

# Piero de' Medici „il Gottoso“ (1416–1469)

Kunst im Dienste der Mediceer  
Art in the Service of the Medici

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# Giovanni di Cosimo and the Villa Medici at Fiesole<sup>1</sup>

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The history of Medici patronage in the fifteenth century is dominated by Cosimo 'il Vecchio', Piero 'il Gottoso' and Lorenzo 'il Magnifico', the heads of the main branch of the family over three generations. Giovanni di Cosimo is a victim of what might be described as the forgotten younger brother syndrome.<sup>2</sup> Like Cosimo 'il Vecchio's' brother Lorenzo, and like Lorenzo 'il Magnifico's' brother Giuliano, Giovanni also died before his older brother and, with his death, his real estate, his collections, and his political and financial roles were incorporated into Piero's estate and into Piero's life.<sup>3</sup>

This absorption of the deceased relation into the fabric of the living family may mean more than the inevitable assimilation of a dead person's property by their relatives. For the heads of the Medici family seem to have particularly chosen not to make wills.<sup>4</sup> This decision partly derived from a powerful notion of family unity, the sense that what belonged to one should belong to all or be fully shared within the family.<sup>5</sup> Certainly Cosimo had intended his new palace in town to house his sons and their families after marriage. Joint ownership within families was a way of thinking expressed by the legal term "per non diviso", just as the contrary state of division was always a matter for notarial intervention and ratification.

Since the history of early Medici patronage has been restricted to so few characters, the misconception of the lone patron has arisen. Yet, the Medici, like other Florentine families, often preferred to work as a team.<sup>6</sup> Patronage schemes were rarely controlled entirely by a single individual, but tended to work across generations or were the joint responsibility of brothers or of husband and wife.<sup>7</sup> Thus, in the process of emphasizing the role of Cosimo 'il Vecchio', both his father Giovanni di Bicci and his brother Lorenzo have been eclipsed. Yet it is likely that the first schemes associated with Cosimo were actually initiated by his father. The rural convent of Bosco ai Frati, the renovations at the villa of Trebbio, the purchase of the suburban villa of Careggi, and the family's first important moves at San Lorenzo may all have originated with Giovanni di Bicci, or have been shared father and son projects.<sup>8</sup> Other schemes, such as the convent and church of San Marco, were declared on paper as joint enterprises between Cosimo and his brother Lorenzo, whose patron saint appears in the main images in church and convent.<sup>9</sup> The brothers ran a shared household in town and country which survived until eleven years after Lorenzo's death when his son Pierfrancesco was emancipated in 1451

and a division was finally drawn up between Cosimo's family and the heirs of his brother Lorenzo.<sup>10</sup>

The artistic patronage of Piero and Giovanni di Cosimo needs to be viewed in this context. Rather than being uninterested in architecture, Piero was engaged in the supervision of projects begun by his father: in the Medici palace itself, at S. Lorenzo and at the Badia Fiesolana, to name just three sites. His "taste" for decorative objects may therefore be as much a function of chronology, of his maturing at the moment when a series of great buildings begun by his father were nearing completion and in want of furnishing, as it was a special preference for small, elaborate structures and precious, collectable objects, or for painting and sculpture over architecture.<sup>11</sup>

The definition of taste, which is an elusive enterprise at best, is made even more hazardous when distinguishing between different members of the same family who may have collaborated and shared in the aesthetic choices, financial arrangements and administration of major patronage schemes. Ascribing responsibility to particular individuals may become more complex and uncertain when we also consider that many tasks were delegated to an extended group of agents, accountants, secretaries and factors, whose roles are yet to be clearly defined.<sup>12</sup>

A brief survey of Giovanni di Cosimo's patronage may be useful in order to establish whether it can be distinguished from that of his brother. Born in 1421, five years after Piero, Giovanni died in his prime in 1463, six years before Piero and nine months before Cosimo.<sup>13</sup> His eclipse is not only due to his early death, but to the fact that he left no heirs; his only son, the adored Cosimino, having died at the age of about six in 1459. It has been suggested that Giovanni never fully recovered from Cosimino's death, just as his father Cosimo may never have come to terms with his son Giovanni's death, for it was then that Cosimo was reported to have said mournfully of the new palace, "questa è troppo gran casa e sì poca famiglia".<sup>14</sup>

An overview of Giovanni's patronage is less impressive than Piero's and on an altogether lesser scale than that of Cosimo or Lorenzo the Magnificent. One object that has been associated with Giovanni is the antique cornelian of Apollo and Marsyas, thought to have belonged to the Emperor Nero, which Ghiberti described in great detail in his *Commentari* since he had been commissioned to set it in a fine gold mount.<sup>15</sup> It is tempting to accept Vasari's statement that the cornelian belonged to Giovanni di Cosimo, but Ghiberti said that he set the cornelian around the same time as he made the bronze reliquary chest of SS. Protus, Hyacinthus and Nemesis which carries the inscribed date of 1428, when Giovanni was only seven.<sup>16</sup> It could be argued that Ghiberti's chronology is approximate, and he wanted to juxtapose two Medici commissions. The fact that this gem did not pass into Piero's collection, only appearing in Lorenzo's inventory of 1492, might add weight to the suggestion that it was Giovanni's, but it could equally have belonged to his father Cosimo or his uncle Lorenzo.

Although scattered documents imply that Giovanni was particularly interested in sculpture, the only surviving work certainly carved for him is Mino da Fiesole's portrait, usually dated slightly later than the same sculptor's bust of Piero signed and dated 1453 (Fig. 1).<sup>17</sup> The *all'antica* armour which distinguishes it so clearly from Piero's bust signals Giovanni's special affinity with antiquity, that emerges as a pervasive feature



Fig. 1. Mino da Fiesole, Giovanni di Cosimo de' Medici (1453–1456), Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence.

in the documents. For example in 1453, at about the same time as the portrait bust was commissioned, Giovanni ordered a series of twelve heads for his study. Gino Corti and Frederick Hartt have suggested that the twelve heads were the Caesars and that Desiderio da Settignano, who received a series of commissions from the same agent, Giovanni Serragli, would have been a likely candidate for the job.<sup>18</sup> Giovanni de' Medici probably had his own copy of Suetonius's *De vita Caesarum*, the major literary source for reconstructing the appearance of the Caesars.<sup>19</sup> Giovanni's two agents in Rome – his half brother Carlo and Giovanni Serragli – were looking out for antique marbles to send him; yet his insistence on high quality, well-preserved works meant that they were often rejected. Only one purchase for Giovanni is firmly documented, a "figura" bought from Bernardo Rossellino in 1455. At the same time he acquired thirty fine silver medals from Pisanello's assistant only days after Pisanello's death.<sup>20</sup>

Apart from these sometimes tenuous links with Ghiberti, Mino da Fiesole, Desiderio da Settignano, Bernardo Rossellino and Pisanello, documents reveal that Giovanni commissioned three works from Donatello in the 1450s. Two Madonnas by Donatello were delivered to Giovanni's villa at Fiesole in 1455 and over the next two years Donatello worked on a more extensive piece for Giovanni – a marble *scrittoio*.<sup>21</sup> A fourth piece – a silver arm reliquary – may have been commissioned from Donatello by Giovanni de' Medici and given to the convent of S. Verdiana in 1451.<sup>22</sup> The *scrittoio* is particularly intriguing, but although two letters refer to it in some detail, it is not

clear whether it was a piece of furniture – a marble desk, perhaps with a bench attached, or marble panelling carved with low reliefs to cover the walls of a small study. The first letter of 9 October 1455, published by Philip Foster, establishes that Donatello had left for Volterra with an assistant to collect the marble.<sup>23</sup> In the second letter of 6 October 1457, until now unpublished, an agent Giovanni Macinghi reports that Donatello has promised to finish the *scrittoio* and they are busy looking for its components. Macinghi reassures an anxious Giovanni that it will be less work than Giovanni imagines, that Donatello will repair many broken things and is now waiting for his apprentices (*garzoni*) to arrive from Siena. They are expected that evening and if they arrive they will get down to work the following day.<sup>24</sup>

Since the only ascertainable facts about the *scrittoio* are that it was marble and consisted of many pieces, it is more likely to have been panelling for a room than a piece of furniture that would have been cold to the touch and unlike most depicted and documented examples of fifteenth-century desks. Its location is also mysterious for it may have been destined for either the south-west corner of the new town palace which Wolfer Bulst has identified as the site of Giovanni's *scrittoio*, or for the new villa at Fiesole.<sup>25</sup> Although the existence of a *scrittoio* is documented at the villa,<sup>26</sup> the contemporary fame of both Giovanni and Piero's studies in the town palace makes it as likely that it was in town where Donatello's marble decoration and the twelve marble heads of the Caesars would surely have made it as grand as Piero's and clearly distinguished from it, both materially and thematically.<sup>27</sup> Given the strongly *all'antica* flavour of Giovanni's study, his portrait bust, and what some believe to be Gozzoli's representation of him in profile (between Piero and Cosimo), resembling a figure on a Roman coin, the creation of a self-image in the guise of an ancient Roman is manifest and clearly differentiated from the more contemporary personae of his father and his brother in the Medici chapel frescoes.<sup>28</sup>

Other aspects of Giovanni's taste emerge from the extensive surviving correspondence in MAP. His commission of an altarpiece by Filippo Lippi for King Alfonso V of Naples may reflect the special requirements of the export market rather than Giovanni's personal predilections;<sup>29</sup> and it may have been one function of his role as chief bank manager as much as arbiter of taste that led Pigello Portinari to consult Giovanni over the decoration of the Medici bank in Milan.<sup>30</sup> But his own interest in tapestries is well known. In 1453 he ordered a six-piece series from a weaver in Lille representing the Triumphs of Petrarch,<sup>31</sup> and in 1459 another set was woven by the same tapestry master with a series of seven figures enthroned, probably the Virtues or the Liberal Arts. Simone Nori who was supervising the commission in Bruges was concerned because Giovanni had originally suggested that it be no longer than twelve *braccia* to fit his *camera*; but the weaver said that it would be impossible to squeeze all seven enthroned figures with greenery between them and coats of arms above, into a length shorter than twenty *braccia*. This would have been a huge piece of tapestry (c. 38 feet or 11.68 metres long), forming part of a set of three *spalliere*, three *banchali*, and a dozen cushions that would have been a superb addition to Giovanni's apartment.<sup>32</sup> Alas, they were all stolen while the Florentine galleys were docked in London in October 1460. The loss was so deeply felt that two years later Tommaso Portinari suggested ordering

an identical series. In the meantime a magnificent pair of *spalliere* were woven for Giovanni and the whole of Bruges flocked to see them before they were dispatched to Florence.<sup>33</sup> Giovanni clearly had a preference for themes that formed a cycle, which could be successfully divided into episodes around the walls of a room, while still creating a unified decorative scheme. Many other letters concern brocade and smaller pieces of tapestry or cloth for the furnishing of Giovanni's apartments in the town palace or at the Fiesole villa, both being decorated in the middle and late 1450s.

An important letter first published by Franca Leverotti in 1981 and now correctly identified by Francesco Caglioti as being written by Giovanni di Cosimo de' Medici, has highlighted the architectural side of Giovanni's patronage.<sup>34</sup> In this letter of 1455 Giovanni is clearly regarded as an expert in architectural matters by Francesco Sforza. He writes with the authority of one who occupies the role of arbiter that we tend to associate with Lorenzo 'il Magnifico' where architecture was concerned.<sup>35</sup> Other little studied aspects of Giovanni's architectural activities are his supervision of Michelozzo's restorations in the courtyard and council hall of the Palazzo Vecchio in 1454,<sup>36</sup> and his patronage of the convent of San Girolamo at Fiesole.<sup>37</sup>

A full-length study is needed to establish precisely his role within the family and within the financial and political framework.<sup>38</sup> That he was general manager of the Medici banking empire after the death of Giovanni Benci is well-known;<sup>39</sup> however, a brief scan of the correspondence indicates that on a judicial and political level Giovanni, together with Piero, forged and maintained contact with Florentine governors and delegates in small towns all over the wider territory governed by Florence.<sup>40</sup> It seems to have been this generation, therefore, that first extended the scope of Medici power beyond its urban base in Florence and created a much vaster sphere of influence, including most of Tuscany. This form of territorial expansion, practiced by Giovanni and Piero in the 1450s, was a policy later developed by Lorenzo the Magnificent on a much more ambitious scale.

Hypotheses concerning Giovanni's political role and a survey of disparate references to lost works of art are hardly sufficient to convey a vivid image of his patronage. Yet one major work does survive and is remarkable even according to the standards set by his father Cosimo. The Villa Medici at Fiesole (Fig. 2) was probably the first Florentine country house to be built according to a symmetrical plan, without a tower or fortification, but with loggias facing outwards towards the garden, the views and the countryside.<sup>41</sup> Vasari's statement that it was designed by Michelozzo has been accepted ever since.<sup>42</sup> As in the case of Giovanni's life, apart from many scattered passages, there is only one article dedicated to the villa, Clara Bargellini and Pierre Ruffiniere du Prey's "Sources for a Reconstruction of the Villa Medici at Fiesole" of 1969.<sup>43</sup> Bargellini and Du Prey suggest that a detail in Ghirlandaio's Tornabuoni Chapel frescoes was based on the Villa Medici, and that the house originally had four-bay loggias on the west and east facades, the north section of the villa having been added by Lady Orford in the late Eighteenth Century. A more accurate plan and a detailed historical study are now needed to confirm this persuasive hypothesis, but until that is done, attempts to reconstruct the interior or carry out detailed architectural analyses will be unreliable.<sup>44</sup>

Several writers have accepted Guido Carocci's statement that Cosimo commissioned the Villa Medici in order to give it to his son Giovanni.<sup>45</sup> Yet Vasari omits any men-

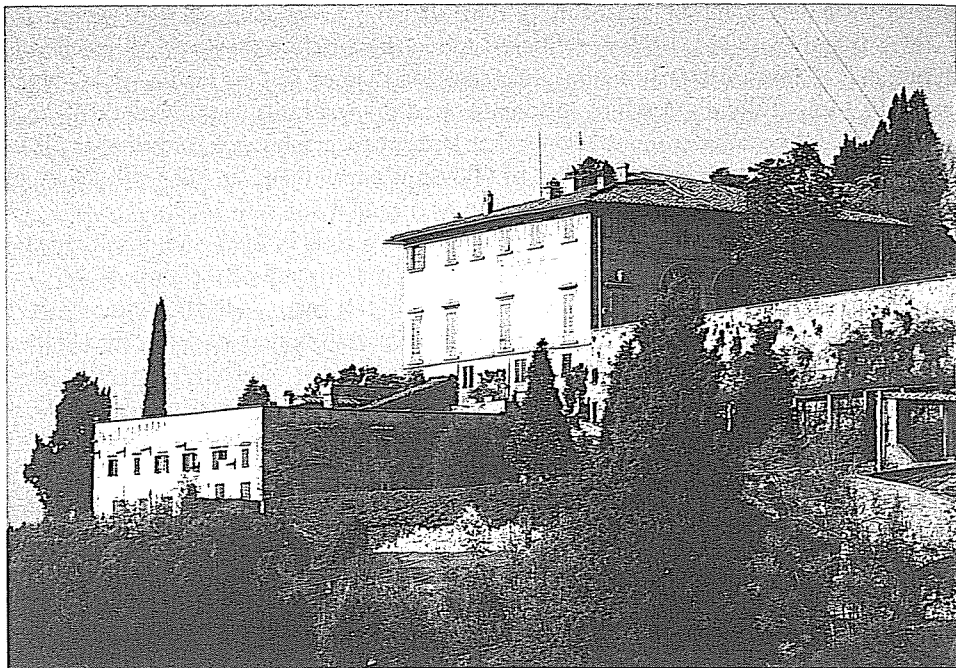


Fig. 2. Villa Medici, Fiesole (1453–1457).

tion of Cosimo, simply stating that it was built for Giovanni.<sup>46</sup> There is no documentary evidence to link this project with Cosimo, except that the funds came out of the central Medici coffers, as they did for all the family concerns, from the books in Piero's library to construction at San Lorenzo. Letters and tax-returns indicate that this was personally and specifically Giovanni's own scheme. The tax-return of 1457, the first to list the Fiesole property, includes the villa under the separate heading, "Sustanze e beni comprati per Giovanni di Choximo".<sup>47</sup> Even more informative are 27 MAP letters concerning Fiesole, all written to Giovanni di Cosimo between 1453 and 1459 which document the patron's role in detail.<sup>48</sup>

In most cases we owe the existence of the letters to Giovanni's demand for news of the villa and its construction during his many absences from Florence. He was controlling proceedings by post, authorising payments for work completed, agreeing to changes and being informed of problems as they arose. The very existence of these letters and references to an almost daily correspondence about developments at Fiesole demonstrate Giovanni's constant concern with all operations at the villa from the winter protection of his pomegranate plants to the furnishing of the house.

When Giovanni was away he depended on several agents to oversee developments and give an account of progress. Of the seven people reporting to Giovanni specifically about the villa, Giovanni Macinghi and Giovanni di Luca Rossi were the most faithful correspondents in the mid 1450s; while from 1457 Antonio, a canon at Fiesole, seems

to have supervised construction at the convent of San Girolamo and reported on later developments at the villa. Whereas Cosimo is never mentioned in connection with Fiesole, Piero's assistance and interest in the new villa is revealed in five of the most important letters.<sup>49</sup> Indeed, the Fiesole correspondence provides as clear an illustration of the close fraternal relationship and the intertwining of the brothers' roles, as any other source. When Giovanni was away, Piero stepped in to supervise the building project at Fiesole. The people answerable to Giovanni (e.g., his wife Ginevra, his agent Macinghi) were particularly aware of the delicate balance of authority that was put to the test when structural problems arose at the villa.

On 12 April 1455 Giovanni Macinghi informed Giovanni de' Medici that Piero had decided to bring work on the *palagio* at Fiesole to a halt for eight days, probably because the search for water was taking precedence over construction.<sup>50</sup> On 25 June Macinghi reported that Piero had come up to Fiesole to take council about the problem of the retaining walls. It was Piero who decided to send for three experts: Antonio Manetti, Lorenzo da San Frediano and Pagholo Calaffi. Piero had grave doubts about the whole situation and wanted to approach it very carefully after seeking expert advice. At this point Macinghi specifically asked Giovanni whether he should go ahead and do whatever Piero wanted: "... avisami per lo primo s'io fo ciò che Piero mi dice, inperò se sa a fare, non bisogna indugiare ... ." ("... let me know as soon as possible whether I should do what Piero tells me, because if he knows what to do we shouldn't delay things ...").<sup>51</sup> Piero was now playing a decisive role in the construction process and Macinghi wanted to check whether he should take orders from Piero, when Giovanni was ultimately the person in charge at Fiesole. Just over a month later, in early August, Piero sent several *maestri* up to the villa to see if they could resolve the structural problems concerning one disastrous wall. Giovanni's wife Ginevra reported that Piero was not sure they could resolve the situation without Giovanni's help and Piero had again expressed the need for caution: "Piero dicie vuole intendere molto bene inanzi vi metta mano che dicie non si vuole corre affuria in simile chose ... ." ("Piero says that he wants to understand it very well before he becomes involved and he says that one musn't rush into this sort of thing").<sup>52</sup> On August 19th Macinghi wrote again to say that Piero had accepted the advice of the architect and engineer Antonio Manetti about the problematic wall, but they wanted Giovanni's opinion. Manetti proposed to dig down to bed rock ("fino al sodo") to construct new foundations around the wall and a supporting arch strengthened with lime mortar. Macinghi was going to send Giovanni more drawings as soon as possible.<sup>53</sup>

Since the function of these letters was to inform the absent patron and Giovanni's own replies have not been traced, the correspondence tells us much more about Piero's activities at Fiesole than his younger brother's. Piero's attitude to the building is revealed as cautious, prudent, and deeply interested. He visited the site, called on not one, but several architects and builders and judged which was the most expert advice to follow. Best known for his appreciation of miniature and refined objects, he does not seem to have balked at what was a messy, unaesthetic, structural problem. As the person to whom all this was addressed, it seems safe to assume that Giovanni was at least as engaged in the project as his brother; and surely only an active, informed and enthusiastic



patron could choose such a challenging and intractable site as that for the Medici villa at Fiesole.

Although the laws of primogeniture did not apply in Florence and Giovanni could look forward to an equal share of his father's estate, it may be significant that the younger brother should seek his own, independent residence. That he wished to pre-empt a possible later division and establish a base of his own, is also suggested by the timing of his purchase of the site at Fiesole, either in 1452 when he was probably betrothed, or very early 1453, the time of his marriage to Ginevra Alessandri.<sup>54</sup> There was no real need for another country house in the family. Apart from Cafaggiolo in the Mugello, where Giovanni frequently stayed, there was already one suburban villa, Careggi, and there were innumerable other properties available for residential conversion. Piero, for example, never felt the need to create his own separate rural estate. Nor did the creation of a new villa at Fiesole diminish Giovanni's involvement in the other family estates. His correspondence with factors on all the Medici rural properties was as extensive after the mid 1450s as it had been before, and visits to Careggi and Cafaggiolo by Giovanni, Ginevra and Cosimino continued. Fiesole was therefore an extra bonus rather than a substitute for existing properties.

Since Carocci's dating of the villa to after 1458,<sup>55</sup> several writers have independently concluded that it was built a few years earlier<sup>56</sup> and the new documents confirm this. The earliest evidence is a letter of 26 October 1453 from Bartolommeo Serragli in Rome, suggesting that Giovanni might like to incorporate ancient Roman sculptures into the walls at Fiesole.<sup>57</sup> 1455 is the most fully documented year at the villa with a series of letters concerning the search for water and the structural problems with retaining walls. At the same time, a letter of 12 April 1455 refers to the completion of six chests and cupboards for the *palagio* and, more important, to the staircase level of the house which was to be finished on Monday.<sup>58</sup> This probably means that building had now reached first floor level. Three months later, on July 8th, Piero was admiring that or perhaps another completed level, when Ginevra reported, "a Piero pareva una bella chosa quel piano" (Fig. 3). It would seem in any case that the villa was not yet habitable, for Ginevra described a wonderful evening spent at the *feſta* of San Romolo at Fiesole on 6 July 1455 and exclaimed at their late return to Florence two hours after sunset, which would hardly have been necessary if the villa were complete.<sup>59</sup> By October, however, Donatello's two madonnas and some cornices (*cappellinai*) were delivered to Fiesole,<sup>60</sup> suggesting that the structure was complete and edecorative refinements were under way. The outbuildings and gardens were finished over the next two or three years. A *colombaia* was built in the corner of the garden in 1457 and there are references to hedges, fruit trees and cypresses being planted.<sup>61</sup> Compared with the palace in town (1445–59) this had been a swift operation: the site was acquired, house built, gardens landscaped and outbuildings created, all in the space of four or five years (1453–57).

As Vasari stresses, the construction of a villa and gardens on the steepest slopes of Fiesole, was no mean structural achievement. It is, therefore, hardly surprising that the letters should mainly express anxiety about structural and drainage problems rather than design details. The urgent tone adopted and the frequency of the correspondence emphasise that the whole project was dependent on the retaining walls, their founda-

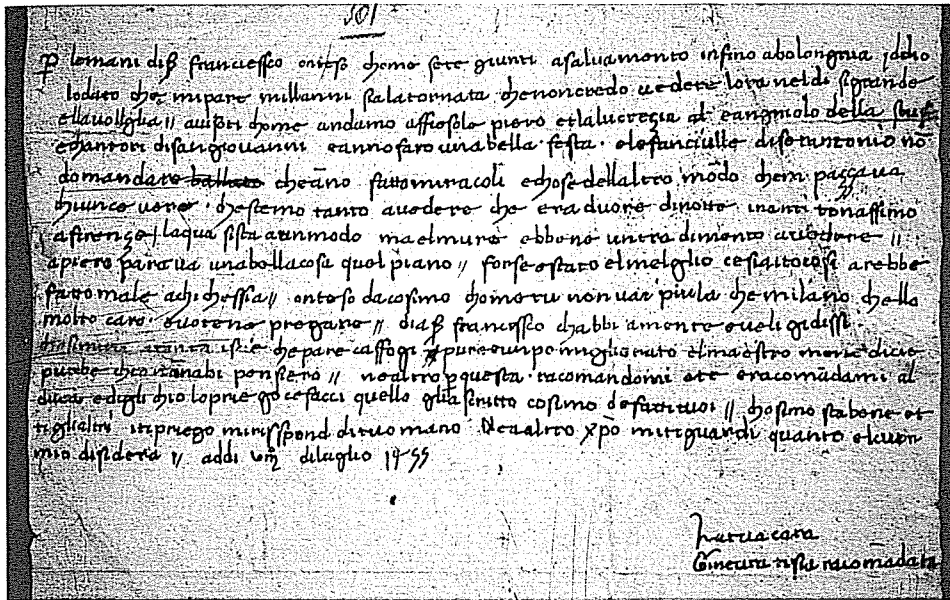


Fig. 3. Letter from Ginevra degli Alessandri in Florence to her husband Giovanni di Cosimo de' Medici in Milan, 8 July 1455. ASF, MAP, VII, 301.

tions and the proper drainage of the site. Accompanying the concern about retaining walls, was the concern about water. First came Giovanni's determination to find an abundant supply.<sup>62</sup> This must have been one of the essential tasks when building *ex novo*, and Giovanni had reason to be optimistic in his search for water, since the hills north of the city, including the slopes of Fiesole, held many springs.<sup>63</sup> He may have had the embellishment of the gardens as well as the convenience of the house in mind when he insisted that the workmen continue until they found a bigger source. After days of digging they struck what may have been an underground stream on 13 April 1455 and Giovanni di Luca Rossi wrote with the good news:

ier sera a ore XXII ... troviamo un'abondanza ghra[n]de d'aqua che viene per la via da Ffiesole; ed è una vena sì ghrossa, Giovanni, mi farete tanto di sosdifare [sic] nel dire che un mulino si manterrebbe, in modo quando chol occhio vedrete, vi parrà una bella chossa; sicché state chontento del tutto, che avete adienpiuto il desiderio vostro dell'aqua ... che è sì ghrossa aqua che v'arà a servire in ongni luogho e da questo a me chredete chol ochio, 'o veduto in modo che sò vi basterà ... Non posso saziarmi lo schrivere dell'aqua ch'è sì abondevole, vi farà fare mille belle chose ...<sup>64</sup>

The discovery of water on such a scale would certainly have made fountains a possibility. Unfortunately they are not documented and only two wells and a cistern are listed in the 1492 inventory.<sup>65</sup>

Poliziano, in his famous letter describing Fiesole to Ficino, mentions the abundance of water and also the trees that seem to surround the house.<sup>66</sup> It is clear from the 1492

inventory that the fifteenth-century garden was divided into three parts, each of a different function and character, exploiting the various levels of the terrain. There was an area of formal walled garden divided into beds ("uno giardino drieto al detto palagio com più orticini murati et ricinti di mura"), the *boschetto* with cypresses and firs that Poliziano admired ("et uno pezzo di terra in detto giardino con arcipressi, abeti et altro a uso di boschetto"), and on a lower level, adjacent to the stables or laundry yard, a kitchen garden surrounded by a picket fence ("et uno pezzo d'ortaccio a piè del detto palagio chiuso atorno chon uno stechato").<sup>67</sup> Special attention was paid to the garden from early on, for one of Giovanni's agents promised to send plants from Naples in 1454 and the following spring pomegranate, orange and lemon trees were ordered from Naples for Fiesole.<sup>68</sup>

A striking feature of the Fiesole project revealed in the letters is the way in which a series of quite distinct activities were proceeding contemporaneously. Whereas one might expect earth and water works to precede construction, and completion of the house to come before furnishing the interior and planting the garden, all these were taking place in the same months of 1455. A single letter may refer to boring for water, the completion of one storey of the house and cabinet making for the interior (e.g. MAP CXXXVIII, 50). The Fiesole site in particular required the full coordination of landscaping and building, since the house was built into the hillside and its levels were those of the garden terraces. The documents now show that the house and garden were indeed conceived and created as one.

This coordination and the speed of the enterprise were made possible with the help of a team. Apart from those supervising the project, the MAP letters introduce the names of three master builders not previously associated with the villa: Antonio Manetti Ciaccheri, Lorenzo di Antonio di Geri da San Frediano and Pagholo Calaffi (a fourth builder, Giovanni di Bettino is mentioned on one occasion).<sup>69</sup> Since Michelozzo's contribution remains entirely undocumented, it is useful to consider whether any of these men might have designed the villa.<sup>70</sup> Antonio Manetti is the most plausible candidate. Yet, there is little evidence to suggest that he could conceive of a design as original and elegant as that of the Villa Medici at Fiesole. He was, among other things, a gifted engineer known for his ability to solve structural problems. When there was a disaster, when, as Ginevra so vividly expressed it, "el muro ebbene un tradimento" ("the wall suffered a betrayal"), Manetti was the technical expert to call. More convincingly, the Fiesole documents make it clear that Piero de' Medici called the three consultants, in order to judge who would offer the best advice. If Manetti were already employed as designer and supervisory architect, this process would hardly have been necessary. Nevertheless, if the attribution of the villa's design rests with Michelozzo, we can at least be confident in adding a footnote to Vasari's text at the place where he commended Michelozzo for his engineering skills in building the retaining walls and making construction at such a dramatic site possible. That achievement we owe partly, if not entirely, to Antonio Manetti Ciaccheri.

Vittorio Rossi's richly suggestive and authoritative account portrays Giovanni as an attractive combination of the hedonistic and scholarly. In comparison with his brother Piero, Giovanni emerges as less fastidious, more headstrong, with a greater native wit

and intelligence, more devoted to classical antiquity, and more interested in the content than in the decoration of a book.<sup>71</sup> When seen in this light it is surely significant that Piero's best known personal commissions were for church tabernacles housing cult images, whereas Giovanni's most important commission was for a domestic building associated with the secular pursuit of scholarship and pleasure. Despite the inevitable overlaps in their patronage, shared fraternal tastes and their promotion of family policies, their distinct personalities do emerge. Yet any temptation to adopt a polarized view of the brothers' roles must be resisted for, as we have seen, Piero, the connoisseur of illuminated manuscripts and gems, did indeed visit muddy construction sites and attend to structural problems while Giovanni was also involved in ecclesiastical patronage and the refined decoration of his *scrittoio*.

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### Notes

- 1 I would like to thank Bob Black, Gino Corti, Simon Ditchfield, Giorgio Galletti, Kate Lowe, Anna Marchi Mazzini, John Paoletti and Evelyn Welch.
- 2 The one major article on Giovanni di Cosimo de' Medici is Vittorio Rossi, "L'indole e gli studi di Giovanni di Cosimo de' Medici. Notizie e documenti", *Rendiconti dell'Accademia dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, serie 5, 2 (1893), pp. 38–60 and 129–150. Just

before submitting this text for publication, an article was brought to my attention which offers important new information on Giovanni di Cosimo and which overlaps with my research. This is Francesco Caglioti's "Bernardo Rossellino a Roma. I. Stralci del carteggio mediceo (con qualche briciola sul Filarete)", *Prospettiva* 64 (October 1991), pp. 49–59. See also G. Pieraccini, *La stirpe de' Medici di Cafaggiolo*, 3 vols., Florence 1924, I, pp. 77–87; C. Gutkind, *Cosimo de' Medici il Vecchio*, Florence 1940, pp. 283–287.

- 3 For example, some of Giovanni's library was incorporated into his brother Piero's; see F. Ames-Lewis, *The Library and Manuscripts of Piero di Cosimo de' Medici*, New York–London 1984, pp. 39–40; 71–77, 414–416.
- 4 See Kate Lowe's contribution to this volume.
- 5 This sentiment is eloquently expressed by Francesco Sassetti, see A. Warburg, "Le ultime volontà di Francesco Sassetti", in: *La rinascita del paganesimo antico*, ed. G. Bing, Florence 1966, pp. 226–230.
- 6 See, e.g., P. Simons, "Patronage in the Tornaquinci Chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence", in: *Patronage, Art, and Society in Renaissance Italy*, ed. F. W. Kent and P. Simons, Oxford 1987, pp. 221–222, 237–240.
- 7 See, e.g., Kate Lowe's discussion in this volume of the husband and wife team of Piero de' Medici and Lucrezia Tornabuoni.
- 8 For Giovanni di Bicci's patronage see Pieraccini, *La stirpe*, I, p. 12; C. Robinson, "Cosimo de' Medici and the Observants", in: F. Ames-Lewis, ed., *Cosimo 'il Vecchio' de' Medici, 1389–1464*, Oxford 1992, pp. 183, 185–186, 192–194; and C. Elam, "Cosimo de' Medici and San Lorenzo", *ibid.*, pp. 163–169, 176.
- 9 There is a brief discussion of Lorenzo di Giovanni's patronage in E. Müntz, *Precursori e Propugnatori del Rinascimento*, ed. and trans. G. Mazzoni, Florence 1902, pp. 114–115. See now J. Paoletti, "Fraternal Piety and Power: The artistic Patronage of Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici", in: Ames-Lewis, *Cosimo 'il Vecchio'*, pp. 195–219; and C. Robinson, "Cosimo 'il Vecchio'", *ibid.*, p. 188. Filelfo's poem of November 1434 addresses both Cosimo and Lorenzo as triumphant rulers; see C. M. Sperling, "Donatello's bronze 'David' and the demands of Medici politics", *Burlington Magazine* 134 (April 1992), pp. 220, 224.
- 10 J. Shearman, "The Collections of the Younger Branch of the Medici", *Burlington Magazine* 117 (January 1975), pp. 12, 16.
- 11 This is the view of Piero's taste first proposed by M. Wackernagel in 1938, *The World of the Florentine Renaissance Artist*, transl. by A. Luchs, Princeton 1981, pp. 237–240; and confirmed by E. Gombrich, "The Early Medici as Patrons of Art", reprinted in *Norm and Form*, London 1971, pp. 46–48, 51–52.
- 12 G. Zippel, "Un cliente mediceo", in: *Scritti vari di erudizione e di critica in onore di R. Renier*, Turin 1912, pp. 475–490; D. Kent, "The Buonomini di San Martino", in: Ames-Lewis, *Cosimo 'il Vecchio'*, pp. 58–59 on the role of Ser Alesso Pelli.
- 13 Rossi, "L'indole", pp. 40, 149.
- 14 N. Machiavelli, *Istorie Fiorentine*, Book VII, Chapter 6, ed. F. Gaeta, Milan 1962, pp. 462–463.
- 15 N. Dacos, A. Giuliano and U. Pannuti, eds., *Il tesoro di Lorenzo il Magnifico*, I, *Le gemme*, Florence 1973, pp. 3, 55–57, 128, fig. 18; J. von Schlosser, *Lorenzo Ghibertis Denkwürdigkeiten (I Commentarii)*, Berlin 1912, I, p. 47; II, pp. 177, 192.
- 16 G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori ed architettori*, ed. G. Milanesi, Florence 1906, II, pp. 235–236.
- 17 Caglioti, "Bernardo Rossellino", p. 50 has published Giovanni di Cosimo's letter to Francesco Sforza of 12 August 1456 referring to Mino da Fiesole's busts of Piero and Giovanni de' Medici: "Apresso è tornato qui quel maestro schultore il quale ritrasse Piero et me et poi il s[igno]re di Faenza et molte altre cose ha facto, come io narrai alla Vostra Signoria. Et ora torna da Napoli, et ha facto [sic] il Re in forma che pare vivo..."

- 18 G. Corti and F. Hartt, "New Documents concerning Donatello, Luca and Andrea della Robbia, Desiderio, Mino, Uccello, Pollaiuolo, Filippo Lippi, Baldovinetti and Others", *Art Bulletin* 44 (1962), pp. 157–158, 163–166.
- 19 U. Middeldorf, "Die zwölf Caesaren von Desiderio da Settignano", *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 23 (1979), p. 297; Ames-Lewis, *The Library*, p. 415.
- 20 Rossi, "L'indole", p. 130 doc. i, p. 131 doc. ii, p. 133 doc. vi, p. 134 doc. vii, pp. 135–136; Caglioti, "Bernardo Rossellino", p. 49 doc. I, pp. 50–51. It is not clear whether the silver medals were ancient or contemporary works.
- 21 P. Foster, "Donatello Notices in Medici Letters", *Art Bulletin* 62 (1980), pp. 148–150.
- 22 G.S. Richa, *Notizie istoriche delle chiese fiorentine*, 10 vols., Florence 1754–1762, II, p. 231. A forthcoming study by A. Lillie and K. Lowe will document Giovanni de' Medici's involvement at the convent of S. Verdiana.
- 23 Foster, "Donatello Notices", pp. 148–150, doc. 2, from Giovanni di Luca Rossi in Florence to Giovanni de' Medici at Trebbio, 9 October 1455, Archivio di Stato di Firenze (henceforth all documentary references will be to this archive unless otherwise stated), Archivio Mediceo avanti il Principato (henceforth MAP), IX, 185: "...Iermattina a buon'ora andò Donato a Volterra per chondurre l'opera de' marmi per 'l vostro scrittoio e a llui fe' dare Fiorini otto d'oro per l'andare lui ed uno chompangnio e per mandare i detti marmi ... Io vi mandai cholla lettera di ieri quel marmo che Donatello mi diè ed è di quello che va a ffare nelo scrittoio."
- 24 MAP, CXXXVIII, 51, from Giovanni Macinghi in Florence to Giovanni de' Medici at Cafagiolo, 6 October 1457. "[verso] Spettabili Viro Giovanni di Cosimo in Chavagiolo. [recto] Al nome di Dio adì 6 d'otobre 1457 / Fu a [sic] Donatello ed 'ammi promesso ispacierà lo s[c]rittoio e siamo tutavia ale mani a ritrovare e pezi, non so se si starà in questo proposito di niuno; pure non lo abandonerò e sarà meno opera tu non credi che vuole togliere dirieto; ma avisa e raconcierà molte chose che vi sono rotte. Lui aspetta e gharzoni da Siena che 'anno a tornare istasera. Se ci saranno domatina saranno ale mani ... G[iovann]i Macinghi in Firenze." It is possible that the *scrittoio* was made of the famous alabaster from Volterra, although the reference to "marmi" in the plural (see previous note) may imply that several types or colours of marble were used. It is also conceivable that the "marmi" were ancient fragments that Donatello was going to restore and incorporate into the study. This would explain the reference to broken pieces needing to be repaired.
- 25 W. Bulst, "Die ursprüngliche innere Aufteilung des Palazzo Medici in Florenz", *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 14 (1970), p. 380; W. Bulst, "Uso e trasformazione del palazzo mediceo fino ai Riccardi", in: *Il Palazzo Medici Riccardi di Firenze*, ed. G. Cherubini and G. Fanelli, Florence 1990, pp. 115–116. Bulst's identification of Giovanni's apartment largely depends on Filarete's description, *Trattato di architettura*, ed. A.M. Finoli and L. Grassi, Milan 1972, II, p. 697; Foster, "Donatello Notices", p. 149, thinks it likely that the marble *scrittoio* was intended for the villa at Fiesole, but although the references to the *scrittoio* both occur in the context of reports about Fiesole, no specific location is identified. Similarly Corti and Hartt, "New Documents", p. 158, suggest that the 12 Caesars' heads were destined for the study at Fiesole, but, as W. Liebenwein, *Studiolo*, Modena 1988, p. 56 and note 174, pointed out, a close inspection of the documents does not confirm this hypothesis.
- 26 A *scrittoio* is listed in the 1482 inventory of the villa, MAP, CIV, 4.
- 27 Bulst, "Uso e trasformazione", pp. 114–116, both Filarete and Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga refer to Giovanni's very beautiful study in town. Piero's study had its floor and barrel vault decorated with glazed terracotta by Luca della Robbia, the ceiling roundels of the labours of the months introducing a rustic note, while intarsiaed wooden cupboards may have depicted perspectival views and objects.
- 28 This suggestion was made by Karla Langedijk who also identifies a portrait medal of Giovanni, made posthumously, *The Portraits of the Medici. 15th–18th Centuries*, 3 vols, Florence 1981,

- I, pp. 18–19, 25; II, p. 1004. Rab Hatfield has recently suggested that the profile portrait between Cosimo and Piero is the illegitimate Carlo de' Medici, whereas Giovanni is depicted as the groom on foot, "Cosimo de' Medici and his Chapel", in: Ames-Lewis, *Cosimo 'il Vecchio'*, p. 235.
- 29 G. Gaye, *Carteggio inedito d'Artisti dei secoli XIV, XV, XVI*, 3 vols., Florence 1839, I, pp. 175–176; M. Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy*, Oxford 1985, pp. 3–5; G. Marchini, *Filippo Lippi*, Milan 1975, pp. 234–235.
- 30 ASF, MAP, IX, 206 and 226. See John Paoletti's forthcoming study on the Medici bank in Milan.
- 31 Gaye, *Carteggio*, p. 158; A. Warburg, *Gesammelte Schriften*, Leipzig 1932, I, pp. 371–372; R. de Roover, *The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank 1397–1494*, Cambridge, Mass. 1968, p. 144; A. Grunzweig, *Correspondance de la filiale de Bruges des Medici*, only part 1 published, Brussels 1931, pp. 26–33, 36–38, 43–45.
- 32 Grunzweig, *Correspondance*, pp. 78–83. Although Grunzweig interprets the document as saying that each of the three *spalliere* was to be 20 *braccia* long, a combined length of 20 *braccia* is more likely.
- 33 Grunzweig, *Correspondance*, pp. 94–95, 98–103.
- 34 F. Leverotti, "Ricerche sulle origini dell'Ospedale Maggiore di Milano", *Archivio storico lombardo*, serie 10, 6 (1981), p. 95; Caglioti, "Bernardo Rossellino", pp. 50, 52–56.
- 35 F. W. Kent, "Lorenzo de' Medici's Acquisition of Poggio a Caiano in 1474 and an Early Reference to his Architectural Expertise", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 42 (1979), pp. 250–257.
- 36 Nicolai Rubinstein kindly provided me with this information from his forthcoming study of the Palazzo Vecchio.
- 37 M. Ferrara and F. Quinterio, *Michelozzo di Bartolommeo*, Florence 1984, pp. 234–238, 307–308.
- 38 There are brief references to Giovanni's political and financial roles in Pieraccini, *Le Stirpe*, I, pp. 77–78, 81; N. Rubinstein, *The Government of Florence under the Medici*, Oxford 1966, p. 130, note 6.
- 39 de Roover, *Medici Bank*, pp. 71, 216–217.
- 40 See, e.g., MAP, IX, 94, 147, 192, 223, 239, 247, 251 and many more letters. See also R. Black, "Cosimo de' Medici and Arezzo", in: Ames-Lewis, *Cosimo 'il Vecchio'*, pp. 38–40, 44–46.
- 41 For a recent summary of the literature and architectural analysis see Ferrara/Quinterio, *Michelozzo*, pp. 252–255, 314; J. S. Ackerman, *The Villa*, London 1990, pp. 73–78.
- 42 Vasari, *Le vite*, II, pp. 442–443. However, H. Saalman, *Filippo Brunelleschi. The Cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore*, London 1980, p. 211, notes that, "Michelozzo . . . is not mentioned in documents . . . Instead Antonio Manetti and Lorenzo di Antonio di Gieri (called Lorenzo da San Friano) appear as technical experts in 1454 when drainage sewers and massive retaining walls were required to shore up the villa site and apparently both were involved in the building of the villa."
- 43 *Burlington Magazine* CXI (1969), pp. 597–605.
- 44 The only published plans are those in J. C. Shepherd and G. A. Jellicoe, *Italian Gardens of the Renaissance*, London 1925, p. 23, plates 5–6, which have since been reproduced many times.
- 45 G. Carocci, *I dintorni di Firenze*, 2 vols, Florence 1906–1907, reprinted Rome 1968, I, p. 119; G. Carocci, *Fiesole. Breve illustrazione dei suoi monumenti pubblicata nella circostanza dell'inaugurazione del museo e degli scavi fiesolani*, Florence 1874, p. 10; J. S. Ackerman, for example, *The Villa*, p. 73 accepts Cosimo's role.
- 46 Vasari, *Le vite*, II, pp. 442–443.
- 47 ASF, MAP LXXXII, fol. 591r.
- 48 My starting point was Philip Foster's article, "Donatello Notices", with references to four letters concerning Fiesole (MAP IX, 175; IX, 185; IX, 307; CXXXVIII, 46). Four other letters

regarding the villa (MAP VI, 756; VII, 343; IX, 178; XVI, 56) were noted by Howard Saalman, *Brunelleschi The Cupola*, p. 221 note 9, who is going to publish them in collaboration with Philip Foster. Here I have tried, as far as possible, to focus on letters which I found independently. Of some 19 other letters that I have traced so far, many contain only brief references to Fiesole. I hope to include a full transcription and analysis of the documents in my forthcoming study of the Villa Medici at Fiesole.

49 MAP CXXXVIII, 50; IX, 175; VII, 301; VII, 298; IX, 178.

50 MAP CXXXVIII, 50, from Giovanni Macinghi in Florence to Giovanni di Cosimo de' Medici at the Baths of Petriuolo, 12 April 1455: "Al nome di dio adì xii d'aprile 1455. Fratello Karissimo etc. In questi di t'ò avisato a pieno di tuto, e pocho t'ò a dire se non è che fatti di Ffiesole si solecita de' fatti dell'aqua. Non ti posso avisare anchora nulla, perchè non siamo anchora a quello muro donde la viene, e questo è che gli 'a piovuto in modo non vi[sic]e sieno potuto istare. Che questo lunedì senza mancho vi giungnerano sarai di tutto avisato. E visi trovato dentro bene 50 Sant'Elene e non si vegghono testa niuna tanto sono loghore, e una picina d'ariento e una ischura chol bucho tonddo e uno chuchiaio di rame. El Gholpe chome adì va a lavorare chome quello istima trovare qualche tesoro. E i sta di buona vognia [sic]; che cierto ala vena tuti gl'intendenti lo dichono. A'fatti delle chose del palagio di solecitano forte dovevassi sghomberare per tutto di oggi, ma ieri Piero gli arà fermi per 8 di anchora. E chasoni vi sono bene 6; e gli armari sono tutti quasi fatti. El piano della schala sarà fatto lunedì. . ."

51 MAP IX, 175, from Giovanni Macinghi in Florence to Giovanni di Cosimo de' Medici in Milan, 25 June 1455: "[verso:] Spectabili viro Giovanni di Chosimo de' Medici a Melano, maiori suo honorando [recto:] Al nome di dio adì xxv di iugnio 1455. Fratello Karissimo etc. Io 'o auto una tua è inteso quanto di. E perché tu intenda, Piero vi fu el dì di Santo Romolo e prese chonsignio chon cierti di lasù. Dipoi sono suto chon Piero e lui è rimasto in questa concrusione mecho, ch'io vimeni Antonio Manetti, Lorenzo da San Friano, Pagholo Chalafi e quando loro vi saranno ci chozarano tutti i dire e piglierasi forma, inperò Piero ista in dubio si possi fare e vuocisi andare chon maturo chonsignio. Ieri menai Antonio lasù. Lui dice cierto si farà istare. Vuole vedere el fondamento e vuole si chavi insino al sodo, chominciando dal muro è rimaso br. 10 e largho br. 6, metendo in detta somma el muro che br. 4 1/2 e br. 1; vuole sia chavato di sopra e di sotto. Apreso . . . [illegibile] vuollì intendere quello se ne dava Il Gholpe me ne chiese Fiorini 10 larghi, domandai se ne voleva lire 20, non volle. Avisandoti da ongli [sic] late bisogna trovare el detto fondamento, chome ti dichò, braccia 10. El detto Antonio andò a Pisa; saràci infra 6 di. Dipoi l'achozzerò chon Piero e in questo mezo v'andrà Lorenzo e Pagholo e tutti gli achozerò chon Piero, veduto aranno, che sarebbe buona ispesa lire 50 infra tutti e dua e lati.

Io vorrei tu m'avisasi se Piero, inteso chostoro, mi dice ch'io lo faci se io vi metto mano; e di questo ti prieghò, inpero vegho che Piero ci 'a buona vognia [sic] a farlo. Siche avisami per lo primo s'io fò ciò che Piero mi dice, inperò se s'a a fare non bisogna indugiare.

Tuo G[iovanni Macingi] in Firenze."

52 MAP VII, 298, from Ginevra Alessandri-Medici to her husband Giovanni di Cosimo de' Medici in Milan, 3 August 1455: "Per Agniol Tani t'aviso chome Piero 'a mandato parecchi maestri a Fiesole per vedere se ciè rimedio niuno a quel muro, e chome 'o inteso dicie [non?] farvi mettere mano senza te. 'Anno allogato in somma que' fondamenti per vedere quello si può fare e Piero dicie vuole inte[n]dere molto bene innanzi vi metta mano, che dicie no' si vuole corre a ffuria in simile chose.

E panni da Chareggi gli feci venire el dì medesimo. 'O fato potuto isserviere che un verso di tuo mano avessi veduto. Chosimo e gli altri stanno tutti bene e Chosimino è fuori di dubbio. E di me non ti dico nulla che stò chomi [sic] posso. Né altro per questa. Christo ti guardi. Adì iiii d'agosto 1455.

Ginevra."



- 53 MAP IX, 178, Giovanni Macinghi to Giovanni di Cosimo de' Medici, 19 August 1455: "[verso] Spettabili viro Giovanni di Chosimo. [recto] Al nome di dio, adì 19 d'aghosto 1455. Fratello Karissimo etc. I'o una tua è inteso vuogli sapere del muro. Avisoti che Antonio Manetti s'è achozato con Piero e lui dà questo consigno, è ciertto dice terrà a Piero la chonsentia, non istante che a Spatiano 'a chonsigni d'ogni altri. Se nulla agiunghono a questo mandatelo perché tu dichi tuo pensiero. Piero mi dice sà luoghi per trovare il fondamento, come per altra ti dissi braccia 10 per lo lungho e braccia 6 per lo largho e s'è a rimanere braccia 1 per disopra e per disotto, el muro andare in mezo che sarà braccia 4. Avisandoti che l'archo s'a fare di calcina per più forteza. Domatina metterò la scritta a chi vuole torre [sic] in soma a chavare questi due lati e chosì sono rimasto cho' Nofri. Per lo primo ti mandarano gli altri disegni. Questo chavare s'a a fare per forza in ongli [sic] modo, e se piovesi in questo mezo potrebbe rovinare molta terra siché per ogni modo dice Piero si saluoghi. G[iovanni Macinghi]."
- 54 Rossi, "L'indole", p. 149, states that Giovanni married Ginevra di Niccolo degli Alessandri on 20 January 1453.
- 55 Carocci, *I dintorni*, p. 119, was the source for many subsequent writer's, e.g., C. von Fabriczy, "Michelozzo di Bartolomeo", *Jahrbuch der königlich Preußischen Kunstsammlungen*, 25, Beiheft (1904), p. 42.
- 56 Ferrara/Quinterio, *Michelozzo*, p. 253; Alison Brown, *Bartolomeo Scala, 1430-1497*, Princeton 1979, p. 17; Ackerman, *The Villa*, p. 289, note 18.
- 57 Corti/Hartt, "New Documents", p. 157, note 12, MAP VIII, 366, "E per cierto queste chose antiche a murale i' muro gietano molto bene. Fateci un pocho di pensiero a Fiesole, avanti si tiri a fine..."
- 58 MAP CXXXVIII, 50, "El piano della schala sarà fatto lunedì", see note 50 above.
- 59 MAP VII, 301, from Ginevra Alessandri-Medici to her husband Giovanni di Cosimo de' Medici in Milan, 8 July 1455: "Per le mani di Ser Franciessco 'o 'nteso chome sete giunti a salvamento infino a Bolognia, iddio lodato, che mi pare mill'anni sia la tornata, che non credo vedere l'ora né 'l dì sì grande è lla vollgia. Avisoti chome andamo a Ffiesole, Piero et la Lucrezia e Angniolo della Stufa e' chantori di San Giovanni, e 'anno fato una bella festa; e le fanciulle di Ser Antonio, non domandare ballato [crossed out] che 'anno fatto miracoli e chose dell'altro mondo, che impazzava chiunce v'era; che stemo tanto a vedere che era du' ore di notte inanzi tor[n]assimo a Firenze. L'aqua si stà a un modo, ma el muro ebbene un tradimento a vedere. A Piero pareva una bella cosa quel piano. Forse è stato melgio c[h]e sia ito così, arebbe fatto male a chi che ssia. 'O 'nteso da Cosimo chome tu non vai più là che Milano, che ll'o molto caro e v'otene pregare. Dì' a Ser Francessco ch'abbi a mente quei g[l]i dissi. Chosimino a tanta ascie [possibly *ascite*] che pare affogi, pure è un po' migliorato; el maestro mene dicie priebe [possibly *preghiere*] ch'io non abbi pensiero. Né altro per questa. Racomandomi a te, e racomandami al duca, e digli ch'io lo priego ce facci quello gli 'a scritto Cosimo de' fatti tuoi. Chosimo sta bene et t[utt]i gli altri. E ti priego mi rispond' di tuo mano. Né a altro. Cristo mi ti guardi quanto el cuor mio disidera. Addì viii di luglio 1455. La tua cara Ginevra ci sia racomandata."
- 60 Foster, "Donatello Notices", pp. 148-150.
- 61 MAP IX, 307.
- 62 The search for water was reported in letters of 8, 9, and 12 April 1455 (MAP IX, 146; V, 722; CXXXVIII, 50) before their digging had spectacular results on 13 April.
- 63 A. Lillie, *Florentine Villas in the Fifteenth Century: A Study of the Country Properties of the Strozzi and Sasseti Families*, University of London Ph.D. thesis 1986, pp. 342, 346.
- 64 MAP CXXXVIII, 49, from Giovanni di Luca Rossi at Fiesole to Giovanni de' Medici at the Baths of Petriuolo, 13 April 1455.
- 65 MAP, CLXV, fol. 81, 86; Warburg typescript, pp. 236, 250.

- 66 *Angeli Politiani et aliorum illustrium epistolarum libri duodecim*, Basel 1522, lib. X, epist. 14; cited in Ackerman, *The Villa*, pp. 76–77, 289–290 note 22.
- 67 MAP, CLXV, fol. 86r., Warburg typescript p. 250.
- 68 MAP CXXXVIII, 46; V, 722, from Giovanni di Luca Rossi in Florence to Giovanni de' Medici at the Baths of Petriuolo, 11 April 1455: "Bartolommeo Serragli va in fra 8 dì a Napoli; 'o gli fatto uno richordo di più chosse vogliamo per a Fiesole, cioè melaghrani, melaranci, limonciegli, faetri [sic] e alchuna altra chosa..."
- 69 Saalman, *Brunelleschi The Cupola*, p. 211; see above nn. 42, 51 and 53.
- 70 On Manetti see H. Saalman, "Tommaso Spinelli, Michelozzo, Manetti and Rossellino", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 25 (1966), pp. 151–164; Antonio di Tuccio Manetti, *The Life of Brunelleschi*, ed. H. Saalman, trans. C. Engass, University Park–London 1970, pp. 26, 111–115; Saalman, *Brunelleschi The Cupola*, pp. 132, 133, 141, 158, 164–166, 204, 210–212 and documents; I. Hyman, "Towards Rescuing the Lost Reputation of Antonio di Manetto Ciaccheri", in: S. Bertelli and G. Ramakus, eds., *Essays presented to Myron P. Gilmore*, 2 vols., Florence 1978, II, pp. 261–280; F. Borsi, G. Morolli and F. Quinterio, *Brunelleschiani*, Rome 1979, pp. 34–45, 106–113, 260–276. On Lorenzo di Antonio di Geri see H. Saalman, "Paolo Uccello at San Miniato", *Burlington Magazine* 106 (1964), p. 559. On Giovanni di Bettino (Giovanni del Betto) see Borsi/Morolli/Quinterio, *Brunelleschiani*, pp. 325–326, 330, 331.
- 71 A. de la Mare, *Vespasiano da Bisticci, Historian and Bookseller*, University of London Ph. D. thesis, 1965, pp. 78–79.