

CHARLES DAVIS

FOUR DOCUMENTS FOR THE VILLA GIULIA

One question long foremost in the minds of students of the Villa Giulia is exactly what rôle each of the major architects who worked at the Villa played¹. Two of the Villa's architects spoke directly to this point. One of them, Vasari, wrote his account for posterity. It has been known ever since he printed it in his *Vite* in 1568, although some have complained that Vasari is not forthright in what he says. The other architect, Ammannati, prepared his account to submit to a body deputized by Duke Cosimo I to review the claims of creditors upon the estate of Julius III. It is contained in a set of papers in the Florentine archives, which date from 1560 and later. In the most finished version of his claim, Ammannati petitions to be awarded a salary for thirty-four months that he worked in the del Monte employ at the *fabbriche* of Julius III. The documents from Ammannati's papers became known only in 1923 when they were first published by Luigi Biagi².

Although Ammannati's reports did not dovetail at every turn with Vasari's, the importance of his testimony was undeniable³. With each new consideration of the Villa, these documents were, at least in part, published again. Each time it was Biagi's transcriptions that were republished. It has been forgotten that Biagi, by his own account, omitted one sheet of the Ammannati papers from his publication⁴. Moreover, Vodoz, who knew the original documents, noted the inaccuracies in Biagi's publication⁵.

1 See T. FALK, Studien zur Topographie und Geschichte der Villa Giulia in Rom, in: *RömJbKg* 13 (1971), 101–178, with citation of earlier literature; "Reg." refers to Falk's register of documents, Falk, 135–170.

2 Di Bartolommeo Ammannati e di alcune sue opere, in: *L'Arte* 26 (1923), 65–66.

3 See especially E. VODOZ, Studien zum architektonischen Werk des Bartolomeo Ammannati, in: *FlorMitt* 6, Heft 3–4 (1941), 28, and J. COOLIDGE, The Villa Giulia, in: *ArtBull* 25 (1943), 222.

4 Biagi, 57.

5 Vodoz, 7. The deficiencies of Biagi's transcription have sometimes been compounded in subsequent publications by attempts to improve upon his transcription, without, however, consulting the original documents. For a single instance, note in the first line of the first

Ammannati's statements represent an important source of information for the architectural history of the Villa and the attribution of its various parts that is independent of the other written sources. The literature concerning the Villa contains so many closely reasoned arguments based on the written evidence that Ammannati's papers deserve to be completely and accurately known. Furthermore, owing in part to Biagi's publication, several misconceptions concerning them are common.

It is believed that two separate documents exist. The first is Ammannati's salary request to a Medici commission in 1560, which is underwritten by four, or sometimes five witnesses. The second is a later request for payment that Ammannati made, perhaps dating from 1561. This view simplifies a more complex situation.

Instead of two, there are four distinct documents. The order and relationship of these four documents are not those commonly believed.

The first document is a sworn statement by Paolo Pianetti, *capomaestro* of the *scalpellini* at the Villa, specifying Ammannati's work there. It is dated 12 November 1560 and was undersigned on its verso by three witnesses, probably on the same day, but certainly before 15 December, when an additional witness, Pier Giovanni Aliotti, the Bishop of Forlì, ratified Pianetti's statement. Pianetti had previously furnished Ammannati with a *fede* in 1555 before Ammannati left Rome for Florence, but this initial document was lost when the Arno overflowed its banks in 1557⁶.

document published by Falk, "a quei mag.ri signori" (Reg. 727), based on Biagi's accurate "magci", which in the original reads, "Mag.ci", i.e., "magnifici". This example is not unrepresentative of Falk's approach to Biagi's transcriptions.

6 See Doc. 1. Ammannati's return to Florence dates after his letter to Marco Mantova Benavides of 2 May 1555 (Falk, 171–173) and before late July 1555 (A. S. F., Conv. Soppr. 139, filza 1037 [241], c. 3), when his established presence in Florence is recorded. This accords with the two months, April–May 1555, Ammannati says he worked for the del Monte following the Pope's death. His initial requests to

In late 1560, when Ammannati first came back to Rome, this time in the *entourage* of Cosimo I, he once again obtained a testimonial from Pianetti and then had it under-signed by four witnesses. This is our Document 1.

Sometime after Ammannati's return to Florence, not before late December 1560⁷, and after Cosimo appointed a body to review claims on the del Monte estate, Ammannati began to prepare his appeal. In doing so he evidently relied on financial records which he kept, as was his habit, in Rome during the pontificate of Julius III, but which do not survive⁸.

Thus 1561 is a *terminus post quem* – but no more than that – for the second document, which is a first version of Ammannati's appeal to Cosimo's deputies. It has been published as if it were a finished text, but, to judge from the incomplete sentences, the numerous cancelled words and phrases, and the frequent superscriptions, it is the first, or, at least, an early draft of Ammannati's claim.

A third document, not previously published, is based closely on the first surviving draft of Ammannati's appeal. It is more clearly and precisely formulated, and it incorporates additional information from Ammannati's lost financial records in a chronological list of the donations Julius III had made him.

The fourth document is a finished draft, prepared, it seems, for submission. Both the spelling and the grammatical formulation have been improved, and a number of tactful modifications have been made in the claims advanced. The elegant, polished script is not Ammannati's, and Biagi's transcription here is substantially correct. This document assimilates elements from all three earlier documents.

Documents 2, 3, and 4, in which Ammannati describes his work for the del Monte, can in fact be fairly exactly dated. All three necessarily postdate 14 September 1561, when Fabiano del Monte, the son of Julius III's brother

Balduino and the ultimate heir of the del Monte estate, entered into an agreement with the papacy that eventually, in its successive transformations, saw two former del Monte properties, a large tract of the Vigna Giulia known as the Vigna Poggio and the present-day Palazzo Firenze, become Medici possessions. Before this date a Medici commission to review the creditors of the del Monte estate was premature, and for many years afterwards, well into the papacy of Pius V, the Medici experienced difficulties owing to the liabilities the del Monte had incurred. Fortunately these complicated circumstances need not be examined to determine when Ammannati prepared his appeal⁹. Both drafts and the polished version of Ammannati's statement contain unequivocal indications which point to a date much later than 1561.

In Document 4, Ammannati refers to the “serenissimo gran Duca”. Cosimo I, it will be recalled, was proclaimed Grand Duke of Tuscany in mid-December 1569 and crowned by Pius V in Rome early the following year. Lest one be reluctant to take Ammannati's “gran Duca” at face value, it may be noted that twice in Document 4 Ammannati speaks of “sua Altezza Serenissima”, thereby adopting the formal title of address appropriate to Cosimo's new regal dignity. In the last weeks of December 1569 this form rapidly replaced the titles hitherto in use, for instance, the most usual, *Sua Eccellenza Illustrissima*¹⁰. The form, *Sua Altezza Serenissima*, occurs in Document 2, as well, which, as we saw, preceded Document 3. Thus the beginning of 1570 becomes the *terminus post quem* for Ammannati's three statements. One further detail establishes it as their approximate date.

In Document 3, Ammannati applies the phrase, “essendo morto”, to Fabiano del Monte, who, it happens, died in late 1569, probably in September, at the Siege of Poitiers¹¹. With Fabiano's death, the del Monte line became extinct and by the terms of his testament Fabiano's estate passed to

Balduino del Monte for payment must have fallen at this time (Docs. 3, 4); cf. VasMil, VII, 522, “essendo morto il detto papa, l'Amannato che si trovava senza lavoro, e in Roma da quel Pontefice esser male stato sodisfatto delle sue fatiche...”

7 Ammannati's sojourn in Rome, nearly all of November–December 1560, can be securely dated on the basis of the following sources: *Lettere di Laura Battiferri Ammannati a Benedetto Varchi*, ed. C. GARGIOLLI, Bologna 1879, 42; *Sammlung ausgewählter Briefe an Michelagnuolo Buonarroti*, ed. K. FREY, Berlin 1899, 381; *Der literarische Nachlaß Giorgio Vasaris*, ed. K. FREY, Munich 1923, I, 591–592; G. GAYE, *Carteggio inedito d'artisti*, Florence 1840, III, 52–53, 55.

8 Ammannati was an earnest record keeper, as his surviving papers demonstrate. Among them, some records do survive for this period, mainly from 1550, for his transactions in connection with the del Monte Chapel in S. Pietro in Montorio (A. S. F., Conv. soppr. 139, filza 1036 [240], cc. 85 r–113 v).

9 For events until 1568: D. TESORONI, *Il Palazzo Firenze e l'eredità di Balduino del Monte*, Rome 1889, 49–57, 59–60, 107–123, 128–132, 136–140.

10 L. CARCERERI, *Cosimo Primo Granduca*, Verona 1929, III, 58–59. Two convenient indices of the changeover: *Nachlaß Vasaris*, ed. Frey, and Gaye, Carteggio, during December 1569 and the following months. Ammannati already employs the formula, *S. A. S.*, in April 1570 (Gaye, III, 281–282). Examples of Cosimo addressed as *Altezza* can be found in the Medici correspondence prior to December 1569, however, I know no instance before this date of *Serenissimo*, the crucial term, which regularly appears after Cosimo becomes Grand Duke.

11 For Fabiano's death, sometimes wrongly given as 1570, see: G. B. ADRIANI, *Istoria de' suoi tempi*, Prato 1823, VII, 241; L. VON PASTOR, *Storia dei Papi*, Rome 1951, VIII (Pio V.), 350; and note 13 below.

Cosimo I¹². By early October, Cosimo and his agents had set about bringing a final order into the long-vexed affairs of the del Monte¹³. This then must be the period when there was established a Medici review board which would, *inter alia*, consider debts arising from the Vigna di Papa Giulio properties.

An immediate and perhaps significant consequence of the new date is that Ammannati's statements describing his work at the Villa Giulia postdate Vasari's public version of the Villa's history, which, as Ammannati knew, was available to Cosimo's deputies if they wanted to consult its testimony.

A few final observations can be quickly stated to dispel, or to forestall, further misconceptions. Nothing is known of Cosimo's deputies beyond what we learn from Ammannati's three statements. There is no evidence that they ever awarded Ammannati a settlement. The *fedi* do, however, survive among his papers, not in the records of an official body. It is not even certain that Ammannati ever submitted his claim.

The claim he prepared is based entirely on the thirty-four month period preceding Julius III's death, that is, late May 1552 to late March 1555¹⁴. Ammannati speaks only for himself. He asks nothing for his earlier work on the del Monte Chapel in S. Pietro in Montorio¹⁵, and he makes no

specific claim for the Fontana Pubblica of Julius III, which, in 1565, his friend Bernardo Gamucci ascribed to him¹⁶. The donations Ammannati lists accord with those entered in the records of the papal *fabbriche*¹⁷.

The four documents found among Ammannati's papers are transcribed below. They lie next to one another in the third and last binding (No. 240, according to an old numeration) of A. S. F., Conventi soppressi 139, filza 1036. Each document is written on one leaf of a single paper folded once, i. e., a folio. The blank leaf of each folio bears an annotation, sometimes in Ammannati's hand, which describes the document. But, since in the gathering the two leaves of each folio are now separated, these annotations must be mechanically searched out. They could be found more readily before the filza was restored and bound in 1972. These descriptive annotations are given at the end of each document.

In the following transcription, indicated abbreviations have been resolved. Superscriptions are not italicized, nor are cancelled words and phrases, which are enclosed within parentheses; additions and explications are bracketed. Each illegible word omitted is indicated by a single mark of ellipsis. Annotations are restricted to those which clarify the factual content or the evidential value of the documents. The present transcription was made prior to the restoration of the Ammannati papers in 1972, at which time a translucent protective film was applied to the pages, considerably reducing the legibility of the often none-too-clear script.

[1909], Beiheft, 163, No. 333). Half of a folio remains gathered into Ammannati's papers at the end of the Villa Giulia documents. It bears the descriptive annotation in Ammannati's hand, "Scritto della Sepoltura di Papa Giulio III / 1555"; the other half of the folio, the leaf which contained the document itself, has been clipped out and is missing from the filza (A. S. F., Conv. soppr. 139, filza 1036 [240], c. 111 v).

16 *Libri quattro delle antichità della città di Roma*, Venice 1565, 137; cf. 95, 175. Note the sonnet written to Gamucci by Ammannati's wife, Laura Battiferri (Gamucci, vii-vii).

17 Falk, 126, wrongly denies this; cf. Doc. 3, and notes 31, 32, 34, 35.

12 E. REPETTI, *Dizionario geografico fisico storico della Toscana*, Florence 1839, III, 522, and note 13 below.

13 See especially a letter of 7 October 1569 concerning Fabiano's death and his estate written by Cardinal Giovanni Ricci to Bartolomeo Concino, *Segretario* to Cosimo I (A. S. F., Carteggio d'artisti, vol. I, cc. 93-95). Ricci has learned of Fabiano's death from the Secretary of the "Vescovo di Narni", who left Poitiers on 22 September 1569; he knows from Cosimo's ambassador in Rome that "il Signor Duca è restato herede del Signor Fabiano di quella parte che egli poteva testare"; and he is able to report to Cosimo that "gli agenti del Signor Fabiano" tell him that there remain outstanding "debiti della Santa Memoria di Papa Giulio, del Signor Balduino di buona memoria, et del Signor Giovanbattista suo figlio" totalling as much as 25,000 *scudi*.

14 Cf. F. L. MOORE, A Contribution to the Study of the Villa Giulia, in: *RömJbKg* 12 (1964), 172, note 2.

15 Although the chapel was contracted to Vasari, Ammannati also received direct payments of 575 *scudi di moneta* for his work on it (A. S. R., Camerale I, Fabbriche, vol. 1517, c. 49r, and *JbPrKs* 30

(c. 104r) *Fo fede io paulo pianetti Capo Maestro di Scarpello*¹⁸ *come Messer Bartolomeo amanati fiorentino fece el modello della fontana di Papa julio .iii. de monti per pascua de resuretio del 1552* [17.IV. 1552] *et pique al papa ditto modello et semesse [si è messo] mano a lavorare el magio venente del 1552 con soi modelli e desegni [-] lavoramo tutti noi scarpelini et muratori et scultori che aconciavano anticaglie et chi lavorava di stuco et lui ancora lavorava di sua mano allo stucho et al marmo et alle figure de peperignio et non restando con ogni sollicitudine di afaticarse per tutta la fabrica per fino alla morte de sua santita* [23. III. 1555] *et fare conperare statue tanto di difesta quanto dilavorare et e stato continuoo ocupato per ditta fabrica come Architetto et Scultore eletto da sua santita et io paulo pianetti sopra scritto ne fo vera fede per essere del continuoo stato a fare lavorare in ditta fabrica et afermo ogi questo di 12 di novembre del 1560 per questa mia seconda per averne gia fatta un'altra quale me dice averla perduta per piena venuta in firenze* [13. IX. 1557] *dove aveva ditta fede de mia mano*¹⁹

*Paulo pianetti mano propria*²⁰.
(autograph)

(c. 104v) *Io iacopo de castello muratore afermo quanto retroscritto si contiene per essere stato in ditto tempo a lavorare continuamente in la fabrica de ditta Vignia e in fede fo sotto scritto de mia propia mano adi come retro scritto* [12. XI. 1560]

*io iacopo mano propria*²¹
(autograph)

*io bernardino manfredi*²² *che ero soprastante della sopradicta fabrica afermo quanto di sopra si contiene fatta di propia mano cioe questa fede*
(autograph)

*Io Lazaro manfredi*²³ *Afermo quanto in questa e retro scritta perche in mio tempo il ditto a sempre servito come in questa e scritta mano propria*
(autograph)

18 "Maestro Paolo Pianetto fiorentino scalpellino e scultore" (A. BERTOLOTTI, *Bartolomeo Baronino da Casalmonferrato*, Casale 1875, 22, 28–29, 60, 62) appears thirty-six times in the building accounts of the Villa Giulia from 1551 to 1561 (see Falk, Reg., Index: Pianetti). By the end of March 1555 nearly nine thousand *scudi* had been paid through him for the "lavori di scarpello", "lavori di concio", and "lavori di scultura anzi di scarpello" which he directed.

19 Until ca. 1564 Ammannati's habitation and principal workshop was in Chiappino Vitelli's house near the Ponte alla Carraia on the Arno (A.S.F., Fabbriche Medicee X, cc. 38v, 39v, 40r, 41r, et passim; Gaye, Carteggio III, 138–139). A second, less serious *piena* occurred on 6. VIII. 1560.

20 In Rome.

21 In Rome. Jacopo da Castello, *muratore*, appears in the building accounts fourteen times, not, however, until the summer of 1561, when he is working alongside Pianetti (Falk, Reg., Index: Castello); see below note 28.

22 In Rome. Bernardino Manfredi, formerly a *palafreniere*, "hor soprastante della Vigna" (Reg. 54: April 1551), apparently was an on-site overseer and disburser who paid out substantial sums for materials and labor. He appears in the accounts sixty-six times, continuously from January 1551 through March 1555 (Falk, Reg., Index: Manfredi, Bernardino).

23 In Rome. Lazzaro Manfredi, apparently a younger relative of Bernardino, seems to have been the latter's assistant, and he performed similar duties. He appears a few times in the accounts from 1553 to 1555 (Falk, Reg., Index: Manfredi, Lazzaro; also A.S.R., Fabbr. 1519, January 1555).

*Io Piero Giovanni Aleotto Vescovo di Forli*²⁴ *faccio fede esser vero, quanto afferma il retroscritto maestro Paulo Pianetti, nella retroscritta fede, et cosi mi sono sottoscritto di man propria. In questo di XV. di Dicembre 1560*

Ita est Episcopus Foroliviensis
(autograph)

(c. 109v: descriptive annotation) *1560 / di messer Bartolomeo amanati* (not autograph) / *fede di Paulo Pianetti a favor dell'Ammannati* (the hand of Doc. 4)

Document 2

(c. 106r) *La domanda che io bartolomeo Amannati* (che io fo) *faccio alla redità della / santità di papa giulio III e poi al signor baldauino et a'l Signore fabiano / de monte, e che avendo servito alle fabriche in roma di tal redità 34 mesi*²⁵ / *come mostrono le fede. di più servi doi mesi di poi la morte di / papa Julio III* [23. III. 1555] *2 mesi per saldare i conti si della vignia come ancora / del palazzo di campo marzo. e altri conti ma domando solo gli 34 mesi / che (si lavoro): Io lavorai e desegni ai e messi inanzi ale dette fabriche / piu cose come si vede la fontana la loggia di detta vignia il cortile / dinanzi a detta loggia [-] al palazzo di campo marzo tutto quello che vi / si spese che fu vicino à 20(00) mila ducati*²⁶ *a detto palazzo logge di stuco palchi / (altre io) faccate. rifatte e in somma quello che ve di nuovo. fu / disegnato da me: e dico che per tale fatiche di 34 mesi / domando (25) (30) 25 scudi il mese avendo quelle fatiche che avevo di tanti / huomini che lavoravano sotto mio disegno e in una soma [?] mi pare / che no mi si venissi manco pure mi rimetto a quanto sara chiarito / ('a chi piacera) da (sua alteza serenissima per tal guditia di questo) chi a' a giudicare per tale / servito non o auto altro che come dico .350: scudi Doro in oro di / camera contandovi dentro una botte di greco et tre ruglia [rubbia] / di grano. altri danari non o mai auti se bene piu volte / gli ho domandati al Signore balduvino [d.?.VII. 1556] et al Signor fabiano come / erede ma me rispondevano che aconce le cose loro mi sodisfarebono / quando gli altri creditori e che io no dubitasi / e cosi ho lasciato passare il tempo sino adora. Serbando apresso / di me tali fede.* (autograph)

(c. 107v: descriptive annotation) *di messer bartolomeo amanati* (not autograph) / *domanda al Signor / fabiano da / monti* (autograph)

Document 3

(c. 105r) *La domanda che io faccio alla redita del Signor Balduvino de monti e per aver servito mesi 34 alle fabriche che sifacevono in roma a nome del Signore detto: sebene . . . endeva la santita Di papa Julio terzo suo fratello . . . in tale redita le mie fatiche come scultore. et architetto et o ne le fede levate in quel tempo*²⁷ *dal vescovo di furli curatore di dette fabriche e maestro paulo pianetti Capo maestro di scarpellini e di un altro Capo maestro Muratore*²⁸. *le quali presentero. e di tale operare e fare*

24 In Rome. Pier Giovanni Aliotti (or Aleotti), Bishop of Forlì (1551), *maestro di camera* of Julius III and *tesoriere segreto di Sua Santità*, who kept the account books for the papal *fabbriche* and who gave orders for the Pope at the Villa.

25 Thirty-four months accord with Pianetti's statement (Doc. 1), "si è messo mano a lavorare el magio venente del 1552", on which the figure is also based.

26 Aliotti's accounts for the Palazzo Firenze have not been published. Ammannati may have consulted them before leaving Rome in 1555; cf. Doc. 3, and notes 6, 22–24.

27 In 1560?

28 Jacopo da Castello, see above note 4. The *capomaestro muratore* for most of the Villa's construction, Bartolomeo Baronino, was murder-

operare non fui mai pagato sebene mi fu promesso piu volte ma sempre che io domandavo mera risposto che si farebe il salario e sarei pagato [-] E per tratenermi mi fu fato in sei diversi tempi 6 donativi (dui) tre di Scudi 50 di camera luno (e poi) e uno di 3 ruglia di grano e una botte di vino greco e un altro di 40 Scudi di camera et uno di 100 Scudi di camera che furno gli ultimi che poi si mori il papa [23. III. 1555]. morto Sua Santita chiesi al Signor balduvino il premio di dette fatiche [-] mi promesse darnele come anconava le sue cose colla camera e duno travaglio in uno altro mori [?. VIII. 1556] – non fui sodisfatto [-] gli chiesi al signior fabiano come sa messer piero Saluetti [?] che faceva la sua facende mi rispose detto Signore io vi sodisfatto asetate le mie cose [-] esendo morto domando ala redita che mi sodisfaccia e mi pare che mi sia dato Scudi 25²⁹ il mese perche e io in roma a mie spese e duravo grandissima fatica come ancora apariscono e se oggi altri... Signore detto le possiedi in quel tempo rimasono [?] al Signor balduvino et per lui furno fatte e che sia agunto chi a volere [?] di piu si vederà in molti conti a tempo del Signor (c. 105v) balduino da me saldati e sottoscritti³⁰ [-] la soma che io ho auto per donativi sono questi qui sotto scritti

La pascua di natale [25. XII. 1552] che entrai a loro servito ebbi Scudi 50 di camera
 La pascua de resuretion vegniente [2. IV. 1553] Scudi 50 di camera³¹
 La pascua di natale vegniente [25. XII. 1553] Scudi 50 di camera
 Lanno 1554 esendo gran carestia non si trovando grani e io domandando licientia per comprerarne sapiendo sua Santita che io non avevo grano me ne dono 3 ruglia et una botte di vino greco – il grano valeva 10 Scudi i ruglio – il vino valeva 24 Scudi la botta in tutto Scudi 54–³²

El primo di dagosto [1. VIII. 1554] sendo a San Marco³³ a giocare levandosi da giuoco mi dette quegli ducati che gli erano rimasti in mano i quali furno 40 ducati di camera e dise va ferra agosto colla tua moglie e sta di bona voglia che tu sarai sodisfatto delle tue fatiche Scudi 40–³⁴

ed in early September 1554 (see, e.g., Reg. 606, 614; Bertolotti, Baronino, 22). Presumably Jacopo was his successor, and this circumstance explains why his name appears so infrequently in the building accounts.

- 29 The uncertainty over the amount of the request in the previous draft, Doc. 2, is here resolved.
- 30 Cf. Reg. 441.
- 31 Entered on the books, 25 June 1553: “scudi cinquanta d’oro i quali Sua Santità li dona per sovvenzione – scudi 55 (di moneta)” (= Reg. 454). Note that Vignola also received three donations totalling 60 scudi d’oro for *sovvenzione* from the Pope in addition to his regular *provisione* of 13 scudi d’oro a month (Falk, 111, and Reg. 95, 122, 159).
- 32 The grain is entered into the accounts on 11 November 1554, although, given the sequence of events suggested here and in Doc. 4, the donation occurred before *ferragosto* 1554 (Reg. 641). Ammannati values the grain (in his reckoning, 3 *rubbia*) at 30 scudi, which agrees with the value of the “grano donati di ordine di N.S.,” scudi 30: 15 (for 4 *rubbia*). The barrel of wine, valued at 24 scudi, is not entered in the papal accounts.
- 33 The church of S. Marco, or, more likely, the Palazzo Venezia.
- 34 The amount of the donation entered in the papal accounts on 25 August 1554 (Reg. 605), scudi 25 d’oro (scudi 27: 50 di moneta), is substantially less than Ammannati indicates, but, given the circumstances of the donation, a discrepancy is not surprising. And there is a cask of wine to account for (above note 32).

E ultimamente per natale [25. XII. 1554] mi dono per le mani del vescovo di furli Scudi 100 di camera [-] il marzo poi mori [23. III. 1555]

Scudi 100–

ducati 344 di camera

El mio Credito sarebbe secondo che mi pare a me di mone [ta] Scudi 373–1³⁵

E le faticha che io facevo Scudi ottocento cinquanta di moneta – a 25 Sc. il mese dico Scudi 850

(c. 108v: descriptive annotation) domanda delle / mi fatiche al Signor fabiano de monti (autograph) / per la fabrica di Julio .3. (not autograph)

Document 4

(c. 103r) Io Bartolomeo Amannati, Ricorro à quei Magnifici Signori, deputati da sua Altezza Serenissima, à vedere tutti coloro che legittimamente sono creditori, sopra l’heredità lasciata dalla santità di Papa Giulio Terzo, perch’io pretengo d’essere uno di quegli, e di ciò produrrò fedeli del vero³⁶, fatte, e sottoscritte da piu persone, et in fra l’altre, de Reverendo Monsignore il Vescovo di furli³⁷, in quel tempo Tesauriero secreto, e maestro di Camera, e curatore delle fabbriche, di detta heredità, le quali fedeli mostrono come io servì mesi trentaquattro, à tutte dette fabbriche, come Architetto, à ogni bisogno, e anco lavorando di scultura, e rittocando i lavori a’ giovani che ivi servivano, si di pietra, come di stucco, e di marmo, secondo che occorreva, et era mio debito sendo à tal cura³⁸. Et sua santità mi promise ch’io il tutto facessi fidelmente che non mancherebbe sodisfarmi di tutte le mie fatiche, e perch’io meglio potesse aspettare questa sodisfazione, mi fece fare in sei diversi tempi sei donativi³⁹. Cioè la prima Pasqua che vené di Natale [25. XII. 1552] scudi cinquanta, d’oro di camera, e l’altra di resurretion [2. IV. 1553] altrettanti, e altrettanti pur simili l’altro Natale seguente [25. XII. 1553]; Et in detto tempo non si trovando grano da conperare in Roma, per la gran carestia che vi fu, e chiedendo io licentia di poterne conperare, sua santità me ne mando à casa tre ruglia di quella misura, et una botte di vin greco, di che baciandone io i piedi, disse à punto cosi, godi: Un’altro giorno send’ella à San Marco, e levandosi da giocare, veggendomi mi chiamò, e missemi in mano tutte quei denari ch’ella in mano hauea, i quali fuono quaranta ducati di Camera: e disse mi va e ferra Agosto [1554] con la tua famiglia: di poi ultimamente il primo di Gennaio [1555] mi fece donare per le mani del sudetto Monsignor di furli ducati cento di Camera⁴⁰; sempre dicendomi che tutti (c. 103v) questi erano donativi, e che (alora... .. sodisfare) sodisfarebbe alle mie fatiche, che ben conosceva quanto, e quali erano.

- 35 This total is more precise than the approximate computation of the papal donations in Doc. 2 at 350 scudi. In his final claim (Doc. 4) Ammannati decided against assigning a monetary value to the grain and wine, and against totalling the donations. The payments not entered into the building accounts may have been entered elsewhere, or they may simply be concealed in larger sums. In any event, the payments to Ammannati that do appear in the building accounts, if one allows a certain time lag, also appear in Ammannati’s accounting.
- 36 Doc. 1.
- 37 Pier Giovanni Aliotti (Docs. 1, 3, and note 21).
- 38 The formulation is, in part, patterned on Pianetti’s statement (Doc. 1).
- 39 The following is based on Doc. 3, which is here reformulated more elegantly.
- 40 The donation made “per natale” (Doc. 3), but on “il primo di Gennaio” (Doc. 4).

il Marzo vegente [1555] piacque à dio che seguisse la sua morte, et io non mancai per ciò d'andar seguitando di servire, e saldare i conti de i scarpellini, de' legnaioli, e à tutti quelli che sotto di me havevano lavorato; e con miei disegni, tutto per commissione del Signor Baldovino fratello del Papa; Hora dimando S' egli è pero con buona gratia del serenissimo gran Duca, che mi sia pagato il tempo ch'io spesi in tali serviti, che furono com'io ho detto 34 mesi, Le signorie Vostre magnifiche mi faccino un salario di tanto il mese, e anco se le parrà di mettermi à conto i sudetti donativi, io miriporto a loro giuditio, che so non sarà se non giusto, e buono: Di poi veggino quant'io resto creditore, e quanto le pare che mi sia dato, le prego che le si contetino di terminarlo, ch'io sempre ne terrò obligo alle Signorie vostre magnifiche et prima a sua Altezza serenissima, per la bontà della quale io verrò à godere le sopra dette mie fatiche. Ne resterò d'avvertirle, che stando in Roma à tale servitù, io era in casa mia propria⁴¹, dove stava à mie spese⁴², e con la mia famiglia.

(not autograph)

41 Ammannati's Roman house, ceded by his brother-in-law, Ascanio Battiferri, to his wife, Laura Battiferri Ammannati, was located "appresso l'arco di Portogallo", an ancient arch formerly in the Via

(c. 110v: descriptive annotation) *di messer bartolomeo amanati* (not in Ammannati's hand) / *credito dala redita / di papa Julio terzo* (in Ammannati's hand).

del Corso at the Palazzo Fiano. It is mentioned in Ammannati's papers first on 27 March 1553 (A.S.F., Conv. soppr. 139, filza 1036 [238], c. 39). Note also, "Copia d'un ricordo del 1561 di messer Bartolomeo Amanati / la casa di campo Marto, il quale fu fatto nel 1553 à di ... di maggio ... Marzo del 1570 roma / essendo il gran Duca di Toscana in roma" (A.S.F., Conv. soppr. 139, filza 1036 [238]). Ammannati's name has been repeatedly associated with two palaces in the immediate vicinity.

42 Ammannati's financial circumstances, after his marriage on 17 April 1550, were conditioned by the wealth of his father-in-law (cf. F. BALDINUCCI, *Notizie dei professori del disegno*, ed. F. Ranalli, Florence 1846, II, 364). In October 1552 he could lend Francesco da Sangallo twenty *scudi*, "Io maestro Francesco Sangalo confeso avere riceuto oggi questo di 8 d'otobre 1552 da messer bartolomeo scultore scudi venti d'oro in presto ... in Roma. / .Io. Francesco Sangalo." (A.S.F., Conv. soppr. 1037 [241], c. 2; cf. Falk, Reg. 334-336).