianni Gianfigliuzzi, and after it had been out of the family’s hands for more than sixty years, in 1466 Bongianni had bought it.¹³ This was his third holding on the block, as he had inherited the new palace from his brother in 1463, but in 1474 he relinquished the house to Lorenzo de’ Medici (Doc. 16), who named Gherardo Giandonati as the buyer.¹⁴ Property numbers 1368 and 1369 on the drawing had belonged in 1411 to the same Gianfigliuzzi who owned the corner plot, and in 1441 both were acquired by Cerbino di Bartolommeo¹⁵, a woodworker whose son ser Pierozzo, a notary, by the middle of the century was working for major people in the area, even writing some of the documents used for this article.

Fig. 6 shows the fifteenth-century Gianfigliuzzi Palace at the left. It comprised three of the properties mentioned in the document of 1411. At the west was the house that had belonged before 1421 to messer Jacopo and Giovanni Gianfigliuzzi and that then in a division of property went to messer Jacopo.¹⁶ Giovanni, who came to be known as Bongianni, was father of Gherardo and Bongianni, the first Gianfigliuzzi who came to be involved in the new palace.¹⁷ By 1427 Jacopo’s son Lorenzo and the heirs of his other son Adovardo shared the house, which they estimated to be worth 1000 florins, while the sons of Bongianni were renting from them a small house at the eastern part of the property.¹⁸ Upon Lorenzo’s death in 1428, his nephews became his heirs, but because of the estate’s many debts the big house and the small one were sold to the Gianfigliuzzi



3 V. Franceschini after Giuseppe Zocchi, View of the ponte S. Trinita with the lungarno Corsini at the left (1740s). Carmen Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection on loan at the Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid.

wife of Galeazzo Borromei¹⁹; after Borromei died in 1436, they went to Antonio di Dino Canacci to compensate for a cloth shipment.²⁰ A cousin of Antonio Canacci also was married to a Gianfigliuzzi woman, and these ties may have eased acquisition of an important property in an area Borromei had termed “da chasa Gianfigliuzzi.”²¹ Canacci bought further plots in an apparent effort to consolidate his holdings. By 1447 he had acquired and “dismantled” two small houses that in 1427 had belonged to Nepo and Bartolommeo degli Spini.²² (The property was referred to in the 1411 document as one house belonging to Nepo.) The street frontage of the property next to this, according to the 1411 document owned by Ruberto Spini, was very narrow, comparable to that of the alley going into the back of the old Gianfigliuzzi Palace. In 1427 it was referred to as “the passageway that goes into the abacus school”²³, and indeed it led to the site of a famous school.²⁴ Ownership of the property at this time seems to have been shared by Arnolfo Spini and the nuns of Santa Orsola. By 1444 Canacci had acquired the Spini portion, and there is mention of two elements that will be important for the new palace, the “androne” (passageway) and the “orto” (garden)²⁵; by 1447 this property was “incorporated into [Canacci’s] house of habitation.”²⁶ For the last component of the site that would become the Gianfigliuzzi Palace, Canacci received authorization early in 1445 to acquire land along the lungarno (Doc. 4), more than thirty years after the decision of the Commune to sell. The price, 120 lire, is very close to the sum of the prices, in the 1411 document, for the land associated with the two Spini properties, so probably the part in front of Jacopo Gianfigliuzzi’s property had already been bought. Despite all the effort Canacci



4 Giuseppe Zocchi, View of the ponte S. Trinita with the lungarno Corsini at the left (1740s). Madrid, Carmen Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection on loan at the Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza.

gave to assembling his site, he seems just to have put a wall around his new land in front. In 1449 he sold the whole property for 1250 florins (Doc. 6).²⁷ Before we continue to follow developments here where the Gianfigliuzzi Palace would be built, we shall discuss the rest of the block, then sketch the background of the Gianfigliuzzi in this area and introduce the Teghiacci, who bought Canacci's property and commenced construction of the palace.

The third property referred to in the 1411 document (Doc. 3, fol. 218) had been given by the comune to Piero di messer Benedetto Gaetani, a Pisan who was an important ally when Florence conquered the seaport in 1406. According to Giovanni Morelli the property awarded Gaetani "fu de' Gianfigliuzzi"²⁸, although Doc. 1 indicates that it had previously been conceded to another beneficiary of the comune. Later in this article we shall return to this complex — even chaotic — property, described in Doc. 1 and part of which was then drawn in plan in the 1580s (Figs. 23-25). For the moment we can observe that a court or garden in the portion near the lungarno, already mentioned in 1406 and still there in the 1580s, would have been extended to the new line after Gaetani purchased the 244 square *braccia* allotted him. In 1427 his son referred to the house together with "certain land in front of the said house towards the Arno, as wide as the house."²⁹

Also shown on the sixteenth-century plans is a small piazza that opened at the corner of the lungarno and via Parioncino (see also fig. 5). Though not mentioned in the document of 1411, it must have been created from the land in front of the last two plots in the west of the block (see fig. 23).³⁰ These belonged in 1427 to Giannozzo di Stoldo Gianfigliuzzi and his nephews, then by far the richest of the Gianfigliuzzi households, if one can believe the tax reports.³¹ In the 1580s, when



5 Detail of map by Stefano Buonsignori, showing the area between the lungarno Corsini, via Tornabuoni and via Parione, with the river and the two bridges, 1584. No. 211 is "Palazzo de' Gianfigliuzzi", no. 160 is "Palazzo de' Ricasoli", and no. 161 is "Palazzo degli Spini."

the monastery of Santa Trinita was being rebuilt and there was acrimonious litigation with the Gianfigliuzzi in the area, Jacopo Gianfigliuzzi claimed that the piazza belonged to the whole lineage and should not be considered part of the property to the north that had been purchased by the monastery (Doc. 37).³² Nevertheless, as Doc. 38 shows, the piazza (measuring 25 *braccia* long by 13, or possibly 15, *braccia* deep) was swallowed up by the new construction.³³ The "volta", visible in fig. 5 at the juncture of the piazza and via Parioncino, of course disappeared as well.³⁴

In many respects the orderly appearance of the area today belies the character that we can now evoke for the fifteenth century.³⁵ Although the document of 1411 certainly refers to the lungarno as a defined street, and it was paved³⁶, the land that was sold usually was called "terreno" or "terra"³⁷; probably residents reached their doors on paved paths.³⁸ Most interesting, the measurements in Doc. 3 reveal that the house fronts in 1411 did not lie in a straight line, although all but the one near the bridge terminated within about a meter of one another. On the piazza the facade walls — 13 (or 15) *braccia* from the street — probably marked the line before 1411. We can reconstruct the configurations of the other plots because we have the square *braccia* of each from the document and we can deduce the widths.³⁹ In front of the three properties incorporated into the palace — messer Jacopo's, Nepo Spini's, and Ruberto Spini's (fols. 218v-219v) — were to be sold, respectively, 372 square *braccia*, 258 $\frac{1}{2}$ square *braccia*, and 58 $\frac{3}{4}$ square *braccia* of land, for a total of 689 $\frac{1}{4}$ square *braccia*. The width of the palace was 54.9 *braccia*, or 32 m., so in 1411 the properties lay an average of about 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ *braccia* (about 7.3 m.) from the new line. But near the bridge the same sort of calculation yields a distance of approximately 18.75 *braccia* (10.95 meters) from the street.⁴⁰

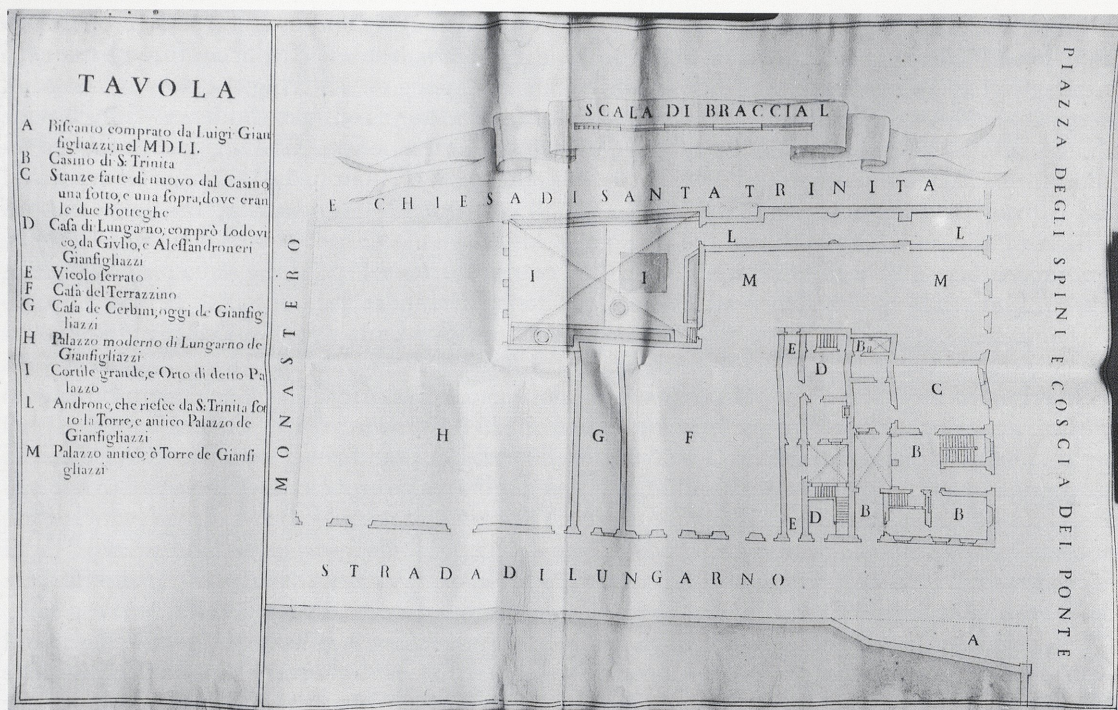
In addition to the jagged line of house fronts and disorderly ground in front of them, another difference from the lungarno today lay in the fact that there was privately-owned land between the street and the river. In front of no. 1371 on fig. 6 was a holding of the same width across the lungarno (see Doc. 2); and one of the boundries of that "piazza or plot of land" was more land that belonged to the whole Gianfigliuzzi family. The piece in the corner next to the bridge belonged still in the eighteenth century to the Gianfigliuzzi and was called the "biscanto" (Fig. 7). Referred to throughout the fifteenth century⁴¹, it was most thoroughly described when it was sold in 1551 to Luigi di Jacopo di messer Bongianni: "a biscanto in Florence, in the parish of Santa Trinita opposite the new construction of the Gianfigliuzzi and house of said Luigi on the *coscia* (haunch, abutment) of the Santa Trinita bridge, 12 braccia by 14, not paved, bounded by the banks of the Arno and by the paving of the lungarno of the comune of Florence."⁴² Probably with the rebuilding of the ponte Santa Trinita after the flood of 1557 and the concomitant concerns about easing the flow of the river's waters, this extension of the riverbank was reconfigured to the triangular shape. In the painted view by Giuseppe Zocchi the door in the river wall at the level of the water prompts the inference that a reason for owning this plot was to have access down to the water from the street (Fig. 4).

The earlier setback of buildings in this block is still reflected in the eighteenth-century views as well as in the elevation drawing (Figs. 3, 4, 6); thus, the properties numbered 1371 and 1372 in the drawing show the upper parts of facade walls that probably date before 1411, and also lower structures in front, built later on the new land. The Gianfigliuzzi Palace played a signal part in the long and slow process of regularization of the lungarno: evidently it was the first large structure that reached the new line, and it must have risen conspicuously above the garden walls nearby. It quickly became an active force on the street, for already by 1470 ser Piero Cernini, in the house numbered 1368, was building out to the lungarno.⁴³

The Gianfigliuzzi family — and the Teghiacci — in the neighborhood of Santa Trinita and the lungarno Corsini

The palace is in an area where the Gianfigliuzzi had deep roots; they had settled here early, they were identified with a major early building — the "old" Gianfigliuzzi Palace — and they had become patrons of a chapel at Santa Trinita. During the course of the fifteenth century members of one branch of the family became dominant, after having suffered a period of adversity that had taken them away from the district; the story of their climb to prominence is linked to their control of significant parts of the family's ancestral territory — a portion of the old palace, the new palace, two further properties on the lungarno — and their acquisition of rights over the main chapel of the parish church. Their absence from the lungarno had seen intervention by naturalized citizens named Teghiacci, who commenced construction at the site of the palace before selling to a relative by marriage, Gherardo Gianfigliuzzi, in 1460.

We do not know when the Gianfigliuzzi first settled in this neighborhood, but in 1288, according to Giovanni Villani, Gianfigliuzzi and Spini houses were heavily damaged by a flood.⁴⁴ By the early fifteenth century, messer Rinaldo Gianfigliuzzi lived in the crenelated palace next to Santa Trinita, although there is very little information available about when his branch acquired it, who had lived there previously, or when it was built (Fig. 8).⁴⁵ Messer Rinaldo had been an important figure in communal politics in the later 14th and early 15th centuries, and his four sons were also very active in the ruling party, so with the return of the Medici in 1434 they were exiled and the palace fell into the hands of relatives by marriage; thus, in 1458 Antonio Panciatichi mentioned the palace in his tax return, his sister having gotten it in compensation for her dowry.⁴⁶ After much legal wrangling, a decade later the Gianfigliuzzi recovered the building: the Ufficiali della Torre sold it to Bongianni Gianfigliuzzi, and his close friend Miliano Dei apportioned ownership (Docs.



7 Plan of the southeastern portion of the block, showing the Gianfigliuzzi properties, ca. 1716. Florence, ABSM.

Bongianni ten — were living with their mother in reduced circumstances, renting a house next to the big one on the lungarno for twelve florins a year from their cousins.⁵² By 1442, Rosso disappeared from all the records, and according to their mother, Gherardo and Bongianni had been out of town for some time.⁵³ Indeed, Bongianni tells us in his “Libro di ricordi” that he left Florence in 1432/3 at the age of 15 first for Naples, and that he then ranged throughout Spain and the western Mediterranean; in 1436, less than twenty years old, he was patron of a galley, and he continued this activity, sometimes as captain, at least until 1462.⁵⁴ Still in 1442 Bongianni’s and Gherardo’s mother was renting the same small house on the lungarno, even as it changed ownership to Borromei and then to Canacci, but by 1447 all had moved to a much more expensive house on the other side of the river east of the Ponte Vecchio, renting from a Bardi woman.⁵⁵ In 1448 Bongianni matriculated in the Silk Guild, and both brothers married, Gherardo to Lena di Duccio Mancini and Bongianni to Adriana di Giovanni Teghiacci, and by 1458 they were living in separate residences, Gherardo having moved closer to Gianfigliuzzi territory and renting in the via Porta Rossa, and Bongianni still across the river renting in piazza de’ Mozzi from a different member of the Bardi family.⁵⁶

The mention of Bongianni’s first wife leads us back to the palace site on the lungarno, because in 1449 Adriana’s father bought it from Antonio Canacci (Doc. 6). Giovanni di Nicolaio Teghiacci was a Siense whose family was exiled to Florence in 1403.⁵⁷ He was very wealthy and was granted Florentine citizenship in 1447 (Doc. 5). Because he was not required to file tax returns in the normal manner, it is difficult to find information about him, but his successful petition for citizenship in 1447 states that he had lived in Florence and considered it his own country since he was a boy, that some of his daughters and his eldest son had married Florentines, and that now he wished to have official status as a citizen. An important condition was included in the final law:

within three years Teghiacci was either to buy a house in the city and invest at least 1200 florins improving it, or to spend the same amount building a new house.⁵⁸ Teghiacci forged splendid marriage alliances in Florence, although this is not surprising considering the dowries he paid. Around 1430 his daughter Lucrezia married Francesco di messer Tommaso Soderini with a dowry of 3500 florins, the figure — among the highest known for the period — having been declared by Niccolò da Uzzano.⁵⁹ Adriana and Andromaca brought the same amount to Bongiani Gianfigliuzzi and Giovanfrancesco di Orlando de' Medici, with Cosimo de' Medici deciding the figure in both instances.⁶⁰ Though I do not know the figure of the dowry in 1442 for a fourth daughter, Camilla, again named after an ancient heroine, she followed the pattern of marrying a man in the highest level of Florentine society, Jacopo di Alessandro degli Alessandri.⁶¹

The earliest notice that I have of Giovanni Teghiacci shows him staying in Venice in 1426⁶², and it seems that he had a house there.⁶³ In Florence, from at least 1447 to 1459 he and then his sons rented the two biggest Alberti palaces, with a famous garden, on the via de' Benci from Francesco d'Altobianco degli Alberti for the very high price of 120 florins a year.⁶⁴ As we have seen, by 1449 he fulfilled part of the citizenship law's requirement regarding housing by buying the Canacci property; but we may be justified in thinking that Teghiacci brought little enthusiasm to the notion of building on the site. In the early drafts of the law granting him citizenship, which were rejected by the councils presumably because they were too heavily weighted in his favor, there were specific statements that he not be required to build or buy a house in the city⁶⁵; and the case can be made that probably he did not begin construction before he died in 1454.⁶⁶

Although by 1460 a good part of the palace was built, including vaults on the ground floor and even some of the roofs, as the document of sale to Gherardo Gianfigliuzzi shows⁶⁷, the question is whether the Teghiacci started by 1451, or only by 1458. We have four different indications for the date. The most straightforward is the statement in 1451 by their neighbor to the east, Jacopo Cerbini, that one of the boundries of his house was "the house that Giovanni Teghiacci is said to be building."⁶⁸ But when we realize that there is no definitive confirmation of this statement, the phrasing can be seen to be intentionally ambiguous, even ironic. The second indication is contained in the later comments (*postille*) made in the margins next to the components of the palace, which, listed in 1427, were being brought up to date by the officials: "in the construction of the Teghiacci on the lungarno."⁶⁹ Not dated, these *postille* could be from 1451 or from 1458; the hand resembles most closely one of those that wrote comments dated 1457/8. The evidence for the later year is strengthened by Bongiani Gianfigliuzzi's tax report of 1469, which links the building activity to Giovanni Teghiacci's son Luigi.⁷⁰ The final consideration for dating the beginning of the construction involves questions of architectural style. One component of the present palace that must have been defined from the start is the introductory hall to the *androne*, unusual for any Florentine palace of the fifteenth century and very large in scale; the later date seems more likely for it.

There are different ramifications for each interpretation of when the construction was begun. If the date was ca. 1451, we could say that Giovanni Teghiacci went right to work, nearly conforming to the stipulations in the law for his citizenship; Michelozzo, a witness at both the sale and the consignment of the keys, would likely have been involved in the design and construction. If, on the other hand, construction started only about 1455 as indeed I think most likely, we would have to understand that the Teghiacci temporized in fulfilling completely the requirements for citizenship, that Giovanni did nothing at all before he died, and that Luigi and his brothers were the ones to take the initiative.

Another fundamental enigma about Teghiacci activity at the site should be recognized. The shading of Jacopo Cerbini's language in 1458 in describing of one of the borders of his own house — "the house that is said to be of the Teghiacci" — again justifies suspicion.⁷¹ The possibility exists that the construction activity was undertaken nominally to fulfill the requirements laid

down by the comune, but that ultimately the house was meant for the Gianfigliuzzi who bought the property in the end; the facts that the major component of the site had once belonged to this branch of the family and that Bongianni was related to the Teghiacci by marriage support such a suggestion. We can imagine that already by the mid 1450s the Teghiacci may have been anticipating return to Siena, where they were readmitted in February 1457. In September 1459 Luigi and his brothers bought the showy palace that Giovanni Bicchi had just completed, the present Pinacoteca called the Palazzo Buonsignori, and the following January they bought the furnishings⁷²; this was just two and one-half weeks before they sold the palace in Florence. All this information suggests that a delay in construction on the lungarno may have been linked to their hopes of returning to Siena; in that case the notion that the palace was destined ultimately for the Gianfigliuzzi becomes even more plausible.

Though the palace came to be identified with Bongianni Gianfigliuzzi and his descendants, Gherardo owned it first. Fourteen years older than Bongianni, apparently well situated in the city's political life, and a very successful businessman⁷³, according to Bongianni Gherardo completed the building two years before he died (Doc. 15); Doc. 18 reveals that his activity brought him into conflict with one of his Gaetani neighbors in 1460. That same year, Bongianni bought the property at the corner of the lungarno and via Tornabuoni, the first one mentioned in Doc. 3 (see Doc. 8 for the sale). The site was not large, but it was beautifully situated, and it had an extensive walled court in front; one can imagine that Bongianni planned to restructure the house and expand it to the new property line so that he could live here at least temporarily. As Gherardo had no sons both brothers must have anticipated that the palace would go to Bongianni upon Gherardo's death; that happened in 1463.



8 View of the "old" Gianfigliuzzi Palace.

Bongianni was a colorful personality.⁷⁴ His sea voyages involved also business interests in Pisa, Palermo, Puglia, Pera and London.⁷⁵ He was married three times — to Adriana Teghiacci in 1448, to Costanza di Alessandro del Vigna in 1463, and to Maddalena di Michele di Nofri Parenti in 1470 — and he had two sons and at least ten daughters, nine of whom contracted marriage alliances; he also had six illegitimate children.⁷⁶ During the course of the 1460s, he became an important politician, and while he was Gonfaloniere di Giustizia in 1470, he was knighted in a clear demonstration of the Medici regime's approval.⁷⁷ He also had administrative and military expertise, serving frequently as "commissario" in the field, at Volterra in 1472 and during the war years of the late 1470s⁷⁸, and in fact he died during the war of Sarzana.⁷⁹ We should not be surprised that he was sent on numerous diplomatic missions — the language of his wills suggest a turn for eloquence, even an element of bombast (Docs. 10 and 14).

The palace was already built when he inherited it in 1463 and he estimated its value at 5000 florins.⁸⁰ But he attended to the finishing touches, as described in his note of 1474 (Doc. 15). He seems to have been proud of the new "entry from piazza Santa Trinita," as he mentioned it first. He also ensured privacy for the garden by arranging that windows looking out on it from the various surrounding properties be raised high above the floor or closed. He left a record regarding the legal status of the garden's south wall that was useful when one of his sons encountered problems here in 1512 (Doc. 24). And he built the "salotto da verno" [16] on the *primo piano* above the *loggia*.

Of course he mentioned the palace in his wills, with the typical stipulations prohibiting its sale, but a central concern expressed in both documents was the main chapel of Santa Trinita. Reviewing what we know about this major decorative project gives us a sense for Bongianni's enterprise.⁸¹ The chapel was given to Bongianni to decorate just months after his brother's death. While the literature about the chapel has always referred to this donation, a transcription of the document now is available (Doc. 9). The donation was made in the names of the monks and the *operai*, elected only a week previously⁸² and acting for the parishioners. Horne's suggestion that the ribs and vaulting are attributable to Bongianni's activities is supported by a comment in Bongianni's will of 1463/4.⁸³ Bongianni included a memorandum about the chapel in his "Libro di ricordi," describing what he wanted done and giving estimates for the cost.⁸⁴ He was responsible for construction of the window, for which Baldovinetti in 1465/6 made the cartoon and painted the glass; unfortunately it was destroyed in the seventeenth century. The altarpiece by the same artist, the *Trinity* now in the Accademia, was commissioned in April 1470 and finished in February 1471/2; the ornate new altar⁸⁵ was placed at the back of the chapel, under the window. Bongianni's second will (Doc. 14) implies that the large and elaborate tomb slab — a major component within the space of the chapel — was in place by 1474.⁸⁶ In addition to Bongianni and his descendants⁸⁷, it was to serve also for Gherardo, and the eloquent inscription⁸⁸ suggests devotion to his older brother, whose name Bongianni had given to his eldest son in 1466. There was a full fresco cycle, again by Baldovinetti, of which only the prophets in the vault remain; too little is known of the scenes on the walls to warrant an assessment of how the content and style might relate to Bongianni's tastes.

The fact that Gherardo and Bongianni Gianfigliuzzi came to live in a palace in their ancestral neighborhood certainly was not due to chance, although we have been able to reconstruct only some aspects of the complex story of their return, with important questions remaining regarding the Teghiacci. But we have also had a glimpse of the typical mix of luck and dogged planning so often necessary for putting together a palace in fifteenth-century Florence. These Gianfigliuzzi were remarkable in the extent of their influence in the wider neighborhood — with other houses on the lungarno, land next to the river, the main chapel in the parish church, even the corridor between the old palace and the new one.

The exterior of the palace

We can turn now to the new palace, aware that before the 1450s the houses on the lungarno were set back from the street and consisted of structures at least 100 years old, most with walled courts in front. When regularization of the area was mandated in 1465 (Doc. 11), the palace must have looked strange, protruding beyond the line of the other buildings; Bongianni Gianfigliuzzi was a powerful man by then, and perhaps he had a hand in ensuring that all his neighbors adopt the new property line, though few built out to it. The palace has been remodelled, inside and out, but the many depictions made in the eighteenth century give an understanding of its appearance then, before the major changes were made (Figs. 3-4). On the upper floors there were eight large arched windows and eight bays in the open *altana*, from which many of the capitals survive, though in a ruined state (Fig. 12)⁸⁹; the main door was a bit off center, and there was a lower service door to the left, but no balcony. On the ground floor the mezzanine windows had frames with moldings and rounded tops. Most depictions show small square windows to the sides of the main portal that I believe belonged to the original design and brought light into the entrance hall, and there was a bench in front of the facade.⁹⁰ Further windows on the ground floor must have been introduced after the fifteenth century.

The present stonework follows the general lines of the original palace, but it almost certainly results from the remodelling campaign carried out by the Belgian Baron Adrian Hooghworst, who bought the building in 1867 and added the balcony, derided by Pietro Franceschini⁹¹; all looks fresh and new in the photograph taken early in the last century (Fig. 9).⁹² The property to the west (left) of the palace had belonged to the Gianfigliuzzi since 1587, and the fact that Hooghworst did not incorporate it into the facade suggests that he attempted to retain some of the building's original character. The portal's frame (Fig. 11), with a billeted edge unique for a Florentine palace, was redone; the design could have been conceived for this palace as the same sort of molding appears in numerous works of the Quattrocento, and even on a door in Pisa, made in the early 1460s⁹³; but none of the depictions shows the billeting, and thus it too could be a nineteenth-century addition. The *altana* was closed sometime between the mid-eighteenth century and 1828, when the palace was sold to Luigi Bonaparte (Doc. 39).⁹⁴ The top story was added soon after Aldemiro Campodonico, great grandfather of the present owners, bought the building in 1920.⁹⁵

The window frames on the *piano nobile* have no match at other Florentine palaces (Fig. 10). In contrast to other windows with molded frames and pilasters, for instance at the Medici, Rucellai, and Pazzi Palaces, those at the Gianfigliuzzi have single lights and the pilasters — here fluted — face out, supporting arches also ornamented with billeting. The painting by Zocchi (Fig. 4) and a drawing by Giuseppe Martelli show frames with such pilasters, so the basic design that we see today probably dates to the fifteenth century, though again the depictions do not show billeting.⁹⁶ The way these frames are installed indicates that they are replacements.⁹⁷ The window openings themselves seem not to have been lowered⁹⁸, and they deserve special comment. The sills are only about 90 cm. from the floor inside, while normally in Florentine palaces from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, windows on the *piano nobile* facing the street are so high that they must be reached by steps; in those cases the reasons must range from aversion to drafts, to the desire not to be watched by people on the same level directly across the street, to aesthetic considerations regarding the placement of the openings as viewed from inside. At the Gianfigliuzzi Palace, no neighbors could have seen in, and furthermore, there was a beautiful vista outside.⁹⁹

In many respects the design seems to have been specially adapted to the site.¹⁰⁰ On this big palace the facade was articulated only with the frames of windows and door, the stringcourses, and the *altana*, and the plaster behind was decorated with *sgraffiti*.¹⁰¹ The relative simplicity seems appropriate for an open area that was just beginning to receive touches of cultivated display. The unusual placement of the *altana* on the third floor instead of the fourth may also be connected



9 View of the Gianfigliuzzi Palace, ca. 1920.

10 Gianfigliuzzi Palace, Facade windows.



11 Gianfigliuzzi Palace, Portal.

12 Gianfigliuzzi Palace, Capital from *altana*, now in Maestrelli garden, at Villa la Sosta.



with the site. The palace's mass would have dominated the street even without a closed third floor that after all would have been more important for the proportions of the exterior than for the accommodations it provided inside; (at this palace, as with all the others in Florence about which we know something about the interiors, the rooms above the *piano nobile* functioned as supplementary, not ordinary, living space.) Also, this story must have been conceived for enjoying the magnificent view.

The design adds so many new features to the repertoire of fifteenth-century Florentine palaces that perhaps we should credit some decisions to the "foreign" Teghiacci. Still, the facade belongs to a basic type — that includes the contemporary Lenzi Palace, as well as the slightly earlier palace of Dietisalvi Neroni and the much later Corsi-Horne¹⁰² — where the walls' smooth intonaco, normally embellished with *sgraffiti*, is played against the projecting stonework of apertures and stringcourses. There is no sound basis for identifying the architect: the overall design is loose and generic, and while the only surely original decorative details — the *altana* capitals (Fig. 12) — are very close to those in the Spinelli Cloister at Santa Croce, the authorship of that building is by no means certain.¹⁰³ Michelozzo's name in the document of 1449 (Doc. 6) is not sufficient reason for concluding that he was involved in the design.¹⁰⁴

The understated character of the Gianfigliuzzi Palace may have started a fashion in this area near the river, as we can see something of the same aesthetic at the Ricasoli Palace begun around 1475 near the ponte alla Carraia, and the Lanfredini Palace across the river built early in the next century. Then in the middle of the sixteenth century came development of the area at the corner of the lungarno Corsini and the via Tornabuoni. In 1491 Gherardo and Jacopo di Bongianni divided this property at the same time they divided the palace (Docs. 20 and 21); the houses must have been very small, and the deep walled court towards the lungarno occupied much of the site.¹⁰⁵ Jacopo, the younger son who had second choice with regard to the palace, here elected the house at the corner, facing the via Tornabuoni, with a double shop below¹⁰⁶; the other portion also comprised two parts, a house on the lungarno and two more shops around the corner between the first house and the extension of the tower palace.¹⁰⁷ The relationships are sketched in fig. 6, with no. 1373 covering the site assigned to Jacopo and no. 1372 on both streets designating the components that went to Gherardo; in fig. 7 these properties correspond to B, D, and C. Doc. 20 stipulates that the "court" on the lungarno in front of both houses be divided by a wall.

In 1534 Jacopo described his property at the corner as half a small house and a blacksmith's shop that must have spread out into the area in front (Doc. 25, fol. 154v). He began to fashion from the whole plot a "casa onorevole" (Doc. 26, fol. 248v), and just before he died in 1549 a codicil to his last will shows that he anticipated a cost of 3000 florins.¹⁰⁸ Doc. 26 indicates that Jacopo wanted to buy the "biscanto" next to the river, although he was not sure who owned it, and as we have seen his son Luigi succeeded in doing this in 1551; Luigi completed the new house by 1552, encountering fierce opposition from his cousin Bartolommeo di Gherardo for overstepping his half of the common wall and otherwise trying to appropriate extra centimeters (Docs. 27-29). Just five years later, in 1557, a disastrous flood destroyed the ponte Santa Trinita and must have wreaked damage all along the lungarno, but shortly afterwards the bridge was rebuilt, and its beauty enhanced the whole area.

Fig. 6 was produced in connection with a lawsuit that referred to Bartolommeo's will; given the background, Bartolomeo must have stipulated that his house not fall into the hands of Luigi or of his heirs. Luigi's house, no. 1373, is shown with four bays on the lungarno and three on the via Tornabuoni. To the north of these, according to the key, were Bartolommeo's two woodworkers' shops (1372), while no. 1372 on the side towards the river represents the rest of Bartolommeo's property. The drawing dates from around 1716, by which time the shops on the via Tornabuoni had been amalgamated into the corner palace and the window design of the *piano nobile* had been extended above them. But still today one can see a difference in the windows here: in those of the

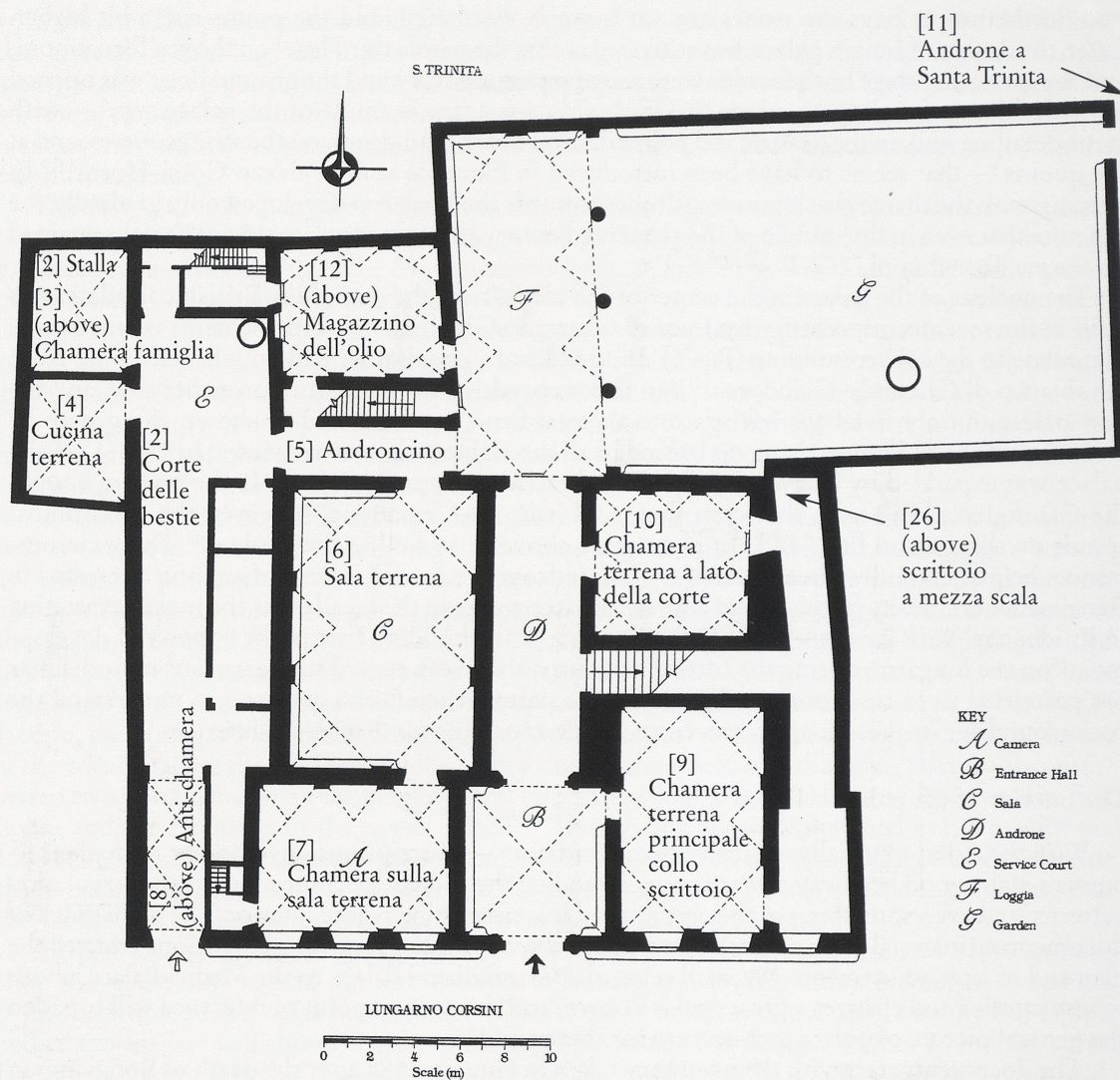
two northernmost bays the stones are not quite as weathered, and the points rise a bit higher. Later, the design of Luigi's palace was extended across the whole third level on the via Tornabuoni, and at yet another stage both facades were raised one more story and the ground floor was opened up with rectangular shop openings.¹⁰⁹ This building is a fine example of the palace type — with stone detailing only in the drafted and pointed frames of the windows, on the stringcourses, and at the quoins — that seems to have been introduced in Florence at the Palazzo Corsi-Horne.¹¹⁰ In keeping with the theme that positive attitudes towards the lungarno developed only gradually, we can note that even in the middle of the sixteenth century the corner palace's main portal remained on the via Tornabuoni.

The nucleus of the palace at the center of the block, now the seat of the British consulate, was built in the seventeenth century by Luca di Gherardo Gianfigliuzzi, with elements on the facade that relate to the corner building (Fig. 6). In 1532 Luca's grandfather had bought one house from Altobianco di Gherardo Giandonati¹¹¹; to this were added the properties on either side, and the new palace of only five bays left space to the east for a terrace, which is shown along with its balcony and the old house rising up behind in all the eighteenth-century views. In 1843-1846 the palace was expanded by a bay on each side and raised two stories.¹¹² In 1848 the owners bought the Gianfigliuzzi Palace to the west; they sold it in 1852, retaining, however, the easternmost rooms on the ground floor and the mezzanine above it, as well as the garden.¹¹³ These circumstances helped erase the fifteenth-century palace from the consciousness of anyone interested in Renaissance architecture, though of course the later work on the facade was the most devastating to its identity. We have seen, though, that looking at the building first in the context of developments on the lungarno during the fifteenth century, then with regard to the various remodellings has permitted us to recover a good sense for the palace when it was new, and to understand the background for its present appearance; we can do much the same with the interior.

The interior of the palace

With the aid of unusually extensive documentation — descriptions, inventories, even plans — one can make good headway towards understanding the fifteenth-century layout and circulation patterns, and even something of the character of this interesting palace interior. The wide range of documentary material permits treatment both of the ways that preexisting conditions affected the plan and of later adjustments. We shall relate the Gianfigliuzzi Palace to the Medici Palace, about whose interior and changes a great deal is known, and this second point of reference will broaden the general picture of palace architecture for this period.

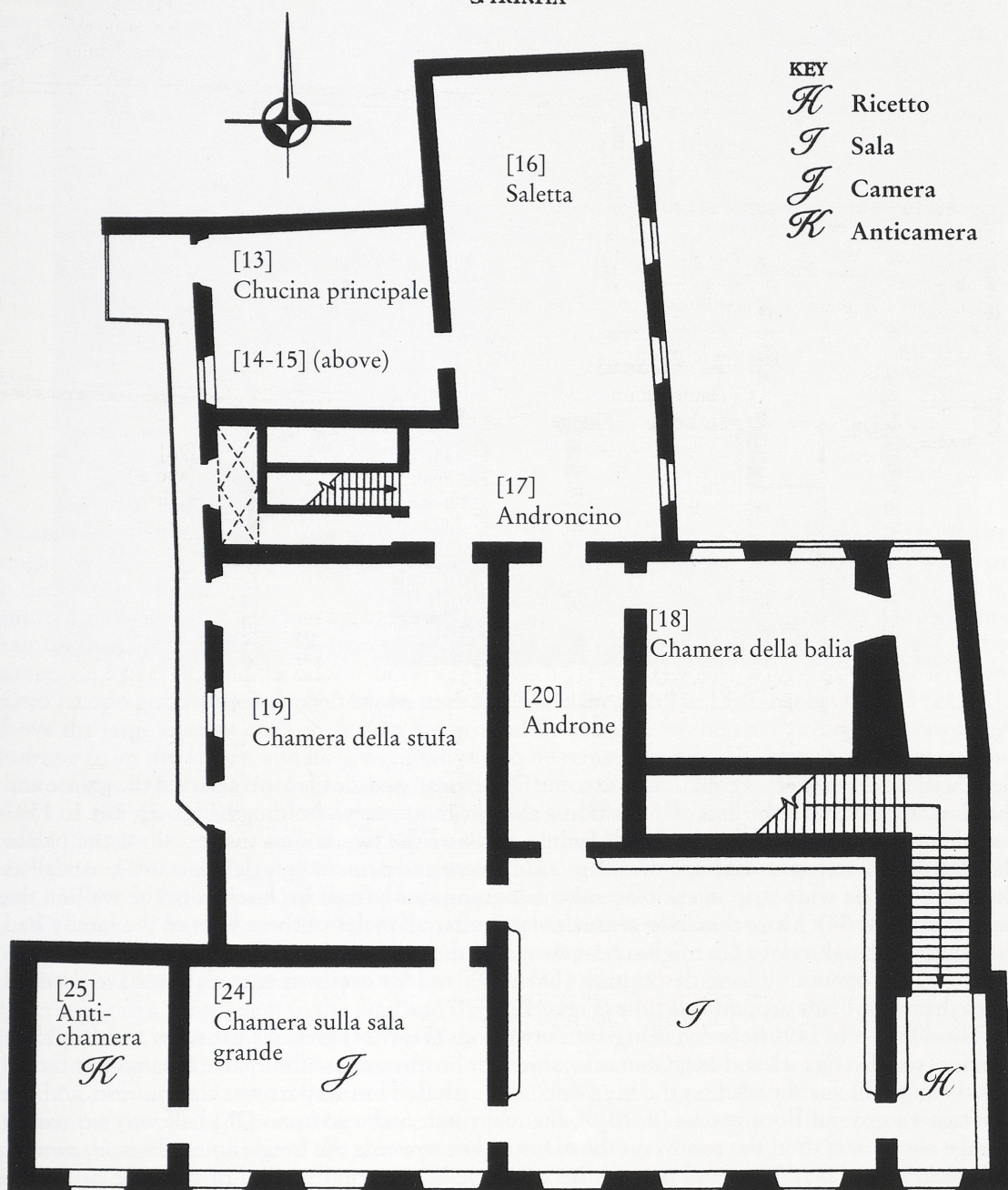
The documents start with the inventory taken in January 1485 after the death of Bongianni in November (Doc. 19). His two sons stayed together in the palace until Jacopo reached the age of twenty-one, and then they worked out a division, with Gherardo getting the eastern (right) part of the ground floor and the front portion of the *piano nobile* (Doc. 21). Gherardo later became demented¹¹⁴ and in December 1510 the courts appointed as his guardians Jacopo and Gherardo's son Bongianni. Docs. 22 and 23, written in January 1511, list the goods consigned to his wife and the contents of his part of the palace. By 1532 Gherardo's second son Alessandro owned this "casa vecchia lung'h' Arno"¹¹⁵, where he tried to build an opening in the facade down to his stable in the basement in 1566 (Doc. 31).¹¹⁶ Jacopo, in the other half, wrote a will in 1534 that is particularly helpful for understanding the interior, and we shall return to it (Doc. 25). Jacopo's son Bongianni inherited the western part, and there are scraps of information in his record of repairs made to woodwork in various rooms from 1551 to 1553 (Doc. 30). Finally, in the 1580s when Santa Trinita was expanding and rebuilding its monastery, conflict with the second Jacopo di Bongianni resulted in an interesting series of documents. In 1585 Jacopo bought the big property next door on the west from members of the Gaetani family, probably seeking to protect himself from the on-



13 Gianfigliuzzi Palace, Plan reconstructing fifteenth-century arrangement of ground floor, with numbers and names of rooms keyed to 1485 inventory (Doc. 19). Drawn by Matthew K. Haberling.

14 Gianfigliuzzi Palace, Plan reconstructing fifteenth-century arrangement of *piano nobile*, with numbers and names of rooms keyed to 1485 inventory (Doc. 19). Drawn by Matthew K. Haberling.

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LUNGARNO CORSINI



15 Gianfigliuzzi Palace, vaults and corbels in ground floor room [10].

slaught of the monastery. From this time come Drawings 1 and 2 of Jacopo's part of the palace and the Gaetani tract, with the first plan including also the monastery's holdings (Figs. 23-25). In 1587 a settlement was worked out in which Jacopo retained the two rooms just north of the palace (labeled on the sixteenth-century drawings *anticamera* and *camera* "già de' Gaetani"), as well as the eight-*braccia* wide strip of the Gaetani court going south from his kitchen to the wall on the *lungarno* (Doc. 34). More than two centuries later, after all males of these lines of the family had died out, the daughter of a Gianfigliuzzi woman sold the palace to Luigi Bonaparte; the sale document of 1828 contains a long description (Doc. 39), and we are fortunate also to have detailed plans that were made around this time (Figs. 17-22).¹¹⁷

The division of 1491 between Bongianni's two sons (Doc. 21) gives a clear sense for the palace interior (see also figs. 13 and 14). Gherardo, the elder brother, chose the "parte dinanzi"; entrance was through the main portal on the *lungarno*, and included in this part was the *androne* and the two eastern ground floor rooms [9, 10]¹¹⁸, the main stair and a *scrittoio* [26] half way up with a storage room next to it, the rooms on the *piano nobile* towards the *lungarno* — the *sala*, *camera* and *anticamera* [24, 25] — and part of the *andito* [20], the continuation of the stair up to the *secondo piano*, and the eastern half of the terrace [21] at the front of the house (another wall was to be built here), the *andito* going north, and the room to its east, south of the garden, or court as it is called in this document, and overlooking it.

Jacopo was left with the rest, starting with the main court, or garden, and its entrance [11] from piazza Santa Trinita through the old Gianfigliuzzi Palace, and including the northern arm of that palace's court. His portion also had the *loggia* and the ground floor of the *lungarno* palace west of

16 Gianfigliuzzi Palace, corbel probably from *camera della loggia*, now in Maestrelli garden, at Villa la Sosta.



the *androne*: the *sala terrena* [6] and its *camera* [7], the *corte delle bestie* [2] with entrance from the lungarno, the kitchen [4], and a number of service rooms nearby. He would use the stair that went to the second kitchen [13] on the *piano nobile* (with a room for storage of oil half way up [12]), and to him went other service rooms [14, 15] and terraces “towards the Gaetani”. The top of his stair on the *piano nobile* gave him access to three more rooms: the *camera della stufa* [19]¹¹⁹, the *camera da balia* [18], and the *salotto da verno* [16] with a terrace (above the *loggia*). On the *secondo piano* Jacopo got the western half of the terrace [21] on the front and two rooms behind [22, 23], above the large *camera della stufa*. On the ground floor a gate in the arch already separated the *androne* from the *loggia*, and its lower part was to be remade in wood to effect visual separation between the two parts. Upstairs there was a door a bit to the south, between the central passageway and the space to the north where the “*credenziera*” was; the entrances to the *camera della balia* [18] and the *camera della stufa* [19] lay south of this doorway, and therefore they were to be walled up and new openings were to be made further north. Though Jacopo got much the greater area, Gherardo had to pay 300 florins for the greater value of his part.

We can now discuss aspects of the plan, starting with the crucial main stair, only the first ramp of which is intact; with its high barrel vault it is very impressive, but today the second ramp turns north to end at a door opening into the *camera della balia* [18]. Originally it went the opposite direction, into a *ricetto* next to the *sala*, and this relationship is still shown on the Bonaparte plans and alluded to in one of the inventories: in the *sala* are listed “benches around [the *sala*] as far as the stair landing”¹²⁰; another inventory from the same year mentions benches also in the landing itself: “at the top of the stair, benches on two sides.”¹²¹ The stair up to the terrace likewise was at the front of the palace. The nineteenth-century plans show the service stair on the west going only as far as the mezzanine above the *primo piano*, but it must once have reached the *secondo piano*. Surviving today are only the first ramp, the barrel-vaulted passageway [5] that once linked the *loggia* to the service court, and the two little cross vaults at the first mezzanine level; the passageway and the first ramp are quite generous in width, but upstairs the stair became narrow, leaving space for another passageway.

The fifteenth-century Gianfigliuzzi Palace did not include the two Gaetani rooms at the north, and in the southern portion it terminated on the west with the *corte delle bestie*, which corresponds to the last bay of the facade. The space west of the *corte delle bestie* is labelled *cucina* and

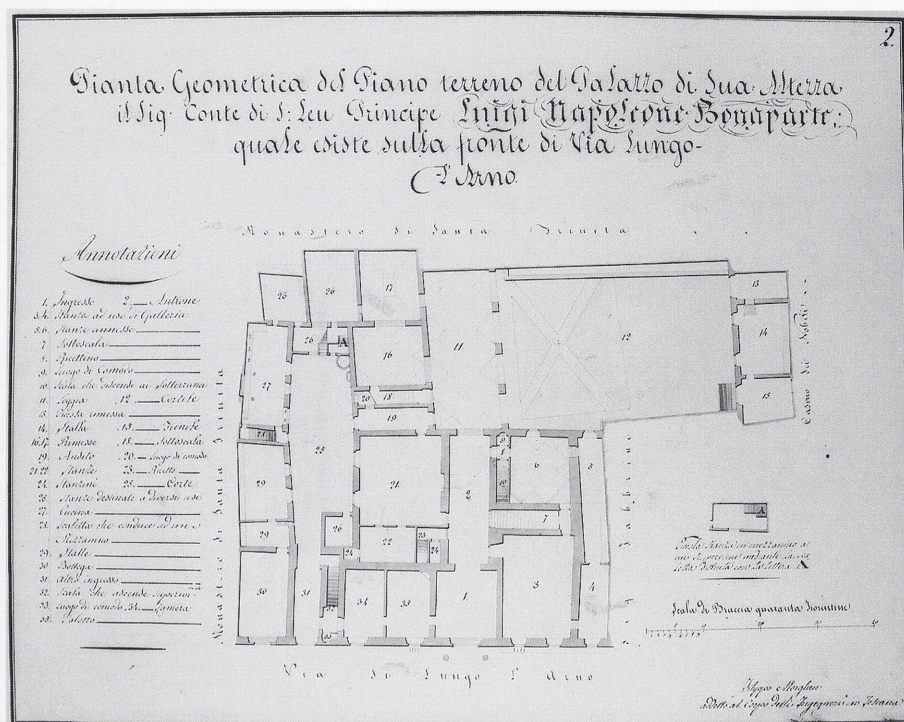
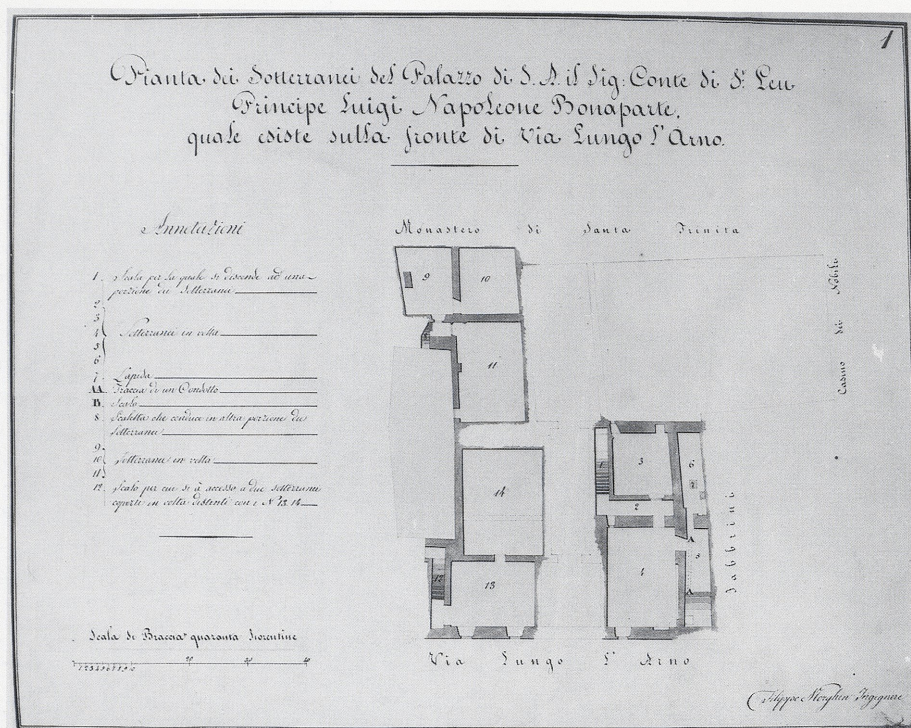
stalla on Drawings 1 and 2 (Figs. 23-25), and the sequence in which the rooms are listed in the inventory of 1485 and the division suggests that indeed the ground-floor kitchen was here; probably this is where Bongianni was building when he was challenged by his neighbor in 1484 (Doc. 18), and the space looks like an appendage to the palace, but I have found no information about how and when the Gianfigliuzzi acquired it. With regard to the *camera della loggia* beneath the *piano nobile*'s kitchen [13] the documents do not correspond perfectly with the physical evidence either, because I have found it mentioned for the first time in Jacopo's will of 1544¹²², even though unquestionably it was part of the original palace. It must have been a very pretty space, in an attractive location and with an elaborate vaulting system, shown on the Bonaparte plan (Fig. 18), similar to the one still intact in room [10].

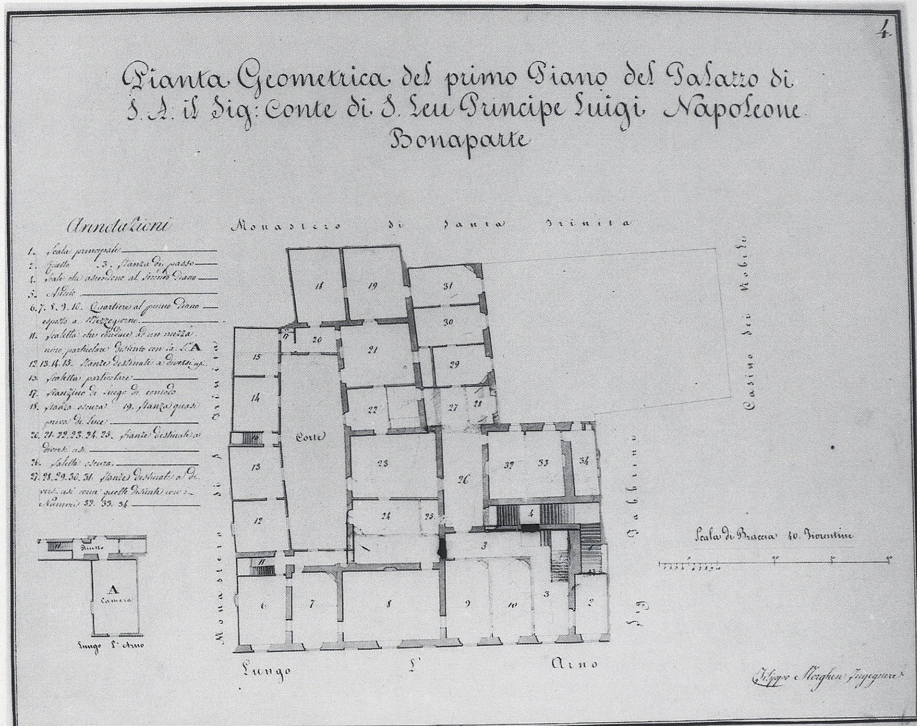
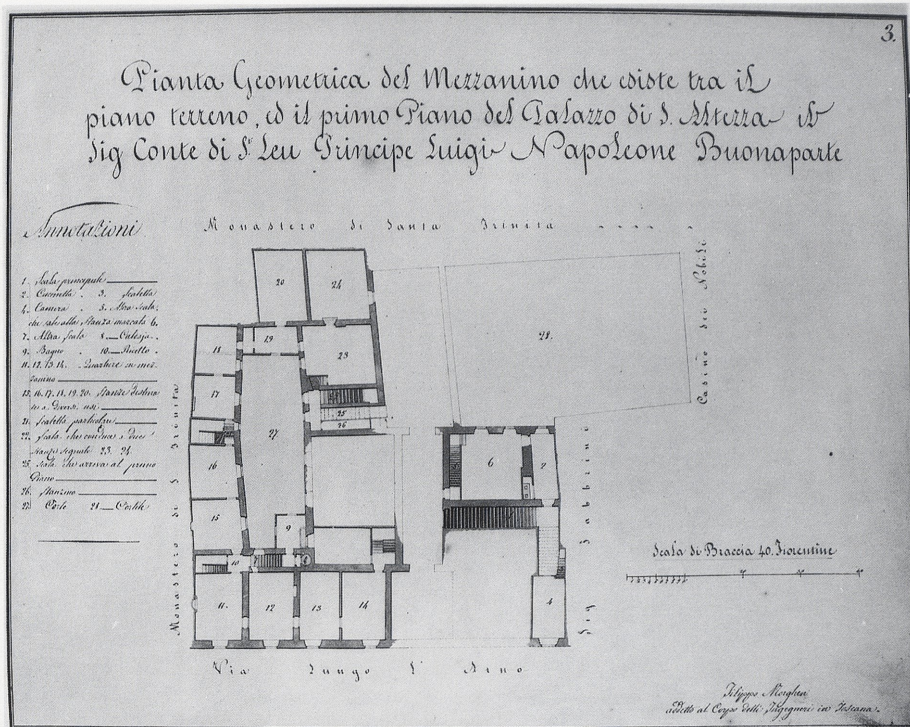
The document of 1491 apparently did not set the final scheme, for in the inventories taken in 1511 of Gherardo's goods, the "camera di mezzo," which was not included in the rooms he received in the division, appears. Not mentioned in 1485, it had contained some of the important pieces of furniture that went to Gherardo's wife; it was on the *primo piano*, and it had a door communicating with the *sala* (Doc. 23, fol. 4v). Thus it can only be the room called the *camera della stufa* [19] in the 1485 inventory, which was to go to Jacopo in the division of 1491; the new name refers to the location. The terms of the division must have been adjusted in this case, and also with the *camera della balia* [18], which Gherardo seems to have turned into his kitchen.¹²³ He also constructed cellars under his rooms east of the *androne*, and he may have put his stable down here, though I am uncertain as to how one would have brought horses into it before 1566 (see Doc. 31). When the inventory was taken in 1511, Gherardo was building new woodwork ("spalliere" and "armari") in the room on the ground floor near the facade [9].

Relating the plans of Florentine palaces to what we know about the conditions at the site before the building was constructed is always revealing, as usually we can see that the preexisting structures influenced the new plan. Doc. 6 mentions a court to the side of the house Canacci sold to Teghiacci, and this area must have become the service court, just as the garden of the abacus school turned into the palace's garden. The inner wall of the *loggia*, set at an angle to most other walls, probably was already standing, also as its western wall has two small rectangular windows that predate the *loggia*¹²⁴; north of the *loggia* an alley still shown on Drawing 1 must have been truncated when the palace was built, and the windows would have opened to it. Docs. 15 and 24 tell us that part of the garden's southern wall was bounded by a another alley, so we can be reasonably sure that the abacus school's garden was left unchanged.¹²⁵ In contrast to all these walls, those of the square vestibule and of the other spaces towards the *lungarno* are all perpendicular to the facade, and now we understand that all were built over the new land; at the very east of the palace the old *androne* into the school garden was retained and extended, slightly wider, out to the new property line. And perhaps the big wall separating the *camera terrena* [7] from the *sala terrena* [6] and extending eastward between the two parts of the entranceway is a survival of the old facade of the Gianfigliuzzi ancestral house.¹²⁶ If this east-west wall was incorporated from the earlier structure, it affected the sizes of the front rooms on the two lower floors and the depth of the terrace on the third floor. The unusual course of the staircase must have been suggested by the walls of the abacus school *androne*, and the scheme accommodated a *scrittoio* on the first mezzanine, and a landing — a waiting area with a beautiful view — at the top of the stair in front of the door to the *sala*.

Within the constraints of the preexisting conditions, and on an enormous site, the Gianfigliuzzi Palace combines elements common to fifteenth-century Florentine palaces and novel formulations.¹²⁷ Entry from the *lungarno* was through the main portal and a cross-vaulted introductory space with two small windows (Figs. 4, 6). This area, imposing in scale, serves as a transition to the

17-22 Plans of the Gianfigliuzzi Palace when it was owned by Luigi Bonaparte (ca. 1828): Basement; Ground floor; First mezzanine; *Piano nobile*; *Secondo piano*; Various mezzanines.





darker *androne* proper, and it may also have functioned as a place where clients and visitors could gather, probably with built-in benches available for seating. The *androne* gave access first to the main staircase on the right and then to the passageway to the kitchen and the ground-floor suite on the left; it opened into the luminous garden *loggia*.¹²⁸ This *loggia*, once supported by columns, resembles the one once at the end of the garden of the Medici Palace, even in size, with two significant differences: it has lunette vaults instead of cross vaults, and in the absence of a traditional courtyard, it took over the function of the *loggia* that usually formed the broad arm of the court in Florentine palaces, where inventories often indicate there were built-in benches. Drawing 1 shows that people would have sat outside also, all around the garden.¹²⁹ Food could have been conveniently transported through the *andito* [5] to the garden and also to both the *loggia* and the *sala* [6] on the ground floor; this passageway also would have permitted the movement of horses between the stable and the entrance from the via Tornabuoni through the old Gianfigliuzzi Palace. We have a remarkably full picture of the service area, which was heralded by the lower doorway on the facade and concentrated at the northwest, near the well of the service court, with stable and kitchen across the way, the room for storage of oil on the mezzanine [12], and, in addition to the main service stair, other small stairs going to rooms tucked in corners; the male servants, four of whom were slaves in 1474 (Doc. 14), slept above the stable [3], and the quarters of the female servants [15] were probably above the kitchen [13] of the *primo piano*, near where the bread was made [14].

The 1485 inventory lists items connected with Bongianni's travels and ceremonial activity; there are many pieces of fine furniture and a few works of art. The inventory for Gherardo's portion of the palace from 1511 shows a notable increase in rich furnishings and possessions, but the quantity for both years is much less than at the Medici Palace in 1492. The inventories are useful primarily for reconstructing the interior and for showing how it was adapted to the housing of two households. As for the original built-in fittings, the inventories indicate that there were benches around the walls and fireplaces and *acquai* in the *sala* on the ground floor and the *piano nobile*.¹³⁰ Unfortunately these, as well as most of the corbels on the ground floor and many of the vaults are gone; vaults with corbels remain only in room [10] (fig. 15) and in the space just inside the portal. Like the *altana*'s capitals, both sets are good — if not remarkable — examples of designs common in the 1450s. One more corbel, with the *altana* capitals now in the garden of the owners (Fig. 16), is likely to come from the palace, perhaps from the *camera della loggia*.¹³¹

We can bring aspects of the palace to life by commenting further on the plan. The main staircase gave easy access to the *sala*, and the suite of *sala*, *camera*, and *anticamera*, spread along the front of the main floor. The *sala* was a beautifully proportioned room, with a coffered ceiling¹³², three windows and a spectacular view of the river and its bridges, the Oltrarno, and the hills crowning the city, making Hoogworst's decision to build the balcony understandable. Interior and exterior designs are coordinated, so that the windows are perfectly centered in the three rooms of the suite. The fireplace and the *acquaio* in the *sala* would have been in the north and east walls, because most of the west wall straddles the space of the entrance hall below.¹³³ The wide hallway provided circulation through the center of the building; it had no direct light, but at the northern end was a terrace over the garden *loggia*. Sharing this space in front of the kitchen [13] on the *piano nobile* was the "saletta" [16], called the "salotto da verno" by Bongianni in 1474 and in the division of 1491 (Docs. 15 and 21); Bongianni built it, perhaps on a terrace such as still exists above the garden *loggia* of the Medici Palace. This room, right next to the kitchen, probably functioned as the less formal eating room, just as Bulst found in regard to the "saletta" at the Medici Palace.¹³⁴

The very large room north of the *camera* [19], with doorways not only at the north, but from the *sala* and probably once from the *camera* as well, is directly above the *sala* of the ground floor. The three inventories (Docs. 19, 22, 23) used together invite the interpretation that this room, first

called the *camera della stufa* and then the *camera di mezzo*, was the residence of the female head of family. In Doc. 22 the bed and four *cassoni* considered to belong to Gherardo's wife were in the *camera di mezzo* (see fols. 3-3v); in Doc. 19, Bongianni's widow ("Madonna," stepmother to the two heirs) seems already installed in the rooms [22, 23] on the third floor above the *camera della stufa* to suggest a vertical continuity in this area. The possibility that this room was specially associated with women is of great interest, and perhaps it can be related to a recommendation by Alberti, that husband and wife have separate bedrooms.¹³⁵ (Although I do not know of other certain instances in Florentine practice this early, there are important rooms on the *piano nobile* of — for example — the Boni-Antinori, the Pazzi and the Strozzi Palaces that may well have been women's quarters.) Equally tantalizing is the possibility raised by the presence in the ground-floor room [9] to the right of the main portal of items belonging to Bongianni's widow and children: either in this room or the *camera della stufa/di mezzo* must have been where the new mothers of the many Gianfigliuzzi children received the visits so amply documented in Jacqueline Musacchio's book about rituals of childbirth.¹³⁶

Throughout the palace, the principle of giving the heights of rooms a sensible proportion to the horizontal dimensions resulted in the creation of numerous mezzanines, especially because the ground floor here was exceptionally tall. There were half-levels in the eastern strip and in most of the service rooms. Jacopo Gianfigliuzzi's will of 1534 (Doc. 25) makes clear that the *anticamera* of the ground-floor suite was on a different level from the other two rooms [6, 7, 8]. This room is not specifically mentioned in the division, but in the inventory of 1485 it was "above said camera"; given the present height of the room on the street, we should not take the words regarding the location literally, and we can infer that the *anticamera* lay above the entrance from the *lungarno* to the service court and was reached by a small stair that is still shown on the Bonaparte plan of the ground floor (Fig. 18).¹³⁷ This space with its two cross vaults, directly below the *anticamera* of the main suite on the *piano nobile*, may not have changed much since the fifteenth century, and the half level above the *piano nobile's anticamera* probably is part of the fifteenth-century palace as well.¹³⁸ The stairs from the service entrance to the lowest *anticamera* may once have continued up to the *piano nobile*, in the area north of the *anticamera* projecting over the service court; if so, they would have provided a discrete alternative to the principal staircase, again as Bulst has suggested for the Medici Palace.¹³⁹ Similar stairs are found at the Pazzi and Strozzi Palaces.

We cannot leave the interior of the palace without commenting on what the documents tell us about other small rooms. The *scrittoio* [26] half way up the stairs was announced with a painting of the Annunciation above the door and it had a window fitted out with glass that received light from the court (Doc. 23). Docs. 19 and 23 both mention another *scrittoio* in the "camera principale" on the ground floor to the right of the entrance [9], and also an *anticamera* in connection with this room; perhaps these were fit into the two levels of the space at the far east of the palace. Similarly, the *anticamera* in the ground-floor room towards the court [10] (see Doc. 23, note 13) may have been in the northern half of this narrow space, under the main *scrittoio* [26]. At the end of Doc. 23 are listed the contents of a third *scrittoio*, probably a piece of furniture in the *camera* [24] of the main suite upstairs. Here Gherardo had kept some financial papers, but in general no business books appear in the inventories of the *scrittoi*, only literature and precious objects. Again, there are parallels at the Medici Palace.¹⁴⁰

Even though the plans of these two palaces are entirely different, we have seen similarities in many of the elements, as well as in the relationships among these elements. In some respects the data we have about the Gianfigliuzzi Palace are earlier and more detailed than for the Medici. This is true especially for the service area. We can only wonder if the analogies are due to direct influence, to common life styles, or even to the involvement of the same architect.¹⁴¹ Much more work needs to be done on palace interiors for answers to these questions, but as we continue to explore these buildings, the inventiveness and elegance of the planning becomes increasingly evident.

The dispute with Santa Trinita and the sixteenth-century drawings

During the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, various conflicts with neighbors give vivid glimpses of attempts to usurp space and walls in the area around the Gianfigliuzzi Palace. Besides the quarrel between the owners of the two properties at the corner (Docs. 27-29 and p. 70 above) we can identify three more arguments regarding the palace itself. In the final year of his life, 1484, when Bongianni was building near the common wall that divided him from one of his Gaetani neighbors, in the northwestern part of his service area, he overstepped the property line but was permitted to compensate by making a small payment. Doc. 18 goes on to relate how his brother Gherardo, in 1460, had taken over an alley that belonged to the same man, who had not pressed his case and was told now to accept his loss. Later, and earlier as well, the Gianfigliuzzi themselves had to defend the perimeters of the garden. They owned another unused alley between the garden and the houses on the lungarno east of the palace; first the Cerbini and then the Giandonati destroyed portions of this alley's south wall, building out into the space that remained, and they were stopped when they tried to open windows onto the palace garden (Docs. 15 and 24).

Some of the most revealing material available about the palace and the area around it is linked to the controversy between Jacopo di Bongianni di Jacopo di Bongianni (1543-1611) and Santa Trinita. In the 1580s the monastery was buying up property in the block, gaining possession in November 1583 and May 1584 of the two houses which lay in the southwestern corner, on the piazza, and which in 1427 had belonged to Giannozzo di Stoldo Gianfigliuzzi.¹⁴² Between those two houses and the palace lay the large and complex holding that was part of the donation by the comune to messer Piero Gaetani in 1406 (Doc. 1).¹⁴³ Jacopo Gianfigliuzzi bought it for 2000 florins in March 1585. His purpose must have been to block the monks, or at least to give them a reason to negotiate with him about their expansion, but in the end he had to cede most of the property, and he lost the piazza as well.¹⁴⁴ Drawing 1 — depicting his own part of the palace, the Gaetani property flush with it on the southwest and meandering northward to the west of Santa Trinita's holdings to reach the via del Parione through a narrow passageway, and the church and monks' cells in the upper right — shows what he had when the lawsuit began (Figs. 23-24). At the bottom of the sheet is the lungarno, with the palace's *androne* near the right and to its left Jacopo's ground-floor *sala* and *camera* and the service court; north of the court is the service area, and to the right the service stairs, the *camera della loggia*, the *loggia* itself, the court/garden, and the entrance from the via Tornabuoni. The Gaetani property comprised all the spaces shown west of the service court, as well as those north of the palace and going towards the via del Parione; it was bounded on the east by a wall that continued the line of the back wall of the *loggia* and separated the Gaetani from an alley presumably coming in from the via del Parione that according to the inscription belonged jointly to the monks and Jacopo ("chiaso comune fra fratti e cavalliere").¹⁴⁵

The monks must have had designs on the Gaetani property and by January 1585 they had commenced negotiations with the owners¹⁴⁶, but then in March Jacopo managed to buy it in a "scritta privata."¹⁴⁷ In April, upon request of the monks¹⁴⁸, three *capomaestri* of the Parte Guelfa assessed rights to the outer walls in the southern part of the property — perhaps there was a preliminary agreement whereby Santa Trinita was to be permitted to buy the northern part — referring to a plan of Jacopo, probably Drawing 1 (Doc. 32). They ruled that the north-south walls on the piazza and on the western edge of the westernmost space, called "stala" in Drawing 3 (Fig. 26), belonged to Jacopo, and that the monks could rebuild the long common wall; this hardly satisfied them, and they took the case to the apostolic nuncio. Doc. 33 gives the sentence, still relatively favorable to Jacopo. The division on the west was to follow the line of the old wall between the Gaetani and Santa Trinita; the monks were to build a new wall here, and another at a right angle to it north of the Gaetani garden. In an undated draft of a letter written just after the

sentence was read, Jacopo pronounced himself reasonably content.¹⁴⁹ But the monks appealed and they won a more radical judgement around May 1587.¹⁵⁰ Two arbiters chosen to put it into effect permitted Jacopo to retain just the two rooms north of the *camera della loggia*, with the cellars below and everything above them, and the eastern part of the Gaetani garden south of his kitchen/stable wing; this space, eight *braccia* wide, would be separated from the monastery by a new wall built at joint expense. Jacopo was to receive 1700 florins to compensate for the remainder of the property. An undated report probably written shortly thereafter by Parte Guelfa personnel describes some of the negative results for Jacopo of the judgement (Doc. 35), mostly having to do with loss of light. The decision of 1587, then, resulted in the addition to the palace of the wing to the north, and of the strip on the west, which added a bay to the lungarno frontage. There is irony in the fact that Santa Trinita's new building facing the lungarno did not use all the area procured from Jacopo, as a lower construction corresponding roughly to the garden path shown on the drawings still separates the convent from the palace.

The final phase of the struggle between Jacopo Gianfigliuzzi and Santa Trinita involved the piazza. In June 1585 the monks had obtained an opinion by two *capomaestri* that because the wall that Jacopo owned on the piazza had no doors or windows, the presence of the piazza could make no difference to him¹⁵¹; however Grand Duke Francesco ruled that the piazza not be closed. In October 1589 the monks tried again, arguing that the piazza had been included in the sale of one of the two houses that Santa Trinita had bought recently from members of the Gianfigliuzzi family¹⁵², and that closing it could not damage the two private interests that bounded it, one of whom was Jacopo Gianfigliuzzi (Doc. 36). Given the right to protest by the Ufficiali dei Fiumi Jacopo penned a scathing response (Doc. 37). He emphasized the harm the monastery's construction activity had already done him by diminishing his light and air and he stated that extending the building into the piazza would increase such damage; he stressed that the piazza belonged to all the Gianfigliuzzi and that it should retain their name; and he closed by urging respect for history and the public good which he saw symbolized by the piazza, contrasting this to the greed of the monks. An auditor recommended that Jacopo's objections be denied on the basis of a new argument: that in ratifying the judgement of 1587 Jacopo had tacitly agreed to allow the monks to raise the dividing wall, so he could not now complain about losing light.¹⁵³ In June 1590 the new Grand Duke, Ferdinando, granted Santa Trinita's request.

All three drawings from the family papers in the Archivio dei Buonomini di San Martino must have been made between March 1585, when Jacopo acquired the Gaetani house, and the definitive judgement of 1587 that deprived him of all but the two parts adjacent to his property (Figs. 23-26). Drawing 1 likely represents an attempt to allow Jacopo to visualize the ground floor of the whole of his part of the palace and the way the new property related to it and to the monastery. Drawing 2 is a copy of the parts of Drawing 1 that show the Gianfigliuzzi and Gaetani properties, leaving out the church and monastery. Drawing 3, of the same area as in the southwest portion of Drawing 1, was made for a project by Jacopo to refashion at least a part of the new property. Drawings 1 and 3 have the same scale, the same hand labeled and gave measurements to many of the spaces, and the drawings were produced with the same technique, with the walls colored pink; the paper for Drawing 3, though, is much lighter in weight. Added to Drawing 1 are notes in another hand and darker ink that differentiate the spaces of the palace ("de' Gianfigliuzzi") from those that had belonged to the Gaetani; the comments in the second hand occasionally mention other particulars regarding the palace and the surrounding area, at, for instance, the doors of the *androne* and of the service court, or in the *camera* on the lungarno, where Alessandro Gianfigliuzzi is said to own the house above.¹⁵⁴ This second hand likely is that of Jacopo himself.¹⁵⁵

The drawings have lapses in scale. Drawing 1 was apparently started at the south, and it depicts Jacopo's portion of the palace reasonably well; the glaring error of showing a straight *androne*, without the unusual square introductory space, is probably a consequence both of the fact that

this entranceway belonged to the other part, and of conception of the plan in terms of measurements of the interior spaces: the dimensions given for the *camera terrena* and the *sala* to its north are correct in themselves, but the true relationship of the rooms — with the *camera* lying somewhat to the west of the *sala* — was overlooked. The depiction of the *loggia* perpendicular to the facade rather than at an angle, and with only three bays instead of four, must result from an oversight as well. While the draftsman seems to have proceeded methodically northward through the spaces of the Gaetani house, he rendered the church in only the most approximate terms. Thus, many elements — the number of piers, the transept, and the western chapels — diverge wildly from the plan today, not much changed since the sixteenth century; equally, there is no indication of the famous steps designed by Buontalenti in 1574. As a result of the way the drawing was generated, there is no sensible relationship between the upper right and the upper left: on the right we see the side entrance to the church and the door to the baker's at the corner of the via Tornabuoni and via del Parione, while on the left the via del Parione appears far above.

Drawing 2, derived from the first one, was also begun at the lower right. No attempt was made to show the church, and the palace court/garden was compressed so that indication could be given of the old Gianfigliuzzi Palace ("le case di Bertoldo Gianfigliuzzi"), the entry from via Tornabuoni, and the confraternity in the space between it and the church. At the left of the drawing, the properties between the Gaetani house and via Parioncino are squeezed together so as to fit on the sheet. The upper half of the drawing shows the "well and court towards via del Parione, formerly of the Gaetani," with rooms and a stair to the east, as in Drawing 1; but access to the street itself takes a very different configuration, again probably due as much to the dimensions of the sheets and the draftsman's exigencies as to real changes in plan. Both drawings indicate that the monks and the Gaetani shared an entrance court up here, with more detail given to the area in Drawing 2.

Drawing 3 seems to have served a special purpose. If we look first at the area in Drawing 1 near the lungarno we see it to be divided in two by a "viotolo" ("path" that the addendum which I presume to be Jacopo's tells us was paved) at the end of which is a stair; (the "cucina" and "stalla" "de' Gianfigliuzzi" are on the right.) In Drawing 3 the same area is depicted, with the rooms at the top of the stair shown as they are under the flap that obscures them in Drawing 1¹⁵⁶, but the drawing also shows the plan and elevation of a new structure, elucidated with the words: "fondo de la loggia che s' à fare" ("view of the loggia that is to be built.")¹⁵⁷ Correspondences with Doc. 32 suggest that the drawing dates from around April 1585: the wall supporting the overhanging roof of the stable to the west and the wall towards the piazza are differentiated graphically from the common walls; and the latter wall is given the measurement of 13 *braccia*. Comparison of Drawings 1 and 3 shows that the stair on line with the pathway from the lungarno would be retained and the wall to be built near its foot would leave a passageway open so one could get to the western stable. The garden on the right would be extended to the new wall. On the left, the low wall of the piazza would be kept, but then a *loggia* of three levels, reaching the new wall at the foot of the stairs and open towards the Gianfigliuzzi but with a solid wall towards the monastery, would be built. One must wonder if this really was a serious proposal. The elevation of the *loggia* is crude and the plan does not show careful thinking either, for example, it gives no means of access to the upper floors of the *loggia*; and the *loggia* is very high.¹⁵⁸ For these reasons, I think that the drawing was connected with a bluff by Jacopo in an attempt to preserve light and air around this part of the palace.

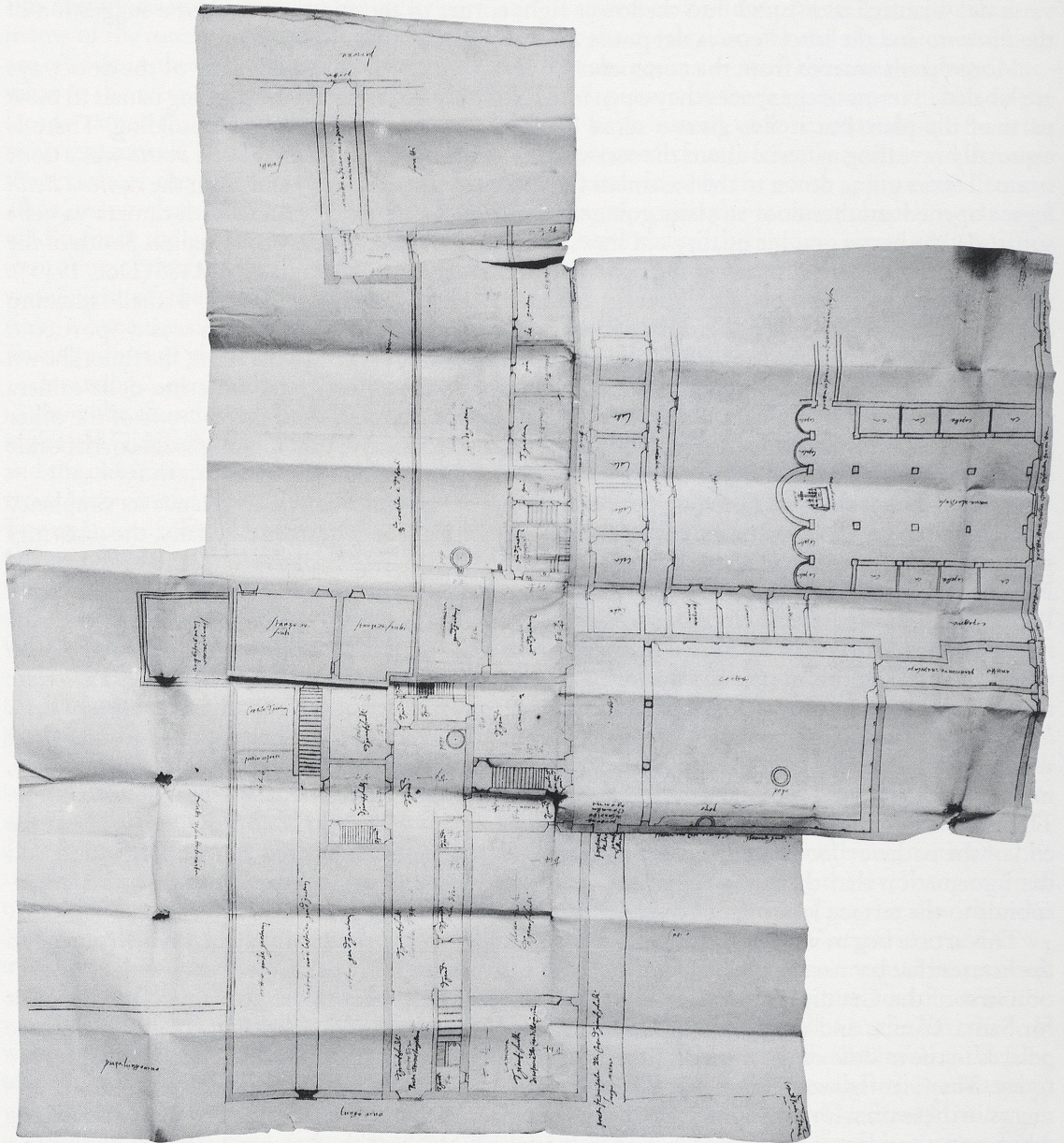
In addition to allowing us to visualize some of the issues in the dispute with Santa Trinita, the drawings give precious information about the names of spaces in the palace, and as we have seen, they can be coordinated reasonably well with the earlier documentation. The notes on Drawing 1 occasionally give particulars; for instance, they identify the main door of the palace as a whole, even though Jacopo did not use this door ("porta principale della casa de' Gianfigliuzzi lungo Arno"); they indicate the entry to the service stair, which was Jacopo's main staircase ("scala che

va su de' Gianfigliuzzi"); and into the lower right corner of the sheet is sketched a suggestion of the *biscanto* and the label "coscia del ponte a Santa Trinita."

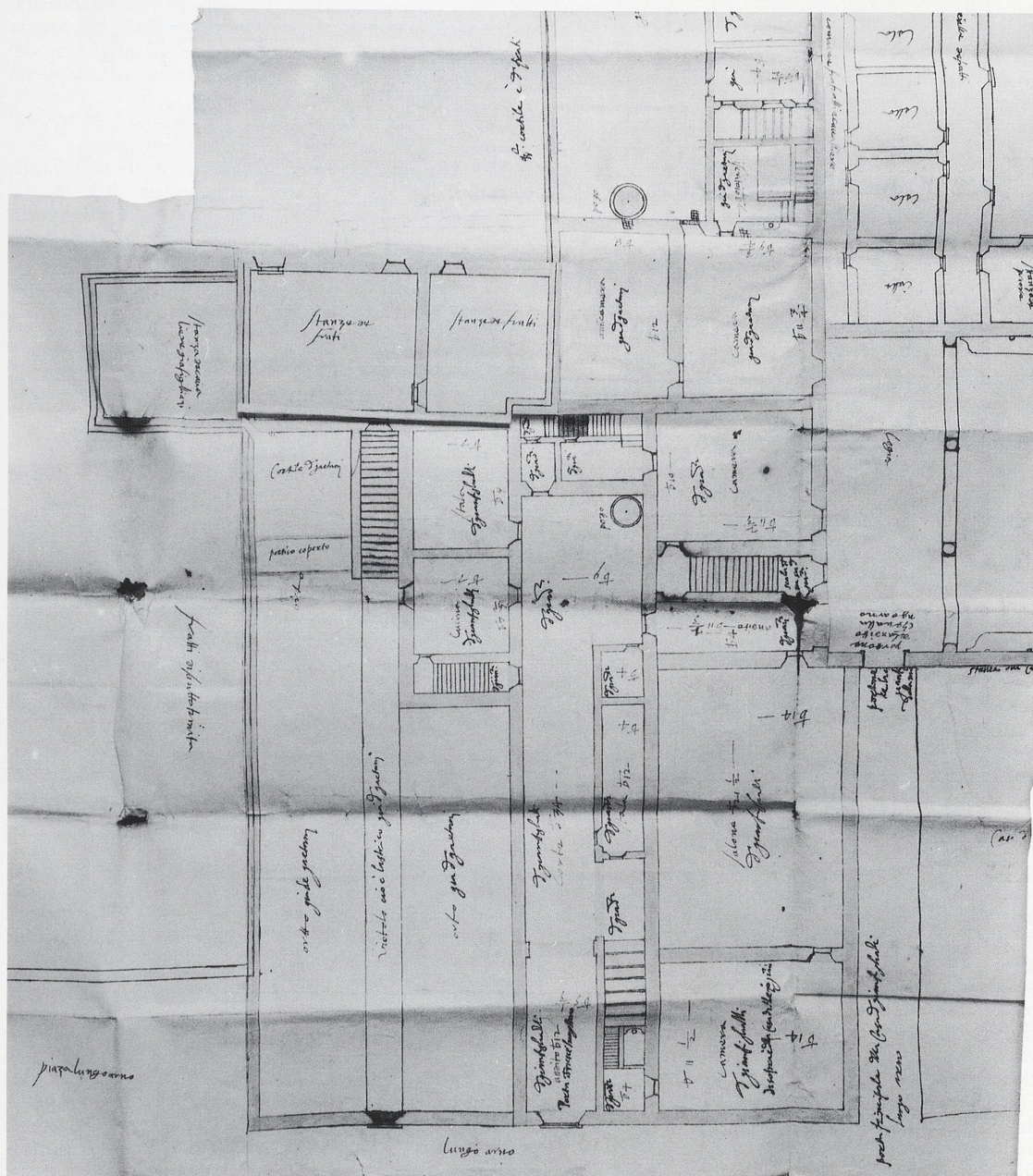
More details emerge from the comments on Drawing 2. For example, many of the doorways are labeled in terms of the spaces they open into. Not only does this aid us in giving names to most parts of the plan, but it also gives a sense for how one moved through the building. There is especially revealing material about the service area: at the north of the *corte delle bestie* was a door to small stairs going down to the basement ("uscio che va in cantina,") and from the *camera della loggia* opened another door to stairs going up to a mezzanine area ("uscio che di camera va nelle soffitte"); the better graphic quality of Drawing 1 makes these stairs easy to visualize. South of the kitchen were more stairs surely going up to the quarters for male servants, as in 1485 (Doc. 19 [3]). A narrow stable lay on the east of the *corte delle bestie*, and Drawing 2 designates a small "stanzino delle fante" to its north. To the right of Jacopo's entrance from the *lungarno* was a "portico o ricetto della scala che va in cantina delle legne". In this same area, just to the right, the toilet shown on Drawing 1 is associated verbally with the *camera terrena*: "uscio del camerino della camera grande di verso Arno." Finally, note is made of the bolted door between the *androne* of the other part of the palace and Jacopo's *loggia*: "uscio che sta serrato che è di casa Gianfigliuzzi corrisponde in su la loggia."

Also of interest is what Drawing 1 reveals about the early monastery, in essence its simplicity and small size, so that the contrast with the new establishment is dramatic. Finally, the drawings present the strange arrangement of the Gaetani house. Spreading from the *lungarno* to the *via del Parione*, it had entrances from both streets, a long rectangular court somewhat south of *via del Parione*, and a large garden close to the *lungarno*. Along the side of the northern court, with the fine well referred to in Docs. 33 and 35, was a series of utilitarian spaces (a walled court, a chicken coop, a stable) and then a stairway arranged around a rectangular light well. Under the stairs were a *scrittoio* and a toilet, and a door opened to a *camera*, just north of the Gianfigliuzzi *camera della loggia*. The main living area must have been here in the center of the block. On the ground floor was an *anticamera* west of the *camera*, and on the floor above was probably a suite of four rooms, including the *sala* and *camera* above the two "stanze de' frati" located to the west of the *anticamera*. These rooms on the *primo piano* were accessible also from the *lungarno*, for the short stair at the end of the pathway from the street led directly up to the suite. The comments on Drawing 2 add the information that there was a *verone*, on the *primo piano* or perhaps above, and this corresponds to the terrace looking out over the *lungarno* mentioned in Doc. 33.

This article began with an examination of the *lungarno* and the relatively inchoate frontage of the houses that lay near it; we have watched the area assume more calculated form with construction first of the Gianfigliuzzi Palace, then the palace at the corner of *via Tornabuoni*, the project for Santa Trinita, and the palace in the center of the block; the modifications made at all three palaces in the middle of the nineteenth century brought the *lungarno* close to the state that we see today. The Gianfigliuzzi Palace was our focus, and indeed it and its inhabitants were leading elements in these transformations. Much about the palace itself becomes clearer and more interesting when one considers it in relationship with the whole block of the *lungarno Corsini* and over a period of several centuries: the exterior is specially suited to the site, the interior is a fascinating combination of old and new walls reconfigured into a sumptuous residence. The palace was never a static entity: pressures within the family and from neighbors resulted in continuous changes, many of which we have been able to document.



23-24 ABSM, Processi 1580-1585. Drawing 1, 1585, March or April. Ground plan of the western portion of the Gianfigliuzzi Palace, Santa Trinita, and the house which Jacopo Gianfigliuzzi bought in March 1585 from the Gaetani. Four pieces of paper (about 84 by 88 cm; ink on heavy paper, with the walls tinted pink, and the stairs and doorways a light brown/ochre). The notations are in two hands: a cruder one — that also wrote all the measurements in lighter ink and slightly larger letters — perhaps the hand of the draftsman; and a second hand, more cursive, probably Jacopo Gianfigliuzzi's. Some of the writing was done before the separate sheets were pasted down, so that some bits are obscured. The drawing shows at the right the palace *loggia* and garden, the church and monastery to the north, and the "old" palace to the east. To the west is the rest of the Gianfigliuzzi Palace and then further west and going north to the via del Parione is the Gaetani property. I have transcribed the writing starting at the top, going down from left to right in bands:



Parione, portta, fratti, anditto che vane in Parione comune, fratti, br. 7 ³/₄, anditto lungo br. [15] che vane in Parione, corte comune, br. 9 ³/₄, br. 7 ¹/₂
fratti, corte br. 46 ¹/₂, già de' Gaetani, br. 11 ¹/₄, corte br. 15, già de' Gaetani, già de' Gaetani, polao br. 5, istala br. 7 ¹/₂, br. 4, br. 7 ¹/₂, chiaso comune fra fratti e cavaliere, cella, cella, cella, cella, anditto dele celle de' fratti, fratti, portta in Parione che vane in chiesa, capela, capela, coro, altare grande, *cappella, cappella*, capelle, *cappella*, nave dela chiesa, porta de' fornaio, portte ttre della chiesa di Santa Trinita
già de' Gaetani, cella, cella, fratti, [questo] cortile è de' frati, pozo, già de' Gaetani, iscritioio br. 6, cella, capella, capella, *cappella, cappella*, capelle, *cappella*

stanza de' cavaliere Gianfigliuzzi, stanza de' frati, stanza de' fratti¹, anticamera, già de' Gaetani, br. 8, br. 12, camera, già de' Gaetani, br. 9 ³/₄, br. 11 ³/₄, cella, stanza de' priore, camera, anticamera, compagnia, portta alla compagnia cortile de' Gaetani, portico coperto, br. 7, stala, de' Gianfigliuzzi, br. 9, de' Gianfigliuzzi, de' Gianfigliuzzi, de' Gianfigliuzzi, pozo, br. 10, de' Gianfigliuzzi, camera, br. 11 ²/₃, logia, cortte, anditto per andare ine palazo, portta de' cavaliere

fratti di Santta Trinita, orto, cucina, de' Gianfigliuzzi, br. 7, br. 7 ²/₃, de' Gianfigliuzzi, br. 9, andito br. 11 ¹/₃, de' Gianfigliuzzi, br. 4, scala che va su de' Gianfigliuzzi, porttone del'anditto che va llungoarno, pozo, pozo orto già de' Gaetani, viotolo cioè lastrico già de' Gaetani, de' Gianfigliuzzi, orto già de' Gaetani, de' Gianfigliuzzi, corte br. 34, de' Gianfigliuzzi, br. 4, br. 4, de' Gianfigliuzzi, stala br. 12, de' Gianfigliuzzi, salone br. 21 ¹/₂, de' Gianfigliuzzi, br. 14, porttone de la [casa Gianfigliuzzi dalla me]³, stanza della casa di Alexandro Gianfigliuzzi⁴, stanza [dell] di⁵ Gherardo Gianfigliuzzi, de' Gianfigliuzzi, br. 14, casa d []⁶ piazza lungo arno, lungo arno, de' Gianfigliuzzi, andito br. 12, porta che riesce lungo Arno, br. 5 ¹/₃, de' Gianfigliuzzi, br. 4, br. 11 ¹/₂, camera, de' Gianfigliuzzi, di sopra è della casa di Alexandro Gianfigliuzzi, br. 14, porta principale della casa de' Gianfigliuzzi lungo Arno, coscia del ponte a Santa Trinita

¹ These two rooms are shown on a separate piece of paper that has been hinged over a depiction of stairs, a hallway and two rooms, labeled thus: "andito, camera, sala." Scratched out in the *camera* is "sotto la camera è de' frati." Scratched out in the *sala* is "sotto detta sala è de' frati et disopra già de' Gaetani." In the right of this same space is an illegible cancellation.

² Corrected from "²/₃."

³ Text obscured by sheet pasted over part of it.

⁴ The text is partially obscured by the joining of the sheets.

⁵ Again, some of the writing is covered.

⁶ Here the writing fades out.

25 ABSM, Processi 1580-1585. Drawing 2, 1585, March or April? Ground plan of the western portion of the Gianfigliuzzi Palace and the Gaetani house; derived from Drawing 1. Heavy paper about 78 x 48.5 cm, black chalk. The writing, in ink, is all in one hand, the same one which made additions to Drawing 1; because of the use of the first person I believe it to be Jacopo Gianfigliuzzi's himself. The transcription goes from left to right, in bands down the sheet:

de' padri fino alla via di Parione, via di Parione, uscio a comune con i padri, uscio de' padri, de' padri, via di Parione, portichino già della casa de' Gaetani fatto di nuovo, sotto il verone già de' Gaetani, pozzo et cortile di verso Parione che già fu de' Gaetani, via di Parione, de' padri, muro ché vi è uno chiasso in mezzo, già de' Gaetani, una stanza scoperta già de' Gaetani, una stanza già de' Gaetani, una stalla già de' Gaetani, una stanza già de' Gaetani, uscio che va su nelle stanze già de' Gaetani, già de' Gaetani, uscio della camerina già de' Gaetani, de' padri, de' padri

loggetta de' padri, verone già de' Gaetani alto¹, de' padri, compagnia di Santa Trinita

anditino che va nella stalletta già de' Gaetani, numero 1, numero 2, stanze da basso de' padri senza lume. Le stanze di sopra le dette sono mia cioè² già de' Gaetani, anticamera già de' Gaetani, camera già de' Gaetani, l'uscio di la³ camera risponde in su la mia loggia, loggia, cortile, l'andito di Santa Trinita

de' padri, de' padri, mezzo il muro è della casa che fu già de' Gaetani, uscio della corticina già de' Gaetani, portico già della casa de' Gaetani, uscio della stalla, uscio che va in cantina, uscio che di camera va nelle soffitte, pozzo nella corticina, uscio della camera della loggia, loggia, cortile, le case di Bertoldo Gianfigliuzzi

scala che va in casa già de' Gaetani, uscio di cucina, uscio et scala che va in camera de' [servitori], corticina, uscio che va nella corticina, stanzino delle fantte, scala che va su, andito, uscio che va in sala, uscio che va su, uscio che va su per la scala, uscio che va nel anditino

chiassuolo o via che corrisponde in su la piazzuola di lungo Arno et va in Parione, piazzuola lungo Arno de' Gianfigliuzzi, facciata del⁴, padri, de' padri, tutto questo muro è della casa già de' Gaetani, mezo questo muro è della casa già de' Gaetani, cortile già della casa de' Gaetani, uscio et andito per il cortile⁵ della casa già de' Gaetani, uscio mio di lungo Arno et corticina, portico o ricetta della scala che va in cantina delle legne, l'uscio della stalletta, stalletta che è in su la corticina, uscio del camerino della camera grande di verso Arno, uscio di sala, uscio che va in camera, uscio che sta serrato che è di casa Gianfigliuzzi corrisponde in su la loggia, porta di lungo Arno della casa de' Gianfigliuzzi, casa de' Gianfigliuzzi, casa de' Gianfigliuzzi, casa de' Gianfigliuzzi via di lungo Arno, via di lungo Arno, via di lungo Arno

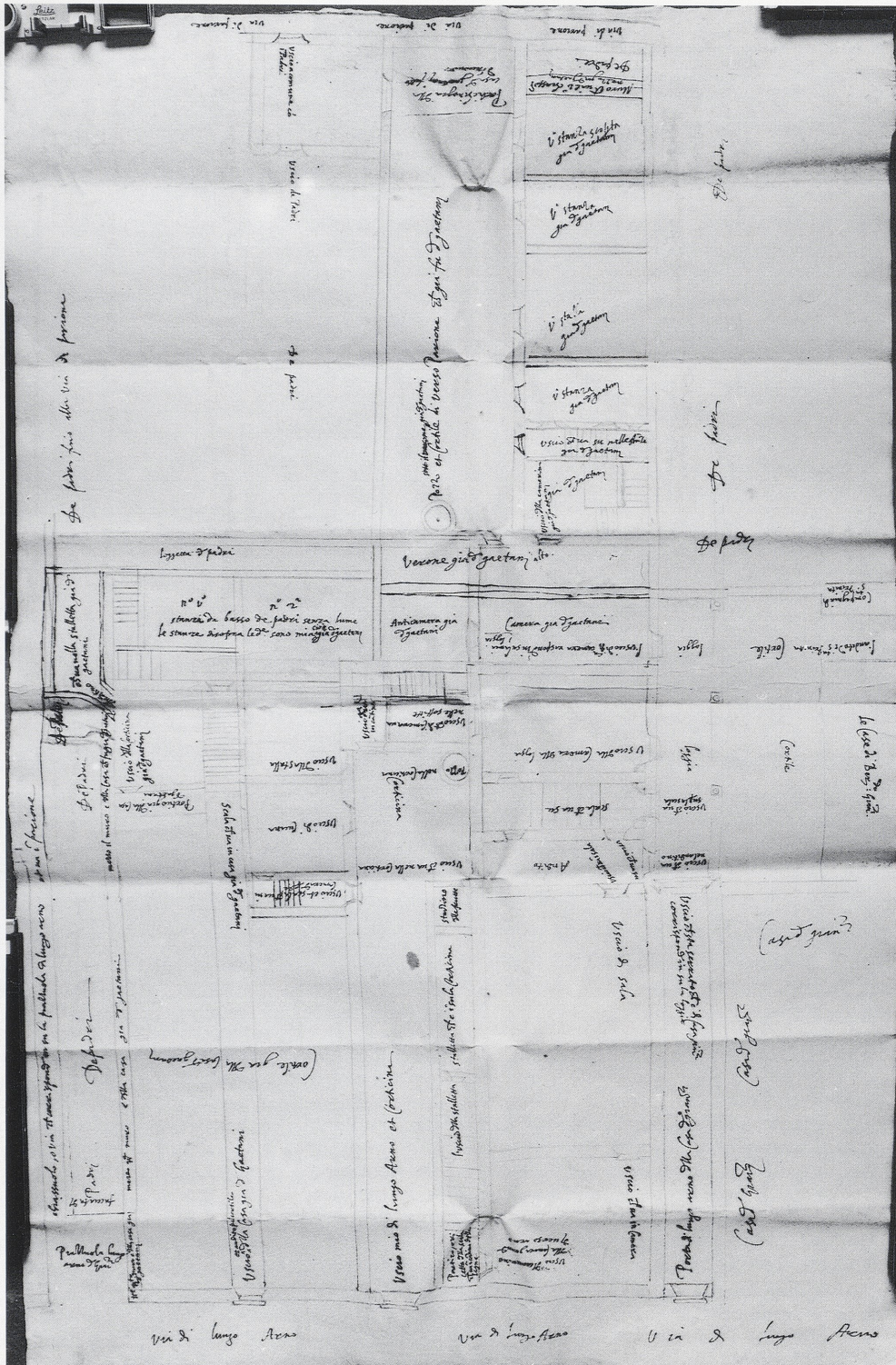
¹Last word added later.

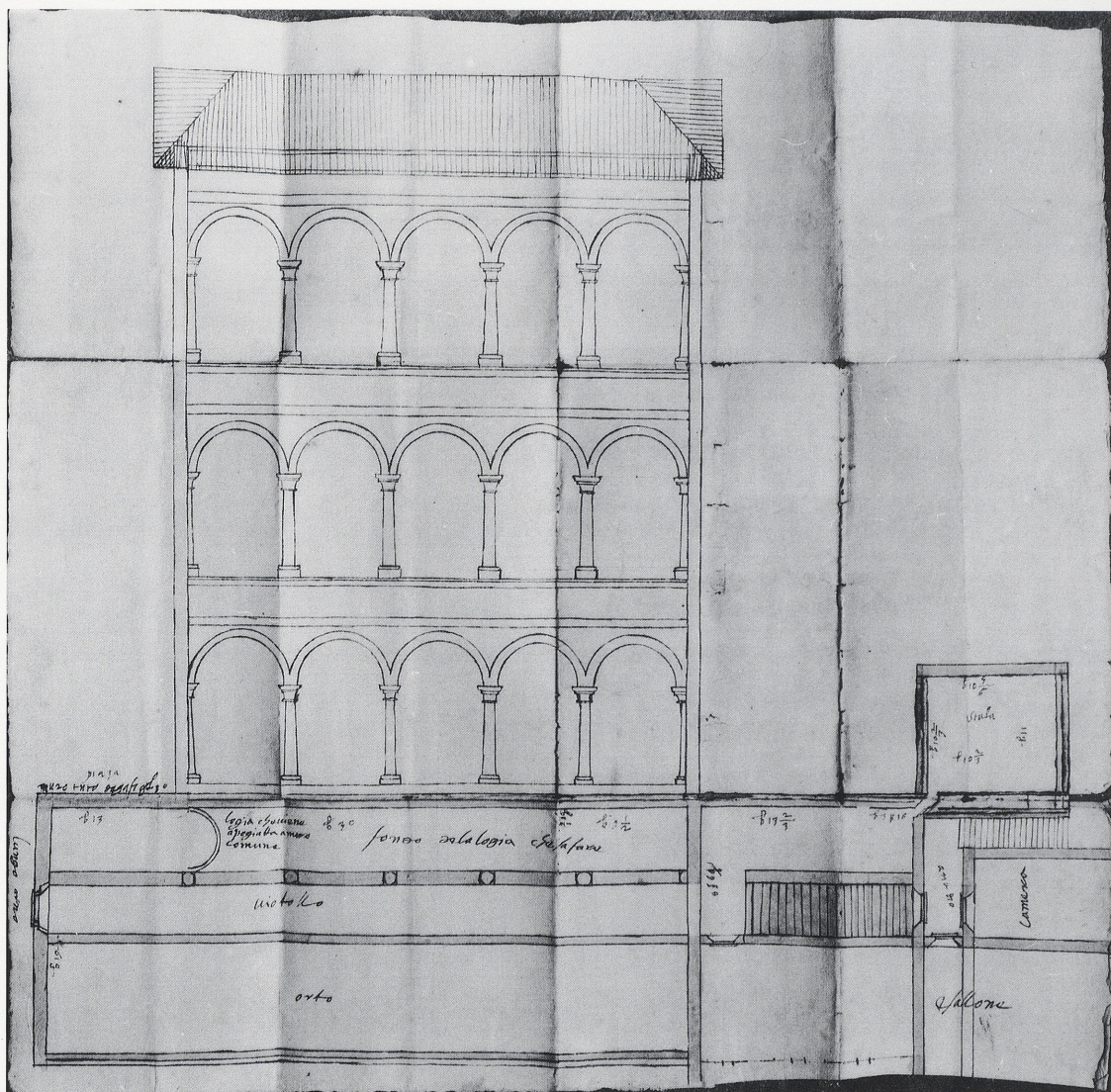
²Cioè² inserted above line.

³la³ inserted above line.

⁴There is no noun following this preposition.

⁵Et andito per il cortile⁵ inserted above line.





26 ABSM, Processi 1580-1585. Drawing 3 of 1585, April or May. Project for a *loggia* to be built along the western side of the house Jacopo Gianfigliuzzi bought from the Gaetani in 1585. The paper (41.5 x 43 cm.) is lighter in weight than that of Drawing 1, while the ink and technique are similar; the writing is that of the first hand on Drawing 1. Derived from part of Drawing 1, this drawing shows the southern part of the Gaetani property with the same entrance from the lungarno, pathway, garden, stairs and stable; to the right of the stairs are the two rooms and hallway that lay at the head of the stairs, initially also depicted in Drawing 1 and then covered over with a flap with a different configuration to show the ground floor rooms, that here belonged to the monks. The transcription proceeds from left to right, in bands going down the sheet:

piazza, muro tuto de' Gianfiglazo, braccia $10 \frac{2}{3}$, stala, braccia $10 \frac{2}{3}$, braccia 11, braccia $10 \frac{2}{3}$, braccia 13, loggia che viene apoggiata a' muro comune, braccia 30, fondo dela loggia che s'ha fare, braccia $9 \frac{1}{8}$, braccia $9 \frac{1}{2}$, braccia $13 \frac{2}{3}$, braccia 3 soldi 16
lungo Arno, viotollo, braccia 9 soldi 8, anadio (= andito), camera
braccia $19 \frac{1}{8}$, orto, e sallone

NOTES

- ¹ *Ginori Lisci*, *Palazzi*, II, p. 804 for the document, I, pp. 141-146 for a general treatment. Throughout this article I shall use the modern style for dates, adding a year to the documents that were written during the three-month period before 25 March when, according to the Florentine style, the new year had not yet begun. Documents in the ASF are referred to directly; references to the Gianfigliuzzi papers in the Archivio dei Buonomini di San Martino are preceded by ABSM. Francesca Klein brought Bongianni Gianfigliuzzi's "Libro di ricordi" to the attention of scholars at the Annual Meeting of the Renaissance Society of America in 2001, as kindly reported to me by Alison Brown; see *Vanna Arrighi/Francesca Klein*, *Da mercante avventuriero a confidente dello stato: profilo di Bongianni Gianfigliuzzi attraverso le sue Ricordanze*, in: *Arch. Storico Italiano*, CLXI, 2003, pp. 53-79. The book is ABSM, Gianf. 2.1.0.1, and I shall refer to it as ABSM, Lib. ric. In transcriptions of documents, questionable passages are enclosed in square brackets and clarificatory additions are given in italics. In addition to the many people acknowledged individually in the notes of this article, I wish also to extend thanks to Franco Bianchi, Maria Ilaria Maestrelli, Maria Luisa Maestrelli, Maria Famiani, Maria Elena Gambino, Ralph Lieberman, the Buonomini di San Martino, and the Consorzio Vino Chianti.
- ² For further images see *Marco Chiarini/Alessandro Marabottini* (eds.), *Firenze e la sua immagine*, exh. cat. Florence, Venice 1994, nos. 96 and 100, and another painting by Thomas Patch in the Museo di Firenze com'era (Alinari 64627).
- ³ The plan, from the filza in ABSM, "Decimarii ..." (Gianf. 1.2.0.2), inserto "Piante degli effetti di Casa Gianfigliuzzi", was first published in *Ginori Lisci*, *Palazzi*, I, p. 138.
- ⁴ See *Caroline Elam/Brenda Preyer*, *From 'utilitas' to 'amoenitas': the re-evaluation of the riverfront in Renaissance Florence* (forthcoming).
- ⁵ *Franek Sznura*, *L'espansione urbana di Firenze nel Dugento*, Florence 1975, pp. 86-88. See also *Giovanna Balzanetti Steiner*, *Tra città e fiume. I lungarni di Firenze*, Florence 1989, pp. 30-35.
- ⁶ "cum parte curie cum pergula et portico positus et existentibus ante dictam domum" (Not. Antecos. 14943 [Nofri Nenni], fol. 47v).
- ⁷ "Que omnia terrena predicta veniunt et venire debent versus Arnum et viam predictam quomodo et prout trahit recta linea mensurando a pilastro anteriori palatii de Spinis et descendendo ad angulum domus heredum et seu successorum domini Ruberti de Gianfigliazzis" (Doc. 3, fol. 217-217v); this house can be identified with the first one that was described in a will of 1411 (Doc. 2, fol. 59v).
- ⁸ The plot, to be sold to messer Nicolaio di Piero Gianfigliuzzi and his nephew Piero di Amari, is described thus in Doc. 3, fol. 217: "unum peccium terre quod solitum est via, positum in populo Sancte Trinitatis de Florentia super angulo sive chanto sive iusta cantum vie per quam itur a ponte Sancte Trinitatis ad pontem Carrarie, quod terrenum est brachiorum settingentorum trium mensurando a muricciolis domus dicti domini Nicholai et Pieri eius nepotis eundo versus Arnum, cui tereno a primo via dalla piazza et mensuratur et mensurari debet recta linea prout trahit palatium domini Rinaldi et domus dicti domini Nicolai eundo versus Arnum, a II domus dicti domini Nicolai et Pieri, a III chiassolinus per quod itur ad domum domini Rinaldi usque videlicet ad angulum dicti chiassolini mensurando recta linea prout trahit murum dicti chiassolini eundo versus Arnum et usque ad per totam rectitudinem dicti muri, a IIII via di lungo Arno; et quod terenum est amplitudinis et conceditur prout trahunt domus dicti domini Nicolai et Pieri ..."
- ⁹ "cortile e muraglia dinanzi a detta chasa": Catasto, vol. 297, fol. 186.
- ¹⁰ ABSM, filza entitled "Processi dal 1707 al 1736", inserto "1716. Processo nella causa tra il soppresso Uffizio delle Decime, e Ginevra del Rosso per conto di una decima duplicata di certa casetta, e della nuova addecimazione della quarta parte del Palazzo Gianfigliuzzi" (Gianf. 1.5.0.9). The land in front of the alley is the last item mentioned in Doc. 3.
- ¹¹ See below, p. 70, Docs. 27-29, and the simplified family tree.
- ¹² "certo terreno dinanzi a detta chasa choncedutomi per gli Ufficiali della Torre de' Chomune di Firenze": Catasto, vol. 41, fol. 636, in the report by Ruberto di Tommaso Gianfigliuzzi. The property belonged to Tommaso di messer Ruberto according to Doc. 3, and it was described as two houses in Tommaso's will of the same year (Doc. 2, fol. 61v).
- ¹³ Doc. 3 mentions here monna Francesca, calling her the widow of Rosso Gianfigliuzzi, but she must have been married to Gherardo di Rosso and later to Domenico Soderini; this conclusion is pieced together from the following evidence: Francesca di Niccolò Dini is given as Gherardo's wife on the family tree in *Carte Pucci*, Gianfigliuzzi; in *Diplomatico*, Santa Croce, 1401, 5 Nov. a woman of the same name was now married to Domenico Soderini and was settling with Gherardo's heirs about a legacy. In 1427 the house was listed in the Catasto records by Soderino di Domenico Soderini (Catasto, vol. 26, fol. 870v); by 1447 it had gone to the doctor maestro Antonio della Pergola, who some time after 1458 sold it to Carlo de' Medici. In 1469 Bongianni

- reported his purchase and mentioned that Carlo had bought the house from maestro Antonio (vol. 917, fol. 160); the short document recording the sale to Bongiani is in Not. Antecos. 21064 (Nastagio Vespucci), fol. 247.
- 14 Catasto, vol. 1009, fol. 162.
 - 15 Catasto, vol. 620, fol. 306v.
 - 16 Not. Antecos. 17383 (Piero Pucetti), fols. 464-465v.
 - 17 The genealogical sources do not trace the relationships clearly, but they are spelled out in the record of Bongiani's matriculation into the Silk Guild in 1448: "Bongiannes olim Johannis alias Bongiani quondam alterius Johannis Rossi de Gianfigliazis, ritalliator, populi Sancte Marie supra Arnum ..." (Arte della Seta, vol. 8, fol. 29, a reference I owe to Doris Carl). Diplomatico, Santa Trinita, 28 genn. 1365 (regarding funding for building the chapel in Santa Trinita) lays out the genealogy of the line descended from the first Giovanni di Rosso.
 - 18 Catasto, vol. 297, fols. 193v and 416; vol. 40, fol. 928v.
 - 19 A document drawn up to clarify the ownership refers to the sale, for 1400 florins (Not. Antecos. 9041 [Francesco Giacomini], fols. 19-21).
 - 20 Catasto, vol. 628, fol. 348 (for Borromei's heirs); vol. 669, no. 242, fol. 623 (for Canacci's declaration in 1447, in which he stated that he received the house through a sentence of June 1437 in the guild court [Mercanzia]).
 - 21 For Canacci, see BNCF, Poligrafo Gargani 468, fol. 135; Borromei's statement is in Catasto, vol. 389, fol. 655v.
 - 22 "disfatte": Catasto, vol. 41, fol. 423 and margin for 1447 in Monte Comune o delle Graticole, copie del Catasto, vol. 55, fol. 97v.
 - 23 "l'androne che va nel abacho": Catasto, vol. 297, fol. 186.
 - 24 This school was remembered in a manuscript that must date from the 1450s: "E, anchora, è alleghato Maestro Lucha il quale, al suo tenpo, tenne schuola lungh'Arno tra 'l ponte a Santa Trinita et il ponte alla Charraia, dove è oggi il muramento de' Teghiacci." *Gino Arrighi*, *La matematica a Firenze nel Rinascimento. Il Codice Ottoboniano Latino 3307 della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, in: *Physis*, X, 1968, pp. 81-82 (reference kindly shared by Elisabetta Ulivi). See also *Elisabetta Ulivi*, *Benedetto da Firenze (1429-1479) un maestro d'abaco del XV secolo*, in: *Boll. di Storia delle Scienze Matematiche*, XXII, 2002, pp. 3-243, 39-40, 47.
 - 25 Nuns, now of Sant'Agata gave assurances that they would sell their part of the property, including part of "unius apotece sive siti aut hedifitii cum androne, curia, orto et aliis hedifitiis soliti ad exercitium doctrine aurismi quod soletum erat vocari l'abacho del maestro Lucha, posite in populo Sancte Trinitatis de Florentia in loco dicto lungarno, cui a primo via, a II e III et IIII dicti Antonii, a V monasterii sive abbacie Sancte Trinitatis de Florentia, a VI heredum et subcessorum domini Raynaldi de Gianfigliazzis, a VII Cerbini legnaiuoli et aliis finibus ..." (Not. Antecos. 15130 [Niccolò di Francesco da Carmignano], fol. 2v).
 - 26 "messo nella habitazione sua": *postilla* in Monte Comune o delle Graticole, copie del Catasto, vol. 55, fol. 12v.
 - 27 The property was described thus: "Unam domum magnam cum curia ante et a latere, et orto, et cum casolari, quam ad presens inhabitat et possidet dictus Antonius venditor et eodem modo quam ipsam tenuit et tenet, omnia posita in populo Sancte Trinitatis loco dicto lungarno quibus omnibus a primo via lungarni, a II Cerbini legnaiuoli, a III Tomasii Laurentii Soderini, a IIII bona que olim fuerunt domini Raynaldi de Gianfigliazzis, a V ecclesie Sancte Trinitatis, a VI heredum Johannis domini Petri Ghatani infra predictos confines vel alios veriores etc." Canacci's reasons for this action are not clear. By 1451 he had bought for 245 florins and was living in a small house in the area where the Canacci Palace would be built late in the century, in the piazza di Parte Guelfa (Catasto, vol. 706, no. 247, fol. 508; vol. 813, no. 130, fol. 349). For the rise of the Canacci from artisans to palace builders, see *Richard A. Goldthwaite*, *The building of Renaissance Florence*, Baltimore/London 1980, pp. 281-282.
 - 28 *Giovanni di Pagolo Morelli, Ricordi*, ed. *Vittore Branca*, Florence 1969, p. 460.
 - 29 "certo terreno dinanzi a decta casa verso l'Arno quanto tiene la larghezza d'essa" (Catasto, vol. 40, fol. 956 [mod.]).
 - 30 The first mention of the piazza that I have seen dates from 1458, in the tax declaration of the heirs of Giovanni di messer Piero Gaetani: Catasto, vol. 814, no. 413, fol. 532.
 - 31 For their holdings in the city, see Monte Comune o delle Graticole, copie del Catasto, vol. 55, fol. 414.
 - 32 For remarks about private piazze, see *Caroline Elam*, *Piazza Strozzi*. Two drawings by Baccio d'Agnolo and the problems of a private Renaissance square, in: *I Tatti Studies*, I, 1985, pp. 105-135, 111-113.
 - 33 Doc. 32 and Drawing 3 (Fig. 26) give the depth as 13 *braccia*, while Docs. 36 and 38 give it as 15 *braccia*.
 - 34 In 1427 Giannozzo di Stoldo and his nephews described the relationship of their houses to the streets thus: "2 chase acozate insieme poste lungarno, che vi passa sotto il chiasso che va da lungarno in Parione ..." (Monte Comune o delle Graticole, copie del Catasto, vol. 55, fol. 414).
 - 35 We comment on the discrepancies between the woodcut "Chain View" and the situation described in this article *Elam/Preyer* (n. 4).

- 36 In 1442 the comune obligated funds to "redo, or repair," the paving in the half of the lungarno towards the river; presumably the residents were responsible for the portions in front of their own property and going out to the middle of the street (Capitani di Parte Guelfa, numeri rossi, vol. 105, fol. 76v, and Provvisioni Registri, vol. 133, fols. 252v-253).
- 37 The phrase used in Doc. 3 used to describe the "terra" — "quod solitum est via" — is misleading.
- 38 I am drawing an analogy with the paths *Elam* (n. 32), p. 114) has noted at the piazza Strozzi and, in conversation, at piazza San Marco.
- 39 Janet Smith's help, not only in measuring but in puzzling through the data regarding these properties, is much appreciated.
- 40 I divided the 703 square *braccia* in front of the corner property in 1411 (nos. 1372 and 1373 on fig. 6), by the width of the palace at the corner and the two-bayed house to the west, 21.9 m, or 37.5 *braccia*.
- 41 Monte Comune o delle Graticole, copie del Catasto, vol. 55, fol. 414; Catasto, vol. 813, no. 77, fol. 201; Catasto, vol. 918, no. 348, fol. 767 (fol. 186 mod.); Catasto, vol. 917, fol. 92v.
- 42 "uno biscanto posto in Firenze nel popolo di Santa Trinita dirimpetto alla muraglia nuova de' Giamfigliuzzi et casa di detto Luigi sulla coscia del ponte a Santa Trinita, per un verso di braccia 12 et per l'altro di braccia 14, non lastricato, confinato intorno dalle sponde d'Arno et dal lastrico della via lung'h'Arno comunis Florentie" (Not. Antecos. 2568 [Pierfrancesco Bertoldi], fol. 49v). See ahead, p. 70, for Luigi's new building.
- 43 Not. Antecos. 20094 (Benedetto Tempi), Busta 1, inserto 9, Jan. 30 1469/70, a document to which Crispin Bayley referred me.
- 44 *Nuova cronica* (ed. Giuseppe Porta), I, Parma 1990, p. 593.
- 45 The most extensive treatment is in the dissertation by Gottlieb Leinz, *Die Loggia Rucellai, ein Beitrag zur Typologie der Familienloggia*, dissertation Bonn 1977, pp. 494-498. The eighteenth-century elevation drawing and a plan from the same period (published in Gian Luigi Maffei, *La casa fiorentina nella storia della città dalle origini all'Ottocento*, Venice 1990, p. 144) indicate that the palace once had only three bays on the ground floor instead of the four visible today; the point is confirmed in Doc. 13. The drafted masonry that now spreads across the fourth opening with no evident building line thus changes the earlier appearance.
- 46 Clarence Kennedy, *Documenti inediti su Desiderio da Settignano e la sua famiglia*, in: Riv. d'Arte, XII, 1930, p. 270. The shop that Desiderio and his brothers rented was probably in the extension of the palace (see Alan Phipps Darr/Brenda Preyer, *Donatello, Desiderio da Settignano and his brothers and 'macigno' sculpture for a Boni palace in Florence*, in: Burl. Mag., CXLI, 1999, p. 729).
- 47 Dei lived in Bongianini Gianfigliuzzi's small house on the lungarno (Catasto, vol. 917, no. 73, fol. 160 and Doc. 14, fol. 117). He was the twin brother of the wordmonger Benedetto Dei. See for the family: Doris Carl, *Zur Goldschmiedefamilie Dei*, in: Flor. Mitt., XXVI, 1982, pp. 129-166, and for the ties between Bongianini and Miliano pp. 138-139.
- 48 I have commented on the implications in my article *Florentine palaces and memories of the past*, in Giovanni Chiappelli/Patricia Lee Rubin (eds.), *Art, memory, and family in Renaissance Florence*, Cambridge 2000, pp. 176-194, especially pp. 181-185.
- 49 They resemble most closely those in the Camera delle Arme of the Palazzo Vecchio.
- 50 For Dei, see Giuseppina Carla Romby, *Descrizioni e rappresentazioni della città di Firenze nel XV secolo*, Florence 1976, p. 58; *Benedetto Varchi, Storia fiorentina*, ed. Lelio Arbib, II, Florence 1838-1841, p. 106. Guido Carocci in: *Il Centro di Firenze, studi storici e ricordi artistici*, Florence 1900, p. 50 and Giovanni Fanelli, *Firenze. Architettura e città*, II, Florence 1973, p. 40 indicated that the *loggia* was under this palace. Adopting this position and giving the most detailed treatment of the question is Leinz (n. 45). Even though I am skeptical that the ground floor of the palace served as a family *loggia*, I cannot propose an alternative location.
- 51 *Prestanze*, vol. 156, fol. 34v.
- 52 Catasto, vol. 40, fol. 930.
- 53 Catasto, vol. 619, fols. 580-581v.
- 54 ABSM, Lib. ric., fols. 1 left-4 right. See also Michael E. Mallett, *The Florentine galleys in the fifteenth century*, Oxford 1967, pp. 73-74, 94, 163-165, 169.
- 55 Catasto, vol. 456, fols. 611-612 (for 1433), vol. 619, fols. 580-581v (for 1442); vol. 669, fol. 977 (for 1447).
- 56 For the matriculation, see above, n. 17; for the marriages see ABSM, Lib. ric., fols. 2 left and right; for living arrangements in 1458, see Catasto, vol. 813, fol. 270.
- 57 *Petra Pertici*, *La città magnificata. Interventi edilizi a Siena nel Rinascimento. L'Ufficio dell'Ornato (1428-1480)*, Siena 1995, p. 55 (a reference that I owe to Lawrence Jenkins).
- 58 The requirement that a candidate for citizenship commit substantial material resources to a residence in the city was normal. See Julius Kirschner, *Civitas Sibi Faciat Civem: Bartolus of Sassoferrato's doctrine on the making of a citizen*, in: *Speculum*, XLVIII, 1973, p. 695.
- 59 Not. Antecos. 1213 (Mariotto Baldesi), inserto "1412-1436," fols. 19 and 21v. For the practice of involving an

- authoritative citizen in marriage negotiations, see *Anthony Molho*, *Marriage alliance in Late Medieval Florence*, Cambridge, Mass./London 1994, pp. 181-185.
- 60 Not. Antecos. 1224 (Mariotto Baldesi), 8 January 1447/8 and 1225, 6 May 1451 and 17 August 1452.
- 61 This marriage, as well as to one in the next generation — Zeffira di Luigi Teghiacci to Andrea di messer Piero di messer Andrea de' Pazzi — are mentioned in BNCF, Poligrafico Gargani, 1991, fols. 111-112.
- 62 Not. Antecos. 16874 (Piero di Giovanni di Feo), 13 June 1426. Paula Clarke tells me that Teghiacci not only had business interests in Venice, but that he was living there around 1407.
- 63 G. Cecchini, *Il Castello delle Quattro Torri e i suoi proprietari*, in: *Bull. senese di storia patria*, LV, 1948, p. 18.
- 64 Not. Antecos. 1224 (Mariotto Baldesi), 21 November 1447; 1225, 19 June 1450 and 27 February 1453/4; Not. Antecos. 167 (Alberto di Alberto Guido di Rucco), fols. 543 and 568. The garden is evoked as a splendid theater for entertainment in *Giovanni Gherardi da Prato, Il Paradiso degli Alberti*, ed. A. Lanza, Rome 1975, pp. 169-170. For a sketch of Alberti housing and further comments about these palaces, see *Brenda Preyer*, *Il Palazzo Corsi-Horne*, Rome 1993, pp. 13-14, 27, 31-32.
- 65 Drafts of the law start in 1442 (*Provvisioni Protocolli*, vol. 17, fols. 52-57v).
- 66 Teghiacci was still alive for the rental of 27 February 1453/4 (n. 64), but by 2 May he was dead (Not. Antecos. 1226 [Mariotto Baldesi], under date).
- 67 The description of the property sold evokes the situation well: "Unam domum magnam actam et inchoatam ad formam palatii cum curia, orto, terreno, salis, cameris, voltis subtus terram et supra terram, palchis, tetto et partem sine tetto, et omnibus suis habituris et pertinentiis, positam in populo Sancte Trinitatis in via di lungarno, cui et quibus omnibus a primo dicta via, a II heredum et subcessorum domini Petri de Gaetanis, a III monasterii Sancte Trinitatis de Florentia, a IIII olim domini Raynaldi de Giamfiglazzis et hodie Antonii de Panciatichis, a V heredum olim Cerbini legnaiuoli, a VI heredum Roberti Tommasi Giamfiglazzi, infra predictos confines etc., una cum omnibus etc., una cum omnibus lapidibus concis et non concis intus et extra dictam domum lignaminibus novis et veteribus et omnibus aliis cementis deputatis pro dicta domo etc." (Doc. 7).
- 68 "La chasa mura si dice Giovanni Teghiacci" (Catasto, vol. 707, fol. 382).
- 69 "nel muramento de' Teghiacci lungarno" (Monte Comune o delle Graticole, copie del Catasto, vol. 55, fols. 12v, 50v, 97v, 212).
- 70 "non so per chi fussi raportato nel primo chatasto perché inanzi vi si murassi per Luigi detto erano più chasette e di diverse persone" (Doc. 12).
- 71 "la chasa si dice essere de' Teghiacci" (Catasto, vol. 816, no. 88, fol. 277).
- 72 Cecchini (n. 63), pp. 17-20; the Teghiacci also bought Bicchi's Castello delle Quattro Torri (p. 21).
- 73 Gherardo was a prior in 1454 and 1459; he was Gonfaloniere di Giustizia in 1462 (Manoscritti 252, fol. 1075 right [Priorista Mariani]). After Gherardo's death Bongianini estimated that his own assets totalled 37,000 florins, of which 26,000 came from Gherardo (ABSM, Lib. ric., fol. 6 right).
- 74 See the entry by *Vanna Arrighi* in *Diz. Biogr. Ital.*, LIV, pp. 344-347. I have not used the fifty letters from Bongianini to Filippo Strozzi written when the former was orator in Ferrara (referred to in *John Russell Sale*, *The Strozzi Chapel by Filippino Lippi in Santa Maria Novella*, diss. University of Pennsylvania 1976, Ann Arbor 1976, p. 212, n. 27); more letters are listed by *André Rochon*, *La jeunesse de Laurent de Médicis (1449-1478)*, Paris 1963, p. 226, notes 64 and 67.
- 75 ABSM, Lib. ric., fol. 6 right.
- 76 These statements are based on ABSM, Lib. ric., *passim* and on the family tree in BNCF, Carte Passerini, 8, fol. 114r-v.
- 77 See the account in *Alison Brown*, *Bartolomeo Scala (1430-1497)*, Chancellor of Florence, Princeton 1979, p. 155 and Bongianini's own description of the ceremony in ABSM, Lib. ric., fol. 13 left. For Bongianini's political and diplomatic activities, see *ibidem*, *passim*.
- 78 *Benedetto Dei, La cronica dall'anno 1400 all'anno 1500*, ed. *Roberto Barducci*, Florence 1984, pp. 74-75 (for 1472); *Lorenzo de' Medici*, *Lettere*, III, ed. *Nicolai Rubinstein*, Florence 1977, pp. 264, 339, 374, 407; IV, ed. *idem*, Florence 1981, pp. 28, 69, 107, 142.
- 79 Manoscritti 252, fol. 1077 left. The inventory of the palace after his death lists several instruments of war in the *anticamera* on the ground floor (Doc. 19, room [8]).
- 80 ABSM, Lib. ric., fol. 6 right.
- 81 The most important literature about the chapel, with reference also to the early sources and documents are: *Herbert P. Horne*, A newly discovered 'Libro di Ricordi' of Alesso Baldovinetti, in: *Burl. Mag.*, II, 1903, pp. 22-32, 167-174, 377-390; *Ruth Wedgewood Kennedy*, Alesso Baldovinetti, New Haven 1938, pp. 136, 167-182, 195 and notes, Docs. I, XI; *Paatz*, *Kirchen*, V, pp. 275, 297-298, 310-312 and notes; *Giuseppe Marchini/Emma Micheletti* (eds.), *La chiesa di Santa Trinita a Firenze*, Florence 1987, *passim*.
- 82 Signori e collegi, *Deliberazioni, ordinaria autorità*, vol. 85, fol. 17.
- 83 *Horne* (n. 81), p. 28; see Doc. 10, fol. 55v and n. 6.
- 84 "Voglio che si faci una finestra di vetro nela faccia da chapo che sechondo el disegno sarà alta 23 braccia e

larga 10 chon uno pilastro in mezzo di detta larghezza, chon uno ochio di sopra, storiata de la Trinità, che stimo chosterà tra lavoro di pietra et di vetro detta finestra fiorini 600 in 700 larghi; e dipinta tutta e storiata di buon maestro, che stimo chosterà fiorini 1200 larghi; uno altare di marmo e una sepoltura sul piano de la chapella che tutto chosterà fiorini 300 larghi; uno choro bello e una tavola [e una tavola *inserted above line*] a detta chapella di stima di fiorini 300 larghi; altri ornamenti pe' l'altare, cioè chandellieri e tovaglie e pali di fero fiorini 200 larghi: in tutto ragiono vi si spenda fiorini 2600 in 2700 larghi" ABSM, Lib. ric., fol. 7 left.

- 85 The altar, reconstructed the late nineteenth century, is the subject of detailed analysis by *Maria Grazia Ciardi Duprè Dal Poggetto* in *Marchini/Micheletti* (n. 81), pp. 231-232 and figs. 221-223; see also *Andrea Franci*, *L'altare Gianfigliuzzi in Santa Trinita: Desiderio da Settignano e Donatello*, in: *Paragone*, XLVI, ser. 3, (547), 1995, pp. 18-24.
- 86 "Sui vero corporis sepulchrum elegit et esse voluit in ecclesia Sancte Trinitatis de Florentia et in sepulchro ipsius testatoris posito in maiori cappella dicte ecclesie" (Doc. 14, fol. 117). For an assessment of style, see *Rita Jacopino* in *Marchini/Micheletti* (n. 81), pp. 258-262 and fig. 261, who attributes to Verrocchio's workshop the slab of inlaid marble with a coat of arms in bronze.
- 87 ABSM, Lib. ric., fol. 12 left.
- 88 GHERARDO IANFILATIO / DE SE FAMILIA ET PATRIA BENE MERITO BONGIANNES / FRATRI PIENTISSIMO SIBI / QVE ET POSTERIS POSVIT OBIIT VIII IDVS SEP AN SAL MCCCCLXIII (Bongianni placed [this] for his very devout brother Gherardo Gianfigliuzzi — well respected by Bongianni himself, by his family and by his homeland — and for himself and his descendants; [Gherardo] died 8 September 1463). I am grateful to Alison Brown and Margaret Haines for their help with the translation.
- 89 They were taken out — apparently with the hope of reusing them and the columns of the *altana* — when the fourth floor was built, but all proved too damaged and the capitals are now in the garden of Villa la Sosta (see note 95).
- 90 The bench is mentioned in the report about the ramp Alessandro Gianfigliuzzi wanted to build to take horses to his cellar ("non obstante che non escha fuori del diritto dello schaglione del muricciolo": Doc. 31); vestiges are visible in fig. 3.
- 91 Catasto Generale Toscano, Firenze, Supplemento 46, fol. 13725 for passage to Hooghworst. *Franceschini* called the balcony "goffissimo" (*Nuovo Osservatore*, 29 March 1885, p. 49).
- 92 The two coats-of-arms seem also to be due to Hooghworst (*Darr/Preyer* [n. 46], p. 730).
- 93 At the Ospedale dei Trovatelli, for which see *Giancarlo Nuti*, *I primi segni del Rinascimento ed il Brunelleschi a Pisa, Vicopisano e Volterra*, in: *Filippo Brunelleschi. La sua opera e il suo tempo*, atti del convegno 1977, II, Florence 1980, pp. 841-842 and *Maria Adriana Giusti* in: *L'architettura di Lorenzo il Magnifico*, ed. *Gabriele Morolli/Cristina Acidini Luchinat/Luciano Marchetti*, exhib. Florence, Cinisello Balsamo 1992, pp. 209-210.
- 94 For comments about the palace when Bonaparte owned it, see *Maddalena Trionfi Honorati*, *Le case dei Bonaparte a Firenze negli anni dell'esilio*, in: *Antichità viva*, V, 2, 1966, pp. 64-80.
- 95 The contract for the sale, by the notary Giovanni Giuliani da Barberino di Mugello, 3 August 1920, is referred to in papers about the palace in the Archivio Maestrelli, at Villa la Sosta, built by Aldemiro Campodonico. Here too is the contract for the added story (1924) and a bill for the new columns and other stonework in January 1925.
- 96 The drawing (GDSU 5664 A), made in connection with an unexecuted remodelling project for Luigi Bonaparte, shows the pilasters resting on improbably high bases.
- 97 Above the balcony the pilasters are thin strips addossed to monolithic jambs that go down to the balcony and must date with it; in the Quattrocento both pilaster and frame would have been carved from one piece of stone that would have stopped at the window ledge.
- 98 The many views of this lungarno show the same relationship as today between the level of the Gianfigliuzzi *piano nobile* and other buildings.
- 99 In the *camera* [24] west of the *sala*, two of the three windows may already in the fifteenth century have been filled in, as we see them in the paintings by Thomas Patch and in the nineteenth-century plan (Fig. 20), in which case we should understand the window arches to have been more important for the exterior design than for illumination of the interior, where to the contrary too much light and air was avoided; in such case there would have been "finestre finte", painted on the exterior to imitate functioning windows. See comments about *finestre finte* in *Preyer* (n. 64), p. 54.
- 100 In the article about the riverfront (n. 4) we explore this idea with regard to both sides of the river.
- 101 *Sgraffiti* are shown in most of the eighteenth-century depictions.
- 102 The Lenzi Palace was begun in 1456 or 1457 (Catasto 814, no. 206, fol. 21). For Dietisalvi's palace see *Pietro Ruschi* in: *Palazzo Neroni a Firenze*, ed. *Paola Benigni*, Florence 1996, pp. 47-74, *idem* in: *Michelozzo. Scultore e architetto (1396-1472)*, atti del convegno 1996, ed. *Gabriele Morolli*, Florence 1998, pp. 215-230, and *idem* in: *Fabrizio Bandini et al.*, *Il graffito quattrocentesco della facciata del palazzo Gerini-Barbolani di Montauto*

- in Firenze e il suo restauro, in: OPD Restauro, XIII, 2001, pp. 60-69; for the Corsi-Horne, see Preyer (n. 64).
- ¹⁰³ The Spinelli Cloister, usually thought to have been finished by 1452, probably dates a bit later. Tommaso Spinelli referred to it in his will of 1456 as being basically built but lacking a protective covering, and in his will of 1461 he stated that he had begun a "suprachiostrum", perhaps referring to the second story (Not. Antecos. 172 [Alberto di Alberto di Guido di Rucco], fols. 88, 271); a mention of "32 tondi" in a document involving activities by the *operai* in 1462 could refer to the same cloister (Not. Antecos. 4376 [Antonio Carsidoni], fol. 234v). See now *Philip Jacks/William Caferro*, The Spinelli of Florence, University Park 2001, pp. 180-193.
- ¹⁰⁴ For my opinion that the attribution of many buildings to Michelozzo is more problematic than is usually recognized, see L'architettura del palazzo mediceo in: *Giovanni Cherubini/Giovanni Fanelli* (eds.), Il palazzo Medici Riccardi di Firenze, Florence 1990, pp. 58-75, especially pp. 65-73 and Michelozzo e Vasari in: *Morolli* (n. 102), pp. 325-332; see also n. 141 below.
- ¹⁰⁵ Although Doc. 4 refers to "the foundations said to be being built by Pierum Amari de Gianfigliazis," all other documents indicate that this area remained an open court until the sixteenth century.
- ¹⁰⁶ Jacopo's will of 1497 makes clear that this shop was beneath the house by mentioning "duas apothecas contiguas ad usum legnaiuoli prout hodie tenentur per Dominicum delle Tarsie legnaiuolum, cum illa parte domus existente super dictis apotechis ..." (Not. Antecos. 16841 [Piero di Antonio da Vinci], no. 172).
- ¹⁰⁷ When Bongianni bought one "nave" of the old palace in 1469, he got these shops as well (Doc. 13).
- ¹⁰⁸ Not. Antecos. 16332 (Niccolò Parenti), fol. 254.
- ¹⁰⁹ According to *Limburger*, the palace was "umgebaut" in 1841 (p. 122, no. 509).
- ¹¹⁰ Preyer (n. 64), pp. 47-61.
- ¹¹¹ Dec. Grand. 3610, no. 179, fol. 219 right. The dispute reflected in Doc. 24 regarded this house.
- ¹¹² See *Annelie De Palma/Paola Luciani*, Un album inedito di metà ottocento: l'"illustrazione" di Palazzo Masetti sul lungarno, in: *Flor. Mitt.*, XXXII, 1988, pp. 294-322, where "before" and "after" views of the palace are published, along with a plan made after the renovations (Figs. 1, 2, 6); the dates are taken from p. 320, n. 11. See also *Ginori Lisci*, Palazzi, I, pp. 137-141.
- ¹¹³ Catasto Generale Toscano, Firenze, Campioni, Supplemento 7, fol. 2073; Supplemento 21, fol. 6426.
- ¹¹⁴ "Gherardus ... detentus fuerit infermitate mente": Not. Antecos. 12463 (Pierfrancesco Maccari), fol. 274.
- ¹¹⁵ Decima Granducale, vol. 3610, fol. 30 right.
- ¹¹⁶ Most of the Gianfigliuzzi documents in the ABSM come from Jacopo di messer Bongianni's line, and thus there is little further news about Gherardo's portion.
- ¹¹⁷ I am grateful to Carlo Sanjust for telling me of the plans and for making study photographs for me, and to Countess Pieretta de' Dainelli da Bagnano Masetti for permitting me to publish them.
- ¹¹⁸ Numbers enclosed in square brackets refer to spaces listed in the inventory of 1485 (Doc. 19) and added to the inventories of 1511 (Docs. 22 and 23) and to the plans.
- ¹¹⁹ I have found nothing to shed light on the name of this room.
- ¹²⁰ "le panche intorno fino in sul pianerottolo della schala" (Doc. 23, n. 18).
- ¹²¹ "In chapo di schala, le panche da dua lati" (Doc. 23, n. 15).
- ¹²² Not. Antecos. 12483 (Pierfrancesco Maccari), fol. 204v.
- ¹²³ Doc. 23 shows this kitchen to have had a well — as provided for in Doc. 21 — and Drawing 1 shows one in the south wall of the garden; it would have been accessible to Gherardo only from inside.
- ¹²⁴ Not only is their form crude and old-fashioned, but their splayed tops serve little purpose near the top of the *loggia's* vaults; they may have been reused to light the room halfway up the stairs [12], although they are not shown on the Bonaparte plans and perhaps they were exposed only recently.
- ¹²⁵ Evidently there were numerous alleys in this block of the city, just as in the area east of the via Tornabuoni, for which see *Giampaolo Trotta*, Gli antichi chiassi tra ponte Vecchio e Santa Trinita, Florence 1992.
- ¹²⁶ The wall is about 7.4 meters from the new palace facade, while the addition to the abacus *androne* wall measures about 6.4 meters. We found above that the documents indicate the average set-back for the site as a whole to have been about 7.3 meters [p. 60].
- ¹²⁷ I have discussed the flavor of the palace's interior, and the seating accommodations, in Planning for visitors at Florentine palaces, in: *Renaissance Studies*, XII, 1998, pp. 364-366.
- ¹²⁸ Though the plans from the 1580s (Figs. 23-26) show only three bays here, there are four today, as also in figs. 7 and 18. The corbels certainly have been redone, but the geometry of such vaults excludes the possibility that each bay was once much wider.
- ¹²⁹ For remarks about private gardens in Florence, see *Caroline Elam*, Lorenzo de' Medici's sculpture garden, in: *Flor. Mitt.*, XXXVI, 1992, pp. 41-84, 63-65.
- ¹³⁰ The existence of fireplaces can be inferred by references to andirons ("alari"). See Doc. 19, fols. 1v and 4, Doc. 23, fol. 4v; for *acquai* see Doc. 23, fol. 4v, Doc. 30, fol. 201 right.
- ¹³¹ The door frames in the sides of the *androne* have the same design as the windows on the third floor of the

facade in fig. 9, and thus they probably belong to the Hoogworst remodelling; and the big arched frames between the entrance hall, the *androne*, and the *loggia* could have been made in the sixteenth century, with the openings enlarged, as Bulst has proposed happened at the Medici Palace (Wolfer A. Bulst, *Usi e trasformazione del palazzo mediceo fino ai Riccardi*, in: *Cherubini/Fanelli* [n. 104], p. 111). Bulst's observation that the doorway from court to garden may once have been small and rectangular, as it still is at the Piccolomini Palace in Pienza, seems well founded; at the Gianfigliuzzi, there was always an arch between the *androne* and the *loggia* (see Doc. 21) but it may once have been lower.

- 132 The present ceiling, dating from the Hoogworst remodeling, is hung from the earlier one, and according to a survey made in 1932 by Arch. Raffaello Brizzi: "esiste quasi per intero il vecchio soffitto anche esso in legno a cassettoncini più piccoli dipinto a fiorami" (Archivio Maestrelli, in box labeled "Palazzo di Lungarno Corsini. Contratti ecc."). I am grateful to Margaret Haines for sharing with me her observations about the ceiling.
- 133 A similar situation existed at the Corsi-Horne Palace (Preyer [n. 64], p. 64), and we know just how the fireplaces and *acquai* were arranged there.
- 134 Bulst (n. 131), pp. 115-116.
- 135 Alberti-Orlandi-Portoghesi, I, pp. 426-427, in reference, it should be noted, to villas. If Bulst is correct in his suggestion that Clarice Orsini slept in the *anticamera* of the main suite at the Medici Palace (n. 131, p. 114) the contrast in size and location is striking. The same can be said for the difference between the Gianfigliuzzi Palace's *camera della balia* and the situation at the Medici Palace, where a small room next to the bedroom of Piero di Lorenzo seems to have been assigned to a baby and wet nurse (*ibidem*, p. 116).
- 136 Jacqueline Marie Musaccio, *The art and ritual of childbirth in Renaissance Italy*, New Haven/London 1999, esp. pp. 42-47.
- 137 It is labeled 32.
- 138 Bulst (n. 131) has discussed the mezzanine levels that existed throughout the Medici Palace; there too, most *anticamere* had these second levels.
- 139 *Ibidem*, p. 112.
- 140 In addition to Bulst's article (n. 131), see Wolfgang Liebenwein, *Studiolo. Die Entstehung eines Raumtyps und seine Entwicklung bis um 1600*, Berlin 1977, *passim*.
- 141 While in the article referred to in n. 104 I have argued against Michelozzo as the designer of the Medici Palace, on the basis of formal relationships between the facade and buildings that are surely his, the planning at the Gianfigliuzzi Palace — in terms of architectural thinking — is so strikingly similar as to open the possibility for a new sort of criterion for attribution; in this light, the presence of Michelozzo in Doc. 6 becomes suggestive even though the palace was probably designed about six years later.
- 142 For the sales see below, n. 152. The monastery had also to obtain approval from the Parte Guelfa for changes to the urban fabric; assessment of the situation is evidenced in a drawing of September 1584 showing the western portion of the block, the piazza, yet another alley, and the "volta" (first published by Iodoco del Badia in: *Miscellanea fiorentina di erudizione e storia*, I, 3, 1886, pp. 42-43).
- 143 Some Gaetani property had been sold over the years, and eventually all that was not retained by Jacopo Gianfigliuzzi went to Santa Trinita. The process began in 1512 (*Corporazioni Religiose Soppresses dal Governo Francese* 89, vol. 33, fol. 18) and the last small property was sold in July 1585 (*Not. Mod.* 1339 [Francesco Migliorati], fol. 149v).
- 144 A principal source for the following discussion will be the filza in ABSM, "Processi dal 1580 al 1585 in causa Gianfigliuzzi, e Gianfigliuzzi; in causa Gianfigliuzzi, e monaci di Santa Trinita" (Gianf. 1.5.0.4), hereafter ABSM, "Processi 1580-1585". It has a wealth of notes about this dispute, including many drafts of letters by Jacopo Gianfigliuzzi, though unfortunately many are not dated. The rebuilding of Santa Trinita's monastery has not been studied in much detail, even in the recent volume about the church (n. 81).
- 145 This alley, mentioned in Doc. 33, puzzles me: I have not seen other references to it, the plan shows no access to it from the palace, and it is not included in Drawing 2.
- 146 *Not. Mod.* 1339 (Francesco Migliorati), fol. 102r-v, a document that shows Santa Trinita preparing for a dispute "supra venditione cuiusdem domus eorum de Gaetanis posite Florentie apud bona dictorum monacorum."
- 147 Jacopo referred to this paper in his report of the sale in *Decima Granducaale*, 2705, no. 38; the document is quoted in a thick packet of depositions made before the apostolic nuncio assembled in ABSM, "Processi 1580-1585."
- 148 ABSM, "Processi 1580-1585", document dated 26 April 1585.
- 149 "La casa che io ho compra l'hanno divisa et datone uno pezzo alli padri et uno pezzo mene hanno lasciato a me, ma la più parte l'hanno havuta li padri. Io mi contento di tutto quello ..." (ABSM, "Processi 1580-1585").
- 150 While there is a draft, dated 15 September 1586, of Jacopo's *supplica* to the Grand Duke referring to the monks' appeal, I have not found this second sentence itself.
- 151 ASF, Capitani di Parte Guelfa, numeri neri, vol. 753, fol. 159.

- ¹⁵² The sale documents for both houses have wording that permits the interpretation that the piazza was part of the properties. The sales are in Not. Mod. 1338 (Francesco Migliorati), fols. 127-128, 189v-190. It is interesting to note that there was significant inflation of property values in this area. The first house sold for 1200 florins in November 1583, while it had been bought in two parts in 1534 and 1535 for a total of 290 florins (Decima Granducale 2613, no. 125 and fol. 249).
- ¹⁵³ "et maxime stante il lodo dato fra detti monaci da una et il Cavaliere Jacobo dal altra per il quale si dispone che si debba fare un muro divisorio fra' monaci et il cavaliere de quel altezza che dicie il lodo a spese comuni, et quella parte che vorrà il muro più alto lo faccia a sua spese, et così li monaci per comodo loro possono alzare il muro, né per la parte de' Gianfigliuzzi si può pretendere interesse de' lumi havendo ratificato il lodo ..." (ASF, Capitani di Parte Guelfa, numeri neri, vol. 760, no. 100).
- ¹⁵⁴ The comment is a generic one, as Alessandro died in 1578.
- ¹⁵⁵ The second hand seems to be the same as on Drawing 2, where some comments are in the first person; however, the writing on other papers in this same filza that may be in Jacopo's hand does not make the identification certain.
- ¹⁵⁶ See the introduction to the transcription of writing on Drawing 1.
- ¹⁵⁷ The western portion of the garden, which was to be transformed into a *loggia*, looks considerably narrower than on Drawing 1, even though the true measurement, $9 \frac{1}{8}$ *braccia*, is squeezed in above the letters "s'à"; probably the decision to distort the scale was made so that the elevation could be included on the same sheet.
- ¹⁵⁸ Because the different parts of the drawing are so inconsistent in scale, estimates of the height range from about 35 *braccia* to about 55 *braccia*. A point of reference is the palace, whose three stories reached about 32 *braccia*.

Rosso

Giovanni (will 1348)

Matteo

Stoldo

Giannozzo

Piero

Gherardo

Giannozzo

Giuliano & Piero
1534/5

Giovanni

Averardo

Francesco

Giovanni

Matteo

Stoldo

Giannozzo

Piero

Gherardo

Giannozzo

Giuliano & Piero
1534/5

Giovanni

Averardo

Francesco

Giovanni

Rosso

Giovanni

Giovanni or Bongiani, d. 1421

Bongiani
1417-1484

Adovardo

Lorenzo

Jacopo
1470-1549

Lorenzo

Bongiani
1500-1568

Lorenzo

Jacopo
1543-1611

Lodovico
1572-1649

Giovanni
1590-1649

Lodovico
1649-1724

Giovanni, or Cosimo
1677-1743

Maria Caterina
1736-1810
m. Fontebuoni

Elisabetta
1742-1818
m. Verdi

Gherardo

Gherardo
1403-1463

Rosso

Gherardo
b. 1466

Bongiani
1487-1551

Pierfilippo
b. 1493

Gherardo
1532-1618

Pierfilippo

Luca

Alessandro
1499-1578

Niccolò

Giulio

Carlo

Martino?

Alessandro
b. 1594

Alessandro Neri
d. 1714

Giannozzo

Rinaldo

Antonio

Bertoldo

Bertoldo

Bartolomeo
b. 1503

Gherardo

Antonio

APPENDIX: DIGEST OF DOCUMENTS.

Transcriptions of the documents are on deposit in the library of the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz.

1. 1405/6, 28 January.

Description of real estate granted to Pietro Gaetani by the Florentine government and consisting of several parcels lying in the parish of S. Trinita, between via Parione and the lungarno.
Provisioni Registri, vol. 94, ff. 234-235.

2. 1411, 28 May.

Excerpts from the will of Tommaso di Ruberto Gianfigliuzzi, with descriptions of his house on the western side of the via Parioncino, the house(s) corresponding to n. 1371 on Figure 6, and land across the lungarno.
Not. Antecos. 10519 (Guardino di Andrea da Linari), ff. 58v-68v.

3. 1411, 27 October.

Authorization by the Ufficiali della Torre to sell plots of land, given in square *braccia*, to the property owners in the block of the lungarno Corsini between via Tornabuoni and via Parioncino; the land lay in front of the houses and extended out to the lungarno, where the southern edges of the plots were to reach a straight new line drawn from Palazzo Spini to the house on the far corner of via Parioncino.
Not. Antecos. 14943 (Nofri Nenni), ff. 216v-220v. See also Fig. 6.

4. 1444/5, 18 January.

Approval by the Signoria of the sale by the Ufficiali della Torre to Antonio Canacci of the "terreno" in front of the two properties to the east of the Gianfigliuzzi ancestral house.
Signori e Collegi, Deliberazioni, ordinaria autorità, vol. 61, ff. 10v-11.

5. 1447, 21 April.

Excerpt from the successful petition for citizenship by Giovanni di Nicolaio Teghiacci, with comments about his long residence in Florence and the fact that many of his children have married Florentines, and also with the terms set by the commune regarding purchase of real estate and payment of taxes.
Provisioni Protocolli, vol. 17, ff. 50-58v mod.

6. 1449, 5 and 24 July.

Sale by Antonio Canacci to Giovanni Teghiacci of a "domum magnam" and adjoining property on the lungarno for 1250 florins, and transfer of possession. The appearance of Michelozzo three times in this document is of great interest, but that his presence is due more to Canacci than to Teghiacci is suggested by his pairing, in the second instance, with Bongianni Gianfigliuzzi, Teghiacci's son-in-law; in the event that adjustments to the contract were required, the team would have had balanced loyalties.
Not. Antecos. 1224 (Mariotto Baldesi), under date.

7. 1459/60, 31 January.

Sale by Luigi di Giovanni Teghiacci, for himself and his brothers, to Gherardo Gianfigliuzzi of the building that was to become the Gianfigliuzzi Palace, still under construction, for 2000 florins.
Not. Antecos. 8523 (Niccolò Galeotti), under date.

8. 1460, 10 December.

Sale by the daughters of Piero di Amari Gianfigliuzzi to Bongianni Gianfigliuzzi of the house(s) at the corner of the lungarno and via Tornabuoni for 800 florins. The description indicates that these were two houses used as one, that they had a "walled court" in front and a shop.
Not. Antecos. 8523 (Niccolò Galeotti), under date.

9. 1463/4, 16 February.

Excerpt from the document in which the monks and parishioners granted to Bongianni Gianfigliuzzi certain rights over the high chapel of the church of S. Trinita. Bongianni was given the "body of the chapel," the right to put his coat of arms in it and to treat it as other citizens were permitted and obliged to do with their chapels; he was to ornament and endow the chapel.
Not. Antecos. 5046 (Pierozzo di Cerbino), inserto 3, f. 71r-v.

10. 1464, 14 July.

Excerpts from the will of Bongianni Gianfigliuzzi. The will, whose Italian version seems to reflect Bongianni's own language, has many particulars about the main chapel at S. Trinita, about pious legacies, and about the treatment of the testator's wife and daughters (his sons had not yet been born).

Not. Antecos. 21063 (Nastagio Vespucci), inserto 4, ff. 55-58, with additions from the Latin version on ff. 46-49.

11. 1465, 24 November.

Excerpt from a law passed by the councils of Florence regarding completion of sale of the land in front of the houses on the lungarno between the ponte S. Trinita and the ponte alla Carraia, with the money to be used for improvements to the river wall.

Provvisioni Registri, vol. 156, ff. 237-239.

12. 1469, August.

Excerpt from Bongianni Gianfigliuzzi's tax declaration with the entry for the palace.

ASF, Catasto, vol. 917, f. 160.

13. 1469, 5 December.

Miliano Dei assigns specific parts of the old Gianfigliuzzi Palace to three members of the family.

Not. Antecos. 21064 (Nastagio Vespucci), inserto 4, f. 204.

14. 1473/4, 8 March.

Excerpts from a second will of Bongianni Gianfigliuzzi. Again he has much to say about his wife and children, he mentions the chapel in S. Trinita, and he provides for his slaves and servants.

Not. Antecos. 21063 (Nastagio Vespucci), inserto 4, ff. 117-119v.

15. 1474, 1 August.

Bongianni Gianfigliuzzi's comments about the palace in his catalogue of real estate, mentioning his creation of the entry from piazza S. Trinita, his ensuring that the windows of neighbors not overlook the garden, and the fact that he built the "salotto da verno" above the *loggia*.

ABSM, Lib. ric., f. 18 left.

16. 1474/5, 1 March.

Sale by Bongianni Gianfigliuzzi of the small house on the lungarno (n. 1370 in Figure 6) to Lorenzo de' Medici and through him to the wife of Gherardo Giandonati.

Not. Antecos. 1748 (Antonio Bartolomei), f. 261v.

17. 1482/3, 29 January.

Excerpt from the sale by Piero di Roberto di Tommaso Gianfigliuzzi and his son Roberto to Gherardo Giandonati of land on the lungarno in front of their house (n. 1371 on Figure 6).

Not. Antecos. 5051 (Pierozzo Cerbini), ff. 87v-88.

18. 1484, 30 June and 9 July.

Decision by an arbiter in a dispute between Bongianni Gianfigliuzzi and his neighbor, Agostino di Giovanni Gaetani, regarding Bongianni's building activities at a wall dividing the two properties in the area of the palace's service court. Mention is made of Gherardo's Gianfigliuzzi's building activities in 1460.

Not. Antecos. 12700 (Giovanni Manetti), ff. 159v-160v.

19. 1484/5, 10 January.

Inventory of the palace upon Bongianni Gianfigliuzzi's death. The *sala*, the *loggia*, the room west of the *loggia*, and the room on the *secondo piano* south of the court are not mentioned.

ABSM, "Scritture attenenti alle divise dei beni tra alcuni di casa Gianfigliuzzi" (Gianf. 1.7.1.1), inserto "1491. Divise tra Iacopo e Gherardo di messer Bongianni Gianfigliuzzi, come per rogo di ser Pierozzo Cerbini del dì ... settembre 1491."

20. 1491, 10 September.

Descriptions in two parts of the properties at the corner of the lungarno and via Tornabuoni, preparatory to the division between Gherardo di Bongianni Gianfigliuzzi and his brother Jacopo.

Not. Antecos. 5053 (Pierozzo Cerbini), under date.

21. 1491, 10 and 15 September.

Detailed descriptions of the inside of the two parts of the Gianfigliuzzi Palace for the division between Gherardo and Jacopo di Bongianni.

Not. Antecos. 5053 (Pierozzo Cerbini), under dates.

22. 1510/11, 16 January.

Inventory of goods given to Gherardo Gianfigliuzzi's wife, Maddalena.

ABSM "Inventarii di Casa Gianfigliuzzi" (Gianf. 1.6.0.1).

23. 1510/11, 24 January.

Inventory of items in Gherardo di Bongianni Gianfigliuzzi's part of the palace. This inventory and the one in Document 22 are notably richer — in furnishings and in clothing — than the one made in 1485 after Bongianni's death.

ABSM, "Inventarii di Casa Gianfigliuzzi" (Gianf. 1.6.0.1).

24. 1512, 29 May.

Decision by arbiters in a controversy between Jacopo di Bongianni Gianfigliuzzi and Altobianco di Gherardo Giandonati regarding the alley that lay between the southern wall of the palace's garden and two of the houses on the lungarno.

ABSM, "Filza I di contratti della casa Gianfigliuzzi dal 1452 al 1783" (Gianf. 1.1.0.2).

25. 1534, 27 December.

Excerpt from a will in which Jacopo di Bongianni Gianfigliuzzi apportions his city houses among his three surviving sons and those of the deceased Pierfilippo, with many comments about the palace's interior.

Not. Antecos. 12482 (Pierfrancesco Maccari), f. 154r-v.

26. 1548, 19 December.

Excerpt from a will in which Jacopo di Bongianni Gianfigliuzzi describes his city real estate and stipulates how he wishes it to be divided among his sons and grandsons. He has begun to rebuild the property at the corner of the lungarno and the via Tornabuoni as a palace.

Not. Antecos. 16332 (Niccolò Parenti), ff. 248-249.

27. 1552, 6 May.

Report by two *capomaestri* of the Parte Guelfa in a dispute between Bartolommeo di Gherardo Gianfigliuzzi and his cousin Luigi di Jacopo, regarding Luigi's new construction at the corner of lungarno Corsini and via Tornabuoni, and in particular about the border between the two properties.

Capitani di Parte Guelfa, numeri neri, vol. 958, "Rapporti", n. 19.

28. 1552, shortly before 13 July.

Request by Luigi di Jacopo Gianfigliuzzi to delay execution of the "Rapporto" about his new palace (Doc. 27) until his return from duty as vicar in S. Giovanni Valdarno. The document reveals that the palace is finished and that Luigi has been living there with his family.

Capitani di Parte Guelfa, numeri neri, vol. 700, "Suppliche", n. 108.

29. 1552, 2 August.

Bartolommeo Gianfigliuzzi, in a document that is amusing for the details of narration as well as the style, requests the grand duke to enforce the report by the *capomaestri* of the Parte Guelfa (Doc. 27) so that his rights are not infringed.

Capitani di Parte Guelfa, numeri neri, vol. 700, "Suppliche", n. 109.

30. 1553, 1 October.

Selections from an account book of Bongianni di Jacopo Gianfigliuzzi itemizing small jobs done by a wordworker in the part of the palace (west of the *androne* and towards the back) that had been assigned to Jacopo in 1491 (Doc. 21). References to the various spaces fill in some details about the interior.

Manoscritti, vol. 101, ff. 201 right-202 left.

31. 1565/6, 8 January.

Report by a *capomaestro* of the Parte Guelfa about the advisability of allowing Alessandro di Gherardo Gianfigliuzzi, in the part of the palace assigned to his father in 1491 (Doc. 21), to make an opening for a horse

ramp to his cellar from the lungarno. The ramp probably was built, even though the *capomaestro* judged that the proposed arrangement could be a danger to both horses and persons.
Capitani di Parte Guelfa, numeri neri, 966, "Rapporti", n. 21.

32. 1585, 29 April.

Report to the Capitani di Parte Guelfa about measurements on a plan made for Jacopo Gianfigliuzzi (probably Drawing 1 in Figure 23) in connection with the dispute with S. Trinita over the house to the west of the palace that Jacopo had bought from the Gaetani the previous month.

ABSM, "Processi 1580-1585".

33. 1586, 31 August?

Sentence by the papal nuncio in the dispute between the monastery of S. Trinita and Jacopo Gianfigliuzzi about the Gaetani house.

ABSM, "Processi 1580-1585".

34. 1587, 28 July.

Excerpt from the final settlement in the dispute between Jacopo Gianfigliuzzi and the abbot and monks of S. Trinita about the Gaetani house.

Not. Mod. 1341 (Francesco Migliorati), ff. 52v-54.

35. 1587, summer?

Report regarding the negative aspects for Jacopo Gianfigliuzzi of the settlement about the Gaetani property (Doc. 34). A primary concern was the loss of light.

ABSM, "Processi 1580-1585".

36. 1589, 13 October.

Notification by the Ufficiali dei Fiumi to Jacopo Gianfigliuzzi of S. Trinita's request to be permitted to take over the piazza at the corner of the lungarno and the via Parioncino. The depth given here and in Document 38,15 *braccia*, contrasts with the 13 *braccia* in Document 32 and on Drawing 3.

ABSM, "Processi 1580-1585".

37. 1589, between 13 October and 10 January 1589/90.

Response by Jacopo Gianfigliuzzi to the Ufficiali dei Fiumi, remarking on the damage the monks' project already is doing and stating that this will be increased if their high construction is extended into the piazza, which Jacopo affirms belongs to all the Gianfigliuzzi.

ABSM, "Processi 1580-1585".

38. 1589/90, 10 January.

Presentation to Ferdinando I by the Ufficiali de' Fiumi of a petition on behalf of the abbot and monks of S. Trinita to incorporate the piazza on the lungarno into the expanded monastery they are building, despite the objections of the Gianfigliuzzi.

Capitani di Parte Guelfa, numeri neri, vol. 760, n. 100.

39. 1828, 1 February.

Excerpt from the document of sale of the Gianfigliuzzi Palace by Agnese Verdi nei Quaratesi to Luigi Bonaparte, with a description of the building and commentary in the notes. One can follow almost every detail of this description on the Bonaparte plans (Figs. 17-22), though sometimes the terminology differs.

ABSM, filza 133 (old number 277) Verdi Quaratesi, no. 16.

RIASSUNTO

Una documentazione insolitamente ricca ci permette di esplorare palazzo Gianfigliuzzi e l'area circostante del lungarno Corsini vicino a via Tornabuoni. Benché il palazzo, iniziato negli anni 50 del Quattrocento, non sia mai stato trattato in dettaglio da storici dell'architettura, era un edificio imponente, e un'ampia quantità di nuovo materiale ci aiuta a capire molto sulle circostanze attinenti alla sua creazione, ai suoi interni, e ad aspetti della sua storia successiva. L'articolo mette così a fuoco il palazzo, ma fa luce anche su altri sviluppi sul lungarno e alla chiesa e monastero di Santa Trinita, e spazia ampiamente nel tempo. I documenti raccolti per questo studio (in deposito nella biblioteca dell'Istituto) portano prima alla questione del rapporto tra il lungarno e le proprietà che vi si affacciano a nord; fino al 1411 tutte le case dell'isolato rimanevano indietro rispetto alla strada, e lungo il Quattrocento la maggior parte aveva muri bassi attorno al terreno di fronte. Palazzo Gianfigliuzzi fu il primo edificio nuovo a venir costruito sull'attuale fronte stradale. Iniziato da cittadini naturalizzati, i Teghiacci, il palazzo fu acquistato da Gherardo di Bongianni Gianfigliuzzi nel 1460, costruito solo in parte. La famiglia Gianfigliuzzi viveva in questa zona dal Duecento, ed era associata a un vecchio palazzo, tuttora esistente, vicino a Santa Trinita. Dopo l'esilio, negli anni 30 del Quattrocento, del ramo più rilevante, Gherardo e Bongianni di Bongianni divennero gradualmente importanti, e prima Gherardo tornò al loro vecchio vicinato, poi dopo la sua morte, nel 1463, Bongianni ereditò il palazzo. Poco dopo gli fu concesso il diritto di decorare la cappella principale della chiesa; due testamenti ci informano di questo progetto, e nel loro linguaggio molto personale ci offrono anche il senso di Bongianni stesso.

L'esterno del palazzo, ora molto rifatto, fu adattato con sensibilità al luogo relativamente poco sviluppato, con una facciata coperta da intonaco e sgraffito, piuttosto che pietra pesante, e un secondo piano aperto. Le finestre, sia sul piano terreno che sul piano nobile, erano inconsuete nel disegno, ma non ci sono dati sufficienti per associare una delle scelte del disegno ad un committente specifico né tanto meno di attribuire il palazzo ad un architetto. L'approfondita discussione sull'interno è basata su documentazione che va da inventari e precoci descrizioni a piante del tardo Cinquecento e primo Ottocento. Benché l'interno sia oggi radicalmente ristrutturato, tali fonti ci fanno capire molti aspetti della progettazione. Ci sono numerosi punti di contatto con il solo altro edificio del periodo su cui abbiamo un dettagliata conoscenza dell'interno, Palazzo Medici. La sezione finale dell'articolo tratta del contenzioso, negli anni 80 del Cinquecento, tra i monaci di Santa Trinita, che stavano espandendo il loro insediamento, e i Gianfigliuzzi. Vennero stese piante con annotazioni di metà del palazzo, di una casa adiacente, e di parti del monastero, ed offrono grandi conoscenze su tutti gli edifici, come anche sui punti coinvolti nella disputa.

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