



FONTES  **Quellen und Dokumente zur Kunst 1350-1750**
Sources and Documents for the History of Art 1350-1750

TWO LETTERS OF BARTOLOMEO AMMANNATI: INVENTION AND PROGRAMME, PART I

BARTOLOMEO AMMANNATI:
“Al Magnifico Signor mio Osservandissimo [Bartolomeo Concino (?)] (...) Di Siena agli 3 di
Novembre 1559”,

from:

Due lettere di Bartolommeo Ammannati scultore ed architetto fiorentino del secolo XVI
[ed. Gaetano Milanesi], Firenze 1869

edited with an introduction and commentary by

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TWO LETTERS OF BARTOLOMEO AMMANNATI: INVENTION AND PROGRAMME

Part I:

BARTOLOMEO AMMANNATI, “Al Magnifico Signor mio Osservandissimo
[Bartolomeo Concino (?)] (...) Di Siena agli 3 di Novembre 1559”

Letter from Bartolomeo Ammannati in Siena to Bartolomeo Concini (?) in Florence, 3
November 1559

In 1869 there was printed in Florence on the occasion of the marriage of Eleonora Contucci of Montepulciano to Cesare Sozzifanti of Pistoia and as a tribute to the bride, a booklet of sixteen pages containing two unpublished letters written by the Florentine sculptor and architect Bartolomeo Ammannati (1511-1592). This publication belongs to a somewhat ephemeral category of occasional publications, common at the time, and usually privately printed for weddings and sometimes for other similarly significant life junctures, and, as such, marriage day publications represent a kind of afterlife of the classical epideictic type of the epithalamium (marriage hymn, praise of marriage day, etc.). The small book was: *Due lettere di Bartolommeo Ammannati, scultore ed architetto fiorentino del secolo XVI*, Firenze: Bencini, 1869. The first of the two letters, which describes the apparatus prepared for the entry of Cosimo I into Siena in 1560, is the subject of this issue of *FONTES*, and the second, which proposes the iconographical inventions devised by the artist for the base of a monumental honorific column to be erected in Florence, will be treated in a subsequent issue of *FONTES*, to appear shortly. They both describe and explain works by the sculptor-architect, the first a nearly finished project and the second a proposed one. Both letters give detailed views of the *Bildprogramme* that informed these works. The publication, „*Per le nozze Contucci–Sozzifanti*“, is quite rare, and our purpose is to make these two texts more widely available in electronic form and to examine their interest in the context of testimonies by artists concerning the meanings of their works.

Letters such as that of Ammannati and other written descriptions by artists or *invenzioni* drawn up by literary intellectuals for their instruction largely escaped notice in Schlosser’s survey of *Kunstliteratur*, mainly because few were printed. But they constitute an important genre of art historical sources, one which in a post-Schlosser time has attracted more than a little interest, with the emergence of iconography as a major tendency in art history research and writing.

A dedicatory page at the beginning of the work discloses the date of the marriage, „*XXII di Settembre MDCCCLXIX*“, but not the place, which was most probably Montepulciano. There follows the dedication: „*Alla nobil donzella la Signora Eleonora Contucci da Montepulciano nelle sue nozze col nobil Signore Cesare Sozzifanti da Pistoia queste lettere non mai stampate di Bartolommeo Ammannati il Dottor Niccolò Contucci per ricordo affettuoso di parente e d’amico con i più lieti auguri offre e consacra*“. Niccolò Contucci was, as he states, a friend and a relative of the bride, perhaps an uncle or cousin, and, in 1857, he had donated a

„servizio d'Aspersione“, now found in the Museo Civico of Montepulciano, „dove nella pancia del secchiello vi è la seguente scritta: Niccolò Contucci donava alla Venerabile Arciconfraternita della Misericordia di Montepulciano nell'anno 1857“. Thus it would seem that Niccolò Contucci, as well as the younger Eleonora, was a native of Montepulciano. In library catalogues and in the few published historical and art historical studies that cite this occasional pamphlet, Niccolò Contucci is given as the author or editor of this work. This is wrong, for Contucci was simply the patron, one who commissioned the work from a scholar, who in the printed work is not mentioned and who paid for its printing in the “*Tipografia di F. Bencini*” in far away Florence, and who offered it to the bride on the day of her marriage. To these circumstances testifies an example of the pamphlet found in the Biblioteca Marucelliana in Florence (Misc. 1300.32). It is inscribed on its cover: “*All'egregio Sig.^e A. Gherardi / p(er) ricordo affettuoso G. Milanese editore*”, in a dedication which Milanese inscribed as the author or editor of the work. Thus the person responsible for this publication is Gaetano Milanese (Siena 1813-Florence 1895), best known for his edition of Vasari's *Opere*, especially the *Vite* (1846-1870; 1878-1885) in the edition of the Lives published by Vasari in 1568, and an indefatigable discoverer and publisher of documents relevant to the history of art. Milanese has been recently studied in: Piergiacomo Petrioli, *Gaetano Milanese: erudizione e storia dell'arte in Italia nell'Ottocento; profilo e carteggio artistico*, Siena: Accademia Senese degli Intronati, 2004, in the series, *Fonti di storia senese*, and an entry in the *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* should appear in one of the next volumes to be published. Although the annotations to the two letters are sparse, they are well-informed and thus in line with Milanese's vast erudition. In 1869 the two letters were still to be found in the “Libreria Albani in Urbino”.

This collection has been subsequently dispersed. In the Palazzo Albani in Urbino the Albani family possessed a rich library. When the palace was sold in 1915, the family moved to the villa Imperiale at Pesaro, and the library was sold in 1928 to the Catholic University of America (Washington), where it bears the name, Biblioteca Clementina, named for Pope Clement XI Albani (1700-1721). The Catholic University collection of approximately 10,000 printed books and pamphlets represents about one third of the books accumulated by the Albani. The collection contains few manuscripts. The family archive, which was annexed to the Libreria Albani in Urbino, also went to Pesaro. It is being indexed and digitized by the “*progetto Archivio Albani*” (Biblioteca Oliveriana, Pesaro: <http://www.archivioalbani.it>). No record of the two Ammannati letters is presently available.

Some modern publications indicate the two letters as still belonging to the Libreria Albani in Urbino, unaware of the dispersion of this library collection. In reality, the present collocation of the documents is unclear, and the present publication may favour the determination of their present location or locations. A rapid search through the volumes of Kristeller's *Iter Italicum* did not produce a positive result.

Returning to the dedication of the Marucelliana example by Gaetano Milanese to “*Signore A. Gherardi*”, it is to be noted that Gherardi may be identified with Alessandro Gherardi (Florence, 1844-Florence, 1908), who was twenty-five years old in 1869, at the time of the “*nozze Contucci-Sozzifanti*”. The young Florentine had been admitted in 1861 as an “*apprendista*” at the Archivio di Stato in Florence, where he studied with Milanese, as well as with Francesco Bonaini and Cesare Guasti, both men also distinguished archivists. Gherardi, Bonaini, and Guasti have each received an entry in the *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (Gherardi: vol. 53, pp. 536-537; Bonaini: vol. 11, pp. 513-516; Guasti: vol. 60, pp. 501-505), and art historians have written about these men (www.kubikat.org). If Alessandro Gherardi had been a student of Milanese in the early 1860s, by 1865 he had been assumed in a position

at the Florentine Archivio di Stato, where he passed his entire professional career and where he conducted his studies. There he became *vice direttore*, and then, in 1903, the Director. He published important archival catalogues and studies of the sources for the history of Medieval and Renaissance Florence.

In the 1860s Montepulciano was not without *tipografie* (e.g., the *tipografia* of Fumi, Angiolo Fumi, 1839-1878), and Gaetano Milanese's rôle in the publication of the *Due lettere* is perhaps sufficient to explain its publication in Florence. The title page of the booklet states explicitly, „*In Firenze / Dalla Tipografia di F. Bencini / all'Insegna di Dante / 1896*“. This business was the ‚*Tipografia di Federigo Bencini all'Insegna di Dante*‘, which in 1865/1866 was established in Via dei Pandolfini N.° 24, on the same street line with (and only about three blocks distant from) the Casa di Dante in the via Santa Margherita. Bencini printed regularly in Florence from the 1830s until around 1890, when his successors, the ‚Fratelli Bencini‘, apparently took over the firm and continued to print. An image of Dante's head appears on the covers and title pages of many of Bencini's publications, and he apparently followed the tradition whereby printers and book sellers most often identified their shops to the public by an insignia („*insegna*“), that is, by an image which they hung as a sign outside their shops, in a form of marking of the urban space with images as signs, rather than by marking their places of business with signs bearing their names written in letters. Such written identifications as well as street names in written words posted at the corners of streets would have been incomprehensible to the illiterate, who still constituted the bulk of the population. Never the less, some written words and names may well have been, within a given context, widely recognizable, functioning similarly to modern logos that incorporate words and names. Bencini's Dante *insegna*, and possibly his press as well, may follow or reflect an earlier Florentine precedent, that of Giuseppe Molini (1772-1856), who was the proprietor of two prominent printing establishments, „*All'Insegna di Dante*“ and „*presso G. Molini*“ (piazza Santa Maria in Campo), from the late 18th century until the 1820s. One of his trade cards reads, “GIUSEPPE MOLINI / LIBRERIA E STAMPERIA ALL'INSEGNA DI DANTE / in Via degli Archibusieri in Firenze”. Molini closed his bookshop when he was appointed director of the Biblioteca Palatina (now the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze), which maintained the important book and manuscript collections of the Grand Dukes of Tuscany, a position which Molini held until his death in 1856. See: *Catalogo de' libri che si trovano in Firenze presso Giuseppe Molini libraio dagli Archibusieri l'anno 1779*, Libreria Giuseppe Molini, Firenze, Firenze 1779, 31, 17, 12, 6 pp.; catalogue of books in stock. The image of Dante's head found on the covers and title pages of some books published by Molini (e.g., Giovanni Gaye's *Carteggio di artisti*) appears to be engraved after a profile bust in bas-relief, and the same image is used as his insignia by Federigo Bencini.

The print shop of Federigo Bencini produced a number of similar occasional publications for marriage days in the years around 1869 (1868, 1869, 1870; see: LAIT: Libri antichi in Toscana 1501-1885, Catalogo cumulato di edizioni antiche conservate in biblioteche toscane - <http://lait.signum.sns.it>).

All of these circumstances are of interest for the history of art in nineteenth-century Florence and Italy and for the history of an art history that remains interested in Italy and in works of art. In any event, for the study of the historical sources of the history of art, Gaetano Milanese is scarcely a figure of negligible interest, and, if the identification of his connection with the *Due lettere* adds but a minor footnote to his achievements, his responsibility for the text adds to its interest and underlines its significance. Through his concentration on documents relating to the history of art he, despite the perceived limitations of nineteenth-

century empiricism, contributed to transforming the history of art from a merely speculative science into a serious historical discipline based on knowledge of the surviving testimonials.

As mentioned earlier, the purpose of this number of *FONTES* is to make Ammannati's letter widely available in electronic form and to examine its interest as an *invenzione* for an ephemeral decoration with a political message, one which was subsequently published in a detailed description at the time the entry of Cosimo I into Siena actually took place.

Part I presents the first letter.

The first of Ammannati's two letters is, according to Milanesi, autograph. It is signed, "Bartolomeo Amannati" and written from Siena ("*Di Siena*") and dated 3 November 1559, and it is addressed to a "*Magnifico Signor mio osservandissimo*", whom, Milanesi suggests, doubtless not without reason, may be the "*segretario Concini*", employed at this date by Cosimo I. This is Bartolomeo Concini of Terranova in Val d'Arno Superiore, one of Duke Cosimo's closest advisors and his secretary for correspondence relating to foreign affairs, to which the triumphal entry into Siena may have belonged, as did other matters relating to Siena. Vasari addresses him with formulas such as "*Molto Magnifico Signor mio*" (1556 ff.; e.g., I, No. CCXL). Some of his letters in these years concern Siena (see the Medici Archive project: www.medici.org).

In Ammannati's letter, he describes the apparatus, including statues and triumphal arches with sculptural elements and painting, which he has made in Siena in preparation for the triumphal entry of the Duke, following the conclusion of the war of Siena and the assumption of Siena as a duchy by Cosimo. Following his description, Ammannati reports upon the reception of his wife, the poetess, Laura Battiferri, in the circle of the academies in Siena, and he sends his salutations to two friends and patrons in Florence.

The text of the first letter is as follows:

FULL TEXT OF AMMANNATI'S LETTER OF 3 NOVEMBER 1559:

Bartolomeo Ammannati (Siena) to Bartolomeo Concini (?) (Florence), 3 November 1559.

Mag. Sig. mio oss.^{mo}

Se io avessi scritto a V. S. prima che io avessi fatto, mi parebe essere di quegli ciarlatori che dicono et non fanno. Come fui arrivato in Siena et risoluto quanto volevano fare questi gentiluomini di Siena unitamente per la entrata di sua Eccellenza Ill:^{ma} in Siena, mi messi a lavorare, e con tre giovani soli ho fatto sedici figure grandi 4 braccia et cinque l'una, et quella proposta et negoziata da V. S., l'ò fatta b.^a 5 ½, per andare in luogo più aperto: e 'l mag:^{co} governatore insieme con moltissimi gentiluomini di Siena le sono stati a vedere et àno dito che ne restono sodisfati asai, et masime di quella di sua Ecc:^{za} Ill.^{ma}; et così me àno fatto cominciare a formarla di gesso per servirmene al getto di bronzo. Et io non manco de ogni solectudine et fatica volentieri, per avere a essere a gloria del mio Signore, et posta in sì bellissimo luogo. Fuori della porta di Camollia, dico quella per fianco, s'è spianato quella scesa grande, et vi si è fatto uno arco isolato, che vi sono di poi le storie dipinte, con statue di rilievo nelle doi nicchie da basso: nell'una Giulio Cesare per la clemenza, et ne l'altra Teseo per la vittoria. Sopra a queste, nelle nicchie, nell'una la Vittoria, l'altra la Clementia: sopra e diritti delle colonne 7 turchi prigionieri et in mezzo l'epitaffio, et alla fine de l'arco la Fede. Giù per la strada sino al palazzo dove à da alloggiare sua Ecc:^{za} Ill.^{ma}, statue su basamenti; alla piazza de' Piccolomini, Ottaviano Augusto col Capricorno e 'l mondo in mano; alla Croce del Travaglio, Iano re primo de' Toscani che porge la chiave al Duca del tempio, come la pace e la guerra stà in potere di Sua Ecc:^{tia} Ill.^{ma}: al cantone della Pustierla sur un basamento, Minerva: mostrando che per sua Ecc.^{tia} abbia a rimettersi in su le virtù la città: alla porta della abitatione di Sua Ecc:^{tia} un vestibulo molto ornato; et in sul cantone, un arco molto grande e ornato asai d'istorie dipinte: alla porta del palazzo de' Signori ornata asai bene, et il simile alla porta del Capitano o Bargello che si chiami: nel mezzo di questi ornamenti la statua di Sua Ecc:^a Ill.^a con quella Toscana e uno tritone marino con tanti trofei come V. S. vidde al modello: e due statue lo mettono in mezzo; da l'una mano Fiorenza e da l'altra Siena, tenendo ciasceduna una corona ducale, mostrando che ciasceduna è Duca; nel modo che noi ragionassimo in Firenze. E tutto è finito, e tra dieci giorni me ne tornerò a Firenze, seguitando dietro ad essa opera per gettare di bronzo. Onde spero vedere V. S.: del che desidero asai: per ralegrarmi di questo buono animo che àno questi gentiluomini di Siena.

Darovi questo altro poco d'avviso, per dire a V. S. che questo obligo le ho di più. Mia moglie è venuta da Urbino et à fatto la strada di Siena: onde è stata

qui molto visitata e acarezata da questi Academici, e vogliono che ela sia de una loro academia, di quella che più si contenta de le tre. Penso si elegerà gli Intronati: e di già da di begli ingegni sono stati fatti di buoni sonetti. E così si pasa el tempo. Partirasi fra 4 giorni. Se el Sig. Chiappino mio padrone sarà dove V. S. gli possa parlare, mi farebe grazia di raccomandarmi a S. S.^{ia} Ill.ma così al mag.co Messer Leonardo Dancona, che io mi ricordo che gli sono ubligato, sebene mi partì quella matina così a caso, senza torre da Sua S.^{ia} licenzia. Altro non mi occorre. A. V. S. senza fine mi raccomando. Di Siena, agli 3 di novembre del 59.

Di V. S.

Affetionatissimo Servitore

BARTOLOMEO AMANNATI

THE LETTER:

In this letter, Ammannati first reports his arrival in Siena, his consultations there about the apparatus for the planned entry of Duke Cosimo into the city – the costs of which may have been partly borne by its inhabitants – and he relates that he has set to work, employing only three young assistants. In the meantime, he writes, he has completed sixteen figures, each over four *braccia* tall, and another statue, one which was proposed and negotiated by the recipient of the letter (a representative of Duke Cosimo) and which, as emerges subsequently, represents the Duke himself. It is five and one-half *braccia* high, and it is destined to be displayed “*in luogo più aperto*”, that is in a more widely visible position with respect to the other figures. The governor of the Medici state of Siena, who was Agnolo Niccolini, together with many gentlemen of Siena have come to see these works, and they have declared themselves most satisfied (“*soddisfatti assai*”). All these statues were doubtless made of clay and straw or by-products of textile manufacture (*stoppa* or *cimatura*) applied to wooden frameworks. In Siena the viewers were pleased most of all with the largest statue, that of Duke Cosimo (“*quella di Sua Eccellenza Illustrissima*”). There were plans afoot to cast this statue in bronze. Here, in Siena, they have caused me to begin making a gesso cast of it, Ammannati writes, to use in casting the statue in bronze (“*a formarla di gesso per servirmene al getto di bronzo*”). No bronze *Standbild* of Duke Cosimo in Siena is known, but, only a few months earlier, Ammannati was occupied with casting a bronze Mars, now displayed in the Uffizi, a statue the features of which resemble portraits of Cosimo. Beneath the plume of his helmet is, half-concealed, a Capricorn, recognizable by the form of his horns and his marine tail (and not an Ariete, as usually said). Ammannati promises to expend every care and effort on this work, for it is made in the service of the Glory of my Lord (“*del mio Signore*”), the Duke, and it will be placed in such a fine and prominent position (“*in sì bellissimo luogo*”).

(*Literature*: ASF, *Fabbriche medicee*, XXI, folio 14 verso: “*per gittare uno martte*” (3.06.1559); Keutner, 1963, pp. 84-86; Mario Scalini, “Di alcuni getti di bronzo al tempo di Bartolomeo Ammannati”, in: *Bartolomeo Ammannati, Atti del convegno, 17-19 marzo 1994*, Firenze: Alinea, 1995, pp. 55-62, esp. fig. at p. 62; Detlef Heikamp, in: *Magnificenza alla corte dei Medici*, exhibition catalogue, Firenze, Palazzo Pitti, Museo degli Argenti, 1997-1998, Milano: Electa, 1997, pp. 36 (illustration), 46-47, cat. no. 15).

A pen and ink sketch by Ammannati recording a bust of Cosimo I is found in his *taccuino* in the Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence, at folio 45 (see Bartolomeo Ammannati, *La città*, ed. Mazzino Fossi, Roma: Officina Edizioni, 1970, pp. 343-344).

THE ENTRY APPARATUS DESCRIBED:

At this point in his letter Ammannati turns to a sequential exposition of the entry apparatus that he has made. The entry begins outside the Porta Camollia, the northernmost of the Siena city gates, which opened onto the *strada di Firenze*. Here is to be made a freestanding arch (“*arco isolato*”). It bears paintings (“*le storie dipinte*”) and statues (“*statue di rilievo*”). The statues are disposed in double-tiered niches. In the two lower niches are Julius Caesar, standing for Clemency, and Theseus, the legendary founder king of Athens (“*Teseo*”, who, in fact, refers to Chiappino Vitelli, as Cirni, 1560, indicates; see *infra*), standing for victory. In the niches above, the statues or personifications represent, explicitly, Victory and Clemency. Above the columns are seven Turkish prisoners (“*7 turchi prigionieri*”, or perhaps eight?), as bound captives. In the middle, an inscription (“*l’epitaffio*”), and at the apex of the arch, the figure of Faith (“*Fede*”), identifying the arch as an *Arco della Fede*.

Ammannati then reveals what will be placed along the route of the processional entry of the Duke and Duchess, “*giù per la strada sino al palazzo dove ha da alloggiare Sua Eccellenza Illustrissima*”. The path of the entry leads directly south, and along it are arranged statues on bases (“*basamenti*”). Thus the itinerary leads from the Porta Camollia southward to the Campo and beyond, following the via Camollia, the via dei Montanini, the via Bianchi di Sopra, to the Croce del Travaglio (the intersection of the Bianchi di Sopra and the Bianchi di Sotto with the via di Città, which leads further south, beyond the Campo), and then to the Piazza Posterierla, commonly called the Piazza dei Quattro Cantoni (“*cantone della Pustierla*”), and continuing in the via del Capitano, apparently turning westward to the “*abitazione di Sua Eccellenza*”.

Ammannati locates the first of the “*statue su basamenti*” in the “*piazza de’ Piccolomini*”: Ottaviano Augusto with the Capricorn and the globe of the world in his hand. In Medicean iconography Duke Cosimo de’ Medici is most frequently and closely associated with the Roman Emperor Augustus, and the Capricorn and the *mondo* constitute his impresa and his astrological ascendant. This symbolism recalls Ammannati’s *Genio Mediceo* in the Palazzo Pitti (Florence), a boy who holds aloft a global orb, which is also a Medici *palla*, and also clasps a Capricorn to his side (see Claudio Pizzorusso, “Mirone e Dafne: su Bartolomeo Ammannati scultore e Laura Battiferri”, in: *Artista*, 2003, pp.72-87).

At the Croce del Travaglio, it is a statue of Janus, the first Tuscan king (“*re primo de’ Toscani*”), who extends to his successor, Duke Cosimo, the key to the Temple of Janus, the doors of which are open in the time of war and closed when peace reigns. Thus Cosimo is granted the power to close the Temple of Janus and to ensure peace. In Ammannati’s description, Janus’s extension of the keys to the *Tempio di Giano* appears to be a symbolic gesture, one perhaps not requiring the representation of the recipient. The presence of Janus is aligned with frequent representations at the time of figures drawn from the Etruscan or Tuscan past and with a more general revival of the ancient Tuscan past during the early Medici principate.

The third of the freestanding statues on bases was found in the Piazza Postierla (“*cantone della Pustierla*”). Here is Minerva “*sur un basamento*”, to testify to Cosimo’s intention to restore, following the establishment of peace, “*le virtù*” in the city of Siena.

At the end of the route through Siena was the habitation of the Duke in Siena, possibly the Palazzo del Capitano del Popolo in the via del Capitano, or at least nearby. At the “*porta del abitazione di Sua Eccellenza*”, a vestibule “*molto ornato*”, and at the corner of the palace, a very large arch decorated with many painted histories.

Then, leaving behind the path of the entry, Ammannati mentions other parts of the apparatus: the entrance portal of the “*palazzo de’ Signori*” (Palazzo Pubblico), “*ornata assai bene*”, and similarly the “*porta del Capitano o Bargello che si chiama*”. Here was to be found the large statue of the Duke, which Ammannati hoped to cast in bronze. The statue of the Duke was accompanied by one of Tuscany, for Cosimo was now the Duke of Florence and Siena, and by a sea triton with many trophies, as spoils of war. This was, Ammannati adds, as the recipient of his letter had seen them in his model (“*modello*”), which he had presumably presented earlier to secure the approval of his plans. At the two sides of this central grouping were the two statues of “*Fiorenza*” (Firenze/Florence) and Siena, each holding a ducal crown to show that each territory was now a duchy, in line with, says Ammannati, the way we think in Florence.

Thus Ammannati arrives at the end of the description proper, and at this point he announces that everything is finished, and in ten days’ time he will return to Florence, where he will follow up on his plans to cast the Duke’s statue in bronze (“*seguitando dietro ad essa opera per gettare di bronzo*”). In Ammannati’s relatively brief letter, this constitutes the fourth distinct mention of this statue, and certainly one of the subtexts of his letter, if not perhaps his principal motive in writing it, is to attract interest to this project and to promote its execution. A 5½ *braccia* tall (over 3 m) statue of the Duke in bronze was apparently a feat that the sculptor was eager to attempt. He is also very much looking forward to seeing his correspondent in Florence again, and to rejoicing with him over the splendid reception that he has found in Siena.

LAURA BATTIFERRI:

Then Ammannati turns to news of his wife, Laura Battiferri (or Battiferra), and of her positive reception in academic circles in Siena, which seems to owe something to the good offices of his correspondent (“*che questo obbligo le ho di più*”). The poetess has come to Siena from her native Urbino – “*ha fatto la strada di Siena*”, and here she has been much visited by the literary academicians of Siena and well received (“*molta accarezzata*”). They want that she join one of the three literary academies in Siena, whichever one she desires. I think she will elect to join the Accademia degli Intronati (as she did), writes Ammannati, and she has already received sonnets addressed to her here. Possibly this part of the letter is an afterthought, for Ammannati’s departure is now planned in four days, unless it was his wife who planned to leave earlier.

LAURA BATTIFERRI: Enzo Noè Girardi, “Laura Battiferri”, in: *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 7, Roma 1965, pp. 242-244 (with further literature). There are a number of recent studies of Battiferri by Victoria Kirkham, perhaps most notably, “Creative Partners: The Marriage of Laura Battiferra and Bartolomeo Ammannati”, in: *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 55, no. 2, 2002, pp. 498-558, which, despite a perhaps too enthusiastic approach to coupleship as teamwork, contains much new information. Battiferri is indexed in the OPACs of www.kubikat.org.

SALUTATIONS:

Having already taken leave of Bartolomeo Concini, if he is indeed the recipient of the letter, Ammannati closes his letter, in a common practice, by extending salutations via the recipient to mutual friends and patrons, in this case, to Signor Chiappino Vitelli “*mio padrone*” and to the “*magnifico Messer Leonardo d’Ancona*”. D’Ancona has resisted identification. Chiappino Vitelli was an important military *capitano* then in the service of Cosimo I, who played a rôle in the conquest of Siena, leading troops of cavalry and infantry, and who was honoured in the apparatus for the triumphal entry of Cosimo into Siena. Vitelli’s wife was also a poetess, and Chiappino was both friend and patron to Ammannati and Battiferri.

CHIAPPINO VITELLI: Giovanni Luigi ‘Chiappino’ Vitelli, 1519-July 1575, military leader, Marquis of Cetona (title received from Cosimo I, 1556); 1557 ff.: “*Capitano Generale della Fanteria Medicea*”; married to Eleonora Cibo Malapina-Fieschi. See also Wikipedia and www.condottieridiventura.it with very full information. His standard biography: Carlo Promis, “Biografie di ingegneri militari italiani dal secolo XIV alla metà del XVIII”, pp. 428-446, in: *Miscellanea di storia italiana*, ed. Regia Deputazione di Storia Patria, vol. 14, Torino 1874. Vitelli owned a house in the via Romana (Florence), where Ammannati maintained a workshop until 1563, and a villa behind Santa Maria Novella (cf. Ammannati, *Città*, ed. Fossi, pp. 312-313, 321, 329 *et passim*). Other notices in Kirkham, 2002, pp. 528-530.

EXAMINATION AND FINDINGS:

Ammannati’s letter is dated the third of November 1559, but the formal triumphal entry of Cosimo and his Duchess into Siena experienced delays, and it took place almost a full year later on 28 October 1560. The iconographic plan and the figural inventions embodied in Ammannati’s epistolary report to the Medici court were later recorded in printed form. Cosimo’s Siena entry and the apparatus erected for it are described in Antonfrancesco Cirmi Corso’s *La reale entrata dell’Eccellentissimo Signor Duca e Duchessa di Fiorenza, in Siena*, Roma: Per Antonio Blado stampatore camerale, 1560, a 12 page booklet (*DbI*, vol. 25, pp. 814-816). An example is found in the Biblioteca Marciana as well as in the Library of the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz (P 1224q RARO), but these were unavailable at the time of writing. A number of examples are found in other Italian libraries. Cirmi’s *Reale entrata* is an early example of a description printed at the time of the ephemeral event it describes. An electronic edition of this brief text would be feasible, and a close comparative analysis of the two texts, desirable.

Ammannati’s letter of 3 November 1559 is a somewhat informal description of his project for the entry apparatus, a description which contains vestiges of a more complete iconographic and programmatic conception, which was possibly owed to Vincenzo Borghini (BNCF, Ms. Magl. II.X.100, *carte Borghini*). Cirmi’s *Entrata* is a more formal description, one in which the programmatic elements and the political messages conveyed in the entry are more systematically presented. Ammannati’s letter describing the preparations for the Siena entry was not, however, his first attempt at describing, in a letter, an architectural-sculptural project in which he had played a large part. In a letter addressed to his earlier Paduan patron, Marco Mantova Benavides, and dated 2 May 1555, Ammannati forwards a very extensive description of villa and *vigna* of Papa Giulio in Rome, with much attention to its sculptural decoration and to meanings it conveyed. (Balestra, 1911: Biblioteca Oliveriana, Pesaro; reprinted in Falk, 1971.) This letter inevitably recalls a similar project of Ascanio Condivi to

write about the villa Giulia (*Vita di Michelagnolo*, Rome 1553, p. 42 verso: “*della quale mi riserbo à scriverne un'altra volta come quella che ricerca particolar opera et che per anchora non ha la sua perfettione*” – “*di tante statue antiche et moderne et di si gran varietà di bellissime pietre et di pretiose Colonne, di stucchi, di pitture et d'ogni altra sorte d'ornamenti è ripiena*”). Similarly most of the earliest letters of Giorgio Vasari, dating from the 1530s, are literary descriptions of his works or of projects on which he had participated. His nephew collected many of them in a manuscript book, the title of which identifies the letters as “*sopra inventioni di varie cose da lui [Vasari] dipinte o da dipingersi*” (Florence, Codice Riccardiana 2354; see Vasari-Milanesi, vol. 8, pp. 229 ff.). Letters afforded one means to spread the fame of Vasari's inventions, and many of the letters aim to be publishable, or indeed to be published. In any event, manuscript letters often circulated in copies. A few of Vasari's early letters were published by Pietro Aretino in his letter books. And, as late as 1579, Ammannati could still lucidly recall the invention for his *Fontana di Giunone*, made for the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence and begun in 1555, relating its programme to Tanai de' Medici, who describes it in a letter to Duke Francesco I de' Medici (Gaye, *Carteggio inedito*, vol. 3, pp. 423-424).

As mentioned at the outset, written descriptions by artists or *invenzioni* drawn up by literary intellectuals for their instruction largely escaped notice in Schlosser's survey of the literature of art because most remained in manuscript form. But inventions and programmes constitute an important genre among the written sources for the history of art. In the development of art history after Schlosser such texts have attracted considerable interest, in particular, with the emergence of iconography as a major tendency in art history research and writing, especially in the period following the Second World War. The intensive study of entries, festivals, and pageantry, and of the printed booklets that accompanied them, reflects, within a context of iconographical research, the Warburgian origins of twentieth-century iconography. The texts of programmes and inventions also provide a means of testing what is historically plausible in iconographical interpretation, and such texts have been adduced by the critics of iconographic interpretation, in a fairly recent phase of discussion, which was, in part, a post-Warburgian phenomenon.

If we turn again to Ammannati's description, it is possible to see the sequence of themes and the political messages conveyed:

- (1) *Arco della Fede*: Victory and Clemency,
- (2) Augustus: *Mondo* (Cosimo-Cosmos),
- (3) Janus: Peace,
- (4) Minerva: *Virtù*,
- (5) Cosimo, the Tuscan Duke of Florence and Siena.

The Arch of Faith alludes to a victory over infidels and not simply to a triumph over Siena in the War of Siena. Clemency is extended to Siena, in a first note of reconciliation. Two founders of states are represented: Caesar (Roman Empire) and Theseus (Athens).

Augustus is the first Roman emperor and a new ruler. His ascendant, the Capricorn, is the same as that of Cosimo, who is the new Augustus. He brings peace and fortune to the world (*mondo: cosmos*). Janus, described by Ammannati as the first King of the Tuscans (as Cosimo is the first Duke of Tuscany, that is, of Florence and Siena), gives Cosimo the power to make peace, and thereby to create Tuscany, and thus to institute a Medici state or dukedom. Minerva, the goddess of wisdom, learning, and the arts, reveals that it is Cosimo's duty and

intention to restore these *virtù* in the city of Siena, showing that Cosimo's victory and peace is accompanied by reconciliation and benefits for the city.

The last figurative complex of the apparatus is dedicated to the foundation and institution of the new Medici state in Tuscany. The Duke is shown with Tuscany, and with allusions to naval and military victories, and, at the two sides of these elements, Florence and Siena, each holding a ducal crown, showing that Cosimo is the Duke of both, reflecting Cosimo's new title, Duke of Florence and Siena (1559). This is *de facto* the new Tuscan state, of which Cosimo was later to become the Grand Duke.

For Ammannati at Siena and in the surrounding area in 1558-1559, see Saverio Sembranti, "Bartolomeo Ammannati a Siena tra il 1558 e il 1559: consulenze e progetti per il Ponte d'Arbia, il Duomo e la Torre del Mangia", in: *Bartolomeo Ammannati*, ed. Niccolò Rosselli Del Turco and Federica Salvi, Atti del convegno, Firenze-Lucca, 17-19 marzo 1994, Firenze: Alinea, 1995, pp. 357-369, with further literature.

INDEXING (key words):

IMAGES, REPRESENTATIONS, AND MEANINGS:

arco isolato
 arco molto grande e ornato
 basamento
 Capricorno
 Cesare
 chiave
 Clementia, la
 corona ducale
 Duca
 epitaffio
 Fiorenza (statua)
 Giulio Cesare
 guerra
 Iano re primo de' Toscani
 istorie dipinte
 Minerva
 modello, il
 mondo

Ottavio Augusto col Capricorno e 'l mondo in mano
 pace
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 Siena (statua)
 statua
 statua di Sua Eccellenza Illustrissima
 statua di Toscana
 statue di rilievo
 statue su basamenti
 storie dipinte
 Teseo
 Toscana (statua)
 tritone marino con tanti trofei
 trofei
 turchi prigionieri
 virtù, le
 vittoria
 Vittoria, la

PLACES:

Cantone della Pustierla (Piazza Postierla)
 Croce del Travaglio (see: Banchi di sopra/Banchi di sotto/via di Città)
 Firenze
 giù per la strada (see: Via Camollia)
 palazzo dove à da alloggiare Sua Eccellenza
 Piazza de' Piccolomini
 Porta del Capitano o Bargello (Palazzo del Capitano del Popolo)
 Porta del Palazzo de' Signori (Palazzo Pubblico)
 Porta della abitazione di Sua Eccellenza
 Porta di Camollia (Porta Camollia)
 Siena
 strada di Siena
 Urbino

PERSONS AND COLLECTIVITIES:

Accademia degli Intronati
 Accademici (di Siena)
 Ammannati, Bartolomeo (Amannati)
 Battiferri, Laura (Battiferra) (mia moglie)
 Concini, Bartolomeo
 Cosimo I de' Medici
 D'Ancona, Leonardo
 Medici, Cosimo I de'
 Niccolini, Agnolo (governatore di Siena)
 Vitelli, Chiappino

AMMANNATI: BIOGRAPHY AND BIBLIOGRAPHY:

BARTOLOMEO AMMANNATI (1511-1592) was a Florentine architect and sculptor, the contemporary of Giorgio Vasari, with whom he worked and whom he outlived by nearly twenty years. He studied under Baccio Bandinelli and Jacopo Sansovino, and later imitated Michelangelo. He travelled widely, working in Florence, Pisa, Urbino, Venice, Padua, Vicenza, Rome, Siena, Lucca, and other places. He was a leading sculptor and architect in Florence, in the service of the Medici from the mid-1550s. His architectural masterpiece is the Palazzo Pitti in Florence, where he built several other distinguished palaces. Among his most notable sculptural works are a colossal Hercules made for Marco Mantova Benavides in Padua (1544), the sculptures of the Del Monte Chapel in San Pietro in Montorio in Rome (1550 ff.), and the Neptune Fountain in Florence on the Piazza della Signoria (1560 ff.).

Narrative sources: The principal sources for Ammannati's biography are passages devoted to him by Giorgio Vasari (1568) and Raffaello Borghini (1584). Baldinucci's long account is on important points often derivative. The standard biographical reference works include entries of varying value and reliability (*DbI*, Thieme-Becker, *Allgemeine Künstlerlexikon*: AKL/Saur, *Dictionary of Art*).

The earliest *vita* of Ammannati is that found in the *Il Riposo* of Raffaello Borghini (Florence 1584). It is clearly based on information obtained first hand from the 72-year old Ammannati and should be considered largely reliable, although it reflects the subject's outlook and aims to give an overview of Ammannati's life and achievements and not a literal historical documentation of events. Borghini's life of Ammannati is quoted below in its entirety in a full text version.

Raffaello Borghini, *Il Riposo in cui della pittura, e della scultura si favella, de' piu illustri Pittori, e Scultori, e delle piu famose opere loro si fa menzione; e le cose principali appartenenti a detti arti s'insegnano*, In Fiorenza: Appresso Giorgio Marescotti, M. D. LXXXIII.

IL RIPOSO, pp. 590-595: „Bartolomeo Ammannati“

E da Bartolomeo di Antonio Ammannati cominciando dico, che egli nacque in Firenze l'anno della Cristiana salute 1511, e dal Cavaliere Bandinello apparó i primi principi del disegno, e poscia in Vinegia sotto gli ammaestramenti di Iacopo Sansovino si fece valent'uomo nella scultura: e dopo ritornato a Firenze si diede à studiare sopra le statue di Michelagnolo, che sono nella sagrestia di San Lorenzo,

Le prime figure, che egli facesse di marmo furono nel Duomo di Pisa à una sepoltura di corpi Santi un Dio Padre con alcuni Angeli di mezzo rilievo: ed in Firenze una Leda alta due braccia, che si trova hoggi in mano del Duca

d'Urbino, e tre figure di marmo grandi quanto il naturale, che furon portate à Napoli, e poste sopra il sepolcro del Senazaro.

Trasferitosi poscia ad Urbino diede principio à una sepoltura, e lavorò molte historie di stucco; ma in questo tempo morendo il Duca, egli se ne tornò à Firenze, e fece quella sepoltura di marmo, che dovea andare nella Nuntziata di Mario Nari Romano, che combattè con Francesco Musi, in cui egli havea fatto la Vittoria, che havea sotto un prigione, due fanciulli, e la statua di Mario sopra la cassa; ma quest'opera (perche fu stimata incerta da qual parte fosse la Vittoria, e perche non fu l'Ammannato in ciò molto favorito dal Bandinello) non si scoperse altramente, e le statue furon trasportate in vari luoghi, et i due fanciulli di marmo sono oggi rappresentando due Agnoli dinanzi all'altar maggiore nella Chiesa de'Servi.

Per questa cagione rimanendo mal soddisfatto l'Ammannato, sene andò à Vinegia, dove fece un Nettuno di pietra striana alto quattro braccia, che si vede su la piazza di S. Marco: e di quivi fu condotto à Padova da M. Marco Mantova dottore, nel cortile della cui casa si vede di sua mano un' Apollo, e un Giove di pietra; et un Colosso alto palmi 40 di pezzi di pietra commesi Ercole rappresentante, e nel basamento sono quattro historie di mezo rilievo de' fatti di quel Dio, la qual opera essendo stata intagliata si vede andar fuore in istampa: e per lo detto M. Marco lavorò nella Chiesa de gli Eremitani una sepoltura di pietra con sei figure, e due fanciulli fatti con gran diligenza.

Speditosi da questo lavoro sene passò à Roma a tempo di Papa Paolo terzo, e si mise à studiare le cose antiche; ma essendo poi morto Papa Paolo, nella creatione di Papa Giulio si adoperò molto sopra gli ornamenti, che furon fatti in Campidoglio: e dopo non molto tempo, essendo Giorgio Vasari andato à Roma, si accontarono insieme, e fecero di compagnia la sepoltura del Cardinal de' Monti il vecchio in San Pietro Montorio, dove è di mano dell'Ammannato la statua della Religione con fanciulli tutti tondi, et altri ornamenti di marmo; la qual opera fu cagione di farli ancor fare il sepolcro del Fratello di detto Cardinale, il quale era dottore, sopra cui sculpì la Giustitia con Angeli, et altri bei lavori. Partitosi poscia il Vasari egli rimase al servizio del Pontefice, e nella Vigna di Papa Giulio fece quella bella Fontana ornata di varie figure antiche, e moderne: e di sua mano vi sono alcuni fanciulli, e molte altre cose di marmo.

Ma seguita poi la morte del Papa, egli sene ritornò a Firenze, e si mise al servizio del Gran Duca Cosimo, da cui gli fu allogata una Fontana, che dovea andare nella gran sala del palagio dirimpetto alle figure del Bandinello: e perciò fece l'Ammannato sei statue di marmo molto maggiori del naturale, che

significavano il generar dell'acqua; perciocche sopra un grand'arco di marmo havea fatto Giunone dimostrante l'aria, e sotto l'arco Cerere figurata per la terra, la quale si premea le mammelle, e ne usciva fuor l'acqua, volendo mostrare che dalla terra aiutata dall'aria surgono i fiumi, e i fonti: e perciò vi fece la statua d'Arno, e una femina significante la fontana di Parnaso, e l'altre due figure furono una Fiorenza, et una Temperanza denotata per l'ancora, e per lo Delfino, impresa del Gran Duca Cosimo, che haveva in mano: Ma perche non parve poi a proposito il porre quest'opera in quella sala; il Gran Duca Francesco di tutte quelle statue fece fare una Fontana nella sua maravigliosa Villa di Pratolino, la quale si chiama la fontana dell'Ammammatto.

Di sua mano è ancora nella Villa di Castello sopra la fontana del Tribolo l'Ercole del marmo, che scoppia Anteo, dalla cui bocca salendo verso il cielo sette, ò otto braccia esce in gran copia l'acqua: è parimente opera sua la statua del bronzo figurata per lo monte Apennino, che in mezzo al Vivaio di detta Villa si vede.

In questo medesimo tempo lavorò un Marte, una Venere, e due fanciulli tutti insieme di bronzo.

Poscia havendosi à fare il Nettuno che è nel mezzo della ricca fontana di piazza, egli à concorrenza di Benvenuto Cellini, di Vincentio Danti, e di Giambologna fece il modello, e à lui dal Duca Cosimo fu allogata la statua, e tutta l'opera della Fontana. Ma perche il marmo gli ruscì stretto nelle spalle, non potè egli sicome desiderava far mostrare alla sua figura attitudine colle braccia alzate; ma fu costretto à farla con gran difficoltà, come oggi si vede. Il qual Nettuno, come sapete è alto braccia dieci, et ha fra le gambe tre Tritoni di marmo posando sopra una gran conca marina, che gli serve per carro, à cui sono in atto di tirarla quattro cavalli due di marmo bianco e due di mistio: il gran vaso in cui l'acqua christallina (che per molti zampilli salendo in aria ricade) è fatto a otto facce di marmo mistio, di cui le quattro minori di bambini di bronzo con molte cose marine, d'alcuni Cornucopi, e d'uno Epitaffio in mezzo sono fatte adorne: e sopra il piano d'esse, (che più d'ogn' altro all'intorno s'innalza) posano quattro statue di metallo piu grandi del naturale, due femmine, figurate per Teti, e per Dori, e due maschi, rappresentanti due Dei marini: et à piè di queste facce otto Satiri di bronzo seggono in varie attitudini: le facce poi maggiori son fatte basse, acciò che l'acque chiare, che nella gran conca vanno ondeggiando si possan vedere. Ma troppo lungo sarei se i gradi di marmo, se le pile basse, e se gl'infiniti ornamenti di questa fontana, che per settanta bocche manda fuore l'acque sue, volessi raccontare.

Però seguendo l'altre opere dell'Ammannati, dico che à richiesta di Papa Gregorio XIII hoggi regnante, ha fatto in Campo santo di Pisa la sepoltura del Signor Giovanni Buoncompagno, dove si vede Christo in mezzo alla Giustitia,

et alla Pace, che mostra le sue piaghe, le quali tre statue sono di marmo, alte quattro braccia l'una.

Molte più opere di scultura, per quello ch'io estimo, harebbe egli fatto, se non si fosse dato all'Architettura, in cui divero molto vale, come ne posson far fede le fabbriche, di cui egli è capo; fra le quali è il superbo, e maraviglioso palagio del Granduca Francesco, chiamato il palagio de' Pitti, e il bellissimo ponte à Santa Trinita, che con suo disegno, et ordine fu fabbricato:

e maggiormente ancora sarà in ciò nota al mondo la virtù sua, se Dio gli presta tanta di vita che egli possa mandare in luce un'utile, e bel libro da lui composto d'Architettura, nel quale egli figura un'ampia, e perfetta Città facendo vedere in disegni (e sopra essi discorrendo) il palagio reale con tutte sue appartenenze, gli Uffizi, i Tempj, l'arti, le case de' Gentilhuomini, e quelle de' artieri, le piazze, le strade, le botteghe, le fontane, e tutte l'altre cose appartenenti a una bene intesa Città: e poscia descrive ancora, e disegna il palagio regio della Villa con giardini, e con tutte le comodità, che si ricercano, e gli habituri de' gentilhuomini; e de' contadini, con tutti gli avertimenti necessari, e belli, che si posson nelle ville desiderare: et ha gia il tutto disegnato, e descritto, tal che non gli manca se non rivederlo, e farlo stampare.

Ma egli essendo hoggi d'età d'anni 72, e della vista e della testa non molto sano, attende piu che ad altra cosa a procacciarsi con opere sante, e pie l'eterna salute.

The text quoted above is, in the original, not divided into paragraphs, which have been introduced here to facilitate comprehension.

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There follows a very selective list of literature concerning Ammannati, both as a sculptor and as an architect, which seems worth examining. Given the vast number of articles, monographic publications have been emphasized. An almost complete bibliography for Ammannati until around 1994/1995 is found in: *Bartolomeo Ammannati*, ed. Roselli Del Turco and Salvi (*infra*), 1995, pp. 381-414 („Bibliografia generale“, ed. Emanuele Barletti). Most later publications can be found at www.kubikat.org.

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