

UNTIMELY DEATH, UNWILLING HEIRS:  
THE EARLY HISTORY OF GIULIANO DA SANGALLO'S  
UNFINISHED PALACE FOR GIULIANO GONDI

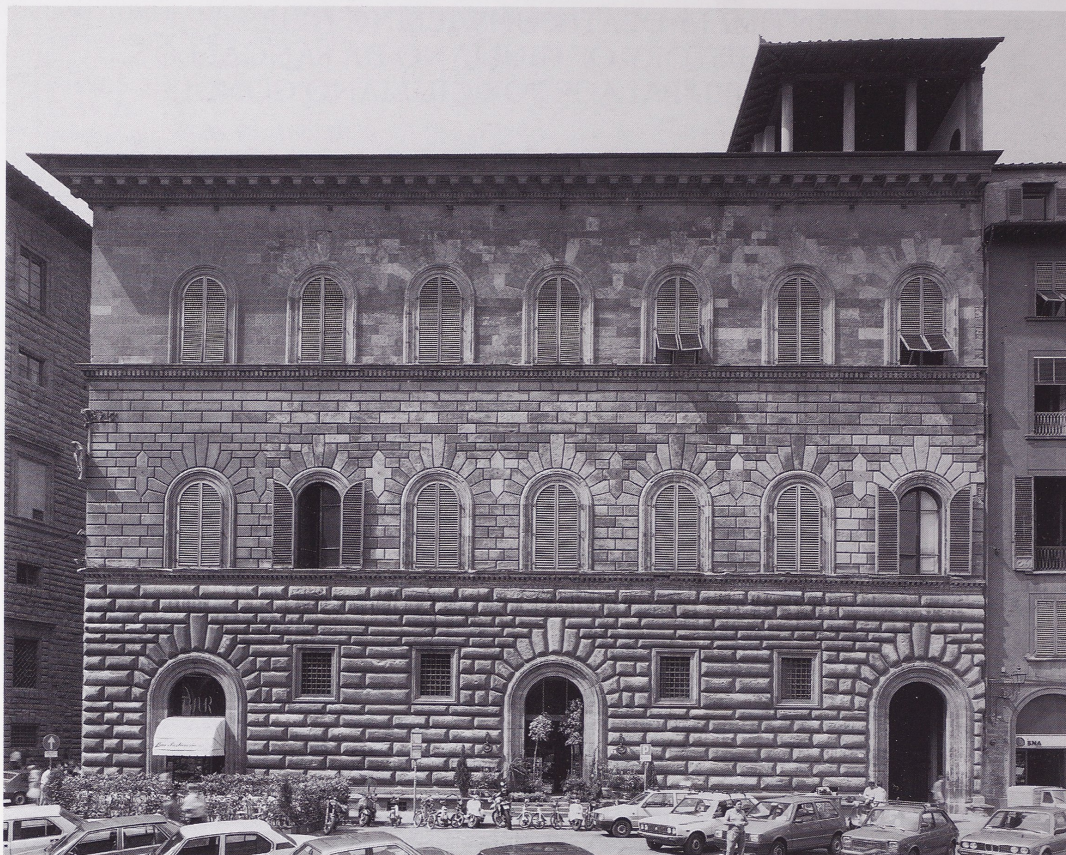
by Linda Pellecchia

According to Tribaldo de' Rossi, an eyewitness at the scene, on 20 July 1490 shortly after the sun rose the facade foundations of Giuliano Gondi's magnificent palace were begun. On July 29 they filled the trench beneath the door with gravel. The palpable excitement caused by such groundbreaking ceremonies led Tribaldo not once, but twice to tell the reader that he threw a stone into the foundations.<sup>1</sup> Luca Landucci, another eye witness, has left us an account of the frenzy of building in this period: "Erano gli uomini in questo tempo atarentati al murare per modo che c'era carestia di maestri e di materia."<sup>2</sup> Among the structures begun in 1489 Luca noted were both the palaces of Filippo Strozzi and Giuliano Gondi. Giuliano, whose "compagnia del mestiere dell'oro" was the top such agency in Florence between 1463 and 1489<sup>3</sup> had little trouble acquiring either the requisite materials or a top-flight *maestro* — Lorenzo de' Medici's prized architect, Giuliano da Sangallo — to build his splendid *all'antica* palace.<sup>4</sup>

In the nine years following the inception of the building until his death in 1501, Giuliano Gondi worked on but did not complete his palace. As with many of his class, the preservation of his memory and the honor of his family and lineage were linked to the status of the new family palace.<sup>5</sup> Thus in his testament of 1501, Gondi stipulated that the "domus magna nova sue habitationis" (his great, new house) built to preserve "memoriam suam et pro honore suorum filiorum et domus et familie de Ghondis" (his memory and for the honor of his sons, and the house and family of Gondi) be completed by his heirs.<sup>6</sup> His heirs — either less interested than their father in the power of architecture to confer fame or perhaps more concerned with consolidating a patrimony that now had to be split into 6 shares — let the palace languish.<sup>7</sup> Such lack of filial piety (though common) was shameful to at least one observer. Giovanni Cambi in his "Florentine Histories" judged Giuliano's heirs harshly both for leaving the family chapel in Santa Maria Novella incomplete and for abandoning work on the palace after their father's death.<sup>8</sup> It was not until the nineteenth century (when Giuliano's distant descendant, Eugenio Gondi, hired another famous Florentine architect, Giuseppe Poggi) that the Gondi palace was completed.

Today what Giuliano intended when he instructed his heirs to finish his palace remains a tantalizing conundrum, as will become apparent below. Poggi, a brilliant historicist architect, was naturally more concerned with building a suitable design for his patron than with reconstructing Sangallo's original project. Modern scholars, based on an analysis of archival documents, the state of the incomplete building at Gondi's death, and an understanding of Giuliano da Sangallo's palace designs, have suggested alternative proposals for the original project. In 1983, in his fundamental work on the Gondi palace and its place in Florentine palace design, Andreas Tönnemann proposed an 11-bay facade along piazza San Firenze.<sup>9</sup> In 1995, Georg Satzinger hypothesized a smaller project of 9 bays.<sup>10</sup> I, in turn, would like to suggest a new possibility — that Giuliano da Sangallo's original palace project was a 7-bay palace along piazza San Firenze whose elegant rustication may have continued onto the side facade along the present-day Via Gondi.

On the basis of new textual and visual documents discovered in private Gondi archives unavailable to my colleagues, I was able more precisely to reconstruct the configuration of property in Gondi's possession as he began his new palace. This in turn led to my hypothesis for a 7-bay



1 Gondi Palace Facade on Piazza San Firenze as completed by Giuseppe Poggi.

design. Just as, if not more, important, however, these new documents shed light on the site of Gondi's new palace *before* work began — a site whose proximity to the Palazzo dei Priori and the Mercanzia alone makes it worth investigation.

In the following pages I will discuss not only the chronology and location of the property acquired by Giuliano before his death and the impact of those acquisitions on his palace project, but also the character of the buildings he purchased. This will permit us to visualize, to the extent possible, the architectural context of this area before 1490. Much new material has come to light through this research: a clearer image of a Trecento “*casa grande ovvero palagio*” belonging to the Giugni family; the only image of a Dugento family tower that existed on Via dei Gondi; a better understanding of a large house belonging to the Asini that Giuliano incorporated into his palace and that Poggi later destroyed, and a site plan of 1869 showing among other things the palace of the Mercanzia before Via dei Gondi was enlarged. This new evidence allows us to understand more clearly the scale and importance of these earlier houses and to understand the dynamics that led Gondi to amass a significant number of buildings in such an important site. Giuliano's ability to carve out a sizable site in the communal heart of the city is, in a sense, nearly as remarkable as the building Sangallo designed.

## The original site

The fulfillment of Gondi's dying wish in the nineteenth century both facilitates and complicates any attempt to understand the original character of Sangallo's design. Poggi completed the palace in the style in which it was begun, but extended it to the corner of a newly-enlarged Via Gondi (Fig. 1) by destroying an older palace to the south. He also remodeled the interior of the palace to the north where he made an entrance for carriages leading to a new stable.<sup>11</sup> Thus, it is necessary to retrace the early history of the area in order to reconstruct the environs of the palace in the late Quattrocento.

Today a wide piazza separates the grand facade of the Baroque church of San Firenze from Eugenio Gondi's elegant palace opposite it. As Caroline Coffey first demonstrated, the piazza in front of an older and much smaller church of San Firenze was deeper than it is today, but much narrower.<sup>12</sup> A curved, narrow street made its way between the two buildings in the direction of the Bargello as can be seen in a hand-drawn map of the city made circa 1620 (Fig. 2).<sup>13</sup> The 1620 plan shows not only the old piazza and street but also the medieval towers of the Magalotti and Mancini families that closed the south side of the piazza.<sup>14</sup> In its essentials the map reflects the urban situation in the late Quattrocento since there is no evidence that the site in front of the palace was significantly altered before 1645 — with one important exception. As Riccardo Pacciani discovered, in 1490 Giuliano Gondi ceded a piece of his property directly in front of his rising palace to the Comune. In a *Provvisione* of the *Consigli della Repubblica*, Giuliano's motivation appears twofold.<sup>15</sup> First he was displeased with the narrow, curving property line in front of his palace which, if followed, would result in an irregularly curved facade. He clearly states one goal was to regularize and straighten his facade.<sup>16</sup> Ever the wise businessman, however, Giuliano was not willing to give the city something for nothing despite the aesthetic benefit to his palace. He requested that in exchange for the gift, he be allowed to buy a piece of communal land — something that was not normally possible. He wanted a small public site — a *parvus locus* — at the back of his property. The exchange, he cleverly argued, served both public honor and private convenience since it would result in a more regular, and thus, more beautiful palace facade and a broader, more impressive street. Having lived on Via de' Leoni for about 35 years at that point, Gondi must have known that his request would find favor with the city officials since the street was on one of the city's main processional routes.<sup>17</sup> As early as 1460, as a document published by Caroline Elam attests, the Comune cited the importance of these processions in their decision to improve the piazza in front of the church of San Apollinare, a stone's throw from Gondi's palace.<sup>18</sup> Gondi's comments to the Councils demonstrate not only an awareness of the visual relationship between street and palace and the significance of the latter's placement, but also a willingness to manipulate that context to improve the impact of his palace — something to which I shall return later.

If the 1620 map helps us reconstruct the Quattrocento site of Gondi's palace, a nineteenth-century view of Piazza San Firenze (Fig. 3),<sup>19</sup> provides an image of Gondi's property before Poggi's intervention. Opposite the grand eighteenth-century facade of the church one can see both Sangallo's incomplete facade and the large house to its south that Poggi destroyed. The painting — which was probably executed shortly before Poggi began demolition — shows a dilapidated edifice cheek by jowl with Sangallo's more elegant facade. New windows have been added and old ones bricked up. The intonaco that undoubtedly covered the two upper floors has flaked off to reveal the unsightly underlying brick and rubble construction. It is not surprising that Eugenio Gondi was willing — even eager — to destroy it. Yet it was not an insignificant building when Giuliano purchased it in 1455 for 1200 florins.<sup>20</sup> Built originally for the Giugni family, it was described by them in 1457 (after it was no longer theirs) as a “*chasa overo palagio*.”<sup>21</sup> The stone *bugnati* of the ground floor were impressive enough that Poggi re-used them to line the shops along Via Gondi (Figs. 4 and 5).<sup>22</sup>

The Giugni palace, appropriated from another Florentine family that had fallen on hard times<sup>23</sup>, served as Gondi's home for over thirty years without apparent major alterations on the exterior. Giuliano, thus, joined the ranks of urban landholders giving his growing family a physical identity within the urban fabric for the first time since 1428<sup>24</sup>, when his own father sold the ancestral family tower and palace.<sup>25</sup> In purchasing the Giugni palace, Giuliano left behind his traditional *gonfalone* to build in another district of the city.<sup>26</sup> The choice of his new site, however, was an inspired one. Not only did the Giugni palace sit on a major processional route, it was located right behind the Palazzo dei Priori. The position of this property surely allowed him greater access to the seat of power despite his ambiguous relationship to the Medici.<sup>27</sup>

### The Giugni Palace

The Giugni *chasa overo palagio*, clearly an old building, dates at the latest to the early Quattrocento. In the first Catasto of 1427 the Giugni declared a significant house in that location.<sup>28</sup> In all likelihood the palace was built in the Trecento. Two nineteenth-century illustrations — one published by Poggi in 1886 (Fig. 6) and a carefully executed drawing in an unpublished bound volume on the palace (Fig. 7) — reveal a form of rustication on the ground floor as well as stone voussoirs above door and window openings consistent with a Trecento date, perhaps even the early years of the century.<sup>29</sup> The drawing was executed by Enrico Au Capitaine, Poggi's assistant on the project, who also drew the flank of the palace along Via dei Gondi (Fig. 8)<sup>30</sup> revealing something hitherto unsuspected: the ground floor of the Giugni palace was rusticated on both sides, accentuating the free-standing block-like character of the palace along the processional route — another fact to keep in mind when reconstructing Sangallo's building. A final surprise revealed by Au Capitaine's careful renditions is the presence of a medieval tower — likely dating to the Dugento — that was incorporated into the Giugni palace at some unknown date and purchased together with it in 1455 by Giuliano Gondi.<sup>31</sup> The label "Torre dei Gondi" indicates only that by the nineteenth century it had long been in Gondi possession.<sup>32</sup>



2 Map of Florence, ca. 1620-24 (detail). ASF, Miscellanea di Pianta, 101.



3 Giovanni Signorini, View of Piazza San Firenze. Private collection.

Both Poggi's illustration (Fig. 6) and Au Capitaine's drawing of the facade along Piazza San Firenze (Fig. 7) clearly indicate that long before their intervention someone had begun dismantling the old palace. (Note for example the brick infill among the *bozze* of the north side of the ground floor.) The destruction allowed Sangallo's new facade to continue along a straight line since the section of the old palace that was torn down projected several feet beyond Sangallo's facade.<sup>33</sup> Given Gondi's concern with the regularity of his new facade, the most obvious suspect is Giuliano Gondi himself. An anonymous late-eighteenth-century drawing in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (Fig. 9)<sup>34</sup>, also shows the dismantling of the north side of the old palace. The Metropolitan drawing even illustrates a group of large *bugnati* resting on the bench in front of Sangallo's palace.<sup>35</sup> Could they indicate that Giuliano's much maligned sons had indeed made an attempt to execute his testamentary directive? In 1506, five years after their father's death, the Ufficiali della Torre threatened to fine them if they did not clear the blocks of stone out in the street.<sup>36</sup> Or did the artist place the blocks there for artistic effect?

Au Capitaine's plans of the ground floor (Fig. 10) and *piano nobile* (Fig. 11)<sup>37</sup> before Poggi enlarged the palace indicate that the destruction of the old palace was interrupted abruptly. The room behind Sangallo's facade that resulted from tearing down a bay of the Giugni palace has two straight walls, but an irregular wall that looks partially destroyed where it abuts the old building. Thus, while one could argue that Giuliano Gondi did not intend to destroy the entire old palace,



4 Rustication of Poggi's addition to the Gondi palace along Via Gondi showing the use of *bugnati* from the destroyed Giugni palace.

but merely knit it together with the new palace behind a unified *all'antica* exterior (much like Giovanni Rucellai had earlier done) the extreme irregularity of the interior rooms that would have resulted, however, make this unlikely. In contrast to Rucellai, Gondi had to demolish a significant portion of the old palace.

There is also another problem in joining the old and new buildings. The two palaces had inconsistent floor levels — one had to go up or down a few steps to pass from one building to the other.<sup>38</sup> Having been so concerned with the regularity of his new facade and having spent so much money and effort to begin dismantling the solid stone blocks of the old palace, would Gondi have been satisfied with a hodge-podge of rooms and levels on the interior of this palace built to glorify him and his family? More likely, in 1490 the design of the new palace required the demolition of the old one. But how much did Giuliano Gondi want to destroy and what did he mean to put in its place?

*Usque ad angulum prestantiarum seu conservatorum legum*

The details of Gondi's 1501 testament show a direct bearing on the question of the original scheme of the palace. Either suspecting that there might be disagreement among his sons or that they might be less than enthusiastic about completing his building, Giuliano took an unusual course. He left all matters concerning both the amount to be spent and the date for initiating the work completely to the executors who, he notes, know his desires: "circa quam expensam omne iudicium relaxavit in descretionem et conscientiam et arbitrio dictorum suorum et infrascriptorum exequutorum, qui bene et optime informati sunt de eius animo, voluntate et intentione."<sup>39</sup> He went so far as to give them the power to seek redress in the courts should his heirs ignore their judgment. While he mentioned a limit of 4000 florins, he gave the two executors, Nerozzo del Nero

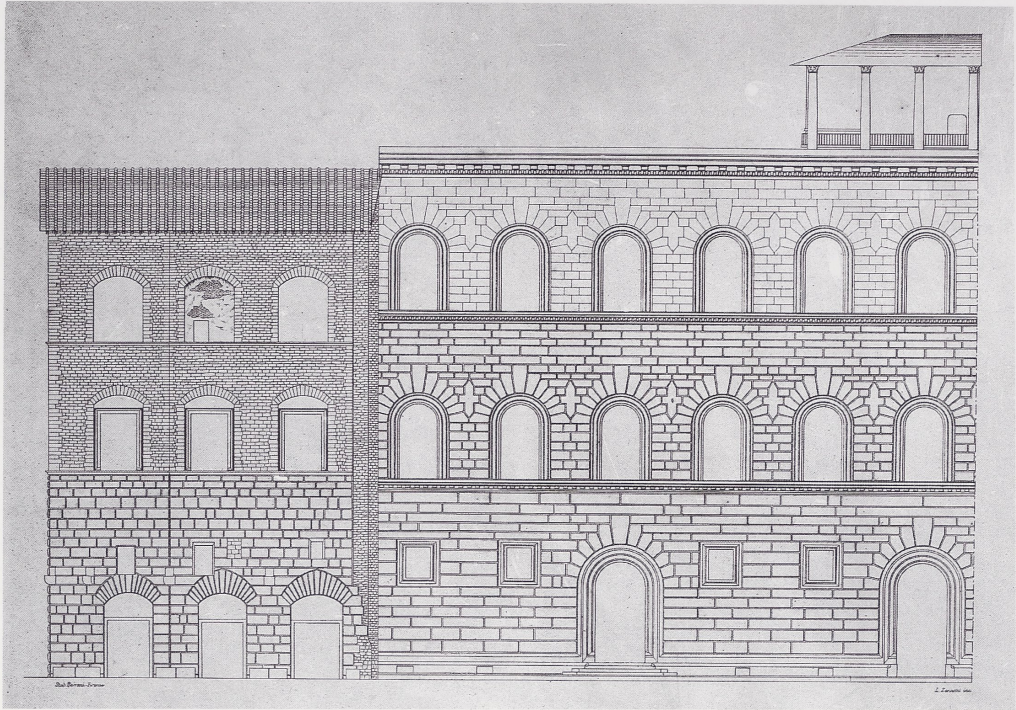


5 Rustication (detail) of Poggi's addition to the Gondi palace along Via Gondi showing the use of the *bugnati* from the destroyed Giugni palace.

and Paolo de' Falconieri, the freedom to spend more as long as it would not financially harm his sons: "Et cum ceteris hedifitiis, muramentis, habitationibus et cum illa expensa prout videbitur dictis et infrascriptis eius exequentibus, non excedendo ducatos quatuormilia largos di grossis, et vel excedendo si et cum iudicaverint dicti et infrascripti exequentes posse fieri omnem expensam sine magno incommodo aut detrimento vel danno infrascriptorum suorum heredum [...]"<sup>40</sup> Giuliano may have been counting on his sons recovering significant sums of money still uncollected at his death.<sup>41</sup> As it turns out, both executors died shortly after Giuliano himself and his sons evidently never felt the time was right to spend money on the palace.<sup>42</sup>

One explicit instruction in the testament speaks directly to the issue of how the exterior of the palace should be completed. "Item [...] iussit et voluit quod domus magna nova sue habitationis omnino compleatur et perficiatur, cum et quando videbitur infrascriptis eius exequentibus. Et fiat huiusmodi perfectio et completio usque ad angulum prestantiarum seu conservatorum legum cum bogolis dumtaxat apparet et facie anteriori ad cohequationem et seu raghuaglium et designationem faciei anterioris domus nove hactenus complete."<sup>43</sup> Part of the instruction is unambiguous: Gondi wanted the rustication on the facade facing piazza San Firenze to be completed exactly as it had been begun. In a way typical of Quattrocento documents to make the point crystal clear, he repeats the directive using three different words to say the same thing. Given the elegance of Sangallo's rusticated pattern, one can understand why Gondi specified that the design should be followed. Like his desire to improve the regularity of his palace noted earlier, this is another indication of his aesthetic sensibility.

While the type and design of the rustication are clear, the rest of the instruction is anything but straightforward. What exactly did "usque ad angulum prestantiarum seu conservatorum legum" really mean? Both the Prestanze and the Conservatori di Legge were communal offices. The Conservatori di Legge were housed in the Palazzo Vecchio while the Prestanze was located fur-

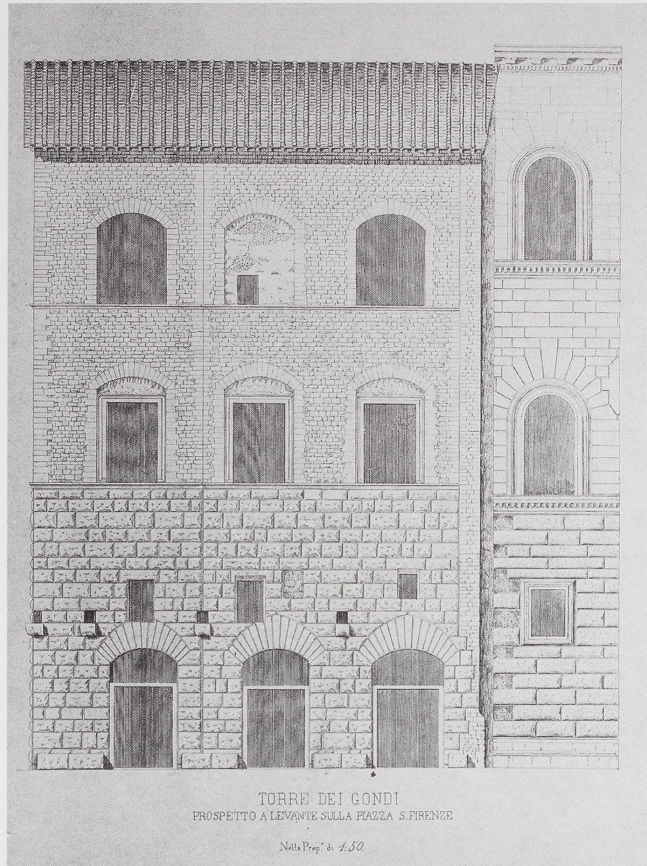


ther east, near the palace of the Capitano del Popolo<sup>44</sup>, on the street called Via delle Prestanze in the fifteenth century (today the Via dei Gondi).<sup>45</sup> Yet even knowing where these offices were located still leaves Gondi's desires open to interpretation.<sup>46</sup> Did Gondi really envision his new palace occupying all the land up to Via delle Prestanze? Relying heavily on the "usque" (up to) in Gondi's directive, Tönnesmann imagined an 11-bay palace (Fig. 12) stretching from the Via delle Prestanze on the south to the end of a property he labels Parcel V on the north (Fig. 13). The enormous expanse would have rivaled the Strozzi palace (13 x 9 bays), becoming one of the largest palaces in Florence. Yet, there are some problems with an 11-bay reconstruction that I believe make it an unlikely solution.

While the 11-bay facade looks grand in elevation, how would it have worked in plan (Fig. 14)? What strikes one immediately is the contrast between the size of the palace and that of the courtyard. Why would either patron or architect have been content with such a diminutive courtyard in such a large palace? If one compares the plan of the contemporaneous Strozzi palace (Fig. 16)<sup>47</sup> to the 11-bay proposal, the true disproportionality of the Gondi courtyard becomes apparent. It is small, indeed minuscule, for such an enormous building.<sup>48</sup> The relationship of courtyard to palace could not be less in keeping with the ideals of symmetry and proportion of the 1490s and especially with the architectural ideas of Giuliano da Sangallo. Sangallo's new, rich *all'antica* courtyard was certainly meant to be a centerpiece and not an afterthought (Fig. 15). Furthermore, the use of an exterior staircase — an archaism in late-Quattrocento Florence — seems to have been, as Tönnesmann first pointed out, a response to limited space.<sup>49</sup> So why, one must ask, would the space be limited if Gondi planned a spacious 11-bay palace? Finally, how should one envision the design of the suite of rooms to the north and south of the courtyard? Either they were gigantic,



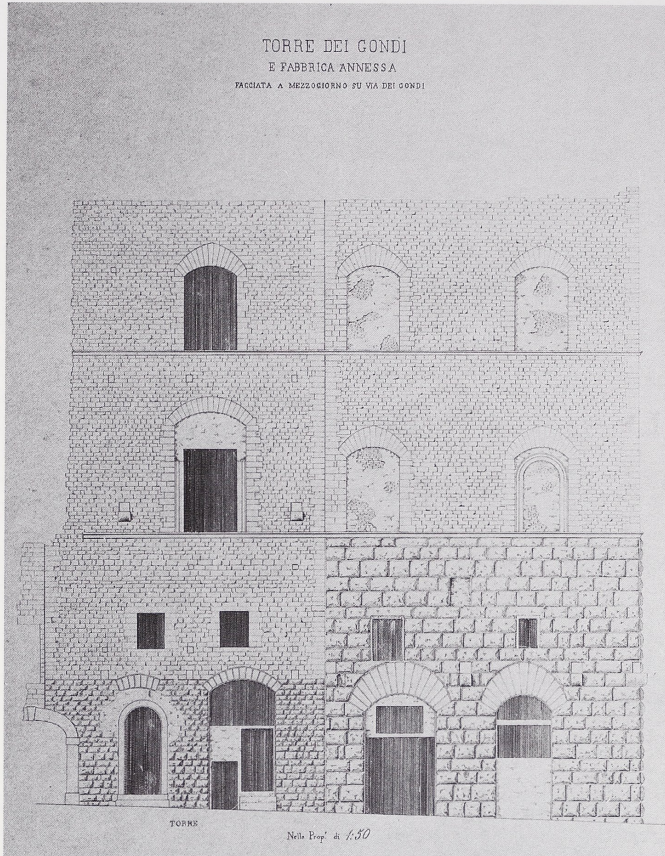
6 Giuseppe Poggi, *Disegni di fabbriche eseguite per commissione di particolari*, 1886, *Stato antico* showing the elevation of the old (formerly Giugni) and new Gondi palaces before Poggi's work.



7 Enrico Au Capitaine for Poggi, *Gondi Album* (1867) plate 14, Elevation of the old Gondi palace (formerly Giugni) on Via de' Leoni.

out of scale with Quattrocento practice, or there was a double row of rooms in each wing, many lacking natural light. While the latter solution might seem possible, the double suite is not typically found in Italian palaces until the seventeenth century.<sup>50</sup> In my view, the problems of the internal design of an 11-bay palace outweigh the directive, “*usque ad angulum prestantiarum seu conservatorum legum*” or, rather, I think the directive may be correct, but not in the way it has been interpreted.

More in keeping with Quattrocento planning is the view presented by Satzinger, who proposed a 9-bay design, represented by the hatched lines in his site plan (Fig. 17).<sup>51</sup> While the plan of a 9-bay facade would still lack the proper proportional relationship between courtyard and building mass, there is another problem with both the 11- and 9-bay proposals. Based on evidence available at the time, Tönnesmann thought that Giuliano Gondi had purchased the property labeled Parcel V before his death (Fig. 13).<sup>52</sup> However, a series of notarial acts demonstrate that the heirs of Niccolò Tanini sold this house to the heirs of Giuliano Gondi only in 1520 — a full 19 years after Gondi died.<sup>53</sup> While it is possible that Gondi, following in the footsteps of Giovanni Rucellai, might have wanted his heirs to extend his palace north along Via de' Leoni as they acquired more property, it is unlikely. In 1501, while specifically instructing them to extend the palace to the south towards Via delle Prestanze, he said nothing about continuing it to the north.



8 Enrico Au Capitaine for Poggi, *Gondi Album* (1867) plate 15, Elevation of the south facade of the old (formerly Giugni) Gondi palace flanked by a medieval tower.

9 Anonymous, View of Piazza San Firenze showing the old (formerly Giugni) and new Gondi palaces, late? 18<sup>th</sup> century. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Prints and Drawings, 69.504.2.

Since preventing an overwhelming financial burden to his sons was an obvious concern, forcing them to build a even larger palace after his death is improbable. Furthermore, even after his sons purchased the Tanini house, they did nothing to include it into the overall design of the palace. In the 1537 division of property between Giuliano's heirs, the house remained a separate entity.<sup>54</sup> Finally in 1558 they sold one part and rented (with an option to buy) the rest to Lorenzo di Girolamo Tanini, indicating that the Gondi heirs were neither desperate to keep the house nor interested in incorporating it into Sangallo's palace.<sup>55</sup> It must be acknowledged, however, as Tönnemann already pointed out, that the rustication on the north side of the palace is incomplete on the upper floors (but not the ground floor) and that for the purposes of symmetry, it ends too abruptly (Fig. 1). Still, the rustication might have been left 'incomplete' in the hopes of getting permission to extend the facade a few inches over the Tanini property. The lack of finish on the northern juncture of the palace does not necessarily indicate intent to construct two more bays.

Thus, it seems unlikely Giuliano da Sangallo's original project was for either an 11- or 9-bay facade. In 1598 Vasari il Giovane depicted a 7-bay facade (Fig. 20).<sup>56</sup> My hypothesis for a 7-bay solution, however, is based not on Vasari (not known unfortunately for its emphasis on accuracy), nor only on the small size and elaborate character of the courtyard, and the late date of the Tanini purchase, but also on new evidence concerning the reconstruction of the size and location of Giuliano Gondi's property acquisitions.

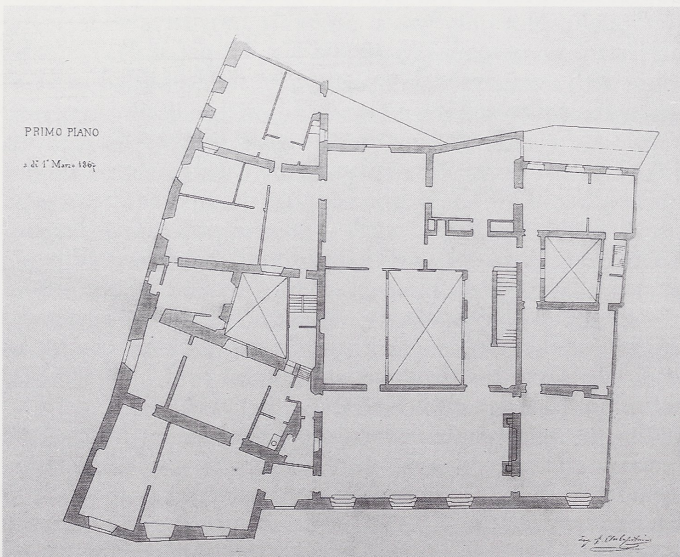
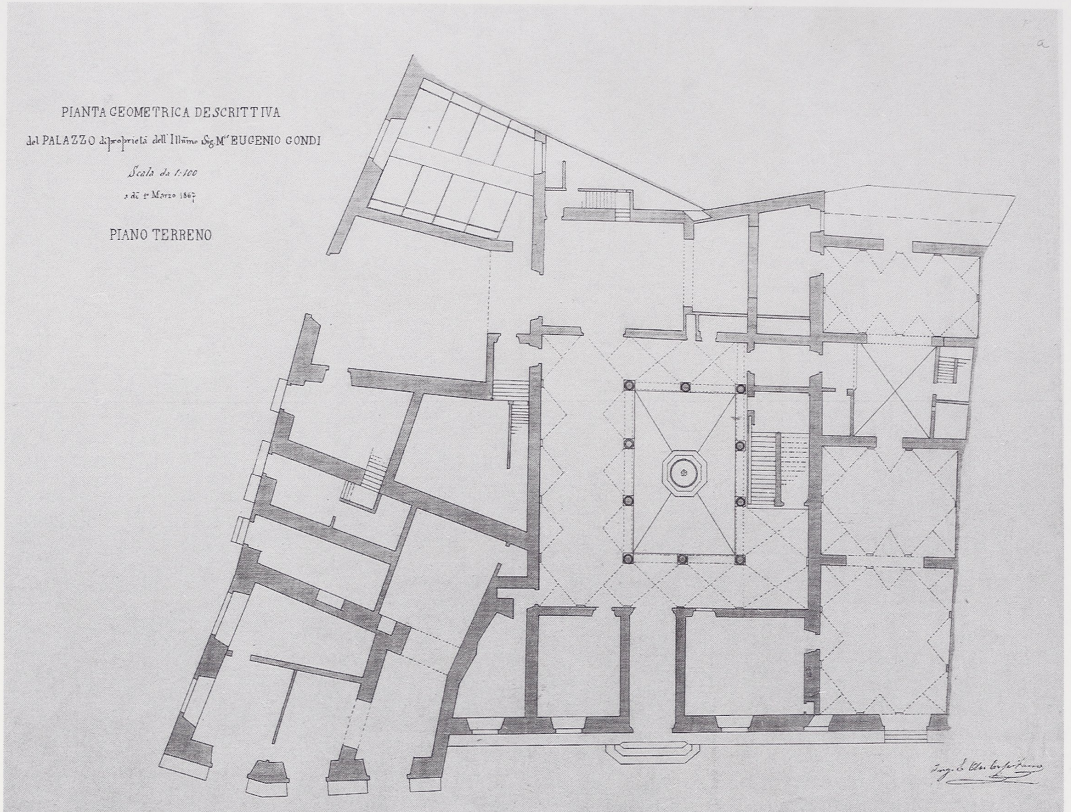


### Property acquisitions

It turns out that the *chasa overo palagio* that Giuliano purchased from the cash-strapped Giugni was more extensive than previously thought. Not only was it probably four bays wide, it extended further west along Via delle Prestanze (compare Fig. 19 and Fig. 13, parcel I). The sales contract of 1455 describes a large house with a courtyard, loggia, *camere*, stable, *sale* as well as a shop and a vaulted cellar.<sup>57</sup> The mention of a courtyard is key.

An unpublished drawing of the whole site from Piazza San Firenze to the Piazza della Signoria dated 1869 and executed by Enrico Au Capitaine (Fig. 20) depicts a courtyard missing from his own plan of the ground floor of the palace (Fig. 10).<sup>58</sup> The size and configuration of the courtyard, which appears to have a colonnade of small columns, is the result of later alterations. Its original dimensions can be ascertained by reference to Au Capitaine's plan of the *piano nobile* (Fig. 11) where the opening of the court occupies a larger space more in keeping with what one would imagine the size of the original courtyard of the Giugni palace would have been.<sup>59</sup> The courtyard depicted in the 1869 site plan (Fig. 20) and on the *piano nobile* of the old palace (Fig. 11) must be the one mentioned in the document of sale. Thus, the Giugni acquisition of 1455 included land that Tönnesmann believed Giuliano had not acquired until 1485 (Fig. 13, parcel II.3).<sup>60</sup>

Not only is the larger footprint of the older palace more in keeping with the description of the house and its price, its original extent is confirmed by an unpublished plan of the cellars dating from around 1701 (Fig. 21) — unfortunately stolen along with other documents in the theft of almost the entire Gondi archive in the present palace in 2000.<sup>61</sup> The plan depicts the cellar of both the old palace (which clearly refers to the ex-Giugni palace that stood intact until the 1870s) and



10, 11 Enrico Au Capitaine for Poggi, *Gondi Album* (1867) plates 2 and 6, Plans of ground floor and *piano nobile* of the old (formerly Giugni) and new Gondi palaces prior to Poggi's renovation.

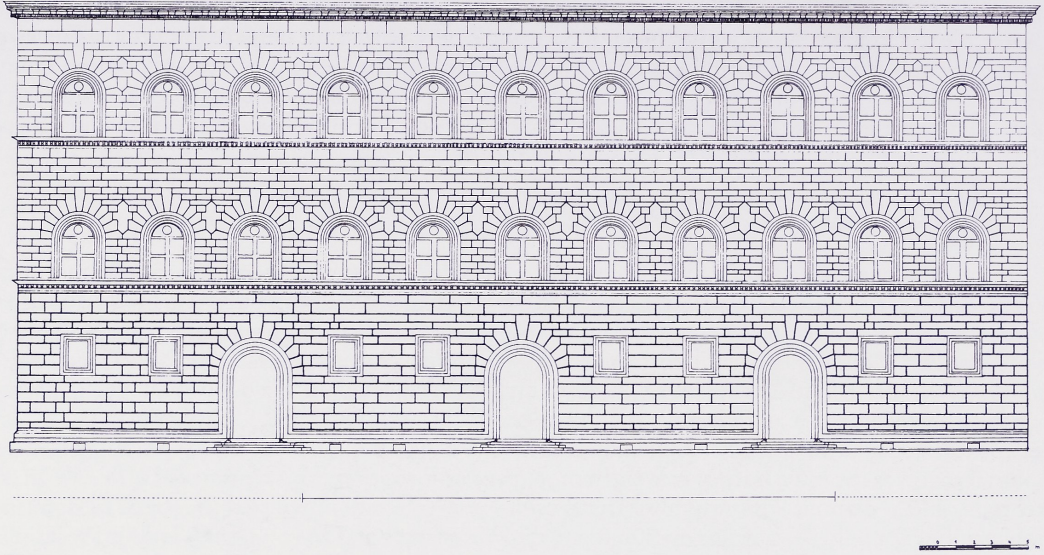
that of Sangallo's project. The accompanying key specifies that the walls of the old palace are those colored in fawn wash while those of Sangallo's new palace are depicted in grey.<sup>62</sup> The two rooms located where one would expect the foundations of the Giugni palace are colored fawn. The roughly triangular one, labeled A, corresponds to the area of the courtyard on Au Capitaine's plans. This change in the size of the Giugni palace has a domino effect on the position and size of all the other pieces of the property-acquisitions puzzle.

#### The office of the Grascia

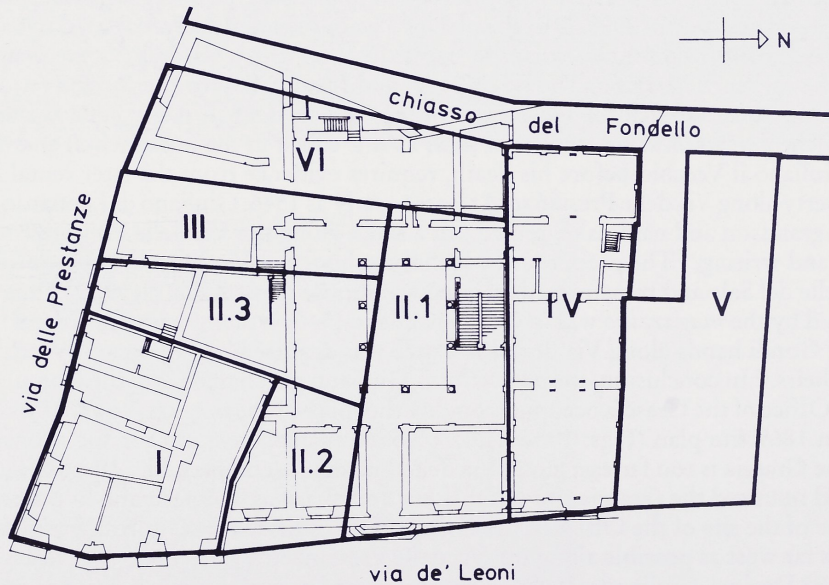
If the Giugni palace offers a fixed point east on Via delle Prestanze (beginning at the corner of Via de' Leoni), the Mercanzia provides the western terminus of Gondi's purchase in the direction of Piazza della Signoria. In the "Provvisioni" of the Consigli della Repubblica of 5 June 1490 mentioned earlier, Gondi was permitted to purchase communal property described as a "small site" (*parvus locus*) or "a house, that is, a site" (*domus seu locus*) located on Via delle Prestanze contiguous with the Mercanzia and Gondi's own property.<sup>63</sup> In his 1498 Decima, Giuliano called it "un certo sito in che stavano gl'uficiali della Crascia" (the officials of the Grascia).<sup>64</sup> An unpublished notarial act gives the exact date of sale and a more precise location of this communal office.<sup>65</sup> On 20 February 1491 — about 8 months after the *Provvisione* — Gondi purchased the site. The description includes not only the borders mentioned in the *Provvisione* and *Decima* (the Via delle Prestanze, the Mercanzia, and Gondi) but also a small courtyard (*corticina*) belonging to the Mercanzia. The Mercanzia's *corticina* is, I believe, the small triangular court visible in Au Capitaine's plan of 1869 next to the stable (Figs. 20 and 19) — something that will become important below.<sup>66</sup>

Another document adds a piece to the puzzle. An unpublished late-eighteenth century drawing (Fig. 22) — also stolen in 2000 — of the plan of a warehouse (*magazzino*) used to store salt by the Gabelle del Sale<sup>67</sup> makes it clear that the stable depicted in Au Capitaine's site plan occupied the site of the earlier *magazzino*. The size, shape, and relationship to the *corticina* are identical. However, to demonstrate that the *magazzino* of the Gabelle del Sale is the same as the Office of the Grascia (the *parvus locus* or *domus seu locus* as it is called in the documents) and thus in the hands of Giuliano il Vecchio before his death, requires evidence from the later rental history of Gondi property along Via delle Prestanze. At least as early as 1546, Giuliano di Leonardo, Giuliano il Vecchio's grandson and namesake, rented out a space along the Via delle Prestanze to a school for reading and writing.<sup>68</sup> The property in which the school was located was subsequently rented to the Gabelle del Sale and transformed into the warehouse depicted in Fig. 22.<sup>69</sup> Thus the property occupied by the *magazzino* was in Gondi hands in 1546. Other documents reveal that all the property in Gondi hands along Via delle Prestanze was acquired by Giuliano il Vecchio himself and not his heirs.<sup>70</sup> In conclusion, the *parvus locus* Giuliano purchased from the Comune that had housed the Office of the Grascia occupied roughly the space of the *magazzino* and thus the area of the stable in 1869 site plan (Figs. 19 and 20).<sup>71</sup> Tönnemann's position for the property of the Office of the Grascia is too far east along Via delle Prestanze (compare Fig. 19 and Fig. 13, III).<sup>72</sup> Giuliano did not need the Grascia site to finish his courtyard as Tönnemann hypothesized, but the purchase of the site of the Office of the Grascia does indicate that Giuliano wanted to extend his palace as far west as possible along the Via delle Prestanze.

In his 1498 Decima, Giuliano stated that he demolished part of the *parvus locus* and united it to his house. The statement is undoubtedly exaggerated, as is typical of tax documents in general and of Giuliano's declarations concerning the property he purchased in particular. The building could hardly have been destroyed if his heirs were able to rent it out in later years. However, he certainly intended to incorporate the property into his house. In fact the sales contract specified that beams could be affixed into the wall shared with the Mercanzia, possibly in an attempt to avoid future problems once construction began.<sup>73</sup>



12 Elevation of an eleven-bay proposal for the original project of the Gondi palace. From *Tönnesmann*, 1983 (n. 4).



13 Reconstruction of the property acquisitions made by Giuliano Gondi for his palace. From *Tönnesmann*, 1983 (n. 4).

14 Plan showing Tönnesmann's eleven-bay proposal (drawn by Leonardo Scoma after indication of the Author on the basis of Au Capitaine's drawing in AGSF, Documenti 1873-1877, Filza 13, n. 11).



### The Calimala houses

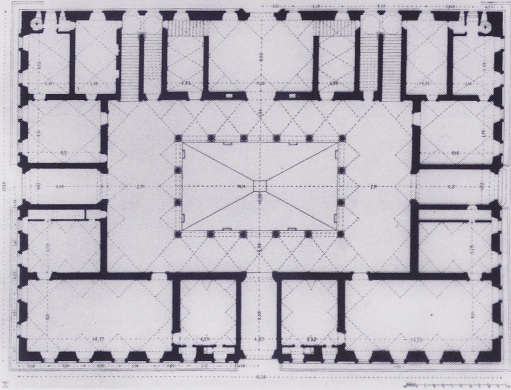
Once the extent of the Giugni palace and the location of the Office of the Grascia are clarified, the boundaries of Gondi's other purchases can more easily be determined. Not long after buying the Giugni palace in 1455, Giuliano began to feel the need for more space. In his Catasto of 1469, he reported that he had begun renting a small house next to his from the Calimala guild. There he made his kitchen and kept chickens and wood.<sup>74</sup> By 1480 he was renting two more Calimala houses — three in all — to accommodate the needs of his growing family.<sup>75</sup> By 1485 all the Calimala property he had been renting was in his possession.<sup>76</sup> In his *Decima* of 1498 he states: "Comperai piu anni fa dalarte de merchatanti una chasa la quale loro alogiarono a tre pigionali posta nella via de lionj popolo di Santo Pulinari che confinava meco e donne fiorini ottocento di suggello e fiorini cento Largha la quale casa ho gittata in terra e muratala nella chasa in che habito."<sup>77</sup> The truth of that assessment is clear from Au Capitaine's plans (Figs. 10 and 11) and from the palace today, where all traces of the Calimala houses have disappeared.



15 Gondi Palace, courtyard.

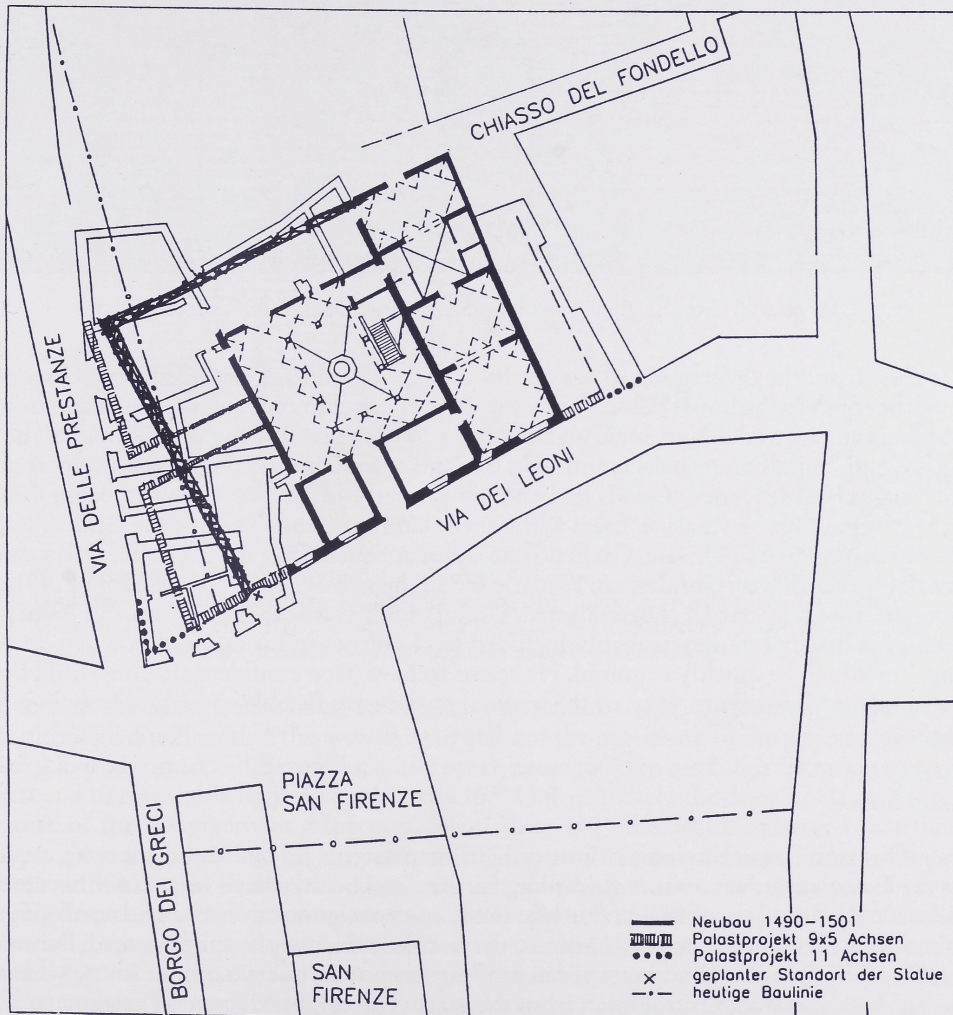
It is not really possible — even given boundary descriptions in several documents — to separate out the various parts of this interconnected purchase. There were three pieces of property: a large house, a *casetta*, and an office space with several rooms. The large house and *casetta* had each other as boundaries and both fronted on Via de' Leoni.<sup>78</sup> The office, “Uno sito da uficio con androne et chamere et udienza [entrance and rooms and audience hall]”<sup>79</sup> — or as it is designated in the sales contract “domum sive situm pro residentia officialium” — was inextricably part of the large house.<sup>80</sup> However, in contrast to the large house and *casetta*, it faced the Via delle Prestanze as did the Office of the Grascia. The *sito da uficio* had been rented by the Regulatori until they moved out on 10 December 1459.<sup>81</sup> In my reconstruction I have given it an area roughly equal to that of the Grascia, although as with the Grascia there is little remaining evidence to reconstruct its exact size and configuration (Fig. 19).

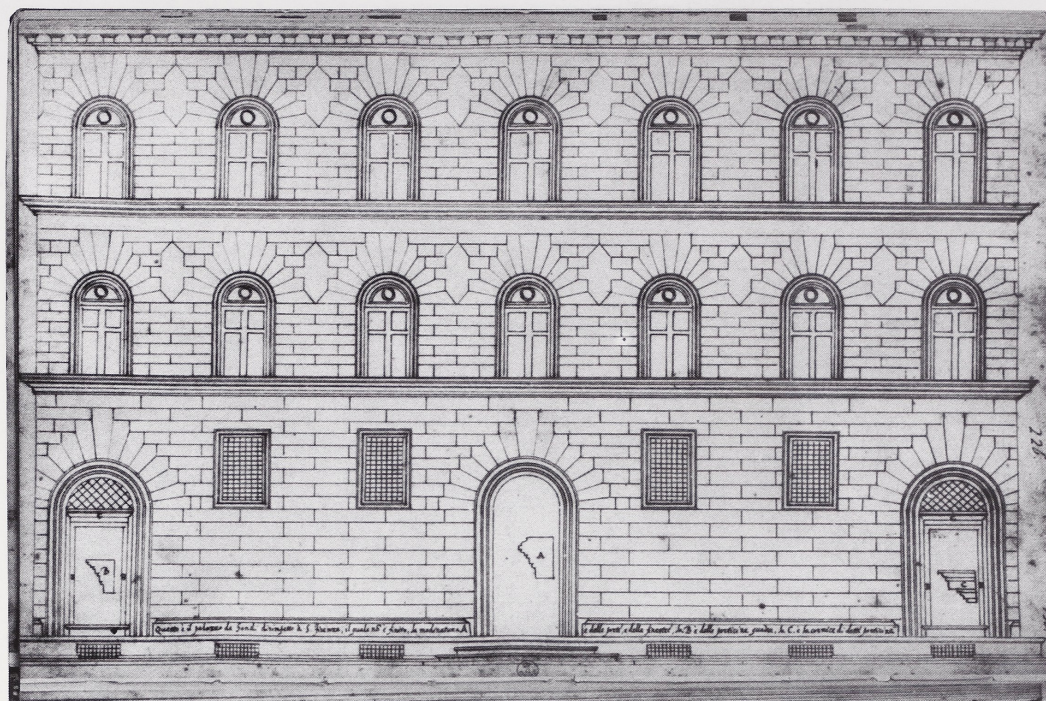




16 Plan of the Strozzi palace from *Stegmann/Geymüller*.

17 Site plan with the 9-bay (in hatching), the 11-bay (with dots), and the cross-hatched square of the 7-bay proposal. Author on the basis of *Satzinger*.





18 Vasari il Giovane, Elevation of Gondi palace, GDSU, A 4940, dis. 226.

As is clear from the description of the confines, the total package extended from Gondi's old palace on the south to the house belonging to the heirs of Niccolò Asini on the north and from Via de' Leoni on the east to the Mercanzia on the west. It is now possible to see that most of the land on which Gondi built his new palace, and all of the land of his fabulous courtyard, was part of that 1485 purchase. By 1485, then, Gondi had enough property in his possession to begin thinking about the design of his new palace. Even without the land from the Office of the Grascia or from his next purchase, the Asini house, Giuliano had a plot adequate for a decent palace. However the facts speak for themselves, Gondi wasn't satisfied with the size of his plot in 1485 for in 1491, after the foundations of his palace had been started, Gondi purchased both the Grascia and Asini property. Thus, his original design probably included land not yet in his possession when he began building, but which he quickly acquired. He seems to have been confident that he would be able to purchase the additional property, or the original project was flexible enough to be built with or without it.

### The Asini house

When Giuliano began the foundations of his new palace in July 1490, he knew he would be getting the Grascia site very soon.<sup>82</sup> Regarding further land he may have wanted for his new palace, there is only one piece of the puzzle left: the house contiguous to his on the north (Fig. 19), held in common by the Asini heirs — Mariotto di Niccolò and his nephew, Bernardo di Bernardo.<sup>83</sup> Gondi eventually bought it and incorporated it into his house, but we cannot know whether it was part of his overall acquisition plan from the start. The earliest document relating to his at-



19 Reconstruction by the Author of the extent and date of property acquisitions made by Giuliano Gondi for his palace. (A) Giugni palace; (B) Calimala property; (C) Office of the Grascia; (D) Asini House; (E) Tanini house; (F) land cede to the Comune (drawn by Leonardo Scoma on the basis of Au Capitaine's drawing in AGSF, Documenti 1873-1877, Filza 13, n. 11).

tempt to buy the Asini house dates to 10 June 1491, almost a year after the foundations were begun, although it is clear that this was the end and not the beginning of the process. Giuliano, as one party, and Mariotto and Bernardo, as the other, agree to go to binding arbitration to settle the constant and unresolvable fighting between them.<sup>84</sup> Unfortunately the documents do not specify the nature of the disagreement. However, on 27 June 1491 the arbiters decreed that Giuliano would purchase the house and set the price at 1200 florins.<sup>85</sup> We do not know if it was the price of the purchase that caused so much contention or whether Mariotto was reluctant to sell his family house. Earlier, he had made improvements to the property<sup>86</sup>, and he must have been unwilling to leave because the arbiters allowed him to stay for another four months after which he had to vacate the premises permanently. Mariotto had lived in the house in San Pulinari all his life — in 1491 he must have been around 68 — so one could understand his reluctance to leave.<sup>87</sup> Further-

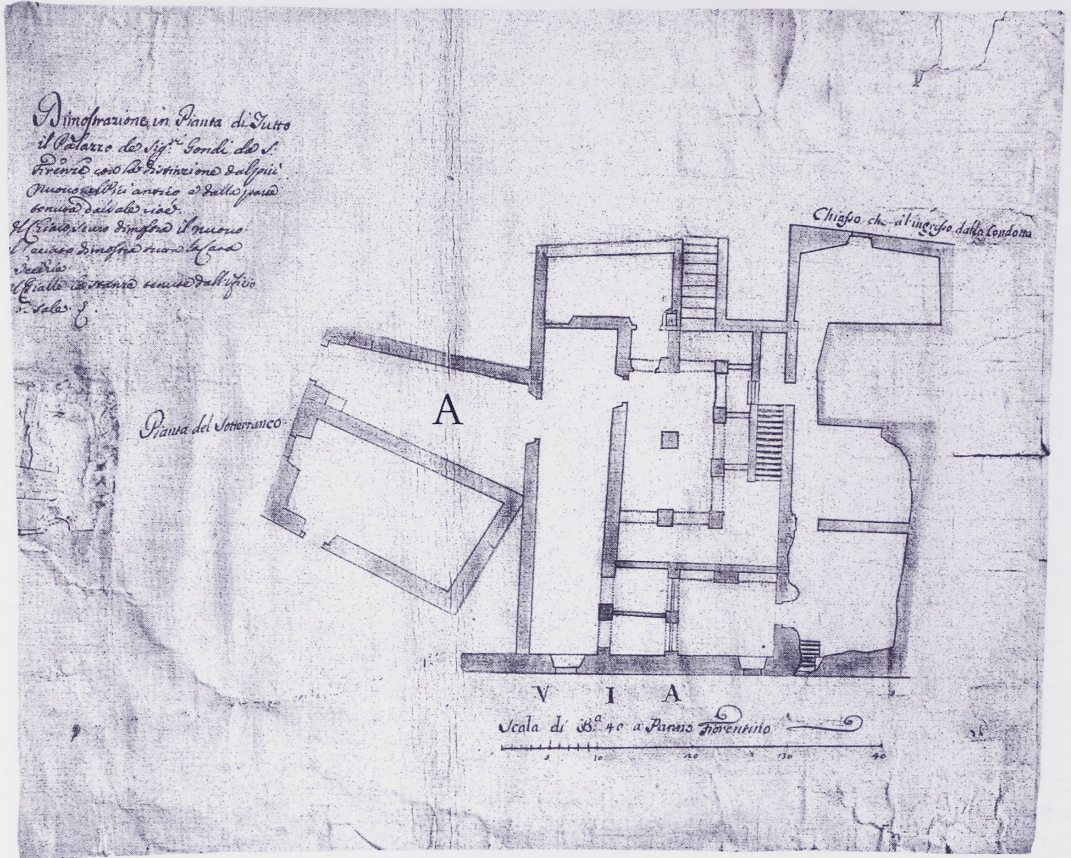
more, on 15 October 1489, only about nine months before Gondi began digging his foundations, Mariotto traded part of a farm in exchange for a larger share of the house.<sup>88</sup> While his attachment to the family *casa* was clear, Mariotto's financial state was precarious. Having earlier lost their right to practice the wool business in Rome, Mariotto, Luigi, and Bernardo reveal in their 1480 *Catasto* that they were in difficulty.<sup>89</sup> It is even possible that the financial woes of the Asini might have led Giuliano, even as early as 1485 when he purchased the Calimala land, to believe he would be able to purchase the Asini family house. We cannot draw any firm conclusions without more information except that — since he was willing to submit to arbitration to get it — Giuliano Gondi must have wanted the house badly. Without his neighbor's house, the regularity of his new facade would have been sacrificed since a window to the right of the entrance not only hits the party wall, it overlaps onto Asini property (Figs. 10 and 19). From a design point of view, once Gondi had decided to build the courtyard by destroying the Calimala property rather than begin with the demolition of the Giugni palace, a regular palace with a central courtyard was impossible without its purchase. Placing the main staircase on the northern border of the Calimala property suggests that he planned to get the Asini property, but making it an external staircase indicates that if he failed, he could still have the space for an impressive palace if not a central courtyard.

The Asini house was a decent-sized property described as having several floors with living rooms, bedrooms, a kitchen, land, a courtyard, cellar, and well.<sup>90</sup> The price of 1200 florins — which might have been inflated — was identical to that paid for the Giugni palace 36 years earlier.<sup>91</sup> Giuliano's statement in his 1498 Decima that he destroyed the Asini house and incorporated it into his new palace, however, is certainly an exaggeration as was his similar comment about the Office of the Grascia.<sup>92</sup> Even a cursory glance at Au Capitaine's plan (Fig. 10) reveals that the house did not succumb to the wrecking ball. The common wall separating the two properties was a defining boundary that remained intact. The diagonal placement of a facade window at that juncture confirms that the wall preceded the design. A small court, probably that described in the Asini house in the arbitration document of 1491, is still visible.

The most conclusive evidence, however, that the earlier building stood long after Giuliano Gondi's death comes from the nineteenth century. Several *peducci* (Fig. 24) on the *primo piano* of the main staircase of the Gondi palace are typical of the 1470s.<sup>93</sup> What, one might ask, were *peducci* from the 1470s doing on the upper floors of a palace begun in 1490? The answer — and proof that the Asini house was not torn down in the Quattrocento — emerges from a letter of 19 February 1874. In it Eugenio Gondi asks Giuseppe Poggi to re-use *peducci* from a room Poggi was destroying: "Se fosse possibile non sarebbe male l'adopare [*i.e.* adoperare] i peducci che si tolgono dalla volta del nuovo ingresso carrozzabile, per mettere ai pilastri su per le scale grandi dal primo piano in su."<sup>94</sup> The new carriage entrance occupies the site of the Asini house.<sup>95</sup> Is it possible that the *peducci* reflect some of the improvements made by Mariotto? Even if Mariotto was not responsible, it seems that someone in the Asini family was updating the interior of the house in the 1470s.<sup>96</sup>

It should be said, however, that while Giuliano did not destroy Mariotto and Bernardo's house, he did modify it. Above all he ran his new facade across it, obliterating all signs of Asini possession on the exterior as well as closing the street entrance. As is clear from both Au Capitaine's plan (Fig. 10) and an engraving of the palace facade published in 1705 by Corbinelli (Fig. 23)<sup>97</sup>, the large arched opening to the right of the central door of the palace is blind. Despite the depiction of a door in Corbinelli's illustration, the entrance was merely decorative because the knee-high stone bench (also clearly visible in Corbinelli) ran across it blocking the door. By the late eighteenth-century when the Metropolitan drawing was executed (Fig. 9), even the fiction of a door was eliminated. Gondi probably also substituted a large, lunette-vaulted room for what once must have contained the *androne* of the Asini house. The room, visible in Au Capitaine's plan (Fig. 10), is not typical of entrances in Florentine row houses. In Sangallo's new building there was only one entry to the palace on Via de' Leoni through the central *androne* leading into the courtyard.<sup>98</sup>

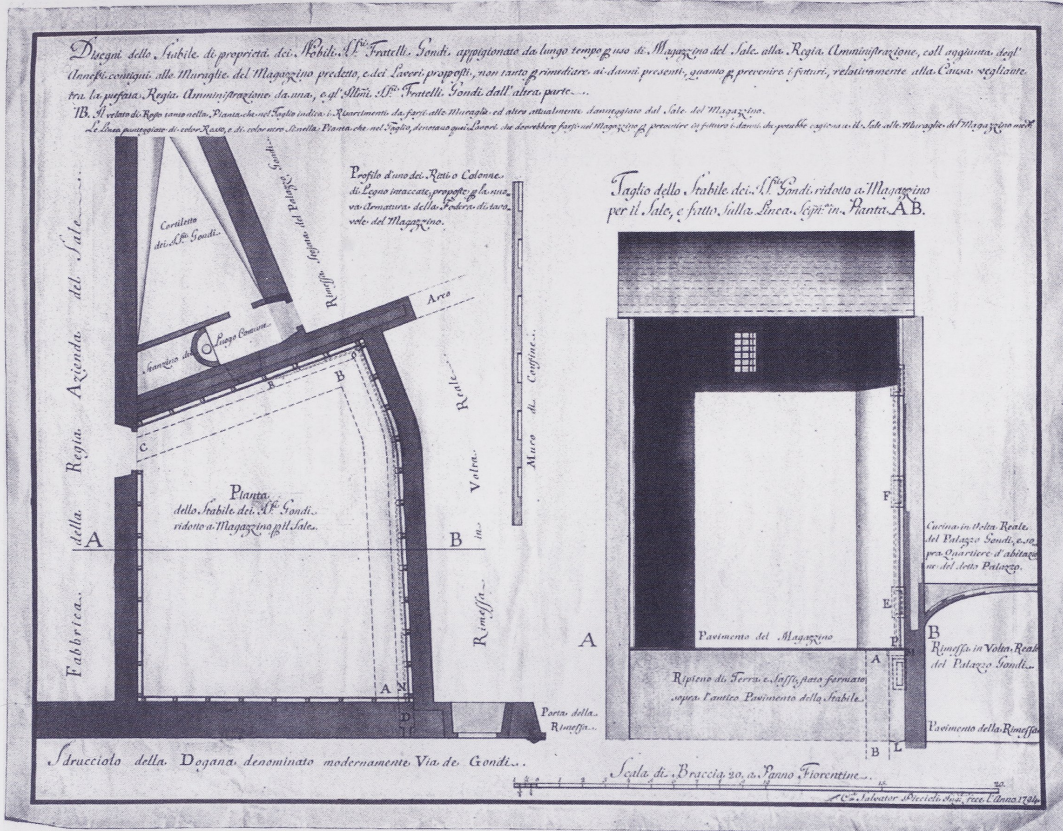




21 Plan of the cellar of old (formerly Giugni) and new Gondi palaces, 1701. Area marked A is the site of the courtyard of the Giugni palace. AGSF (stolen in 2000).

the communal property that housed the Office of the Grascia or the large house, small house, and office space from the Calimala that had been donated to the guild by Mona Francesca Castellani née Asini with express instructions that it could not be sold?<sup>100</sup> According to Tribaldo de' Rossi's account — in which he made clear his disapproval of what he viewed as Medici interference in communal affairs<sup>101</sup> — Gondi acquired the Office of the Grascia through the intervention of Lorenzo de' Medici — who was also responsible for what Tribaldo called “el pregio nano.”<sup>102</sup>

While we have no specific evidence, other than Tribaldo's comment, that Gondi underpaid for the Office of the Grascia, Lorenzo's intervention does seem to have secured him a bargain price for the Calimala property. Giuliano, it will be remembered, purchased three intertwined parcels from the Calimala: a large house, a *casetta*, and a *sito da ufficio*. The large house, like the Giugni palace, was probably a Trecento *casa overo palagio*.<sup>103</sup> It had been rented out for years by the Calimala for 25-30 florins — roughly the same amount the Giugni palace had fetched before Giuliano purchased it.<sup>104</sup> Moreover, the Calimala got almost as much as the house for the combined rental of the *casetta* and the *sito da ufficio*.<sup>105</sup> Yet for all this property, Gondi paid the equivalent of 900 florins — 300 florins less than he had paid in 1455 to acquire the Giugni house alone.



22 Plan and elevation of the magazzino rented by the Gabelle del Sale, Via Gondi, 1791. AGSF (stolen in 2000).

Gondi was not allowed to buy the property directly. He traded it for a silk shop worth 800 florins which, not coincidentally, he had purchased from Lorenzo de' Medici, plus 100 florins in cash.<sup>106</sup> The contract, signed in Lorenzo's palace in Via Larga as Tönnemann first noted, lists Lorenzo as the guarantor.<sup>107</sup> Given what we know about Lorenzo, it is more than likely that he was responsible for "el pregio nano" (to use Tribaldo's words for the Grascia purchase) that Gondi paid to the Calimala guild. Lorenzo, as Elam and Kent have observed, viewed the attempts of the Florentine patriciate — whether they came from within or without the *reggimento* — to decorate Florence with grand, new palaces as a reflection of the glory of his rule.<sup>108</sup> For Gondi, whose family was periodically politically suspect, building a grand family palace in addition to his stated concerns with image and fame was clearly a way to ingratiate himself with Lorenzo.<sup>109</sup>

### The seven-bay palace

Having settled the question of property acquisitions and arrived at a better idea of the character of the buildings on the site, it is now possible to return to the original question of what Giuliano Gondi intended when he instructed his heirs to complete his newly begun palace. There are two parts to this problem: first what was the original scheme for the palace and second what did Gondi

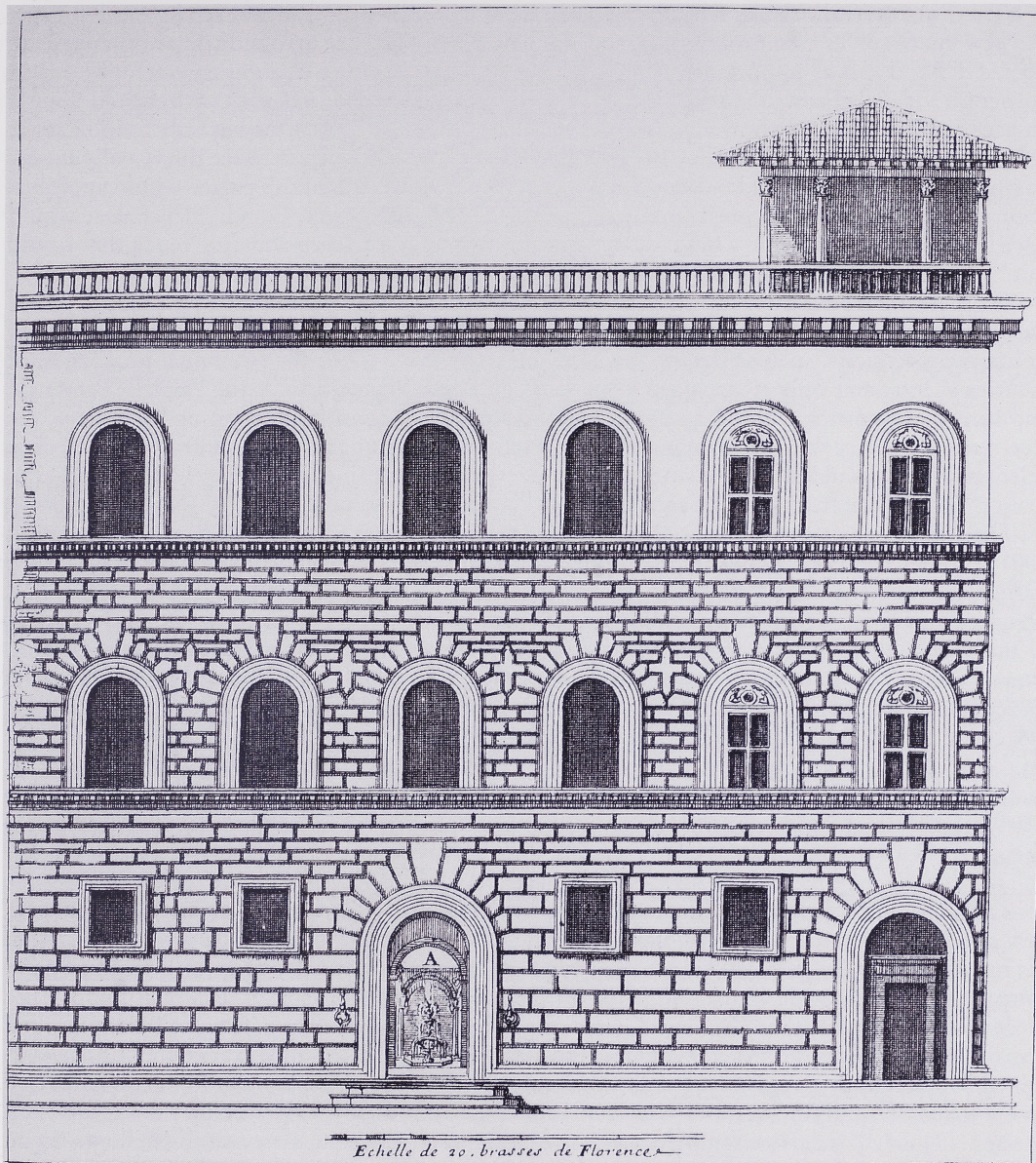
want his heirs to accomplish. As suggested earlier, I believe that Sangallo's ideal design is roughly represented by Poggi's 7-bay facade today (Fig. 1) and by the rough square with vertical hatching in Fig. 17. My reconstruction is based on the conclusion that Gondi intended to tear down the rooms of the earlier palace, as he already seems to have begun, rather than merely mask them with a new facade, and on the pre-supposition that Sangallo's design would have been a standard Florentine palace with a centrally placed courtyard.<sup>110</sup> Using the Asini house as the northern terminus of the original design, one can derive a 7-bay design by adding a wing equal to the size of the Asini house on the southern end. The resulting building conforms, in a way that the 11- or 9-bay palaces simply cannot, to a building designed by Giuliano da Sangallo, an architect particularly concerned with issues of symmetry and proportion. The regularity of the projected building is also in keeping with the Strozzi palace with which Gondi's palace was consistently compared.<sup>111</sup> The new palace would have been rusticated on both the Via de' Leoni and the Via delle Prestanze — as was the old Giugni palace which it would have supplanted.<sup>112</sup>

My proposed reconstruction of a 7-bay palace, however, poses problems of its own. I cannot prove that Gondi wanted a regular, symmetrical fully rusticated palace. Although in choosing an architect such as Giuliano da Sangallo, it is likely, one could argue, that he had such a palace in mind. More important, however, is the problem of what would have been planned for the remaining 2 bays of the old palace? Poggi's 7 bays were the result of the widening of the Via dei Gondi in the nineteenth century to an unimaginably large scale for a Quattrocento street. The size of the Via delle Prestanze was average in fifteenth-century terms. It was only later that it would be called "sdrucchiolo" and its narrow dark passage deemed inappropriate for such a politically potent site. So what would have happened to the southern bays of the old Giugni palace? I would like to propose a radical solution that must, as my hypothesis about the 7-bay palace, remain only a supposition: Gondi tore them down not to widen a city street, as his descendant Eugenio would, but to create an open space — a private triangular piazza — on the south side of his house.<sup>113</sup>

Florentines were clearly concerned with the visibility of their palaces. Because the association of family lineage or political affiliations with specific areas within the dense medieval fabric was too strong to pull most patrons away from center to more open sites closer to the last set of walls, Florentine palace builders sought inventive ways of highlighting the effect of their buildings as recent scholarship has demonstrated.<sup>114</sup> Lacking open space, they often had to find other ways of accentuating the aesthetic value of their buildings. Their options while limited were clever. Locating a building on a corner or where a street widened was one way of providing a viewing space against which one could measure the grandeur of a palace. More dramatic were patrons who manipulated the urban context to reposition a palace. Giovanni Boni, whose beautiful palace (today the Antinori palace) appears as a scenographic set at the end of Via Tornabuoni (then Via Larga dei Legnaioli) created the proper view for his building. As Preyer discovered, the location of the facade was not accidental — Boni had petitioned the Comune to allow him to buy a slice of land in order to cant his palace facade into a more prominent position.<sup>115</sup> Even today the palace takes center stage when viewed along three streets: Via degli Agli, Via Rondinelli, or Via Tornabuoni. Some merchants surprisingly went even further. Luca Pitti, Giovanni Rucellai and Filippo di Matteo Strozzi (in intent at least it seems), went so far as to buy property not for construction but for destruction.<sup>116</sup> With the intention of tearing down buildings to create a piazza, these builders recognized that open space provided the ideal urban context for admiring their palaces. The subtlety of the facade designs or elegance of the buildings proportions were difficult to read on narrow curving streets. Giuliano Gondi, it will be remembered, found the constricted irregular street in front of his palace displeasing. Creating a private piazza was one way of assuring the visibility of a palace.

As Elam has demonstrated in her examination of the Strozzi piazza, executed only later by Filippo Strozzi the Younger, such spaces could become legal nightmares for the heirs. Since the open space was ambiguous in nature — neither wholly private nor wholly public, interconnected





23 Elevation of the facade of new Gondi palace, from *Corbinelli* (n. 3).

with the public street system but not under the jurisdiction of urban authorities — they could become centers of contention. Still when Giuliano Gondi was projecting his new palace, legal issues concerning the interplay between public and private were not in the forefront of his mind — especially as a private piazza belonging to an individual family rather than a consorteria appears to be something fairly new in the Quattrocento.<sup>117</sup>

There are several reasons why the hypothesis of a private piazza makes sense. Aesthetically, the new space solves two problems. It sets the palace off from its surroundings as other private piazze did and just as importantly eliminates the unpleasant effect of an exaggeratedly pointed corner on Via delle Prestanze and Via dei Leoni. If one looks at the 1620 plan with the old Giugni palace (Fig. 2) one can see how aggressive the point would have been. One has only to look at the solution of the Guidi palace (today the Ridolfi di Piazza) on Via Maggio to see the visually unsatisfying result.<sup>118</sup> With the old palace gone and with a new piazza, Gondi's palace would appear as regular block on the corner position. By sacrificing masonry for space, Gondi's new palace would have been transformed from a flat facade on a narrow street into a free-standing block that would put him and his family — visually at least — in the league of the Strozzi and the Medici.<sup>119</sup>

There is a final reason for considering the importance of the visual impact of the Gondi palace within the larger urban context. It is well known that some of the most important religious and political processions, such as that of the Madonna di Impruneta or the triumphal procession of Charles VII to name only two, passed from the Piazza della Signoria down the Via delle Prestanze and turned the corner at Via dei Leoni.<sup>120</sup> With Sangallo's elegant rustication on both sides, the free-standing palace with its open piazza would have made an impressive backdrop for such civic celebrations. It would also have stood out for everyone who came from Borgo dei Greci — the main thoroughfare from piazza Santa Croce to Piazza della Signoria.

There is, however, one major sticking point in this hypothesis — the instructions in Giuliano's 1501 testament do not specifically mentioned continuing the rustication of his facade around the corner onto the Via delle Prestanze. He only says that he wished his heirs to extend Sangallo's design to the corner of the Prestanze. Could it be that the instruction to complete it to the "angulum of the prestanze" implies a corner palace finished on both sides? There is even some indication from the seventeenth century that Giuliano Gondi's heirs believed he intended to complete the palace with rustication along the Via delle Prestanze. How else could he imagine completing the palace if not with Sangallo's design? Did he intend to leave the stone *bugnati* of the Giugni palace on the side of the Via delle Prestanze to abut the extremely elegant facade design? Would he have removed the large blocks to replace them with intonaco? It may even be that the instruction to his heirs to finish the facade *usque ad angulum prestantiarum seu conservatorum legum* represents a change from his original plan. As his testament makes clear he was worried about bankrupting his heirs. Thus, he may have sized down the project to avoid inflicting too great an expense on his sons after his death. Instead of insisting that his heirs tear down the entire old palace and build his new design, Gondi may in the end have settled for the *appearance* of a new palace by instructing his heirs to cover the primary facade (and even the secondary facade?) of the old building with Sangallo's elegant new design and finished off the rooms left incomplete at his death.

It is, thus, possible that Giuliano Gondi originally intended to carve out a private space in a visually potent area of the city. Having lost the association with their ancestral gonfalone through the sale of the family palace in the early Quattrocento, Giuliano Gondi certainly set out to create a new locus of family power and visibility. Building a new *all'antica* palace may not have been enough. He may have also attempted to manipulate its urban context. Before he died, however, he realized his goals could not be achieved and modified his will accordingly. In the final analysis we are left with a conundrum into which not all the pieces of the puzzle fit.

A quirk of fate — the death of both executors — meant that his palace was left undone leaving us tantalizing, but incomplete evidence, for how it would originally have looked. It is somehow fitting none-the-less that the sweeping urban vision of nineteenth-century Florence and Eugenio Gondi's desire to adorn the city with an imposing palace worthy of the family name, resulted in a palace that, in my view, paradoxically comes close to fulfilling Giuliano Gondi's original desires.



24 *Peduccio* here identified as originally in the Asini house, now on the second floor, Gondi palace.

#### NOTES

A version of this article was originally read as a paper at the Renaissance Society of America's annual meeting Spring, 2000 held in Florence, Italy. It provides a more detailed background for a book in progress on the social and architectural life of the Gondi palace over five centuries: *Property, family, and identity: the Gondi Palace in Florence* from Giuliano da Sangallo to Giuseppe Poggi (1490-1870). I would like to thank several individuals and institutions without whose help I could not have completed this article. Primary among them is the Marchese Amerigo Gondi who generously allowed me access not only to all corners of his palace, but to his private family archive as well. The extraordinary generosity of Vittoria Gondi who gave unstintingly of her time and enthusiasm can never be repaid. She and her husband, Bernardo, permitted me to consult their private archive of Gondi family papers as well. Brenda Preyer and Caroline Elam read the text in earlier drafts and willingly shared their formidable expertise. I would also like to thank Bettina Ricciardi, without whom I would have never have succeeded in this project; Sonia Puccetti, who donated her time and archival expertise in yet another Gondi archive; Francesco Martelli and Giuseppe Pansini who helped me negotiate the unfamiliar territory of seventeenth and eighteenth century legal documents. Leonardo Scoma generously drafted two plans. David Stone as always provided moral and editorial support. Finally, this article and the larger project that will follow would have not been possible without the generous help of the staffs of Archivio di Stato, the Archivio Comunale, and the Biblioteca della Soprintendenza dei Beni Artistici in Florence. Unless otherwise noted, all dates are in Modern Style.

#### Archival Abbreviations:

- AGSF - Archivio dei Gondi Piazza di piazza S. Firenze, Firenze  
 AQF - Archivio del Ritiro della Quiete, Firenze  
 ASF - Archivio di Stato, Firenze  
 ASCFi - Archivio Storico del Comune di Firenze

- 1 Tribaldo de Rossi, *Ricordanze*, in: *Delizie degli eruditi toscani*, ed. Ildefonso di San Luigi, XXIII, Florence 1786, p. 250 and p. 253. Under 1490, Tribaldo says: "In detto tempo Giuliano Ghondi comincio adifichare la casa sua, e fala di bozi anche lui bellissima. Comincio a fondare la faccia dinanzi a' di 20 di Luglio 1490, di pocho era levato el sole [...]. In detto fondamento di Giuliano Ghondi gitai io un sasso. Parte si fondava a' di 29 di luglio 1490 uno pozzo dirinpetto cioe sotto la soglia dela porta sua v'era, e rienpieronlo di ghiaia, ed ivi gitai uno sasso detto di."
- 2 Landucci-Del Badia, p. 59. "Men were crazy about building at this time, so that there was a scarcity of master-builders and of materials." Luca Landucci, *A Florentine diary from 1450-1516*, New York 1969, pp. 48-49. On the building boom see Richard Goldthwaite, *The Florentine palace as domestic architecture*, in: *American Historical Review*, LXXVII, 1972, pp. 977-1012, esp. p. 977-978, and Caroline Elam, *Lorenzo de' Medici and the urban development of Renaissance Florence*, in: *Art History*, 1, 1978, pp. 43-66. It should be noted that the building frenzy Landucci speaks of was not limited to palaces. According to Brenda Preyer (oral communication) the boom in palace building took place from the 1430s to the 1470s after which there was a tapering off in the number if not the size of new palace construction.

- <sup>3</sup> *Richard Goldthwaite*, *Private wealth in Renaissance Florence. A study of four families*, Princeton, N.J. 1968, p. 162. For the history of the Gondi family, see also *Giovanni Corbinelli*, *Histoire généalogique de la maison de Gondi*, II vols., Paris 1705. On Giuliano Gondi, see *Stefano Tabacchi*, in: *Diz. Biogr. Ital.*, LVII, 2001, s.v., pp. 656-659.
- <sup>4</sup> On Sangallo's palace, see *Andreas Tönnesmann*, *Der Palazzo Gondi in Florenz*, Worms 1983; *Ginori Lisci*, *Palazzi*, II, pp. 585-592; *Giuseppe Marchini*, *Giuliano da Sangallo*, Florence 1942, pp. 38-42, and p. 9; and *Stegmann/Geymüller*, V, pp. 13-15. On the antique sources for the rusticated facade, see *Andreas Tönnesmann*, 'Palatium Nervae'. Ein antikes Vorbild für Florentiner Rustikafassaden, in: *Röm. Jb.*, XXI, 1984, pp. 61-70.
- <sup>5</sup> On Florentines and their palaces, see *Francis William Kent*, *Palaces, politics and society in fifteenth-century Florence*, in: *I Tatti Studies*, II, 1987, pp. 41-70.
- <sup>6</sup> ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 13195 (Jacopo Martini) fols. 70v-76v, see 73r. "Item ad preservandam memoriam suam et pro honore suorum filiorum et domus et familie de Ghondis cupiens ne opus iam per eum inceptum careat perfectione, iussit et voluit quod domus magna nova sue habitationis omnino compleatur et perficiatur [...]." See *Tönnesmann*, 1983 (n. 4), p. 130 and pp. 126-132 for other sections relevant to the palace. See also *Corbinelli* (n. 3), I, Preuves, cccclxxviii-cccclxxxj (on the chapel in Santa Maria Novella), cccclxxxij-cccclxxxiv (concerning Giuliano's heirs).
- <sup>7</sup> Giuliano had eight legitimate sons: Leonardo, Giovan Battista, Simone, Federigo, Bellicozzo, Alfonso, Ferrando, and Niccolò. Simone and Niccolò predeceased their father without male issue. Bellicozzo, who also died before his father, had two legitimate heirs, Marcantonio and Giuliano. All five living brothers as well as Bellicozzo's present and future male heirs (his wife was pregnant at the time of his death) were made Giuliano's universal heirs and shared ownership of the palace. While Gondi's sons did not finish the palace, they may have thought that investing rather than spending their resources was essential to avoid bankruptcy — something that plagued many families attempting to finish expensive new palaces. Giuliano's heirs purchased a significant quantity of land after their father's death. By 1534, 46 new properties, between large and small *poderi* and pieces of cultivated land, were listed as assets. ASF, Decima Granducale 3588, Arroto del 1534, Santa Croce, Bue, No. 273, fols. 92v-98r (under Federigo di Giuliano di Leonardo, Simone and Niccolò di Giovanbattista di Giuliano Gondi, Giuliano and Bellicozzo di Bellicozzo di Giuliano Gondi and Giuliano di Leonardo di Giuliano Gondi).
- <sup>8</sup> *Giovanni Cambi*, *Istorie fiorentine*, ed. *Ildefonso di San Luigi*, in *Delizie degli eruditi toscani*, XX-XXIII, 1785/86, XXI, p. 51. Although Cambi, who added to his *Istoria* until his death in 1535, merely says of the palace, "e dopo la morte di detto Giuliano non si seghuì di murare [...]", his tone of disappointment can be understood from the rest of his comments: "e chosì comincio a fare una chapella che chomprò dagli operai, allato alla Chapella Grande a man manca, e si l'anno lasciata a mezzo, che non passa con loro verghogna."
- <sup>9</sup> *Tönnesmann*, 1983 (n. 4), pp. 30-32.
- <sup>10</sup> *Georg Satzinger*, *Der 'Konsul' am Palazzo Gondi in Florenz zur öffentlichen Inszenierung antiker Statuen um 1500*, in: *Röm. Jb.*, XXX, 1995, pp. 148-189.
- <sup>11</sup> Giuliano Gondi's stable was probably in the cellar. See the horse ramp visible in the plan of the cellar of the new palace (Fig. 21). Giuliano's namesake and grandson, Giuliano di Leonardo di Giuliano Gondi, had his stable on the Via delle Prestanze, but it was later transformed into a shop. ASF, Decima Granducale 2284, Arroto del 1562, Santa Croce, Bue, No. 161 listed as: "Una bottega che detto Giuliano se ne serviva per stalla che riesce per la via che va in piazza che oggi fa bastiere o bottaio e legnami a prima via, 2 et 3 detto Giuliano, la quale le apigionò a Piero di Antonio Verani per Fi 6 d'oro di moneta l'anno per cominciare la pigione a dì 1 di luglio 1562 come s'è visto per scritta privata veduta e rilasciata a detto giuliano [...]" (Italics mine). The location of the stable in a site plan of 1869 (Fig. 20) probably dates to the eighteenth-century when a part of the palace along Via dei Gondi was remodeled.
- <sup>12</sup> *Caroline Coffey*, Pietro da Cortona's project for the church of San Firenze in Florence, in: *Flor. Mitt.*, XXII, 1978, pp. 85-118. The enlargement of the church and subsequent expansion of the piazza began in 1645 when Pietro da Cortona was commissioned to rebuild the medieval church. The transformation was executed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries — the facade finished only in 1775. Today the church is a courthouse. For a complete history, see *Antonio Cistellini*, *Momenti gaudiosi e dolorosi della storia di San Firenze*, Florence 1967.
- <sup>13</sup> ASF, *Miscellanea di Piante*, n. 101. The map, which is the first orthogonal city plan of Florence, is quite accurate. It was originally made for the Capitano di Parte Guelfa despite its present-day collocation in the *Miscellanea di Piante*. On the basis of monuments depicted therein and especially the hydraulic works (see for example the waterways, sewers, and channels) done for Cosimo II which are illustrated in detail, this map has been dated to 1620-24. While a later map from 1690 (ASF, *Piante del Capitano di Parte*, *Carte Sciolte* n. 2) updates other sections of the city, it is almost identical to that of 1620-24 in the area of San Firenze. See *Leonardo Rombai/Diana Toccafondi/Carlo Vivoli*, *Documenti geocartografici nelle biblioteche e negli archivi privati e pubblici della Toscana*, II: I fondi cartografici dell'Archivio di Stato di Firenze. I. *Miscellanea di Piante*, Firenze 1987, p. 108 and *Gabriella Orefice*, Dall'immagine alla misura della città, in: *Atlante di Firenze*,

Florence 1993, pp. 17-18 and Figs. 5 and 6. See also *Attilio Mori/Giuseppe Boffito*, *Piante e vedute di Firenze*, Florence 1926 [Repr. Rome 1973], (under 1690), pages 67 and 32 who suggests (without any evidence) that both maps may be updates of a lost late-sixteenth century prototype.

- 14 The towers were destroyed in 1644 in preparation for enlarging the church. They are already missing in two site plans done in 1645 and 1649 published by *Coffey* (n. 12), Figs. 3, 4, and 5, p. 91, and n. 56. See *ibidem*, Fig. 5 and pp. 105-106 for a reconstruction of the pre-1645 site. *Satzinger* (n. 10), Fig. 8 and n. 6 alters *Coffey's* reconstruction in a few particulars. Most significant is the size and disposition of the Magalotti/Mancini towers, which appear less intrusive and closer to their location in the map of Florence of 1620. However I believe that the piazza in front of the palace was more restricted than *Satzinger* imagines it. Both the 1649 site plan and 1620 map show the property line of buildings to the north of San Firenze (along the line of Via del Canestrucchio and opposite the Gondi property) projecting further to the south. An unpublished scale drawing of 1725, mentioned by *Coffey* as in the Congregation archive (pp. 106-107), but now in ASF, *Miscellanea di Piante*, 32, does suggest a larger space, but it is possible that by 1725 the piazza had already been expanded.
- 15 *Riccardo Pacciani*, 'Tum pro honore publico tum pro commoditate privata'. Un documento del 1490 per l'edificazione di palazzo Gondi a Firenze, in: *Arte lombarda*, CV-CVII, 1993, pp. 202-205. The relevant section of the *provisione* of June 2-5, 1490 says: "Et quod viris prudentibus displicet tortuositas dicti primi parietis, et via ibi restat etiam nimis arcta; et consulunt ut dictum parietem retrahat et ad cordam dirigat, ex quo etiam ipsa via magis lata rederetur; et ipse hoc faceret, si posset sua impensa tantumdem loci recuperare quantum amitteret, faciendo ipsum parietem ad amussim."
- 16 If one assumes that the street curved gradually, then the hypothetical strip of land Gondi ceded to the city would look more or less like that delineated in Fig. 19.
- 17 Several processions made their way from Piazza della Signoria down Via dei Leoni past San Apollinare. See below, note 120. Lorenzo de' Medici could have also been involved in supporting Gondi's request since he help Giuliano purchase the *parvus locus*.
- 18 See *Caroline Elam*, *Palazzo Strozzi nel contesto urbano*, in: *Palazzo Strozzi metà millennio 1489-1989*, *Atti del Convegno di Studi* (Firenze 1989), Florence 1991, pp. 183-194, esp. p. 185.
- 19 The painting, in a private collection, is attributed on the back of the canvas to Giovanni Signorini, Telemaco's father. On Giovanni Signorini who lived from 1808 to 1862, see *Firenze e la sua immagine. Cinque secoli di vedutismo*, eds. *Marco Chiarini/Alessandro Marabottini*, exh. Firenze 1994, cat. Venice 1994, pp. 196-203 and pp. 293-294; *Thieme/Becker*, XXXI, 1937, p. 15; *Ugo Ojetti*, *Ritratti d'arte moderna*, Florence 1911, p. 49; and *Agostino Mario Comanducci*, *I pittori italiani dell'Ottocento*, Milan 1934, s.v.
- 20 See *Tönnesmann*, 1983 (n. 4), pp. 12, 119, 125 for the notarial act of sale and Gondi's Decima of 1498.
- 21 ASF, Catasto 809, 1457, Santa Croce, Ruote, fol. 112v. Galeotto, Antonio, Bartolomeo, and Luigi Giugni. On the date of the palace, see below note 29.
- 22 AGSF, Documenti 1873-1877, Filza 13, no. 11, "1875 11 Gennaio, Gondi e Comune di Firenze. Per l'ampliamento della Via dei Gondi". Within this insert is a small bound volume (without pagination) entitled "Palazzo Gondi. Relazione sui lavori di completamento di restauro e di miglioramenti", presented to Eugenio Gondi by Poggi in 1884. Under the section, "Aggiunta al Palazzo" Poggi says that when he built the "bella terrazza" on the Via Gondi, he used an "[...] incrostatura pure di pietra forte nel suo imbasamento, *valendosi dei materiali ricavati nella demolizione dei vecchi fabbricati.*" [my italics]. An inspection of the relevant *bugnati* supports Poggi's statement that he used old blocks at the street level of the terrace on Via Gondi.
- 23 A brief history of the ownership of the Giugni palace illustrates this fact. By 1430 the property, held in common with his brothers, was occupied by Niccolò di Domenico Giugni who was about 34 years old and without offspring. A woodworker's shop below was rented to Mariano di Giovanni for 15 florins. (ASF, Catasto 359, 1430, Santa Croce, Ruote, fol. 1023r). In 1433, ASF, Catasto 452, pt. II, 1433, Santa Croce, Ruote, fol. 693r, under Niccolò and Bernardo di Domenico Giugni, the palace was still occupied by Niccolò now 37 and his 22 year old wife. The woodworker's shop was still rented to Mariano legnaiuolo. Niccolò lived in the house until his death — sometime after 1440 (the year he made his will) and 1442 when the house was pledged to Carlo Marsuppini for 450 florins to repay a dowry obligation. ASF, Catasto 702, 1451, Santa Croce, Ruote, fol. 611. That the Giugni family was facing serious economic difficulties is confirmed by the long list of debtors in their tax returns and problems with their business activity in Palermo and Sicily. ASF, Catasto 359, 1430, Santa Croce, Ruote, fols. 1025v-1029v. In 1450 financial matters were still a problem and the woodworker's shop in the palace was also pledged to Marsuppini for 150 florins to pay off some taxes. ASF, Catasto 702, 1451, Santa Croce, Ruote, fol. 611. On 25 September, 1445, three years after the family had used the house as collateral, it was valued in a property division at 550 florins. ASF, Magistrato dei Pupilli avanti il Principato, 65, 1445, fols. 27-30, esp. 28r-v and 29r. The house was listed pledged to Marsuppini for 450 florins, but its overall value was "più che Fi 550". In the division of 1445 the palace passed to two brothers, Bartolomeo and Galeotto. Five years later Giuliano Gondi purchased it with its shop for 1200 florins.

- I have not been able to find documentation indicating when Marsuppini was paid off. It may be that the house was sold to repay him. Nor can I account for the drastic difference in value between the price paid by Gondi in 1455 and that listed in the division of 1445 except to say that then, as now, the documentary prices of real estate are subject to manipulation for a variety of purposes, including avoiding taxes.
- <sup>24</sup> Prior to 1455, he owned no property in the city — renting rather than buying or building. In his 1451 tax declaration which he filed together with his brother Antonio, he states that “non abbiamo chasa per nostro abitare ché stiamo a pigione in chasa Bonciani.” Quoted from *Tönnemann*, 1983 (n. 4), p. 118. At the time, however, his family was small consisting of his mother (46 years old), his wife (18 years old), himself (30 years old), his brother, Antonio (8 years old), his son Leonardo (2 months old) and his sister, Ginevra (13 years old). His activity in Naples, which began as early as 1452, might also account for his willingness to rent rather than build in Florence. See ASF, Catasto 707, 1451, Santa Maria Novella, Leon Rosso, fols. 131r-132r. By 1455, if the ages of his reported children in 1457 are correct, Giuliano probably had 6 children. See the list of *bocche* from 1457 in *Tönnemann*, p. 120.
- <sup>25</sup> The Gondi, an aristocratic family who first settled in Florence in the thirteenth century, had their ancestral house and tower in the parish of Santa Maria Ughi in the heart of the Strozzi *consorteria* in the Quarter of Santa Maria Novella. Their palace, which was held in common by the descendants of Simone di Geri Gondi under a *fideicommissum*, occupied a site opposite the parish church and next to what would become the famous Strozzi palace. In 1428 it was sold to Messer Palla di Nofri degli Strozzi by Simone's heirs, among whom was Giuliano Gondi's father, Leonardo, who possessed half the family palace. See *Goldthwaite* (n. 3?) (n. 2?), p. 159. Leonardo's share in 1428 was 230 florins making the total price of the palace around 450 florins. The 1451 Catasto of Giuliano and his brother, Antonio, locates the property on Corso degli Strozzi. See *Tönnemann*, 1983 (n. 4), p. 118.
- <sup>26</sup> See *Kent* (n. 5), pp. 47-50. Kent repeats Giovanni Cambi's comment that Giuliano built his palace where he and his father had always had a *battiloro* shop. However, Cambi may be mistaken. There is no mention in Gondi's *Catasti* of such a shop before 1457 when Giuliano says that he has a “botega del mestiero dell'oro al canto de' lione.” ASF, Catasto 817, 1457, Santa Maria Novella, Leon Rosso, No. 126. By 1457, however, not only was Giuliano's father long dead but the shop he refers to must have been that purchased in 1451 on the ground-floor of the Giugni palace. Hence there was no long-standing association with Giuliano Gondi and the Bue gonfalone.
- <sup>27</sup> On Giuliano's position vis-a-vis Lorenzo, see *Goldthwaite* (n. 3?), p. 163, *Corbinelli* (n. 3), I, ccxcii-ccxcix, and *Tabacchi* (n. 3).
- <sup>28</sup> ASF, Catasto 73, 1427 Santa Croce, Ruote, fol. 110, where it was mentioned in the tax records of Giovanni, Niccolò and Bernardo di Domenico Giugni as being rented to Corsino da Cigniano for 30 florins. The wood-working shop below was rented to a woodworker, Michele d'Antonio, for 15 florins. It is unlikely that the palace was rebuilt after 1427 given the financial history of the Giugni. There was only one moment when any significant work could have been done to the building — the period between 1430, when Niccolò moved into the house, and 1442, when it was used as collateral. However, any major work seems unlikely since the palace was clearly adequate for Niccolò and his wife and he died childless.
- <sup>29</sup> *Giuseppe Poggi*, *Disegni di fabbriche eseguite per commissione di particolari*, II, Florence 1886, Pl. XIII. Republished by *Tönnemann*, 1983 (n. 4), Fig. 5. Private Collection, Au Capitaine for Poggi, *Gondi Album*, Plate 14. This drawing labeled “Torre dei Gondi” is found in a bound folio-sized volume that Poggi presented to Eugenio Gondi upon completion of the work. Each drawing is signed and dated by Au Capitaine. While an exact date would be difficult to assign on such scant evidence, comparison with other palaces confirm a date before the Medici palace. As Preyer has demonstrated, the innovations found in the Medici palace — taken up by most palace buildings following it — include: rustication with larger *bugnati*, upper-floor windows with semi-circular arches on both the interior and exterior of the voussoirs, stone *bugnati* that continue along the sides of the windows, and the presence of moldings on the interior window surrounds. The style of the window and door voussoirs of the Giugni point to the Trecento — perhaps even the early Trecento. The stone voussoirs of the windows on the upper floors do not continue around to the sides of the window which are, instead, flanked by irregular stones. The slightly segmental profile of the arch on the interior of the window contrasts with the more pointed profile of the top of the stone voussoirs. In fact, the windows of the *primo piano* of the Giugni palace resemble those of the Late-Dugento Cerchi Palace rather than the more tightly designed arches of the Davanzati or Alberti di Zanobi palaces. The arches of the ground floor appear more sophisticated but still relate to the earliest models like the Cerchi and the Palazzo Vecchio. The ground-floor *bugnati* are harder to date. While one might be able to make a case for dating them to the early Quattrocento, they could just as easily be Trecento. In the end, based on visual and documentary evidence, the most likely hypothesis is that the palace dates to sometime in the Trecento. I would like to thank both Brenda Preyer and Gian Luca Belli who generously discussed this issue with me. On Florentine palace rustication, see *Brenda Preyer*, *Two Cerchi palaces in Florence*, in: *Renaissance studies*

in honor of Craig Hugh Smyth, Florence 1985, II, 613-625; *eadem*, The 'Chasa overo Palagio' di Alberto di Zanobi: a Florentine palace of about 1400 and its later remodeling, in: *Art Bull.*, LXV, 1983, pp. 387-401; *eadem*, L'architettura del palazzo mediceo, in: *Giovanni Cherubini/Giovanni Fanelli* (eds.), *Il Palazzo Medici Riccardi di Firenze*, Florence 1990, pp. 58-75; *Gianluca Belli*, Forma e naturalità nel bugnato fiorentino del Quattrocento, in: *Quaderni di Palazzo Te*, IV, 1996, pp. 9-36; *Staale Sinding-Larsen*, A tale of two cities. Florentine and Roman visual context for fifteenth-century palaces, in: *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia*, VI, 1975, pp. 163-212. See also the recent contribution of *Anja Eckert*, *Die Rustika in Florenz*, Braubach 2000.

<sup>30</sup> Private Collection. Au Capitaine, *Gondi Album*, Plate 15.

<sup>31</sup> A Dugento date is suggested by the small rusticated blocks that are not dissimilar from those of the tower of the Bargello, which was in existence by 1255. See *Walter Paatz*, *Zur Baugeschichte des Palazzo del Podestà (Bargello) in Florenz*, in: *Flor. Mitt.*, III, 1931, pp. 287 ff.

<sup>32</sup> Private Collection. Au Capitaine, *Gondi Album*, Plate 24 depicts a coat of arms, a striped Unicorn on a pick background with an eight-pointed grey star to one side that may some day help identify the original owners of the tower. An inscription on the drawing merely says "Parete dipinta." The image was found on an interior wall of the tower.

<sup>33</sup> See fig. 19. Making the new facade straight was paramount.

<sup>34</sup> *GINORI Lisci*, *Palazzi*, II, fig. 471 attributed the drawing to Luigi Mulinelli about whom I have been unable to find any information in the standard reference books on Italian artists in the eighteenth century. The drawing is listed as anonymous, eighteenth century, in the Metropolitan's records. (Metropolitan Museum of Art, Dept. of Prints and Drawings, pen, ink, and wash. No. 69.504.2.) A print from the drawing was published by *Antonio Cistellini*, *La cappella della Madonna in San Firenze*, Florence 1971, illustration following page 18 as by *Cosimo Zocchi*. On this little-known printmaker, see *Thieme/Becker*, XXXVI, 1947, p. 538.

<sup>35</sup> While all the illustrations depict the irregular state of the north side of the old palace, there are minor discrepancies in the condition of Sangallo's new palace at the juncture with the earlier building. Poggi's illustration (Fig. 6) shows a clear straight line running up the three floors of the later facade. Au Capitaine's drawing (Fig. 7) reveals an irregular line of *bugnati* on the ground floor, while the drawing from the Metropolitan appears to have a straight line of stones on the ground floor with an irregular surface of *bozze* on the upper two floors. An early eighteenth-century engraving of Sangallo's facade published by *Corbinelli*, that I discuss below (Fig. 24), appears to confirm the state of the building in the Metropolitan drawing.

<sup>36</sup> "quod disonbrarent lapides bozzatos quos habent penes pallatium," Florence, Archivio dello Spedale degli Innocenti, Estranei, ser. Cxlv, n. 635 (quaternus retentus per me andream cristofori nacchianti [...] quando fui cancelliere offitii turris [...] 1505, c. 21). Quoted from *Brenda Preyer*, *Il Palazzo Corsi Horne*, Florence 1993, pp. 82-83. While it is possible that the Gondi were working on the palace, it seems unlikely. The document clearly indicates that the stone blocks should not have been there. Had there been a working *cantiere* at the palace, the Gondi would have obtained permission to build and thus to have stone in a public street. It is more likely that the blocks had been lying around for a while. There is no indication from the extant documentation on the 18<sup>th</sup> century that any major work was executed on the facade.

<sup>37</sup> *Gondi Album*, Plates 2 and 6. Poggi's published plans of the Gondi palace in *Disegni di fabbriche*, II, Plates IX and XI are based on Au Capitaine's drawings.

<sup>38</sup> The difference in the floor levels is clearly visible in Poggi's elevation (Fig. 6). Later documents make it clear that one had to walk up and down a few stairs to go between one building. On 17 March, 1702, in a lawsuit (see below note 46) between Ottavia and Maria Maddelena Gondi and their distant cousins, Vincenzo and Angelo Gondi, the latter accepted a plan of the property commissioned by Ottavia and Maria Maddalena with the caveat that, among other mistakes, it did not "dimostra la maggiore altezza del terreno e del primo piano della casa vecchia sopra il terreno e primo piano del Palazzo nuovo." The document goes on to say that "per salire nel cortile della casa Vecchia vi è una scala a [*proposed reading*: bastoni], e che per salire dalla sala del Palazzo nuovo nelle stanze della casa vecchia si sale due scaglioni." See ASF, Magistrato dei Pupilli del Principato 1080, fol. 203r-v. The later statement indicates there was access to the old palace through the *salone* of the *primo piano*.

<sup>39</sup> He leaves all decisions to "[...] the discretion, conscience and judgement of the executors, who are well and excellently informed of his mind, wish, and intention." For the text of Giuliano's testament as it relates to the palace, see *Tönnesmann*, 1983 (n. 4), p. 130.

<sup>40</sup> "And with the rest of the buildings, walls, rooms and with that expense as will be seen to by the [...] executors, not exceeding 4,000 ducats in greatness of expense, and even exceeding this, if and when the [...] executors are able to do all the expense without great inconvenience or harm or financial loss of his undersigned heirs [...]" See *Tönnesmann*, 1983 (n. 4), 130.

<sup>41</sup> In his testament, Giuliano urges his heirs to collect the debt from Ercole, Duke of Ferrara. There were 12,916 Florins outstanding in 1492. *Goldthwaite*, p. 161.

- <sup>42</sup> Paolo di Francesco Falconieri, who was buried in SS. Annunziata, died on 10 May 1501. See, ASF, Magistrato dei Puppilli del Principato 1096, 2 March 1706, 15v, where they refer to the Libro del Registro de Morti from the Arte de Medici e Speciali. Nerozzo di Piero di Filippo del Nero died on 5 May 1504. See, ASF, Magistrato dei Puppilli del Principato 1091, fol. 238, 17 December 1704 where they cite a document from the Libro de Morti from the Office of the Grascia. The reliance on executors cannot be explained by under-aged sons. In 1501 all of Giuliano's living sons, Leonardo, Giovan Battista, Federico, and Alfonso were adults ranging in age from 33 to 50. It is true, however, that the children of a recently deceased son, Bellicozzo, were minors who inherited their father's fifth part.
- <sup>43</sup> "Similarly, [...] desiring that the work now begun by him might not lack perfection, he ordered and wished that his great, new house of his habitation be completed entirely and perfected, when his above named executors see fit. And let this perfection and completion be done as far as the corner of the Prestanza or the Conservatori of the Law with rusticated stones exactly as is visible on the anterior face of the house identical to, equal with, and [following] the design of the anterior face of the new house completed so far." Cited in *Tönnemann* (n. 4), p. 130.
- <sup>44</sup> The two offices were both to have been located in or behind the Palazzo Vecchio along what was then Via delle Prestanze and today Via dei Gondi. The office of the Conservatori di Legge was in the Palazzo Vecchio, but its exact location in 1501 is not clear. Before the restoration of the courtyard under Cosimo de' Medici, it was found in a partitioned area of the court. By 1470 Benedetto Dei merely says that it was one of the offices that "stanno nel palazzo." In 1537, the other office — that of the Prestanze — was located on Via delle Prestanze on the Palazzo Vecchio side of the street. See *Nicolai Rubinstein*, *The Palazzo Vecchio 1298-1532. Government, Architecture, and Imagery in the Civic Palace of the Florentine Republic*, Oxford 1995, pp. 22-27 and p. 88. *De' Rossi* (n. 1), p. 253 specifies further that the Prestanze was opposite the site of the office of the Grascia (that Gondi purchased in 1491) — again putting it on the Palazzo Vecchio side of the street. Finally a seventeenth-century document (AGSF, Processi e Lite, Filza 16, 1709-1793, "Scritture in Jure dell'una e l'altra parte sopra la pretensione del Compimento del Palazzo," 1695) refers to a *provisione* of 1476 that indicates that the palace of the Capitano and "domus Prestantiarum" were opposite the Mercanzia — which would be just a bit above the Grascia. (The *provisione* granted the Consigli di Legge (a seventeenth-century name for the Conservatori di Legge?) a new site in the palace of the Mercanzia opposite the "domus Prestantiarum." See note 46 for information on the research done in the eighteenth-century into the location of the Prestanze.)
- <sup>45</sup> Several archival documents from the Quattrocento use the name Via delle Prestanze to indicate it. See below notes 57, 65, and 78 to mention a few.
- <sup>46</sup> The ambiguity of the statement was highlighted in 1686 when the location of the "angulum prestantiarum" became crucial to litigation. In that year Giuliano Gondi's last remaining direct male heir, Cavaliere Federigo Gondi, died without male issue. Since Giuliano's will prohibited females from inheriting, the palace and the vast holdings of the Gondi passed to Amerigo Gondi and his sons Vincenzo and Angelo of the collateral line (that of Giuliano's brother Antonio). Federigo's daughters, Ottavia and Maria Maddalena, however, did not give up without a fight — contesting not their male cousins' right to the palace, but the scope of the lands included in the transfer. They maintained that not all the land in Cavaliere Federigo's estate was protected by Giuliano Gondi's sixteenth-century *fidecommisum*. In so doing they opened themselves up to a surprising countercharge from Vincenzo and Angelo: the palace in piazza San Firenze was incomplete and Federigo's daughters were financially responsible for finishing it in accordance with Giuliano's testamentary directives. See AGSF, Processi e Lite, Filza 12, 1692-1711; Processi e Lite, Filza 15, 1709-1724; and Processi e Lite, Filza 16 1709-1793. The papers within these Filza are neither numbered nor organized chronologically. Crucial to the battle was the question of whether the palace was indeed incomplete and what exactly was meant by the "corner of the Prestanze and Conservatori di Legge." The litigants made several studies to locate the office of the Prestanze and identify the corner of the Prestanze. Vincenzo and Angelo maintained that the "angulum prestantiarum" was the corner of Via de' Leoni and the Sdrucchiolo della Dogana (which they correctly maintained was called the Via delle Prestanze in the sixteenth century and today is called Via dei Gondi). See for example the document published by *Tönnemann*, 1983 (n. 4), pp. 135-136 entitled "Dimostrazione intorno alla via delle Prestanze" (AQF, Filza 40, R2, fasc. 1609). Ottavia and Maria Maddalena insisted that the corner of the Prestanze was located at some unspecified point behind the palace about the level of the Salt Office (the site of the earlier Mercanzia) where, they noted, there were many angles and corners. The office of the Prestanze, according to their research, was located in a house formerly used by the Calimala Guild (the *sito da uficio* that Giuliano purchased in 1485 from the Calimala?) that was between the Mercanzia and Gondi's property. (AQF, Processo Secondo, Gondi e Gondi, "Osservazioni che si fanno per la parte delle Signore Eredi beneficiale del Signor Cavaliere Federigo Gondi, contro la pretensione del rifacimento del Palazzo" without numeration.) After years of litigation, the court split the 4000 scudi mentioned in Giuliano's will, or rather its equivalent,



between the two parties. Thus, Ottavia and Maria Maddalena were forced to pay the equivalent of 2000 scudi to complete a palace that their cousins possessed.

- 47 On the Strozzi, see *Richard Goldthwaite*, *The Building of the Strozzi Palace: The Construction Industry in Renaissance Florence*, in: *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, X, 1973, pp. 99-194 and *idem*, *L'interno del Palazzo e il consumo dei beni*, in: *Palazzo Strozzi Metà Millennio 1489-1989*, ed. *Daniela Lamberini*, *Atti del convegno di Studi*, Florence, 3-6 July 1989, Rome 1991, pp. 159-166. It should be remembered that Giuliano da Sangallo built a model for the Strozzi palace in the years that Gondi's building was going up.
- 48 While one might cite Giovanni Rucellai's smallish courtyard behind his large expanse of facade, the original plan was for a smaller, five-bay palace with a proportionately-sized courtyard. See *Brenda Preyer*, *The Rucellai Palace*, in: *Giovanni Rucellai ed il suo Zibaldone II: Florentine Patrician and his Palace*, London 1981, pp. 155-228, esp. pp. 180-183. Furthermore, Giovanni's building was at the beginning of the creation of the Florentine palace style, not at its end.
- 49 See *Tönnemann*, 1983 (n. 4), pp. 84-85 and pp. 52-56 where there is also a long discussion of the precedents for the Gondi staircase, such as the Canigiani and Ricasoli palaces. See also *Andreas Tönnemann*, *L'escalier du Palais Gondi et la tradition florentine*, in: *L'escalier dans l'architecture de la Renaissance*, Paris 1985, pp. 133-134 where he suggests an attribution to the young Giuliano da Sangallo for the Ricasoli staircase. See also *Michael Lingobor*, *Der Florentiner Palastbau der Hochrenaissance. Der Palazzo Bartolini Salimbeni in seinem historischen und architekturgeschichtlichen Kontext*, Worms 1997, pp. 155-160. On the symbolism of staircases in Renaissance humanist culture, see *Lise Bek*, *The staircase and the code of conduct. The humanist culture as reflected in the theory and practice of Quattrocento domestic architecture*, in: *L'escalier*, pp. 117-121.
- 50 The concept of a double row of rooms is not something found in Florentine palaces at the time. It is not until the seventeenth century in Rome that one finds this configuration on a regular basis. See *Patricia Waddy*, *Seventeenth-century Roman palaces. The use and art of the plan*, New York, NY/Cambridge, Mass. 1990, pp. 16-19.
- 51 *Satzinger* (n. 10), pp. 156-160. Tönnemann's hypothesis is delineated in dots.
- 52 *Tönnemann*, 1983 (n. 4), p. 16, based his assessment of when parcel no. V was acquired on its inclusion in the earliest division (1537) between the Gondi heirs which he took as representing all the land originally contained in Giuliano Gondi's *fideicommissum* (AQF, Filza 40, R.2). Thus, he reasoned, parcel V must have been purchased by Giuliano before his death. However, unbeknownst to Tönnemann, the division also included land purchased by Giuliano's sons after their father's death (and placed into a new *fideicommissum*), among which was parcel V.
- 53 ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano 1867 (Bartolomeo di Monte Rapoli) fols. 149r-151v; 209; 331v-332r; 333r-v; 360r and v; 538r and v. The sale of Niccolò di Francesco Tanini's house, done to pay off outstanding debts, took place over an extended period of time through intermediaries and with several notarial acts assuring protection to all involved. The house was sold to Niccolò di Niccolò di Lorenzo degli Ugolini for 700 gold florins on 4 September 1520 by Girolamo di Francesco del Bettino, as guardian of the heirs of Jacobo di Niccolò di Francesco Tanini. The money, it was stipulated, was to be deposited into the bank of Averardo and Baptista Salviati to repay the creditors of the Tanini heirs. Niccolò degli Ugolini immediately resold the house to the heirs of Giuliano Gondi for the same 700 gold florins. Because the Tanini house had been used as collateral against debts, the Gondi were careful to guarantee the return of their money should Tanini creditors impound the house for lack of payment. It appears that the Gondi did not get possession of the house until 1521 or 1522 although it was clear from Sept. 4, 1520 that Niccolò degli Ugolini had purchased the house as their intermediary. The house is described as: "Unum domum cum palcis salis cameris curia et voltis et terrazzo et aliis suis habituris et pertinentis. The boundaries given as 1) the street, 2) the heirs of Giuliano Gondi, 3) the heirs of Niccolò di Andreuolo Sacchetti and 4) the piazza or rather chiasso and goods of the Comune of Florence. The house had been acquired in 1465 by Francesco di Antonio Tanini, Niccolò's father. By 1480, Francesco was dead; Niccolò, at 19, was the head of a household that included his widowed mother and two young unmarried sisters. See ASF, Catasto 1017, 1480, San Giovanni, Leon d'Oro, fol. 247r.
- 54 AQF, Filza 40, R.2, fol. 467 indicates that the Tanini house went to Simone and Niccolò di Giovanbattista, Giuliano's grandsons. It is described as "La casa posta nel popolo di San Pulinari, che fu di Niccolò Tanini contigua a detto Palazzo di sopra nel 3.o luogo descritta con l'uso e servitù della finestra, che al presente rende lume nella soffitta del Palazzo." (Italics are mine.)
- 55 ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano 16299 (Francesco Parenti) fols. 190r-191r. Two-fifths of the house was sold to Tanini for 200 florins while he rented the other three-fifths for 16 florins a year. It was stipulated that he could buy the three-fifths for 300 florins should he wish. The confines of the house were given as Via de Gondi [*sic*], Sacchetti, chiasso, and nipote di Giuliano Gondi or "palatium de Gondis"). See also ASF, Decima Granducale 2273, 1559, Santa Croce, Bue, No. 297 where Giuliano di Niccolò di Giovanbattista di Giuliano Gondi is listed as owning  $\frac{3}{5}$ ths of the house while the other  $\frac{2}{5}$ ths "sappartiene a Lorenzo Tanini per compera fatta

- sotto di 6 Agosto, 1558." In 1561, ASF, Decima Granducale 3781, 1561, Santa Croce, Bue, No. 1320, fol. 106r, Lorenzo di Girolamo Tanini is listed as still renting the part of the property belonging to the Gondi for 27 florins. "Giuliano di ... [not completed in doc.] Gondi. Una casa a canto al palazzo de Gondi dalla piazza Santo Pulinari habita a pigone Lorenzo di Girolomo Tanini per Fi. 27 stimata per 30 con bocche 9 — Fi. 30.6.3.
- <sup>56</sup> See *Vasari il Giovane*, La città ideale. Piante di chiese (palazzi e ville) di Toscana e d'Italia, ed. Virginia Stefanelli, Rome 1970.
- <sup>57</sup> ASF, Not. Antecosimiano 8522 (1453-1455), no numeration (published by *Tönnemann*, 1983 [n. 4], p. 119). In it Girolamo and his brother Galeotto in their names and for their brothers Antonio, Bartolomeo, and Aloysius, all sons of Bernardo di Domenico Giugni, sell to Giuliano Gondi: "Unam domum magnam cum curia, lodia, cameris, terrenis, fundachotto, stabulo, voltis subtus terram, palchis, salis, cameris, tecto et omnibus aliis suis habituris, hedificiis et pertinentiis, simul positam in populo sancti Firenzi de Florentia, cui a primo via de' Leoni, a secundo via della Prestanze, a tertio et quarto bona artis et universitatis mercatorum Callismale civitatis Florentie."
- <sup>58</sup> ASCFi, Registro Generale, Filza 626, Affari sfogati al tempo del Peruzzi. Affare 3521 (1875).
- <sup>59</sup> The absence of the courtyard in Au Capitaine's ground-floor plan, and thus also in Poggi's published ground-floor plan (*Tönnemann*, 1983 [n. 4], Fig. 3) is certainly an oversight.
- <sup>60</sup> *Tönnemann*, 1983 (n. 4), pp. 12-15 and Plate 2. *Satzinger* (n. 10), fig. 8.
- <sup>61</sup> AGSF. Drawing Cabinet. Missing at present. This plan was among the documents stolen in 2000 during the tragic theft of the major part of the Gondi family private archive none of which has been recovered to date. The plan, mounted on cloth, was loose and without an inventory number. There were undoubtedly plans of other floors of the palace that do not survive. For a complete list of documents that were stolen, contact Dottorssa Paola Benigni at the Soprintendenza Archivistica di Toscana or go to <http://www.museum-security.org/gondi-theft.htm>. My dating of the plan to circa 1701 relates to a major lawsuit (see note 38 above) between two lines of the Gondi family for which plans of the palace were made. These plans showed both the old and the new palaces — specifically delineating the old from the new. See ASF, Magistrato dei Pupilli del Principato 1079, under 3 Jan. 1701).
- <sup>62</sup> The colors are *ciciato* for the old house and *chiaro scuro* for the new palace. I do not know why there are not more cellars underneath the Giugni palace.
- <sup>63</sup> See *Pacciani* (n. 15), p. 204.
- <sup>64</sup> ASF, Decima Repubblica 12, 1498, Santa Croce, Bue, 12, fol. 604r. (Published by *Tönnemann*, 1983 [n. 4], p. 125.) The Office of the Grascia was the magistracy responsible for the grain supply of the city and overseeing oil and pork. See *Rubinstein* (n. 44), p. 88 and *Pacciani* (n. 15), p. 205, n. 21.
- <sup>65</sup> ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano 10886 (Ser Pier Francesco di Luigi Guidi), fols. 110v-111v. The sale was witnessed by two officials of the Monte and was effected by Antonio di Leonardo Miniati who was the syndic for the Monte. Giuliano's son, Leonardo, was present to receive the land for his father. The price, as stated in Giuliano's 1498 Decima, was 250 *fiorini di suggello*. The property is described as: "Omnes et singulas mansiones et ut vulgo dicitur tutte le stanze hactenus tentas et que hodie tenentur per officiales carnum civitatis florentie et pro usu et ad usum dicti officii et ut vulgo dicitur così a tereno chome a palcho de quibus in decia provisone fit mentio positi in popolo Sancti Florentii de Florentia quibus a Primo via que dicitur delle prestanze [proof that the street running beside the Giugni palace was called *Via delle Prestanze in the fifteenth century*] a II domus et curie mercantie a III quedam corticina dicte curie sive domus mercantie a IIII dicti Juliani de Gondis infra predictos confines etc.
- <sup>66</sup> By 1869 this irregular court seems to have passed into the hands of the Gondi.
- <sup>67</sup> The Gabelle del Sale occupied the palace of the Mercanzia in the eighteenth century. AGSF, Processi e Lite, Filza 16, 1709-1793, Insert "Gondi e Azienda del Sale, 1712 al 1793". I was able to date the drawing on the basis of a document entitled "Relazione del Piccioli perito ingegnere in causa Magazzino del Sale" dated 1791 in which it is referenced. The "causa" was a protracted lawsuit that revolved around damage done to the *rimessa* of the palace by the salt stored in the warehouse, which abutted the *rimessa*. The Salt Office was forced to pay damages and required to transform the property back to its original form at the end of their tenancy.
- <sup>68</sup> ASF, Decima Granducale 2249, Arroto del 1546, Santa Croce, Bue, No. 97, fol. 209. It was rented to a certain Francesco di Niccolò Bernardi [?] d Castiglione Fiorentino, and is described as follows in Giuliano di Lionardo's Decima: "Una stanza a uso di scuola da scrivere o leggere posta nel popolo di San Firenze in su la strada che va in piazza dirimpetto a regolatori." The rental agreement of 10 June 1546 by private contract was for 6 gold florins annually. The boundaries are given as the street, Gondi himself, and the Mercanzia Vecchia. On the location of the Regolatori, which was on the Palazzo Vecchio side of the street, see *Rubinstein* (n. 44), p. 88.
- <sup>69</sup> This statement is based on the following evidence. By 1576 the Salt Office was renting several other rooms in addition to the schoolroom, as the increase in rent from 6 florins to 16 florins indicates. A *ciabatino* (slipper

maker) rented the entrance space to the property. See ASF, Decima Granducale 3739, Aumento di 1576, Santa Croce, Bue, parte seconda, No. 413 in the name of Lionardo di Giuliano di Gondi. “Certe stanze contigue alle dette, che già serviva [sic] per schuola, oggi l’entrata di dette stanze s’apigiona a Domenico di Piero ciabatino per fl. 3 ... e le stanze di dreto s’apigionano alla gabetta [sic] del sale per fl. 16 che in tutto fanno fl. 19.” The property was described as bordering the Mercanzia and opposite the Office of the Regulatori further confirming we are talking about the same location. In 1618 the Gabelle del Sale (AQF, No. Provvisorio 3402, no. def. 6.0.1) was still renting these rooms from the Gondi: “Certe Stanze [sic] contigua che l’entrata di esse serve per uso di Ciabattino e le Stanze si appigionano alla Gabella del Sale per loro servaio, pop. San Firenze, in via che va dal Borgo de Greci in Piazza confinano detti Gondi e l’uffizio del sale.”

However a document from 30 July 1611 (AQF, Filza XXXVII, Seg. A.3a, Processo Primo, 42v) concerning a division between brothers, listed under Beni di Firenze, the two properties rented to the Salt Office: “Una casa accanto al Sale, che teneva detto Sale pagava Fi. 16 di pigione, valuta — Fi 266” followed by “Le stanze, che tiene l’offizio del Sale, che ne paga l’anno Fi. 16 valutata — Fi 266.” Late eighteenth-century documents concerning a dispute between the Gondi and the Salt Office state that the property under contention (i.e. the magazzino) had been first rented by the Salt Office from Giuliano di Lionardo Gondi in 1548 and earlier had been rented by Mona Orsola Tedesca and a *bottega* of a *sarto*. The property is described as a small house with several rooms opposite the Dogana. (See AGSF, Processi e Lite, Filza 16 1709-1793, Insert Gondi e Azienda del Sale, 1712-1793, Foglio protocollo Gondi e Ufizio del Sale entitled “Memoria per l’ill.mo Sig. Avvocato Regio”, no pagination.) However, the property rented to Mona Orsola Tedesca that had a barrel maker’s shop (*bottaio*) was first rented to her only in 1567. It is therefore not possible that it was the same property continuously rented to the Salt Office from 1548.

Mona Orsola’s rental (for which she paid 12 florins) is described as being part of the “casa della loro [i.e. Gondi] abitazione” and *opposite the Dogana*, (my italics) in the same location as the property in the suit. (ASF, Decima Granducale 2294, Arroto di 1567, Santa Croce, Bue, No. 136 in Lionardo di Giuliano di Lionardo Gondi.) Yet the property where the school was originally located, which is described in 1576, was opposite the *Office of the Regulatori* (my italics). While both of these communal offices were located on Via dei Gondi (Via delle Prestanze) behind the Palazzo Vecchio, they were not in the exact same spot according to the 1527 census. The Dogana was right behind the Palazzo Vecchio while the Regulatori followed after the Capitano. The sequence went: Dogana, Capitano, Regulatori, Prestanze. See *Rubinstein* (n. 44), p. 88. Therefore, the “stanze” of the Salt Office and the “casetta” of Mona Orsola were probably two separate properties that got confused in the late-eighteenth century.

Like the division of 1611, Cavaliere Federigo’s early-eighteenth-century tax declaration (1618), described two properties. ASF, Decima Granducale 2443, 1677, Santa Croce, Bue, No. 4, fols. 15r-23v. (Despite the date, this is Federigo’s Decima of 1618.) The house formerly rented to Mona Orsola is described as no longer being rented but now for the family’s private use (fol. 15r): “Una Casa consistente in più stanze rincontro alla Dogana popolo di S. Firenze, e sopra il Bottaio, e Ciabattino a primo via di Piazza, 2. Offizio del Sale, 3 loro medesimi, già decimata in 1.5.2 di poi per uso.” The property used by the Salt Office is described as it was earlier as a series of contiguous rooms rented by the Salt Office with a slipper maker’s shop (fol. 15r): “Certe stanze contigue, che l’entrata di esse serve per uso di Ciabattino, e le Stanze si appigionano alla Gabella del Sale per loro servizio [...]”

According to the late-eighteenth-century documentation (AGSF, Processi e Lite, Filza 16, 1709-1793, Insert Gondi e Azienda del Sale, 1712-1793), the Salt Office transformed the house they rented from the Gondi into a *magazzino*. The documents refer to deliberations of 26 Aprile 1549 of the Provveditori e Ministri of the Gabella del Sale, which unfortunately no longer exist. But it must be that the property transformed into the *magazzino* was not the *casetta* that Federigo described as having been converted back to family use, but rather “certe stanze” that the Salt Office had rented since 1548. It would seem that the late-eighteenth century documents are confusing two properties. I think, given the documentation, that Mona Orsola’s house was in the office space that Gondi purchased from the Calimala, and that the *magazzino* was the space of the Office of the Grascia.

<sup>70</sup> All of the property belonging to Cavaliere Federigo Gondi was traced back to its original date of purchase during a lawsuit begun in 1686, the year of Federigo’s death, in an attempt to prove how much property was protected by Giuliano Gondi’s *fidecommissum*. See AGSF, Processi e Lite, Filza 12, 1692-1711, volume entitled “Processo Terzo” contains a Decimario, no pagination. Cavaliere Federigo’s tax declaration of 1618 includes much of the same information. See ASF, Decima Granducale 2443, 1677, Santa Croce, Bue, 1677, No. 4, fols. 15r-23v where Federigo’s 1618 Decima is reproduced. From these documents it is clear that no property was purchased on Via delle Prestanze after Giuliano il Vecchio’s death in 1501. Only two parcels of land — neither on Via delle Prestanze — were purchased in the parishes of San Firenze or San Pulinari after 1501: the Tanini house in 1520 and a house from Cavaliere Bartolomeo Frescobaldi (purchased by Giuliano di Federigo) in 1651. See ASF, Decima Granducale 2415, Arroto di 1651, No. 115. The latter property was

- described as “a canto al Palazzo de Gondi mediante la casa a questo contigua” (i.e. the ex-Tanini house).
- 71 I have reconstructed the Grascia site as roughly overlapping the stable/salt warehouse. However, the reconstruction of the size and shape of the property must perforce be approximate. The site of the Grascia might have been slightly larger or smaller than that of the contiguous stable/salt warehouse.
- 72 *Tönnesmann*, 1983 (n. 4), p. 17, believed that parcel VI, which overlaps the area I identify as the site of the Grascia, was not acquired until after the death of Cavaliere Federigo Gondi in 1686 when Vincenzo and Angelo ‘finished’ the palace along Via dei Gondi. He based his conclusion on the division of 1537 between Giuliano’s sons and on subterranean walls that he saw when Via dei Gondi was dug up in 1981 (*ibidem*, p. 15, n. 111). The division of 1537 merely says that Gondi’s land bordered that of the Mercanzia and the Chiasso del Fondello. Since the Mercanzia owned all the land behind Gondi’s palace from the Chiasso to the Piazza della Signoria, the description is not specific enough to determine the exact borders of the Mercanzia. As regards the foundation walls Tönnesmann saw under parcel III (his reconstruction of the Grascia site), no definitive conclusion can be reached. There were ancient and medieval structures in this area. It is possible that these foundations were part of the walls of the ancient Roman theater that we know was in this area. See *Guglielmo Maetzke*, *Florentia* (Firenze). Regio VII - Etruria, Istituto di Studi Romani; Italia Romana: Municipi e Colonie, ser. 1; V, [Rome] 1941, pp. 58-63 and *Corintio Corinti*, Firenze antica. Cartoline series I-IV. 1925-28, republished as *Firenze antica nei disegni di Corinto Corinti*, in: *L’Universo*, LVI:6, 1975, pp. 1081-1143. Poggi also notes that there were remains of the first walls of Florence and the old Roman via Cassia under the palace. *Giuseppe Poggi*, *Ricordi della vita e documenti d’arte*, Florence 1909, p. 65.
- 73 ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano 10886 (Ser Pier Francesco di Luigi Guidi), fols. 110v-111v, “[...] declarate quod in huius modi venditione veniant dimidia murorum dicte domus mercantie confinantium cum dictis mansionibus, ita quod huius modi muri sint communes inter ipsos Julianum et dictam domum mercantie et in quibus quidem muris possit ipse Julianus et sibi liceat immittere trabes et tigna et omnia alia facere que quilibet consorti in muro comuni facere liceret.”
- 74 “Tengho a pigione una chasetta alato alla mia in che tengho legna e polli e fovi chucina colla tenuta per anni fa dall’Arte de Merchatanti. Donne l’anno lire 24 [...]” ASF, Catasto 912, 1469, Santa Croce, Bue, fols. 536-537. See *Tönnesmann*, 1983 (n. 4), pp. 122 and *Nino Smiraglia Scognamiglio*, *Ricerche e documenti sulla giovinezza di Lionardo da Vinci (1452-1482)*, Naples 1900, pp. 137.
- 75 By 1480, Giuliano was renting three houses from the Calimala: “Tengho a pigione tre chasette dalarte de merchatanti che confinono con la mia; donne l’anno Fi. 25 larghi e lire 24; rapigionone una a Ser Piero da Vinci (Lionardo’s father), l’altre due tenevo per me. Lui da più mesi non vi sta benché la pigione gli duri sino a omgni santi, e di poi la rivrà per me perché avendo la famiglia cresciuta non posso far colla mia.” ASF, Catasto 1003, v. 2, 1480, Santa Croce, Bue, fol. 434r-v. See *Tönnesmann*, 1983 (n. 4), p. 123 and *Smiraglia Scognamiglio* (n. 74), p. 140.
- 76 For the 1485 sales contract, see ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano 14184 (Giovanni Migliorelli), fols. 51r-53v which was published by *Tönnesmann*, 1983 (n. 4), pp. 123-124 and *Smiraglia Scognamiglio* (n. 74), pp. 141-143. The Calimala property that Gondi first rented and then purchased came from a donation of Mona Francesca, daughter of Jacopo degli Asini and widow of Messer Lotto Castellani. ASF, Arte di Calimala 144 (August 1458 to June 1460, with later updates of sales or rentals), fols. 18r-19r.
- 77 “Several years ago I bought a house from the Calimala guild that they had been renting to three tenants, located on Via de’ Lioni [...] bordering my house [...] which I destroyed and incorporated into the house where I live.” ASF, Decima Repubblica 12, fol. 604r, published by *Tönnesmann*, 1983 (n. 4), p. 125.
- 78 In the sales contract (see above note 76), the boundaries of the large house include two streets: Via, the casetta, Via delle Prestanze, the Mercanzia, the heirs of Niccolò degli Asini, and Giuliano Gondi. The boundaries of the casetta are via, the large house, Gondi, and the sito da ufficio. In the register of the Calimala, ASF, Arte di Calimala 144, fol. 18r, the large house is described as having: più edifici, sale, chamere, volta, pozo, e altri edifici. (My transcription differs from *Tönnesmann*’s, 1983 (n. 4), p. 120). The boundaries of the casa, casetta, and domum sive situm in Arte di Calimala 144 are generally the same as those in Migliorini’s notarial act but strangely differ in a couple of places. For the large house, Arte di Calimala 144 gives the Via, the casetta, Via delle Prestanze, the Mercanzia, and Niccolò delli Asini. Missing is any mention of Gondi’s house purchased in 1455 despite the fact that the diary of Arte di Calimala 144 was begun in 1458. Migliorini’s notarial act gives Gondi’s house as a sixth boundary. That the Calimala was aware that Gondi had already purchased the Giugni house can be certain since they give it as a boundary for the casetta, but not for the large house. In both Arte di Calimala 144 and Migliorini’s act, the boundaries for the casetta are: Via, the large house, Gondi, and the sito. Finally, the boundaries of the sito in both documents are: Via delle Prestanze, the Mercanzia, the houses of the said donation. (My transcription differs from *Tönnesman*’s, p. 120.) Regardless of which of the several description one uses, it is clear when one attempts to draw out the property lines that these properties are intertwined.
- 79 ASF, Arte di Calimala 144, fol. 19r and *ibidem*, p. 120.

- <sup>80</sup> For the document, see *ibidem*, p. 124. As Tönnemann was the first to note, the document of sale specifically mentions that the *domus sive situs* “est comprehensum cum superscripta domo”. *Ibidem*, p. 14. Despite his understanding that the large house (his II.1) and the sito (his II.3) were one entity, however, he visually separated them (Fig. 13). Without giving reasons for his decision, we cannot know what his thinking was. Nor is it clear why he drew the boundary lines for II.1, II.2, and II.3 as he did. His attempt to isolate the sito from the other Calimala property led him to confuse the *domus sive situs* of the Calimala with (*domus sive situs*) of the Comune (also called the *parvus locus*) that housed the Grascia. See Pacciani (n. 15), pp. 202, nn. 8 and 9. Apart from the identical names in the documents, this confusion is understandable since by 1485 the Office of the Grascia, (or at the very least the Comune) should have been one of the boundaries of the *domus sive situs* of the Calimala and it is not. Instead the final boundary is given as the Mercanzia.
- <sup>81</sup> ASF, Arte di Calimala 144, fol. 19r: “nella quale stanno al presente l’ufficio de Regholoratori posto nel popolo di San Firenze in Firenze nella via delle Prestanze che da primo via, secondo la chasa delle Merchatanzie,  $\frac{1}{3}$  case della detta asughuzione (assegnazione of Mona Francesca)  $\frac{1}{4}$  Giuliano di Lionardo Ghondi. Tiella a pigione gli ufficiali dell’ufficio de Regholoratori danne di pigione l’anno Fl. 20. Nota a di x di dicembre 1459 I signori mandorono a notificare all’arte come avevano fatto partito che i Regholoratori non istessono più in detto sito con che dal aprile non si diebbono più la pigione. El detto sito cioè androne, camera, et udienza si barattò con Giuliano Ghondi [...]” for a shop. (My transcription differs from Tönnemann’s, 1983 [n. 4], p. 120.) It is not clear if Gondi was getting a deal on the property he rented from the Calimala. In his 1480 Catasto, Gondi says that he paid the Calimala 25 florins and 24 lire for all three houses. Twenty-five florins and 24 lire was basically equal to the lowest rent that had been paid for the large house and the *casetta* alone. Thus, Giuliano appears not to have been paying anything for the *sito da ufficio* which the Regulatori had rented earlier for 20 florins. It is possible, however, that after they left in 1459, office site remained empty and became part of the large house. There are no notations of further rentals of the space in the existing Calimala records.
- <sup>82</sup> For Giuliano’s petition to the *Consigli della Repubblica* discussed above, see Pacciani (n. 15), p. 205.
- <sup>83</sup> By 1469 the house, which had been in Niccolò di Francesco degli Asini, was in the names of his heirs: his sons, Mariotto and Luigi, and the minor sons of another son, Bernardo, who had pre-deceased his father. ASF, Catasto 913, 1469, Santa Croce, Bue, fol. 923r. It is likely that another son, Jacopo, was inadvertently left out of the list of heirs mentioned in 1469 because in 1489 he owned  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the house. In all likelihood each heir received  $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the palace. When Luigi died he seems to have given  $\frac{1}{8}$  of his share to Mariotto and Bernardo. See below n. 89.
- <sup>84</sup> ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano 16835 (Piero di Antonio da Vinci), fols. 309r and 313v-315v. “Et considerato quod lites et discordie huiusmodi quotidie duriores occurrentur et fierent inter dictas partes, nisi inter partes provideretur de remedio opportuno; et cupientes inter dictas partes remove omnem materiam litigandi et iuxta posse ad pacem et concordiam reducere.” The arbiters were Pierfilippo di Giovanni Pandolfini and Francesco di Bartolomeo Benti, a flag maker.
- <sup>85</sup> ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano 16835 (Piero di Antonio da Vinci), fol. 314r-v. “[...] condempnamus dictum Iulianum de Ghondis ad dandum [...] dictis Mariotto et Bernardo, pro valuta dicte domus [...] summam [...] florenorum mille ducentorum auri de sigillo [...]”
- <sup>86</sup> ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano 16835 (Piero di Antonio da Vinci), fol. 314v. Mariotto, who owned  $\frac{5}{8}$ ths of the house, and Bernardo, who held the remaining  $\frac{3}{8}$ ths, were paid according to their portions except that Mariotto received 50 florins more than his  $\frac{5}{8}$ ths for improvements he made to the property.
- <sup>87</sup> ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano 16835 (Piero di Antonio da Vinci), fol. 314v. Mariotto was allowed to live in the house with his family until the end of October 1491, but was required to leave definitively on that date. If his age in his 1480 Catasto is to be believed, Mariotto was 68 years old in 1491. He must have been in excellent health since in 1498 at the ripe age of 75, he was still alive.
- <sup>88</sup> Mariotto’s tax return is found in ASF, Decima Repubblicana 13, 1498 Santa Croce, Bue, fol. 140. In 1489 Jacopo, another son of Niccolò di Francesco degli Asini, owned  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the house. Mariotto gave Jacopo  $\frac{2}{5}$  of a “poderuzzo” in San Donato at Polcanto in exchange for  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the house in Florence. Messer Luca Corsini was the arbitrator for the exchange. Jacopo’s tax return, which says that Luigi, his brother, died in 1484, adds that he and his nephew, Bernardo, held the  $\frac{3}{5}$ ths of the farm in common and that he gave his share to Bernardo. See ASF, Decima Repubblicana 13, 1498, Santa Croce, Bue, fol. 25. One wonders why Mariotto increased his share in the house so late in life, since in 1489 he was already in his late 60s and it is not clear whether his only son, Bartolomeo, was still alive. (There are no *bocche* listed in Mariotto’s Decima of that year.) In 1480, Bartolomeo, who was 23 years old, was his only listed son. Bernardo, his nephew, was a teenager. ASF, Monte Comune o delle Graticole, copie del Catasto 40, fol. 178v. In 1457, his father, Niccolò, lived in the house with his wife, his three sons, Bernardo, Mariotto, and Luigi, Bernardo’s wife and six children as well as Mariotto’s wife and two children. ASF, Catasto 800, Santa Croce, Bue, 1457, fol. 154v. In 1469, there were a smaller, but still significant, number of people in the house: Mariotto, his wife,

- their two children, his brother, Luigi, and Bernardo's seven children. ASF, Catasto 913, 1469, Santa Croce, Bue, fol. 924r. By 1480, only Mariotto, his wife, his son, Bartolomeo, his brother, Luigi, a nephew and niece, both children of his dead brother Bernardo were left. ASF, Monte Comune o delle Graticole, copie del Catasto 40, (1480), fol. 178v.
- <sup>89</sup> ASF, Monte Comune o delle Graticole, copia del Catasto, 40, (1480), fol. 178r. Mariotto and Luigi together with their nephew, Bernardo, declare that they are partners in a wool company with Lionardo Tornabuoni. However, having lost their license to practice in Rome over 5 years ago, they are deeply in debt and unable to work.
- <sup>90</sup> ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano 16835 (Piero di Antonio da Vinci), fol. 314r. It is described as: "unam domum cum palcis, salis, cameris, coquina, tectis, terreno, curia, volta et puteo, et omnibus aliis suis hedifitiis, habituris et pertinentis, posita Florentie, in populo Sancti Appolinaris, cui a primo via, a II dicti Iuliani de Ghondis, a III via sive chiassus ex parte posteriori, a IIII heredum Francisci Antonii G[i]annotti, infra predictos confines etc."
- <sup>91</sup> It is possible that Giuliano paid more than market value for the house. This would have been unusual — since he seems to have underpaid for everything else — but not impossible given that it went to arbitration. Gondi paid 1200 florins for the house. However finding the true value of the house is not easy. In his Decima of 1498, ASF, Decima Repubblicana 13, 1498, Santa Croce, Bue, fol. 25, Jacopo degli Asini stated that the total worth of his and Bernardo's shares ( $\frac{3}{5}$ ths) in the farm at San Donato was 160 florins. Based on this figure, the total value of the farm would have been 267 florins. That would have made the  $\frac{2}{5}$ ths Mariotto traded with him worth about 107 florins. Calculating 107 florins as  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the value of the house in Florence, one would arrive at an estimate of 428 florins for the total house, which seems ridiculously low. In the Catasto of 1469 (ASF, Catasto 913, 1469, Santa Croce, Bue, fol. 923r), the heirs of Niccolò report that in 1450 they had purchased the podere for 560 florins making  $\frac{2}{5}$ ths worth 224 florins. At the sale price of 1200 florins that Gondi paid, Jacopo's share would have been worth 300 florins. Using the higher estimate from 1469,  $\frac{1}{4}$  share in the house in Florence would have equaled 224 florins. Thus the total house would have been worth 896 florins — still much less than Gondi paid. However, such estimates should be taken with a grain of salt since there are many reasons — including taxes — why property is valued at different rates depending on the nature of the transaction. This is true in Italy even today as anyone who has purchased a house knows.
- <sup>92</sup> ASF, Decima Repubblicana 12, 1498, fol. 604r in Giuliano di Lionardo Gondi. "E più comperai da Mariotto degli Asini e Bernardo di Bernardo Asini suo nipote una chasa posta in detta via e poppolo che confinava meco e con Niccolò Tanini per fiorini mille dugencto di suggello e gittala tutta in terra e murala con la chasa in che habito." He made the same claim for the site of the *Grascia*, which, it will be remembered, he did not destroy.
- <sup>93</sup> The composite capital with soft acanthus leaves overlapping the volutes and a fluted neck is typical of a form typical in the 1470s especially in the sphere of Giuliano da Maiano. See for example similar capitals in the courtyard of Palazzo Venieri at Recanati or the courtyard of Palazzo Spannocchi in Siena. Illustration in *Francesco Quinterio*, Giuliano da Maiano "Grandissimo Domestico", Rome 1996, pp. 251 or 303. See also a capital from Giuliano da Maiano's workshop in: *La bottega di Giuliano e Benedetto da Maiano nel Rinascimento fiorentino*, ed. Maria Grazia Ciardi Duprè Dal Poggetto, Florence 1994, fig. 16.
- <sup>94</sup> Biblioteca della Soprintendenza ai Beni Artistici, Carteggio Poggi, Manoscritto 352, vol. 4, letter no. 154: "If possible it would not be bad to use the peducci that are being removed from the vault of the new carriage entrance in order to put them on the pilasters on the principal stairs from the primo piano up."
- <sup>95</sup> There is also a carriage entrance at the back of the palace on Via dei Gondi. However, that area of the property had been occupied by offices and had been remodeled several times in the intervening years. It is unlikely that *peducci* from the 1470s would have been extant in that location.
- <sup>96</sup> The Asini family did not fall on hard times until about 1475. There are other *peducci* in two ground-floor rooms of Gondi's new palace (today the Fioraio and the *saletta* of the bar) also must have come from an earlier building — probably torn down by Poggi. Like the *peducci* from the *piano nobile* stairs, the date of these ground-floor consoles is not consistent with a palace built in the 1490s. I would date them to the 1460s as a comparison with *peducci* from the Spinelli palace, for example, suggest. At this point, however, I have not been able to find their original source. It is possible that they came from an earlier room of the Asini palace or that they were found in the Giugni palace when it was destroyed. In the latter case, it leads to the intriguing suggestion that Giuliano Gondi updated the Giugni after he purchased it. It is also possible, however, that they came from a totally different building.
- <sup>97</sup> *Corbinelli* (n. 3), I, the engraving is found between pgs. cvcij and cxciij. It is not accurate in every detail. For example, the drafted masonry of the top floor is omitted. Also missing is the large house (formerly Tanini) contiguous to the palace on the north. By eliminating the abutting building, Corbinelli ideally extends the bench in front of the palace and the cornices on the upper floors beyond their true northern extent. There are other small differences in things such as the description of the bugnati (notice for example those around the

central door), but overall the engraving is accurate.

<sup>98</sup> There were, of course, other entrances in the old palace.

<sup>99</sup> See note 23.

<sup>100</sup> According to a notation concerning Mona Francesca's testament, ASF, Arte di Calimala 124, Sunto di Testamenti, fol. 24v, the Calimala was allowed to use the proceeds of the gift as their consciences dictated but not to sell any of the property. However, a note on the same folio says "ma non vi pose pena." In fact, on March 5, 1409 two small houses from the same donation had been sold to the Sei di Mercanzia for 200 florins (fol. 25r). In the notarial act of the sale, dated March 5, 1409, ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 10466 (Ser Giovanni di Ser Francesco Guardi), fols. 124v-125r, the reasons given for breaking the provisions of the will, even if true, are the standard ones: that the property was in bad condition and not making any money. The two houses (one described as a *domum parvum* and the other as a *domunculam*) were contiguous. The *domum parvum* bordered the property of the Calimala, the *domunculum*, the chiasso, and the Mercanzia. The *domunculum* did not have access to the chiasso but abutted the property of the Calimala, the *domum parvum*, and the Mercanzia on two sides. Thus, neither of these small houses sold earlier to the Mercanzia gave onto either Via delle Prestanze or Via de Leoni. They were clearly at the back of the large house belonging to Mona Francesca's donation.

<sup>101</sup> As Pacciani, p. 202, has suggested, in so doing, Lorenzo was furthering two of his favorite goals in one act: consolidating the government under his control by effectively eviscerating old communal magistracies and favoring an ally who would use his wealth to further Lorenzo's architectural vision for the city of Florence. See also *Riccardo Pacciani*, *Modi della committenza d'architettura del Magnifico*, in: *Lorenzo il Magnifico*, ed. *Franco Cardini*, Rome 1992, pp. 155-170.

<sup>102</sup> *De Rossi* (n. 1), p. 253, "Richardo per questo dì 5 di Giugno 1490, chome si vinse in Palagio per chonsigli che Giuliano Ghondi avessi quel'arte de' [missing in text], ch'è drieto a la Merchantantia dirinpetto al Bargiello e dirinpetto ale Prestanze, per crescere la chasa sua che di nuovo fa abozata; per mezo di Lorenzo de' Medici l'atenuta el merchato, cioè el pregio nano a fare gli ufficiali del Monte." Giuliano paid 250 florins.

<sup>103</sup> Mona Francesca's died in the opening years of the Quattrocento. In 1402 the Calimala made an entry for her inheritance but no transactions were registered until 1404. See ASF, Arte di Calimala, 124, Sunto di Testamenti, fol. 24v. In her will of 1400, she made her nephew, Antonio di Ruberto di Jacopo degli Asini, her universal heir. However, if he died without sons or daughters (Mona Francesca, unlike so many male patricians, included women as potential heirs) or did not want the inheritance, she stipulated that it should go to the Calimala guild for charitable purposes and for an annual mass in Santa Croce. In trying to determine the date of the donation, *Tönnemann*, 1983 (n. 4) (p. 13, n. 97) understandably suggested sometime around 1459 because that was the period covered by Arte di Calimala 144. However, Arte di Calimala 124 makes it clear that the donation occurred much earlier. Thus, the large house dated at the latest to circa 1400 and more likely to the previous century.

<sup>104</sup> From 1404 until 1479 it was rented for between 25-30 florins to the physician Maestro Cristofano di Giorgio, his widow, or his heirs. Maestro Cristofano, himself, rented it in 1404 for 30 florins, ASF, Arte di Calimala 124, fol. 24v. Following his death, the rent was lowered to 25 florins and then later raised to 29 florins, ASF, Catasto 800, 1457 Santa Croce, Bue, fol. 494v, Francesco di Bernardo di Maestro Cristofano and ASF, Catasto 913, 1469, Santa Croce, Bue, Michele di Giorgio del Maestro Cristofano, fol. 736r. See *Smiraglia Scognamiglio* (n. 74), pp. 135-136. By 1469, according to his tax return, Ser Piero da Vinci, Lionardo's father, rented half of the house from Michele di Giorgio del Maestro Cristofano (who was renting the whole house for 29 florins) for 24 florins. (ASF, Campioni dei Catasto 909, 1469, Santo Spirito, Drago, fols. 497r-498v, see 498r, published by *Smiraglia Scognamiglio*, pp. 134-135.) By 1479, Ser Piero was renting the whole house from Giuliano Gondi (who was renting it from the Calimala guild) for 30 florins. Ser Piero moved out on March 1, 1479 [1480] although he paid rent until the end of October. See Ser Piero's declaration (ASF, Catasto 1001, 1480, Santo Spirito, Drago, fols. 124r-127r, see 124r: "Stavo prima a pigione in una chasa dell'arte dei Merchatanti, la quale tenevo e tengho a pigione per Fi 30 l'anno. Rispondo di detta pigione a Giuliano Gondi per tutto ottobre prossimo che viene 1480". *Smiraglia Scognamiglio*, pp. 138-139, whose transcriptions contain some errors. Gondi's 1480 tax declaration is in *Tönnemann*, 1983 (n. 4), pp. 122-123 and *Smiraglia Scognamiglio*, p. 138-139.

<sup>105</sup> The Calimala had first rented the *casetta* to Maestro Cristofano di Giorgio in 1404 for 4 florins (the equivalent of 24 lire). (Technically the doctor rented it from *le guardie del fuoco* who rented it from the Calimala.) See ASF, Arte di Calimala 124, Sunto di Testamenti, fol. 24v and Arte di Calimala 144, fol. 18r. In 1458, the *sito da ufficio* was being rented by the Ufficio of the Regulatori for 20 florins. (ASF, Arte di Calimala 144, fol. 19).

<sup>106</sup> Gondi was also required to rent the shop from the Calimala for three years at 40 florins a year. See *Tönnemann*, 1983 (n. 4), pp. 123-123.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 14-15.

- <sup>108</sup> *Caroline Elam*, Lorenzo's architectural and urban policies, in: *Lorenzo il Magnifico e il suo mondo*, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Florence 1992, ed. *Gian Carlo Garfagnini*, Florence 1994, pp. 357-382 and *Kent* (n. 5), p. 68-69.
- <sup>109</sup> The entire Gondi family including Giuliano and his sons were prevented from holding public office in 1471. In 1474 Giuliano was singled out and banned from holding public office. It's not clear why he was banned, but in the same year Benedetto Dei lists him as reprimanded and condemned for being a "falsario". (*Benedetto Dei*, *La cronica dall'anno 1400 all'anno 1500*, ed. *Roberto Barducci*, Monte Oriolo [Firenze] 1984, p. 98.) In 1477 the king of Naples, Ferdinando d'Aragona, succeeded in getting the Florentines to reverse the ban (*Corbinelli* [n. 3], I, ccxxxiv) and during the tension following the Pazzi conspiracy, Giuliano played an important diplomatic role. See also *Tabacchi* (n. 3), p. 658.
- <sup>110</sup> I am aware that many Florentine palaces were built without centrally located courtyards. For a discussion of palace builders who sacrificed the regularity of palace plans, see *Lingohr* (n. 49), *passim*.
- <sup>111</sup> See, for example, Luca Landucci, Tribaldo de' Rossi, and Giovanni Cambi.
- <sup>112</sup> *Satzinger* (n. 10), pp. 160-168 and Fig. 19 has suggested that the Roman statue of a consul, now located in the courtyard of the palace, was intended to be placed on the facade of the palace. Taking his cue from a letter of Francesco da Sangallo, Giuliano's son, in which the sculptor says that his father told him that he had intended to put the statue on the exterior of the palace, *Satzinger* reconstructs a large niche on the facade along Via de' Leoni to house the statue. While there would be space for such an arrangement even in the smaller 7-bay facade I am suggesting, it would be a highly unusual solution for a Florentine palace facade.
- <sup>113</sup> I would like to thank Paula Spilner for first suggesting that I contemplate this solution.
- <sup>114</sup> On Florentine's concern for the view of their palaces, see *Caroline Elam*, *Piazze private nella Firenze del Rinascimento*, in: *Ricerche storiche*, XVI, 1986, pp. 473-480; *David Friedman*, *Palaces and the street in Late-Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, in: *Urban landscapes. International perspectives*, eds. *J.W. Whitehand/Peter J. Larkham*, London/New York 1992, pp. 69-113, esp. pp. 100-104.
- <sup>115</sup> On the Boni, see *Preyer* quoted in *Friedman* (n. 114), p. 102.
- <sup>116</sup> On the Pitti palace, see *Giuseppina Carla Romby*, *Descrizioni e rappresentazioni della città di Firenze nel XV secolo*, Florence 1976, p. 33 and *Giuseppina Carla Romby/Emanuela Ferretti*, *Aggiornamenti e novità documentarie su Palazzo Pitti*, in: *Flor. Mitt.*, XCVI, 2002 [2003], pp. 152-196. On Strozzi see *Elam* (n. 114?), p. 187-189. For Giovanni Rucellai, see *Brenda Preyer*, *The Rucellai Loggia*, in: *Flor. Mitt.*, XXI, 1977, pp. 183-197.
- <sup>117</sup> *Elam* (n. 114?), pp. 187-189.
- <sup>118</sup> Relatively little is known about this Quattrocento palace. See *Ginori-Lisci*, *Palazzi*, II, pp. 733-734.
- <sup>119</sup> While it must be noted that in his will Giuliano makes no *explicit* mention of continuing the *bozze* along Via delle Prestanze, that continuation could be implied. *Satzinger* had already suggested a free-standing palace precisely for the impact that it would have made along the processional route. My reconstruction differ from *Satzinger's* in one very essential way — *Satzinger* proposes a palace that went all the way to Via delle Prestanze coming to a sharp point at the corner and says nothing the exterior treatment of the palace along Via delle Prestanze.
- <sup>120</sup> Almost every important religious or civic procession in the fifteenth and sixteenth century went past the site of the Gondi palace. On this subject (with references to earlier bibliography), see *Anna Maria Testaverde Matteini*, *La decorazione festiva e l'itinerario di 'rifondazione' della città negli ingressi trionfali in Firenze tra XV e XVI secolo*, in: *Flor. Mitt.*, XXXII, 1988, pp. 323-351 and *eadem*, *La decorazione festiva e l'itinerario di 'rifondazione' della città negli ingressi trionfali in Firenze tra XV e XVI secolo* (II), in: *Flor. Mitt.*, XXXIV, 1990, pp. 165-198. The traditional route for both religious and civic processions was to make their way at some point from the Cathedral down via Proconsolo around the corner of Via dei Gondi (i.e. via delle Prestanze) and into Piazza della Signoria or vice versa. The standard route went past the "case dei Magalotto" (which were a group of towers opposite the Giugni, later Gondi, palace) on the corner of Borgo dei Greci and Via dei Gondi. For example in 1419 (the entry of Pope Martin V), 1434 (the entry of Pope Eugenius IV), 1451 (the entry of Emperor Fredrick III) and 1515 (the entry of Leo X) this route was taken. *Testaverde*, 1988, pp. 324-28 and p. 340, fig. 6. The mention of the Magalotti houses at the corner of Borgo dei Greci and piazza San Firenze in several descriptions indicates that the processions went down Via delle Prestanze to the corner of Via de' Leoni. In the case of the Entry of Charles VIII, the Gondi palace was specifically mentioned by Sanudo as one of the palaces that the French King passed on his processional Entry. See *Satzinger* (n. 10), p. 154, n. 5.
- More local processions also followed this route. After 1386 the procession accompanying the election of the bishop went from Piazza della Signoria down Via delle Prestanze past the site of the palace as it made its way to piazza Sant'Apollinare and beyond. *Testaverde*, 1988, p. 331. Two of the most important religious ceremonies, that of Corpus Domini and the Madonna di Impruneta went past the Gondi palace. *Testaverde*, 1988, p. 331. On the civic importance of religious and political processions, see *Richard Trexler*, *Public life in Renais-*



sance Florence, Ithaca/London 1980. See also *Marvin Trachtenberg*, *The dominion of the eye*, Cambridge 1997, and *idem*, *Scénographie urbaine et identité civique: réflexion sur la Florence du Trecento*, in: *Revue de l'Art*, CII, 1993, pp. 11-31.

#### RIASSUNTO

Questo articolo analizza, sulla base di nuovi documenti iconografici e archivistici, la proprietà che Giuliano Gondi acquistò per edificarvi il suo nuovo palazzo in Piazza San Firenze. O prendendole ad altre famiglie cadute in difficoltà economiche e costrette a vendere le proprietà o acquistandole con l'aiuto di Lorenzo de' Medici, Gondi riuscì a riunire un certo numero di proprietà significative proprio dietro al Palazzo dei Priori. I documenti ci permettono di ricostruire e immaginare il trecentesco palazzo Giugni, l'abitazione della famiglia Asini, una torre duecentesca. Infine, queste prove documentarie consentono all'autrice di ipotizzare una nuova ricostruzione del progetto originale di Giuliano da Sangallo.

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*Ralph Lieberman*: fig. 1. - *ASF*: fig. 2. - *KIF (Andrea Lensini)*: figs. 3-5, 7-8, 10-11, 24. - *KIF*: figs. 6, 12-13, 15-18, 23. - *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*: fig. 9. - *Author*: figs. 14, 19-22.