

Pietro Aretino, one of the greatest literary figures of the sixteenth century, has frequently been discussed in relation to efforts to abet Titian in acquiring commissions and in advancing his career.¹ Titian became the "Apelles" to the Emperor Charles V and worked for the most important families in Italy. Aretino concurrently helped Leone Leoni (c. 1509-90) to become Charles V's "Lysippus."² The Emperor knighted Leone and, in an extraordinary gesture, deeded him a spacious *palazzo* in the center of Milan.³ Not only did Aretino help Leone attain early commissions that led him into the court of Charles V, but also intervened when, as happened rather often, the sculptor found himself in a quandary for diverse criminal acts. Why would such an important writer have supported this young and troubleprone sculptor?

I contend that the answer lies in the enduring Italian secular trinity of "parenti, amici, e vicini" and publish in this essay a number of new documents that prove Leone Leoni was, like Pietro, Aretine.⁴ Documents recently discovered in the Archivio di Stato, Arezzo, and in the Archivio della Fraternalità dei Laici, Arezzo, combined with previously known information, make certain that Leone's birthplace was Arezzo. They also strongly suggest the outlines of his early training which had previously puzzled scholars, and clarify the reasons behind Aretino's consistent support of this artist. Contemporary writers, who knew Leone personally, including Giorgio Vasari, Gian Paolo Lomazzo, and Pietro Aretino, all refer to Leone as being Aretine. As Vasari and Aretino were born in Arezzo, and Lomazzo knew Leone well in Milan, there is no reason to doubt their reliability on this score. Moreover, Leone not only called himself "Aretino" but in a letter to Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, the Bishop of Arras, he explained that the cause of his erratic behavior was that he was "nato Aretino, che hanno nome di bizzarri (...) sì che se io non battezzassi [la] mia infingardaggine proceder da b[izzarria] d'animo (...)"⁵ Additionally, in a letter to Francesco de' Medici, Leone stated that he was "sempre industriato di far onor alla patria mia di Arezzo".⁶

In his "Vite", Vasari called Leone an Aretine sculptor.⁷ As Vasari was born in Arezzo, and as we shall see below, may have lived in the neighborhood of Leone when a youth, he surely knew where Leone was born.⁸ Gian Paolo Lomazzo, Leone's friend who lived in Milan at the same time as he, described Leone as Aretine in his "Libro dei sogni" (1564), in his "Trattato della pittura, scoltura, e architettura" (1584), and in his "Idea del tempio della pittura" (1590).⁹ Moreover, in 1587, in the second book of his "Grotteschi", Lomazzo honored Leone with two sonnets which in part read:

Chi la scoltura più da i Galli à i Persi
Ornò giamai, che 'l saggio e bel lavoro
Ch'in ritratti, in medaglie, et in roversi
Han mostrato in argento in bronzo et oro.
Il divin spirto di Giacom da Trezzo,
Et di Leon, ch'à tutto il mondo noto
Non solo hà fatto se, ma ancora Arezzo.
O fama eterna, più del Ostro et Noto
Veloce, hor quanto sei tenuta in prezzo
Da ogni alto spirto d'ignoranza vuoto.¹⁰

E insieme ancora quanti huomini furo
Ornati di virtù; sì come i rari
Pietro e Leon statuario ambi d'Arezzo.¹¹

Furthermore, Pietro Aretino's letters repeatedly buttress their assertions that Leone Leoni was from Arezzo. Aretino was born in Arezzo in April 1492.¹² Though he attempted to hide his humble birth, it was uncovered that he was born to a courtesan named Tita and her husband, Luca Del Tura, a shoemaker.¹³ His father abandoned the family to join the militia, returned eventually to Arezzo, and subsequently died in poverty in 1551. Tita was known for her beauty and employed as a model for the Madonna in an altarpiece of the *Annunciation* in the parish church, San Pier Piccolo.¹⁴ Aretino left Arezzo for Perugia in 1510 or 1511. After a few years there, he went to Rome where he met Jacopo Sansovino and, possibly, Titian. Shortly before the Sack of Rome, like many artists and writers there, he fled to Venice. Aretino remained in Venice, working for various patrons, publishing his letters, and helping Titian and Leone.

In his correspondence, Aretino continually defended Leone and advanced his status as an artist. In a letter dated 5 February 1537, Aretino wrote to Ercole II d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, asking him to pardon Leone for having fled Ferrara. Aretino explained to the Duke that he must help Leone "perché egli è de la patria mia".¹⁵ Though this is the first known letter in which Aretino mentions Leone, it is evident that their relationship was

already well established.¹⁶ Writing to defend Leone against yet another scandal, he described Leone as “uno che dipende da me, un virtuoso, un de la patria mia”.¹⁷ In a letter of 25 May 1537, Aretino wrote to Leone: “Voi, figliuolo, non sareste né di Arezzo né virtuoso, non avendo lo spirito bizzarro”.¹⁸ In a letter he sent to Leone in Rome he wrote that Leone was “uno a me congiunto per la natività di patria”.¹⁹ Moreover, he referred to him as “Lione d’Arezzo” as he called Titian “Tiziano da Cadoro” in two letters from 1550.²⁰ Aretino’s motive in helping him is clear: Leone came from his hometown.

Paolo Morigia reported in his “La nobiltà di Milano” that Leone was from Menaggio, but that his father was Aretine.²¹ Because Morigia published his assertion in 1595, only five years after Leone’s death, some scholars have accepted it as fact, despite the mountain of evidence to the contrary and the discrediting of Morigia’s scholarship by literary critics.²² Nonetheless, Morigia’s opinion that Leone was born in Menaggio has found supporters even as recent as 1996.²³

The most comprehensive modern study of Leone is Eugene Plon’s monograph published in Paris in 1887. He concluded that Leone was either born in Arezzo or that his father was Aretine.²⁴ Instead, in 1889, Carlo Dell’Acqua asserted that Leone was born to a family from Arezzo in the north and inaccurately reported that Leone’s father, Gian Battista, was listed as a citizen of Milan in the Annals of the Duomo of Milan.²⁵ In his dissertation of 1980, Michael Mezzatesta favored the possibility that Leone was born in Arezzo or at least wanted to think of himself as Aretine, as his signature consistently indicates (Leone Aretino).²⁶ In 1995, Floriana Gandola supported Morigia’s supposition that Leone was born in Menaggio, ignoring the well-known evidence of Leone’s Aretine origins found in the writings of Aretino, Vasari, and Lomazzo.²⁷ Instead, she cited ancient and Renaissance maps in which the area near Menaggio was labeled “Rezia”. She erroneously deduced that “Aretino” refers not to Arezzo, but to “Rezia”.²⁸ Most recently, in 1996, Mezzatesta, in his entry on Leone in the “Dictionary of art”, wrote that Leone was born in Menaggio.²⁹

Due to a document I recently uncovered in the Archivio di Stato, Arezzo, the doubts that Leone was born in Arezzo can now be dismissed. In this document, published here for the first time, another credible person, Leone’s relative, stated that the esteemed sculptor was “nato e nutrito” in Arezzo. The document is a petition to the priors of Arezzo in 1553 by Fra’ Benedetto of San Pier Piccolo, Leone’s “più proximo et stretto parente”. Fra’ Benedetto asked the government to make Leone and his heirs citizens, members of the nobility, and capable of holding offices in Arezzo. He pointed out that although Leone had been honored by Charles V and lauded for his virtue and for his art, he had not been likewise honored by his hometown.³⁰ In this request, he makes clear why Leone had always referred to himself as “Aretino”: “sempre in animo ha desiderato mantenersi la patria et il nome di Aretino” just as Pietro Aretino and Leonardo Aretino (Leonardo Bruni), among many others, did. Fra’ Benedetto stated that Leone did not own any property or other “beni” in Arezzo, required to be a citizen, but the *frate* promised to provide Leone with a house so that he could pass his last days in his hometown. Since he had nothing he could offer to the priors in thanks for giving Leone citizenship, he vowed to pray for the conservation of the city and its valiant citizens. The proposal was accepted by the priors and Leone and his heirs were granted citizenship as well as the fourth grade of nobility. Leone later held one of these “uffici di honore” alluded to in the petition: he was made a prior in 1565. In 1581, his rank of nobility was raised to the very prestigious first grade when he became a *gonfaloniere*.³¹

The petition adds greatly to the proof of Leone’s Aretine birth. Fra’ Benedetto plainly stated that the sculptor was born and raised there. A search of the baptismal records in the Archivio della Fraternalità dei Laici, Arezzo, which holds all records for baptisms in Arezzo between 1490 and 1520, resulted in several possibilities for Leone’s birth record. Leone’s birth date is assumed to be c. 1509 because of the notices of his death.³² Bearing in mind that Leone was very likely a nickname and his baptismal name different, I found the following baptisms: on 25 November 1507 “Bernardo figlio di Giovanni Lombardo”; on 23 May 1509, “Marco Giorgio di maestro Giovanni di Giovanni Lombardo”; on 28 August 1509, “Agustino o Giovanni figlio di G.B.”; and on 4 April 1512, “Jacopo o Lino di Giovanni Lombardo”.³³

In the Archivio di Stato, Arezzo, there is an unpublished compendium of information on famous Aretines, the “Dizionario bibliografico degli Aretini ricordevoli nelle lettere, scienze, arti, armi, e religione” by Federico Massitani. In his entry on Leone Leoni, Massitani stated that Leone was born to “Giovan Battista Leoni, valentissimo scalpellatore” who then “emigrò in Lombardia seco portando il figlio che si dice nato nella Casa Cellesi in via Madonna di Loreto”.³⁴ Two other Aretine historians, Ubaldo Pasqui and Ugo Viviani, specified that Leone’s father was a master “muratore” from Valle di Lugano, near Como, who came to work in Arezzo.³⁵ Whether Leone’s father was a “muratore” or a “scalpellatore” is unknown. For the sake of simplicity, I will refer to these two professions as masons in this essay.³⁶

By checking the “Libro della Lira” for the Borgo S. Andrea, the quarter which contained the via Madonna di Loreto, one finds no mention of the Leoni family.³⁷ It becomes clear, however, that the quarter was almost exclusively inhabited by masons from northern Italy, especially from Lombardy. If the Leoni family was renting a house owned by the Cellesi family, Gian Battista would not be listed in the “Libro della Lira” or the “Catasto”, which lists property-owners exclusively. In fact, Tommaso and Nardo Cellesi are recorded as home owners of

two properties in the Borgo Sant'Andrea.³⁸ Thus it seems possible that Leone Leoni grew up in this quarter of the city. Vasari's family lived in this same Borgo. The relationship between Vasari and Leone may date back to their childhoods.

A more convincing hypothesis is that the Leoni family lived in Porta del Borgo. There is a Gian Battista di Valle di Lugano "muratore" (exactly as Pasqui and Viviani had called him) listed in the "Catasto" of 1493 and in the "Libro della Lira" from 1510 and 1515 living on the via Succia, in the parish of San Pier Piccolo (where Fra' Benedetto was associated and where Francesco, Leone's younger brother, was buried, as will be discussed below).³⁹ This is the quarter where Pietro Aretino's family lived. Perhaps it is not so important in which quarter the Leoni family lived as the two, the Borgo Sant'Andrea and the Porta del Borgo, are beside each other.

Further information about the Leoni family may be garnered from other sources. Their presence in Arezzo at the beginning of the sixteenth century can possibly be explained by the building boom that took place there at that time. Antonio da Sangallo the Elder, who supervised the construction of several projects in Valdichiana and the new fortress and church of SS. Annunziata in Arezzo, employed masons from Como almost exclusively, citing their superiority of workmanship.⁴⁰ As a result, many Lombard masons and their families migrated to Arezzo. It is possible that Leone's father, the noted mason was among these Lombards who worked in Arezzo.⁴¹

The little information known about Leone's mother comes from Leone's and his friends' correspondence. In 1540, when Leone was sentenced to an indefinite period on the papal galley, Leone's friend Jacopo Giustiniano wrote to Aretino asking for his intervention.⁴² In that letter, Giustiniano decried the injustice that not only Leone, but also his wife, child, and mother were suffering as they were dependent on the artist's salary. The next known notice of Leone's mother dates from 1546. In two letters addressed to Battista Brusa in Piacenza, Leone mentioned letters he had written to his mother that she had not yet received. In the second, a letter of 22 June 1546, Leone indicated that his mother was often at the house of Priscianese, an important Latinist who lived in Rome, and could receive letters there. This suggests that she was still living in Rome.⁴³ In 1551, Aretino wrote Camillo Albergotti that Leone was coming to Arezzo to see his elderly mother, who was residing there, and to buy her a farm.⁴⁴ Evidently, Leone did not go as a letter to him from Aretino attests.⁴⁵

It can be firmly established that the Leoni family was in Arezzo from at least 1516 until 1522, a critical period in Leone's artistic education, through notices of a younger brother. In an unpublished notice in the baptismal records of Santa Maria della Pieve, Archivio della Fraternalità dei Laici, one reads that on 28 February 1516 Francesco Maria, son of Giovan Battista Leoni, was baptized.⁴⁶ The same Francesco Maria died and was buried in San Pier Piccolo on 31 October 1522.⁴⁷ Being born of a mason in an ambient of Lombard masons and steeped in a tradition of goldsmithing, Leone's early training becomes evident. Plon had suggested that he was a student of Michelangelo's. Mezzatesta proposed the Venetian-Paduan ambient as his training ground. I would like to suggest instead that Leone received his earliest training in Arezzo from local goldsmiths and Lombard masons resident there.

Though aspects of Leone's early life and details of his family remain obscure, Morigia's contention that Leone was from Menaggio, a claim that continued to entice scholars as recently as 1996, can finally be laid to rest with the discovery of Fra' Benedetto's petition. Aretino's unwavering support of Leone can now be understood: they both were born and raised in the same area of Arezzo. Clearly, the social network of "parenti, amici, e vicini," described in Florentine documents of this period was active in nearby Arezzo. The support of the renowned 'publicist' was the key to Leone's enormous success.

NOTES

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- 1 For Aretino and Titian see: Fritz Saxl, Titian and Aretino, in: Lectures, London 1957, pp. 161-173; Mina Gregori, Tiziano e l'Aretino, in: Tiziano e il manierismo europeo, ed. Rodolfo Pallucchini, Florence 1978, p. 289; Patricia Labalme, Personality and politics in Venice: Pietro Aretino, in: Titian: His world and legacy, ed. David Rosand, New York 1982, pp. 119-132; and Luba Freedman, Titian's portraits through Aretino's lens, University Park, PA 1995.
- 2 According to Alessandro Butti, in a letter of 1538, Giovanni Alberto Albicante, a humanist in the court of Gonzaga at Guastalla, equated Titian with Apelles and Leone with Lysippus. Charles V had given exclusive rights to Titian and Leone to make the Imperial portraits. Alessandro Butti, Leone Leoni e Ferrante Gonzaga, in: Leone Leoni tra Lombardia e Spagna. Atti del convegno internazionale, Menaggio 25-26 settembre 1993, ed. Maria Luisa Gatti Perer, Milan 1995, p. 66.

- ³ Charles V bestowed on him this honor, still unusual for artists, on 2 November 1549, making Leone an Imperial knight, a noble, and granted him an annual pension of 150 *scudi*. The importance of Leone in the rise of the status of the artist as manifest in his home, collection, and relationship with the greatest intellects of the sixteenth century, was the subject of my dissertation, "To demonstrate the greatness of his spirit: Leone Leoni and the Casa degli Omenoni," Rutgers University, 2000.
- ⁴ This practice of supporting ones' "parenti, amici, e vicini" specifically in Florence has been discussed by *Dale Kent*, Parenti, amici, vicini: The great trinity of Florentine social bonds, in: *The rise of the Medici faction in Florence: 1426-1434*, Oxford 1978, pp. 15-16; by *Dale Kent/Francis William Kent*, Neighbours and neighbourhood in renaissance Florence: The district of the Red Lion in the fifteenth century, New York 1982; and by *William Wallace*, Michelangelo at San Lorenzo: The genius as entrepreneur, Cambridge 1994. Wallace lists the bibliography related to this practice on page 208, n. 189.
- ⁵ The letter was published by *Eugène Plon*, Les maîtres italiens au service de la maison d'Autriche. Leone Leoni sculpteur de Charles-Quint et Pompeo Leoni sculpteur de Philippe II, Paris 1887, p. 352, n. 2.
- ⁶ As noted by *Paola Barbara Conti*, Vita milanese di Leone Leoni da documenti inediti, in: *Leone Leoni* (n. 2), p. 41, n. 14.
- ⁷ Vasari identified him in the "Vita di Leone Leoni" as "Cavalier Lione scultore Aretino" (*Vasari-Milanesi*, VII, 535). Elsewhere in the *Vite* Leone is referred to as: "cavalier Lione aretino" (VII, 35), "cavalier Lione Lioni, aretino" (VII, 257, 258), "Lione Lioni aretino" (VI, 517), and "cavalier Lione Aretino" (V, 390). Additionally, while Vasari was Leone's houseguest in Milan, he wrote a letter to Don Vincenzo Borghini on 9 May 1566 in which he lauded Leone's high social status. Vasari wrote: "Messer Lione nostro, Aretino, in pazza di letitia et ci a fatto et fa cose, che se Michelagnolo resuscitassi et vedessi, come si vive, diria, che l'arte che l'a fatto tener si raro, fussi diventata un'altra, perche nel vero questi maestri non son piu filosafi, ma principi; et me ne rallegro, poiche o visto questa arte uscir un tratto fuori et della furfanteria et delle bestiacchie." *Frey*, Nachlaß, II, p. 239.
- ⁸ I located Vasari's baptismal record in the Ricordi dei Battezzati in Pieve e Vescovado, 764, in Arezzo, Archivio della Fraternita dei Laici (in these notes as AFLA). Listed for 30 July 1511 is "Giorgio o Romolo di Giorgio Vasaio". See note 33 on the use of two names (as here "Giorgio" or "Romolo") in these baptismal records.
- ⁹ *Gian Paolo Lomazzo*, Scritti sulle arti, ed. *Roberto Paolo Ciardi*, Florence 1973-74. That Leone and Lomazzo were friends was noted by Ciardi in his notes (I, p. 91, n. 51). In his writings, Lomazzo never refers to Leone without calling him Aretino (the following volume and page numbers refer to those in *Scritti sulle arti*): *Idea del tempio della pittura*, I: 279, 360; *Libro dei sogni*, I, 164; *Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scoltura et architettura*, II: 155, 162, 187, 358, 361, 377, 491, 547.
- ¹⁰ *Id.*, *Dei grotteschi*, in: *Rime di Gio. Paolo Lomazzi milanese pittore divise in sette libri*, Milan 1587, II, p. 130.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, V, p. 400.
- ¹² No baptismal record for Aretino exists because there is a lacuna in the baptismal records held in the AFLA from March 1492 until 1499. It is believed he was born in April 1492 because of references to his birth date in two letters by him. *Pietro Aretino*, Lettere sull'arte, commentary by *Fidenzio Pertile*, ed. *Ettore Camesasca*, Milan 1957-60, I, p. 200; and III, p. 141.
- ¹³ The name of his father was published by *Giuliano Innamorati* in his article on Aretino in the *Diz. Biogr. Ital.*, IV, 1962, pp. 89-104. *Alessandro Luzio*, La famiglia di Pietro Aretino, in: *Il Vasari*, II, 1932, pp. 85-119, published two letters that prove Aretino's father was a shoemaker and not the nobleman Bacci as Aretino had claimed.
- ¹⁴ Vasari, in 1548, made a copy of this altarpiece, by the Aretine painter Matteo di Ser Iacopo di Bernardo Lappoli, and sent it to Aretino at his request (in a letter of December 1548). *Ibid.*, p. 86.
- ¹⁵ *Aretino* (n. 12), I, pp. 36-38.
- ¹⁶ Because of Aretino's unflinching support of the sculptor, *Carlo Casati* (Leone Leoni d'Arezzo scultore e Gian Paolo Lomazzo pittore milanese, Milan 1884), *Aldo Giunti* (Leone Aretino, scultore, Arezzo 1932, pp. 51-72), and *Alessandro Del Vita* (Figure del '500, Florence 1944) posited a familial relationship, citing the letters in which, in their opinion, Aretino called Leone a relative. In a letter to Leone in 1552, he began "Cavalier mio più che figliuolo, non che parente" as he did in a letter to Camillo Albergotti in the same year: "Leone, mio più che figliuolo non che parente" (*Aretino* [n. 12], II, pp. 395 and 402). And again, to Leone he wrote: "amandovi nel modo che si dee amare un celebre virtuoso e parente" (*ibid.*, II, pp. 406-407). There is no known documentary evidence of an actual familial relationship.
- ¹⁷ Letter to Gian Jacopo Leonardo Ambassador of Urbino dated 20 July 1537. *Ibid.*, I, p. 59.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 46-47.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 129-131.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 332 and 344.
- ²¹ *Paolo Morigia*, *La nobiltà di Milano*, Milan 1595, p. 284 (2nd edition, supplemented by *G. Borsieri*, Milan 1617, V, p. 470).
- ²² Some modern scholars have discredited Morigia's writings. In arguing Leone's Aretine birth, *Plon* ([n. 5], p.

- 2) noted that *Girolamo Tiraboschi* (in *Storia della letteratura italiana*, Milan 1822-26, VII, part III, p. 1419) had criticized Morigia's scholarship as naive and filled with errors. Additionally, *Luigi Bossi* (*Storia d'Italia*, Milan 1882, XVIII, p. 289) concurred that it was "ridondante di favole l'opera del Morigia". Moreover, ten years after Morigia published his book, *Marc Antonio Missaglia (La vita di Giangiacomo de' Medici*, Milan 1605) described the Medici tomb in the Cathedral of Milan as being executed "per mano dell'eccellente Cavalier Leone d'Arezzo scultore rarissimo de' nostri tempi". Regardless, *Gian Battista Giovio* (*Lettere lariane*, Como 1823, 2nd ed. 1827, p. 25-27) supported Morigia's statement writing that there were still families by the name of Leoni in Menaggio.
- ²³ See note 29.
- ²⁴ Several scholars advanced arguments concerning Leone's birthplace prior to Plon. *Maurizio Monti* (*Storia di Como*, Como 1831, pp. 450-452) very convincingly argued Leone's birthplace as Arezzo. *Amadeo Ronchini* (Leone Leoni d'Arezzo, in: *Atti e memorie della R. R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per le provincie modenesi e parmensi*, III, 1865, pp. 9-41) also believed that Leone was from Arezzo and received his artistic training there. Later scholars that continued this hypothesis include Carlo Casati, Aldo Giunti, and Alessandro Del Vita. Casati advanced that Leone was born in Arezzo and published excerpts from Aretino's letters as proof of a familial relationship between them (as discussed in note 16). Giunti published excerpts from Leone's appointment as prior and *gonfaloniere* in Arezzo as proof that Leone was Aretine by birth. Del Vita wrote that Leone learned the art of goldsmithing in Arezzo and then worked throughout Italy until he settled in Venice. Plon asked Monsig. G.B. Cornelio of Menaggio and Sir Vincenzo Funghini of Arezzo to search in the respective archives for a baptismal record for Leone, definitive proof of the sculptor's birthplace and birthdate. Cornelio responded that a fire in the seventeenth century destroyed the old parish records. Funghini reported that he had searched in the Aretine baptismal records between the years 1500 and 1514 and found nothing. Funghini concluded that Leone was born in a parish near the city. The Archivio Vescovile in Arezzo was destroyed by fire in c. 1580 and therefore those records are lost. *Plon* (n. 5), p. 2.
- ²⁵ *Carlo Dell'Acqua*, *Del luogo di nascita di Leone Leoni e del monumento mediceo da lui eseguito in Milano*, in: *Archivio storico dell'arte*, II, 1889, p. 74. An examination of this source (*Annali della fabbrica del Duomo di Milano dall'origine fino al presente*, pubblicati a cura dell'Amministrazione, Milan 1877-85, IV, p. 21) reveals that Dell'Acqua was mistaken. The notice comes from the records of the Medici mausoleum which Leone executed between 1560 and 1563. It states that the work was by "Leone Aretino figlio di Gian Battista milanese della parrocchia di San Martino Nosiggia". It is Leone that is referred to as a citizen of Milan, living in the parish of San Martino Nosiggia, where his Casa degli Omenoni is located. *Thieme-Becker* (XXIII, p. 84) continued Morigia's misinformed hypothesis that Leone's father was Aretine and that Leone was born in Menaggio.
- ²⁶ *Michael Mezzatesta*, *Imperial themes in the sculpture of Leone Leoni*, doctoral dissertation, New York University 1980, Ann Arbor 1991.
- ²⁷ *Floriana Gandola*, *Una nuova interpretazione sui natali di Leone Leoni*, in: *Leone Leoni* (n. 2), pp. 113-114.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 113.
- ²⁹ In his article in the *Dictionary of art* (ed. *Jane Turner*, London/New York 1996, XIX, pp. 200-203), however, Mezzatesta followed Dell'Acqua's hypothesis that Leone was probably born in Menaggio or Como to parents from Arezzo.
- ³⁰ See Appendix 1.
- ³¹ That he was made prior is recorded in Archivio di Stato (AS, Arezzo), Archivio comunale, Estrazioni, libro XXII, fol. 218, Arezzo. It reads: "Nel 1565 dominus Leo sculptor è estratto dalla quinta borsa dei Priori." His citation as *gonfaloniere* is found in the AS, Arezzo, *Deliberazione del Consiglio*, fol. 202. It reads: "Il Cav. Leone di Gio. Batt. Leoni come Cittadino Aretino fu messo nel numero dei Gonfalonieri per la riforma del 1581." Both recorded in *Plon* (n. 5), p. 2, n. 1.
- ³² *Casati* ([n. 16], p. 33) published Leone's death record, found in the Registri del Magistrato della Sanità, in the AS, Milan. It reads: "Porta Nuova Para S. Martini ad Nusigiam - 1590 - die vigesimo secundo mensis julii, Multum Mag. cus et Eques D. Leo Aretinus annorum 81 vel circa (...) obiit non tamen suspectus iudicio." *Dell'Acqua* ([n. 25], p. 76, n. 4) published a second notice that he located in the records of the church of S. Martino in Nosiggia. It reads: "1590 die 21 Julii hora 22 obiit M.us D. Leo de Leonibus eques aretinus aetatis annorum 81, et die sequenti sepultus fuit in aede S. Mariae de Scala."
- ³³ These notices are found in the AFLA, *Ricordi dei Battesimi in Pieve e Vescovado*, 764, which records all the baptisms that took place in Arezzo between 1 January 1499 and 24 March 1522. The names listed, such as "Agustino o Giovanni," seem to indicate that the parents had not yet decided on the name. In some cases, the alternative name listed is that day's name saint (such is the case for Agustino on 28 August).
- ³⁴ *Federico Arturo Massitani*, *Dizionario bibliografico degli aretini ricordevoli nelle lettere, scienze, arti, armi, e religione*, unpublished manuscript dated 1936-42, AS, Arezzo, II, n. 2271. *Michael Maek-Gérard* ("Die Milanexi" in *Venedig. Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Lombardi-Werkstatt*, in: *WR-Jb.*, XLI,

- 1980, pp. 105-130) noted the influx of Lombard sculptors in Venice during this period; this same phenomenon seems to be true throughout Italy. Many sculptors and masons from Lombardy (particularly from the area around Como) came to Arezzo in the late 1490's to work on various building projects including Santa Maria delle Grazie, SS. Annunziata, the new Fortezza, the facade of the Fraternita dei Laici, and the Duomo. In fact, Lombard sculptors and masons were the preferred choice for projects throughout Tuscany (Pisa, Massa, and Siena) and cities elsewhere such as Perugia and Rome. See *Aldo Crivelli*, *Artisti ticinesi in Italia*, Locarno 1971 and *Mauro Cozzi*, *Antonio da Sangallo il Vecchio e l'architettura del cinquecento in Valdichiana*, Genoa 1988.
- 35 *Ubaldo Pasqui/Ugo Viviani*, *Guida Illustrata: storica artistica e commerciale. Arezzo e dintorni*, Arezzo 1925, p. 54. They did not indicate the source of this information.
- 36 Richard Goldthwaite defined "scalpellini" as all men who worked in stone including hewers, scapplers at the quarries, carvers of decoration, and even the architect who supervised them. "Muratori" are defined by Goldthwaite as wallers, the masons who were directly involved in building activity such as building walls and laying bricks. The English word "mason", though it cannot be translated precisely into Italian, does accurately describe the activities of both stonemasons and wallers. *Richard Goldthwaite*, *The building of renaissance Florence. An economic and social history*, Baltimore/London 1980, pp. xiv-xv and pp. 320-321.
- 37 AS, Arezzo, Libro della Lira, 18 and 19.
- 38 AS, Arezzo, Libro della Lira, 18 and 19; Catasti di città, 11, fol. 286, fol. 292, and 12, fol. 291, fol. 295.
- 39 AS, Arezzo, Catasto descrittivo, Catasti di città, 1419-1533, 14, fol. 173, and 15, fol. 296. AS, Arezzo, Libro della Lira, 18, fol. 50 and 19, fol. 78.
- 40 For Antonio da Sangallo the Elder's building projects in Arezzo and its territory see *Cozzi* (n. 34).
- 41 A search in the records of the building works of SS. Annunziata (held in the ASF, Compagnie religiose sopresse da Pietro Leopoldo, 2218) and the Cathedral (AS, Arezzo, Opera del Duomo, Debitori e creditori, 1, 2, and 3) revealed several possible references to Leone's father. Additionally, a "Maestro Lione Lombardo" is listed numerous times in the payment books of the Opera del Duomo of Arezzo from 1525 to 1544. The last mention of his name is when a payment was made to the "eredi di m. Lione Lombardo". Because the payment to his heirs suggests that he had recently died, I looked in the AFLA, Libro dei morti, 892 (1542-65), and found that from 1543 (when payments for work are listed) until 1544 there is only one notice, from 11 December 1544, that could refer to this *muratore*: "Maestro Johannes (...) murator Lombardus". This would, thereby, link the two names "Lione Lombardo" and "Johannes (...) Lombardus". None of these notices can securely prove the professional activity of Leone's father because we cannot be sure that the Giovanni or Giovanni Battista from Lugano or Maestro Lione Lombardo is he. However, the repeated citation of possible variants of a name like his suggests that one or several of the notices may refer to him. Documenting Leone's father as a noted mason could help to explain Leone's connection to Sansovino and his extraordinary commission from the Pope and other important men in his earliest years as an artist. (See Appendix 2 for a list of the possible references to Giovan Battista Leoni.)
- 42 In 1540, when Leone was sentenced to an indefinite period on the papal galley, Leone's friend Jacopo Giustiniano wrote to Aretino asking for his intervention. The letter, dated 16 May 1540, detailed the trial and sentencing (*Bottari-Ticozzi*, V, p. 247). Leone was charged with counterfeiting and assault and sentenced to an indefinite term as a galley slave. He was released a year later thanks to Aretino's help.
- 43 The letter was published by *Ronchini* (n. 24), II.
- 44 *Aretino* (n. 12), II, pp. 402-403.
- 45 In the letter, Aretino scolded him for "avermi fatto dir le bugie in Arezzo (...) I primi nobili de la terra e nel credito, con gran numero di cavalli, si erano messi in punto per venirvi incontra; (...) Benche eccede qualunque preminenza si sia quella con che raccoglie un suo cittadino la patria". *Aretino* (n. 12), II, pp. 406-407.
- 46 Massatinti wrote that in 1516 Francesco Maria was born to Giovan Battista Leoni. I confirmed this in the AFLA, Ricordi dei battezzati in Pieve, 764. The notice reads: "Francesco Maria di G. Batt. di Liona".
- 47 "Francesco maria figliuolo di Maestro Leonis Lombardis Muratoris e sepulto p.s. Pietro." AFLA, Libro dei morti, 890, fol. 91.

APPENDIX

I. AS, Arezzo. Provisione Intorno all'Ambasciatore. Capitoli per il governo dello spedale del Ponte e obblighi dello spedaliere. Serie: Deliberazione del Magistrato dei Priori e dal Consiglio Generale: 1385-1865, n. 23 (January 2, 1551 to October 28, 1558), fol. 87r.

Margin: civiltas Leonis de Leonibus dominus

La virtù sempre magnifica a signori ha in(n)alzato questa nobilissima città et tanto più quando senza adviamento alcuno di sangue, o di Robba la bontà de' il decto miracolosamente l'ha facta cognoscere nelj spiritosi Ingegni nati et nutriti in decta città la quale reluceva intanti di ogni facultà virtuosj come hoggi anchora riluce et resplende li altri noti ha facta cognoscere Il Cavallierj Leone Leonj vostro figlio et servitore oggi incola milanese dove per la virtù sua et per spicacità del suo ingegno in fra le altre sue degne opere ha meritato che Carlo quinto Imperador sia stato da lui naturalmente sculpito onde che per la virtù sua nella città di Milano si trova renumerato in un palazzo et facultà notabile da possere honoratamente viver et excitarsi nella lodata sua virtù laonde tutto considerando et cognoscendo a esso per compimento di quel che sempre in animo ha desiderato mantenersj la patria et il nome di aretino altro non li mancava che esser connumerato nella civiltà di tanto nobile patria sendo in quella et nato e nutrito perho Il Vostro humile servo Fra' Benedetto di San Pier Piccolo di questa città suo più proximo attinente desiderando fare cosa grata al decto messer Leone ricorre humilmente alle S.V. che per loro gratia vogliano Il decto messer Leone et suoi figli et descendenti aggregare nel numero delli altri cittadinj di questa città alla civiltà prefata et quello habilitare a quelli officii "di honore" et grado et altri di questa città che siran(n)o degni di lui et come alli Reformatory per li tempi parrà a convenirsi non obstante alcuna cosa in contrario disponente atteso che Il decto Fra' Benedetto come più proximo et stretto parente suo tiene expressa comissione di provederlo et di casa et di possessione per voler possere habitar nella sua vecchiezza come li altrj vostri cittadinj et situato di mezzo il core supplica a V.S. per exaltatione della virtù et comune satisfatione et contentezza sua offerendosi il decto padre non havendo altro in cambio di pregar Jesù Christo per la conservatione di tutta la città et delli suoi cittadinj et bene valeant.

Di V.S. humilissimo servo frate Benedetto di San Pier Piccolo di Arretio.

Die XX Junj 1553

Magnifici domini priores et eorum honorevoli collg. in sufficienti numero congregati ser^vatis servandis ad omnes fabas nigras n(umer)o 26 deliberaverunt dictam petitionem proponi consilio generali de aggregando et habilitando dictum dominum Leonem, ut supra dicitur dummodo non possint illum imbursari in minori gradu quam quarti gradi et in meliore modo.

Die XXI

In consilio generali fuit obtenta per fabas 47. nigras una alba nonobstante 1.

II. Listed below are all of the previously known notices and the previously unpublished possible notices of Leone Leoni's father, Giovanni Battista Leoni.

Possible baptismal records of Leone Leoni (AFLA, Ricordi dei Battesimi in Pieve e Vescovado, 764):

25 November 1507: Bernardo figlio di Giovanni Lombardo

23 May 1509: Marco Giorgio di maestro Giovanni di Giovanni Lombardo

28 August 1509: Agustino o Giovanni figlio di G.B.

4 April 1512: Jacopo o Lino di Giovanni Lombardo

Baptismal record of Francesco Maria Leoni, AFLA, Ricordi dei Battezzati in Pieve, 764:

28 February 1516: Gian Battista di Liona

Death notice of Francesco Leoni, AFLA, Libro dei Morti, 890, fol. 91 (1522):

31 October 1522: M. Leonis Lombardis Muratoris

AS, Arezzo, Catasto Descrittivo, Catasti di città, 1419-1533, 14, fol. 173, and 15, fol. 296. AS, Arezzo, Libro della Lira, 18, fol. 50 and 19, fol. 78:

Gian Battista di Valle di Lugano muratore

ASF, Compagnie Religiose Soppresse da Pietro Leopoldo, 2218: SS. Annunziata

fol. 128: Giovanni di Lugano

fol. 145: Giovan Battista Lombardo

fol. 147: Giovan Battista Lugano di Lino

fol. 197: maestro Giovanni di Giovanni Lombardo

fol. 227: Giovanni di Giovanni Lombardo

AS, Arezzo, Opera del Duomo (1525-1544):

fol. 104, 112, 116, 119, 133, 134, 155: M. Lione Lombardo

fol. 147, 148, 151: M. Giovanni Lombardo

fol. 141: maestro Lione e maestro Giovanni Battista Lombardo

AS, Arezzo, Libro dei Morti, 892:

11 December 1544: Johannus Lombardus

Annali del Duomo di Milano (1560):

Leone Aretino figlio di Gian Battista milanese della parrocchia di San Martino Nosiggio

Notice of Leone Leoni's appointment as gonfaloniere of Arezzo (1581, Plon [n. 5], p. 2, n. 1):

Gian Battista di Leoni

Leone Leoni's testament (1590), Mezzatesta [n. 26], 397:

magnifici domini Baptiste aretini

Pasqui/Viviani (n. 35):

Gian Battista di Valle di Lugano "muratore"

Massitani (n. 34):

Giovan Battista Leoni, "valentissimo scalpellatore"