

## THE TOMB OF MARIO NARI FOR THE SS. ANNUNZIATA IN FLORENCE

The Sculptor Bartolomeo Ammannati until 1544

by Charles Davis

In the early summer of 1975 the new "Sala di Michelangelo" was inaugurated at the Bargello. Among the statues returned to view were two surviving sculptures from a long dismantled tomb, that of Mario Nari, which the sculptor Bartolomeo Ammannati carved to place in the SS. Annunziata in Florence (Fig. 1). Even though the statues, the effigy of Nari and a Victory with a prisoner, were formerly displayed against separate walls under the portico of the nearby cortile, everyone knew that they belonged together. But by bringing these sculptures into physical proximity, the new installation suggests tangibly something of the original configuration of the tomb. It is now simpler to recognize the true dimensions that the commission initially had. The curious history of this monument, though it derives in part from near contemporary printed sources, has not been told, nor, it seems, really even noticed. Besides what it tells about the tomb itself, our story makes clear the rôle the monument played in establishing Ammannati's reputation, and this will appear in sharper relief, if, at the outset, we review the few facts that have come to light concerning the sculptor's activity prior to this, his first substantial independent commission.<sup>1</sup>

Ammannati was born, as Vasari is the first to record, in Settignano, *luogo vicino a Fiorenza due miglia*.<sup>2</sup> The year, according to Raffaello Borghini, was 1511.<sup>3</sup> The place of Ammannati's birth provides a clue to what led him to become a sculptor: Settignano was a stone-working center, and indeed some of Ammannati's relatives practiced the local stone-mason's trade.<sup>4</sup> The corollary, that Ammannati did not gain early experience in the skills of metal working, finds confirmation in the documents for his later activities.<sup>5</sup> Such humble beginnings were in marked contrast to the literary education received by Ammannati's exact contemporary from Arezzo, Giorgio Vasari<sup>6</sup>, with whom he was so often to work, first in Rome and then in Florence.

Of Ammannati's boyhood we learn, from a statement he wrote many years later, that his father died when he was twelve, leaving him with a small inheritance.<sup>7</sup> Thus around 1523, or perhaps as late as 1525, Ammannati entered the Florence studio of Baccio Bandinelli, from whom he learned *i primi principi del disegno*.<sup>8</sup> This arrangement probably did not last beyond 1527, the year of the plague and the year that the Medici were expelled from the city. The departure of the Medici preceded only shortly that of their camp-follower, Ammannati's master, Baccio Bandinelli. The upside-down world of Florence 1527, by Vasari's account, led the sculptor Montorsoli to seek security in religious vows<sup>9</sup>, and it, too, may have led the young Ammannati to abandon the disrupted city for Venice, where, in Borghini's words, *sotto gli ammaestramenti di Jacopo Sansovino si fece valent'uomo nella scultura*.<sup>10</sup> More likely, however, he marked time in Florence until mid-summer 1529, when he was discovered, together with Nanni di Baccio Bigio, stealing some fifty drawings from Michelangelo's *stanza* in the Via Mozza. It was probably in the unpleasant aftermath of this incident that, by now a nearly grown, red-headed youth, Ammannati first set out for Venice.<sup>11</sup> Exactly how long he stayed and quite what he did there remains to be discovered.



1 Bartolomeo Ammannati, Sculptures from the Tomb of Mario Nari. Florence, Bargello, Sala di Michelangelo.

But after Ammannati had returned to Florence, he, in Borghini's version of events, devoted himself to the study of Michelangelo's statues, *che sono nella sagrestia di San Lorenzo*.<sup>12</sup> And, indeed, in the summer of 1536, Ammannati met up there with the Venetian painter, Battista Franco, and with Girolamo Genga, the chief artist of the Urbino court. The three were soon sharing a common household and pursuing the study of art.<sup>13</sup> So much is what is known of Ammannati's youth. Although we can give answers to the most basic biographical questions, the evidence at this stage is slight. But from 1536, when he was twenty-five and certainly in Florence, Ammannati's career becomes easier to follow.

His first recorded works date from around this time. Borghini is the only early writer to connect Ammannati with them, and they were all, with one exception, made as parts of commissions belonging to older masters in whose employ he worked. The first work Borghini names, almost certainly Ammannati's earliest remaining sculpture, is a *Dio Padre con alcuni Angeli di mezo rilievo*, the marble lunette relief of the Cappella dei Martiri Gameliele, Nicodemo ed Abibo in the Pisa Duomo.<sup>14</sup> Completed by 1536<sup>15</sup>, the Altar of the Martyrs was one of the series of similar commissions for the Cathedral that belonged to the sculptor Stagio Stagi, who quite possibly had a hand in the rather conventional design of Ammannati's lunette. In any event the relief is not a very impressive beginning, and it would be a mistake to try to learn too much about our artist from it.<sup>16</sup>

The second work Borghini mentions, a marble *Leda alta due braccia*, is lost. It was made in Florence and by the time Borghini wrote was in the hands of the Duke of Urbino. Ammannati's *Leda* is usually identified with a popular marble statuette, based on Michelangelo's *Leda* cartoon, that is found in the new "Sala di Michelangelo" bearing a label with Ammannati's name. This anonymous work measures only about half a meter high, that is, rather less than one *braccia*, and far less than Borghini's two.<sup>17</sup>

The last of Ammannati's first works listed by Borghini are three marble figures, *grandi quanto il naturale*, which were carried to Naples and placed on the tomb of the poet Jacopo Sannazaro. Borghini is, however, not the most informative source for the history of Sannazaro's tomb in S. Maria del Parto at Mergellina on the Gulf of Naples; Vasari devotes nearly a hundred lines extending over seven pages to the tomb.<sup>18</sup> Montorsoli, it seems, submitted the winning model for the commission early in the first half of 1537 and then signed the contract for the tomb.<sup>19</sup> Between that time and when he carved his signature at the base of the monument, .F. IO. ANG. FLO. OR. S'. FA., perhaps in 1542 or even later, Montorsoli was off and on again involved in seeing the project to its finish. But there were few moments during the long time over which the making of the tomb stretched when he did not have other statues in hand<sup>20</sup>, and we can be sure he enlisted the help of assistants. Vasari describes the rôle of one, Francesco del Tadda, a friend from Montorsoli's youth and a *valente maestro d'intaglio di marmo*, whose abilities were prized by his sculptor contemporaries.<sup>21</sup>

Strange as it may seem, Ammannati figures nowhere in Vasari's story of the Sannazaro commission. But one statue stands out immediately as Ammannati's work, the figure of S. Nazario (Figs. 2, 4), whose quiet reserve is so in contrast to the more emphatic conception of the other statues.<sup>22</sup> This statue bears a more than family resemblance to a figure Ammannati carved on a triumphal arch he erected a few years later in Padua for the jurist Marco Mantova Benavides (Figs. 10, 11)<sup>23</sup>, and the very presence of the S. Nazario in the sepulchral complex lends credit to Borghini's report of Ammannati's participation on the commission. In addition, the two lifesize putti that bear the inscription Cardinal Bembo composed for the monument fit stylistically with the S. Nazario and with many other putti Ammannati made (Fig. 3).<sup>24</sup> Most modern critics have also associated the two figures that sit on either side of the Sannazaro sarcophagus, the Apollo and the Minerva, with Ammannati (Figs. 5, 6).<sup>25</sup> Thereby, perhaps unwittingly, they assign to him the responsibility for the lion's share of Montorsoli's project.



2 Ammannati, S. Nazario. Naples, S. Maria del Parto.



3 Ammannati, Putto. Naples, S. Maria del Parto.

Martin Weinberger alone has justly observed that there is no place in Ammannati's life and stylistic development for these works<sup>26</sup>, and one need but attentively compare the S. Nazario with the Apollo, and the Minerva, to see that he was correct (Figs. 4, 5, 6). The Apollo and Minerva have no more than a passing connection with the story of Ammannati's career; instead they belong to the study of Montorsoli's project. Both statues were clearly designed by the same artist, Montorsoli, and both, too, were executed by the same hand, or hands (Figs. 5, 6, 8). Each reflects the pose of the other, each wears the same bold beauty, each is carved with the same refined attention to mechanical details. The execution is marked, for instance, by the skilled undercutting, by the use of stone-cutting tools to create surface patterns in the stone, and by recurrent lines of drill-holes bored into the stone largely for decorative effect. Many of these traits run through the *lavori di quadro e d'intaglio* that Montorsoli entrusted to his childhood friend and companion, Francesco del Tadda (Fig. 7)<sup>27</sup>, as well as through Montorsoli's large relief at the center of the monument. They are not, however, present in Amman-



4 Ammannati, S. Nazario. Naples, S. Maria del Parto.



5 Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli, Apollo. Naples, S. Maria del Parto.

nati's S. Nazario nor in his two inscription bearing putti. And they are wholly out of character with Ammannati's delicate manner of finishing marble. But all the remaining figures of the tomb bear the imprint of a virtuoso set of chisels; witness, for only one example, the Medusa-head shield of Minerva (Fig. 9). Such an open display of stone-cutting skills is characteristic both of Andrea Ferrucci — whom Vasari presents as a case of the pure stone carver — and of the sculptors who were trained in his shop, among them, of course, del Tadda and Montorsoli (Figs. 7, 8, 9).<sup>28</sup>

Whatever the exact details of the collaborative procedures Montorsoli relied on, it is the statue of S. Nazario that matters for the understanding of Ammannati's art at this time. It is his earliest significant work that remains. In spirit it is far closer to Jacopo Sansovino than to Baccio Bandinelli<sup>29</sup>, and in its conception of figure and drapery it confirms Borghini's report of Ammannati's early trip to Venice to study with Sansovino (Figs. 10, 12).<sup>30</sup> Without the Apollo and Minerva, Ammannati's art of the 1530s and 1540s is far more coherent, and the transition from the S. Nazario to the Nari tomb sculptures takes place naturally and without difficulty (Figs. 4, 10).

Even though the Sannazaro tomb was a significant humanist monument, Ammannati's work for it added little to his renown in Florence, for it apparently was carried out at Carrara, mostly in the year 1538.<sup>31</sup> The exact timing of Ammannati's transient connection with the Sannazaro commission, however, hinges on the dating of his sojourn in the Marches at the court of the Dukes of Urbino.



6 Montorsoli, Minerva. Naples, S. Maria del Parto.

An overlooked notice in the first edition of Vasari's *Vite* shows that Ammannati's trip to the Marches took place after the death of Francesco Maria I in October 1538, *dopo la morte del predetto Duca, il suo figliuolo Guidobaldo, facessi fare per ordine pure di Girolamo Genga, la sepoltura di marmo che e' volle fare a suo padre, da Bartolomeo Ammannati*.<sup>32</sup> Nothing remains of this tomb for Francesco Maria<sup>33</sup>, but again we find Ammannati in the employ of an older artist; this time it was the painter-architect and sometime sculptor, Girolamo Genga, Ammannati's friend from a few years before, who supervised the artistic enterprises of the della Rovere duchy and who also was responsible for Ammannati's arrival there.<sup>34</sup> The *molte historie di stucco* that Ammannati executed at this time are also lost, but they, too, were probably made on the order of Genga, perhaps at the Villa Imperiale at Pesaro, which, around 1539, was the center of the della Rovere court and of Genga's activity.<sup>35</sup>

After his work for the della Rovere — still following Borghini's narrative — Ammannati returned to Florence and made the *sepoltura di marmo* of the Roman, Mario Nari, for the church of the SS. Annunziata (Fig. 1). Here, to begin the story, we can set its limits in time. Nari's



7 Francesco del Tadda, (a) Base of S. Jacopo, (b) Base of S. Nazario. Naples, S. Maria del Parto.

death is mentioned in a book of *morti* of the church on 18 October 1539.<sup>36</sup> As we will see, Ammannati had ended his work on the Nari monument and left Florence again for Venice by January 1543. As a consequence of these dates his stay in the Marches was brief, and the main part of the story of the Nari tomb must fall in the years 1540-1542.<sup>37</sup>

Nearly everything that has been known about the Nari monument derives from Borghini's life of Ammannati.<sup>38</sup> Borghini tells of the marble tomb that was to go in the Annunziata, he alludes to Nari's death in a duel, he enumerates the elements of the monument and describes their dispersal.

*... egli se ne tornò à Firenze, e fece quella sepoltura di marmo, che douea andare nella Nuntziata di Mario Nari Romano, che combattè con Francesco Musi, in cui egli hauea fatto la Vittoria, che hauea sotto un prigione, due fanciulli, e la statua di Mario sopra la cassa ; ma quest'opera (perche fu stimata incerta da qual parte fosse la Vittoria, e perche non fu l'Ammannato in ciò molto favorito dal Bandinello) non si scoperse altrimenti, e le statue furon tra(s)portate in vari luoghi, et i due fanciulli di marmo sono hoggi rappresentando due Agnoli dinanzi all'altar maggiore nella Chiesa de' Serui. Per questa cagione rimanendo mal soddisfatto l'Ammannato, se ne andò à Vinegia...*

Although Borghini's observations are full, they are not too clearly focused. He seems to draw a veil across some aspects of the affair as he fleetingly indicates an untoward intervention

by Bandinelli and a troublesome uncertainty concerning the Victory, and then hurries his narrative along to Venice.

But a series of wholly neglected literary accounts can be brought together to form a more accurate picture. It has usually been thought that the tomb was never assembled in the church because of Bandinelli's intrigues. But that Nari was killed in a duel presented the true stumbling block.<sup>39</sup> Bandinelli, in fact, capitalized on this circumstance for his complaints against Nari's tomb when he sought a site for his own tomb within the Annunziata. There can be no doubt that a letter written on Bandinelli's behalf to Cosimo I by his *primo segretario ed auditore*, Lelio Torelli<sup>40</sup>, on the last day of February 1559, describes the Nari monument and faults it precisely because Nari, *che morì in duello*, was not entitled to be buried in the church. Moreover, Torelli's letter shows the tomb was within the church walls.

*Il cavallier Bandinello ha desiderio di metter quella sua Pietà nella Nunziata in quel luogo, dove è il sepulchro di quel soldato che morì in duello, che è a man dritta appunto allo altar dell'annunziata; che solo per questo sera da pregarne il Bandinello, per levar via quello absurdo che una sepoltura d'uno morto in peccato enorme stia quivi a paragone di tanta devozione et alla mano dritta. Io ce l'ho confortato, et per quel che io conosco pare che sia occasione d'honorare quella chiesa; non so poi di chi sia la capella, et se si fa pregiudizio ad alcuno. Ma sendovi posta tal sepoltura, non posso già credere chel luogo sia di persona alcuna di rispetto; se già li frati non s'opponessero essi per qualche loro particolare.*<sup>41</sup>

Although it reiterates Bandinelli's arguments and furnishes a few additional particulars concerning Nari, Torelli's letter sounds strangely ignorant of the monument itself. He does, nonetheless, locate it in the vicinity of the venerable Altar of the Annunciation.

A dialogue written a few years earlier by Cosimo Bartoli not only shows him better informed than Torelli, but it also probably explains why Torelli was not more familiar with the prominently situated tomb. It was, so it seems, kept covered over by the friars of the church and was only visible upon request when the church was nearly empty. The modern tenor of this museum-within-the-church arrangement emerges clearly from Bartoli's dialogue.

Messer Vincenzo Martelli: *...havete voi per sorte veduto nella Nunziata la sepoltura di quel Gentilhuomo Romano che si chiamava Mario Nari, fatta da quel nostro Giovane Fiorentino, che ei chiamano Bartolomeo amannati.*

Messer Angelo della Stufa: *Non la ho veduta.*

Messer Vincenzo: *Di grazia cercate di vederla, et ancor che ella stia coperta, se voi vi andate un giorno a qualche hora che non vi sia molta gente, quei Frati ve la scopriranno. Et vedrete una opera che voi ne resterete stupefatto, et che cio sia il vero dimandatene Messer Cosimo.*

Messer Cosimo Bartoli: *Certo ella è delle belle cose, che a me paia che si siano fatte in questa Città da quindici ò venti anni in quà; et che questo Giovane sia valente ve ne posso dare un contrasegno che non vi dispiacerà.*<sup>42</sup>

Once unveiled the work will take your breath away! So runs the report of Bartoli's interlocutor, Vincenzo Martelli. And, in an almost contemporary notice in the 1550 edition of his *Vite* — a notice suppressed in the second edition and since then overlooked — Vasari gives a nearly identical, though more abbreviated report. He speaks of Ammannati, *le sculture del quale sono oggi coperte in Fiorenza nella Nunziata a la cappella di San Niccolò, in una sepoltura di marmo.*<sup>43</sup> And Vasari locates the tomb in the Chapel of S. Niccolò, the first chapel, situated immediately to the right of the entrance to the Annunziata and also to the right of the marble tabernacle built over the miraculous image of the Annunciation that is attached to the inside façade wall of the church. Vasari's location of the tomb confirms the indications contained in a record of a decision reached by the *Capitolo* of the Annunziata friars, on 30 August 1542, to allow a *sepulchro di marmo* of a *mario romano*, which had been readied, to be installed in the *Cappella di .S. Nicolo.*<sup>44</sup>





8 Minerva (detail of Fig. 6). Naples, S. Maria del Parto.



9 Shield of Minerva. Naples, S. Maria del Parto.

The exact location of the tomb within the chapel can be deduced from one last sixteenth-century text, which is contained in a little-read booklet, *Opera di Francesco Bocchi sopra l'immagine miracolosa della Santissima Nunziata di Fiorenza*, printed in Florence in 1592. Bocchi remembers that Duke Cosimo I was so moved by the sight of the sacred Annunciation that it never failed to bring tears to his eyes. Once, reports Bocchi, when the Duke had brought along the *Principe di Baviera* to see the holy Annunciation, he chanced to turn his eyes toward the south. His view came to rest on a wall which adjoined that supporting the Annunciation. There Cosimo saw a *sepolchro di marmo bianco, in cui era un corpo di certo Soldato morto in Duello*.<sup>45</sup> By now it is a simple matter to identify this marble tomb with that of Mario Nari. His monument was, therefore, erected on the south wall of the Chapel of S. Niccolò, immediately to the right of the normal entrance to the church. This position within the chapel is, in fact, suggested by the surviving statues themselves.<sup>46</sup> The proximity of the tomb to the painted Annunciation is graphically demonstrated by a half-century later relief in the center of the silver paliotto of the Annunciation Altar (Fig. 13). Here Cosimo I's namesake and Ferdinando I's first son and heir, the future Cosimo II, as a young ten-year-old prince, kneels before the image of the Virgin and gives thanks for his recovery from a near mortal illness. The scene is viewed from almost the same point where Cosimo I caught sight of the *sepolchro di marmo bianco* of a certain *Soldato morto in Duello*, from the chapel to the right of the Altar, that served as the *ricetto*, or vestibule,



10 Ammannati, S. Nazario. Naples, S. Maria del Parto.



11 Ammannati, Detail of right relief. Padua, Mantova Benavides Arch.



12 Circle of Jacopo Sansovino, St. Peter. Passignano, Badia.

of the Annunciation Chapel. At one side stand members of the ducal court; on the other are the friars of the monastery, who had, day and night, said holy offices for the recovery of the Grand Duke's son. Just beyond the boy prince are faintly seen the outlines of swordsmen and halberdiers, and beyond them, invisible, the onetime site of Nari's tomb. The silver paliotto was an *ex voto*, made in 1600, to fulfil a specific vow Ferdinando I pledged during the illness of his son, but it also recapitulates eloquently the Medici's historical devotion and generosity to the miraculous image, their close associations with the Servite friars of the church, and indeed the atmosphere of almost mystical veneration that enveloped the painting of the Virgin.<sup>47</sup>

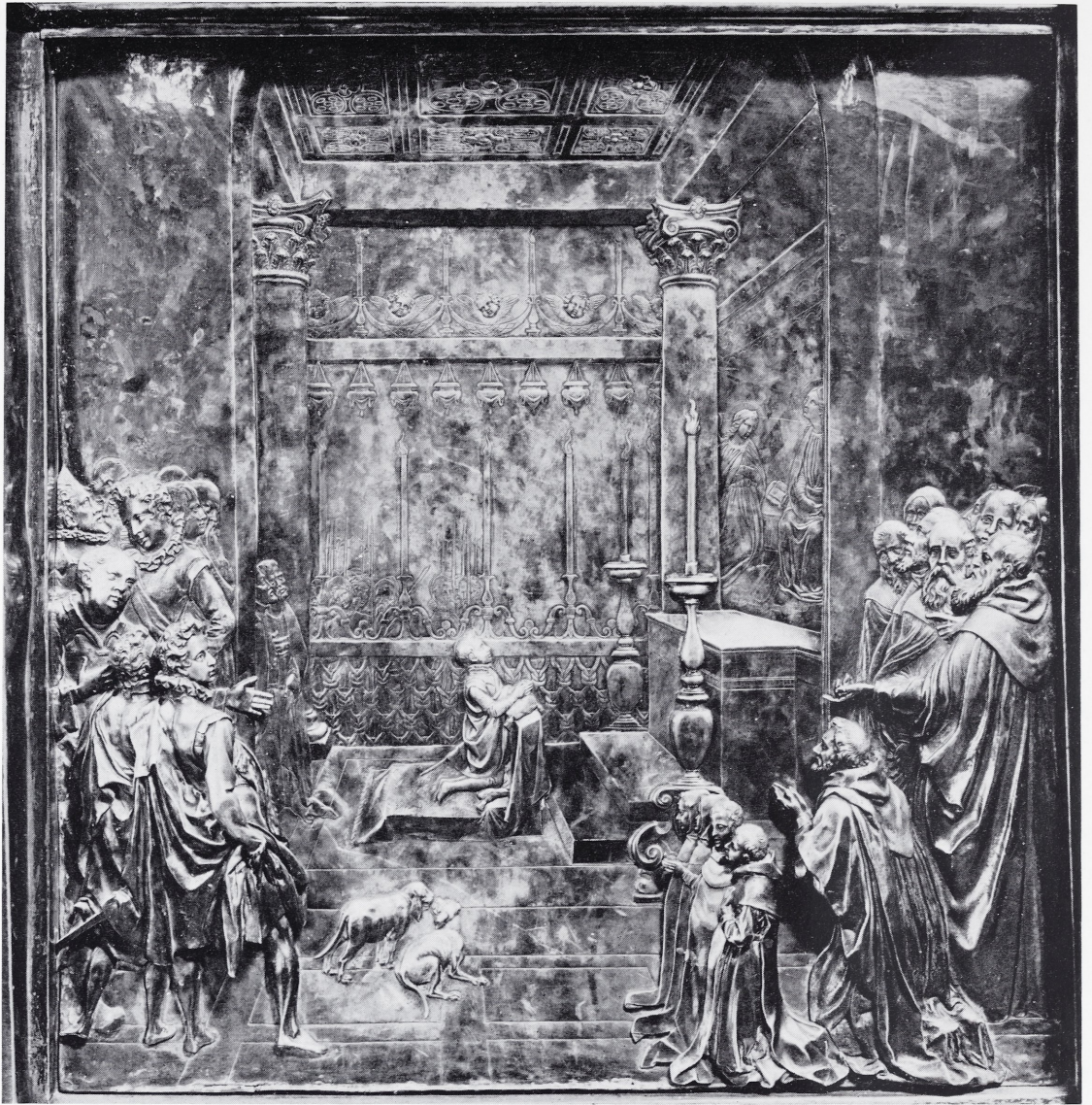
Bocchi's recollections of Cosimo I's encounter with the Nari tomb, however, continue. He describes the Duke's displeasure at this unseemly tomb of a *morto in peccato enorme* close by the miraculous Madonna. *Et perche non giudicava, che vicino al santo muro della Madonna avesse luogo cosa troppo dissimile verso di se da tanta santità, biasimò molto il fatto, et commise à chi era presente, come poi si fece, che si desse buon ordine alla bisogna.* Thereby the fate of Ammannati's tomb was sealed, and it was tied to the Medici's age-old veneration of the miraculous fresco. The Nari monument, long shunted aside and half out of sight, had, by 1559, already attracted Bandinelli's self-seeking attentions. Something of his accusations, perhaps, also linger in the background of Cosimo's indignation and in his command, probably to the friars, to put their house in order. Compliance with Cosimo's order, *come poi se fece*, no doubt entailed banishing

Ammannati's sculptures from the sanctuary, since, in 1584, Borghini records that the *statue furon trasportate in vari luoghi*.

The remarkable episode that Bocchi reports in 1592 obviously happened many years before. A clue as to when lies in Bocchi's off-hand disclosure that it all took place *in compagnia del Principe di Baviera*. Such a prince came to Florence in late 1565 for the wedding of Francesco I and Giovanna d'Austria<sup>48</sup>, and possibly Vasari's suppression of his earlier mention of the tomb shortly thereafter, in the 1568 edition of his *Vite*, reflects a desire not to rekindle a source of recent embarrassment that involved not only a prominent artist and sometime friend, but also the Duke and the friars of the Annunziata. The friars, in fact, had experienced occasional differences with the artists of the Accademia del Disegno, whose chapel was housed in the adjacent monastery, and thus they merited careful treatment.<sup>49</sup> But when Borghini wrote, silence was no longer the order of the day. In time the Victory was installed in a niche in the second cortile of the Annunziata, where it was transformed into a figure of *Fede* and readily visible for many years.<sup>50</sup> There it enjoyed a certain reputation, before being moved to the Giardino dei Semplici behind the church, and then finally to the Bargello.<sup>51</sup> By Borghini's time only the *due fanciulli di marmo*, as *due Agnoli* set before the high altar, remained in the church to recall the splendor of the ill-fated tomb. Here they stood when Bocchi wrote his *Bellezza di Firenze* of 1591<sup>52</sup>, in which he praised the marvellous workmanship of their maker, neglecting, however, to mention their previous collocation on the tomb of Mario Nari. Still Bocchi's words contain an echo of the admiration the monument first elicited, *i due Angeli di marmo Carrarese dinanzi all'Altare sono di mano di Bartolommeo Ammannati; i quali per l'industria mirabile, che in essi si scorge, sono da gli artefici tenuti in pregio, et come chiede la ragione, oltra modo ammirati. Et di vero molto sono simili al vivo, et quasi di carne palesano una rara intelligenza di artificio, et mirabile*. These *fanciulli* were last heard of in 1791, and by then they had been moved from the church to the *Libreria* of the *convento*.<sup>53</sup>

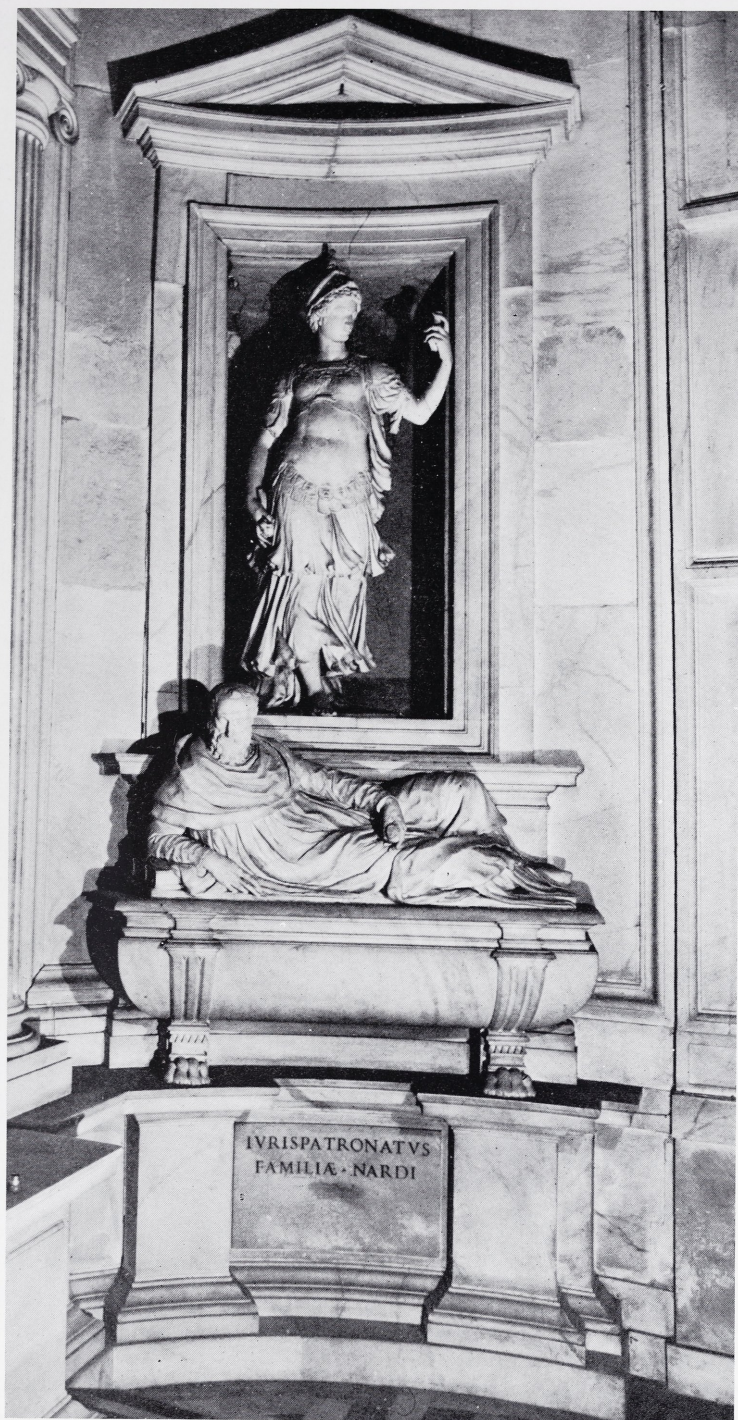
Taking stock of what has been learned from the story the new documents and contemporary texts tell, most of the ambiguities of Borghini's long-familiar account fall into place, and a number of new details come to light. Ammannati returned to Florence from Urbino, certainly not before 1540, and by August 1542 he had finished the tomb of Mario Nari, seemingly on the commission of the Roman's relatives. The tomb was essentially completed and then installed on the south wall of the S. Niccolò Chapel to the right of the entrance to the Annunziata. But from an early date, perhaps always, the tomb was covered over and only rarely exposed to public view. Its difficulties arose from Nari's death in a duel, which, had all gone according to rule, would have prevented his burial in the church at the outset. Borghini's elusive phrase, *perche fu stimata incerta da qual parte fosse la Vittoria*, perhaps was intended to point in that direction.<sup>54</sup> Bandinelli's intervention fell later, toward 1560, around the time he wrote, *Ammannati nell'ultimo non si portò molto bene verso di me*.<sup>55</sup> Nonetheless, Bandinelli's agitation probably planted a seed in the Duke's mind, and thereby contributed to the final exile of the tomb from the church by Cosimo I a few years later.

Some elements of the story remain obscure. One of them is Cosimo. Did his connections with the monument stem only from its presence in the Annunziata and its proximity to the Annunciation altar? The other personage whose rôle remains unclear is Nari himself. His effigy records his youth (Figs. 1, 20, 21). The sources call him a *soldato*, a *morto in duello*, and a *Gentiluomo Romano*. He no doubt belonged to the noble Roman family of the Nari, many of whom are buried in S. Maria sopra Minerva, a Roman church rich in Florentine affiliations. And, finally, one document appears to describe him as a *cortisano del Duca*. One wonders, then, if the Duke took an interest in the tomb from the start, and if so, why? And what question of honor was at stake in Mario Nari's duel with Francesco Musi? These are all questions that, as yet, have not found their answers.



13 Central Panel of the Silver Paliotto of the Annunciation Altar. Florence, SS. Annunziata.

Even in the light of the events that influenced the fortunes of the Nari tomb, Cosimo Bartoli's judgement, *Certo ella è delle belle cose, che a me paia che si siano fatte in questa Città da quindici ò venti anni in quà*, sounds, on first hearing, exaggerated. Nonetheless, the surviving statues, recomposed in the Bargello, make it easier to grasp the original form of the monument and to understand the scope of the initial project. In the fifteen or twenty years around the time the tomb was erected, there were, in fact, few Florentine monuments readily comparable to it. Michelangelo's tomb chapel at S. Lorenzo was so much larger in scope and so much more grandiose in conception, and a work like the handsome tomb of Antonio Strozzi in S. Maria Novella, which attracted Ammannati's attention, was far more modest.<sup>56</sup> But the middle ground between such works was nearly empty. There were few, if any monuments put up in Florence at



14 Ammannati, del Monte Monument. Rome, S. Pietro in Montorio.

this time that quite matched in size and splendor Nari's white marble sepulchre.

To appreciate this fact fully we must picture the general outlines of the monument. Of course, in the absence of the architectural elements of the tomb, a detailed graphic reconstruction is not really possible. But the site of the tomb in the Annunziata, Borghini's description of its components, the surviving statues, and Ammannati's later tomb designs do allow us to draw inferences concerning the form the monument took. The statues were surely fitted into a monumental wall tabernacle, consisting of a heavy base which bore an inscription and supported a classically profiled basin sarcophagus. The effigy of Nari reclined on the casket, with the two *fanciulli* on either side, and the Victory group was set into an architectural niche above. This much does not strain the evidence. Moreover, some of these features are shared with a more or less contemporary group of Tuscan tombs that includes Montorsoli's monuments to San-nazaro at Naples, to Angelo Aretino at Arezzo, and to Mario Maffei at Volterra, as well as the tomb of Matteo Corte at Pisa designed by Tribolo and that of Baldassare Turini at Pescia designed by Pierino da Vinci.<sup>57</sup> All these monuments help, in one respect or another, in forming an idea of the appearance of the Nari tomb.

More reliable indications, however, are furnished by Ammannati's subsequent tomb designs.<sup>58</sup> In one of these — the del Monte monuments in S. Pietro in Montorio in Rome, which Ammannati carved around a decade later — he repeated the arrangement he had devised for the effigy of Nari and the Victory group (Fig. 14).<sup>59</sup> In 1540, this conjunction of an over-lifesize standing group with a reclining effigy represented something quite new and impressive. The source Ammannati drew upon for his inspiration is, however, not very obscure. Although too much is sometimes made of Ammannati's dependence on Michelangelo, in this instance Ammannati did turn to Michelangelo's designs for the tomb of Julius II, and we see that he has simply extracted the central element of the tomb, the effigy of the pope with the Virgin and Child above. This arrangement seems to have been present as early as the 1532 project<sup>60</sup>, and that Ammannati should adopt it already in 1540 testifies once again to the compelling attraction of Michelangelo's ideas. In this vein, both Weinberger and Tolnay have demonstrated that the Victory group is modeled on an unexecuted design for the Victories, or Virtues of the Julius tomb (Figs. 15, 19).<sup>61</sup> The double connection of the Nari monument with the Julius tomb justifies its right to a corner in the "Sala di Michelangelo", but it should be noted that Ammannati's statues are related to Michelangelo primarily in terms of their large outlines, their format and configuration, and also, but to a lesser extent, in terms of type.<sup>62</sup>

The native, almost unconscious sculptural language of figure and drapery that Ammannati speaks here is instead one he learned from Jacopo Sansovino, although Ammannati remains more in touch with Tuscan art than Sansovino's later Venetian followers (Fig. 16). In this connection, the relationship of the Nari Victory to the Temperance of Andrea Sansovino's Basso monument in S. Maria del Popolo in Rome has often been observed, but, though the two statues reflect the same sculptural values<sup>63</sup> and share in a common artistic heritage, their similarities are mainly generic ones. Nonetheless, from Ammannati's Victory it is only a short step to the figure of Fame and to the two Victories that he carved in Padua for the jurist Marco Mantova Benavides (Figs. 17, 18), and with these works Ammannati joins hands even more closely with Jacopo Sansovino.<sup>64</sup>

Unlike the Victory, the statue of Nari is badly weathered (Fig. 20).<sup>65</sup> The lowered head, however, protected Nari's face, and it preserves something of the original surface (Fig. 21). It is perhaps an imaginary portrait, given the circumstance of Nari's death, rather than a faithful likeness. But Ammannati has imparted a quiet nobility to his ideal reconstruction of the young soldier's features. The unsheathed sword that Nari holds half-concealed beneath his body makes a reticent (if ill-advised) allusion to his death, and it reminds us to remember the fate of Nari, who is represented as a fallen youth (Fig. 20).



15 Ammannati, Nari Victory Group. Florence, Bargello.



16 Ammannati, Victory. Florence, Bargello.





17 Ammannati, Victory. Padua, Mantova Benavides Arch.



18 Ammannati, Fama. Padua, Eremitani, Mantova Benavides Tomb.

Most writers see this statue as a reflection of Michelangelo's statues of the times of day in the New Sacristy of S. Lorenzo.<sup>66</sup> But it is more natural to consider the recumbent figure of Nari in the context of the tradition of sleeping and half-asleep sepulchral effigies that were apparently introduced to Italy by Andrea Sansovino in S. Maria del Popolo.<sup>67</sup>

One aspect of the Nari tomb cannot be reconstructed, but, because the quantity and scale of the figural sculpture necessitates it, it may be assumed. This is a monumental, unified, and substantial architectural framework. Ammannati had a genuine gift for turning out distinguished tomb designs that his contemporaries among Florentine sculptors could not quite equal, although Francesco da Sangallo<sup>68</sup>, coming as he did from a family where architecture was a tradition, almost certainly tried, and, then, too, Montorsoli's fertile imagination was full of intriguing ideas. But in any event, Ammannati's approach to designing tombs was that of an architect. He was always fundamentally concerned with designing frames for statues, and though it has been said that his tomb for Marco Mantova Benavides (1546) was the only Tuscan tomb of the second quarter of the sixteenth century, outside the Medici Chapel, to attempt seriously to weld sculpture and architecture into an aesthetic unity<sup>69</sup>, it should be clear that he had already displayed his talents along these lines in the Nari monument. Certainly it had a weighty base like those which support the sarcophagi and tabernacles of the del Monte monuments (Fig. 14), for this feature is a near-constant of Ammannati's designs, as is a consistent architectural organization of the entire tomb structure.

This architectural *firmitas* no doubt recommended the Nari monument to Cosimo Bartoli, who translated Alberti's *De re aedificatoria*, and to his friends.<sup>70</sup> As a proof of Ammannati's talents, Bartoli adduces Michelangelo's esteem for Ammannati and the support he gave the young sculptor in obtaining the commission for the del Monte Chapel tomb sculpture in 1550.<sup>71</sup> It has usually been thought that Ammannati's reputation at this point in time rested mainly



19 Ammannati, Prisoner. Florence, Bargello.



20 Ammannati, Mario Nari. Florence, Bargello.

on his works in Padua for Marco Mantova Benavides <sup>72</sup>, but Bartoli's linking of the del Monte tombs and the Nari monument underlines the fact that Ammannati also had a large, impressive, and forward-looking marble tomb to his credit in Florence. For his first major work as an independent master responsible for both design and execution, Ammannati had secured one of the most desirable sepulchral commissions to be had in mid-sixteenth-century Florence. Prominently placed near the entrance of the Annunziata, though covered over, Ammannati's magnificent marble tomb received the admiration of artists and *cognoscenti* of sculpture.

That it was for many years so near to the public eye and still largely banished from view was no doubt a source of remorse to the young, thirty-year-old sculptor. But the difficulty lay with Nari himself and not with any manifest defect in Ammannati's work; as a sculptor he was acclaimed, and his was not the only sculptural project of its time that, owing to external circumstances, did not reach a happy conclusion. Nonetheless, we may well believe Borghini that, *malsodisfatto*, Ammannati *se ne andò à Venegia*. A notice in Lorenzo Lotto's *ricordi*, once scrutinized, places him in Venice as early as January 1543.<sup>73</sup> The principal work he executed there, *un Nettuno di pietra striana alto quattro braccia*<sup>74</sup>, long stood alone on the corner of the crowning balustrade of Sansovino's Libreria nearest to the Campanile of S. Marco. But like the Nari monument, it, too, was ill-starred. One year, toward the middle of the eighteenth century, on the last Thursday of Carnival, a large rope was attached to the Neptune as a guy for a tightrope stretching from the pinnacle of the Campanile of S. Marco down into the Piazzetta below. The tightrope was to serve in the acrobatic displays which formed a traditional

part of *giovedì grasso* jubilations in the city. But on this occasion the immense stone Neptune could not sustain the apparatus, and under the weight of the heavy ropes it was overturned and brought toppling down to the ground from its post above the Piazza.<sup>75</sup>



21 Ammannati, Mario Nari. Florence, Bargello.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> For a survey of the literature, see: "Ammannati" in: Diz. Biogr. Ital. and *J. Pope-Hennessy*, *An Introduction to Italian Sculpture*, III, 2nd ed., London-New York 1970. The essentials of the following study were presented in my dissertation on the sculpture of Ammannati (University of North Carolina, 1972), which was supported by a fellowship from the Samuel H. Kress Foundation (1969-1971) to the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz.

<sup>2</sup> *Vasari-Ricci*, IV, p. 235; *Vasari-Milanesi*, III, p. 107. Cf. *ibid.*, VII, pp. 510, 521 (*fiorentino*); *R. Borghini*, *Il Riposo*, ed. *M. Rosci*, Milan 1967, I, p. 590 (*Firenze*). *Vasari's* 1550 report is confirmed by Ammannati's Paduan patron, *M. Mantova Benavides*, *Discorsi sopra i dialoghi di M. Speron Sperone*, Venice 1561, p. 9 v, *Amannati da Settignano*, and by Ammannati's statement, *io sono di tal villa*, i. e., the *villa of Settignano* [ASF, Conventi soppressi 139, Gesuiti, filza 1037 (242), c. 14 r]; see below notes 4, 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Borghini-Rosci*, I, p. 590. Note also: *Vasari-Milanesi*, IX, p. 3: 15 September 1511; *B. Magni* in *Thieme-Becker*, I, p. 413: 18 June 1511; neither writer cites a source. In the context of preparations to make his testament — apparently the one notarized in February 1581 (*G. Gaye*, *Carteggio inedito d'artisti*

dei secoli XIV, XV, XVI, vol. III, Florence 1840, pp. 554-555) — Ammannati began the draft of a brief biographical statement. Here he declares that he is sixty-nine, *sono oggi a questo dì anni 69 in circa*, and he writes of his wife, Madonna Laura Battiferri, whom he married on 17 April 1550, *.30. anni sono che è mia consorte* [ASF, Conv. soppr. 139, filza 1037 (242), c. 14 r]. The latter assertion points to 1580. This agrees with the date of Ammannati's testament and with a birthdate in 1511; cf. *Baldinucci-Ranalli*, II, p. 382.

For Ammannati's early years *Borghini* provides the most reliable connected biography (*Borghini-Rosci*, I, pp. 590-591). His account is based on information supplied directly by the aged artist (*ibid.*, I, pp. 594-595; compare p. 592 with *Gaye*, Carteggio, III, pp. 423-424).

- <sup>4</sup> Among the papers concerning the settling of Ammannati's affairs following his death is a statement by *Angela vedova moglie già di Bartolomeo di Gherardo ammannati scarpellino da settignano* [ASF, Conv. soppr. 139, filza 1037 (242), c. 50]. In his testimony of ca. 1580 (above notes 2, 3), Ammannati notes his nearest relatives, *due frategli* of Settignano, the descendants of his father's brother [ASF, Gesuiti, filza 1037 (242), c. 14 v]. Ammannati's testament of 1587 provides for the daughters of the brothers, Bartolomeo di Gherardo, *lapicida* of Settignano, and Antonio di Gherardo (*P. Pirri*, L'architetto Bartolomeo Ammannati e i gesuiti, in: Archivium historicum Societatis Iesu, XII, 1943, p. 55).
- <sup>5</sup> When Ammannati first began preparing to cast bronze figures, in October 1558, he required the services of Girolamo di Noferi da Sassoferrato, apparently a professional metalworker (ASF, Fabbriche Medicee, filza 20, cc. 150 r, et passim; filza 8, cc. 41 r, et passim; filza 22, cc. 2 r, et passim; etc.). Most of Ammannati's numerous works in stucco and clay do not survive.
- <sup>6</sup> *Vasari-Milanesi*, VII, pp. 6-8; *W. Kallab*, Vasaristudien, Vienna-Leipzig 1908, pp. 13 ff.; *J. Schlosser*, La letteratura artistica, ed. *O. Kurz*, 3rd ed., Florence-Vienna 1964, p. 290.
- <sup>7</sup> *Quando morì mio padre mi laso di 12 anni | E' mi rimase di eredita uno poderetto che valeva circa 300 scudi et una casa che pagava 20 scudi di pigione l'anno | valeva circa scudi 700* [ASF, Conv. soppr. 139, filza 1037 (242), c. 14]; cf. *Baldinucci-Ranalli*, II, pp. 336-37.
- <sup>8</sup> *Borghini-Rosci*, I, p. 590. Vasari does not mention Ammannati's apprenticeship to Bandinelli, but see: *B. Cellini*, Vita, ed. *O. Bacci*, Florence 1901, p. 414; *B. Bandinelli*, Il memoriale di Baccio Bandinelli, ed. *A. Colasanti*, in: Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, XXVIII, 1905, pp. 429, 434; Art Bulletin, LIII, 1971, p. 361, Doc. 1, note 1. These clear contemporary sources contradict the belief that Ammannati was trained in the Pisan Studio of Stagio Stagi (*M. G. Ciardi Dupré*, La prima attività dell'Ammannati scultore, in: Paragone, XII, 1961, No. 135, pp. 10-11, hereafter: *Ciardi Dupré*; and *Pope-Hennessy*, Sculpture, III, p. 372). For what Bandinelli had to teach, see best *Kallab*, Vasaristudien, pp. 25 ff., 42, No. 3, et passim.
- <sup>9</sup> *Vasari-Milanesi*, VI, pp. 630-631: ... *veggendo il mondo sottosopra...*
- <sup>10</sup> *Borghini-Rosci*, I, p. 590; see the remarkable analysis of the implications of Sansovino's teachings in: *Vasari-Milanesi*, VII, pp. 510-512. A tentative identification of Ammannati with *Lorenzo Lotto's* mention, in a letter written 5 August 1527, of a *giovane discepolo* of Michelangelo, who, along with Jacopo Sansovino, had sought refuge in Venice, is not conclusive (Il "Libro di spese diverse", ed. *P. Zampetti*, Venice-Rome 1969, p. 275, note 2).
- <sup>11</sup> Only *P. Barocchi* (ed., *G. Vasari*, La vita di Michelangelo nelle redazioni del 1550 e del 1568, vol. IV, Milan-Naples 1962, p. 1565) suggests the connection of *Vasari-Milanesi*, VII, p. 227, with a *ricordo* of Michelangelo (I ricordi di Michelangelo, ed. *L. Bardeschi Ciulich* and *P. Barocchi*, Florence 1970, No. 314; fullest transcription in: *P. Barocchi*, Michelangelo e la sua scuola: I disegni dell'Archivio Buonarroti, Florence 1964, pp. 124-125), which permits dating the theft to three months prior to the Siege of Florence, which began 10 October 1529. Further: *Vasari-Milanesi*, VI, pp. 630, 633; *D. Moreni*, Delle tre sontuose Cappelle Medicee situate nell'imp. Basilica di S. Lorenzo, Florence 1813, pp. 120-122; *R. Wittkower*, Nanni di Baccio Bigio and Michelangelo, in: Fs. U. Middeldorf, Berlin 1968, pp. 248-249, 258.
- <sup>12</sup> Cf. *Bandinelli-Colasanti*, Memoriale, p. 434, where Bandinelli recalls that he instructed Ammannati, as well as Vincenzo de' Rossi and his son Clemente, to study the chief works of Michelangelo.
- <sup>13</sup> This report (*Vasari-Milanesi*, VI, p. 574) can be dated to shortly after the Florence entry of Margherita d'Austria in June 1536 and to before the assassination of Alessandro de' Medici in January 1537; cf. *Vasari-Milanesi*, VI, p. 573. *Vasari's Genga da Urbino* most likely should be understood to refer to Girolamo, not, as most of Vasari's annotators report, to Genga's son, Bartolomeo, since until 18 October 1539 the latter had not travelled outside the della Rovere duchy (*G. B. Belluzzi* [= *Bellucci*], Diario autobiografico, 1535-1541, ed. *P. Egidi*, Naples 1907, p. 121).
- <sup>14</sup> *Ciardi Dupré*, pl. 1 (Alinari 37105 a); pp. 7, 10, 15, 27 note 14. Base diameter: 2.31 m. For literature: Pisa, Catalogo delle cose d'arte e di antichità, ed. *R. Papini*, Rome 1912, I, pp. 54-56; *Venturi*, X, 1, p. 478, fig. 368.
- <sup>15</sup> Altar inscribed: *Opus factum an. sal. MDXXXVI mensis Ianuarii*, contract: 8 April 1533 (Archivio storico dell'arte, VI, 1893, p. 428).
- <sup>16</sup> *Ciardi Dupré's* attribution of one face of the figured capital of the paschal candle column in the Pisa Duomo to Ammannati (pp. 10-11) is unlikely first of all on chronological grounds; cf. *Vasari-Milanesi*, IV, p. 482; VI, pp. 60-61; Catalogo, ed. *Papini*, I, pp. 82-83.
- <sup>17</sup> *Borghini* places the work before Ammannati went to Urbino. Note also: Catalogo del R. Museo Nazionale di Firenze, ed. *I. B. Supino*, Rome 1898, p. 59, No. 132; Documenti urbinati, ed. *F. Sangiorgio*, Urbino 1976, p. 326, No. 39; p. 219, No. 196; cf. p. 34, No. 149.

- <sup>18</sup> *Vasari-Milanesi*, VI, pp. 637-643. No satisfactory treatment exists of the questions raised by the tomb. In addition to the literature usually cited (below note 19): *P. Giovio*, *Le iscrizioni poste sotto le vere imagini de gli huomini famosi nel Museo del Giovio*, trans. *H. Orio*, Florence 1552, p. 152; *T. Fendt*, *Monumenta sepulcrorum cum epigraphis ingenio et doctrina excellentium virorum*, Breslau 1574, No. 11; *G. P. Lomazzo*, *Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scultura ed architettura*, Rome 1844, II, p. 371; *Vasari-Gottschewski*/Gronau, VII, 1, p. 405 note 23.
- <sup>19</sup> An approximate chronology for the commission can be derived from a close reading of *Vasari-Milanesi*, VI, pp. 637-643, keeping in mind a few dates: Entry of Charles V into Florence, April 1536; Turkish invasion of the Puglie, July 1537; Montorsoli's arrival in Genoa, by March 1539. From this time Montorsoli's activities in Genoa are documented (*C. Manara*, *Montorsoli e la sua opera genovese*, Genoa 1959, pp. 26, 33-35, et passim). For Montorsoli: *Pope-Hennessy*, *Sculpture*, III, pp. 357-358; *Diz. Biogr. Ital.*, III, 1961, pp. 230-232; *K. Möseneder*, *Die Brunnen des G. A. Montorsoli*, Diss. Universität Salzburg 1974. Montorsoli's responsibility for the tomb is first mentioned, eight years before *Vasari*, in: *P. De Stefano*, *Descrizione dei luoghi sacri della città di Napoli*, Naples 1560, pp. 144-146. Also useful in stabilizing the chronology of the tomb project is an overlooked notice of arrangements made by del Tadda in October 1537 for the transport of 55 carrae of marble to Naples, in: *G. Campori*, *Memorie biografiche degli scultori, architetti, pittori ec. nativi di Carrara*, Modena 1873, p. 317.
- <sup>20</sup> St. Cosmas, New Sacristy, S. Lorenzo; Hercules and Antaeus for Castello; colossal statue of Andrea Doria; St. John, Duomo, Genoa.
- <sup>21</sup> *Vasari-Milanesi*, VI, pp. 129, 629, 638-639, 641; *Thieme-Becker*, XI, pp. 491-492. Vasari specifically describes del Tadda's tasks as to *cavare i marmi* at Carrara and to make all the *lavori di quadro e d'intaglio*. See above, note 19.
- <sup>22</sup> S. Nazario (maximum base width: 57 cm.; socle: 67 cm. wide) identified as Ammannati's work by *O. Morisani*, *Una statua del Montorsoli e una dell'Ammannati a Napoli*, in: *Riv. d'Arte*, XXIII, 1941, pp. 145-148.
- <sup>23</sup> The Padua arch reliefs are now so corroded that they are effectively lost and can be considered only in old photographs (Padua, Museo Civico, Neg. Nos. 254, 255, 256, 258, 483; Böhm 6084). The S. Nazario may also be compared with the Victory and the effigy of the Nari tomb (Figs. 16, 21), with a standing nude youth in the Bargello (*Venturi*, X, 2, fig. 331), and with the *ignudi* of the Mantova Benavides tomb in the Eremitani, Padua. For Ammannati's patron, Marco Mantova Benavides: *B. Candida*, *I calchi rinascimentali della collezione Mantova Benavides*, Padua 1967; *Ch. Davis*, *Medals of Marco Mantova Benavides by Jacob Zagar and Giovanni dal Cavino*, in: *National Gallery of Art, Studies in the History of Art*, VI, 1974, pp. 96-103; *idem*, *Ammannati, Michelangelo, and the Tomb of Francesco del Nero*, in: *Burl. Mag.*, CXVIII, 1976, pp. 476-480; and *idem*, in *Psicon*, III, No. 6, Jan.-Mar. 1976, pp. 32-47.
- <sup>24</sup> Identified as Ammannati's work by *Ciardi Dupré*, p. 9, pl. 6; also *Venturi*, X, 2, fig. 90. Both putti: 68 cm. high; these, together with the S. Nazario, satisfy Borghini's specification *tre figure di marmo grandi quanto il naturale*. The Apollo and Minerva are over lifesize.
- <sup>25</sup> First: *A. Gabbrielli*, *Su Bartolommeo Ammannati*, in: *La critica d'arte*, II, 1937, p. 89. The rather casual accumulation of attributions is summarized with a certain finality in: *Chr. Thoenes and T. Lorenz*, *Neapel und Umgebung* (= *Reclams Kunstführer Italien VI*), Stuttgart 1971, pp. 215-217.
- <sup>26</sup> *Weinberger*, *Michelangelo the Sculptor*, London-New York 1967, I, p. 345; also: *idem*, *Portrait Busts by Montorsoli*, in: *Fs. M. Salmi*, Rome 1963, III, p. 40.
- <sup>27</sup> Although del Tadda is best known for discovering the secrets of working porphyry, he was first an excellent marble carver (above note 21), who was employed by Pierino da Vinci, Michelangelo, Cellini, Tribolo, and other sculptors. *B. Cellini*, *Due trattati*, II, Ch. 6, praises the stone-cutting skills of del Tadda, *un nostro scarpellino intagliatore da Fiesole*, as opposed to his *forza di disegno*. In the Medici account books he is listed many times, usually as an *intagliatore* or as a *scarpellino*, rather than as a sculptor. Following Vasari's report, he was occupied on the Sannazaro commission at least during the period from the first half of 1537 to after March 1539; see above note 19.
- <sup>28</sup> *Vasari-Milanesi*, IV, pp. 475-476. Compare del Tadda's grotesque *intagli* (Figs. 7 a, 7 b) with the breast-plate mask of Minerva and her shield (Figs. 8, 9). All these masks and grotesques derive from the vocabulary established in Michelangelo's works at S. Lorenzo and are foreign to Ammannati's numerous mask designs found in his sculpture and architectural decoration; these, in contrast to the Laurenziana designs, utilize semi-aquatic forms.
- <sup>29</sup> *F. Kriegbaum* (*Ein verschollenes Brunnenwerk des Bartolomeo Ammannati*, in: *Flor. Mitt.*, III, 1929, pp. 90-91, 99) has analyzed the fundamentally Sansovinesque character of Ammannati's art.
- <sup>30</sup> For the St. Peter (Fig. 12), from the circle of Jacopo Sansovino, at Passignano see *U. Middeldorf*, *Sull'attività della bottega di Jacopo Sansovino*, in: *Riv. d'Arte*, XVIII, 1936, pp. 248-249. This traditional design is akin to Sansovino's bolder St. James Major (Florence, Duomo), which, in turn, is clearly echoed both in Ammannati's S. Nazario and in the companion statue to the Passignano St. Peter. Similar adaptations and reversals of figures from Jacopo Sansovino's Venetian relief designs appear in Ammannati's Paduan reliefs (above note 23).
- <sup>31</sup> Montorsoli could not have enlisted Ammannati's aid until he returned to Florence around late 1537, and he probably did not go to Carrara until 1538; see above note 19.
- <sup>32</sup> *Vasari-Ricci*, p. 788; cf. *Vasari-Milanesi*, VI, pp. 320-322. The index of the 1550 *Vite* contains this

- confused reference: *PESERO: La sepolt. del Duca Federico. Gengha et l'Ammanato (Vasari-Ricci, p. 1022)*. All modern writers have placed Ammannati's trip to the Marches at various dates prior to 22 October 1538, owing to Borghini's statement that after Ammannati went to Urbino, *morendo il Duca, egli se ne tornò à Firenze*.
- <sup>33</sup> Numerous mistaken attempts to connect Ammannati with a monument to Francesco Maria I in S. Chiara at Urbino are reviewed in: *A. Pinelli and O. Rossi, Genga architetto, Rome 1971, pp. 289-293*. For three unexplained marbles procured at Carrara for Ammannati *ad instantiam Ill. Ducis Urbini*, in July 1544, see *C. Klapisch-Zuber, Les maîtres du marbre, Carrare 1300-1600, Paris 1969, pp. 210, 222*; cf. *Pinelli and Rossi, p. 289*; *J. Demistoun, Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino, London-New York 1909, III, pp. 73, 400*. The Duchess Leonora died in 1543.
- <sup>34</sup> *Vasari-Ricci, pp. 787-788*. Ammannati's friend, Battista Franco, had many associations with Genga and the Urbino court, and, too, Ammannati's future wife was from Urbino.
- <sup>35</sup> See *B. Magni, in: Thieme-Becker, I, p. 413*; *Pinelli and Rossi, pp. 137-155, 194, 264-279, 330*. An interesting account of Genga's activity in clay and gesso casts in: *Vasari-Milanesi, VI, p. 320*.
- <sup>36</sup> ASF, Conv. soppr. 119, Serviti, filza 814 (Morti: Entrata e uscita, 1529-1539), c. 90 r: *Adi 18 (ottobre 1539) se anno a un morto solenne tutto lo capitolo nostro a un cortisano [?] del Duca ciamato Mario Romano sebe de cera menuta libre otto & tre torchi che pesorno libre venti cavatene la quarta che restorono libre quindici...libbre 15*.
- <sup>37</sup> See below notes 44, 73. Following Vasari's chronological outline, the three-year-long study of *pittura and disegno* at Florence of Girolamo Genga's son, Bartolomeo, fell at this time, ca. late 1539-1542, and thus in the period of the Nari tomb execution. From Vasari and from Ammannati, the young Genga *imparò molte cose appartenenti all'arte (Vasari-Milanesi, VI, pp. 325-326)*.
- <sup>38</sup> For the previous literature on the Nari tomb and sources: *Pope-Hennessy, Sculpture, III, pp. 28, 48-49, Cat. No. 73*; *Ciardi Dupré, pp. 13, 15-20, 23*; *Paatz, Kirchen, I, pp. 120, 131, 133, 192 note 578*. *Ch. Avery, Florentine Renaissance Sculpture, London 1970, pp. 221-222*, summarizes the current view. Note also: *G. Gualdo, Relatione... di Firenze, Cologne 1668, p. 37*.
- <sup>39</sup> Only *Paatz, Kirchen, I, pp. 131, 192 note 578, and Ciardi Dupré, p. 20*, take passing note of this aspect of the tomb; cf. *F. L. Del Migliore, Firenze città nobilissima illustrata, Florence 1684, p. 294-295*.
- <sup>40</sup> For *Torelli: Vasari-Milanesi, VIII, pp. 191-192*; *V. Spredi, Enciclopedia storico-nobile italiana, Milan 1932, VI, p. 651*; *Der literarische Nachlass Giorgio Vasaris, ed. K. Frey, vol. I, Munich 1923, pp. 570, et passim, vol. II, 1930, pp. 120, et passim*.
- <sup>41</sup> The letter published without comment in *Gaye, Carteggio, III, p. 14*. Occasional comments on it in the Bandinelli literature do not note this connection with the Nari tomb; see best *Vasari-Gottschewski/Gronau, VII, 1, p. 356 note 75*. For Bandinelli's efforts to locate a tomb site in the Annunziata, see also *Pope-Hennessy, Sculpture, III, Cat. No. 65*. For the ecclesiastical prohibition against burial within the church of duelling victims: *M. Mantova Benavides, Dialogo breve et distinto nel quale si ragiona del Duello, Padua 1561, pp. 15-16*; *F. Dulpho, Tractatus de sepulturis, capellis, statuis, epitaphijs et defunctorum munimentis, Bologna 1641, pp. 45, 54*; *Del Migliore, Firenze, pp. 294-295*; *Enciclopedia Cattolica, s. v. Duello and Sepoltura ecclesiastica*; cf. *Vasari-Milanesi, V, p. 622*.
- <sup>42</sup> Ragionamenti accademici sopra alcuni luoghi difficili di Dante, Florence 1567, p. 19 b. For the text and date of its composition: *Ch. Davis, Cosimo Bartoli and the Portal of Sant'Apollonia by Michelangelo, in: Flor. Mitt., XIX, 1975, p. 266*.
- <sup>43</sup> *Vasari-Ricci, p. 788*; also index (p. 1012): *una sepolt. nella cap. di S. Niccolò. l'Amannato*. For the chapel of S. Niccolò (or S. Nicola, or del Plagio), see *Paatz, Kirchen, I, pp. 82, 99, 124, 160 notes 237-239, 186 note 516*.
- <sup>44</sup> ASF, Conv. soppr. 119, Serviti, filza 34 ("Partiti del Capitolo"), c. 80 r: *Sepolcro d(e)lla Cappella di .S. Nicolo [in margin]. A di 30 di d(e)tto [agosto 1542] | (R)adumato e p(ad)ri d(el) C(onven)to [che furono in] nu(mer)o dodicj propose al p(ad)re. p(ri)ore qualme(n)te gia p(re)ssso che due anni i(n) circha era stato un d(e)posito du(n) mario romano nella cappella d(e') cresci | hora e sue havevono facto u(n) sepulcro di marmo & d(e)sid(e)ravano di metterlo nella cappella di .S. Nicolo | se le loro p(ater)nità si co(n)tentavano | tutti furono co(n)tentanti se sua excellentia & padronj d(e)lla capella erono co(n)tentanti | cosi si messe al partito fu vinto p(er) fave nere undicj & una biancha*. (Unindicated abbreviations are enclosed in square brackets.) The motion to permit the installation of Nari's marble tomb, made by *i suoi*, in the Chapel of S. Niccolò is approved by the friars, eleven to one, with the provision that the Duke and the patrons of the Chapel, the del Plagio family (*Paatz, Kirchen, I, pp. 99, 160*), consent. Nari had been buried about two years previously in a *deposito* in the Chapel of the Cresci, or S. Lucia, situated two chapels forward from that of S. Niccolò (*Paatz, Kirchen, I, p. 100*; cf. note 36 above).
- <sup>45</sup> *Bocchi, p. 86*; for *Bocchi: Diz. Biogr. Ital., XI, pp. 72-74*. Cosimo looks to *quella parte del muro, che è verso mezzo giorno che con quello è unito, dove è la santissima Nunziata*.
- <sup>46</sup> The normal expectation would be that the Victory looked toward the nave of the church.
- <sup>47</sup> For the paliotto, executed by the goldsmith Egidio Leggi: *P. Tonini, Il santuario della Santissima Annunziata, Florence 1876, pp. 93, 298-299 (docs.)*; also, *Paatz, Kirchen, I, pp. 98, 156*; *K. Lankheit, Florentinische Barockplastik, Munich 1962, pp. 95-96*. The relief (Fig. 13) accurately documents the appearance of two large lost silver candlesticks — set before and to either side of the prince — valued at more than 4000 scudi, which Ferdinando I donated before becoming Grand Duke (*Bocchi, L'immagine miracolosa, pp. 111-112*). The lost candlesticks were designed and executed by Salvestro (not Stefano) Castrucci (*ibid.*, p. 111; cf. *Thieme-Becker, VI, p. 175*; *Paatz, Kirchen, I, p. 185*). The silver

- paliotto relief appears to have been designed by an artist who had in mind rather clearly the relief idiom coined by Giovanni Bologna. *L. Berti* (Matteo Nigetti, in: Riv. d'Arte, XXVI, 1950, p. 160) denies that this artist is Nigetti, as is usually maintained. For an outline of Medici donations to the altar: *Bocchi*, *L'immagine miracolosa*, pp. 30-31, 86-87, 108-109, 111-116; *Paatz*, *Kirchen*, I, pp. 96-98, 123; note also Montorsoli's lost kneeling statue of Duke Alessandro, *con una mano al petto in atto di raccomandarsi a quella Madonna*, in the Annunziata (*Vasari-Milanesi*, VI, p. 635).
- <sup>48</sup> *Vasari-Milanesi*, VIII, p. 571.
- <sup>49</sup> See *Vasari-Milanesi*, VI, pp. 657-658; *C. J. Cavallucci*, *Notizie storiche intorno alla R. Accademia delle Arti del Disegno*, Florence 1873, pp. 36, et passim; *Frey*, *Nachlass Vasaris*, I, pp. 689-690, 704-711.
- <sup>50</sup> For this symptomatic story of church decorum: *F. Bocchi*, *Le bellezze della città di Firenze*, ed. *G. Cinelli*, Florence 1677, p. 465; *Del Migliore*, Firenze, pp. 294-295 (*Religione*); and *G. Richa*, *Notizie istoriche delle chiese fiorentine*, vol. VIII, Florence 1759, pp. 62-63, who reports the Victory transformed into a statue of Faith, *tolte via le armi offensive, e posto in mano un Calice*, which explains the present broken hands of the Victory. The niche where the Victory was placed still exists in the second cortile of the Annunziata. See also: *Paatz*, *Kirchen*, I, p. 133; *F. Borroni Salvadori*, *Le esposizioni d'arte a Firenze dal 1674 al 1767*, in: *Flor. Mitt.*, 18, 1974, pp. 15, 60; *A. R. Masetti*, *Cecco Bravo, pittore toscano del Seicento*, Venice 1962, pp. 18, 80.
- <sup>51</sup> The Victory group, ca. 2 m. high, 92 cm. wide, 54 cm. deep, was transferred to the Bargello from the Giardino dei Semplici behind the convento (Brogi 24703) following the exhibition, *Mostra del Cinquecento toscano in Palazzo Strozzi*, ed. *G. Poggi*, 2nd ed., Florence 1940, p. 42. An excellent color plate in: *Ch. Avery*, *Michelangelo e il Cinquecento*, Milan 1968, pl. 28.
- <sup>52</sup> *Bocchi*, Florence 1591, p. 227; only *Ciardi Dupré* (p. 15) notes this passage, which is not reprinted completely in *Bocchi-Cinelli*, p. 442. For the *fanciulli*: *Paatz*, *Kirchen*, I, p. 192, note 578; *Baldinucci-Manni* (1811), VII, p. 399 note 1 (*In fatti hanno le ale posticce*); *O. Andreucci*, *Il fiorentino istruito nella chiesa della Nunziata*, Florence 1857, p. 51 (with an incorrect notice). A 1675 drawing of the main altar of the Annunziata, which shows, though not very informatively, the two *fanciulli*, was published by *W. Lotz*, in: *Flor. Mitt.*, V, 1940, p. 403, fig. 2 (ASF, Conv. soppr. 119, filza 1273, c. 26); cf. p. 404, notes 3-4.
- <sup>53</sup> *D. Moreni*, *Descrizione della Chiesa della SS. Nunziata di Firenze*, Florence 1791, p. 60 (not noted in *Paatz*).
- <sup>54</sup> See above notes 39, 50.
- <sup>55</sup> *Bandinelli-Colasanti*, *Memoriale*, p. 429. Bandinelli was by this time annoyed by Ammannati's attempts to gain the Neptune fountain commission. Apparently as late as ca. 1558 their relations were still satisfactory; see a marginal inscription of a letter of Bandinelli published in: *Art Bulletin*, LIII, 1971, p. 363, Doc. 3.
- <sup>56</sup> For Ammannati's drawing of the Strozzi tomb in S. Maria Novella (*Venturi*, X, 1, fig. 369), which reflects plans for the Julius tomb (*Weinberger*, *Michelangelo*, p. 165), see *Davis*, *Ammannati, Michelangelo*, fig. 22, p. 475 note 10.
- <sup>57</sup> Sannazaro tomb (*Venturi*, X, 2, fig. 89); Aretino (*Venturi*, X, 2 fig. 88); Maffei (*Venturi*, X, 2, fig. 96); Corte (*Venturi*, X, 2, fig. 378; cf. *H. Keutner*, in: *Fs. T. Müller*, Munich 1965, pp. 238-239, fig. 4); Turini (*Venturi*, X, 2, fig. 299; cf. *Vasari-Milanesi*, VI, p. 129); for the character of these monuments: *Venturi*, X, 2, pp. 459, et passim.
- <sup>58</sup> Ammannati's tomb designs are still best illustrated in *Venturi*, X, 2, figs. 306, 313, 355, 356; also: *Pope-Hennessy*, *Sculpture*, III, figs. 69, 72, 74. For a further documented tomb, that of Francesco del Nero in S. Maria sopra Minerva in Rome, and drawings by Ammannati for tombs, see *Davis*, *Ammannati, Michelangelo*, figs. 19, 23-25. Related architectural designs illustrated in: *Venturi*, X, 2, fig. 302; XI, 2, figs. 207, 209, 210; note also statue niche-tabernacles in the Duomo and the Palazzo Pitti in Florence; a further tomb drawing by Ammannati in ASF, *Gesuiti*, 1036 (240), c. 129 v.
- <sup>59</sup> For Ammannati's role in the del Monte Chapel: *Pope-Hennessy*, *Sculpture*, III, Cat. No. 75; *Davis*, *Ammannati, Michelangelo*, passim; below note 71. The implications of the complex documentation for this project have not been examined systematically.
- <sup>60</sup> See, e. g.: *K. A. Laux*, *Michelangelos Juliusmonument*, Berlin 1943, p. 228; *Ch. Tolnay*, *Michelangelo*, vol. IV, Princeton 1954, p. 63, fig. 206; *H. von Einem*, *Michelangelo*, 2nd ed., Berlin 1973, p. 117, fig. 1; *F. Hartt*, *Michelangelo: The Complete Sculpture*, London 1969, p. 250.
- <sup>61</sup> *Weinberger*, *Michelangelo*, pp. 138, 161-164; *Tolnay*, *Michelangelo*, IV, pp. 92, 112. A curious echo of the Madonna niche of the Julius tomb, which contains a group symbolizing the victory of Virtue over Vice (Faith-Heresy), is found in the tomb of Don Fernando de Valdès (Salas, Collegiate Church) by Pompeo Leoni. The figure of Heresy resembles strikingly, in a few particulars, the Nari prisoner, and perhaps stems from an earlier design by Michelangelo (*B. G. Proske*, *Pompeo Leoni*, New York 1956, figs. 11, 16).
- <sup>62</sup> Relationships of this type have been analyzed in: *Weinberger*, *Michelangelo*, pp. 138, 164, 340; *idem*, *The Bust of Antonio Galli in the Frick Collection*, in: *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XXVII, 1945, p. 266; *W. Gramberg*, *Zur Aufstellung des Skulpturenschmuckes in der Neuen Sakristei von S. Lorenzo*, in: *Flor. Mitt.*, VII, 1955, pp. 159-160.
- <sup>63</sup> *Vasari-Milanesi*, IV, p. 515; also: *ibid.*, VII, pp. 491-492, 511-512.
- <sup>64</sup> Cf. *Kriegbaum*, *Ein verschollenes Brunnenwerk*, pp. 90-91.
- <sup>65</sup> The effigy, first published by *Venturi*, 1936, X, 2, fig. 300 (Alinari 46262), pp. 357, 359, in the Bar-



gello, measures 167 cm. wide, 63 cm. deep. It is correctly identified and attributed in *F. Rossi*, *Il Museo Nazionale di Firenze*, Rome 1932, p. 15, and is mentioned in the cortile of the Bargello as early as 1898 (*Supino*, Catalogo, p. 36, No. 2: Guerriero giacente; cf. Foto Sopr. Firenze 15359).

- <sup>66</sup> For instance: *Venturi*, X, 2, p. 357; *Avery*, *Florentine Renaissance Sculpture*, p. 221.
- <sup>67</sup> See, for instance, *Pope-Hennessy*, *Sculpture*, III, p. 55. This often reiterated observation is supported by an apparently overlooked contemporary text concerning Andrea Sansovino found in *Leandro Alberti's* *Descrittione di tutta Italia*, published at Bologna in 1550: ... *Andrea Sansovino. Il qual fra l'altre opere che ha fatto condusse a tanta perfezione due superbe Sepolture di finissimo Marmo, poste nella Chiesa di .S.Maria de 'l popolo in Roma, una ad Ascanio Maria Sforza, et l'altra a Geronimo Savonese amendue Cardinali di Roma, per comandamento di Giulio Papa secondo. Fu costui il primo, che cominciase ad effingere sopra li sepolchri le imagini talmente che paiono riposarse sopra lo braccio* (ed. Venice 1551, p. 40; repeated by *Francesco Sansovino* in his *Ritratto delle più nobili et famose città d'Italia*, Venice 1575, p. 29v). Further overlooked notices concerning Andrea Sansovino and his family, in: *Agostino Fortunio*, *Cronichetta di Monte Sansavino*, Florence 1583, chap. VI.
- <sup>68</sup> For Sangallo's most direct challenge to Ammannati, his competing design for the tabernacles to house the Florentine Duomo apostles: *Gaye*, *Carteggio*, III, pp. 123-124.
- <sup>69</sup> *Pope-Hennessy*, *Sculpture*, III, p. 60.
- <sup>70</sup> See, for example, *Bartoli*, *Ragionamenti accademici*, pp. 5 a-5 b; on the modern tomb genre: *Vasari-Milanesi*, VI, p. 357.
- <sup>71</sup> *Ragionamenti accademici*, p. 19 b: M. C. ... & che questo Giovane sia valente ve ne posso dare un contrasegno che non vi dispiacerà. M. A. Che cosa? dite su? M. C. Il Giudicio che il Buonarroto ha fatto di lui, perche volendo Papa Iulio far fare in Roma una Capella in San Pietro a Montorio, dentro la sepoltura del Padre, & quella del Reverendissimo di Monte suo Zio, dove andavano, & Pitture & Sculture, Michelangelo confortò sua Santità che per Pittura si servisse di Giorgio Vasari da Arezzo, & per scultura di questo Bartolomeo, si che si può vedere quanto gran conto faccia Michelangelo della virtù di questo Giovane. The same version of events is given in: *B. Gamucci*, *Libri quattro dell'antichità della città di Roma*, Venice 1565, p. 175. *Bartoli* also dedicated his translation of *Alberti's* *De statua* to Ammannati (*Della pittura e della statua di Leonbattista Alberti*, Milan: *Classici Italiani*, 1804, pp. 103-105).
- <sup>72</sup> *Pope-Hennessy*, *Sculpture*, III, p. 60.
- <sup>73</sup> In view of the chronology for the Nari tomb given above, Ammannati's departure for Venice could not have resulted from Jacopo Sansovino's visit to Florence in late 1540, as suggested by *Ciardi Dupré*, p. 16, note 21 (also: *Pope-Hennessy*, *Sculpture*, III, Cat. No. 73; *Avery*, *Florentine Renaissance Sculpture*, p. 222). Three undated notices from the 1540s in *Lotto's* *Libro di spese diverse* (ed. *Zampetti*, pp. 132-133) refer to a *Meo scultore fiorentino lavora con il Sansovino*, who, though *Zampetti* does not identify him, is certainly Ammannati; see *P. Aretino*, *Lettere sull'arte*, Milan 1957, II, pp. 63, 378; and *Campori*, *Memorie di Carrara*, p. 264, for a contract of 1550: *Bartolomeo statuario et scultori olim Antonii de Amanatis Florentino alias Meo*. These notices in *Lotto's* *Libro*, for January and April of an unspecified year, but occurring on pages with entries for 1540, 1541, and 1542, record payments by Bartolomeo Carpan, Lotto's agent in Venice, to Ammannati for having arranged the arrival of a *putino de relevo* from Florence. Elsewhere in *Lotto's* *Libro* (p. 248; cf. pp. 240, 250), in a list of expenses, *PER L'ARTE*, under April 1543, there is entered, *per far venir un puto de gesso da Firenze fu de man de Desiderio scuitore... Lire 10 soldi 4*, which jibes approximately with the two payments for the *putino de relevo*: *Lire 3* and *Lire 6 soldi 16*. Furthermore, *Lotto* was absent from Venice in 1543 (*Libro*, p. 218, et passim) and Carpan was handling his affairs there in 1543 (*Libro*, pp. 55, 74, 82, et passim).
- <sup>74</sup> *Borghini-Rosci*, I, p. 591; also, *F. Sansovino*, *Venetia città nobilissima*, Venice 1581, p. 113b (cf. new enl. ed., *G. Stringa*, Venice 1604, p. 206 b). The river gods in the first level spandrels of the Sansovino Libreria facing the Campanile, attributed to Ammannati by *P. Sanpaolesi* (*Studi vasariani*, Florence 1952, pp. 138-139) and *N. Ivanoff* (*Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte*, VI, 1967, p. 20), evidently were carved by the artist (or adhere very closely to his model) who was responsible for the earlier central relief of Sansovino's *Loggetta*, which represents Venus with two river gods. The relief, attributed variously to Girolamo Lombardo, Tiziano Minio, and Sansovino himself, was in place before Ammannati appeared in Venice for the second time. A strict reading of the relevant passage in *F. Sansovino* (*Et nelle chiavi che serrano i volti nel mezzo, sono teste di huomini, di donne, et di lioni interzate, le quali tutte furono scolpite dal Danese Cattaneo, da Pietro da Salò, da Bartolomeo Ammannati, et da diversi altri nobili et laudati Scultori*, p. 113 b) sanctions looking for Ammannati's participation in the carving of the sculptured keystones of the Library (cf. *Ivanoff*, fig. 6). It does not apply to the immediately preceding description of the spandrel river gods. One will learn nothing concerning Ammannati himself from these sculptures. At the end of January 1545, Ammannati, then "abitante a Padova in casa dei nobili Mantova", seeks a payment of 38 ducats outstanding for his work in Venice (*A. Sartori*, *Documenti per la storia dell'arte a Padova*, Vicenza 1976, p. 4b).
- <sup>75</sup> *T. Temanza*, *Vita di Jacopo Sansovino*, Venice 1752, p. 20. For *Giovedì grasso*: *G. Tassini*, *Feste, spettacoli, divertimenti e piaceri degli antichi veneziani*, Venice 1961, pp. 23-28; *B. Tamassia Mazzarotto*, *Le feste veneziane*, Florence 1961, pp. 33-35. No reliable graphic representation of Ammannati's lost Neptune appears to survive. A Sansovinesque small bronze Neptune (Meesters van het brons der Italiaanse Renaissance, exhibition cat., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 1961-1962, No. 142), which exists in numerous examples (London, Coll. Otto Beit, 1921; Rome, Palazzo Venezia; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (2 examples); Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum; London (?), formerly

Coll. Sir George Leon; London, Victoria and Albert), as well as in German variants, manifests noteworthy analogies in type, musculature, proportion, and ponderation to some of Ammannati's Paduan works of 1544 and later (e. g., Jupiter, Böhm 6085; Benavides arch reliefs, above note 23) and to his Florentine Neptune (Alinari 44232) and Mars (Uffizi), and it is possible that this bronze, datable to before 1550, reflects (or is otherwise related to) the design of the stone Neptune Ammannati carved for Sansovino's Libreria. Its sometime attribution to Tiziano Minio was disclaimed after the 1961-1962 exhibition of Italian bronze statuettes by *J. Pope-Hennessy* (Essays on Italian Sculpture, London 1968, p. 184; also by *J. Montagu*, Bronzi, Milano 1965, pp. 29, 46), although *Planicig's* attribution to Minio was still continued by *H. R. Weihrauch* (Europäische Bronzestatuetten 15.-18. Jahrhundert, Braunschweig 1967, pp. 330-331) and by *M. Leithe-Jasper* (Italienische Kleinbronzen und Handzeichnungen der Renaissance und des Manierismus aus österreichischem Staatsbesitz, exhibition cat., Tokyo, Nationalmuseum für Westliche Kunst, 1973, No. 43). Despite some recent additions, Minio's putative oeuvre has continued to come apart at the seams (see esp. *Leithe-Jasper*, Beiträge zum Werk des Agostino Zoppo, in: Jahrbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg, IX, 1975, pp. 121-125), and Minio's creative rôle in Sansovino's bronzes for S. Marco recently has not been counted very high (*B. Boucher*, Jacopo Sansovino and the Choir of St. Mark's, in: Burl. Mag., CXVIII, 1976, p. 560). Along with several other identifiable Italian 16th-century bronzes, the Sansovino-school Neptune is depicted on a painted wood ceiling in the Museo Bardini in Florence. A further example of the Sansovino-Minio Neptune is in the Cleveland Museum (*W. D. Wixom*, Renaissance Bronzes from Ohio Collections, exhibition cat., Cleveland Museum of Art, 1975, No. 114). An implausible, but recently re-proposed attribution of a large stone Paduan Neptune to Ammannati (Dopo Mantegna: Arte a Padova e nel territorio nei secoli XV e XVI, exhibition cat., Padua, Palazzo della Ragione, 1976, No. 106) may — in the light of Ammannati's famous letter to the Academicians (cf. Flor. Mitt., III, 1929, pp. 74, 101) — perhaps be excluded from further consideration inasmuch as the statue is *pubdicamente vestita* with a *coda di pesce*.

## RIASSUNTO

Nell'ambito di un'indagine del tema Ammannati scultore fino al 1544, anno in cui si trasferì da Venezia a Padova, il presente saggio offre un resoconto dettagliato delle complesse vicende del progetto per la tomba di Mario Nari per la SS. Annunziata a Firenze.

Nato a Settignano nel 1511, probabilmente da una famiglia di scalpellini, l'Ammannati iniziò i suoi studi a Firenze presso il Bandinelli, per poi completarli presso Jacopo Sansovino a Venezia. Fra le prime opere si rivela come più significativa la statua di S. Nazario della tomba Sannazaro a Napoli (altre due statue dello stesso complesso sepolcrale comunemente attribuite all'Ammannati sono riavvicinate al Montorsoli, il responsabile del progetto, restituendo così un'immagine più coerente dell'arte dell'Ammannati). Passando poi alle opere mature, si dimostra come il primo intervento autonomo importante, cioè la tomba Nari, fosse collocata nella cappella di S. Niccolò nella SS. Annunziata, dove a causa di un divieto ecclesiastico non fu mai scoperta. Malgrado ciò l'opera fu molto ammirata da artisti e conoscitori contemporanei, contribuendo a consolidare la fama dell'artista a Firenze già prima delle opere medicee realizzate a partire dal 1555.

Nelle sue grandi linee la tomba Nari, fra le più importanti commissioni sepolcrali toscane del primo Cinquecento, si rispecchierà nelle tombe Del Monte in S. Pietro in Montorio a Roma, disegnate anch'esse dall'Ammannati.

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