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# The Medici Palace in Rome: Its Earliest History and the Designs by Giuliano and Antonio da Sangallo the Younger

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## Abstract

This architectural and urban study revises the history of Rome's Palazzo Medici (later Palazzo Madama) in the Campo Marzio, from the 1470s through 1521. Originating from a fine Renaissance house built up and improved by two different curial administrators amongst the medieval and ancient remains of the baths of Alexander Severus, the building and grounds of the future palace were rented in 1503 by Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici (later Pope Leo X), and subsequently purchased and expanded by his family. Because even basic facts affecting this project have remained unclear, the neighborhood's specifics are here re-examined. Utilizing archeological, legal and cultural materials, both written and drawn, this article provides a comprehensive history of relevant properties: a chronicle of owners and transactions – including previously unpublished 1509 Medici contracts – and maps of their precise topographic boundaries.

Within this detailed context are set the famous drawings produced after the cardinal was elected pope in March 1513: the Medici palace designs by Giuliano da Sangallo (GDSU 7949 A) and Antonio da Sangallo the Younger (GDSU 1259 *Ar,v*). These Uffizi drawings, both made during the first two years of Leo's papacy, have been repeatedly cited as important examples of High Renaissance palace design and urbanism, and of Medicean aspirations. Based

on reconstructions and hypotheses created by Christoph Frommel and Manfredo Tafuri in the mid-1980s, current literature still accepts that these Sangallo sheets depict only two schemes, both appropriating a huge area between Piazza Navona and today's via della Scrofa. This article demonstrates that the Uffizi sheets in fact depict three different palace designs, each carefully planned to capitalize on previous structures and ancient monuments, and each dependent upon but smaller than the last.

In particular, detailed analyses show that Antonio the Younger made two designs: a "twin" palace scheme, and a later, modified – and previously unrecognized – "shrunk" palace project. Antonio's urban design sketch, which shows his shrunk palace within an extended grid of existing but beautified streets and piazzas, depicts a situation in early spring 1515 when Medici ambitions were being refocused. By then, their family palace had become a secondary element within an urban ensemble which emphasized the two adjacent, Medici-allied public institutions: the Studium Urbis and the French national church. The three Sangallo projects thus render a sequence on this site from euphoric overreaching in 1513 to pragmatic idealism in 1515, illustrating and illuminating the shifting goals and strategies of Leo X, and his Medici relatives.

Section 1  
Introduction: historiography and sources,  
methods, organization and scope

The Roman building which would become the Palazzo Medici (later, Palazzo Madama) was a notable structure, even before it attracted the attention of the young Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici and began its evolution into the Florentine family's main residence in the papal city. During Giovanni's reign as Pope Leo X, the palace's architectural designs evolved step by step, indebted to the earlier Quattrocento palace and to the medieval and ancient remains which lay beneath and upon that strongly bounded city block, the Medici *isola*.<sup>1</sup>

Within those ruins, the German apostolic secretary Melchior Copis de Meckau probably built the first rooms of his dwelling, which was later purchased by another rising member of the Church's secretarial corps, Sinulfo di Castel Ottieri. Sinulfo, eventually made Bishop of Chiusi by Alexander VI, further enlarged and embellished the building and grounds, so that by the time he died in 1503 the entire property had become suitable for Cardinal Giovanni to immediately rent and inhabit. Just two years later, to hold the property more firmly, Cardinal Giovanni arranged the purchase of the palace and grounds (although under heavily constraining terms) from its then-owner Sinulfo's brother Guidone. Thus the cardinal orchestrated the first in a series of complex contractual maneuvers that involved three Medici family members: his brother Giuliano, his nephew Lorenzo, and his sister-in-law Alfonsina Orsini de' Medici, Lorenzo's mother. During the ensuing decade, these Medici family members resold, enhanced, and added to the *isola* property, and the cardinal created a room for his private library in the

palace, where he kept his father's Medici book collection. These changes were folded into the main palace area by 9 March 1513, when the cardinal was elected pope. Giovanni's new role as Leo X encouraged the Medici to imagine a totally new future for their prime Roman property, as an architectural showpiece at the center of its urban domain. First Giuliano da Sangallo, and then his nephew Antonio the Younger, designed schemes for the palace and district which were delineated on two extant drawings. However, by 1515 those initial dreams for a huge, entirely new palace had been significantly downsized. As Antonio's sketches demonstrate, almost nothing had been firmly settled by that time, and the Medici building energies already were being deflected onto nearby institutions, Alfonsina's own Palazzo Medici-Lante, and urban improvements. No completely new architectural elements would be built at the primary Roman Palazzo Medici at any time throughout Leo's reign.<sup>2</sup>

The two Sangallo drawings, now in the Uffizi collection, have been widely and often cited and reproduced: U 7949 A by Giuliano da Sangallo (fig. 1) and U 1259 A (figs. 2 and 3) by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger.<sup>3</sup> These designs provide major clues to architectural forms and ideas, and to the cultural influences circulating during that time among the most famous Roman and Florentine architects and their wealthy, powerful patrons. They have often been included as crucial examples within broader studies of Italian Renaissance architecture, and almost without exception in publications on the Sangallo architects' careers, Roman palace and urban design, Leo X as a patron, and in many cross-disciplinary studies touching this period, or these locations and topics.

For the palace's earliest history, the other contemporaneous, specific data are scant and scattered, and except for the two drawings, all of it is textual. Like the two drawings,

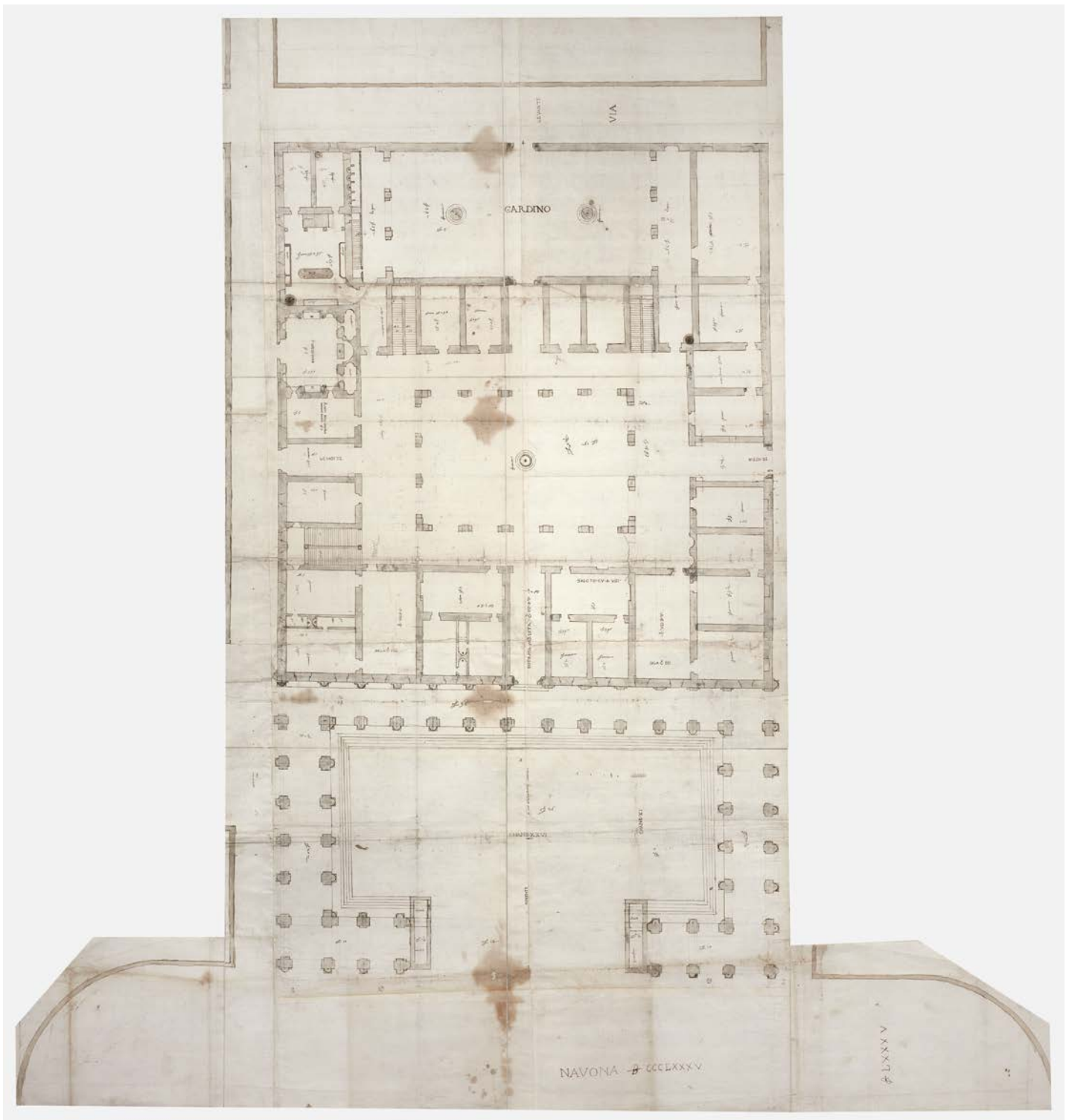
<sup>1</sup> Throughout this article, the word "isola" strictly describes any single city block delimited by public streets. For a larger, more diffuse area, the words "precinct," "neighborhood," or "zone" are used.

<sup>2</sup> For the general history of the palace and its architecture, including later changes, ALBERTI 1954; and the series of Palazzo Madama publications sponsored by the Italian Senate, especially *Palazzo Madama* 1969, *L'aula di Palazzo Madama* 1992, *La facciata di Palazzo Madama* 1994, and *Palazzo Madama* 2005.

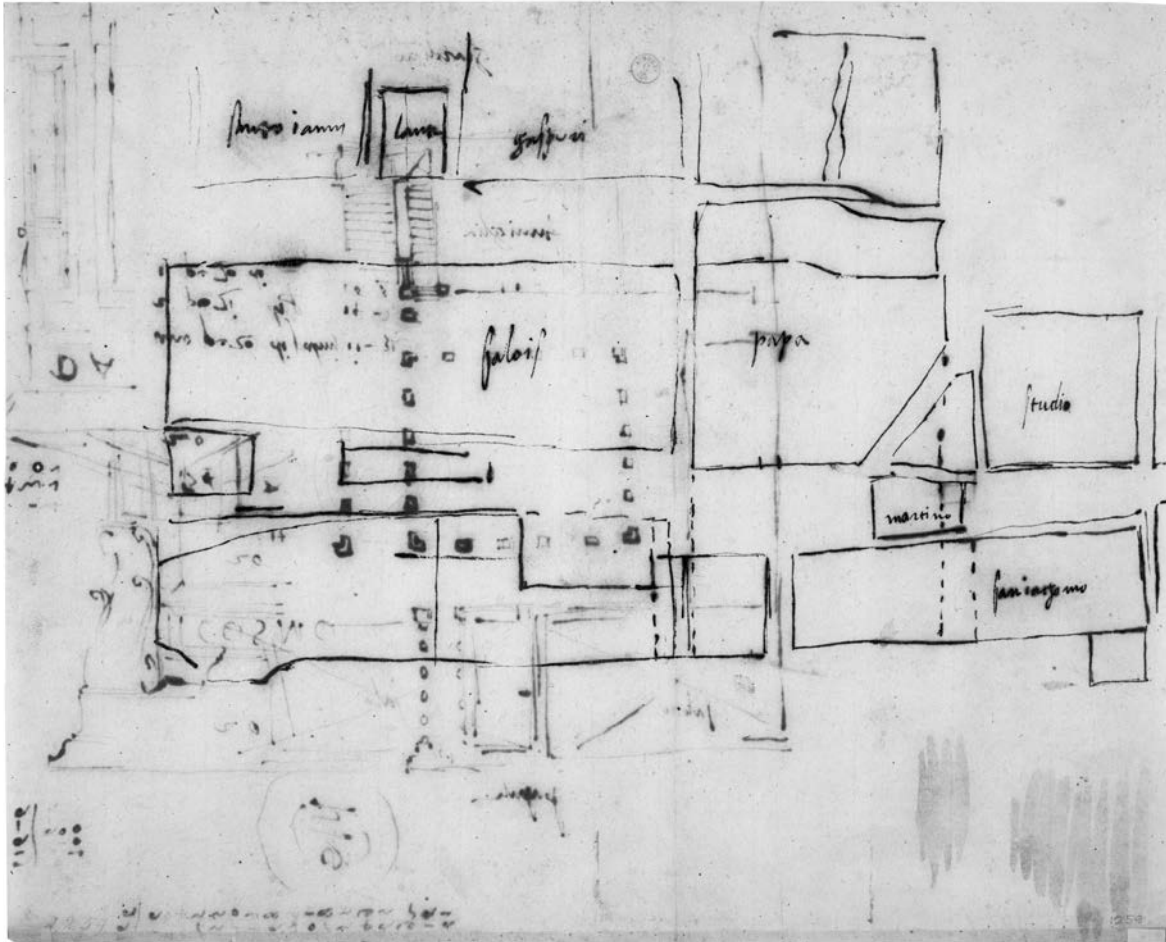
<sup>3</sup> For U 7949 A (fig. 1): Giuliano da Sangallo, design for the Medici Palace in Rome, with date 1 July 1513, pen with brown ink, ink wash, and pencil, approximately 920 × 1740 mm, not including the extra widths of the added flaps showing Piazza Navona's plan. Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (henceforth GDSU), U 7949 A. The drawing has recently been restored, cut, and mounted, so the verso is no longer visible. Previous major studies of the sheet by MIARELLI MARIANI 1983; ZANCHETTIN 2005, pp. 250–257; and now *Giuliano da Sangallo* 2017, catalogue entry 6.1, p. 100, with the complete text and a current bibliography. U 7949 A is available online, at the GDSU

website, as 3 sheets (1 drawing, 2 pp. catalogue entry): URL: <http://www.polomuseale.firenze.it/gdsu/euploos/#/autori:@526f87078a36c410ec803438> [go to group 4] (accessed 07.06.2017). The drawing (recto only), zoomable to high resolution: URL: [http://193.42.139.20/immagini-web/gdsu/opere/GDSU0013125\\_p.jpg](http://193.42.139.20/immagini-web/gdsu/opere/GDSU0013125_p.jpg) (accessed 11.06.2017). For U 1259 A (figs. 2 and 3): Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, sketched site and palace plans for the Medici Palace in Rome, pen with brown ink, 273 × 339 mm. Florence, GDSU, U 1259 A. Online at the GDSU website: (4 sheets: 2 dwgs, 2 pp. catalogue entry): URL: <http://www.polomuseale.firenze.it/gdsu/euploos/#/autori:@526f86bc8a36c410ec803238> [go to group 54] (accessed 07.06.2017). The sheets, zoomable to high resolution: recto (site plan), URL: [http://193.42.139.20/immagini-web/gdsu/opere/GDSU0009143\\_p.jpg](http://193.42.139.20/immagini-web/gdsu/opere/GDSU0009143_p.jpg) (accessed 07.18.2017); verso (palace plan), URL: [http://193.42.139.20/immagini-web/gdsu/opere/GDSU0009142\\_p.jpg](http://193.42.139.20/immagini-web/gdsu/opere/GDSU0009142_p.jpg) (accessed 07.18.2017). No in-depth catalogue entry of this sheet has been published, as yet. Additional details about both drawings appear within the text and notes, in Sections 2–5.

## The Medici Palace in Rome



1 Giuliano da Sangallo, design for the Medici Palace in Rome, 1st of July 1513, pen with brown ink, ink wash, and pencil. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, inv. U 7949Ar (photo courtesy of Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo)



2 Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, site plan for the Medici Palace in Rome, pen with brown ink. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, inv. U 1259Ar (photo courtesy of Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo)

each item presents difficulties, including ambiguities, terseness, and lack of context. The major documents of interest include the Maestri di Strade's *gettito* for a demolished house which touched properties on the Medici *isola* (1499), Cardinal Meckau's funeral oration (1509), Sinulfo's will (1503), the sale contracts for the palace proper (1505 and 1509), and other later property documents. The 1505 sale contract has been published recently by Ivana Ait, but the two notarial drafts for the 1509 re-sale of the palace to Alfonsina have not. They are transcribed and analyzed here for the first time.<sup>4</sup> In addition to Ait's work, other analyses of the palace's documents include Tobias Daniels' research

on Cardinal Meckau, and detailed studies for individual palace structures.<sup>5</sup>

Elena Fumagalli's essay, which is now more than a decade old, still provides the most comprehensive and reliable early architectural history of the palace based on both texts and drawings.<sup>6</sup> Meanwhile, the more strictly architectural and urban design histories have settled into a pattern, naturally focused upon the two Sangallo drawings. They have emphasized either Giuliano's drawing, or Giuliano's and Antonio's in tandem – because they form a closely related pair.<sup>7</sup> Giuliano's drawing, U 7949 A, has received more individual attention, most recently in Sabine Frommel's

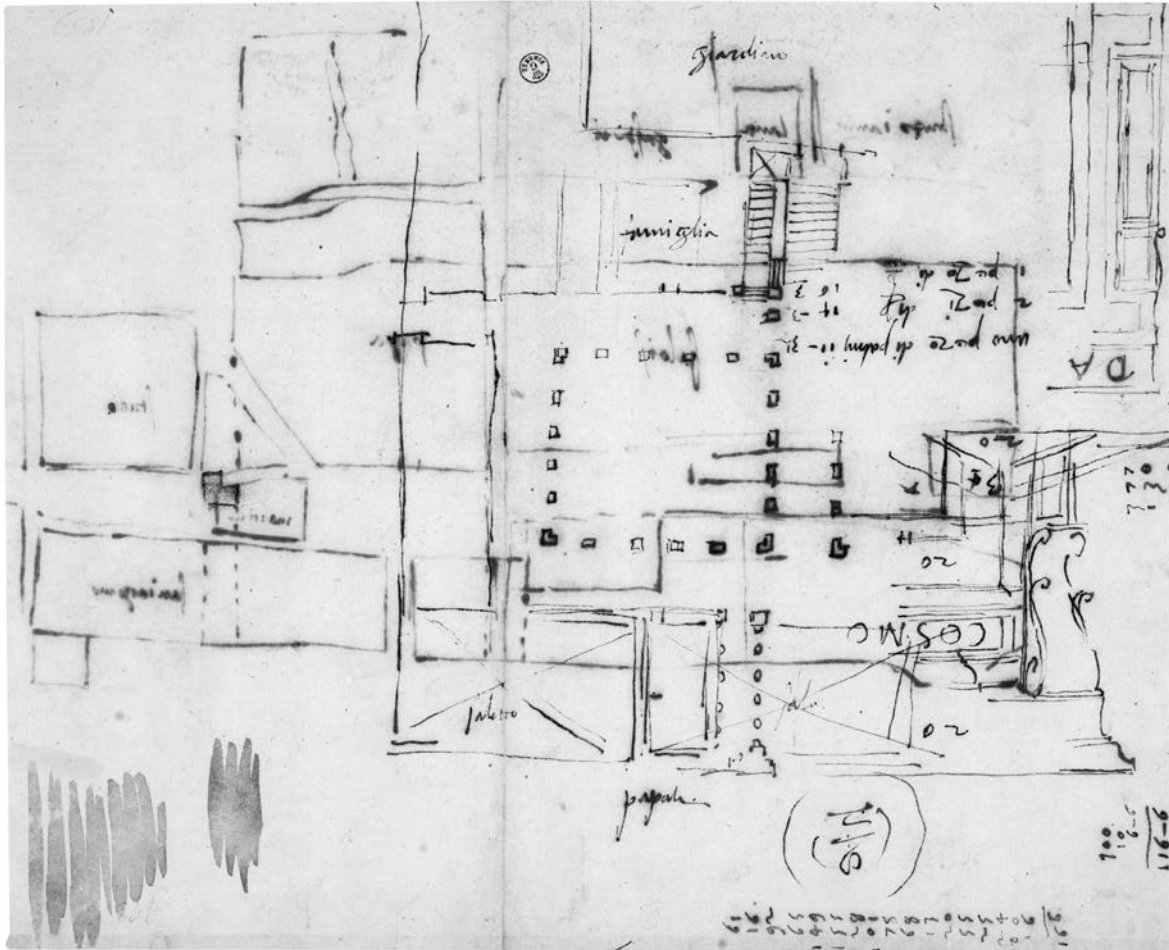
<sup>4</sup> AIT 2014, Appendix, pp. 310–314. See my Appendix 2 for the complete, June and 4 July 1509 contract drafts, and Appendix 1 for Latin excerpts from the other texts.

<sup>5</sup> DANIELS 2012; *San Salvatore in Thermis* 2012; DI BELLA 2014.

<sup>6</sup> FUMAGALLI 2005. See also DEL GAIZO 1969; BORSI 2005.

<sup>7</sup> Architectural and urban analytical studies include GIOVANNONI 1959, vol. 1, pp. 278–282; BENTIVOGLIO 1972; FROMMEL 1973, vol. 1, pp. 17–19; MIARELLI MARIANI 1983; TAFURI 1984, pp. 76–88; FROMMEL 1985, pp. 104–110; GÜNTHER 1985, pp. 238–247; GÜNTHER 1994b; TAFURI 1989, pp. 19–28; TAFURI 1992, pp. 97–115

## The Medici Palace in Rome



3 Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, palace plan for the Medici Palace in Rome, with later sketches and notes, pen with brown ink. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, inv. U 1259Av (photo courtesy of Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo)

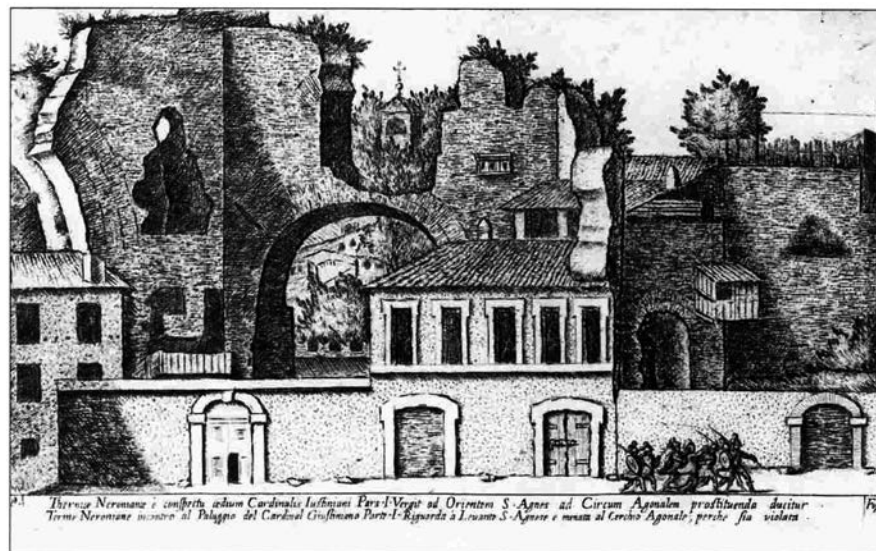
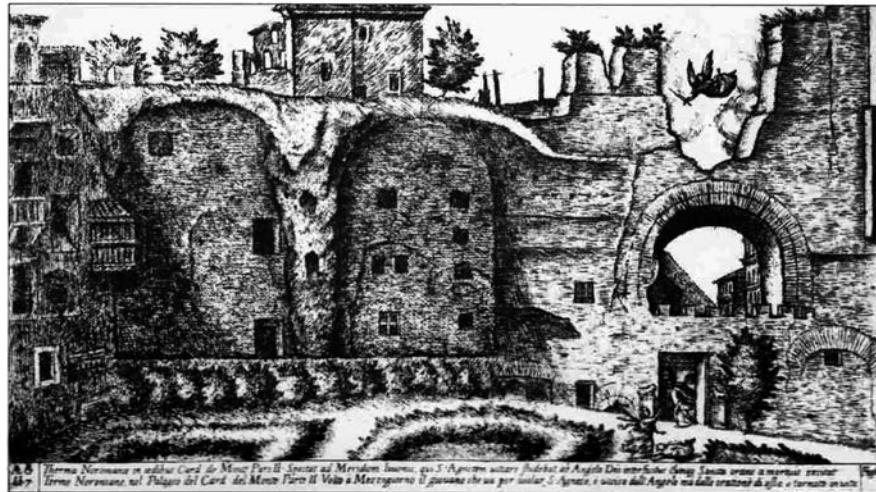
research.<sup>8</sup> Giuliano's design continues to be cited primarily for its huge forecourt, linking the Piazza Navona and the Medici palace together (a reference to ancient Roman models of hippodrome plus emperor's palace), and for its references to Vitruvius' descriptions of the Roman house. It also has been seen as another example of his very large and apparently idealized palace schemes for the King of Naples and for the Medici at the via Laura in Florence, and it has regularly been compared with other architects' Renaissance palace designs. However, questions continue to be aired – but not settled – concerning the Roman palace's specific

patron or client, its program, and the reasons for the design's apparent rejection after 1 July 1513.

Antonio da Sangallo the Younger's drawing has been much more controversial, generating only a few points of agreement. His design project has been seen by most architectural historians as a version of Giuliano's, and they also have overwhelmingly agreed that Antonio's project was drawn up at some later date. Because the two Sangallo architects were both working on their designs in Rome for a Medici client, continuity from one project to the next was quite likely. Antonio apparently took Giuliano's design as

(TAFURI (1992) 2006, pp.67–85); BRUSCHI 1996, pp.25–34; ROBERTO 2005, pp.28–35; ZANCHETTIN 2005, pp.243–257; FIORE 2008, pp.42–46 for a recent, synoptic view. See bibliographies in these publications for more studies by these authors, and for topical and general publications by others.

<sup>8</sup> BORSI 1985, pp.459–465, provides a catalogue-style entry; FROMMEL 2014; FROMMEL 2017; and *Giuliano da Sangallo* 2017, catalogue entry 6.1, p.100, where the drawing's text is included for the first time. Another volume, with the same title and date, includes essays treating and giving context to Giuliano's design, including one in English: BURNS 2017, p.104f. and nn. 83–86, p.117f.



4 Alò Giovannoli, views of Palazzo Medici, ca. 1616, engraving in *Vestigia urbis Romae. Roma antica*, v. III, fols. 8, 9 (from GHINI 1988, pl. VI)

the starting point for his own. The location for Antonio's scheme also seems to be clear: it was meant for the same site as Giuliano's project, on the Medici *isola* but not limited to it, and thus perhaps of approximately the same size. Further, Antonio's partial, sketchy plan does record his design for a proposed twin or double palace, with an all'antica barrel-vaulted vestibule, two identical square courtyards to either side of an open portico, and a garden at the rear. Even a date of 1514/1515 has now become generally accepted in the literature.

These findings are well-founded, so far as they go. And yet, many doubts and questions remain about the Sangallo projects for the Medici palace. Some of them center on Giuliano's proposal, but the majority have been directed at Antonio's project. As a result, in most of the literature, the palace's Sangallo years have been treated gingerly, with special reticence about Antonio's sketches on U 1259 A recto and verso, which still lacks a full, systematic analysis.<sup>9</sup> The reticence can be traced to a conundrum: Antonio's twin palace design should appear in the site plan that he drew on the

<sup>9</sup> Christoph L. Frommel and others are completing the third and final volume on the drawings of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger: FROMMEL 1994. The forthcoming volume on the palace designs will include U 1259 A. For an overview of Antonio the Younger's Roman projects

during the Medici papacies, with current bibliography, see ANTONUCCI 2016.

<sup>10</sup> *Campo Marzio* 2016, foldout plan in separate rear pocket, which incorporates Ghini's specific findings without significant changes or



sheet's other side, but frankly, it does not. This problem has stymied all previous, careful attempts to make sense of the sheet's sketches. Historians have struggled to explain when the palace and site drawings were made, when Antonio's palace design replaced Giuliano's, exactly how big the twin palace was, and even which direction it faced. Also still contested are the identities of the patron(s) for whom these sketches were made, and who may have seen them. This situation leaves almost completely mysterious the entire palace project's program, politics, and symbolic impulses, and its precise links to Leo X, his family members, and the two architects' careers.

To attempt to address some of these difficulties, this article compiles, completes, and assesses both the previously identified and new documentary evidence for the Medici palace's earliest architectural beginnings, and for the Sangallo projects as building designs and urban proposals. Written materials and graphic evidence were tested against each other, reconciled, and then merged to create a more wholistic view of the facts as they evolved at specific dates during this period, grounding new hypotheses upon a firmer foundation. Using evidence from a full range of time periods and sources, the properties' conditions for the palace and *isola* were reconstructed for the Giovanni de' Medici years (1513–1521).

All modern palace histories have stressed the importance of the Alexandrine baths' remains to this area of Rome, and specifically to the Medici *isola*, whose great arch in the towering walls was featured in views and maps, over and over again (fig. 4). But no one previously has attempted to reconcile the baths' now well-documented archeological residues with the architectural plans, texts, and views that describe the buildings and properties in the years from the 1470s

onward. This study therefore used Giuseppina Ghini's detailed archeological plans and data, but compared it with the more reliably accurate, 2016 map of the entire Campo Marzio, in the first layers for the site's reconstruction.<sup>10</sup> These archeological plans were overlaid with information taken from twentieth century plans, sections, elevations, and photographs that record the former Palazzo Madama (now included in the Italian Senate's properties), along with modern building surveys and field measurements. The reconstructions that delineate the Renaissance palace's rooms, walls, adjacent structures, and nearby buildings were built up from that base. Their details were verified and further supplemented by judicious referral to the 1748 Nolli map, Medici Palace plans from the 1640s and 1740s, and other Early Modern visual materials.<sup>11</sup>

But to fully untangle the palace's design and building history, and to effectively analyze the Sangallo projects against the available data, the legal and textual documents needed to be brought together with these archeological and architectural materials. To this end, the invaluable written descriptions of the buildings, grounds, adjacencies, and neighboring properties were compared with the verified physical conditions and dates, and the lines on the design drawings. To organize all of this information, the three middle sections of this article are set out chronologically. In Section 2, the palace's earliest building history is reconsidered and revised, clarifying Meckau's ownership and the legal status of the building and grounds before the Medici purchase of 1505. At that date, a sale document described the palace in detail for the first time, and its parts could be identified with new certainty. In Section 3, the palace plans in the drawings by Giuliano and Antonio the Younger are analyzed and assessed relative to each other, with special atten-

improvements on the Medici palace *isola*, and GHINI 1988, fig. 1, n.p., and fig. 3, n.p. My reconstructed site map and plans incorporated no data from satellite images: those are insufficiently accurate, and the online versions such as Google Earth maps, which show overhanging and modern roofs, also include significant jointing and perspectival distortions at the building and *isola* scales.

<sup>11</sup> Besides the archeological evidence, my reconstructions utilized online, open-access databases including the Nolli map at CIPRO, Bibliotheca Hertziana, URL: <http://db.biblhertz.it/cipro/CIPROinfoeng.htm> (accessed 28.06.2017); and the 1845 catasto map, URL: [http://www.dipsuwebgis.uniroma3.it/gamma\\_1/index.phtml](http://www.dipsuwebgis.uniroma3.it/gamma_1/index.phtml) (accessed 28.06.2017). The Medici palace plan of 1904, showing both the pre-1904 conditions and a post-1904 design – mostly built – is accurate within the Medici *isola* but not beyond it: *L'aula di Palazzo Madama* 1992, p. 147. Other precise dimensions were taken from modern elevation and section drawings, published in the Palazzo Madama books (see note 2, above). The original plans and elevations for the Medici Palace projects after the Sangallo era are in Florence: Paolo Maruscelli's elevations and

plans, ASF, MM 363 (fasc. 1), pp. 114–118; Carlo Rainaldi's plan, ASF, MP 5215, p. 506; two plans by Monanni, ASF, CS, prima serie, pp. 1857, 186v; and the 18th-century plans by Frédéric Janssen (five floor plans, including basement, second and third/roof), ASF, SE, Affari prima del 1788, index #443. Most of these can be found, published previously but not always in color and usually without scale and sheet information, in the Palazzo Madama books (see note 2, above). Most of the other palace plans from the 17th through the 20th century are unreliable or grossly generalized, but often reproduced. The southeast *isola* plan and elevations are in NOYA 1994, figs. 2 and 3, p. 324, fig. 4, p. 325. Other maps and views of Rome containing specific details are reproduced in *Le piante di Roma* 1962, vol 2: Bufalini (1551, plan 109:12–13), Cartaro grande (1576, pianta 126:6), Tempesta (1593, plan 134:3 and 134:9), Greuter (1618, plan 145:6); and vol. 3: Falda grande (1676, plan 158:5). For Du Pérac (1577), see DU PÉRAC/LAFRÉRY (1577) 1908, fold-out map, no pp. My plans of the Medici *isola* attempt to be accurate to within +/- 1.5 Roman palms, where 1 palm equals 0.2234 meters.

tion to the existing fabric's impact on their designs, and Antonio's scheme for a drastically shrunken palace project is identified. Section 4 includes a close review and analysis of Antonio the Younger's site plan, which can be dated to spring 1515. The architect's suggested urban changes to the neighborhood's street/piazza network are shown to be consistent with his shrunken Medici palace project, and with contemporaneous schemes and building work at the Studium Urbis and San Luigi.

This chronological framework in the middle sections brings the physical and legal facts together, and reinforces the serial nature inherent in the types of data being closely examined here. Just as the Sangallos' architectural designs were developed in a series, influenced by previous attempts, the physical conditions on the site and the sale documents for the properties were often reliant upon their earlier versions. For example, the legal instruments of the property sales often repeated, adjusted, corrected, combined, and revised one or several separate, preceding documents, leaving a trail of discrete but subtle changes that can be followed through time. In the same way, the buildings and walls, foundations and property lines were created, revised, and often retained over time. The chronology also allows the sequence of physical and legal events to be pinpointed within a broader cultural history, highlighting possible causes and effects, and providing the opportunity for cross-topical analysis at crucial dates. This broader analytical overview occurs in the concluding Section 5, where chronology gives way to a synthetic, topical approach: the three alternative, sequential palace designs are discussed as a group, and then Antonio's urban design strategies are reviewed at the neighborhood and city-wide scales, and final outcomes and possibilities are considered.

This research has an architectural and urban design focus, set within the pertinent historical events and limited to the forty years up to 1515. Because the direct architectural evidence for the Medici palace project ends with Antonio's sketch, my proposals for specific architectural ideas which may have evolved after the spring of 1515 remain speculative. From then until the next century, only a few documents offer points of reference that hint at the fate of the Sangallo palace projects during the rest of Leo's and

then Clement VII's papacies, when nothing substantial was built, but hopes for action remained.

The urban record, on the other hand, is very rich post-1515, but that history has been quite fully told in other places. Also lying outside of this article's scope are the many questions about how these Medici palace designs fit within the careers of Giuliano, Antonio, and other architects working in Rome at this time, how these proposals are related to contemporaneous palace and urban designs, and how these designs might have served Leo and his family members within the general history of Medici policies and politics. These would be important areas for further study and potential re-assessment, based on the findings proposed below.

## Section 2

### Physical and legal conditions before March 1513

In 1658, Fioravante Martinelli published the third edition of his Roman guidebook, *Roma ricercata nel suo sito*. In it, he included a succinct text giving the history of the Palazzo Medici.

The palace of the Grand Duke [de' Medici], was built almost completely from the ground up by Melchiorre Copis [de Meckau], cardinal of Alexander VI. It was owned by Guidone of Castel Ottiero, then by Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici, and sold by them to Alfonsina Orsini [de' Medici] their mother [sic], in the year 1509. The palace's site was described in the contract of this last sale as follows, "Said palace is located in the area, on the soil, that had been [the property] of the heirs of the defunct Mariano Stefano Francesco de' Crescenzi in the rione S. Eustachio next to the piazza commonly called of the Lombards." It was rebuilt in the years just past by the Grand Duke with Paulo Maruscelli's design in the Piazza Madama, called that for the daughter of the Emperor, who lived in this palace. [...] In the rear area one sees the ruins of the Baths of Nero, and of Emperor Alexander, and the pious church of S. Salvatore in the Baths.<sup>12</sup>

Martinelli's 1658 text reveals the factors which he considered most pertinent to grasping the palace's earliest his-

<sup>12</sup> All translations from Italian to English are by the author, unless otherwise noted. In 1658, Martinelli updated and expanded his original text of 1644: MARTINELLI 1644, p.73f.; MARTINELLI 1658, p.237f. Changes to the 1644 text are crossed out; added 1658 text is underlined.

"Il Palazzo del Gran Duca quasi tutto da fondamenti fabricato da Melchiorre Copis Cardinale d'Alessandro VI fu di Guidone de Castel Lot-

terio, poi di Giuliano e Lorenzo de' Medici, e da questi venduto a Alfonsina Orsina lor madre nell'anno 1509. Il suo sito è qualificato nell'istrumento di quest'ultima vendita così, 'Quod palatium dicitur esse situm in area, seu suolo, quod erat quondam heredum Mariani Stephani Francisci de Crescentiis in regione S. Eustachii iuxta platea vulgariter Lombardorum nuncupatam.' Fu rifabricato l'anno passato l'anni passati dal detto Gran Duca con disegno di Paulo Maroscello

tory: the physical Quattrocento palace as originally built “from the ground up” by Cardinal Meckau, and then owned by Guidone before Giuliano and Lorenzo de’ Medici purchased it. However, Martinelli is unclear about whether this sequence of owners was direct and uninterrupted, one owner to the next. Martinelli also quotes from an unknown sale document of 1509, or at best gives an inaccurate, truncated rendering of the now-known documents. In his quotation, Martinelli says that the area and soil where the palace was located had been the property of the heirs of Mariano de’ Crescenzi in 1509, when it was sold to Alfonsina de’ Medici. However, as a description of the entire palace and grounds, that is impossible, because Mariano was still alive in 1505, when most of the palace had already been built and fully described, and was owned by the Medici men. The veracity of Martinelli’s account is thus called into question. Yet despite these unfortunate errors and omissions in Martinelli’s account, the factors which concerned him certainly remain of utmost importance for examining the palace’s earliest history: the roles of Meckau, Guidone, and the various Medici; the situations involving the Crescenzi and other previous and adjacent owners; and the impact of the remains of the ancient baths and the continuing active presence of the French religious community in the church of San Salvatore and other nearby buildings.

Although its location in Campo Marzio seems central today, in 1500 the site of the future Medici palace lay at the northern edge of the *abitato*, in a rag-tag but busy and gentrifying neighborhood. As often pointed out, the entire area’s development was conditioned by the ancient baths, whose massive remains, both above and below ground, stretched from the Piazza Navona to the Pantheon, and from the precincts close to the via Recta southward through and beyond the Medici *isola* (fig. 5).<sup>13</sup>

nella Piazza di Madama, così detta dalla figlia dell’Imperatore, che habitò in detto palazzo; qual Piazza prima si chiamava de’ Longobardi la voce sudetta Lombardi, ovvero Longobardi, come scrive il Fulvio, è corrottamente [corrotta]; dovendosi dire de gl’Enobardi al parere del Silvagio, & dalla Dalla sua parte posteriore vedrete le ruine della Terme di Alessandro Imperatore Nerone, e di Alessandro Imperatori, & la devota chiesa di S. Salvatore detta in Thermis.”

Martinelli seems to have been cognizant of the Latin funeral oration given for Cardinal Meckau in 1509 (DANIELS 2012, p. 250f. and 264; partly transcribed in Appendix 1, item 1). Then, in his list of owners, he left out Sinulfo, Guidone’s brother, which surely would not have happened if Martinelli had been consulting Sinulfo’s will or the 1505 sale document (Appendix 1, item 5). In his quotation from Alfonsina’s sale contract of 1509 (Appendix 1, items 7–9, and Appendix 2), Martinelli joined two phrases which were separated in the original contract drafts, causing much confusion among later chroniclers.

<sup>13</sup> GHINI 1988, especially p. 128f. for the medieval period; PROIA/ROMANO 1937; PERICOLI RIDOLFINI 1984, vol. 2, pp. 49–51, 68–104,

The pattern of streets which evolved into the neighborhood’s roughly north-south and east-west pathways derived from the circulation systems around and within the ancient baths. The orthogonal pattern was retained throughout the Middle Ages. The grid was disrupted by only one major irregularity: a wide diagonal medieval thoroughfare angling southeast at approximately forty-five degrees, from Piazza Lombarda to Piazza Sant’Eustachio.<sup>14</sup>

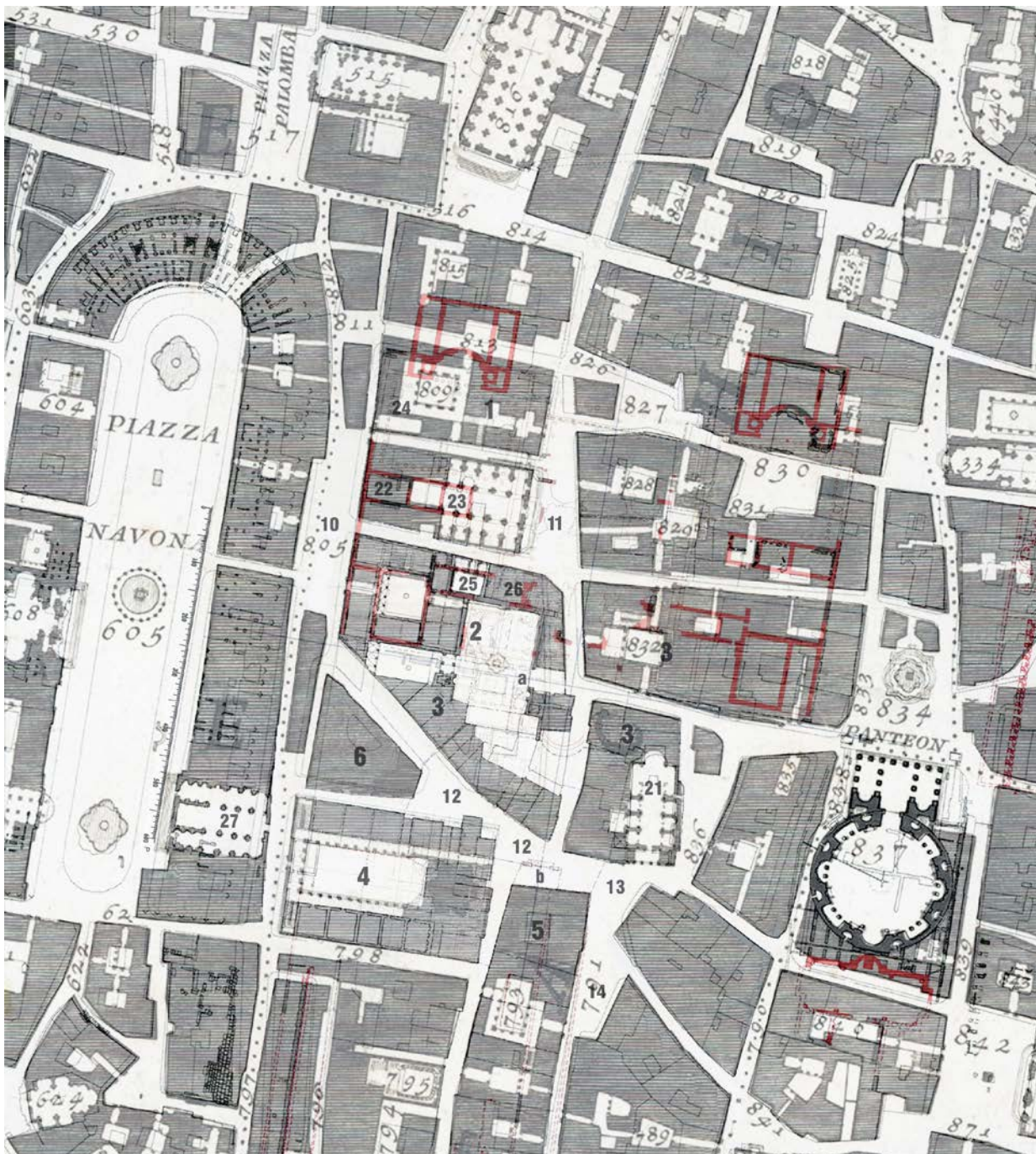
The area’s oldest religious centers date back to Early Christian times. These included the important diaconal church of Sant’Eustachio as well as several small holy foundations inside the Farfa monastic compound. One of these was San Salvatore, the church on the Medici *isola*; the others included Sant’Andrea de Fordivulus, San Benedetto, and Santa Maria in cella Farfa – the future San Luigi. These latter three small, sacred sites were fitted into remnant spaces in the Alexandrine baths. All four of these were transferred to French ownership when, under Sixtus IV’s acts of 2 April 1478, the French nation acquired those former Farfa properties. That date capped the gradual yielding of Farfa properties to French-speaking immigrants and other newly arriving foreigners. Meanwhile, a new religious center for the neighborhood’s growing Spanish community was founded circa 1450, and grew into their national church, San Giacomo degli Spagnoli. Pilgrims from the French-speaking and Spanish nations were also served by hospices in this district, often attached to these churches.<sup>15</sup>

At some point, the Roman city university, founded in 1303, had moved here from Trastevere – probably due to its administrative attachment to Sant’Eustachio – but it increasingly came under papal influence after 1430. By then, the Studium Urbis already owned some houses along the streets defining the northern and western edges of its rectangular city block, south of the Medici *isola*. On that Medici *isola*,

vol. 3, pp. 48–108; MODIGLIANI 2014; VERDI 2014.

<sup>14</sup> Shown in fig. 5, and in Antonio da Sangallo the Younger’s site sketch, fig. 2. That street was part of a route, roughly parallel to the via Papale but further north, shown in Figure 26: it ran by various pathways from the via Recta, through the midsection of Piazza Navona, and then continued along the medieval diagonal street bounding the south edge of the Medici *isola*. From there it continued to the Piazza della Dogana and Piazza di Sant’Eustachio, south of the Pantheon and Santa Maria sopra Minerva, and so on eastward, crossing the via Lata to reach Santi Apostoli or the Trevi fountain.

<sup>15</sup> Details for the medieval development of this area are outside the scope of this article, except as specific features affected the Medici *isola* and some of the other city blocks nearby. For general information, see GHINI 1988, especially p. 128f. for the medieval period; PROIA/ROMANO 1937; PERICOLI RIDOLFINI 1984, vol. 2, pp. 49–51, 68–104, vol. 3, pp. 48–108; SIMONCINI 2004; *Piazza Navona* 2014; and MODIGLIANI 2014. For the religious buildings’ history, SAMPERI 2004; ROBERTO 2005; and *San Salvatore in Thermis* 2012.



5 The Campo Marzio neighborhood about 1503

Baths of Alexander Severus  
arch (a), foundations of ancient gate and wall (b)

**Areas**

1. Farfa/French *isola*
2. Medici *isola*  
(with Meckau-Sinulfo-Guidone-Medici palace, and other properties)
3. Crescenzi areas
4. Studium Urbis *isola*
5. Stati area
6. Jacovacci *isola*

**Piazze**

10. Piazza Lombarda (Medici, Madama)
11. Piazza Saponara (San Luigi)
12. Piazza della Dogana
13. Piazza Sant'Eustachio
14. Piazza dei Caprettari

**Religious properties**

21. Sant'Eustachio
22. San Benedetto
23. Santa Maria in cella Farfa (San Luigi)
24. San Fordivoli (approximate)
25. San Salvatore (with chapel to San Giacomo)
26. French hospice: ospedale di San Giacomo dei Francesi (in Thermis, dei Lombardi)
27. San Giacomo degli Spagnoli

there were no Studium-owned houses, much less a university palace, at this or any later time.<sup>16</sup>

Under Nicholas V, the city's central registries for certain taxes were transferred into properties around the street intersection east of the Studium *isola*. The tax records took on the name “la dogana di Sant’Eustachio” from the adjacent church, and the *platea* or Piazza della Dogana thereafter usually designated that ill-defined area where the tax records were kept, at the intersection between the diagonal thoroughfare and the north-south street (today's via della Dogana Vecchia). Confusingly, the somewhat separate area further east, in front of Sant’Eustachio’s portico – the actual Piazza di Sant’Eustachio – sometimes was considered part of the dogana’s piazza.<sup>17</sup>

During the Middle Ages, besides the Farfa monastery and Sant’Eustachio’s church properties, extensive areas on the *isola* with which we are particularly concerned were controlled by the Crescenzi, who dominated the southern and eastern areas of the baths. The Farfa Benedictines apparently had controlled the properties stretched along the street leading to the entrances of Santa Maria and San Salvatore, and possibly along the western edge facing the Piazza Lombarda; the Crescenzi’s holdings, which in the 1000s were spread throughout the *isola*, were more limited by the Quattrocento, and had shrunk into the south and the center. The Crescenzi, medieval allies and defenders of the Farfa holdings, already in 1011 had ceded San Salvatore, originally a private palatine chapel within their own fortified residence, to the Benedictine monks.<sup>18</sup> On the eastern and southeastern edges of the *isola*, the church of Sant’Eustachio held

some land. While the exact location of these holdings cannot be ascertained with any certainty, given the scarcity of original documents, a proposal for their possible approximate locations is shown in figure 6.<sup>19</sup> After 1478, the larger areas, which had been relatively stable until then, continued to break down into smaller parcels and to be sold. Around the edges of the *isola*, but especially in the southeast quadrant, individuals had already settled into separate, smaller establishments near the dogana offices. It seems likely that the land, where the west wing of the future Medici palace was built, became available for purchase in the 1470s.

Although most recent histories state that the palace originated as the property of, or was built by, Sinulfo di Castell’Ottiero e Montorio (?? – 14 January 1503), that seems not to be the case. As Tobias Daniels discovered, a funeral oration given in 1509 for the German cardinal, Melchior Copis de Meckau (ca. 1440 – 3 March 1509), credited Meckau as the original builder (Appendix 1, item 1). The orator, Raffaele Lippo Brandolini, declared that Meckau had built a beautiful house while he was a private citizen, in or near the Alexandrine baths, spending a great deal of his modest wealth to do so. The house, truly a monument, had been purchased by the illustrious (Cardinal) Giovanni de’ Medici. Given the orator, and given that the speech was delivered on 28 April 1509 to an audience of distinguished church officials at Santa Maria in Araceoli, this information appears to be highly credible.<sup>20</sup>

Meckau’s involvement with the future Medici property probably began during the initial phase of his career.<sup>21</sup> It seems probable that while he was a papal secretary in Rome

<sup>16</sup> The idea that Rome’s university had a foothold or palace on the Medici *isola* is deeply embedded in the literature. The mistake arose from misreading various Quattrocento documents with cryptic descriptions of the Studium (*curiae* or *urbis*), palazzo “due torre,” and the Capranica cardinals’ collegium “de Sapientiae”, which was not “La Sapienza” (the Cinquecento nickname for the Studium Urbis). For a succinct summary of the literature, still with these mistakes, see SCHWARZ 2013, pp. 210–223, with current bibliography in the footnotes, and incorrect map 4, p. 211. For university medieval history to 1500, SCHWARZ 2013, who is otherwise excellent (English summary, pp. 421–450); FROVA 2013. See also CHAMBERS 1976; RANGONI 1989, pp. 7–23; CANTATORE 2008; FIORE 2008. I am deeply grateful to Tamara Tolnai for discussing these issues with me, and for sharing her Capranica research findings.

<sup>17</sup> These offices registered the taxes on land-imported goods in two main categories: the customs taxes (*dogana della terra/di Sant’Eustachio*) and the consumption taxes (*dogana della grascia*). ESCH 1981 and AIT 1981, p. 91 f. and n. 42 for the offices’ locations; STRANGIO/PINEIRO 2004. MODIGLIANI 2004, p. 37 and n. 31, argued that these offices at the Piazza della Dogana were for paperwork, and not for the actual movement or storage of goods. This seems likely because the offices, in rented rooms or houses, moved around, and they were not permanent or large enough to be warehouse facilities until the 1600s. This pro-

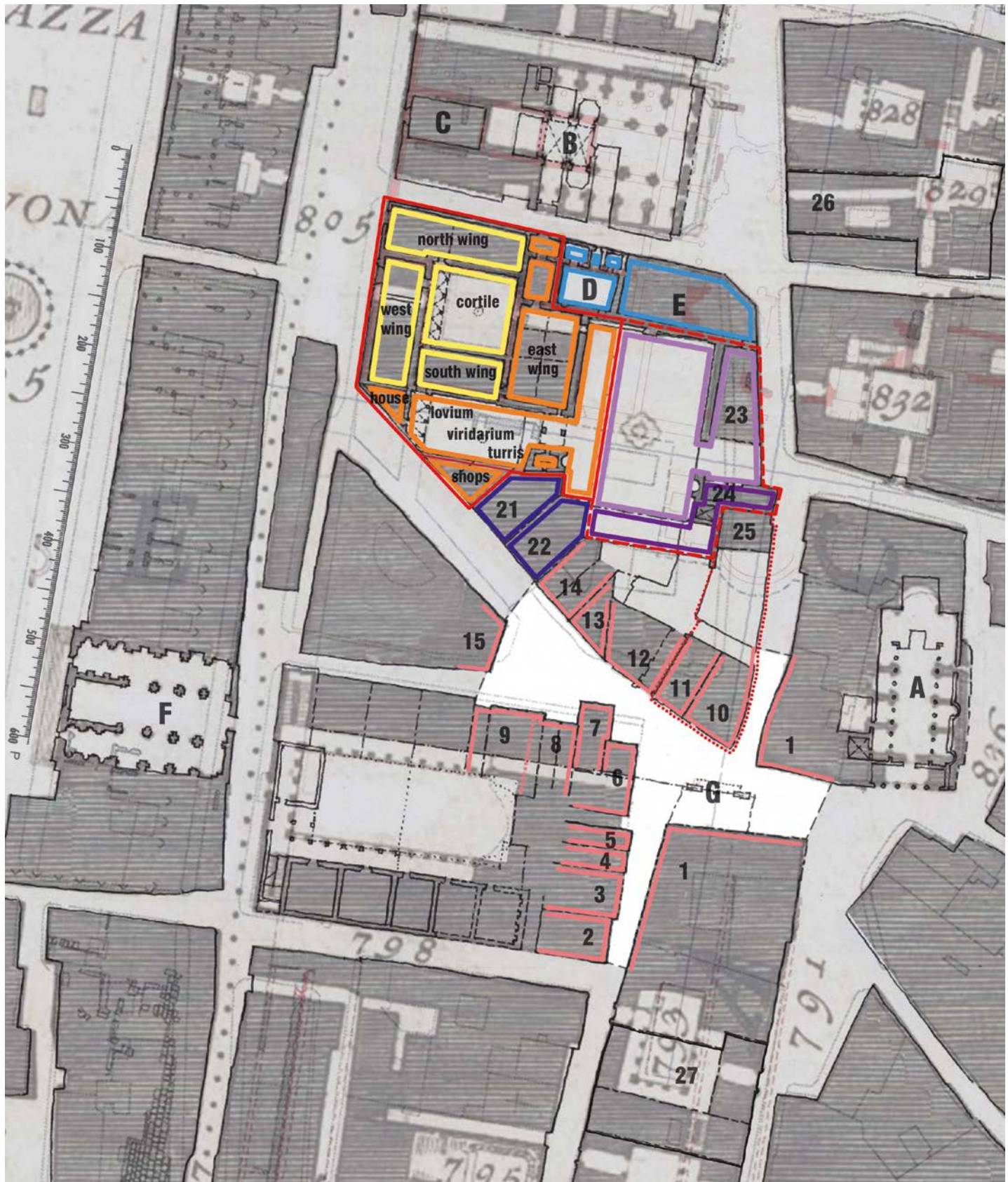
posal is also supported by the locations described in the 1499 *gettito* (see fig. 6 and note 25, below). The Piazza della Dogana therefore was not characterized so much by tradesmen’s wagons as by businessmen carrying accounts papers.

<sup>18</sup> DI BELLA 2012b, p. 18, n. 25.

<sup>19</sup> SAMPERI 2004, p. 80. For the French background, ROBERTO 2005, pp. 1–6, and ROBERTO 2012, pp. 23–28, who proposes that as early as 1463, the sacred buildings of the Farfa monastery were already migrating to French control.












<sup>20</sup> DANIELS 2012, for Meckau’s biography and a full bibliography; pp. 248–269 for his Roman house and the funeral oration (parts, in Appendix 1, item 1). My own further ideas about Meckau were developed after discussions with Martin Raspe and Tobias Daniels, who kindly provided me with a copy of his unpublished research paper, “Il contributo del cardinale Copis de Meckau al Palazzo Medici”, presented at the workshop, *La fortuna delle Terme Alessandrine. Lo ‘Studium Urbis’ e il Palazzo Medici dal medioevo al 1521*, at the Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome, 18 maggio 2016.

<sup>21</sup> Meckau was made a cardinal, but not until 1503. ADINOLFI 1881, p. 153 f. SIMONCINI 2004, p. 249, wrote that the house was “[...] costruita fra 1478 e 1480 dal cardinale [sic] Melchiorre Copis [...]”. Unfortunately, Simoncini cites no sources for these dates, or Meckau’s ownership.



6 The Medici palace *isola* and surrounding areas, 1470s–1521, with property lines and owners

## The Medici Palace in Rome

-  street area assessed in 1499
-  properties assessed in 1499, for demolition of Sant'Eustachio house at the Dogana
-  Meckau, then Sinulfo-Guidone, ca. 1487 (to Medici in 1505 sale)
-  Crescenzi, then Sinulfo-Guidone (to Medici in 1505 and 1505-1509 sales)
-  French/San Luigi property after 1478
-  adjacent owners, never owned by Medici
-  adjacent owner da Narnia (to Medici in 1516 sale)
-  nearby owner de Bossi (to Medici in 1515 sale)
-  Medici palace property line in 1505, with unfinished shops area added, 1505-1509
-  Medici palace property line as extended by May 1516
-  Alfonsina's five-sided house and land at the dogana della terra

### Religious properties

- A. Sant'Eustachio
- B. Santa Maria in cella Farfa (later San Luigi dei Francesi)
- C. San Benedetto
- D. San Salvatore
- E. French hospice: ospedale di San Giacomo dei Francesi (in Thermis, dei Lombardi)
- F. San Giacomo degli Spagnoli
- G. demolished house at dogana della grascia (1499)

### Properties assessed in 1499 (from RE 1920)

1. Gasparre Paulo Stati
2. Tomasso, strengaro (stagnaro)
3. fornaio
4. barbiere
5. ferraro (Ambroschi de Monferrato)
6. Ambroschi (Ambrogio de Milano)
7. dogana della grascia

8. Jacomo de Vulterra (Volterra)
9. heirs of Jordano de Grassis
10. Sancto Stati (church of Sant'Eustachio)
11. Marino Angelo
12. dogana della terra
13. Tuccio (Tonio?) de Teppe
14. Baptista Thomarozzo, nobleman (to Domenico Jacovacci in 1512)
15. [Do]menico Jacovaccio

### Other properties, not assessed in 1499

21. Nuzio, ferraro
22. Jacobo Zaccharie, and heirs
23. Joachino, then Bonifazio da Narnia
24. Onofrio de Bossi
25. Domenico Meruli (with land to the south, along the street?)
26. Alfonsina de' Medici (to Gasparo dei Garzonio di Jesi in 1512 sale)
27. Alfonsina's Medici-Lante properties

during the 1470s and 1480s, Meckau bought some land and any previous ancient or medieval structures along the *isola's* western side, either from the Farfa or a French owner. In those early days, he could have built the west wing of the future palace as a relatively small but refined Quattrocento house with the cross-mullioned windows that characterized its main façade until 1637 (seen in figs. 7 and 8), and made the rooms and a courtyard behind it habitable. From the early 1480s he was often in Germany, but he must have continued to own this Roman residence until at least 1486, when Burchard reports that he rented “his house” to a pair of visiting ambassadors from Scotland.<sup>22</sup>

Meckau was spending considerable time out of Rome after 1481-1482, yet he remained a papal secretary in 1484 and his endeavors for Maximilian I of Augsburg were not of a settled nature during that period, when he was also becoming quite wealthy from his German investments. His status and home turf were not finally settled until he was made Bishop of Bressanone (Easter 1488) and then Prince-

Bishop the following June. After that, Meckau did not return to Rome until Alexander VI made him a cardinal in early June 1503, nor did he live there again until he moved back to Rome permanently in December 1505, as Emperor Maximilian's papal representative. Although there is no extant contract for the sale of his house by Meckau, he could have sold it – not long after the Scots' visit – to Sinulfo, another papal secretary on a rising career trajectory, who was the next owner of record. As explained above, Fioravante Martinelli was convinced that Meckau was the first in the Medici palace's line of owners. It is also clear from Sinulfo's own will, made on his deathbed, that Sinulfo did not build the palace where he died on 14 January 1503. He stated only that he had bought the property for 5,000 ducats in the names of his two brothers, Sigismondo and Guido (Guidone), and that he was leaving all of the improvements and enlargements and additions made to the palace, since he had purchased it, to his brother Guidone and to the two sons of his deceased brother Sigis-

<sup>22</sup> DANIELS 2012, p. 249f., who quoted the Latin original from Burchard's diary for 27 December 1486 (n. 135, p. 249) and correctly read Meckau's name, but Daniels drew the wrong conclusions, surmising that Meckau's “home” then was near the Porta Viridaria gate into the Vatican, and that he only purchased the Medici palace after 1505. However, the ambassadors apparently were merely greeted at the gate, and afterwards were guided by Burchard alone across the river to Meckau's home (the later Sinulfo-Medici palace). This is clear in the English translation of the diary entry, in BURCHARD 1910, p. 169: “At this time there came to the city the Rev. Fathers William, Lord Arch-

bishop of St. Andrews, and Robert, Lord Bishop of Glasgow, ambassadors of the Most Illustrious James, King of the Scots, to pay homage to our Most Holy Lord. They were met at the Porta Viridarii by the households of the pope and the cardinals, and escorted by him [Burchard] to the house of the Lord Mellino of Nola [sic: in fact, Melchior de Copis], which they hired for their residence in the usual way. They entered the city in long cloaks, and underneath small hoods of camels' hair with black hats lined with green, in the fashion of the Roman Court; but the hoods of camels' hair were not right.”

mondo.<sup>23</sup> These changes probably were substantial, to earn their inclusion in his will.

Fortunately, a variety of records from 1495 through 1521 make it possible to reconstruct a layout of properties on the *isola*, including the extent and character of Sinulfo's palace (fig. 6). When Alexander VI turned his attention to this part of town in the years leading up to Jubilee 1500, he pushed several initiatives. Alexander approved construction at two buildings which faced each other on the street running north-south past the front of Sinulfo's palace (now Corso Rinascimento). San Giacomo degli Spagnoli was given a new travertine façade facing Piazza Navona, but the old main entrance on the east side of the church was retained, and its door frame was merely relocated to the new façade. At the same time, the Studium received its first completely purpose-built architectural elements on the southwest street corner of its *isola*, opposite San Giacomo: two new classrooms plus loggias and a stairway. Meanwhile, Alexander ordered the demolition of a nearby house, because it impeded traffic flow at the busy dogana intersection.

In January 1499, Alexander's *maestri di strade* authorized the demolition of that small house, occupied by a *ferraro* and owned by the church of Sant'Eustachio, located in the street in front of the dogana della grascia, that makes the street turn.<sup>24</sup> The *maestri's gettito* listed the taxes assessed on the properties which benefitted from the house's removal.

Those properties ran along both sides of the affected streets and around the intersection roughly termed the Piazza della Dogana. In the *gettito* list, while the Stati family holdings were lumped together and thus cannot be clearly located, many of the other small houses with shops can be pinpointed with surprising accuracy.<sup>25</sup> Once those are identified, the location of the offending house can be proposed (fig. 6, item G): it apparently stuck out into the intersection in front of the Stati *isola*, and perhaps was attached to some of their buildings.<sup>26</sup> Perhaps it took advantage of the remains of an ancient Roman wall, whose gate lay on the main north-south axis of the baths (fig. 5, item B).

#### The Palace in 1503–1505

When Sinulfo died on 14 January 1503, the palace passed to his brother Guidone, Count of Montorio, and his two nephews. Those family members arranged to swap properties, which gave Guidone full ownership of the vacant Roman palace. Rather than occupying it, a rental was arranged on 29 April of that same year, to Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici.<sup>27</sup> Although the cardinal could have changed the property during his rental period, we have no information covering those two years. At any rate, Guidone's "entire palace" was described in the document for its sale to the Medici on 2 July 1505:

<sup>23</sup> For Sinulfo's will, see Appendix 1, item 3. Sinulfo, Count of Montorio and Castel Ottieri near Siena, married into the Chigi family. Like Meckau, he was an apostolic secretary who later rose in rank and wealth. He worked at the Vatican for Popes Sixtus IV and Alexander VI, and also during the reign of Innocent VIII, eventually rising to become Alexander's *tesoriere*, and Bishop of Chiusi in 1497. Biographical details in AIT 2014, p. 303, n. 20.

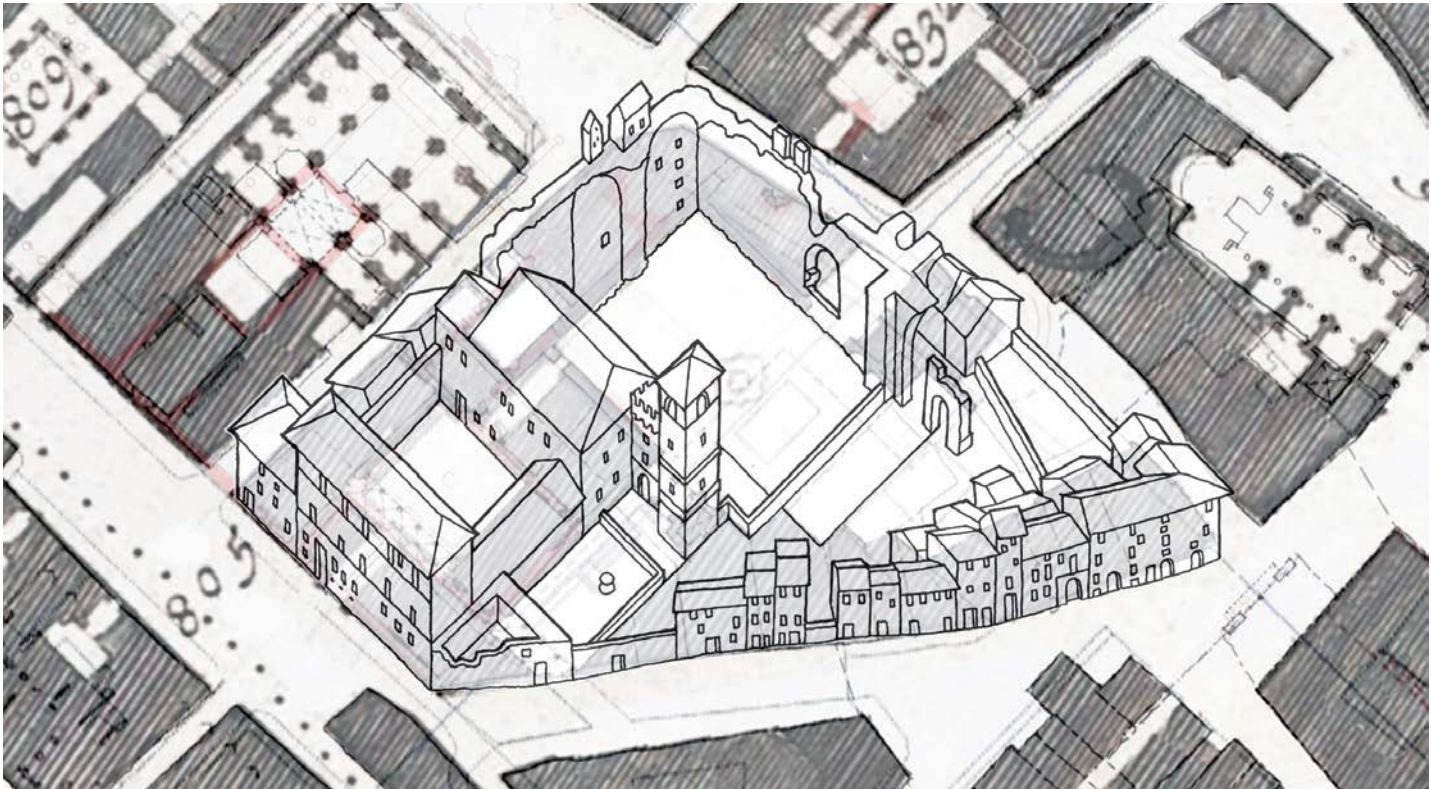
<sup>24</sup> ASR, Presidenza delle Strade, vol. 3 (1499), pp. 267–v and 27, perfectly transcribed in RE 1920, pp. 50–52: "Ruina: In primis declaraverunt che se habia ad ruinare dalla fundamenta la casa de Sancto Stati in nella strada denanti alla dohana della grascia dove sta el ferraro che li va la via in torno." MUNTZ 1886, Appendix, pp. 281–282, is incomplete and contains many errors.

<sup>25</sup> To create the plan in Figure 6, the *gettito* and some of the initial tax payments were referenced to property dimensions and locations from later maps and descriptions and on-site measurements. Property dimensions on the Sapienza *isola* were taken from my unpublished research on the Sapienza's history and my AutoCAD reconstructions of that palace, built up from demolition reports of 30 March 1659 (ASR, Università 108, pp. 600–624) and cross-referenced with rental lists compiled beginning as early as 1600 (ASR, Università 110, pp. 1–27, 42–46). In 1587, some of these houses at the back of the Studium *isola* were mentioned in an assessment done by Giacomo della Porta for the university, which wanted to purchase them: BEDON 1990, p. 66f. and Appendix XI, p. 102. Details will be fully published as part of a book project, co-authored with Martin Raspe, on the Palazzo della Sapienza and Borromini's church of Sant'Ivo. Property dimensions along the

diagonal street, in the southeast quadrant of the Medici *isola*, were based on the 1796 plan and elevations of the medieval and Quattrocento buildings there, prior to demolition, published in NOYA 1994, figs. 2–4, p. 324f.

When the 1499 assessed prices and owners were coordinated with the physical buildings, two ordering principles became clear: first, that the assessed costs were 1 ducat for each 2 palmi of street frontage, rounded to the nearest 5 palmi; and second, that the properties, except for those of Gasparre Paulo Stati, were listed in order by adjacencies: counterclockwise from #2 to #9 on the Sapienza *isola's* east & north sides; then counterclockwise from #10 to #14 on the southern edge of the Palazzo Madama *isola*, ending with #15 on the Jacovacci *isola's* tip. These principles were confirmed by their strict conformity with the property widths, except in the exception that proves the rule: the de Grassi-dogana properties [#7, 8, and 9] overlapped upstairs. In a number of instances, the ownership and use of the 1499 buildings remained the same into the 1600s. For example, the de Grassi and Jacovacci heirs still owned the same buildings; the *fornaio*, the *ferraro*, the *stagnaro* (later a *barbiere*), the *albergo*, and the *dogana della terra* remained in operation on their sites. It seems that soon after 1500, members of the powerful, longer-established Roman families who owned significant buildings nearby, including the Stati and Jacovacci, bought some of these properties; #14, for example, was purchased by Domenico di Christoforo Jacovacci, a cousin of Cardinal Domenico, in 1509, from the Tomarozzi, a family intermarried with the Stati (BEVILACQUA 2009, p. 22 and nn. 34 and 41, p. 70). The same Domenico lived in #15 until 1512, and rented it out thereafter (BEVILACQUA 2009, p. 22 and n. 6, p. 69).





7 The Medici palace *isola*, 1503–1505 (partly conjectural), rendered by Marlene McLoughlin and author

“[...] the entire palace with its structures, new and old, and the remains and walls of the ancient baths, great halls, dining rooms, cellars, private rooms, chambers, antechambers, courtyard, well, garden, loggia, tower, stables, kitchen, [and] its other parts, pertaining and contiguous, [...]”<sup>28</sup>

The Sinulfo-Guidone palace was a hodge-podge of assorted structures, their walls mostly conforming to elements remaining from the Alexandrine baths, such as unseen foundations or still visible intact ruins, plus ancient walls incorporated into medieval buildings, or the Renaissance-era

wings of the palace, all of these forming the entry courtyard with its attached loggia.<sup>29</sup> We can visualize the property in 1505 (fig. 7): its western side was dominated by Meckau’s three-story house, which stretched from the one-story triangular, unroofed house on the diagonal street’s corner all the way to the northwest street corner, where the exterior of the medieval house remained as it was. The north wing of the property also included the rest of the unimproved buildings that stretched along the *via di San Salvatore* as far as the church itself. Some sort of south wing – perhaps one or possibly two levels – connected the west wing with the east wing, which had been the heart of the medieval Crescenzi

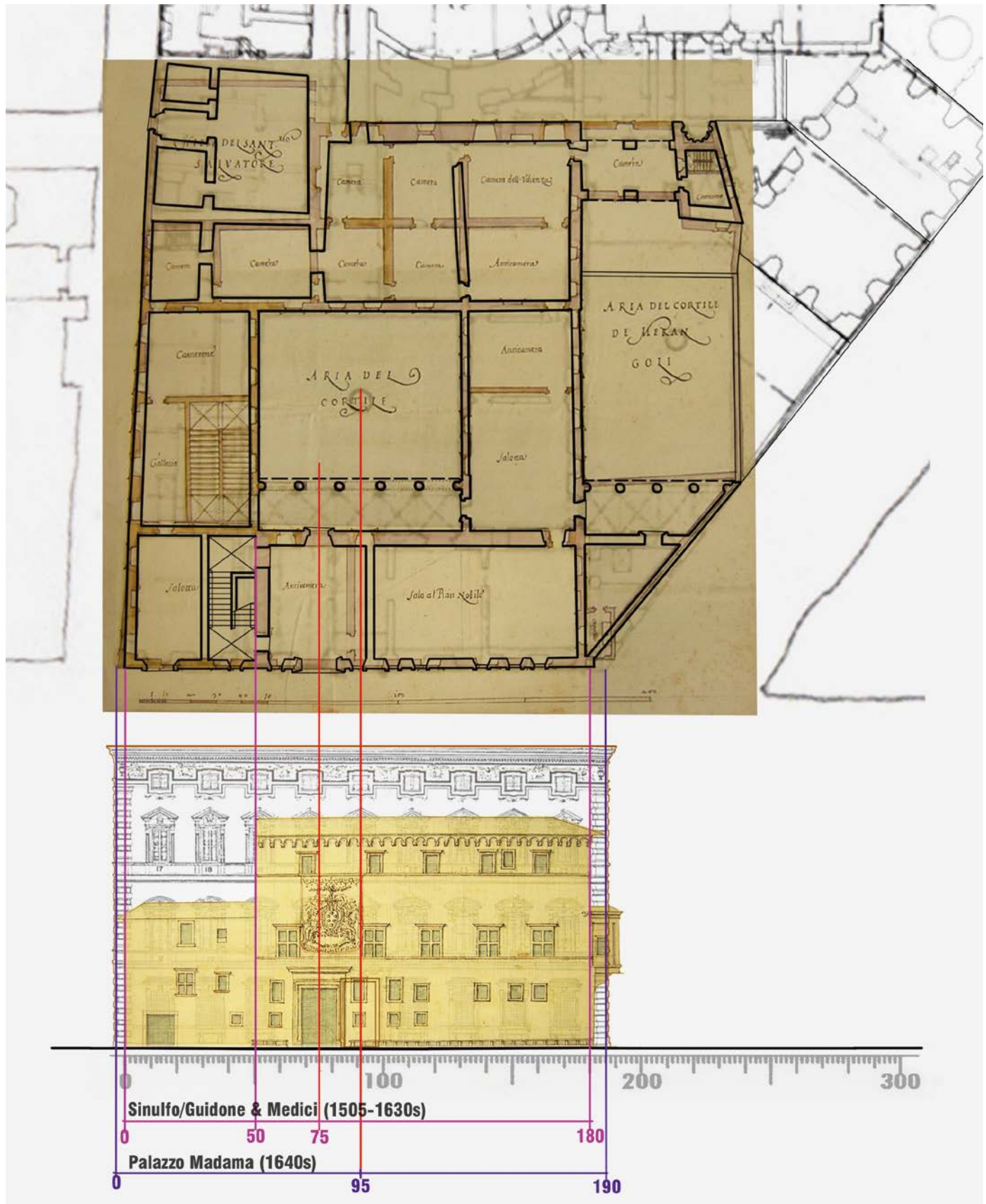
<sup>26</sup> Other locations have been proposed, but none are clear or convincing, given the documents. Without providing details or evidence, BEDON 1991, p. 16f., proposed that the house completely closed off the north-south street along the east side of the *Studium isola* (now *via del Teatro Valle*) and that the rear side of the *Studium* block was not defined until 1499. SIMONCINI 2004, p. 247f., and n. 133, but without a map, suggested that the house was “[...] presumibilmente situata in corrispondenza dell’attuale *via degli Staderari*, cioè nell’area fra lo *Studio e la Dogana* [...]” ANTONUCCI 2014, pp. 442–448 and fig. 7, p. 455, located the house sitting in isolation closer to the *Sant’Eustachio portico*, which would have required the assessment of properties around *Piazza Sant’Eustachio* and along the east side of the *Stati isola*, but

none of those owners were taxed.

<sup>27</sup> AIT 2014, pp. 300–303, for Giovanni’s earlier living arrangements in Rome, and the 29 April 1503 rental, unfortunately lost, with the date recorded only in a later *rubricella*.

<sup>28</sup> “[...] *ac palatium totum cum suis edificiis novis et antiquis et cum vestigiis et parietibus antiquarum termarum, aulis, tinellis, cantinis, penetralibus, cameris, anticameris, claustris, puteo, viridario, lovio, turri, stabulo, coquina et aliis suis membris, pertinentiis adiacentiis* [...]” English translation by Sara Bova and the author. See Appendix 1, item 5, for entire passage in Latin, and for the entire contract AIT 2014, Appendix, pp. 310–314.

<sup>29</sup> FUMAGALLI 2005, pp. 41–47, for a synopsis up to 1521.



8 The Medici palace, elevation and plan conditions in 1503-1505 (reconstruction based on drawings by Paolo Maruscelli, ca. 1638)

palace. At its southeastern corner, this was connected by a narrow, bridge-like element to the medieval tower, previously owned by the Crescenzi and still today called the torre dei Crescenzi, which stood at the far end of the palace's south garden with its loggia.<sup>30</sup> On the back of the east wing was a large, open area, surrounded on at least three sides by impressively tall, intact ancient walls, three of them visible in Giovannoli's engraving (fig. 4 a). Most of this "rear yard", and the buildings behind it along the street, was owned by Joachino, and subsequently by his heir Bonifazio, of Narni.<sup>31</sup>

The exact dimensions and locations for some palace features can be reconstructed from later documents. A façade drawing – prepared by Maruscelli for the 1637 renovation project – shows the west wing almost as it was in 1505, with the exception of the little chapel, upstairs on the far right-hand side. Unfortunately, the plan that accompanied this façade drawing is lost, but Maruscelli's piano nobile sheet of a month later, with flaps showing several alternatives for the western wing's sala and apartments, provides an accurate set of measurements for the reconstructed ground level plan of 1505, shown in figure 8.<sup>32</sup>

By 1601, the palace boasted thirteen rooms on the piano nobile.<sup>33</sup> Those rooms apparently were distributed in three

wings around the entry courtyard (the west, south, and east wings). The north wing, as yet unimproved, still hosted French monks in the upstairs rooms, apparently by long-standing agreement.<sup>34</sup> The palace could have remained essentially unchanged since Sinulfo's days, except for some new dividing partitions, and apparently some added or improved rooms on the south wing's piano nobile level, and above. City map views and plans from Bufalini (1551) through Greuter (1618) all show something like the Maruscelli west wing with its asymmetrical façade, with other structures hugging a four-sided entry courtyard whose square proportions were disrupted when a Renaissance loggia was inserted only on its western side.<sup>35</sup>

According to the 1505 sale contract, the palace included a garden (viridarium), a loggia (lovium), and a tower (turris), which probably formed an ensemble. Modern scholars have located these three elements in the south part of the *isola*, identifying the turris as the Crescenzi tower. The garden was drawn by Marten van Heemskerck in the mid-1530s, from two different vantage points (figs. 9 a, b).<sup>36</sup> However, the extent of the garden, and its relationship to the loggia in Heemskerck's sketches, has been incorrectly described, due to the confusing fact that the 1505 palace had not one but two Renaissance loggias (fig. 6), separated

<sup>30</sup> For graphic sources that show the Maruscelli façade and other details used in fig. 7, see notes 32 and 35 below.

<sup>31</sup> This open area, probably divided into a series of urban gardens or planted plots, was not listed in the Medici palace descriptions in 1505 or 1509; nor, in those descriptions, did the palace share an adjacency with the French hospice, which abuts the open area on the north side. The condition on the south edge of that area is not completely clear, but the open area seems to have continued as a cultivated urban plot, with perhaps only a fence separating the Narnian's property from that of Onofrio de' Bossi. See Appendix 1, items 13 and 14, for the sale of both properties to the Medici in 1516 and 1515 respectively.

<sup>32</sup> Fig. 8 is based on drawings by Paolo Maruscelli, ca. 1638: elevation drawing, incised lines and pinholes, pen with brown ink, pink wash and blue wash, 242.5 × 157 mm. ASE, MM 363, fasc. 1, p. 115; plan of piano nobile, ca. 1638, incised lines and pinholes, pen with brown ink, pink wash, and pencil and yellow ochre for changes, 277 × 382 mm. ASE, MM 363, fasc. 1, p. 117v and 118r, with two overleaves. FUMAGALLI 1991 found and identified Maruscelli's façade drawing; the façade and the plans are reproduced respectively in FUMAGALLI 2005, pp. 42, 60, 61. Maruscelli's drawings show a little box-like structure, date unknown but certainly not a *mignano* from the 1470s, as has usually been supposed. The wooden structure sat upon the flat roof of the triangular corner building (unroofed before 1509), merely requiring a wooden bracket to support its one, overhanging southwestern corner. The wooden structure looks like a Mannerist-era addition, useful as a private chapel after 1550 when the property was rented out to churchmen; it may even post-date the palace's use as the French ambassador's residence in 1587–1589, when potted plants decked this roof (NAPOLITANO 2015, pp. 168–171). See TESI 1994, for construction records describing other changes made to the earlier building after 1637. For

additional palace history from 1521–1646, see BORSI 2005, pp. 13–17, and FUMAGALLI 2005, pp. 47–72.

<sup>33</sup> For the anonymous description of 1601, TOMEI 1939, item 52, p. 221, confusingly illustrated with Pietro Ferrerio's engraving of the ground plan from 1655 showing the palace with the substantial changes made by Maruscelli beginning in 1637.

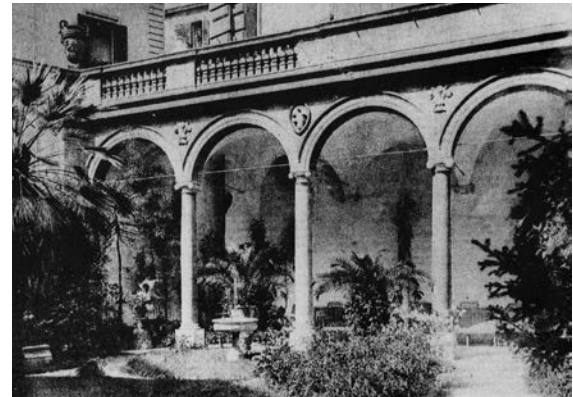
<sup>34</sup> ROBERTO 2012, p. 29 f.; for additional details, see n. 53 below.

<sup>35</sup> See note 11 above for plan numbers in *Le piante di Roma* 1962. In addition to Tempesta (1593) where the courtyard area of the map is missing due to a joint between the engraved plates, useful graphic details appear in Bufalini (1551), Cartaro grande (1576), Du Pérac (1577, but doubled, as described below), and Greuter (1618, perhaps the most accurate). Falda (1676) shows the building after its new façade was built, but includes helpful details of other, older buildings on the *isola*. See also the original drawing by Salustio [Salvestro] Peruzzi (1564), GDSU, UA 274, or in *Le piante di Roma* 1962, vol. 2, plan 120.

<sup>36</sup> The original drawings, both certainly by Heemskerck, are now bound in two volumes titled *Die römischen Skizzenbücher von Marten van Heemskerck*, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett - Sammlung der Zeichnungen und Druckgraphik (Berlin): fig. 9a: 79 D2, p. 5r, and fig. 9b: 79 D2a, p. 48r. For 79 D2 at high resolution: URL: <http://www.bildindex.de/document/obj00033077?medium=fm1191866&part=7> (accessed 02.21.2018). For descriptions, see *Heemskerck* 1913–1916: for fig. 9a, vol 1[1], 1913, p 4f.; for fig. 9b, vol. 2[1], 1916, p. 29 f. Both sketches are Heemskerck's. CHRISTIAN 2012, especially p. 146f; VELDMAN 2012 explained that fig. 9a, the sketch with the Crescenzi tower and the distinctively different column capitals, is from Heemskerck's small Roman sketchbook (vol. 1), fig. 9b (vol. 2) has a different format, so apparently it was made on a different day but also while he was in the garden.



9 a, b Marten van Heemskerck, two views of the Medici palace's south garden and loggia, ca. 1535, pen with brown ink. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, *Die römischen Skizzenbücher von Marten van Heemskerck*, 79 D2, fol. 5r, and 79 D2a, fol. 48r



10 a, b Two Renaissance loggias in the Medici Palace: entrance courtyard (photo Bibliotheca Hertziana/Roberto Sigismondi), and south garden loggia, ca. 1904 (from *L'aula di Palazzo Madama* 1992, p. 15)

by the south wing. One loggia was in the cortile, the other in the south garden. In most respects, these two loggias were identical: each of them backed up against a rear wall on the ground level, and each was made out of spolia pieces (mismatched granite columns and assorted Ionic capitals) supporting arches with cross-vaults. In each loggia, the spolia elements were cut down and positioned to create loggias looking eastward, with identical bay spacings and heights. But the courtyard loggia had five bays, while the garden loggia had only four.<sup>37</sup>

Details confirm that these two Heemskerck sketches depict the south loggia that fronted directly onto the viridarium. The loggia vaulting and the two wall brackets were irregularly arranged because the end wall, with its large arched opening, lay at an angle which followed the diagonal street beyond. Photographs of the two loggias (figs. 10 a, b) demonstrate that even the mismatched column diameters and Ionic capitals of the garden loggia remained in the same positions, left to right, until 1904 – just as Heemskerck drew them in his sketchbook.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>37</sup> In 1969, Vittorio del Gaizo described the garden, correctly but somewhat obliquely, as being on the south side of the palace: DEL GAIZO 1969, p. 24. He stated that the garden with its fountain, stretching from the Crescenzi tower to an “elegant colonnade,” was filled with the marble statuary excavated by Cardinal Giovanni, described in detail by

Ulisse Aldrovandi around 1550. Some of those sculptures appear in Heemskerck's views, along with various fragmentary pieces, including the colossal foot, just to the left of the fountain in fig. 9b. Unfortunately, since 1969 the Heemskerck drawings have been mistakenly identified as views of that south garden from the entrance courtyard's

Unfortunately, because the spolia elements used in the two loggias were not part of a matched set, they provide no clues as to whether the two loggias were made as a pair at the same time by the same palace owner, or on different occasions prior to 1505, when the one in the garden was listed in the sale contract. The cortile's loggia, with its ground level vaulting presumably supporting a walkway on the piano nobile, roofed or not, would have provided useful circulation among the west wing rooms in Meckau's small house, and that system would have been even more necessary after whatever enlargements and enhancements were made by Sinulfo.

Although Heemskerck's drawings show the state of the south garden and the four-bay loggia in the mid-1530s, the architecture of that loggia had been built prior to Cardinal Giovanni's occupancy as a renter, and remained unchanged throughout Leo's papacy. The single door on the otherwise solid back wall of the loggia led into the triangular area on the southwest street corner, which in 1505 was a "certain unroofed house connected to the garden" ("quadam domuncula discoperta coniuncta viridario"). The documents for the sale of the palace to the Medici in July 1505, and the several contract drafts for its re-sale to Alfonsina in July 1509, strongly suggest that the triangular unroofed house was improved between those two dates.<sup>39</sup>

loggia. This has led to the erroneous proposal that the south garden, where the cardinal's sculptures were exhibited, was open to and continuous with the entrance courtyard. (FUMAGALLI 1991, and ROBERTO 2012, p. 31; BORSI 1994, p. 16, avoided the question.) In that scenario, the palace's south wing would have not existed until after the 1530s, and the palace descriptions of 1505, 1509, and 1521 – listing both a "claustris" and a "viridario" – would be incoherent.

There is a third Heemskerck view of a garden with sculptures, ca. 1535: folio 47 (described in *Heemskerck* 1913–1916, vol. 1[1] 1913, pp. 25–27), which Hülsen and Egger suspected was a Medici locale. I believe that folio 47 shows the assorted pieces – including a puteal with a tree growing through its central hole – assembled in the Medici palace's eastern yard, where Alfonsina apparently displayed her collection of sculptures, including the Amazons and other pieces, and described in 1514. The view does not appear to show any area of the south garden, as Kathleen Wren Christian has proposed (CHRISTIAN 2010, pp. 335–337, with the drawing, fig. 157, p. 207; pp. 198–207 and Cat. 23, pp. 332–339 provides a comprehensive analysis of the Medici palace sculptural collections and early sources). I suggest that Alfonsina's sculptures were kept separated from those owned by her brother-in-law, legally until her death in 1520 but physically even decades later. This proposal explains why Heemskerck did not include Alfonsina's sculptures in his two, south garden views (figs. 9a, b), as well as some other strange inconsistencies that Christian pointed out.

<sup>38</sup> Fig. 10a shows the entrance courtyard loggia, ca. 2000; for additional photos of this courtyard space, consult the Senato.it website. URL: [https://www.senato.it/application/xmanager/projects/leg17/attachments/foto/media/000/000/037/cortile\\_onoreo2.jpg](https://www.senato.it/application/xmanager/projects/leg17/attachments/foto/media/000/000/037/cortile_onoreo2.jpg) (accessed 05.06.2017).

### Medici property acquisitions, 1505–1513

On 2 July 1505, Cardinal Giovanni attended the signing of a contract to purchase the Sinulfo-Guidone palace for 10,100 ducats. The contract named his brother Giuliano and his nephew Lorenzo as the buyers. Since the Medici family was in exile from Florence, and lacked ready cash, initial and future payments had to be arranged through a Siennese banker and two Florentines. Ivana Ait has meticulously analyzed the original Latin document, and she proposed that "this contract represents a significant loan made by the Medicis with the [Medici's] guaranty of the prestigious building[,]" instead of a normal sale.<sup>40</sup> This seems to be essentially correct: some cash was paid to Guidone, and some deposits were made to Guidone's account with funds loaned to the Medici and guaranteed by the three mercantile or bank representatives. And the contract did make it expensive for the Medici to rebuild or extensively renovate or enlarge the palace. Under the contract's *retrovendita* clause, Guidone retained the right to repurchase the palace at the original sale price after twenty years (i.e. in 1525). If the Medici made improvements over the intervening time, Guidone would be required to add their value to the original sale price, but only up to a limit of 3,000 ducats, as determined by expert witnesses. If

Fig. 10b shows the portico after it was uncovered, described in *L'aula di Palazzo Madama* 1992, fig. 11, p. 15, as "Il porticato del Giardino degli aranci di Palazzo Madama nel 1904." Between 1637 and 1641, the vaults and superstructure were rebuilt and the brackets on the back wall were re-positioned, when the triangular corner building and the diagonal street wall were completely rebuilt, but the west wall of the loggia and the loggia columns were not disturbed. All of this was done when the new façade displaced the previous southwest corner, moving it further west due to the added wall thickness, and further south by about 8 palms (1.8 meters), as figure 8 shows in outline. The corner building, still a low structure, was at that time mostly filled by a new triangular stair, best seen in Ferrerio's plan of 1655, published in BORSI 1994, p. 25, no figure number; more information for this work appears in *La Facciata di Palazzo Madama* 1994. Other proposed changes to the garden area and its loggia were listed in a letter dated 3 July 1641, and some approved, including a garden level lowered by about 0.9 meters: ASE, MP, fz. 1490, p. 1, partly published in TESI 1994, p. 136. These Seicento changes were still in place when the garden loggia was restored to its Renaissance appearance – its encased columns freed and its vaults rebuilt, again – during the decade before 1904: DI BELLA 2014, p. 30f., note 111, p. 29, and figs. 23–24, p. 33.

<sup>39</sup> The unroofed corner house, listed in the 1505 contract, was near the areas still owned by the heirs of Stefano di Crescenzi, and it – as well as all of the Crescenzi land and buildings near it which were "behind the garden and tower" – certainly was Medici property in 1509, when the house was no longer listed (see Appendix 1, items 5–9, and n. 47 below).

<sup>40</sup> AIT 2014, p. 299.

improvements were worth more, the Medici would not be able to recover them or other increases in the property's value.

But these convoluted arrangements did allow the Medici to own and occupy the palace, without paying the palace's full price in cash, that day, to Guidone. Further, it seems that the Medici never intended to surrender the property, especially after the cardinal became pope, and could expect to have almost unlimited funds and coercive powers. Nor does it seem that Guidone in fact wanted the palace back, nor that the bankers were dissatisfied with the deal. As the events of the next sixteen years would make clear, the Medici owners added to the property's extent, sold it, and left it as an inheritance, all of which point to a real 1505 sale, albeit encumbered.<sup>41</sup>

On 4 July 1509, Cardinal Giovanni apparently forced Giuliano and Lorenzo to sell the palace to the cardinal's sister-in-law, Alfonsina Orsini-Medici, to raise ready cash. She bought the palace for the nominal price of 11,000 ducats, with the specific mention of Guidone's continuing *retrovendita* agreement, and Alfonsina's added *retrovendita* agreement that she would sell the palace back to Giuliano and Lorenzo in ten years (i.e. 1519) so that they in turn could fulfill the original *retrovendita* agreement to Guidone, if necessary. The sale was registered on 4 July 1509 by the notary Cristoforo Pagni. His notarial copies of the contract, in two versions, are fully transcribed in Appendix 2. The two drafts differ, with important changes between the first, unfinished version, dated only as June 1509 without the day, and the completed draft, dated 4 July 1509.<sup>42</sup> That final draft for Alfonsina's purchase from Giuliano and Lorenzo states that she would buy the entire 1505 palace. She also would buy the area that had already been added to the Medici holdings (titled "unfinished shops" in fig. 6): "the

begun but still unfinished shops next to the garden and tower, on land that had previously belonged to the heirs of Mariano [...] de' Crescenzi."<sup>43</sup> Only this small, additional area – where the shops were being built – continued in the possession of Stefano Crescenzi's heirs, after the rest of the Crescenzi holdings had already been sold off prior to 1505. This last small area along the diagonal street, perhaps retained because of its income-producing qualities, had passed by 1509 into the possession of Stefano's son Mariano, and then to Mariano's heirs. This is the Crescenzi area that Martinelli's quotation mentioned, but which some later historians have taken as a reference to the entire Medici palace. This unfortunate and misleading interpretation has endured since Martinelli's guidebook was printed.

As partial payment of the July 1509 sale, and even before the June drafts were written, Alfonsina had already given the sum of 2,000 ducats to Cardinal Giovanni with the express agreement of "the sellers" (Giuliano and Lorenzo). The cash went to the San Marco friars, for Cardinal Giovanni's purchase of his father's unmatched Medici library collection of rare manuscripts and books.<sup>44</sup> The details are somewhat difficult to untangle, but they shed light on the story of the palace's designs during Leo X's lifetime, and the importance the cardinal put upon Lorenzo the Magnificent's book collection, as well as the space that would house them.

Lorenzo the Magnificent's collection had been seized from Palazzo Medici in Florence by the Florentine Republic in 1494, and the Signoria had later sold them to the Dominican monks at the San Marco monastery. But the books were soon seized again by the government, and they were not returned to the monks until years later, apparently in 1507.<sup>45</sup> The monks, as soon as they again had "their books" in hand, sold them back to Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici.

<sup>41</sup> AIT 2014, pp. 308–310, argued that the terms of the 1505 sale and Guidone's *retrovendita*, doomed Giuliano da Sangallo's project in 1513, and made Antonio da Sangallo the Younger's project completely unfeasible. See Appendix 1, item 5 for the 1509 sale, and AIT 2014, pp. 301–314, for the entire Latin document. See Appendix 1, items 6–9 and 13–15 for the pertinent later transactions; and item 16, for the final settlement with Guidone in 1521. Appendix 2 contains the Guidone *retrovendita* clause, as it was continued and buttressed in the 1509 sale.

<sup>42</sup> These two 1509 drafts are now bound together, and apparently they are Pagni's 1509 notarial copies: Pagni's drafts were moved at some point, and their location forgotten, forcing researchers to depend on an 18th century copy of the June 1509 draft, Ms. Vitt Emm BNCR, pp. 17v–18v cited by ALBERTI 1954, p. 13 (see Appendix 1, item 7). No final signed copies of the 4 July 1509 sale have turned up yet. See AIT 2014, p. 308, n. 40, for the sale's registration, and for the fact that it definitely took place. Fumagalli knew of Pagni's 1509 draft copies, but she did not analyze them in depth (FUMAGALLI 2005, p. 47, n. 22).

<sup>43</sup> "[...] quasdam apoteca inceptas et non completas retro viridarium et turri praedictae in area seu solo quod erat quondam heredum Mariani Stefani Francisci de Crescentiis [...]" (Appendix 1, item 8, and Appendix 2). The 4 July draft also includes a requirement that the shops be completed within four years.

<sup>44</sup> The clause in the contract is rather confusing (see Appendix 2), but certainly Alfonsina's 2,000 ducats were specifically given for the purchase of the books.

<sup>45</sup> FANTONI/RAO 2013, p. 280 f., report that the sum of 2,652.78 ducats was paid on 29 April 1508 (sic) to the procurator of San Marco in Florence for the Medici library books on Giovanni's behalf, by his friend Cardinal Galeotto Franciotto della Rovere, who had died on September 11 of that same year. However, Galeotto Franciotto, Julius II's favorite nephew, died one year earlier (1477?–11 September 1507), according to EUBEL 1960, vol. 3, p. 10 and n. 3, so the date of the book payment must have been April 1507.

<sup>46</sup> ALBERTINI (1510) 1515, pp. 87–90; summarized in ALBERTI 1954, p. 10; FANTONI/RAO 2013, pp. 281–284 for the inventory. Fabio Vigili

The monks certainly received the more than 2,000 ducats that they were owed, or they would not have packed the 982 volumes in eleven chests and shipped them to the cardinal in Rome. The tomes were located somewhere in the Medici palace in Rome, where an inventory of the volumes was made, surely before the library was opened to the public in early 1510.<sup>46</sup>

Prior to the sale of the palace to Alfonsina on 4 July 1509, Cardinal Giovanni already had arranged the return of his father's cherished books. He must have begun the process of preparing a suitable library room too, commissioning furniture to hold the volumes, and considering the décor of sculptures and paintings. As a suitable place, the formerly derelict triangular building offered many advantages.<sup>47</sup> If Cardinal Giovanni decided to house his books there, he could build to suit inside the old walls. The library in that location would have been directly joined to the sculpture garden and loggia, yet it would be separated from the main palace. The cardinal could have included features that are shown in later views: an entrance from the diagonal street, and the building's flat roof, a sign of masonry vaults which would provide fire protection.<sup>48</sup> This inviting ensemble of library room-loggia-garden would have provided the ideal private retreat for the cardinal, and a notably exquisite setting to share with his humanist friends. The arrangements would have exactly matched the ideals, outlined a few years later by the humanist Paolo Cortesi, who advised

of Spoleto completed the extensive inventory in Rome, and a second list, of the thirty-seven volumes missing from the initial shipment, was completed and signed by Cardinal Giovanni on 14 June 1510. Albertini's description of the room was first published in February 1510, so he must have taken his tour of the library, led by Cardinal Giovanni's librarian Varino (Guarino) Favorito, before that date.

<sup>47</sup> Both of the 1509 drafts strike out the unroofed house as a separate item, presumably because the space had been roofed between 1505 and June 1509, and was no longer a useful geographic landmark.

<sup>48</sup> Heemskerck puts people on the house's roof overlooking the south garden (see fig. 9b), but that terrace was accessed from the main palace, not from the room(s) below. The triangular building's flat roof is also shown in Greuter's map (1618), and in Maruscelli's plans (1638) it lacks a stair from below. Heemskerck's sketches also show a low wall separating the sculpture garden and loggia precinct from the Crescenzi tower, in the distance. That tower was connected on the upper two levels to the main palace's south wing by a multistoried but narrow, bridge-like structure; on the ground level a two-bay loggia gave access to the east yard. Apparently the Crescenzi tower and bridge structures were treated as part of the main palace properties from 1505 onward, and separated from the south garden precinct.

<sup>49</sup> BRANDT/D'AMICO 1980, p. 78f. and nn. 40–43, p. 104f. Paolo Cortesi's *De Cardinalatu* described the ideal palace's library: it also should be near the cortile and guest apartments, and otherwise arranged so that its accessibility could increase the *virtu* of the owner. See also FUMAGALLI 2005, pp. 43–45, for a summary of these requirements but

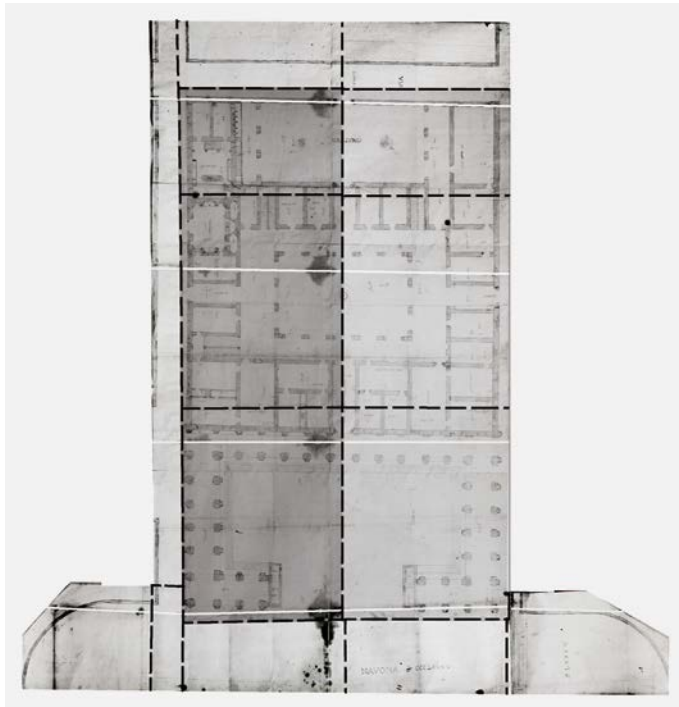
that the cardinal's library should be on the ground level, face east, and be open without charge to the public.<sup>49</sup> As it turned out, Giovanni kept his library at the palace, even after he became pope, and continuously employed a series of librarians to care for it.<sup>50</sup>

When the cardinal's widowed sister-in-law, Alfonsina Orsini de' Medici, bought the palace from Giuliano and Lorenzo, she paid only the 2,000 ducats already given to Cardinal Giovanni specifically for the purchase of the library books. Apparently, the cardinal's finances in the summer of 1509 were in terrible shape, but Alfonsina's wealth had increased and her prospects for the return of her dowry had brightened.<sup>51</sup> Alfonsina struck a tough bargain with Cardinal Giovanni, to judge by the changes to the contract between June and 4 July, since she was able to buy the palace for only the 2,000 ducats in cash which she had already handed over. In the earlier drafts for the sale, she would have had to pay "the sellers" (Giuliano and Lorenzo) another 2,000 ducats, so that the cardinal could honor part of his pledge to pay her daughter Clarice's dowry. The balance of the palace's purchase price (nominally 9,000 ducats, in the 4 July contract) was to be paid "in the same time," probably meaning only after Alfonsina received her own dowry from the Florentines in secure monetary instruments. With this purchase, Alfonsina gained a direct stake in the encumbered palace, for herself and her son, and the goodwill of the cardinal.

without an attempt to identify any particular location for the library room. The books always remained the cardinal's private, moveable property, even though Alfonsina's 2,000 ducats had paid for them.

<sup>50</sup> PASTOR (1906) 1908, pp. 263–271. All trace of the library room vanished after 1525. Its interior may have been dismantled when Clement VII sent the books back to Palazzo Medici in Florence, at the beginning of his papacy. Perhaps some of the furniture was sent to Florence for the new Laurentian Library there, where Michelangelo was soon designing a triangular rare book room of almost the same dimensions as the triangular house in the Roman palace. ACKERMAN 1961, vol. 2, pp. 33–43 for Michelangelo's ideas in 1524–1525, when he proposed and sketched the triangular room.

<sup>51</sup> TOMAS 2003, pp. 107–123, and REISS 2001, p. 127 and n. 26, p. 144. Alfonsina had received her Orsini inheritance at her mother's death in 1504. Four years later, her daughter Clarice's marriage to Filippo Strozzi was arranged, with Cardinal Giovanni pledging Clarice's 6,000-ducat dowry: the parentado, a secret in July 1508, became known in Florence in December 1508, and the marriage was ruled legal in January 1509. This successful negotiation demonstrated a thaw in Medici-Republican Florentine government relations and a desire for further normalization. Nevertheless, in February 1509, Alfonsina's impounded dowry funds remained a sore point. Alfonsina had been pressing for the return of her 12,000-ducat dowry, with great seriousness from 1507 onward, and with hopes of success rising since the summer of 1508. It was eventually repaid, but not until after 12 October 1510 (TOMAS 2003, pp. 113–115).



11 Giuliano da Sangallo, Medici palace plan U 7949Ar: left and right sheets, original glued edges (dashed black lines), and historic folds (white lines)

During the ten years since Cardinal Giovanni's first rental, whenever the cardinal and various other Medici family members were in Rome, they could have stayed in this palace.<sup>52</sup> This arrangement did not change with Alfonsina's ownership, apparently. And although many modern histories report that Alfonsina purchased one or several additional houses on the Medici *isola* in the years between 1509 and 1513, this seems to be erroneous.<sup>53</sup> For the pal-

<sup>52</sup> TOMAS 2003, pp. 124–163. Besides Cardinal Giovanni's brother Giuliano and his sister-in-law Alfonsina and her son Lorenzo, other relatives stayed in the Roman family palace for various lengths of time between 1505 and 1519. They included Giovanni's sister Lucrezia (1470–1553), and her husband Jacopo Salviati and their son Giovanni (1490–1553, made cardinal 1517); Giovanni's sister Maddalena (1473–1528) and her husband Franceschetto Cybo and their son, Innocenzo (made cardinal Sept 1513); Giovanni's cousin Giulio (26 May 1478–25 Sept 1534), illegitimate son and orphan of Giuliano di Piero, later Clement VII (made cardinal Sept. 1513); and Alfonsina's daughter Clarice de' Medici (1493–1528) and her husband Filippo Strozzi.

<sup>53</sup> For those properties, see Appendix 1, items 10–12. However, the small houses along the via di San Salvatore – from the corner house on Piazza Lombarda as far as the church of San Salvatore – were already owned by Sinulfo in 1503, because they were all included in the sale to the Medici in the 1505 sale document: only the church of San Salvatore was listed as adjacent to the 1505 palace on that side of the *isola*, so those houses were already part of Sinulfo's palace. The stables and the kitchens, both listed in the 1505 sale, could have been on the ground

ace, a period of stasis existed: the cardinal had his library in operation, Alfonsina and the rest of the family were housed well enough, and we hear of no plans for further changes. But on 9 March 1513, Cardinal Giovanni was elected pope. Suddenly, it seemed both possible and necessary to imagine a completely new Medici family palace in Rome.

### Section 3

#### The Medici Palace projects by Giuliano and Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, 1513 through 1515

##### Giuliano da Sangallo's palace project, 1 July 1513

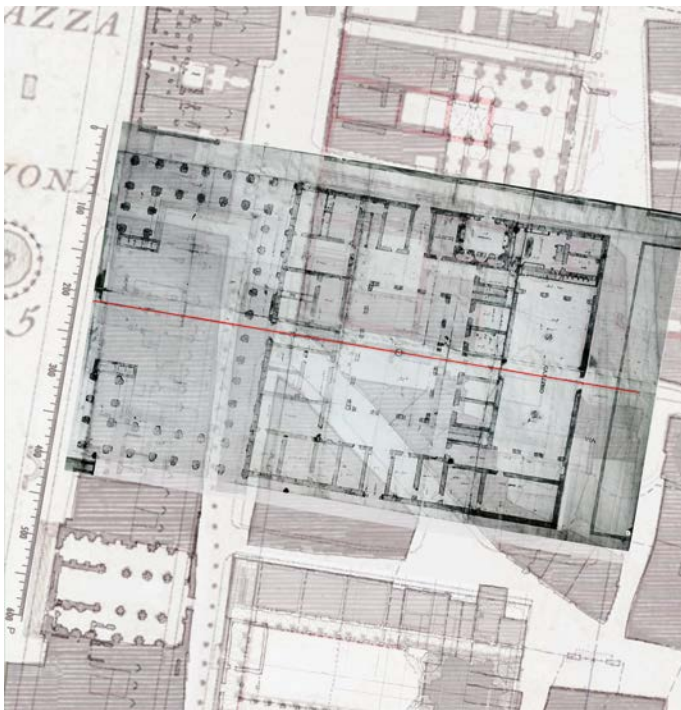
Giuliano da Sangallo produced a design for the Roman palace in the short period between March and 1 July 1513, the date written on the verso of the drawing, Uffizi U 7949 A (fig. 1).<sup>54</sup> Rendered at the exact scale of 1:100 Roman palmi, the rectangle comprising the palace with its forecourt and rear garden was created first (fig. 11). The two and a half sheets on the left were drawn, and then copied with some details changed on the two and a half sheets on the right. Those sheets were then augmented with strips of paper depicting the streets on the north and east and westward to show the Piazza Navona. The palace's written dimensions throughout exactly match the drawn dimensions, except for a discrepancy of one palm in the width of the south wing's rooms. In every other case, there is no doubt about the scheme's proposed sizes and proportions, because the supposed alternative depth of the courtyard was a modern misreading of the written dimensions. Otherwise, all of Giuliano's written and drawn measurements, including the dimensions for the courtyard, agree with each other.<sup>55</sup>

level of those buildings. It does seem that the Medici agreed to give over the upstairs rooms of these unimproved houses to the French monks, until that area was rebuilt in the 1630s. By 1601, the rooms upstairs had been divided to create monk's cells (TOMEI 1939, p. 221). ROBERTO 2012, p. 29f., states that at some point there was a corridor above the chapels' vaults at the street edge, which connected the hospice on the northeast to the monks' rooms. But the houses could not have been French property, as Roberto proposed: "alle proprietà dei Francesi che occupavano per intero tutto il fronte meridionale della suddetta strada [via di San Salvatore] tra le piazze Lombarda (poi Madama) e Saponara (poi di S. Luigi dei Francesi)." To support that proposal, he cites only the windows of the "corridoio" in the much later façade of the church (Roberto's Tav. 8, p. 77, fase 1, 1900).

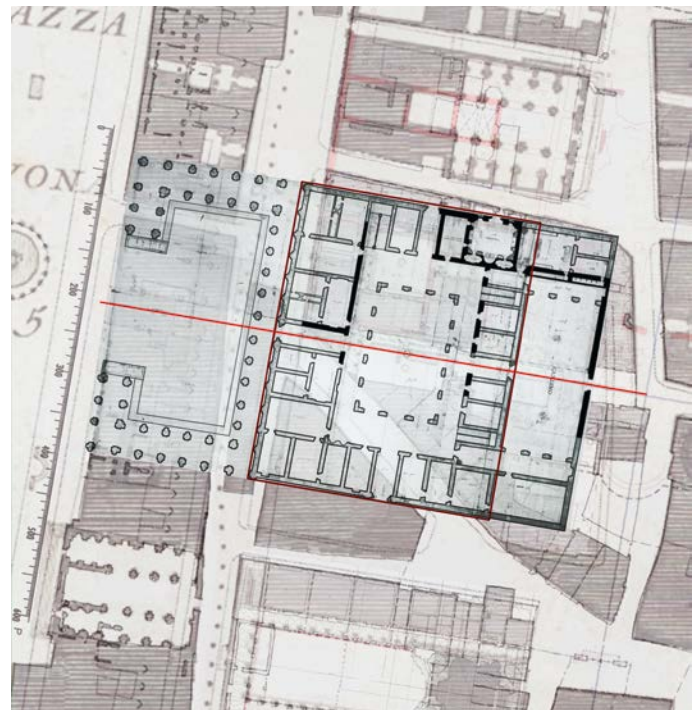
<sup>54</sup> See n. 3 above for description, and figure 11 for the drawing's original and added sheets, glue lines, and historic folds.

<sup>55</sup> The depth of the courtyard from pilaster face to pilaster face, as drawn and as lettered, is 95 palms; the depth of the adjoining porticoed walkway, wall to wall, as drawn and as lettered, is 153 palms. Thus 95 palms + 25 palms + 25 palms [+ 4 palms + 4 palms (the





12 Giuliano da Sangallo, Medici palace plan: positioned on the 1513 isola



13 Giuliano da Sangallo, Medici palace plan: with centerline and main palace's rectangular footprint, and ancient structures re-used

As pasted together, the document is more than six feet tall. The drawing's enormous size, along with its graphic style and classical lettering, make its purpose and audience clear: it must have been meant for display, to impress a group of sophisticated viewers, and not merely for a single potential client in private. The palace's program is also relatively clear, based on the positions and sizes of the ground-level rooms. The design's formal characteristics (its ideal proportions, its links to Vitruvian and Renaissance precedents, its architectural details) and its urban and political purposes (its papal and imperial messages) have been emphasized and assessed by many scholars. Because the project shares characteristics with Giuliano's other palace designs, those connections have been thoroughly discussed, too, most recently by Sabine Frommel.<sup>56</sup> In some ways, Giuliano's project was idealized:

its huge colonnaded forecourt appropriated the Piazza Navona as a magnificent papal prelude to the gigantic building. Its size was immense, and the scale of its parts outlandish even for Rome: although the palace block's raw length in meters seems to lie almost within Roman Renaissance norms, the dimensions of its piers and pilasters, rooms and roof spans, betray the project's gigantism.<sup>57</sup> When the plan is overlaid on the site (fig. 12), the audacity of the project leaps out. Both the size of its parts and the extent of its impact on the neighborhood become obvious. The palace's main block and its forecourt would have overwhelmed the area's fabric, destroyed its traffic arteries, and overrun many properties that were not Medici-owned, either in 1513 or ever thereafter.

Giuliano's drawing has been dropped onto the site before, but in far less detail and with few accurate site references.

thickness of the pilasters)] = 153 palms. In canne,  $9.5 + 2.5 + 2.5 [+ .4 + .4] = 15.3$  canne, written twice. MIARELLI MARIANI 1983, p. 984 f., mistook the 15.3 canne measurement as a remnant of a supposed Giuliano alternative to the 9.5 canne depth, which led him to discuss and illustrate a scheme with a much deeper courtyard (fig. 5B, n. p. between p. 988 f.). This erroneous idea – that there was a bigger alternative project – has been repeated by BORSI 2005, p. 12, and FROMMEL 2017, p. 95.

<sup>56</sup> FROMMEL 2001 for Giuliano's career; for this design, FROMMEL 2014, pp. 349–351; FROMMEL 2017, pp. 94–96; and now BURNS 2017.

<sup>57</sup> MIARELLI MARIANI 1983, p. 985 f., and figs. 4A and 4B, following p. 988, for valuable graphics comparing this plan with Giuliano's palace designs for the king of Naples (1488) and Florence (via Laura, after 1513), and with three other Renaissance Roman palaces (Palazzo Venezia, the Cancelleria, and Palazzo Farnese). For the via Laura project specifically, see ELAM 1978; FROMMEL 2017, pp. 369–371, and nn. p. 376 f. However, Miarelli Mariani's evidence does not fully support his conclusion regarding Giuliano's Medici palace's scale (p. 986): "[...] il palazzo per Leone X è il maggiore dei quattro considerati nella fig. 4b ma non è certamente fuori scala rispetto agli altri."

Two reconstructions, by Gaetano Miarelli Mariani and Vitale Zanchettin, mostly agree: the palace's colonnade lay on the piazza Navona's eastern edge, and the palace walls were parallel and perpendicular with the Alexandrine baths' remains.<sup>58</sup> The palace's west façade was aligned with the Studium's façade to the south, and to the north, the buildings along the via di San Salvatore were gently straightened, without changing their lengths. Neither of these previous graphic reconstructions, however, made the palace's axis line up with the Salita dei Crescenzi, as Christoph Frommel had presciently suggested that it should.<sup>59</sup> Giuliano certainly meant that to be the case, even though it caused decidedly unequal street widths to north and south.<sup>60</sup> Giuliano knew that, too: he added no extra strips of paper on the right-hand edge of his drawing, where a street of the same width should have been depicted, to match the via di San Salvatore, shown on the strips added on the left-hand edge. This and other irregularities demonstrate that the entire design was set, not by a desire to fix the palace's overall width, but by a decision to design the northern half of it, specifically, in relation to the actual, existing site conditions.

Giuliano's design was located with reference not just to the surrounding streets and buildings, but also relative to the *isola's* internal buildings, and property lines in 1513 (fig. 12). Thus, the interior walls of Giuliano's project were positioned not only (or not primarily?) with reference to abstract formulae and Vitruvian rules of proportion, but very carefully with regard to structures already there. For example, he retained the four ancient walls of San Salvatore's primary, vaulted interior space. Then, to reorder that devotional space as a Medician palatine chapel, he repositioned the altar niche, and added two subsidiary chapels in the thickened interior south wall. The new chapels would replace the two Early Christian devotional spaces that he had eliminated along the street edge.

Practicality probably was one factor in Giuliano's proposed re-use of some existing walls, and some of the ancient Roman-era walls in particular (fig. 13). But in his project, the ancient walls were not merely retained, they were celebrated. To the east, the most visually impressive ancient walls would form two sides of his rear courtyard, and the entire scheme's main axis aligned with the most impressive feature of all: the eastern wall's monumental, intact Roman arch (fig. 4).

In size and rendering, Giuliano's drawing was a document made for display, and his scheme was equally "papal" in scale and attitude: its emphasis on existing Roman architectural remains certainly would have appealed to Leo X. Yet the pope may not have hired Giuliano da Sangallo to make this design. Before his election, Leo had not shown the highest regard for the elderly architect, who instead was a favorite of Alfonsina's. Sabine Frommel has suggested that Alfonsina, as owner of the palace and Lorenzo's mother, had good reasons to hire Giuliano to design this project for Leo's consideration.<sup>61</sup> Alfonsina and Lorenzo had also lived in the palace for many years, and she continued to do so, at least during the first nine months of Leo's papacy. The project probably was not designed solely as Lorenzo's future abode, however. The palace's matching north and south entrances, and the two stairs in the east wing, do suggest that there were twin apartments upstairs, perhaps for Giuliano and Lorenzo.<sup>62</sup> Perhaps, to appeal to Leo, the palace plan was arranged to provide the spaces for a united Medici family: its leader, the new pope, represented by the forecourt and ceremonial west façade and its entrance, and the shared sala upstairs; his two male relatives and their families given equal status and mirrored living quarters with their own separate stairways and entrances in the north and south halves, and the east wing, of the main palace block; the chapel and the back garden with its service areas treated mainly as a shared domain for all.

<sup>58</sup> See MIARELLI MARIANI 1983, figs. 6 and 7, after p. 988. Unfortunately he used distorted, 1930s and Lanciani plans of Rome as his base. ZANCHETTIN 2005, fig. 37, p. 252, used a more accurate base redrawn from the Nolli map, but his tiny plan shows Giuliano's palace only in outline, and without reference to any details of the *isola's* interior. Most other authors have reproduced U 7949 A absent the site, or at a microscopic scale, often because their texts have been primarily concerned with the design's urban impact and symbolic associations: TAFURI 1984, p. 84; TAFURI 1992, fig. 12, no p. number.

<sup>59</sup> FROMMEL 1973, vol. 1, p. 18.

<sup>60</sup> The two streets are depicted on the pieces of paper added to Giuliano's U 7949 A sheets, but not with equal exactitude. Giuliano portrayed the narrow, north street (via di San Salvatore) with San Benedetto's façade wall precisely aligned with the bath walls' foundations and the Medici palace's west façade. The south street was only intimated by its corner, drawn on the Piazza Navona's added flap. The Piazza Navona's straight wall surface there was drawn slightly longer than the

similar wall on the north; both wall edges then curve, in what appears to be a diagrammatic representation of an idealized circus (ZANCHETTIN 2005, p. 252, who however does not comment on the two streets). Sabine Frommel (FROMMEL 2017, p. 95), expanding on FROMMEL 1973, vol. 1, p. 18, thought that Giuliano hoped to literally reduce Piazza Navona's size, and make a smaller, symmetrical circus in front of the Medici palace.

<sup>61</sup> FROMMEL 2014, pp. 21 and 349–351. However, in FROMMEL 2017, p. 94, she gives a different opinion: "La planimetria dell'inv. 7949 A degli Uffizi (cat. n. 6.1), in grandi dimensioni, rappresenta la dimora romana, richiesta verosimilmente da Leone X che, eletto pontefice, volle sostituire il suo domicilio, il palazzo tardo-quattrocentesco di Sinulfo di Castell'Ottieri, vescovo di Chiusi."

<sup>62</sup> FROMMEL 1973, vol. 1, p. 18, who proposed that the matching north and south (side) entries, and the two smaller stairs in the east wing, signified that Giuliano's project would have had double apartments upstairs, with the large centrally-located salone in the upstairs west

Or perhaps the architect made this drawing on his own initiative, to hustle a job with the new pope. If so, Giuliano would have needed Alfonsina's support to make the detailed on-site survey that his design so clearly required, even if he did not have her overt patronage or financial backing. Despite the emblem of Giuliano de' Medici on the drawing's verso, the plan can be read more easily as an ideal Medici family palace, rather than as the home of any specific individual.<sup>63</sup> It certainly was not meant to be a papal residence.<sup>64</sup> At any rate, Giuliano's project received no response, so far as we know – except for the next design, from the hand of Giuliano's nephew, Antonio da Sangallo the Younger.

Antonio the Younger's twin palace project,  
autumn 1513?

Antonio the Younger's Medici palace design is known from his sketches on the recto and verso of one small sheet, U 1259 A (figs. 2, 3).<sup>65</sup> He drew part of a palace plan on one side, and an urban design for the neighborhood on the other. The sketches for the palace and its urban location,

wing overlooking the Piazza Navona serving as a shared ceremonial and Medici family space. Therefore, this building was designed as a double palace, for Giuliano and Lorenzo. Frommel's proposal has been supported since 1973 by his other publications touching this question (FROMMEL 1985, p. 105, for example), by Tafuri (TAFURI 1984, pp. 85–87, and subsequently), and by Sabine Frommel (FROMMEL 2014, p. 351 and FROMMEL 2017, p. 96). Giuliano's design as a twin palace for Giuliano and Lorenzo has been questioned by ZANCHETTIN 2005, p. 252, who suggested that the palace was designed to have an explicitly papal apartment along the front (west) wing, and a second apartment suite on the back (east). Other authors have not discussed this crucial question. These questions – about the identity of the sponsor, client, and inhabitants, and the palace's program – all remain unresolved.

<sup>63</sup> For Giuliano's emblem and other drawings on the verso, see ZANCHETTIN 2005, p. 251 f. and fig. 36, p. 252.

<sup>64</sup> FROMMEL 1973, vol. 1, p. 18: "Freilich war hier nicht eine neue Residenz vorgesehen: Keines der beiden Projekte scheint auf die spezifischen Bedürfnisse des päpstlichen Zeremoniells Rücksicht zu nehmen."

<sup>65</sup> See n. 3 above for the sheet description. There is no unanimity among scholars concerning which side of the drawing is recto, and which verso, nor which side Antonio used first. Since the order in which Antonio made his sketches is not a crucial issue in my analyses, this article uses the Uffizi designations for simplicity's sake: recto for the site plan, verso for the palace plan.

<sup>66</sup> This pier detail demonstrates that Antonio never intended to draw the palace's entire plan on this sheet. After he abandoned the large corner pier – and the northeast rooms and courtyard which he had intended to sketch at that scale – he shifted his smaller, second sketch plan rightward (downward in this figure, with north at the top), so that it would occupy a position just past the middle of the sheet.

<sup>67</sup> The frame's reference to the Medici patron saints Cosma and Damiano was first correctly identified by MIARELLI MARIANI 1983, p. 979 f.,

which agree with each other, appear to have been made at the same time. Together, they reveal a coherent and disciplined set of proposals, presumably made after 1 July 1513 as an alternative to Giuliano's project.

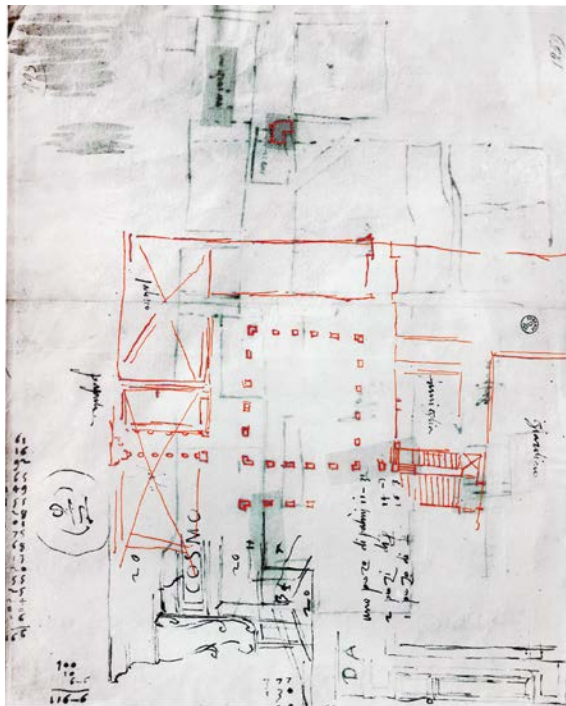
On U 1259 A verso, Antonio drew the northeast quadrant of his palace plan, rather than the total design. Although Antonio made this sketch from memory using no constant scale or guidelines, the design thinking behind the marks can be understood once the sketched lines that refer to the palace are highlighted (fig. 14). On the blank sheet, Antonio first drew the courtyard's L-shaped corner pier, very big; then, realizing that if he continued the sketch at that scale, it would barely fit on the sheet, he started over again and drew the smaller partial plan.<sup>66</sup> The palace's lines interweave with door frame designs and some notes about stone blocks, and with numbers that apparently relate to another work or works. All of those markings seem to have been added later, and to be completely divorced from the Medici palace plan.<sup>67</sup>

Antonio's partial plan can be mirrored around the implied axis set by the sala's "X," an axis which runs

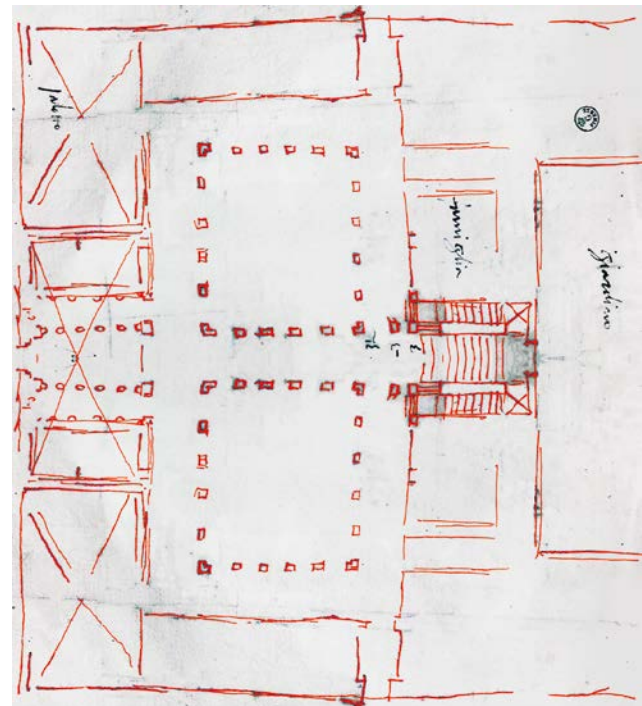
and n. 11. TAFURI 1984, p. 87, then proposed that the door design was made for the chapel at Castel Sant'Angelo, a project being built in 1514 under Antonio the Younger's supervision. Tafuri therefore dated this sheet to late 1514–early 1515, and that date has been repeated, and now gained general acceptance. Recently, the series of interventions at Castel Sant'Angelo during Leo's pontificate has been more fully revealed: SAMPERI/ZAMPA 2016, pp. 389–392, 394–398.

However, the door frame's connection with the Castel Sant'Angelo chapel seems highly improbable. The stones of the door frame between the Sala di Apollo and the chapel were installed before 10 November 1514, according to the misura-stima bill: FREY 1910, p. 35, "La porta, chentra nella camera del papa, et una, chentra in chapella nuova, di choncj ... duc. 10". Also certainly the huge door frames that Antonio sketched on U 1259 Av each marked as 20 palms wide (and thus each at least 35 palms tall), would not fit at the Castel Sant'Angelo chapel, even if most of the walls and vaulting in the sala, the vestibule, and the chapel were sacrificed: *Rilievo* 1994, plan, p. 68, fig. A.A.C.1, section, p. 90, fig. A.G.14. If the frames were meant as a pair for the exterior position where Michelangelo's double windowed façade was built during the next year or so, after Antonio had left the job site, the available wall space there is also insufficient: *Rilievo* 1994, elevation, p. 100, fig. B.P.2, section, p. 92, fig. A.G.15, showing Michelangelo's façade, which is half the size that Antonio's would have been. For Michelangelo's façade, which must postdate 10 November 1514, see ACKERMAN 1961, vol. 2, Catalogue, p. 1 f.; MUSSOLIN 2009, n. 2, p. 88 f., doubted the Castel Sant'Angelo chapel site for Sangallo's frames.

On Sangallo's sheet, the stone dimensions have the same orientation as the frame sketches, and therefore probably they refer to several rough blocks available to Antonio for the doors, and go together with them. But the longer lists of numbers – added after the frame sketches and again oriented differently from both the palace plan and the frame jottings – seem to have been added last of all, and to have no relation to the other information on this sheet.



14 Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, Medici palace plan sketch U 1259Av: palace's plan lines highlighted



15 Antonio da Sangallo the Younger's imagined twin palace project: U 1259Av cropped and mirrored around centerline

through the columned entry hall, a loggia, and the central section of the tri-partite stairway before reaching the rear “giardino,” to yield a symmetrical completed design that Gustavo Giovannoni first described.<sup>68</sup> The resultant “twin palace” plan has two square courtyards, to which some later reconstructions have added imagined additional rooms and arcades in the areas where Antonio’s sketched lines are missing.<sup>69</sup> My reconstruction (fig. 15) illustrates the project’s verifiable extent and details, and mine, like Giovannoni’s, shows only what Antonio drew. The scheme certainly would have had matching courtyards on the ground level, a central sala on the piano nobile, and presumably two equal apartment suites upstairs, on either side of the central axis, as most scholars have proposed. However, there has been

no agreement about other crucial characteristics of this twin design: its extent, its size and scale, its rear elements, its placement on the site, its date, its patron – if any – or its program, functions, or symbolic meanings.

Antonio’s twin palace plan had the same proportions, and probably the same exterior dimensions, as the rectangular footprint which defined the main block of Giuliano’s design.<sup>70</sup> So it seems that Antonio generated his twin design directly from his uncle’s project (fig. 16), not as a contemporaneous alternative but at some time after 1 July 1513, when presumably Giuliano’s already had been put aside. If this was the case, Antonio’s central axis lay in the same location, but he inserted a loggia there, splitting Giuliano’s single rectangular courtyard into two. Antonio also gath-

<sup>68</sup> GIOVANNONI 1959, vol. 1, p. 280f., and vol. 2, fig. 239, no p. number.

<sup>69</sup> TAFURI 1984, p. 87 and map, p. 84 (no fig. number); FROMMEL 1985, p. 105, and fig. 8, p. 106, republished subsequently with minor variations. TAFURI 1992, changed his reconstruction of the palace and its placement, in tav. 18, no p. number. That image has been reproduced and re-published many times since 1992. Unfortunately, Tafuri’s plan of this urban area distorts the locations and dimensions of some streets, spaces, and buildings, and depicts buildings and features from various later periods.

<sup>70</sup> Giovannoni thought that Antonio’s palace was 80 meters wide (GIOVANNONI 1959, vol. 1, pp. 278–281. He arrived at this dimension by equating the size of the piers to those in the courtyard of Palazzo Farnese; he also assumed that the palace’s width matched Giuliano’s (36 canne/360 palmi), but for the unlikely reason that the two Sangallo architects collaborated, each making a design simultaneously in spring 1513, to offer Leo a choice of schemes. Frommel and Tafuri have each proposed reconstructions making Antonio’s project much larger, so it reached the Piazza Navona or near it, and stretched all the

ered up the three, previously separate stairs and clustered them together on that axis. With what seem like minor changes, the as-yet untested, younger man had created a completely different and more contemporary, even radical, architectural proposal.

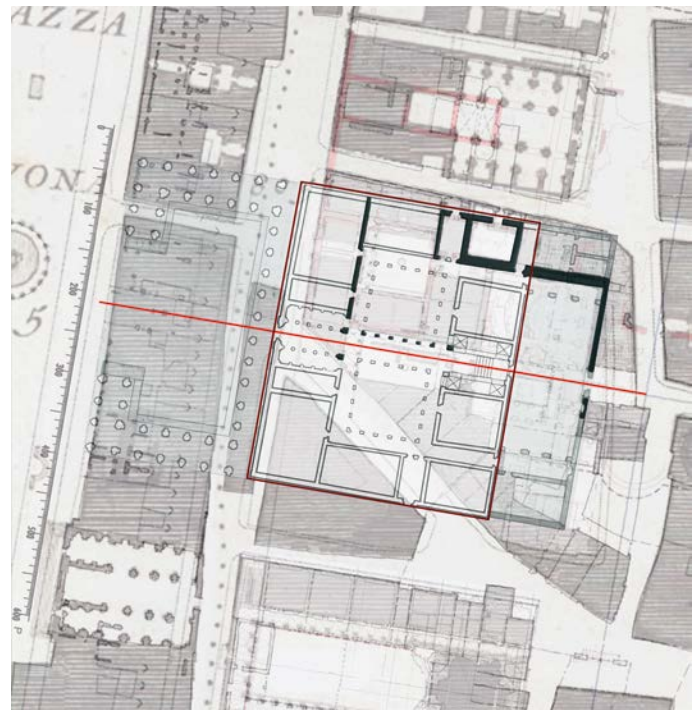
The front door now opened into a three-aisled vestibule, a more elaborate version of which was built several years later at Cardinal Farnese's palace across town (fig. 17).<sup>71</sup> The vestibule's wider central zone was continued as an open-air loggia running between the twin courtyards, and then became a wide rear hallway with a cordonnata stair going down into the back yard. Flanking, narrower side flights of stairs ascended, reuniting at a shared mezzanine landing that provided another view into the back yard. Turning again, the next, wide flight of stairs led up to the central piano-nobile loggia, open to the courtyards on either side like the one directly below it. Straight ahead was the door to the sala.

In the process of designing this series of spaces, Antonio must have been thinking about the views inside the palace and within the boundaries of the Medici-owned properties. But he also could have been imagining the vistas beyond the perimeter. For instance, he could have imagined the visitor on the stair landing, looking east through the ancient arch and down the Salita dei Crescenzi to the iconic columns of the Pantheon's portico. Likewise, someone looking up from the salita could have caught a glimpse of the palace's rear façade, where one imagines the stair landing with a tripartite window. The sequence of views along the processional path inside the palace would have culminated with a tremendous panorama seen from the sala's west-facing windows, toward the Piazza Navona and beyond, to St. Peter's.<sup>72</sup>

Although Antonio re-used his uncle's palace footprint and axis, the two designs were starkly different. Giuliano assembled boxes with Vitruvian proportions, and arranged them within a rectangular perimeter. Antonio imagined a dynamic visual axis, and moved the visitor along a scenographic route. Clearly, the architectural atmosphere had changed dramatically. The new design, and its transfer from the uncle's to the nephew's hands, also may signal a shift in

way to the alignment of the later San Luigi façade or even beyond it, at the rear (citations in previous note). MUSSOLIN 2013, p. 196, questioning those reconstructions, pointed out that Antonio's design would have been even more impractical and politically audacious than his uncle Giuliano's scheme.

<sup>71</sup> FROMMEL 2011, pp. 42–49, and the sketch design of the atrium, perhaps winter 1514–1515, U 1000 A, fig. 15, p. 43. The less elaborate and apparently earlier Medici palace vestibule design, as sketched in U 1259 Av, had no niches between the attached columns on the side walls. Antonio's vestibule design in Palazzo Farnese was constructed



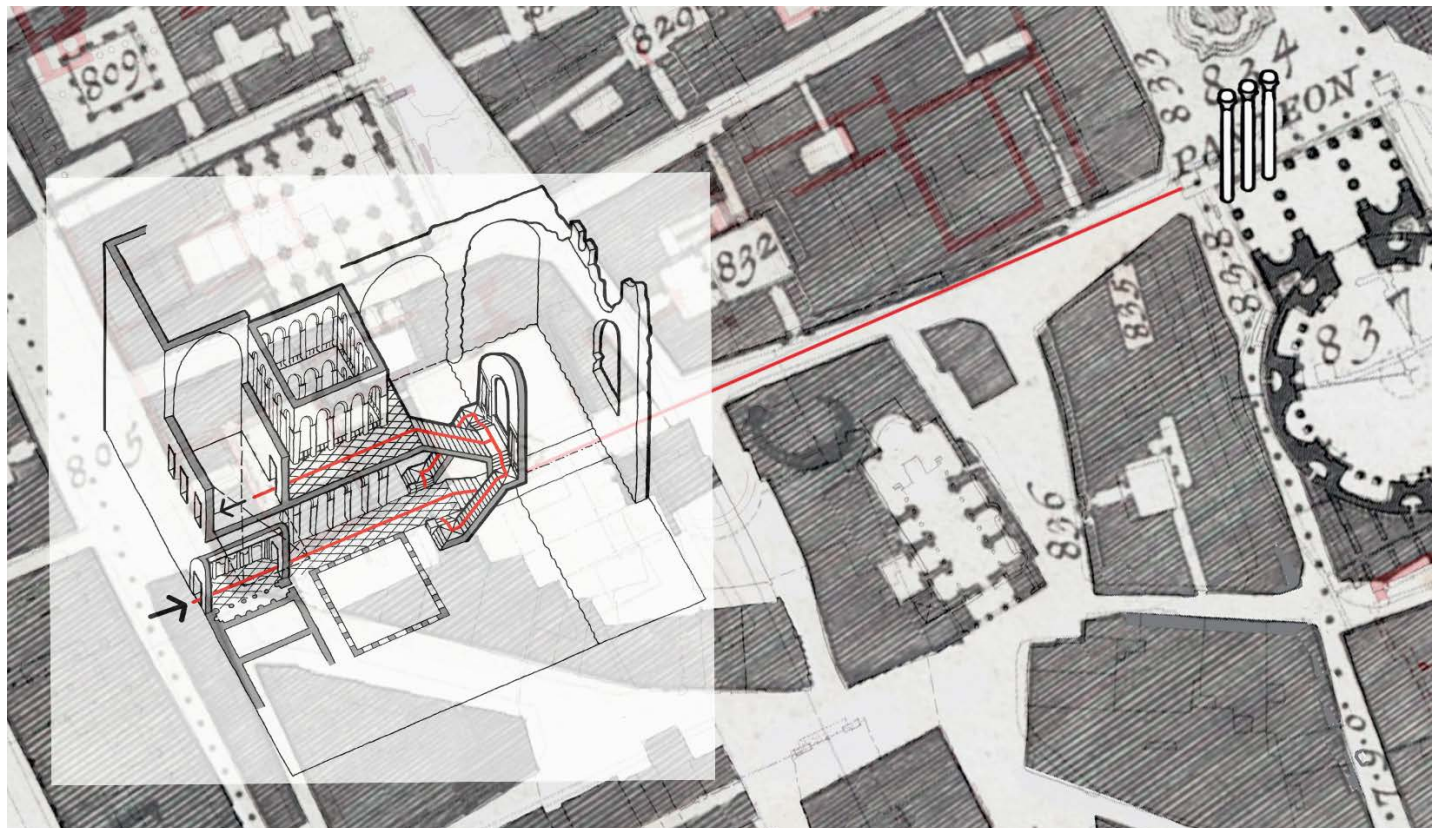
16 Antonio da Sangallo the Younger's imagined twin palace plan, redrawn with two square courtyards, on Giuliano da Sangallo's U 7949Ar plan: with same centerline and footprint, and ancient structures re-used

the palace's program, and possibly a different patron – perhaps, now, the pope.

Conditions suggest that Antonio's design was made in the autumn months of 1513, and not a year later, as most current literature presumes. Antonio's twin palace, still very much like his uncle's, perhaps was still designed to house the same two Medici men, but in even more dramatically bifurcated splendor. However, in September the pope had made his brother Giuliano a citizen of Rome, and he had sent his nephew Lorenzo to govern Florence; in that same month, Leo raised both his cousin Giulio and his nephew Innocenzo Cybo to the cardinalate. So the two halves of the palace might have been proposed for one secular and one religious resident: presumably Giuliano on one side, and

after 1516 for Leo's friend Cardinal Alessandro. This U 1259 A version, perhaps devised in the autumn of 1513 (see text below), was obviously indebted to Giuliano da Sangallo's barrel-vaulted, all'antica vestibules. The Medici vestibule's columns suggest that Antonio thought of re-using some of the granite spolia columns from the palace's two Quattrocento loggias.

<sup>72</sup> In contrast, the visitor's views eastward do not seem to have played a central role in Giuliano's palace design, U7949A: for example, although Giuliano drew the gap that signified the ancient arch on the palace's main axis, he did not draw the Salita dei Crescenzi.



17 Antonio da Sangallo the Younger's imagined twin palace design, processional elements (hypothetical reconstruction rendered by Marlene McLoughlin and author)

Giulio on the other.<sup>73</sup> Meanwhile, Alfonsina's influence with Leo was waning. In November, she wrote to Lorenzo in Florence, complaining that she was uncomfortable in the palace, and thought of living elsewhere. On 14 December 1513, she acted decisively to change the palace project's trajectory, by renting the building to Cardinal Antonio Del Monte.<sup>74</sup> Just a few months later, on 13 May 1514, Alfonsina bought a property on the *Stati isola*, making the first of three successive purchases at the future site of her Palazzo Orsini-Medici (later known as Palazzo Medici-Lante). There, she soon began her separate palace.<sup>75</sup>

Given the circumstances in autumn 1513, there was no reason for Alfonsina to pursue Antonio's twin palace design for the main Medici palace. On the other hand, no record verifies that Leo was interested in pursuing a twin

palace then, either. No written sources even hint at such a project, or whether it was active or known beyond Antonio's desktop. Its only remaining trace exists on Uffizi sheet U 1259 Av.

#### Antonio the Younger's shrunken palace project

But Antonio's plan sketch, as drawn on the Uffizi sheet, does not actually depict the full, twin palace design just described. Instead, it shows a variant of that project: a downsized design that constitutes a previously unrecognized scheme for the Medici palace (fig. 18). And although this smaller project at first glance may look radical, Antonio used orthodox procedures to create it. He took his previous twin design and literally diminished it, reducing its linear

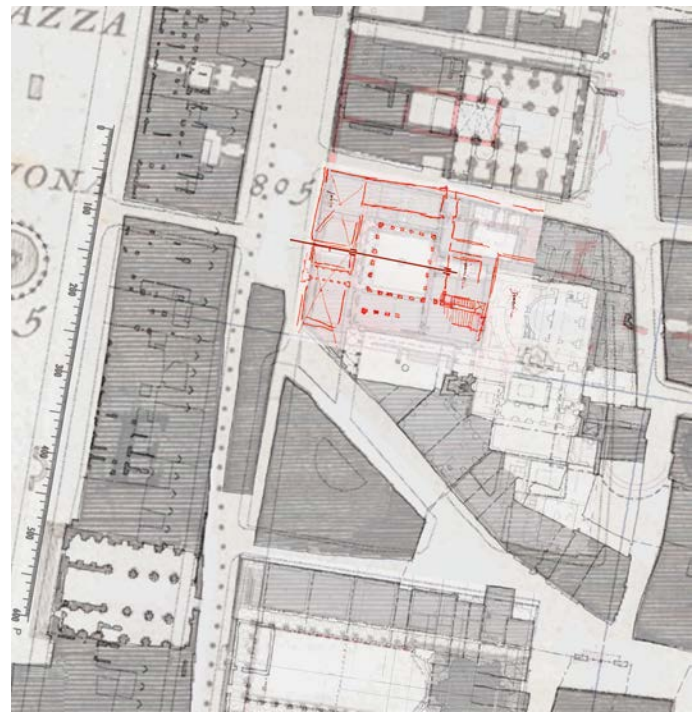
<sup>73</sup> Alternatively, Alfonsina may have been slated to stay on, in her son's half of the palace. Or one side could have been reserved for the Pope's sister Maddalena and Franceschetto Cybo, and their son, now cardinal. The Cybo family had been living in Rome since 1503, and perhaps they were residing in the palace in the autumn of 1513; Alfonsina certainly was.

<sup>74</sup> ALBERTI 1954, p. 14, but without a source. Surely the rented areas would have included the major rooms and servant areas, stables and kitchens, the entry courtyard, and the back yard, all of which would be necessary to Leo's friend and supporter, and his famiglia. Perhaps Alfonsina made this decision because she, the owner, wanted the rental income, presumably a source of funds that Leo's sister Lucrezia and her

dimensions by about twenty percent, and cutting off most of the southern rooms. Then he displaced the remaining parts, moving them diagonally northeastward on the site. With these manipulations, he was trying to salvage some of his previous design's innovative elements, even as he reduced that magnificent twin-courtyard project – which we can only imagine – to a more practical level. This reduced design squashed the remnants of his twin palace into the Medici properties as they were. The visible anomalies in his sketched plan confirm the scheme's location and size, as figure 18 demonstrates. For example, Antonio drew his supposedly square, five-by-five bay courtyard with the actual courtyard's distorted, rectangular proportions. He also drew the factual misalignment of the palace's interior corridor wall behind San Salvatore, which did not smoothly continue the surface of the ancient wall in the rear yard.

With this design – Antonio's "shrunk" scheme – he proposed to refurbish and reorganize the Quattrocento palace's west wing and entry courtyard, and he limited all completely new construction to the north wing – where the medieval houses would be replaced – and the south wing area – a low or unimproved structure at that date, probably, as explained above. Nor did Antonio bother to draw the areas that he would leave essentially untouched. He did not draw the triangular corner building or its loggia and south garden, or the Crescenzi tower. He also did not include any major changes in the east wing's rooms (designated "famiglia"), nor the details of the Medici's rear strip of land, which he labeled a "giardino" but otherwise left undesigned.

However, he did highlight the shrunken design's new main axis, stroking four tick marks to emphasize two doors – one into the room marked "famiglia" and the other directly opposite, on the wall of the west wing (highlighted in figure 18). These aligned doorways denote an axis that ran through the middle bay of the existing entrance courtyard, and when extended would mark the centerline of a new front door, itself located in the center of a newly symmetrical west façade. That façade would step out just a pace in front of the old Quattrocento wall, and extend the palace's frontage from the triangular building's corner all the



18 Antonio da Sangallo the Younger's "shrunk" Medici palace plan sketch U 1259Av, sized and located to show on the 1514 *isola*

way to the via di San Salvatore. The medieval house at the northern end of the new façade would be totally rebuilt, and the old palace's main stair would be shifted to the east wing.

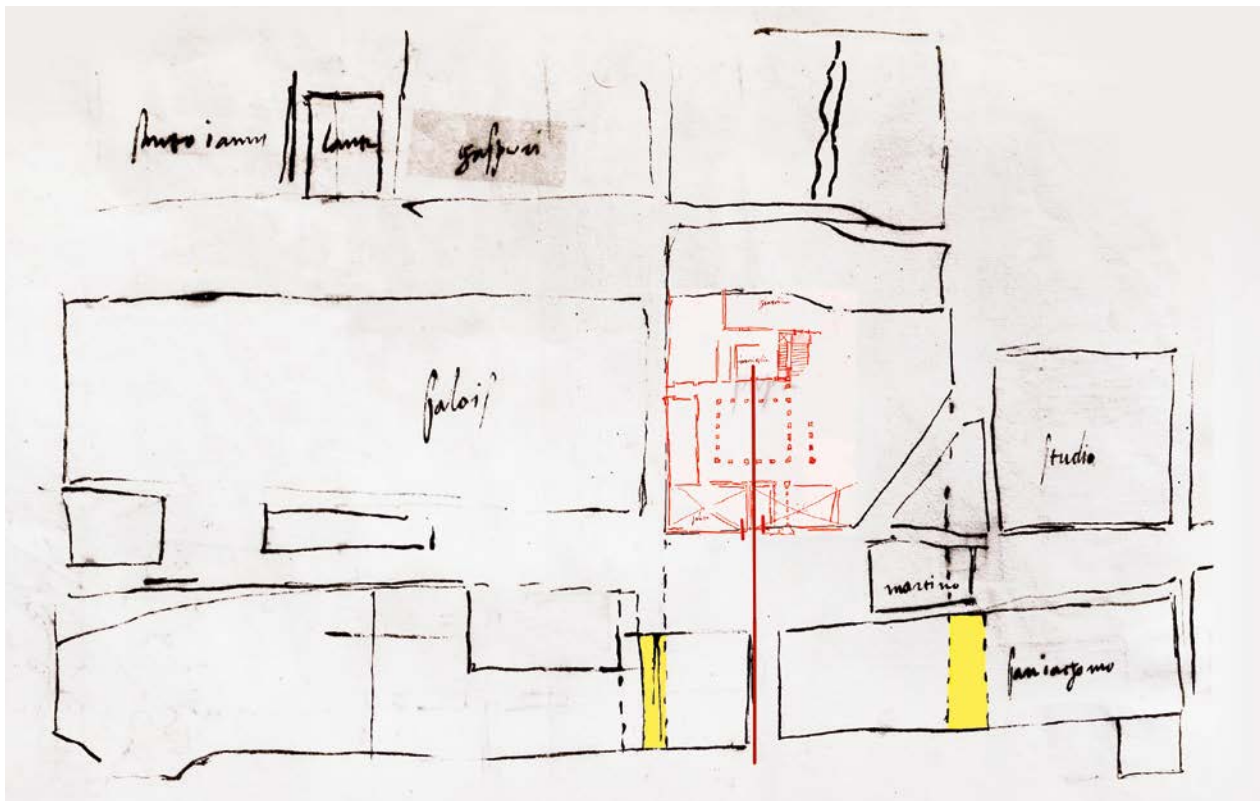
It was this shrunken design that Antonio drew in his site plan, on the back of the same sheet, flipped lengthwise (fig. 19).<sup>76</sup> On the *isola* labeled "papa," he drew the shrunken palace's façade, and marked its new, symmetrically placed front door with two tick marks. He apparently hoped to coordinate the existing street opening into Piazza Navona with his new portone, on axis with the existing palace's courtyard. The street (today's Corsia Agonale) punched through the otherwise continuous wall of shops and houses built into the Neronian seating, and it was important, as the only gap giving access into the former

Salviati family did not provide. Where Alfonsina lived after mid-December 1513 is undocumented. Cardinal Del Monte may have lived in the Medici palace for only one year, until December 1514. After that, Giuliano may have taken the major rooms, since Cardinal Giulio lived at the Vatican even after he could have transferred permanently (but did not) to the Palazzo della Cancelleria, as Vicechancellor, following Cardinal Riario's downfall, in March 1517. In midsummer 1516, after Giuliano de' Medici died, Leo's sister Maddalena and the Cybo family

moved back into the palace (ALBERTI 1954, p. 14, citing "[...] un istromento in atti Gay del 15 luglio 1516.").

<sup>75</sup> MARCUCCI/TORRESI 1982, especially pp. 39–46, and MARCUCCI/TORRESI 1983, pp. 33–42 for the original plots; FROMMEL 1973, vol. 2, pp. 224–232, and vol. 3, pp. 87–91; FROMMEL 2014, pp. 356–362.

<sup>76</sup> The recto-verso designations and timing, and their irrelevance to the arguments presented here, are explained in note 65, above.



19 Antonio da Sangallo the Younger's "shrunken" palace plan U 1259Av placed on site sketch U 1259Ar, with highlighted door markings, streets, and new centerline

stadium's interior, along almost the entire length of Piazza Navona's east side.<sup>77</sup>

Antonio drew no lines that refer to the edges or features of the two previous, immense designs, by either Giuliano or himself. As Hubertus Günther pointed out years ago, the dashed lines that Antonio drew – to the north and south of the Medici *isola* – represent two new gaps that he intended to cut through the ring of houses to the Piazza Navona.<sup>78</sup> The lines represent the extension of the two existing east-west streets – and their widening as deemed necessary, especially on the south side – to achieve Antonio's urban

design goals. They do not imply that the entire ring of houses and shops between them, enclosing the Piazza Navona, was to be deleted; nor do they denote the position of Giuliano's huge forecourt, nor the width or location of Antonio's twin palace scheme, as if it had slipped forward toward the piazza.<sup>79</sup> It is notable, too, that Antonio abandoned two site features that were crucial factors in defining the main axis in the previous schemes: the ancient arch in the back yard does not appear, and the Salita dei Crescenzi, added only as an afterthought, wiggles weakly inside its rectangular box.

<sup>77</sup> Exactly where the gap was, in 1513, remains difficult to determine, but its location did not determine the placement of Antonio's shrunken palace design. City maps and views prior to 1600 all show a street in approximately the same location as it is today. The gap between the houses was almost directly opposite the street that exited from the Piazza Navona on the other (west) side. Together, the two gaps were part of the continuous, medieval east-west circulation route described in note 14, above, and illustrated in Magnuson's late Quattrocento map, reproduced in MODIGLIANI 2014, fig. 2, p. 482. MODIGLIANI 2014, p. 498, implies that the Corsia Agonale was created in the 17th century as part of Maruscelli's Palazzo Madama work, but that street was merely realigned then, to coordinate with the palace's new doorway as it still exists today. The earlier street also appears in Bartolomeo

de' Rocchi's late Cinquecento rilievo, UA 4190, in almost exactly the same location as it is now: 350 palmi south of the piazza's curve, and 380 palmi north of the corner of San Giacomo's façade: GÜNTHER 1994a, besides illustrating de' Rocchi's drawing (fig. 13, p. 26), fully studied the conditions at Piazza Navona's curved north end, where Antonio da Sangallo the Younger opened the via Agonale for Paul III after 1535, a street already anticipated in U 1259 Ar. I thank Joseph Connors for alerting me to the need to study this condition.

<sup>78</sup> GÜNTHER 1985, p. 245, although he assumed that these two streets were hold-overs from Giuliano's project, which is another possibility. He also stated that Antonio drew the Medici *isola*'s existing boundaries on his site sketch, which is approximately true, but he did not reconcile that condition with the obviously missing twin palace plan, or with



#### Section 4 Antonio the Younger's urban design

Antonio's site plan on U 1259 Ar was a design drawing, not a mere record of existing conditions. Although at some moment Antonio and perhaps others wrote in the names of some property owners, it's unclear when that was done, or for what purpose. In any case, identifying the names and handwriting does not clarify when Antonio the Younger made the site sketch or the palace sketch that goes with it.<sup>80</sup> Because his freehand site plan was not drawn to scale, its dimensions are distorted and his sketchy ink lines are difficult to analyze. To appreciate Antonio's markings – the single, doubled, and dashed lines, and tick marks – it helps to see his sketch redrawn over an accurate neighborhood map (fig. 20). This shows that he used a “cut & fill” process to change the urban contours: he “cut” through building masses to create spaces (in bright white), and “filled” voids with new architectural solids (in black). Doing this, he dexterously molded two, spatially distinctive void systems, running parallel to each other north-south, on the front and back sides of the Medici *isola*.

Antonio proposed an urban design that was as impressive as his palace designs (fig. 21). On the west or front side of the Medici palace, he proposed a wide corridor, a “boulevard,” formed by straightening the two almost parallel streets there, and adjusting the islands of houses between them. By shearing off or extending the various buildings along the boulevard's length, he created at least two, relatively well-defined rectangular piazzas: a Piazza Medici that exactly matched the length of his shrunken Medici palace façade, and another, organized in the same manner, that emphasized the Studium's west front.<sup>81</sup>

On the eastern or back side of the Medici *isola*, Antonio designed what could be called an avenue. He regularized this avenue's area from the via Recta at the north end to an enormous new piazza for the university, to the south. Initially, Antonio drew the avenue at a constant width, albeit

with an S-curve in it. Then he reconsidered and added more lines, reducing the curved part to a quite slender, curving street at the back of the Medici *isola*. This change helps to establish the likeliest date for Antonio's site sketch, and for the shrunken palace sketch on the other side of the U 1259 A sheet: March 1515, more than eighteen months after Giuliano's project was completed, and as much as a year after Antonio had developed his own, twin palace design.

Antonio's design ideas could have been developing in the winter of 1514/1515, or sooner. By then, the need to fix up the palace had become pressing. Giuliano de' Medici had become engaged to Filiberta, the aunt of Francis I, crowned king of France on 1 January 1515. Antonio's shrunken palace design could adequately and quickly house the newlyweds, who were married in late February, and strengthen the developing Medici-French entente. As part of this project, Giuliano, with the acquiescence of his nephew Lorenzo, must have decided to expand the Medici palace and grounds even further, to accommodate his bride and expected family. To do so, he began negotiations to gain control over more properties, with his eye especially on Bonifazio da Narnia's domain (see plan, fig. 6). That land with small buildings lay between the Medici's rear garden area and the street behind it (today's via della Dogana Vecchia), exactly where Antonio's site plan shows both a wide and a narrow solution along the S-curve. First, however, Giuliano apparently needed more leverage over Bonifazio, which he could obtain by controlling the adjacent property of Onofrio de' Bossi, further south. The agreement to purchase De' Bossi's house, and to take over his *enfiteusi* land rental, was finalized by Giuliano (and Lorenzo) on 23 May 1515.<sup>82</sup> The successfully concluded sale put Medici owners on two sides of Bonifazio da Narnia's property, giving them the right to force him to sell. Bonifazio's property was the real prize, because it included most of the open land east of the Medici palace abutting the French hospice; apparently it also included the ancient arch and access to the street beyond it. In fact, Giuliano reached a preliminary verbal

Antonio's main purpose for the site sketch: making a coherent urban design that accompanies a much-reduced palace façade.

<sup>79</sup> First suggested by Christoph Frommel, in FROMMEL 1973, vol. 1, p. 18.

<sup>80</sup> MIARELLI MARIANI 1983, p. 978, n. 6: “Tutte le scritte sono di Antonio il Giovane, ad eccezione della parola ‘studio’ che è di G. Battista.” FROMMEL 2014, p. 349; FROMMEL 2017, p. 95, agreeing with previous analysts who have read the word on the *isola* where the new French church dedicated to San Luigi would be built as “valois” or “Valois,” not “S. alois” or “Sa Lois”, the alternatives. The other owner's names are: “Santo ianni, Lante, gaspari, papa, Studio, martino, San iagomo.”

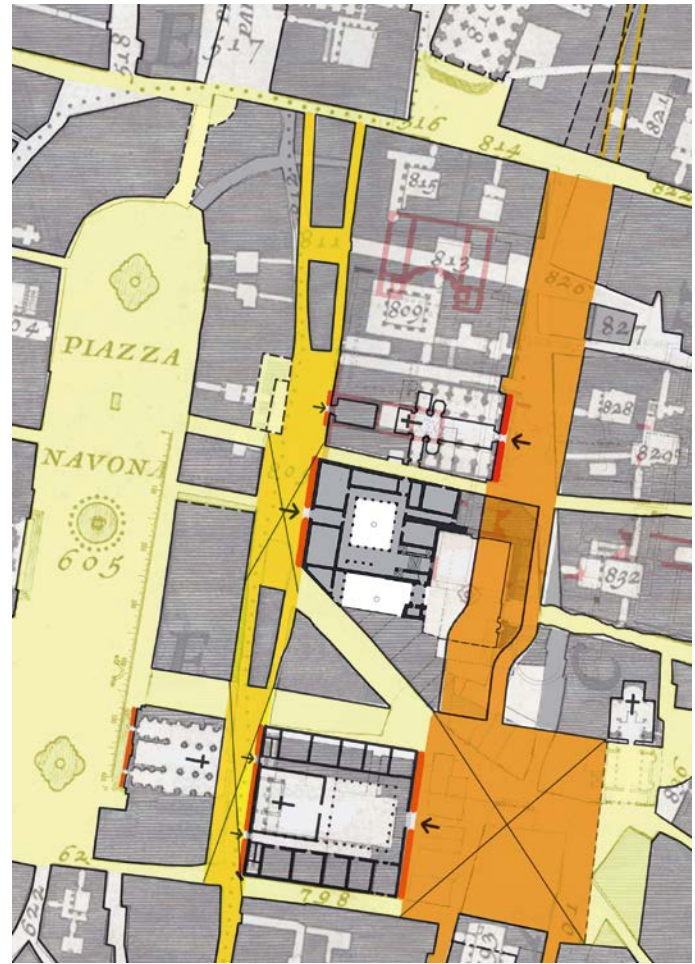
<sup>81</sup> FROMMEL 1985, p. 105, saw the piazza in front of the Studium building, and another one at San Benedetto. That space, however, does not seem quite so explicit as the other two. The area presented difficulties

because the western edge of the boulevard did not fall easily along a straight line, south to north. Antonio seems to have drawn several lines – partial, dashed, and regular – describing more than one potential solution: for example, he was tempted to slice off more of the house fronts along the west side of the street to make that surface continuously straight from San Giacomo to the via Recta. Then he apparently decided that making a piazza in front of San Benedetto, by cutting back the houses only there, would be a better way to mask the boulevard's irregularities.

<sup>82</sup> See Appendix 1, item 13. The land was held in perpetuity by the canons of Sant'Eustachio, and rented to Onofrio de' Bossi for 18 ducats per year. The contract sold the land rental to the Medici, along with Onofrio's house on that land for the separate sum of 700 ducats.



20 Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, site sketch U 1259Ar redrawn to scale, with areas of “cut” (white) and “fill” (black).



21 Antonio da Sangallo the Younger's site design with “shrunk” palace design, March 1515: west boulevard (bright yellow) and east avenue (orange), with piazzas, façades, and entrances

agreement with Bonifazio, but he did not live long enough to confirm it. Instead, it was Lorenzo who finalized that purchase on 19 May 1516, just weeks after Giuliano died.<sup>83</sup>

With the addition of those two properties, the Medici gained control of the rear swath of land, and with it the entire northern half of the *isola* except for the French hospice

and San Salvatore. Although the Bonifazio sale was delayed until spring 1516, these ongoing negotiations to expand the Medici's holdings must have been shared with Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, as his shrunk palace design was developed a year earlier. Other events also connect Antonio's site sketch to the same winter months of 1514–1515, when

<sup>83</sup> See Appendix 1, item 14. The sale required the involvement of the Maestri di Strade, who were called in to assess the property's value after a dispute arose regarding the verbal agreement made between Bonifazio da Narni and Giuliano de' Medici before his death. That agreement was explicitly recalled this way: “[...] Juliano de Medicis [...] domunculas at aream pro ut per eorum *diffinitivam sententiam* [emphasis added] illam eidem quondam magnifico et illustrissimo domino Juliano vendi mandaverunt pro pretio mille et quingentorum ducatorum [...]” The contract also specifically cites Sixtus IV's law, which allowed adjacent property owners (by this time, Lorenzo de'

Medici alone) to force a sale under certain circumstances of sufficient boundaries and for the purposes of enlarging a building. The price seems to have been reduced from the 1,500 ducats arranged by Giuliano to a final price of 1,400 ducats. After receiving the 1,400 ducats, in the contract Bonifazio declares himself content and paid, and says that if it turns out later that the houses and the area are worth more, he donates the additional worth to Lorenzo, for the love and affection he feels for him. ALBERTI 1954, p. 13, cited the correct notarial document by Amanni for the Bonifazio sale, but confused the property description. FROMMEL 1973, vol. 1, p. 18, n. 33, and vol. 2, p. 227,

changes were being made at the two nearby projects so important to Leo X: the Studium Urbis to the south, and the French national church of San Luigi to the north.

In 1503, Cardinal Giovanni happened to settle himself and his family right next door to the Studium. After he was elected to the papacy, Leo demonstrated his strong support for the Roman university, a support both forceful and genuine to his interests, and in contrast to the behaviors of his immediate predecessors. By 1515, Leo X had already made some far-reaching decisions that brought the Studium into his orbit, and shook it loose from its previous entanglements with administrators at Sant'Eustachio, and from the Spanish at San Giacomo degli Spagnoli.<sup>84</sup>

The first purpose-built elements of the Roman university's palace were begun in 1497 under Pope Alexander VI, perhaps with the design advice of his papal architect, Antonio da Sangallo the Elder. By 1500, the building's basic massing along the west and south sides had been established. The new parts included a stair in the southwest corner, four big rooms (two at ground level and two upstairs) which were next to the stair and formed the first part of a south classroom wing, some loggias in the west courtyard, and a main western entrance across the street from the Spanish church. Under Pius III and Julius II the south wing was being extended, with two more ground level classrooms underway (see fig. 6).

Leo demonstrated his commitment to the university with his first *bolla* (5 November 1513) which reformed the institution and vastly improved and enlarged the professoriate, but he only broadcast his interest in the university's physical fabric with his second *bolla*, dated 20 September 1514. In it, he decreed a new religious space there, a chapel – dedicated to Saints Leo and Fortunatus, and controlled administratively by the Medici family who held the “ius patronatus” in perpetuity. The chapel would operate temporarily in an old schoolroom on the west side of the *isola*, to the left of Alexander's entrance, and it would immediately brand the university as a Medici institution.

Although the architectural design for the Medicean papal university was not yet fully developed in late summer 1514, Leo already had sponsored some construction, which was well underway by early 1515. He had begun to rebuild parts of Alexander VI's Studium structure, starting with the stair and the structure that housed it on the southwest corner of the *isola*. Quickly, Leo hung his huge marble coat-of-arms there, and that corner became known as “il cantonato di Papa Leone.”<sup>85</sup> This Leonine advertisement was just up the street from the Medici palace's west façade and front door, and the work at the university palace certainly was seen as an opportunity to link the two buildings thematically along the western boulevard. As that university work was underway, however, the idea arose to reverse the Studium building's orientation, and turn its front and main entrance east, to face an enormous new piazza. As Antonio the Younger's site sketch shows, by spring 1515 the Studium scheme had a square footprint, achieved by demolishing all of the medieval houses and shops on the east end of the Studium *isola* at the Piazza della Dogana. Presumably, the university's new chapel would rise in Alexander VI's courtyard, as shown in fig. 21. Antonio's sketch shows this new arrangement, but only in embryo, because the eastern end of the building and the façade's precise architectural forms were not yet decided.<sup>86</sup>

Meanwhile, the French community was reviewing its building options, too. Until November 1514, they had planned to use their medieval church of San Benedetto as the entrance for an enlarged national church, which would make their building face west like the Studium and the Medici palace. But two months later, the congregation voted to turn their new San Luigi church to face east, onto Piazza Saponara (today's Piazza San Luigi dei Francesi). To do that, a block of medieval houses in front of the desired entrance were demolished.<sup>87</sup> Antonio's site plan shows the shifting urban situation, with a potential piazza in front of San Benedetto, as well as the proposed alignment of a San Luigi façade facing onto his eastern avenue as it passed through the former Piazza Saponara.

n. 41, for the Bonifazio purchase's mention of the Maestri di Strade, required under expropriation laws instituted by Sixtus IV, and the fact that this signaled Lorenzo's intentions to expand their palace on the back side. However, Frommel did not detect Giuliano's earlier role in the strategy, and therefore dated the idea to 1516–1517.

<sup>84</sup> For Leo's importance as the university's benefactor and champion, see RENAZZI 1804, pp. 1–93; FROVA 2016. New information about the Studium palace and site, as presented in this text, comes from an ongoing collaboration with Martin Raspe, as yet unpublished. For prior architectural histories of the Studium's Medici years, there remain THELEN 1961; BEDON 1991, pp. 23–32.

<sup>85</sup> The stemma appears in Giannini's engraving, published as Plate VII in the *Opera* (BORROMINI 1720), hanging in the courtyard, where it was

moved by Borromini's workmen in April 1660. ASR, Università 115, p. 399f.: “Per haver fatto il ponte, e levato d'opera l'arme di marmo di Papa Leone X che era nella cantonata verso S. Andrea [della Valle] e fatti il ponte, e rimesso in'opra sopra l'arcone in mezzo al porticale incontro al mezzo del teatro alt. p. 9 Ion. p. 5 [...]”

<sup>86</sup> See note 84, above.

<sup>87</sup> ROBERTO 2005, especially pp. 9–36, with emphasis on the strong ties between the Medici and Santa Maria in cella Farfa even before the activities supported and undertaken by Leo and Cardinal Giulio. Most of the houses were taken down in 1517, and Leo ceded that land to the French on 12 August 1518. The first stone for the new façade's foundation was blessed by Cardinal Giulio on 1 September 1518.

On his site sketch, Antonio drew nothing that was begun after March 1515, and he left out other future, fluid conditions. For example, the space in front of San Luigi's planned façade on Piazza Saponara lacks the "tempietto," which may have been partially built in late spring 1515, but was almost immediately torn down.<sup>88</sup> Also missing is Alfonsina's Palazzo Medici-Lante. Already in 1514, Alfonsina had purchased two of the three properties, shown in figure 21, which would form the parcel where she intended to build her palace, south of the Stati properties that then sat in the proposed piazza for the Studium Urbis. But she did not buy the final, third property there until 26 April 1515.<sup>89</sup> To design the palace, she apparently hired her favored architect, Giuliano da Sangallo, and construction may have begun immediately, although Giuliano left for Florence that summer. Finally, at the top edge of his drawing, Antonio also did not draw the future street (today's via della Scrofa) which would connect the via Leonina with the Medici precinct at the center of the Campo Marzio.

### Section 5 Assessments and conclusions

The project for a Medici family palace in Rome was initiated during the euphoria following Cardinal Giovanni's election, but scarcely two years later, a comparison of the three designs by Giuliano and Antonio the Younger shows how the proposed work had become much more circumscribed in extent and ideology (fig. 22). Apparently, limits imposed by dwindling papal wealth, Leo's eroding political power, and some intra-familial squabbling, had diminished the palace's projected size and hence its architectural dominance in the urban fabric. But each Sangallo scheme had led to the next, and then the next, in such a way that a credible storyline emerges.

Giuliano's original scheme to satisfy the pope and his relatives was an attempt, probably with Alfonsina's backing, to create an image of Medici power and a unified family. But the scheme was impossibly grandiose, and it may

have been abandoned soon after 1 July 1513. Antonio's twin scheme apparently followed a similar program, continuing the palace footprint and its western façade's position, but Antonio proposed some important variations. He jettisoned the huge forecourt and thus reinstated the Piazza Lombarda and the north-south traffic artery which ran in front of the palace façade. The twin design gestured toward Piazza Navona, rather than expropriating it. Yet despite the more buildable dimensions of the fabric's remaining parts, the palace scheme was scarcely more practicable than Giuliano's in scale or extent, cost or image.

It seems likely that neither of these schemes was ever pushed beyond the preliminary stage, and that neither of them remained in force after January 1514, if that long. Nevertheless, Giuliano's huge drawing apparently had done one of its jobs, by getting the pope's attention. Perhaps Leo asked Antonio the Younger to draw up a revised scheme as early as the autumn months of 1513, with a more overt program to divide the palace into two halves, as a salve for family tensions.<sup>90</sup> Or, beginning then or in the months thereafter, Antonio may have developed his twin scheme in private, as an architectural exercise that naturally arose during his contemporaneous earliest studies for Cardinal Alessandro Farnese's double palace, a design with two equal, separate residential quarters and stairs, front and back, but with a shared central courtyard.

In stark contrast to the first two designs, Antonio's shrunken proposal was a manageable but still impressive project, with significant advantages a year later, during the winter of 1514/1515. Instead of an overbearing design inappropriate to Leo's political situation, the smaller Medici palace would have portrayed the Florentine papal family as good citizens of Rome, relatively accommodating of their neighbors and locale, including as it did Leo's library, still open to the public and just steps away from the university. And even though its intended occupant, Giuliano de' Medici, died the following year, we know that Lorenzo intended to continue the palace project, with some sort of building which extended into the back yards. This suggests that despite the pope's and his family's mounting problems,

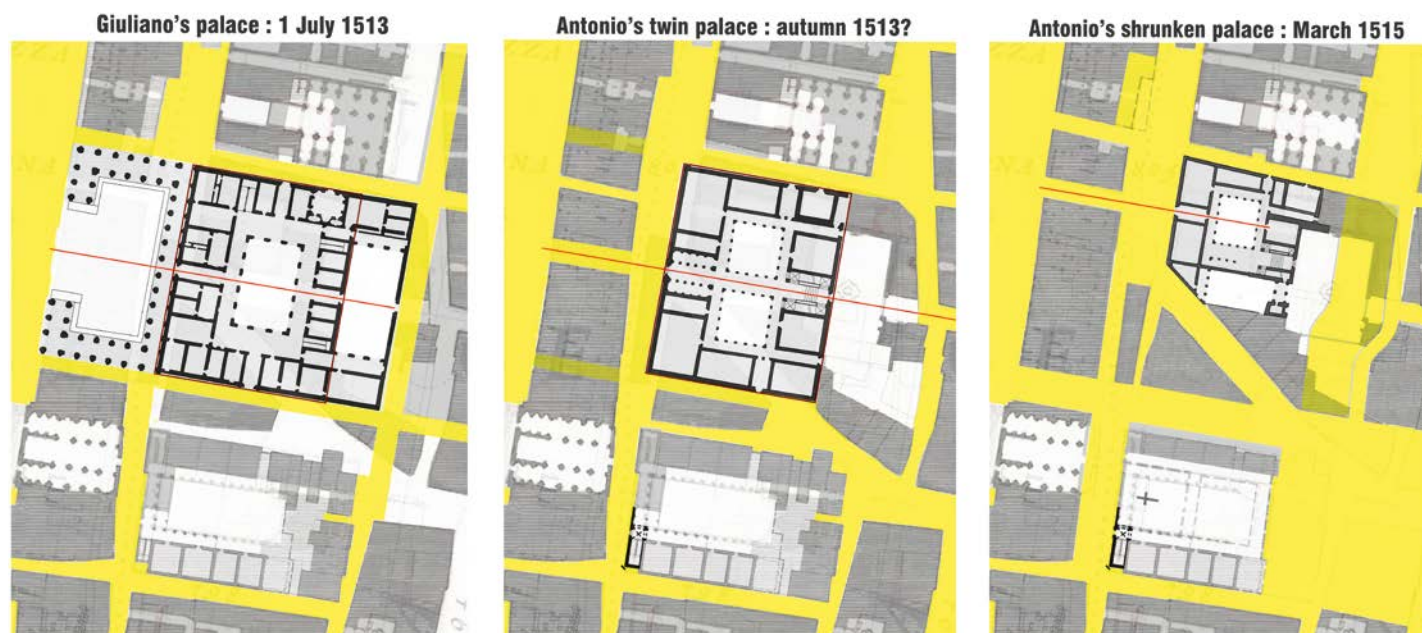
<sup>88</sup> ROBERTO 2005, pp. 36–41. Dated after 1515 by FROMMEL 1973, vol. 1, p. 18.

<sup>89</sup> MARCUCCI/TORRESI 1982, especially pp. 40–46, and fig. 2, p. 41, and MARCUCCI/TORRESI 1983, notes 7–27, pp. 34–36.

<sup>90</sup> TAFURI (1992) 2006, n. 34, p. 315, for some of the reasons that a double palace for Giuliano and Lorenzo was a questionable program for Antonio's design, certainly by 1515 if not before. TOMAS 2003, pp. 124–140, presents a detailed view of Medici family dynamics during this period. Giuliano and Lorenzo were not friendly: Giuliano had allies in the pope's two sisters, Lucrezia Salviati and Contessina Ridolfi

and their spouses; Lorenzo's group included Alfonsina and his sister Clarice de' Medici Strozzi, Cardinal Giulio, and Maddalena Cybo, the pope's other sister, and her family. All of these family members tried to remain close to Leo in Rome during the years 1513–1515, as they jockeyed for power and papal favors. See MENICUCCI 2013, pp. 142–151, for the Florentine situation, during those same years.

<sup>91</sup> In his U 1259 Av palace sketch, Antonio drew angled lines that show the diagonal end wall of the southwest corner, suggesting that the plan would have extended all the way to that street edge. Presumably, the triangular corner building would have had additional floors added to it.



22 The three Sangallo palace designs, 1513–1515

hopes may have remained alive for a more coherent and complete Medici palace, within the boundaries of the Medici properties assembled by 1516. If we pursue the situation's opportunities, and push Antonio the Younger's design sketches to their next iteration, a fully developed shrunken palace can be imagined, once again boasting a pair of matching courtyards (fig. 23).

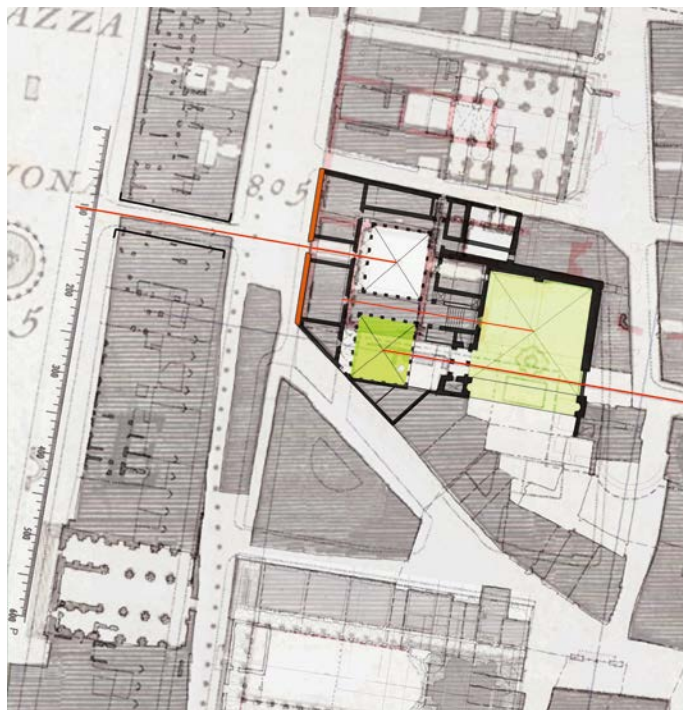
The architect could have planned to revive many of the innovative features of his twin design (fig. 17), in a completed shrunken project. In such a design, the south garden's loggia would have gained a fifth bay, making that garden into a courtyard exactly the same size as the entrance cortile with its five-bay loggia.<sup>91</sup> The twin design's axial, stacked porticoes that ran between the twin courtyards could have been built in the south wing, whose functions could be transferred into the new rooms in the north wing. And the thrilling, tri-partite stair would have occupied the center of an east garden façade, facing into a larger, approximately square giardino there, while the stair's narrow, southern flight could connect seamlessly on the upper levels with the bridge to the Crescenzi tower. The ancient Roman arch in the east garden would have been on axis with the southwest courtyard's new centerline. The axial view would have been

open and continuous from that courtyard, under the Crescenzi tower's bridge, all the way to the Pantheon's portico. Thus, the original line of symmetry for both of the first two Sangallo palace schemes would have regained its status and impact.

An image of such a scheme exists in Étienne (Stefano) Du Pérac's 1577 map of Rome (fig. 24).<sup>92</sup> His map views the palace from the northeast, showing a shrunken project with side-by-side, matching square courtyards, as described in the previous paragraph. In this imaginary design, Du Pérac emphasized the ancient arch in the Medici's garden by exaggerating its scale. He also depicted its matching, imagined ancient arch, spanning the Salita dei Crescenzi as it runs down to the Pantheon's piazza. Did Du Pérac know the Sangallo schemes of the 1513–1515 era, perhaps even including Antonio's shrunken project? Had Antonio himself designed such a completed shrunken scheme (fig. 23), or did Du Pérac invent it? Sebastiano Roberto has recently detailed the many strong links among the Medici and the French circle of artists, architects, and patrons during the 1570s, and Du Pérac, who had drawn the projects of Michelangelo and Pirro Ligorio. In 1574, Du Pérac was even working on the Medici *isola* for San Luigi's rectors, restoring the inte-

<sup>92</sup> DU PÉRAC/LAFRÉRY (1577) 1908, pp. 5f., and folded map at back of volume, reproducing the only extant first print copy, in the British

Library map collection, now item 077240. Reproduced in *Le piante di Roma* 1962, vol. 2, tav. 250.



23 Hypothetical design, completing Antonio da Sangallo the Younger's "shrunk" palace with changes to the south garden area



24 Étienne (Stefano) Du Pérac, detail of the Medici palace with two courtyards, map of Rome 1577, engraving. London, British Library, inv. Maps 23805.(8) (photo The British Library)

rior of San Salvatore.<sup>93</sup> Although the erudite French architect/artist/engraver's sources of information about the Medici palace designs are unknown, this 1577 image opens the possibility that Antonio's shrunk project – partial, or completed – may have been more serious and more widely known in 1515, and more enduring after that date, than has previously been supposed.

During the one hundred years after 1515, it seems that the south wing of the palace was improved, but we have only hints for whatever architectural changes were made there or elsewhere in the palace. Finally, in the seventeenth century, major parts of the old Quattrocento palace and its adjacent buildings were rebuilt for Duke Ferdinando de' Medici. Beginning in the late 1630s, Maruscelli and others designed and built an enlarged Palazzo Medici, giving it a new stair, a new north wing, and a new façade. Ironically, the Baroque

architects who made those changes were following the basic strategies of Antonio's shrunk scheme with its one courtyard, but apparently without knowing it.<sup>94</sup>

If Antonio saw his shrunk palace project as a defeat, he nevertheless turned it to his advantage urbanistically (fig. 21). On the west side of the *isola*, both of Antonio's designs retained the existing streets running north-south in front of the palace, by eliminating Giuliano's portico and leaving intact the monolithic ring of buildings that encircled Piazza Navona. While his twin scheme, like his uncle's, had pushed the Medici palace's west façade forward almost thirty palms, to align it with the Studium's façade, his shrunk design was less aggressive: it moved the frontage forward only far enough to step beyond San Benedetto's surface, to make the palace's northwest corner more prominent when seen from the north. Visually, the smaller palace

<sup>93</sup> For Du Pérac's career and his connections to the Medici and the French, see DU PÉRAC/LAFRÉRY (1577) 1908, pp. 8–11. ROBERTO 2012, pp. 37–41, suggests a memory in some manner of Giuliano's 1513 palace project, as filtered down to Catherine de' Medici (p. 39). But Du Pérac drew neither Giuliano's nor Antonio's large projects. Instead, he slightly simplified Antonio's completed, shrunk scheme: the two square courtyards are shown surrounded by the *isola's* small houses on

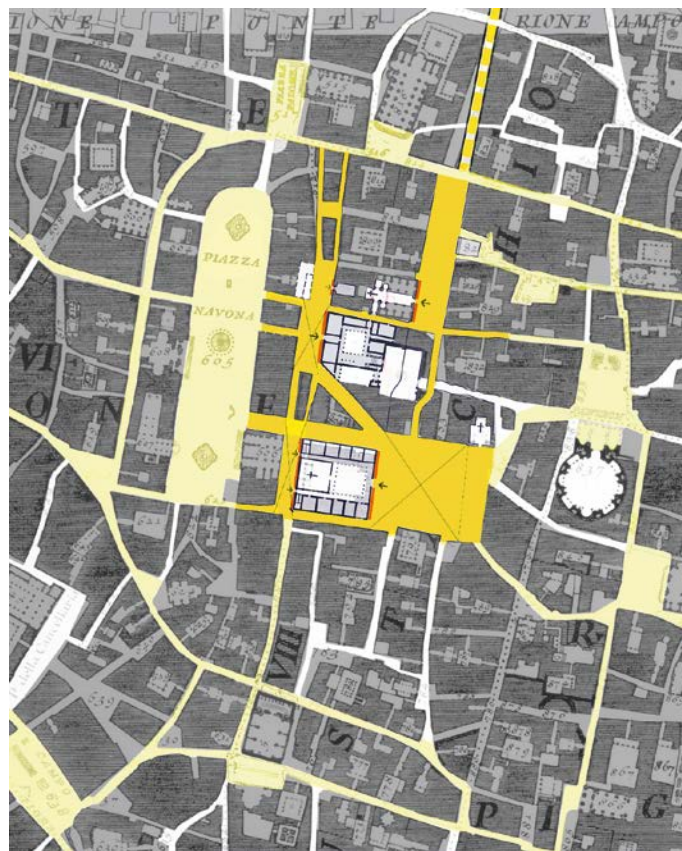
the east and south edges, and the Jacovacci and Martino blocks are intact. See also FUMAGALLI 2005, pp. 59–61, for several letters of 1637 exchanging ideas for building a larger or double palace, considered before the Maruscelli work was begun later that year. However, such a design would have created the other palace with frontage on the eastern edge of the *isola*, mostly including the Medici's eastern yard and street properties there – or even jumping across the *via della Dogana*

still would have been connected to Piazza Navona by its substantial mass and height, and it still would have been paired with the university's western front. Antonio wanted to reshape the narrow street between the Jacovacci *isola* and the "martino" island into an S-curved passageway, to smooth the link between the university and palace façades.

Despite the two curving streets in his site plan, Antonio generally adhered to Renaissance urban design principles that called for uniform, rectilinear, symmetrical building façades and wide, continuous streets. However, instead of designing individual linear streets starting at one monument and arriving at another, in Julius II's Roman manner, Antonio devised a more extensive and continuous grid, in the Florentine tradition (fig. 25). The strategy was particularly suited to this area of the Campo Marzio, whose ancient remains had already indelibly imprinted it with an orthogonal framework. Antonio's urban design also served a symbolic purpose: his network of varied spaces and structures was united with visible ancient monuments, which spread a Medici political message outward into the neighborhood, and beyond.

Across town, Antonio also had a contemporary model for his western boulevard (fig. 26): the via Alessandrina (approximately, the northern artery in today's via della Conciliazione). Begun by Alexander VI, the new street ran not quite parallel with the medieval road to the south, and between the two was a spina, whose islands of housing, palaces, and churches were separated by open piazzas. Antonio knew that ongoing project very well: starting in the mid-1490s, his other uncle and namesake, Antonio da Sangallo the Elder, had been Alexander VI's primary advisor for the design. In the spring of 1514, Leo X had revived the project, and during 1515 Giuliano da Sangallo was being paid regularly for work there, overseeing the street's construction and further development. Leo had even given the Sangallo family a valuable plot of land on one of the crossing streets.<sup>95</sup>

The more puzzling question about Antonio's urban design sketch concerns the missing street, the via della Scrofa.



25 Antonio da Sangallo the Younger's palace and urban designs as shown in his U 1259A $r$  and  $v$  sketches, in the neighborhood in spring 1515

As completed decades later with the via della Scrofa continuing the via Leonina, the thoroughfare cleaves the city fabric, flying arrow-straight from the Porta del Popolo southward to the central Medici hub. This description, however, may misrepresent the 1515 situation.

As Vitale Zanchettin made clear, the street's path is deflected at the via Recta.<sup>96</sup> Such a break, somewhere in the street's trajectory, must have been anticipated by both of the

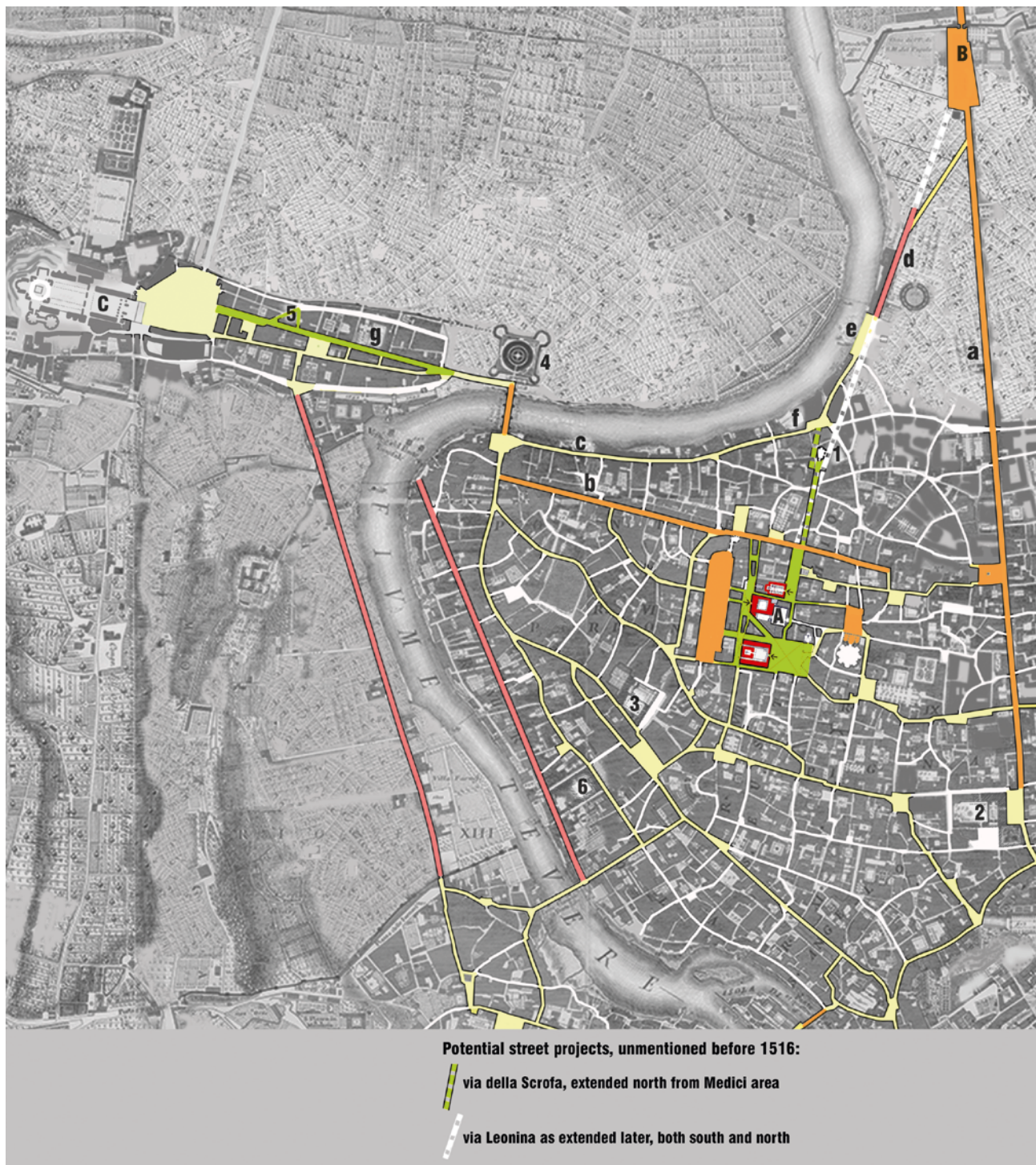
Vecchia to connect with the area of today's Palazzo Carpegna – rather than expanding to the south, as both of Antonio the Younger's schemes had proposed.

<sup>94</sup> For Maruscelli's work, see FUMAGALLI 2005, pp. 58–72; BORSI 1994; and TESI 1994, pp. 129–131 for the new stair. The old stair location, approximately where it is shown in figure 6, could not be used because it blocked the desired connection in the Baroque building between the main salone in the west wing and a desired apartment suite in the new north wing. More major changes were made by the Lorraine Medici dukes in the mid-1740s. Since 1870, the palace has been hugely expanded to house the Italian Senate. For those changes, see *L'aula di Palazzo Madama* 1992, DI BELLA 2012a, DI BELLA 2014, ROBERTO 2012, and the Palazzo del Senato website, URL:

[https://www.senato.it/3049?voce\\_sommario=15&documento=22](https://www.senato.it/3049?voce_sommario=15&documento=22) (accessed 20.06.2017).

<sup>95</sup> For the early years of that project, see BRUSCHI 2002, p. 38 f., with the via Alessandrina plan, p. 37. The Sangallo family's land was right next to Jacopo da Brescia's. For Giuliano's work at and near the via Alessandrina, FROMMEL 2014, pp. 347–349, and documents, p. 375.

<sup>96</sup> For the precise building history of the street, ZANCHETTIN 2005 supersedes all previous studies. On p. 254 f., he states: "Una volta raggiunta la via Recta, la strada [the via della Scrofa, extending the via Leonina] non poteva proseguire la linea retta, ma avrebbe dovuto piegare leggermente verso est per adattarsi alla viabilità preesistente senza modificare troppo gli isolati più a sud, [...]"



26 Map of Rome in spring 1515: Antonio da Sangallo the Younger's Medici palace and urban designs, and other places and projects\*

- |                                                                                            |                                                                                                                                                                    |                                                                                                                                                                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>A. Medici area<br/>B. Porta and Piazza del Popolo<br/>C. San Pietro and the Vatican</p> | <p><b>Streets</b><br/>a. via Lata<br/>b. via Recta<br/>c. via Sistina<br/>d. via Leonina<br/>e. Porto di Ripetta<br/>f. Piazza Nicosia<br/>g. via Alessandrina</p> | <p><b>Buildings</b><br/>1. Sant'Ivo dei Bretoni<br/>2. Palazzo Venezia<br/>3. Palazzo della Cancelleria<br/>4. Castel Sant'Angelo<br/>5. Sangallo property<br/>6. Palazzo Farnese</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><span style="display: inline-block; width: 15px; height: 10px; background-color: orange; margin-right: 5px;"></span> ancient areas, improved and active in 1513</li> <li><span style="display: inline-block; width: 15px; height: 10px; background-color: yellow; margin-right: 5px;"></span> other major urban streets and spaces in 1513</li> <li><span style="display: inline-block; width: 15px; height: 10px; background-color: red; margin-right: 5px;"></span> Julius II</li> <li><span style="display: inline-block; width: 15px; height: 10px; background-color: green; margin-right: 5px;"></span> Leo X, urban projects 1513-1515</li> <li><span style="display: inline-block; width: 15px; height: 10px; background-color: darkred; margin-right: 5px;"></span> Leo X, building projects 1513-1515</li> </ul> |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|



Sangallo architects, because clearly, if the arrow of the via Leonina had flown straight, it never could have been aimed at the Palazzo Medici itself – and it probably was not. Yet a connection between the Medici neighborhood and the via Leonina/Porta del Popolo was a necessity all along, politically and practically. The only question was how to manage it, urbanistically.

As long as the palace and other buildings faced westward, the via Leonina could not be made to link directly with the Medici center. But by 1515, Antonio (with Leo X's input, presumably) had taken a different approach. The revised urban strategy that invented the eastern avenue made a direct connection to the via Leonina possible. Meanwhile, for other reasons, the family palace had become the third and least important of the three buildings clustered in the Medici center. Each building would still represent a Medicean success story, but the buildings and especially the eastern avenue would now celebrate San Luigi and the Studium Urbis, the Popolo Romano rather than the pope's family, *détente* rather than despotism.

In March 1515, Antonio did not draw the via della Scrofa on his site plan, for the same reason that he left out some other elements: because no one had decided on the details. The exact route of the required street, where and how it would connect the eastern avenue and the via Leonina, was still unknown. In other words, where would the eastern avenue, if it extended northward on its alignment, intersect with the via Leonina, if it extended southward on its different trajectory? In the spring of 1515, Antonio may have wanted his eastern avenue to act as a forceful flow of space moving north, rather than as the crooked last stretch of a via Leonina driven south. In March 1515, his eastern avenue could have continued straight north on the alignment of the entire area of the ancient baths, as Antonio's site plan seems to recommend, and as

shown in figs. 22, 25, and 26. In that case, it could have met the via Leonina at a location north of the via Recta, either at S. Ivo dei Bretoni (as a Frenchman seems to have reported), or even at Piazza Nicosia.<sup>97</sup> Since no document states that Leo intended to open the connecting segment prior to 1517, the street's specific trajectory could not have been determined before that.<sup>98</sup>

As Antonio's sketches make clear, by spring 1515 the Palazzo Medici as a building project had become a diminished, secondary part of the pope's city center. The previous emphasis on the family home was shifted onto the immense piazza of the Studium Urbis, surely slated to be called "Piazza dell'Università." The humanist, Medici-branded university would become the physical and symbolic heart of Roma Leonina, pumping its message outward in all directions through its arterial streets: east to the Pantheon and Piazza della Minerva, west to Piazza Navona, south to the most active commercial zone and Campo de' Fiori, and of course north.

Giuliano da Sangallo's palace was designed originally as its own center in the town, and as a monument important in itself and in relation to Piazza Navona. This was still true for Antonio's west-facing twin palace. By early 1515, however, when the palace had become merely one element in this area of Medici dominance, Antonio's more nuanced urban scheme allowed Leo and Giuliano to ameliorate the Medici image through the urban improvements, the institutions, and the spaces that they still planned to create around their main palace, but not primarily for it.

Antonio's design for a reduced Medici Palace but an enlarged urban strategy matches well with the conditions of 1515. A quick glance at other Medici palace projects in Rome and Florence suggests that while Giuliano de' Medici was expecting to stay in Rome at the main palace, Alfonsina and Lorenzo temporarily shifted themselves and their focus

\* To create a background map of urban conditions relevant to the Medici palace projects of 1513–1515, the most visually prominent, later elements that appear in Nolli's 1748 map were blurred or erased, or covered up with a generic landscape pattern in areas north of the Medici palace (based on ZANCHETTIN 2005), and around Castel Sant'Angelo, the Borgo, and the Vatican. This conjectural rendering of the city's extent and its dominant infrastructures in spring 1515 therefore retains the accuracy and depth of the Nolli map's dimensions, textures, alignments, and densities, which a diagram cannot. On the other hand, except for conditions specifically discussed in this article, my decision to graphically include, excise, or modify a particular structure – street, pathway, garden, building, antiquity – was neither fully informed by, nor intended to convey, a detailed assessment of each site's specific conditions in 1515.

<sup>97</sup> ZANCHETTIN 2005, determined the post-1517 dates for the intersections of the via della Scrofa and the via Recta, and for the development of Piazza Nicosia (pp. 243–265). Both GÜNTHER 1985 (p. 246f. and n. 64) and ZANCHETTIN 2005 (p. 243 and n. 130) state that in 1518, a

French diarist reported that the street from Santa Maria del Popolo would extend [only?] to the church of Sant'Ivo dei Bretoni.

<sup>98</sup> ZANCHETTIN 2005, specifically p. 254.

to Florence, where Giuliano da Sangallo's via Laura design could proclaim Medici powers without apology. It was only when Giuliano de' Medici died in March 1516, and Lorenzo's hopes for a Roman life revived, that he may have intended to reinvigorate some building scheme at the Medici palace in Rome, with special attention to possibilities on the back of the *isola*.<sup>99</sup> Meanwhile, Alfonsina also had returned to Rome, but she did not accomplish much at any of her Roman properties. With her son Lorenzo's death in 1519, and her own less than one year later, an enlarged Medici ambit in Rome was again fatefully delayed.

After Giuliano de' Medici's death, Cardinal Giulio became Leo's main advisor. He provided a knowledgeable architectural voice, and he supported the continuation of Antonio the Younger's 1515 urban proposals, even after

the Villa Madama project was begun in 1517. For example, Cardinal Giulio laid the San Luigi façade's ceremonial cornerstone in 1518, and he also must have encouraged Leo to pursue the urban strategies that improved the via Leonina and the piazzas and connecting streets, including the via della Scrofa along its eventual path, during the five years between late 1516 and Leo's death. Despite Leo's familial, political, and financial setbacks, especially in 1516–1517, the outlines of the 1515 urban proposal on U 1259 *Ar* remained in force, and much was accomplished. Unfortunately, the Palazzo Medici in Rome, the Studium Urbis and its enormous piazza, and the beautiful boulevard and avenue, never would reach the full splendor that Antonio da Sangallo the Younger and Leo X had planned for them.

<sup>99</sup> With Lorenzo's completed purchase of Bonifazio's land in May 1516, the Medici properties completely surrounded the French hospice and San Salvatore. That situation could have been used to pressure the

French to surrender their buildings – or at least the hospice – allowing the Medici to capture the crucial northeast corner of the *isola*.

## Appendix 1 Documents for properties on and near the Medici *isola*

Unless otherwise noted, the transcriptions were made directly from archival documents, or author photographs of those documents, or online photographs (ASF, MAP documents).

Page numbers given for ASR, CNC vol. 176 (Benimbene) cite the 18th century page numbers, following PARISI 2007. In the original documents, these handwritten numbers are written to the bottom left on each recto sheet; the newer numbers, stamped in ink on the bottom right side of the sheets, are fifteen digits lower. Thus, the 1503 will of Sinulfo (item 3 below) is 1017-1018 [old numeration] and 1002-1003 [modern].

**Earliest Period: 1470s–1503**

### Document 1

Mid-1470s?: purchase of land, and construction of the house by Melchior Copis de Meckau.

Funeral oration for Cardinal Meckau (d. 3 March 1509, in Rome), 28 April 1509.

Transcription from DANIELS 2012, p. 263f.

Illam denique et solertiam et industriam et magnificentiam subtricebo, qua quidem Romę cum alia plurima et magna et ampla et intricata negocia pertractavit, tum illud in primis vir pene privatus in aliena civitate, tametsi Roma communis est omnium patria, procul tamen a genitali solo, exiguis opibus pulcherrimas illas in Alexandrinis thermis ędes maximis sumptibus ędificatas, velut memoratu dignissimum posteritati monumentum reliquit. Illas, inquam, ędes, quas nuper Johannes Medicus, integerrimus ac humanissimus pater, et sibi et bonis viris suisque presentibus et posteris pulcherrime comparavit.

### Document 2

Ca. 1487?: sale of the house by Melchior Copis de Meckau to Sinulfo di Castel'Ottiero, for his two brothers, Sigismondo and Guidone.

Document unrecorded and lost.

### Document 3

1503, 14 January: the house and property itself, including all changes made, inherited by Guidone di Castel'Ottiero and the two sons of his deceased brother Sigismondo, from Sinulfo.

Will of Sinulfo di Castell'Ottiero, then Bishop of Chiusi (d. 14 January 1503).

ASR, CNC vol. 176 (Benimbene), cc. 1017r–1018r.

Cited in ALBERTI 1954, p. 9; FUMAGALLI 2005, p. 41; PARISI 2007, p. 250; AIT 2014, pp. 303–304.

Transcription, Sara Bova.

[1017v] Sinulfo left to “[...] Magnifico domino Guidoni suo dilectissimo germano et nepotibus omnia melioramenta et augmenta ac additamenta in aedibus habitationis suae per eum facta quas aedes confessus fuit et in verbo veritatis recognovit emptas et comparatas fuisse per dominos Guidonem et quondam Sigismundum, eius germanos fratres, et de eorum proprio et communi patrimonio, pro praetio quinque milium ducatorum auri papalem [...]”

**Medici Period: 1503–1521**

### Document 4

1503, 29 April: rental of the palace by Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici from Guidone.

Rental document lost.

Cited in AIT 2014, p. 303, n. 20: “Il contratto di affitto, rogato dal Benimbene in data 29 aprile 1503, purtroppo manca fra le imbreviature del notaio.” ALBERTI 1954, p. 9, but without a source.

### Document 5

1505, 2 July: sale of the palace by Guidone di Castel'Ottiero (Guido Lottiero, Conte di Montorio) to Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici (in the presence of Cardinal Giovanni).

Complete contract of sale: ASR, CNC 176 (Benimbene), cc. 1026r–1029r.

Fully transcribed in AIT 2014, Appendix, pp. 310–314, but cited as cc. 1010r–1013r. A draft with marginal corrections, cc. 1035r–1039r. Another later copy of this entire contract, included as part of the 1521 document of final settlement, in ASF, MAP, vol. 159, cc. 143r–148v (see item 16, below). URL <http://www.archiviodistato.firenze.it/map/riproduzione/?id=147136> (accessed 21.06.2017).

Cited in PARISI 2007, pp. 251–252; FUMAGALLI 2005, p. 42 and n. 8.

Transcription from AIT 2014, pp. 310f., confirmed by author from the original, ASR, CNC 176, c. 1011r [1026r].

[c. 1011r] [...] vel intererit in futurum videlicet quasdam ipsius venditoris edes simul iunctas ac palatium totum cum suis edificiis novis et antiquis et cum vestigiis et parietibus antiquarum termarum, aulis, tinellis, cantinis, penetralibus, cameris, antecameris, claustris, puteo, viridario, lovio, turri, stabulis, coquina, aliis suis membris, pertinentiis et adiacentiis, usibus, servitutibus, utilitatibus et commoditatibus, introitibus et exitibus, ingressibus et egressibus quibuscumque intra se et extra se existentibus usque in vias publicas ad dictum palatium et edes spectantibus et pertinentibus tam de iure quam ex consuetudine, liberum ac liberas et exemptas ab omni canone, exensione vel censu et ab omni cuiuscumque generis sive onere servitutis. Quod totum palatium et edes situm et site sunt in regione Sancti Eustachii iuxta plateam vulgariter Lombardorum nuncupatam et ante dictam plateam in forum Agonis prospicientem et iuxta alias vias publicas a duobus lateribus, alteram qua itur ad plateam S. Eustachii, alteram vero qua itur ad ecclesiam S. Luisii et plateam Saponariam nuncupatam cum quadam domuncula discoperta coniuncta viridario, iuxta aream quandam [sic] heredum quondam Stefani Francisci de Crescentiis et iuxta res magistri Nutii ferrarii et res heredum quondam Iacobi Zacarie et iuxta ecclesiam S. Salvatoris in Termis; retro vero sunt res [quem *struck out*] heredum quondam domini lohachini de Narnea vel si qui sunt plures aut veriores confines antiqui vel moderni seu vocabula veriora [...]

**Document 6**

Between 1505 and 1509: sale of an area with or without shops (described in all 1509 contracts as having “apotecas inceptas et non completas”) by Mariano de’ Crescenzi or his heirs, to Giuliano and Lorenzo de’ Medici (arranged by Cardinal Giovanni?).

Document unrecorded, and lost.

Stefano Crescenzi died before 1505. Mariano di Stefano Crescenzi died before June 1509, leaving a widow.

**Document 7**

1509, June (a later copy of a lost draft): sale of the palace and shops area, by Giuliano and Lorenzo de’ Medici (arranged by Cardinal Giovanni) to Alfonsina de’ Medici

An 18th century copy of a notarial draft.

BNCR, MS Vitt Emm 313, pp. 17v-18v.

Cited in ALBERTI 1954, p. 12–13, with key passages translated into Italian; FUMAGALLI 2005, p. 45, n. 22; AIT 2014, p. 308, nn. 40 and 41. Transcription, Martin Raspe.

lp. 17v | Iunii 1509

Iulianus quondam Laurentii de Medicis et Laurentius filius quondam Petri etiam de Medicis prefati, domini Iuliani nepos, in presentia de voluntate reverendissimi patris et domini Iohannis Sancte Marie in Domnica diaconi cardinalis de Medicis, fratris et patruo dictorum Iuliani et Laurentii, ac magnifice domine Alfonsine Ursine, dicti domini Laurentii matris, vendiderunt domine Alfonsine Ursine relicte quondam magnifici Petri de Medicis dicti domini Laurentii matris [.] quasdam dictorum venditorum aedes simul iunctas ac palatium totum cum suis edificiiis novis et antiquis et cum vestigiis et parietibus antiquarum thermarum, aulis, tinellis, cantinis, penetralibus, cameris et antecameris, claustris, puteo, viridario, lovio, turri, stabulis, et coquina et aliis suis membris etc.; nec non quasdam apotecas inceptas et non completas retro viridarium et turri predicta in area seu solo quod erat quondam heredum Mariani Stephani Francisci de Crescentiis<sup>100</sup> [...] Quod palatium, edes et apotece site sunt Rome, in regione Sancti Eustachii, iuxta plateam vulgariter Lombardorum nuncupatam, et ante dictam plateam in forum Agonis prospicientem, [et?] iuxta alias vias publicas a duobus lateribus, alteram qua itur ad plateam Sancti Eustachii, alteram vero qua itur ad ecclesiam Sancti Aloysii et plateam Saponaram nuncupatam, cum quadam domuncula discoperta iuxta aream quandam [sic] heredum quondam Stephani Francisci de Crescentiis, et iuxta res heredum magistri Nuccii ferrarii<sup>101</sup> et res heredum quondam Jacobi Zacharie iuxta ecclesiam Sancti Salvatoris in Thermis; retro sunt res heredum quondam domini Johachini de Narnea [...]

**Document 8**

1509, June (notarial draft): sale of the palace and shops area, by Giuliano and Lorenzo de’ Medici (arranged by Cardinal Giovanni) to Alfonsina de’ Medici.

ASR, Acquisti e doni, busta 46, (cass. nr. 53), doc. 41, cc. 124r–125r.

See Appendix 2 for entire Latin document and commentary.

<sup>100</sup> Underlined words: corrected, changed, or eliminated in the June and 4 July 1509 notarial drafts (items 8 and 9, below).

<sup>101</sup> Underlined words: corrected, changed, or eliminated in the June and 4 July 1509 notarial drafts (items 8 and 9, below).

Cited, in its current location but without full analysis, in FUMAGALLI 2005, p. 42, n. 22, and in AIT 2014, p. 308, n. 40.

Transcription, Sara Bova and author.

lc. 26r (124r) | [...] quasdam dictorum venditorum aedes simul iunctas ac palatium totum cum suis aedificiis novis et antiquis et cum vestigiis et parietibus antiquarum thermarum, aulis, tinellis, cantinis, penetralibus, cameris et anticameris, claustris, puteo, viridario, lovio, turri, stabulo, coquina, et aliis suis membris pertinentiis adiacentiis, nec non quasdam apotecas inceptas et non completas retro viridarium et turri praedictae [*in the left margin*: in area seu solo quod erat quondam heredum Mariani<sup>102</sup> Stephani Francisci de Crescentiis] cum usibus, servitutibus, utilitatibus, comoditatibus, introitibus, exitibus, ingressibus et egressibus quibuscumque intra se et extra se existentibus, usque in vias publicas ad dictum palatium et aedes et apotecas spectantibus et pertinentibus tam de iure quam de consuetudine liberum et liberas et exemptas ab omni canone responsione vel censu ab omni genere cuiuscumque oneris seu servitutis, [...] quod palatium aedes [*inserted*: et apotecae] sitae sunt Romae in regione Sancti Eustachii, iuxta plateam vulgariter Lombardorum nuncupatam, et ante dictam plateam in Forum Agonis prospicientem et iuxta alias vias publicas a duobus lateribus, alteram qua itur ad plateam Sancti Eustachii, alteram vero qua itur ad ecclesiam Sancti Aloisii et plateam Saponaram nuncupatam ~~cum quadam domuncula discoperta, cum quadam domunculam discoperta coniuncta~~ viridario iuxta aream quandam heredum quondam Stephani Francisci de Crescentiis et iuxta res [*inserted*: heredum] quondam magistri Nuccii ferrarii et res heredum quondam Jacobi Zachariae, iuxta ecclesiam Sancti Salvatoris in Thermis, retro sunt res heredum quondam domini Johachini de Narnea vel siqui sunt plures confines [...]

**Document 9**

1509, 4 July (final notarial draft): sale of the palace and shops area by Giuliano and Lorenzo (arranged by Cardinal Giovanni) to Alfonsina de’ Medici.

ASR, Acquisti e doni, busta 46, (cass. nr. 53), doc. 41, cc. 122r–123v.

See Appendix 2 for entire Latin document and commentary. Transcription, Sara Bova.

lc. 24r (122r) | [...] quasdam dictorum venditorum aedes simul iunctas ac palatium totum cum suis aedificiis novis et antiquis et cum vestigiis et parietibus antiquarum thermarum, aulis, tinellis, cantinis, penetralibus, cameris et anticameris, claustris, puteo, viridario, lovio, turri, stabulo, coquina, et aliis suis membris pertinentiis adiacentiis, nec non quasdam apotecas inceptas et non completas retro viridarium et turri praedictae in area seu solo quod erat quondam heredum Mariani Stephani Francisci de Crescentiis cum usibus, servitutibus, utilitatibus, comoditatibus, introitibus, exitibus, ingressibus et egressibus quibuscumque intra se et extra se existentibus, usque in vias publicas ad dictum palatium aedes et apotecas spectantibus et pertinentibus tam de iure quam de consuetudine liberum et liberas et exemptas ab omni canone responsione vel censu ab omni genere cuiuscumque oneris seu servitutis [...] quod palatium aedes et apotecae sitae sunt Romae in regione Sancti Eustachii, iuxta plateam vulgariter Lombardorum

<sup>102</sup> Mariano’s name added to the marginal note in a different hand, as another later revision.

## The Medici Palace in Rome

nuncupatam, et ante dictam plateam in Forum Agonis prospicientem et iuxta alias vias publicas a duobus lateribus, alteram qua itur ad plateam Sancti Eustachii, alteram vero qua itur ad ecclesiam Sancti Aloisii et plateam Saponaram nuncupatam et iuxta res heredum quondam magistri Nuccii ferrarii et res heredum quondam Jacobi Zachariae, iuxta ecclesiam Sancti Salvatoris in Thermis, retro sunt res heredum quondam domini Johachini de Narnea vel siqui sunt plures confines [...]

### Document 10

1509, 11 June: sale of a house to Alfonsina de' Medici?  
Documentation unclear.

WASSERMAN 1968, p. 102, n. 9, referencing GNOLI 1926, p. 8, merged this property transaction with the sale to Alfonsina of the main Medici palace on 4 July 1509, but which Gnoli assumed was underway in June 1509. RUSSO 1989, pp. 490–491, n. 5, also citing Gnoli, without page or source, noting that this house was next to those of Cristoforo di Paolo Stati (see notes for item 11, below).

### Document 11

1512, 11 January: sale of a house or two houses on Piazza Saponara to Alfonsina de' Medici?

The location of the house(s) is unclear, but perhaps refers to the property listed in item 12, below.

Confused sources, missing document(s).

Cited by ALBERTI 1954, p. 13, without a source: “La nobildonna ingrandì il palazzo con l'acquisto, fatto l'undici gennaio 1512, 'di due case situate presso la piazza Saponara, accanto alla chiesa di S. Salvatore de Thermis'.” But in the next sentence, Alberti conflated these two houses with the Bonifazio da Narnea property sold in May 1516 (see item 14, below), whose sale was handled by the notary Amanni. However, there are no documents in ASR, CNC (Amanni), vol. 62 (1516–1519) or vol. 60 (1506–1513), for any Medici sale activities in January or June 1512. FUMAGALLI 2005, p. 47 and n. 29: “Alfonsina Orsini, che nel gennaio 1512 aveva comprato una [sic] casa su piazza Saponara, [...]”, but further states in her note 29 “[...] ma oggi l'atto (ASR, Collegio Notai Capitolini, Sabba De Vannutiis, vol. 1829), benché indicato nella rubricella, risulta mancante”. RUSSO 1989, pp. 490–491, n. 5, says that Alfonsina owned two houses on Piazza Saponara, “[...] acquistate nel 1512, e un'altra, acquistata nel giugno del 1509, confinante con le case di Cristoforo di Paolo Stati [...]” but see item 10, above. GÜNTHER 1994b, p. 548 also does not give source(s), or details, but merely states that the Medici enlarged their property on the *isola* in 1512. See also BEVILACQUA 2009, pp. 17–23, regarding the numerous Stati and Jacovacci properties in this entire area, some of them located close to Medici properties, including those at the Piazza della Dogana and others at Piazza Sant'Eustachio.

### Document 12

1512, 11 June: sale of a house on Piazza Saponara (part of today's Palazzo Patrizi), by Alfonsina de' Medici to Gasparo dei Garzonio di Jesi.

This L-shaped house was not on the Medici *isola*: it had street frontage on the Piazza Saponara opposite the future façade of San Luigi, and on the south side onto today's via Giustiniani. This *isola* is labeled “gasperi” on Antonio da Sangallo the Younger's site sketch, U 1259 *Ar*. WASSERMAN 1968, pp. 102–103, and n. 9, p. 102, cited the notarial

contract for this sale, ASR CNC 1828 (Sabas de Vannutiis), pp. 241r–v. In October 1512, Gasparo hired an architect to expand and improve the building. In 1605, Gasparo's grandson facilitated the eventual merging of the larger palace with a smaller, corner house there, which created the footprint of the later Palazzo Patrizi.

### Document 13

1515, 23 May: sale of a house and of the rental agreement on enfiteusis land by Onofrio de' Bossi to Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici

Copy of the complete contract.

ASF, MAP, f. 159, Doc. 12, cc. 103r–108v.

URL: <http://www.archiviodistato.firenze.it/map/riproduzione/?id=147056> (accessed 23.06.2017).

Transcription, Sara Bova.

lc. 103v | [...] Dominus Honofrius habet in locationem imperpetuam emphyteosim a verabilibus viris dominis canonicis et Capitulo Ecclesie Sancti Eustachii de Urbe, cui a duobus lateribus sunt bona dominici Meruli, ab alio Bonifatii de Joachinis, ante est via publica, vel si qui alii sunt, vel esse possunt ad dictam domum plures aut veriores confines antiqui vel moderni, et nomina et vocabula veriores sub annuo censu, sive canone decem et octo ducatorum de carlenis praefatis canonicis et Capitulo, de semestre in semestrem solventibus alias vero liberam [...] Item similiter venditionis iure proprio et imperpetuum, ut supradictus dominus Honofrius venditor dedit, cessit, transtulit et donavit praefatis magnificis dominis Juliano, et Laurentio emptoribus [...].

lc. 104v | [...] Idem Dominus Honofrius venditor uti agere, petere et experiri poterat ante venditionem, et alienationem praedicti et donati dicti magnifici domini Julianus et Laurentius emptores investiti et ipsius domus cum iuribus et pertinentiis suis corporalem et realem possessionem [...].

lc. 105r | [...] Stipulantibus ut supra pro precio et nomine precii septingentorum ducatorum de carlenis bonae monetae quos quidem septingentos ducatos de carlenis idem dominus Honofrius venditor per manus dicti reverendi patris domini Varini episcopi quos supra nomine danti et solventi in prompta et numerata pecunia in praesentia eiusdem mei notarii et testium infrascriptorum habuit et recepit; de quibus septingentis ducatis de carlenis post manualementem receptionem et numerationem dictus dominus Honofrius venditor se bene contentum et pagatum vocavit et dixit [...].

lc. 108v | [...] Et ego Andreas de Porciis [...] notarius.

### Document 14

1516, 19 May: forced sale of the rear land and houses by Bonifazio di Gioacchini da Narnia to Lorenzo de' Medici, as verbally arranged previously with Giuliano de' Medici.

Copy of the complete sale contract, dated 19 May 1516, as executed in Rome through Guarino, Bishop of Nocera, Lorenzo's procurator.

ASF, MAP, f. 159, Doc. 13, cc. 109r–114v.

URL: <http://www.archiviodistato.firenze.it/map/riproduzione/?id=147068> (accessed 23.06.2017).

There is also a notarial draft for the sale, dated 28 [sic] May 1516, in ASR, CNC 62 (Amanni, 1516–1519), c. 25r–v.

RUSSO 1989, pp. 488–489, unfortunately confused this Bonifazio da Narnea property (which was on the east side of the Medici *isola* and was continuously owned between 1505 and 1516 by him) with the “domus magna” of Calisto Gioacchino da Narni (p. 489, n. 3). Gio-

vanni de Baroncellis and Cristoforo Filippini were mentioned in the will of Gioacchino da Narni, when he died on 2 September 1494, as owners of properties bounding Gioacchino's "domus magna retro ecclesiae S. Eustachii cum edificii antiquiis [...]". That large house was located on the Sant'Eustachio *isola*, where there also were remains of the ancient baths. ALBERTI 1954, p. 13, quotes from the inventory made for that Sant'Eustachio house by Bonifazio di Gioacchini, dated 2 September 1494, which lists the adjacent owners, none of them with property on the Medici palace *isola*: "Hanno al lato i beni del fu Giovanni de' Baroncelli, dall'altro quelli degli eredi del fu Cecco da Crocchiano e dal terzo quelli di S. Maria Nuova, le proprietà dell'ospedale del Salvatore, di Marzia Bardella e fratelli e degli eredi del fu Cristoforo Filippini e altri confini." Both Russo and Alberti cite ASR, CNC 1181 (Pacifico de Pacificis), p. 518.

Transcription, Martin Raspe and Sara Bova.

lc. 109r | [...] Dominus Bonifatius de Johachinis de Narnea [*Bonifazio Gioacchini from Narni*] conventus fuerit coram nobilibus viris dominis Marco Antonio de Alteriis et Jacobo de Frigia partibus tunc, et nunc Magistris Stratarum per magnificum et illustrissimum dominum Julianum de Medicis de et super venditione certarum domuncularum et areae sitarum Romae in regione Sancti Eustachii iuxta et in corpore palatii et domorum de areae praefati quondam magnifici et illustrissimi domini Juliani de Medicis, et nunc dicti illustris domini Laurentii de Medicis. Quibus domunculis et area ab uno latere est hospitale Sancti Aloysii nationis Gallorum, ante est via publica, et ab aliis lateribus sunt res praefati quondam magnifici et illustris domini Juliani de Medicis, et nunc dicti illustris domini Laurentii vel si qui alii sunt plures, aut veriores confines antiqui vel moderni, seu nomina et vocabula veriora ad dictas domunculas et aream quomodolibet spectantes et pertinentes, ac spectantia et pertinentia tam de iure, quam de consuetudine, et tandem servatis servandis, praefati domini Magistri Stratarum declaraverunt praefatum dominum Bonifatium tentum, et et [*sic*] obligatum fore, et esse ad vendendum dicto quondam magnifico et illustri domino lc. 109v | Juliano de Medicis dictas domunculas et aream pro ut per eorum diffinitivam sententiam illam eidem quondam magnifico et illustri domino Juliano vendi mandaverunt pro pretio mille et quingentorum ducatorum [*1500 ducats*] de Carnelis [*sic, instead of Carlenis*] decem pro ducato ad computum monetae veteris iuxta aextimationem per peritos electos per praefatos dominos Magistros Stratarum factam virtute bullae felicis recordationis Sixti Papae quarti, disponentes de aedificiis constituendis ad decorem Civitatis. Quos quidem mille et quadringentos ducatos [*sic! 1400 ducats*] praefati domini Magistri Stratarum deponi mandarunt penes idoneum depositarium de quibus omnibus constat ex actis mei notarii [...] lc. 111v | [...] quosquidem mille et quadringentos ducatos [*1400 ducats*] pro precio praedicto nunc manualiter et in contanti praefatus Bonifatius habuit et recepit a domino Francisco della Fonte, mercatori florentino, penes quem factum fuit depositum per dictum quondam magnificum et illustrissimum dominum Julianum de Medicis de precio praedicto aextimato praesente et solvente nomine et pro dicto illustri domino domino Laurentio de Medicis, et de propriis pecuniis ipsius illustris domini Laurentii, et praefati quondam magnifici et illustris domini Juliani de Medicis in tantis carlenis Julii bonae monetae. [...]

#### Document 15

1520, 26 March: a five-sided "house" at the dogana della terra, owned by Alfonsina de' Medici, whose income was left to her daughter Clarice in Alfonsina's will.

Letter from Clarice de' Medici to Pope Leo X, describing this house at the dogana della terra and other items owned by her mother Alfonsina at her death on 7 February 1521, but inherited by the pope.

ASF, MAP, f. 159, Doc. 14, cc. 115r-120v.

URL <http://www.archiviodistato.firenze.it/map/riproduzione/?id=147080> (accessed 22.07.2017).

Cited in MARCUCCI/TORRESI 1982, p. 46, and MARCUCCI/TORRESI 1983, notes 24-27, p. 36. Alfonsina had made Leo her universal heir, but she left to Clarice 6,000 ducats, half of her Orsini dowry. Other items which Alfonsina did not specifically distribute in her testament, but which had remained in her heritage, included a credit of 800 ducats in the dogana dello Studio, some silver vases also worth 800 ducats, and the income of this house at the dogana. Therefore Clarice asks Leo X for a sum of 2000 ducats from the heritage of her mother, as well as the entire 12,000 ducat dowry payment and the income from the house, which was Leo's property. This house, described in this document on c. 116r, was bounded on two sides by public streets, on one side by the pope's property (i.e. the area and house previously Bossi's, by 1521 legally folded into Leo's Medici palace), and on the other two sides by the properties of Jacobo Jacovacci and Corradino de Camerino. There were also alleyways running through the property, which apparently allowed others to gain access to the interior of the block. See figure 6 for the house's possible edges and alleyway. That five-sided house was "near where she had lived" (apparently in the main Medici palace, and not in the still-unfinished Medici-Lante palace) when she was in Rome between 1515 and her death in February 1520. Thus the five-sided house was on the far southeast corner of the Medici *isola*, as Marcucci and Torresi had concluded, correcting FROMMEL 1973, vol. 2, p. 224.

The house eventually was bundled with "all of the various small houses and shops around the *isola*'s edges" that were still owned by the Medici in the 1580s and not incorporated into the main palace. These properties, most of them along the *isola*'s east and south diagonal streets, were donated to the French nation in 1584 (San Luigi's rector was the administrator), by Catherine de' Medici, the widowed French queen, although the legal disputes between Catherine and the Florentine Medici heirs continued until 1588: FUMAGALLI 2005, pp. 47-53; NAPOLITANO 2015. The houses became French property, while the main areas of Leo's Palazzo Medici were definitively ceded to the Medici Grand Duke Ferdinando I.

Transcription, Martin Raspe.

lc. 115v | [...] Et sint inter alia eiusdem bona certum creditum ducatorum auri de Camera octingentorum in et super dohana Studii Almae Urbis, licet cantans et descriptum sub nomine domini Benedicti della Fara civis romani, ac etiam certa vasa argentea lc. 116r | existentia penes eandem dominam Claricem valoris ducatorum octingentorum similium, nec non ususfructus unius domus sitae in Urbe in regione Sancti Eustachii, et super platea Dohanae terrae, seu prope illam in qua consueverat habitare eadem domina Alphonsina dum vixerat, laterate a primo platea praedicta seu via et strata publica, a secundo etiam via seu strata publica, a tertio est domus praefati Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Papae, a quarto est domus haeredum quondam domini Jacobi

de Jacobaciis civis romani, a quinto lateribus [*sic*] est domus Corradini de Camerino, infra praedictos vel alios plures seu veriores confines, et seu veriora vocabula qui et quae hic habeantur pro designatis, et expressis. Et cum sit quod praefata domina Clarix praetendat sibi deberi maiorem summam, quam sit quantitas dictorum sex milium ducatorum sibi ut premittitur relictorum a praefata domina Alphonsina tam ex haereditate et bonis eiusdem quondam domina Alphonsinae quam illustris quondam dominae Catherinae ipsius dominae Alphonsinae matris, et dictae dominae Claricis aviae maternae, quam etiam alias. [...]

**Document 16**

1521, 23 October: final settlement of the 2 July 1505 contract for the sale of the palace by Guidone di Castel’Ottiero to Giuliano and Lorenzo de’ Medici, made in the curial court in Rome (for the total price of 7000 ducats, not including interest).

ASF, MAP, f. 159, Doc. 18, cc. 142r–151r.

URL <http://www.archiviodistato.firenze.it/map/riproduzione/?id=147134> (accessed 23.06.2017).

The document is cited in FUMAGALLI 2005, p. 42, n. 8, but not by AIT 2014, who apparently did not consult it. The index description, p. 1 v, is misleading: “Istrumento di compra fatta da Giuliano, e Lorenzo de’ Medici del 1521,” because the document, dated 23 October 1521, merely contains a complete copy of the original 1505 sale document (see item 5, above) as part of the final settlement with Guidone, carried out by Leo X, after the deaths of Giuliano and Lorenzo, and of Alfonsina. The 1505 passage, on pp. 143r–148v, begins “In nomine Omnipotentis [...]”.

All of the payments mentioned in this 1521 settlement had already been made in 1505, or arranged at that time by Cardinal Giovanni de’ Medici (for Giuliano and Lorenzo) with the banker Giovanni Francesco Martelli, Francesco Tommasi for the Chigi bank of Siena, and the merchant Simone Ricasoli. All of these arrangements were recorded in 1505 by the notary Benimbene: PARISI 2007, pp. 251–252, items 271.2–271.5.

In detail, this 1521 document states that on the day of the rogito, 2 July 1505, the Florentine banker Giovanni Francesco de Martellis deposited and kept in deposit in the name of Guidone the amount of three thousand and five hundred Cameral ducats (actually, on 4 July 1505). Another five hundred ducats was paid in and kept on deposit in Guidone’s name by another Florentine merchant, Simon Rainerii de Ricasulis (actually two days later, on 4 July 1505, after the contract was signed). Guidone further confirms that Giuliano de’ Medici had already sent the amount of 3000 ducats, that was owed to Guidone for the price of the palace, to sir Francesco di Tommaso, who led the bank belonging to the heirs of Mariano di Chiusi from Siena (and paid into Francesco Tommasi’s bank on 2 July 1505). The entire amount of money owed to Guidone, ten thousand and one hundred ducats, is here recalled, “[...] pro ut parte precii decem millium et centum ducatorum [...]”, and it is affirmed that he has been compensated for part of the price. After receiving the said three thousand ducats and the four thousand kept in deposit by the bankers (as written above, 3500 ducats and 500 ducats respectively), Guidone will claim himself satisfied and paid. His compensation from the Medici, although undeclared specifically in the documents, was thus a total of 7000 ducats.

Transcription, Martin Raspe and Sara Bova.

lc. 148v| Eodem contextu et immediate eisdem loco et die et eisdem testibus praesentibus honorabilis dominus Johannes Franciscus Nicholai de Martellis mercator florentinus constituit se tenere in depositum et nomine depositi magnifici domini Guidonis summam trium millium quingentorum ducatorum auri de Camera, et dominus lc. 149r| Simon Rainerii de Ricasulis etiam mercator florentinus Romanam Curiam sequentes similiter constituit se in depositum ut supra aliam summam quingentorum similium ducatorum, et incontinenti restituere promiserunt praefato domino Guidoni, quae fuerunt et sunt pecuniae de quibus in proximo praecedenti contractu habetur. [...] Magnificus dominus Guido sponte et ex certa scientia nullo iuris et facti errore ductus, commisit et mandavit magnifico domino Juliano de Medicis praesenti, audienti et intelligenti, ut de primis tribus millibus ducatis auri sibi debitis ex pretio palatii cum aedibus sibi per ipsum magnificum dominum Guidonem ut supra apparet vendi, det, solvat, et satisfaciat dari, et solum faciat ipsius domini Guidonis nomine et pro liberatione eiusdem honorabili viro domino Francisco Thommasii institori et gubernatori Banchi haeredum Mariani de Chiusiis senensis, in Urbe commorante et Romanam Curam sequenti, praesenti, et acceptanti nomine dictorum haeredum principalium summam et quantitatem trium millium ducatorum auri in auro de Camera, quibus integraliter et effectualiter solutis. Idem magnificus dominus Guido ex nunc pro ut ex tunc, et ex tunc pro ut lc. 149v| ex nunc liberavit et quietavit praefatum magnificum dominum Julianum et dominum Laurentium eius nepotem, ac etiam quoscumque depositarios praestandos, et dandos secundum pacta inita inter eosdem dominum Julianum suo et nepotis nomine emptores dicti palatii, et praefatum magnificum dominum Guidonem venditorem in instrumento desuper eodem instanti celebrato, quam quidem delegationem debiti fecit in personam dictorum haeredum et sociorum Banchi de Chiusis, et dicti Banchi gubernatoris ad effectum ut etiam ipse magnificus dominus Guido ab eisdem liberetur, et liberatus remaneat ab omni obligatione cum eis contracta usque ad dictam concurrentem summam dictorum trium millium ducatorum auri de Camera. Quae quidem omnia et singula etc. pro quibus etc. et voluerunt etc. et renunciarunt et iurarunt etc. Rogaveruntque me notarium etc. et dederunt potestatem etc. Acta fuerunt haec ubi supra, praesentibus eisdem testibus.

lc. 150r| [...] confessus fuerit idem venditor habuisse et recepisse actualiter et realiter actualiter pro ut in veritate habuit a dictis emptoribus pro parte precii decem millium et centum ducatorum auri in auro de Camera inter eosdem conventam summam et quantitatem quatuor millium ducatorum auri in auro de Camera. Illosque dimiserit sub spe incontinenti rehabendi et diligentius numerandi penes et apud nobilem mercatorum dominum Johannem Franciscum de Martellis de Florentia, qui apud se tenere constituit de dicta summa ducatos similes tres mille et quingentos, videlicet tres mille et quingentos et penes et apud dominum Simonem de Ricasulis etiam mercatorem florentinum reliquos ducatos similes quingentos, qui constituunt et faciunt totam dictam summam quatuor millium ducatorum praedictorum. Idcirco volentes dicti mercatores uti bona fide, pro ut teneatur in praesentia mei notarii et testium infrascriptorum hac praesenti die realiter et actualiter in prompta et numerata pecunia dederunt, restituerunt et numeraverunt dicto magnifico domino Guidoni praesenti, recipienti, et penes se retinenti dictam summam et quantitatem quatuor millium ducatorum auri in auro de Camera etc. dictus dominus lc. 150v| Johannes Franciscus dictos tres mille et quingentos ducatorum, et dictus dominus Simon reliquos quingentos similes ducatorum de quibus

quatuor millibus ducatis praefatus dominus Guido post dictam realem et actualem solutionem et receptionem se bene quietum, tacitum, et pagatum vocavit, et renunciavit exceptioni non traditorum, non numeratorum, non ponderatorum, et spei cuiuscumque futurae numerationis, ac receptionis, ac etiam exceptionibus rei non sic gestae, vel aliter

gestae doli, mali, vis, metus in factum ob causam, et sine causa, et omnibus aliis exceptionibus, et differentiis, etc. De quibus quatuor millibus ducatis idem magnificus dominus Guido plenam quietationem fecit cum pacto de perpetuo ulterius non petendo [...].

## Appendix 2 Transcription of original notarial drafts, June 1509 and 4 July 1509 contracts

ASR, Acquisti e doni, busta 46, (cass. nr. 53), doc. 41, cc. 122r–125v. June 1509 draft (cc. 124r–125r) and 4 July 1509 final draft (cc. 122r–123v).

Indexed in ASR, CNC 4838 (Pagni) as the notarial draft of the act of sale by Cristoforo Pagni, and dated 4 July 1509, but the document(s) is missing from that location. These therefore should be the missing pages listed in the imbreviature for notary Cristoforo Pagni (Appendix 1, item 8). Its current location is cited in FUMAGALLI 2005, p. 42, n. 22, and in AIT 2014, p. 308, n. 40; neither provided a full analysis or commentary on the contents of these two drafts.

The June draft is unfinished, with corrections in several hands; the 4 July draft is essentially complete and incorporates most of the changes made in the June draft. Neither of these drafts formed the basis for the 18th century copy of a June draft (Appendix 1, item 7).

As re-sold by Giuliano and Lorenzo to Alfonsina in 1509, the property included all of the palace areas listed in the 1505 contract plus another area with unfinished shops, previously owned by the Crescenzi (Appendix 1, item 6). To create these two notarial drafts, two previous documents were merged and amended: the 1505 palace's sale document, and the lost document in which, previously and separately, the Crescenzi had sold the unfinished shops area to Giuliano and Lorenzo.

In the 1509 contract drafts, most of the adjacent properties from 1505 remained the same, except for last-minute changes that reflected updates due to owner's deaths or inheritor's names. But some conditions changed more substantially. The shops area was described as “the begun but unfinished shops, behind the garden and tower, on the ground or soil previously owned by the heirs of the dead [Mariano di] Stefano di Francesco de Crescenzi.” (Mariano's name was inserted into the June draft, because he had died after inheriting from his father Stefano Crescenzi, who had owned that land and was still alive in 1505.) In the 4 July 1509 final draft, however, the entire phrase referring to the Crescenzi was struck out. Therefore, on 4 July 1509, the Crescenzi no longer owned any properties adjacent to the Medici palace.

The “unroofed house” described in the 1505 Medici palace also was struck out of the 1509 drafts, because it had been roofed and absorbed into the body of their building between those years. Other changes between the 1505 and 1509 documents included the price increase, from 10,100 ducats in 1505, to 11,000 ducats in 1509, although diminished in the 1509 drafts from large to Cameral ducats. In the June draft, Alfonsina was to pay 2,000 ducats for Clarice's dowry, along with the 2,000 ducats she already had paid for the cardinal's library books. In the 4 July draft, Alfonsina was not specifically required to make that dowry payment, but rather she would pay it as part of the

remainder of the sale price, nominally 11,000 ducats minus the 2,000 already paid, “in the same way” – apparently meaning, when she received repayment of her own dowry from the Florentine Republic.

The 1505 contract's original, twenty-year retrovendita clause with Guidone remained in force. For this reason, a second retrovendita clause was added to the 4 July contract, as worked out in these two 1509 drafts: Alfonsina agreed to sell the palace back to Giuliano and Lorenzo within ten years (in 1519), so that they in turn could sell it back to Guidone (in 1525), should that have been required.

Note: The following transcription is based on the July draft of the contract. All major differences compared to the June draft are listed in the footnotes. Minor differences in spelling and word order have been ignored. Struck out words and underlinings have been faithfully transcribed.

lc. 24r (122r) | Die quarta iulii 1509

Constituti personaliter coram me notario et testibus infra scriptis magnifici viri domini Julianus quondam Laurentii de Medicis et Laurentius filius quondam Petri etiam de Medicis ~~dominus~~], prefati domini Juliani nepos de Florentia, in praesentia, de voluntate et consensu reverendissimi in Christo patris et domini domini Johannis Sanctae Mariae in Domnica diaconi cardinalis de Medicis, fratris et patruum respective dictorum Juliani et Laurentii, ac magnificae dominae Alphonsinae Ursinae domini ~~domini~~ Laurentii matris, ibidem praesentium et eorum consensum pariter et assensum dantium et praestantium. Asserens idem dominus Laurentius se esse maiorem annorum quatuordecim, minorem tamen viginti quinque, renuntians propterea privilegio minoris aetatis et restitutionis in integrum, non vi etc. sed ex eorum certis scientiis etc. ac omnibus melioribus modo et etc. per se et ipsorum heredes etc. vendiderunt etc. dominae Alphonsinae Ursinae relictae quondam magnifici Petri de Medicis dicti domini Laurentii matri praesenti etc. quasdam dictorum venditorum aedes simul iunctas ac palatium totum cum suis aedificiis novis et antiquis et cum vestigiis et parietibus antiquarum thermarum, aulis, tinellis, cantinis, penetrilibus, cameris et anticameris, claustris, puteo, viridario, lovio, turri, stabulo, coquina, et aliis suis membris pertinentiis adiacentiis, nec non quasdam apotecas inceptas et non completas retro viridarium et turri praedictae in area seu solo quod erat quondam heredum Mariani Stephani Francisci de Crescentiis<sup>103</sup> cum usibus, servitutibus, utilitatibus, comoditatibus, introitibus, exitibus, ingressibus et egressibus quibu-

<sup>103</sup> Inserted in June draft, c. 26r (124r), in left margin, with Mariano's name added to the marginal note in a different hand, as another later revision.



scumque intra se et extra se existentibus, usque in vias publicas ad dictum palatium aedes et apotecas spectantibus et pertinentibus tam de iure quam de consuetudine liberum et liberas et exemptas ab omni canone responsione vel censu ab omni genere cuiuscumque oneris seu servitutis, cum illis tamen pactis et conditionibus quas ipsi habent cum magnifico domino Guidono de Castro Locterii, a quo dictas aedes et palatium<sup>104</sup> emerunt, videlicet quas eadem domina Alphonsina ad easdem conventiones remaneat et sit obligata<sup>105</sup> ad dicto domino [*instead of dictum dominum*] Giudoni cui [*instead of ad quos*] obligati sunt ipsi venditores ex contractu emptionis per ipsos factae<sup>106</sup>, quod palatium aedes et apotecae sitae sunt Romae in regione Sancti Eustachii, iuxta plateam vulgariter Lombardorum nuncupatam, et ante dictam plateam in Forum Agonis prospicientem et iuxta alias vias publicas a duobus lateribus, alteram qua itur ad plateam Sancti Eustachii, alteram vero qua itur ad ecclesiam Sancti Aloisii et plateam Saponaram nuncupatam<sup>107</sup> et iuxta res heredum quondam magistri Nuccii ferrarii<sup>108</sup> et res heredum quondam Jacobi Zachariae, iuxta ecclesiam Sancti Salvatoris in Thermis, retro sunt heredes res heredum quondam domini Johachini de Narnea vel siqui sunt plures confines etc. Ad habendum, tenendum etc. pactis tamen et conventionibus infra scriptis semper salvis et reservatis. Item vendiderunt eidem dominae Alphonsinae omnia et singula iura et actiones etc. Nullo iure nisi infra scriptis pactis sibi reservatis etc. Dantes et concedentes dicti venditores eidem dominae Alphonsinae emptrici licentiam dictarum [c. 24v (122v)] aedium palatii et apotecarum tenutam et corporalem possessionem accipiendi etc. sua propria auctoritate et sine licentia alicuius iudicis seu Curiae etc. et donec eas adeptas fuerint constituerunt se praecario ipsius nomine tenere et possidere. Asserentes praefati venditores dictas aedes palatium et apotecas ut supra inceptas venditas, esse eorum proprias etc. et qui nulli alteri iura ipsorum cesserunt et quod de eis factus non est nec unquam factus apparebit aliquis alius contractus seu distractus, nisi iure pignoris et hypothecae ut ex infra scriptis declarabitur, in praeiudicium praesentis contractus venditionis etc. Et si ullo unquam tempore lis, litigium seu quaestio etc. super eis moveretur etc. litem et litigium seu quaestionem super eis in et super se suscipere etc. ac de evictione teneri voluerunt in forma plenissima. Asserentes dictae partes talem in urbe Roma vigere consuetudinem approbatam quod duplum pretii rei evictae restituatur emptori evicto. Hanc autem venditionem et omnia et singula supra et infra scripta ideo fecerunt praefati magnifici domini Julianus et Laurentius venditores eidem dominae

Alfonsinae emptrici praesenti etc. pro pretio et nomine veri et iusti pretii ducatorum undecim milium auri in auro Camerae [*instead of largorum*]<sup>109</sup> videlicet ducatorum XI auri in auro Camerae [*instead of largorum*]. De quo quidem pretio praefati venditores pro parte solutionis confessi fuerunt et in veritate recognoverunt<sup>110</sup> in una manu habuisse et recepisse ducatos duo milia auri<sup>111</sup> largos [*instead of similes*] in prompta et numerata pecunia, de quibus se bene contentos vocarunt et dixerunt una tamen numeratione et receptione sufficiente; residuum vero pretii dicatorum undecim milium ducatorum auri de Camera [*instead of largorum*] praefata domina Alfonsina emptrix<sup>112</sup> solvere et cum effectu numerare promisit dictis venditoribus in hunc<sup>113</sup> sequitur modum videlicet: ducatorum duo milia [*above the line* centum] auri largorum de voluntate et expresso consensu dicatorum venditorum prioris fratribus et conventui Sancti Marci de Florentia, pro praetio unius librario seu librorum per dictos fratres venditae dicto reverendissimo domino Cardinali tempore [*above the line, instead of post*] recuperationis<sup>114</sup> [*corrected to: -onem*] dotum suarum.

Quibus fratribus praefata domina Alfonsina iam se obligavit [*struck out letter?*] de solvendo dictam summam prout constat per acta mei notarii ad quae relatio omnimoda habeatur. Residuum vero dicti praetii praefata domina Alfonsina emptrix solvere teneatur in eodem tempore de voluntate et expresso consensu dicatorum venditorum, et sic promisit et solemniter stipulatione interveniente convenit per pactum expressum nomine dicatorum venditorum et dicti reverendissimi domini Cardinalis creditoribus quibus aedes palatium et apotecae praedictae forent et essent obligatae et hypothecatae. Et his solutionibus integri praetii subsecutis et effectualiter factis, aedes palatium et apotecae praedictae cum iuribus etc. restent et restari debeant disbrigatae eidem dominae Alfonsinae emptrici et siquid residuum praetii (satisfactis creditoribus praedictis ut praefertur) restaret persolvendum usque ad complementum dicatorum undecim milium ducatorum auri Camerae [*instead of largorum*], teneatur praefata domina emptrix et sic promisit et convenit de consensu et expressa voluntate dicatorum venditorum dictum residuum solvere et integre satisfacere pro eis et nomine ipsorum praefato reverendissimo domino cardinali de Medicis et non alteri in pecunia numerata in eodem tempore quo supra<sup>115</sup> [f. 25r (123r)] omni prorsus exceptione [*written above* et cavillatione] cessantibus et penitus semotis<sup>116</sup>, et si post solutionem duorum milium ducatorum fratribus praedictis faciendam et satisfactionem per ipsam dominam emptricem fiendam creditoribus et illis personis quibus aedes palatium

<sup>104</sup> In the June draft, c. 26r (124r), “et palatium” is missing.

<sup>105</sup> Inserted in margin: “quo ad ~~reemptionem~~ et retrovenditionem”.

<sup>106</sup> Inserted in margin: “ut constare dicitur per acta quondam domini Camilli Benembene, notarii romani, sub suo tempore datati, ad quod instrumentum vinditionis, quo ad se dicit reemptionem et retrovenditionem relationem omnimodam [~~relationem~~] habere voluerunt”.

<sup>107</sup> June draft, c. 26r (124r): “cum quadam domuncula discoperta, cum quadam domunculam discoperta coniuncta [*written and then struck out; then written again and underlined, and again struck out*], viridario iuxta aream quondam heredum quondam Stefani Francisci de Crescentiis [*underlined in the document*]”.

<sup>108</sup> June draft, c. 26r (124r), text: “iuxta res [*inserted: heredum*] magistri Nuccii ferrarii”.

<sup>109</sup> In the June draft, it is left “largorum”, here and in the other parts of the text.

<sup>110</sup> June draft, c. 26v (124v): specified in a note on the left side of the page.

<sup>111</sup> In the June draft, c. 26v (124v), the text goes on as follows: “similes quo quidem ducatos duo milia praefati domini Julianus et Laurentius asseruerunt dictam dominam Alfonsinam solvisse et numerasse domino Philippo de Strozis pro prima paga dotium dominae Claricis filiae dictae dominae Alphonsinae et nepotis praefatorum reverendissimi domini Cardinalis Juliani et sororis dicti domini Laurentii”. And on the left side here: “de quo quidem solutione se bene contentos vocarunt et dixerunt”.

<sup>112</sup> In the June draft, c. 26v (124v), struck out: “de voluntate et expresso consensu dicatorum venditorum”.

<sup>113</sup> In the June draft, c. 26v (124v) follows “quod”.

<sup>114</sup> In the June draft, c. 26v (124v), “reverendissimo domino Cardinali post recuperationem”.

<sup>115</sup> “et [...] supra” is inserted in the margin in the June draft, c. 26v (124v).

<sup>116</sup> In the June draft, c. 26v (124v), written and struck out: “et hoc eodem tempore”.

et apotecae praedictae ut supra essent obligatae hypothecatae fuisset per dictam dominam Alfonsinam empticem integre satisfactum usque ad complementum inclusive dictorum undecim milium ducatorum auri ~~largorum~~ [*written above: Camerae*], quoquo modo invenirentur pro maioris summa praetii praedicti aedes palatium et apotecae aliquibus personis obligatae et hypothecatae praefati domini Julianus et Laurentius venditores in praesentia ac de voluntate et consensu praedictis et pro eis et ad eorum instantiam et requisitionem praefatus reverendissimus dominus Cardinalis scientes non teneri etc. volentes tamen teneri etc. se principaliter et in solidum obligando promiserunt et quilibet ipsorum in solidum promisit infra quatuor<sup>117</sup> menses a die complementi totius integri praetii praedicti fiendi, computandi et ut sequitur finiendi, solvere creditoribus praedictis quibus aedes palatium et apotecae praedictae [~~erunt~~] essent obligatae et hypothecatae totum et quicquid restarent habere a praefatis venditoribus et voluerunt etiam idem reverendissimus dominus Cardinalis de evinzione teneri in forma plenissima ut praefertur. Item fuerunt concordae dictae partes quod si praefati domini Julianus et Laurentius venditores infra decem annos proxime venturos a die praesentis instrumenti venditionis incipiendos et ut sequitur finiendos vellent reemere dictas aedes palatium et apotecas ut supra venditas, teneatur dicta domina Alphonsina emptrix eas eisdem retrovendere [*written above and struck out: et non alteri infra dictum tempus*] [*in the margin: et non alteri*] solutis sibi dictis undecim milibus ducatis auri [*instead of largis*] Camerae et melioramentis in dicta domo [*above the line: one word struck out, then apotecis praedictis*] factis<sup>118</sup> usque in illam diem [*several words struck out*]<sup>119</sup>, [*in the left margin: et contra si prefata domina Alfonsina emptrix vellet dictis venditionis dictas aedes palatium et apotecas infra dictum tempus*

decem annorum retrovendere, teneantur (*one letter struck out*) praefati domini Juliani et Laurentius ipsas reemere ~~et eadem domina Alfonsina~~ per eodem pretio et satisfacta ei melioramentis praedicta, sed non possint cogitas (*written above: retroemere*) non lapsus quatuor annis pro primo venturus a die presentis contractus computandum inclusive, et quod retro emptio et retrovenditio huiusmodi [?] respective debeat per unum annum antea retractari [?]. [*inserted in the upper part of the margin: Et post lapsum dictum tempus non possint alicui dictum palatium, aedes et apotecas vendere nec ipsis venditoribus requisitis, qua requisitione facta, ipsi habeant tempus unius anni ad recepiendi, quo lapsa possit salvo semper pacto quod habent cum domino Guidone quo ad retrovenditionem de consensu praefati reverendissimi domini Cardinalis*]. Quae omnia praedictae partes sibi ad invicem et vicissim attendere etc. promiserunt sub poena et ad poenam dupli totius eius de quo ageretur. Que poena etc. Qua poena etc. pro quibus etc. obligaverunt se videlicet praefati domini Julianus, Laurentius, reverendissimus dominus Cardinalis et praefata domina Alphonsina ad invicem respective etc. in forma pleniori et ampliori ac sub poenis Camerae Apostolicae etc. Cum omnibus et singulis submissionibus renuntiationibus procuratorum constitutione et aliis clausulis forma plenissima Camerae Apostolicae etc. Iurarunt etc. Dantes dictae partes mihi notario publico infrascripto plenam et omnimodam potestatem posse extendere hoc praesentem instrumentum ad consilium et dictamen sapientum utriusque partes non mutata facti substantia. Actae fuerunt haec Romae in loco seu viridario Sanctae Agatae de regione Montium, praesentibus ibidem dominis Antonio Dondoro [*struck out: pis*] clerico pistoiensi Sanctissimi Domini Nostri accolito et domino Aldigherio de Biliottis clerico florentino testibus etc.

<sup>117</sup> Not specified in the June draft, p. 27r (125r), where there is a blank space.

<sup>118</sup> June draft, c. 27r (125r): “in dicta domo factis”.

<sup>119</sup> In the June draft, written differently and then completely struck out, c. 28r (125r). Notice in particular the different conditions of the *retrovenditio*, here: “et contra si prefata domina Alfonsina emptrix vellet habere dictos ducatos undecim miliam cum melioramentis praedictis,

teneantur et obligati existent dicti [*struck out: emptores*] venditores eidem reddere. Et aedes [*struck out: domum*] palatium et apotecas praedictas reemere [*instead of remaneat*] praefatis dominis Juliano et Laurentio ~~et hac retrovenditione~~ et haec fieri debeant per dictas partes respective infra unum annum a die [...] notitiae [*in the left margin: eisdem respective faciendis per specialem et expressam intimationem*] reemptionis et retrovenditionis praedictae”. The June draft ends here.

## Abbreviations

ASF	Archivio di Stato di Firenze	GDSU	Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence
ASR	Archivio di Stato di Roma	MAP	Mediceo avanti il Principato
CNC	Collegio dei Notai Capitolini	MM	Miscellanea Medicea

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